

REPORTS
OF THE
MAJORITY & MINORITY
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS,
LEGISLATURE OF NORTH CAROLINA.
REPORT OF THE MAJORITY.

The Committee on Internal Improvements, to which was referred so much of Governor's Message as relates to Internal Improvement, REPORT:

That part of the Message of Governor referred to your Committee, recommends that a Charter be granted to make a Turnpike Road from the City of Raleigh to some point Westward, to be selected with a view to its ultimate continuance, and to include the property, though it does not plainly recommend the continuance of the same Turnpike Road, as far down as Waynesborough. Secondly, it recommends that a Charter be granted to make a Turnpike from Fayetteville to the Yadkin River, &c., and here we are given to understand, that this Road, once begun, is hereafter to be continued across the Gaston River Westward. Thirdly, it is recommended that a Survey shall be ordered to ascertain the practicability of uniting Lumber and Cape Fear Rivers by a good navigable Canal, with a view (as your Committee suppose) to the opening of Roanoke Inlet, and the connection of Pamlico Sound, by a Ship Channel, with Beaufort Harbour, as especially recommended to the Legislature, as practicable works of immense importance, and the General Government, according to the suggestions of the Message, are to be re-committed to undertake, and to accomplish them, as national works. The Legislature has, from time to time, granted away, to associated wealth, in the shape of Corporations, the Rivers of North Carolina, and now the People cannot carry a Boat load to market, without paying tribute money to Navigation Corporations. The Legislature has, from time to time, granted in like manner, exclusive privileges to Rail Road Companies, until they have been stimulated to begin such enterprises; and, after exhausting their own means, these Rail Road Companies have procured the credit of the State, and finally involved the people in a debt of more than a million of dollars; though, in the outset, the Capitalists who asked for the Charter, professed to ask nothing but the right of spending their own money for these works. Had they proved profitable, the People at large would enjoy no right but the benefit of paying tribute to these Corporations, for carrying them or their produce from home to a market; but, as soon as they proved to be a losing concern, by little and little, the loss must probably fall upon the State Treasury. The State had little or no chance of the profit, as long as there was any hope of profit, yet the State is to bear the loss.

Your Committee have good reason to apprehend, that the same beginning of Turnpikes, by Corporation Charters, will terminate in a similar way to North Carolina. Indeed, your Committee greatly misapprehend the Message referred to them, if it does not shadow forth this very usual second step in their Charters, when it is recommended to give to these Turnpikes such &c., as the condition of the Public Treasury may justify. Your Committee Report further, that they do not think the condition of the treasury justifies our giving any aid at all to these schemes of Internal Improvement, or to any of them; and it seems to the Committee a useless waste of time and labor, to be investigating the value and cost of Turnpikes across more than one half of the State, when it is known the State owns no funds that can be applied in aid of their construction; and it is conceded, we ought not to raise money for such expenditures by taxation, and when it is admitted, we ought not to borrow money for the purpose, if we could do it and probably could not do it if we would.

The Report of the Board of Internal Improvement, referred to your Committee, shows, that very nearly the whole amount of that fund consists of Bonds owing by people in the extreme West; these amount to less than three hundred thousand dollars. The Governor's Message, and the Agent for the State concur in the opinion, that, if the payment of this debt were rigidly exacted, the result would be, in many instances, ruin to the debtor, and loss to the State. Without collecting this debt, the State Improvement Fund amounts to about forty-four thousand dollars, one half of which is loaned out upon Bonds, if it has not been already appropriated. Hence, the Committee are justified in their statement, that there are no funds with which the aid that is recommended can be given. Would it relieve the people of the West, to exact payment of these Bonds, at the hazard of ruining them, in order to expend in aid of a Turnpike beginning at Raleigh? Does any one for a moment believe they would court such favors at our hands?

But the Bonds, were they all collected, are not sufficient to discharge one-third of the debt contracted for Rail Roads; and it would be absurd to say, we are against Taxation, and against Redemption, and against loans, and then forthwith, to spend all the money in the Treasury upon new projects leaving a debt unpaid that must be either discharged or re-extended, or a new loan taken, to postpone the evil day.

Your Committee are hostile to Repudiation, as well in practice as in theory, and they are opposed to heaping new taxes upon the people, especially in these times of distress for money; and, because they are so, they do not concur in devising new plans of spending the funds at present in the Treasury, when the inevitable consequence of wasting them must be, to supply their place hereafter by extracting just so much more taxes from the people's pockets.

These hard times, your Committee think, call loudly upon the Legislature to spend as little as possible; to take good care of what there is in the Treasury, and husband all our resources, for saving the Honor and Credit of North Carolina without fresh taxes; and, as far as possible, without encroaching on the fund that has been sacrilegiously dedicated to the cause of Education. As to that part of the Governor's Message which proposes that the General Government should be again entreated to open Roanoke Inlet, and open a Ship Channel between Pamlico Sound and Beaufort Harbor, your Committee do not consider it necessary to say a great deal. Were it granted, that Congress possesses the constitutional power to make Internal Improvements in North Carolina, it is necessary to remark, that the National Treasury is exhausted—the General Government is already in debt to a very large amount. The expenses of its administration are greater than its revenue; the United States are obliged to borrow money to pay our officers and law-makers, and would it be patriotic or becoming in North Carolina, at such a time, to present herself before Congress, to beg for what the United States have not got to give her, and which the United States cannot get without raising the State of the People. Would it be honorable to our State Legislature to declare that we have not got to borrow money to spend in North Carolina, though we will draw up large schemes of improvement to be done on our borders, and entreat to construct Congress, both to borrow and to raise money to execute our projects? Let all this be answered in whatever manner it may be, will a proud State like ours should be left to stop the recommendation, of admitting that it would be an infringement of the rights of the General Government, for North Carolina to attempt any work of improvement whatever; an admission, that your Committee, in justice to the State and her rights, do not feel

REPORT OF THE MINORITY.
The minority of the Committee on Internal Improvement, have read, with regret, the Report of the majority of the Committee, on so much of the Governor's Message as relates to the subject of Internal Improvement. The scope and tendency of the Report, if not so designed, is to render obscure the Message in relation to this subject, to draw into discredit and disrepute the works of Internal Improvement already established in the State, and to prejudice the public mind against all and every improvement, which may be now contemplated or hereafter devised. To accomplish this purpose, the majority Report, from carelessness or inadvertence, has assumed facts and hazarded assertions, many of which are altogether groundless, and utterly unauthorized, as the minority will now attempt to demonstrate. The Report commences with an opaque review of the various recommendations in relation to Internal Improvement, contained in the Governor's Message, and then proceeds with the following assertion: "The Legislature has from time to time granted away to associated wealth, in the shape of Corporations, the Rivers of North Carolina, and now the people cannot carry a boat load to market, without paying tribute money to Navigation Corporations." Is this true? The slightest enquiry or the least investigation would have established the majority, that this assertion is entirely without foundation. The principal Rivers of the State, are the Roanoke, Chowan, Cape Fear, Neuse, Pasquotank, Tar, Cashie and Trent, not one of which except Cape Fear, is a cent of toll levied, or authorized to be levied on the transportation of produce below the Falls thereof, and but on one of them above the Falls, to wit, the Roanoke, where the Navigation has been opened and improved at an expense of four hundred thousand dollars by a Joint Stock Company, created by Acts of the General Assemblies of North Carolina and Virginia. The Report of the majority proceeds and asserts, that "the Legislature has, from time to time, granted in like manner, exclusive privileges to Rail Road Companies, until they have been stimulated to begin such enterprises; and after exhausting their own means, these Rail Road Companies have procured the credit of the State, and finally involved the people in a debt of more than a million of dollars; though, in the outset, the Capitalists who asked for the Charter, professed to ask nothing but the right of spending their own money for these works. Had they proved profitable, the people at large would enjoy no right but the benefit of paying tribute to these Corporations, for carrying them or their produce from home to a market; but, as soon as they proved to be a losing concern, by little and little, the loss must probably fall upon the State Treasury. The State had little or no chance of the profit, as long as there was any hope of profit, yet the State is to bear the loss." A more uncandid, disingenuous and incorrect paragraph, has been rarely, if ever witnessed in any paper whatever, and more especially, one emanating from an important Committee, appointed to consider subjects deeply interesting to the people of the State. The first assertion in the paragraph, is "that the Legislature has from time to time granted in like manner, exclusive privileges to Rail Road Companies." Has any exclusive privilege been granted to Rail Road Companies as asserted, or has any individual, or set of individuals, by the Acts of Assembly incorporating such Companies, been deprived of any privilege previously enjoyed? None whatever. The leading privilege granted to these Companies, is to transport on their Roads persons and produce at a moderate rate of compensation, and for this purpose, to become common carriers in their corporate capacity. Is any individual, or set of individuals, who may choose to associate together, prohibited from carrying persons and produce whithersoever he or they may please? Are not persons daily and hourly thus employed in every direction and in every part of the State? No one is bound or obliged to use Rail Roads or avail himself of their advantages, unless at his will and pleasure, free and untrammelled. The former mode of transportation of persons and produce by Stages and Wagons or private conveyance, is left free and unincumbered, and none need resort to Rail Roads unless they find their interest promoted by doing so. Certain it is, that unless this mode of transportation by Rail Roads is cheaper and better than the former method, they will not be employed, and that they are so employed, affords the most conclusive and satisfactory evidence of the great benefits and advantages resulting from this mode of conveyance. The Report of the majority proceeds: "And after exhausting their own means, these Rail Road Companies have procured the credit of the State, and finally involved the people in a debt of more than a million of dollars; though, in the outset, the Capitalists who asked for the Charter, professed to ask nothing but the right of spending their own money for these works." The fact is notorious, and it ought to have been, if it is not, within the knowledge of the majority, that the people at present are not involved in a debt of more than one million of dollars for the Rail Road Companies, or indeed, for any other sum.

It is true, the Wilmington and Raleigh Rail Road Company, have obtained the credit of the State as Security, for two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, for which liability, the State has the most abundant and ample Security. To secure the State against loss, a mortgage has been executed, under authority of Law, on the Rail Road, the construction of which cost between one million five hundred thousand and two millions of dollars, and whose annual income, under the present disastrous and discouraging state of things, after paying all the ordinary expenses of the Road, amounts to about sixty thousand dollars. Nor is this all. The mortgage also includes all the property of the Company, consisting of Steamboats, Engines, Cars, Coaches, Lots, Wharfs, Warehouses and Depots, worth at a low estimate, independent of the Rail Road, at least fifty per cent more than, and perhaps double the amount for which the State is Security. It is then absolutely certain, that the State can sustain no loss on this account, unless through the most unwise and blundering legislation. Let us now see how the matter stands in relation to the State's liability for the Raleigh and Gaston Rail Road Company. Under an Act of the General Assembly passed at the Session of 1833, the Public Treasurer was authorized in his official character, to endorse the Bonds of the Raleigh and Gaston Rail Road Com-

pany, to the amount of five hundred thousand dollars, by which the State became Security for that sum. To secure the State against loss, a mortgage was made, by the Company on the Rail Road, and all the property of the Company, which cost more than one million and a half of dollars, and this was considered at the time, and is now deemed to be ample Security. But the State has other and additional Security. At the Session of 1840, the Legislature agreed that the Bonds of the Company should be endorsed by the Public Treasurer for the further sum of three hundred thousand dollars, provided the Stockholders of the Company would give their individual Bonds, with good Security, to secure the State against loss for the five hundred thousand dollars endorsed by the State in 1833 as before related, and another mortgage on their Rail Road and all the other property of the Company; which condition has been strictly complied with, as we are informed by the Governor in his annual message to the General Assembly. It will thus be seen, that, although the State is Security for the Raleigh and Gaston Rail Road Company for the sum of eight hundred thousand dollars, yet, to indemnify and save harmless the State, a mortgage has been executed for the whole of the Rail Road and other property of the Company, which cost about double this sum, and the State has the further Security of the Bonds of individuals with good Security, for five hundred thousand dollars. With what justice and propriety can it then be asserted, that the people are involved in a debt for the Rail Roads, amounting to more than one million of dollars? In reference to so much of the majority Report as declares that when the Stockholders of the Rail Road Companies asked for the Charters, they professed to ask for nothing but the right of spending their own money for these works, there is surely some misapprehension, at least in relation to the Stockholders in the Wilmington and Raleigh Rail Road Company; for, although no aid was granted by the State to effect the work at the time the first Charter was granted, the Stockholders always looked to the State for assistance, by way of subscription to the Stock of the Company, which was obtained at the Session of 1830. Again says the majority report: "Had they (the Rail Roads) proved profitable, the people at large would enjoy no right but the benefit of paying tribute to these Corporations, for carrying them or their produce from home to a market; but, as soon as they proved to be a losing concern, by little and little, the loss must probably fall upon the State Treasury. The State had little or no chance of the profit, as long as there was any hope of profit, yet the State is to bear the loss." This is another glaring example of disingenuousness, for which the majority report is particularly remarkable. If the State contributes nothing towards the construction of Rail Roads, and those works are effected at the expense of individuals, what other benefit can the people or State who contribute nothing to the works, expect to derive from them, other than to have their persons and produce transported to market at a moderate rate? He that sows not, neither shall he reap. And upon what principle of equity or justice, can those, who stand aloof and husband their resources, unwilling to aid in accomplishing a great public work of acknowledged utility, expect to derive profit from the same in the shape of annual income?

In proportion to the interest which the State has taken in the Rail-Roads, (and only in one of them has she any direct interest,) she enjoys an equal chance of profit, in proportion to her subscription, as other stockholders—and more than this she cannot expect. In regard to the other Rail-Road—if the work had turned out to be a profitable investment, the State having subscribed nothing to construct the Road, could rightfully expect no profit, except the general benefits and advantages resulting from cheaper and more expeditious transportation to market. Whether the loss of making the Rail Roads in this State is likely to fall upon the State Treasury, has been already abundantly disproved. The majority Report further sets forth, that "your Committee have good reason to apprehend that the same beginning of Turnpikes, by corporation charters, will terminate in a similar way to North Carolina.—Indeed, your Committee greatly misapprehend the Message referred to them, if it does not shadow forth this very usual second step in their charters, when it is recommended to give these Turnpikes such aid, &c., as the condition of the Public Treasury may justify." Suppose, for the sake of argument, it should turn out that the money expended for the construction of the Rail Roads in this State is a bad investment of capital, which the minority of the Committee hope presently to prove, if directly otherwise, does it necessarily follow, that Turnpike Roads, the utility and advantages of which have been tested and experienced by every State in the Union, North of this State, nor any other project of Internal Improvement, "is ever to be again attempted within our borders? Hopeless, indeed, would be the condition of our Western brethren, who are, unquestionably, as much entitled to the fostering care of the Legislature as any other portion of the people in the State, if this is to be the fixed and settled policy for our future government. It is a policy, wholly and absolutely opposed to the enlightened age in which we live—the present advancement in civilization and improvement throughout the civilized world—and utterly inconsistent with the prosperity and happiness of the people of the State. If the principles of the majority Report are to govern the future policy and destiny of the State, most degraded and miserable will be the condition of her people, in comparison with those of other States. With resources uncrippled, and an energy unsubdued, North Carolina will, in a few years, become the bye-word of reproach and contumely throughout the length and breadth of our extended country. But a few years ago, and there was scarcely an enlightened and liberal man in the State who was opposed to a judicious system of Internal Improvement. What great and monstrous error has been committed on this subject within this State? What foolish, wasteful, and extravagant expenditure of public money has occurred, to reduce and lower the tone of public sentiment in relation to Internal Improvement? The minority of the Committee know of none whatever; and if the public feeling has undergone any material change on this subject, it must be referred to other and different causes. It is the misfortune of the age in which we live, that every thing, however useful and valuable, no way connected with federal politics, must be mixed up with the wretched party squabbles of the day, and nothing, however important to the welfare of the State, is allowed to escape this miserable contamination. And, in this regard, it is a melancholy reflection, that we are daily growing worse and worse. It was not the case a few short years ago, and the people must rouse up and exert

themselves, if they are to be benefited by the judicious works of Internal Improvement that have been long felt and acknowledged by the most enlightened and patriotic men of both the great political parties which now divide the State.—They have seen and felt this great necessity, and have, from time to time, urged upon the General Assembly the adoption of needful measures to improve the condition of the State. If there be any thing erroneous or wrongful in this, it is wrong or an error common to both parties, and for which neither is alone responsible. Attempts have been made, over and over again, on the eve of elections, and at other times, against the whole blame, if blame there be, on the Whig party. To disabuse the public mind, and that each party may have and enjoy that due degree of credit or blame, which properly results from their conduct on this subject, it is necessary to look a little into the past history of the State, and to call up reminiscences, which many would gladly bury in eternal oblivion. In this retrospect, nothing shall be extenuated, nor ought set down in malice. It will be done with no view to censure a single individual, for no censure is believed to be due to any one for the part he may have taken in the transactions proposed to be examined. Now, about ten years ago, during the sitting of the Supreme Court, many eminent citizens were assembled in the City of Raleigh. The time fixed for laying the corner stone of the splendid Capitol, which is now the pride and ornament of the State, was near at hand. It was foreseen, that many of the most distinguished citizens, from every part of the State, would be present on the occasion, to witness this interesting ceremony, and it was considered a most suitable opportunity at which to call public attention to the subject of Internal Improvement. To ascertain public sentiment in relation to the various projects which had been suggested on the subject, in various parts of the State, it was proposed, that an Internal Improvement Convention should be held in Raleigh, on that occasion. The invitation to hold such a Convention, was published in the News-Papers, and was signed by as enlightened and patriotic men as ever did honor to any State. It will be seen, that this invitation was signed by Whigs, Democrats, and Nullifiers, without party distinction; for at this time party political strife had not been permitted to intermingle with, and to disturb the great cause of Internal Improvement. It was signed by the following gentlemen, viz: David L. Swain, Henry Seawell, William S. Mhoon, Duncan Cameron, William Hill, James Grant, Willis Whitaker, Parker Rand, William H. Haywood, Jun., Beverly Daniel, Wm. McPheeters, Thos. G. Scott, Thos. J. Lemay, Alex. J. Lawrence, Theophilus Hunter, Charles Manly, Thomas Cobb, Wm. Boylan, Romulus M. Saunders, James Iredell, L. Henderson, Thomas Rufin, Joseph J. Daniel, Peter Brown, Alfred Jones, Charles Dewey, E. P. Guion, Charles L. Hinton, David W. Stone, Geo. E. Badger, John Beckwith, Nath. G. Rand, Wm. Gaston, Daniel L. Barringer, Thos. P. Devereux, Johnston Busbee.

Pursuant to this invitation, an Internal Improvement Convention was held in the City of Raleigh, on the 4th of July, 1833, and it was one of the most enlightened bodies that ever assembled in this or any other State. It was composed of men, who, for learning, intelligence, and worth of character, would do honor to any period or nation of the civilized world. Twenty Counties were represented, and one hundred and thirteen delegates attended. As before remarked, it was no party question then; men of all parties vied with each other in sustaining this great cause, in which all believed the best interests of the State were involved. The Convention being duly organized, Mr. Wm. H. Haywood, Jr. submitted the following Resolution:

Resolved, That the present condition of North Carolina is, in the opinion of this Convention, highly discouraging and mortifying to her citizens; that her trade is languishing, her agriculture falling into neglect, her population forsaking her, her political strength withering, her public and private wealth declining, inasmuch, if these evils are not arrested in their course, she must speedily sink into ruin and contempt; that they owe their existence mainly to a want of State pride, concert of opinion and action among her citizens, the difficulties of internal transportation, and the want of the existence or support of primary markets within her own bosom; that for the remedy of these mischiefs the active and zealous co-operative exertions of all her citizens are imperiously demanded; that they are urged to put them forth by every consideration of public spirit and private interest; that the improvement of our means of internal transportation, and the provision of primary markets within the State, should constitute the first grand object of these exertions; that in this accordance they may, with great propriety, invoke the aid of the State Treasury, and this Convention further believe, that without free and liberal aid from that source, for the furtherance of these objects, the State will soon cease to have a Treasury worthy of care or preservation. They are however of opinion, that whatever benefit might accrue to some of the citizens of the State, the State as a whole cannot with propriety be asked to commit an act so suicidal as to lend her resources to the accomplishment of any work, the direct tendency of which would be to carry any portion of her produce for a primary market without, before she has done what is in her power to effect towards improvement within her own limits, and before proper exertions have been made to bring every section to her own markets.

Therefore Resolved, as the opinion of this Convention, that for the foundation of a new system of Internal Improvements in this State, the means of the State, aided by private subscription, should be concentrated in the construction of a rail-way from some North Carolina sea-port Town to the interior of the State. Resolved, as the opinion of this Convention, that the Legislature of this State ought to provide by law for raising such a sum by loan (or the faith of the State if necessary) as will give substantial assistance in the prosecution of Internal Improvements in this State. Resolved, as the opinion of this Convention, that the most practicable and equitable mode of meeting the loan, will be by an annual tax on lands equal to the interest on the loan, and one-twentieth of the sum borrowed, so as to pay it off in 20 years. Resolved, as the opinion of this Convention, that it will be right and expedient, that the State should extend this first improvement, as well by a continuation of said rail-way, as by the construction of others, and by other modes of improvement; and the profitable result of the first work will increase the spirit of enterprise, and the means of the State.

Resolved, as the further opinion of this Convention, that in designating the route of said road, the first consideration is, that it should be certainly practicable, because an unsuccessful attempt would be disastrous; but next, it shall also possess the character of general usefulness to the State, so as to unite as many interests as possible in its erection. Resolved further, as the opinion of this Convention, that it would be advisable for the Legislature to pass a law, providing, with proper restrictions, that the Counties of this State, as such, and the

Commissioners of the incorporated towns of this State, may subscribe for stock in any incorporated Company for Internal Improvements to such an amount as a majority of the Justices or Commissioners, as the case may be, shall order; that to pay the same, the State will issue scrip or scrips for the amount subscribed, redeemable in twenty years, and bearing an interest of five per cent. The Scrips subscribed by the Counties and Towns, shall be the property of the Counties and Towns respectively, and shall be subject to the debt respectively incurred by the State, on the scrip by her issued, the funds of the County or Town subscribing, shall be taxed annually, a sum equal to the interest and one-twentieth of the subscription aforsaid and the cost of collecting it, which tax shall be collected and paid as other taxes are, into the Treasury of the State, and the County paying it, credited accordingly against the debt aforsaid.

The foregoing Resolutions, with various other propositions favorable to Internal Improvements, offered by Whigs and Democrats, were referred to a large Committee of the Convention, of which Committee, Mr. Wm. H. Haywood, Jr. was appointed Chairman. The Committee, having duly considered the Resolutions referred to them, made a Report through their Chairman, of a Preamble and ten Resolutions in favor of Internal Improvements, which having been amended in Convention, were finally adopted, the most material of which were as follows:

WHEREAS, while most of the other States of the Union are rapidly advancing in the career of prosperity and distinction, North Carolina remains inert, or at best stationary—her trade languishing, her agriculture without improvement—many of her most valuable citizens abandoning her borders, and her relative wealth and strength fast declining. Therefore Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the condition of the State of North Carolina, requires that a liberal system of Internal Improvements should be immediately organized and vigorously prosecuted. Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the General Assembly ought to provide by loan or otherwise, a fund that will enable the State to contribute substantial assistance in the prosecution of works of Internal Improvement. Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, true 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 our own limits.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, it is the duty of the State, to aid and encourage the enterprise of her citizens, and this Convention do therefore respectfully recommend, that provision be made by law, for the State's subscribing two-fifths of the Stock, in any Company hereafter incorporated for the purpose of Internal Improvement, whenever the other three-fifths shall be paid or secured to be paid by individuals. Before the adjournment of the Convention, a Committee was appointed to draw up and publish an Address to the people of this State, on the subject of Internal Improvement. The Address of the Committee, was a composition of surpassing beauty, power and eloquence. Even at this day, it is most vivifying and refreshing, to recur to the enlightened, liberal, patriotic and just sentiments embodied in that production—in contrast with the tone and tendency of the majority Report. It was signed by the following able and distinguished gentlemen: William Gaston, as Chairman, Geo. E. Badger, John H. Bryan, Wm. Boylan, Isaac Croon, John Owen, James Somervell, Joseph J. Daniel, Louis D. Henry, John Huske, Wm. H. Haywood, Jun., Joseph A. Hill, Sam'l F. Patterson, Robert Strane, James Iredell, John D. Jones, Cad. Jones, Wm. B. Meares, Frederick Nash, Henry Seawell.

It will be thus seen, that gentlemen of the highest order of talents, & the most distinguished worth of character, of all parties, united together to sustain the great cause of Internal Improvement. Passing by the Conventions held subsequently at Fayetteville and Salisbury for a similar purpose, which the minority have not time to notice, let us now enquire how this matter stood at a much later period—in 1839. At this time, another Internal Improvement Convention met in Raleigh during the Session of the General Assembly of that year. It was numerously attended by delegates from almost every part of the State, and was composed of gentlemen of great intelligence and influence in Society, both Whigs and Democrats. After several days of anxious deliberation, the results of its labors were summed up in an Address to the General Assembly then in Session, in which the following works of Internal Improvement were urged upon the Legislature in an able and elaborate Address, viz:

1st. A guarantee by the State of five hundred thousand dollars to the Raleigh and Gaston Rail Road Company—in other and plainer words, a loan of the credit of the State for that amount.

2nd. A subscription by the State of four-fifths of the capital stock of the Fayetteville and Yadkin Rail Road.

3d. The incorporation of a Company for the opening of an Inlet at the foot of Albemarle Sound, near Nag's Head, and a subscription on the part of the State of three-fifths of the capital stock of the Company.

4th. The payment of the balance of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, due on the State's subscription to the Stock of the Wilmington and Raleigh Rail Road Company.

5th. The survey of Tar and Neuse rivers, with a view to the Steam-Boat Navigation, and that the Board of Internal Improvements be authorized to contract for effecting these improvements.

6th. A survey from Raleigh, by the way of Hillsborough, to Greensboro', with a view to a McAdamsized Turnpike Road, and incorporating a Company for that purpose, with a subscription of two-fifths of the capital stock on the part of the State.

To accomplish the foregoing works, it was recommended to the General Assembly, that a loan of three millions of dollars should be authorized by the State to meet her portion of the expense. And now let us see by whom this Address was drawn up and published. It is signed by Romulus Saunders, Chairman, John H. Bryan, Hugh McQueen, T. M. Clingman, Louis D. Henry, Lewis H. Marshall, James Allen.

The minority of the Committee again disclaim any, or the slightest purpose, of casting blame or censure on the gentlemen who drew up the Address, or participated in the proceedings of the Convention. Their purpose was doubtless, praiseworthy and commendable, being the advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the State. The minority only desire to show to those who are opposed to all Internal Improvement, that if in the eyes of such persons, blame should attach to the proceedings and recommendations of the Convention, that such blame should rest on no particular party, but should be borne by both Whigs and Democrats without distinction. It is well known, that no other part of the recommendation of the last Convention was adopted by the Legislature, except the loan of the credit of the State to the Raleigh and Gaston Rail Road for five hundred thousand dollars, and authorizing the payment of the balance due on the State's subscription to the Wilmington and Raleigh Rail Road Company.

The larger portion of the remainder of the majority Report is devoted to building up a man of straw of their own creation, that they might have an opportunity of exhibiting their skill and dexterity in toppling it to the ground. This the majority assert, "that the Treasury is in no condition to aid in the construction of Turnpike Roads, and that it is useless to investigate the value and cost of Turnpikes across more than half the State, when it is known the State has no Funds

that can be applied in aid of their construction." "And furthermore, that the Legislature ought not to tax the people, or borrow money for this purpose, except they could." Now all this flourish about taxing the people and borrowing money is entirely gratuitous. The Message of the Governor contains no such recommendation, but, on the contrary, it expressly advises the General Assembly, "that what ever schemes of expenditure you may embark in, that you keep within the means of the command of the State; or otherwise, the people must be taxed more heavily, or the State must contract a loan. The pressure of the times forbids the former; the latter is in honor or of some of the State, should make us for the present, decline the latter." Although the Message has recommended that certain Companies be incorporated to make Turnpike Roads, which are greatly needed to the West, and would most essentially promote the public welfare; yet, the assistance, which he suggests may be given to such improvements at present, should be confined to the means already set apart for Internal Improvement, and which under existing laws can be applied to no other object. These means consist of a Cash balance on hand, and some bonds, which the majority states to amount to forty-four thousand dollars, and bonds given for the purchase of Cherokee lands, amounting to something less than three hundred thousand dollars; making the aggregate sum of about three hundred and forty thousand dollars. This Fund, sooner or later, or a considerable portion of it, must be applied to the making of a Turnpike Road or Roads to the West, in aid of individual means and exertions, in some just proportion, perhaps on the twofifths principle, or some other just ratio, between the State and individuals. A portion of these bonds applied towards the construction of Turnpike Roads in the western part of the State, when united with individual capital, would like Heaven-born charity, bless both giver and receiver. It would enable the obligors to these bonds, who gave more than double the value of the lands they purchased, to redeem them by the contribution of labor to make the Roads, and in the same way, afford a fair return of profit in the shape of tolls on the investment.—No time whatever could be more judicious than the present to engage in such work, but for the fact, that in the present general distress and embarrassment, individuals could not now recover their portion of the means necessary to accomplish this desirable improvement; and therefore, for a time, it must be postponed. The expenditure of two or three hundred thousand dollars in the Western portion of the State in the way suggested, where there is now existing an unexampled scarcity of money, would produce benefits, and be attended with advantageous results, which can hardly be described. But the minority have not time to enlarge upon them and must hasten to a conclusion.

It has been a matter of much mortification and surprise, to witness the senseless and inconsiderate clamor which has been raised against Rail Roads, in almost every part of the State. They have been denounced as only calculated to benefit the rich, at the expense of the poor; that their construction has occasioned a heavy loss to the State, without any adequate return; and that, consequently, they deserve not the fostering care of the public. These charges and denunciations have been made and believed for the want of better information, and the minority will now undertake to disabuse the public mind from the deceptions and impositions under which it has labored. The first striking advantage resulting from Rail Roads, is seen in the certainty and despatch with which persons and produce are conveyed on them. Persons travel on them at the rate of one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles in twelve hours, with as much safety as by any other mode of conveyance, and at a great saving of time and expense. The transportation of produce on them, although not quite so expeditious as the conveyance of persons, is yet five times more so than by waggon. This speedy transportation, always advantageous, is frequently of the utmost importance. A rise in the price of produce often takes place, which continues but for a short time, and it is very material that farmers and merchants should be in a situation to avail themselves of such rise. A single example will sufficiently illustrate this advantage. During the last fall, the price of wheat in Petersburg opened at \$1 1/2 per bushel. In these times of low rates for all articles, this price was considered very good, and every one felt desirous of profiting by it, for it was foreseen that it could continue but for a few weeks. A farmer and merchant, in Granville, promptly availed himself of the Rail Road in his neighborhood, hastened his wheat to market, and obtained for it the price before mentioned; whereas, those who had to depend on the more tardy transportation by waggon, generally sold at but seventy-five cents per bushel. But a still more striking and conclusive advantage, results from the great reduction effected in the expense of carrying produce to market. Previous to the construction of Rail Roads in the neighborhood of the falls of Roanoke River, the price of waggoning seven and other articles to Petersburg, was from seventy-five cents to one dollar per hundred. The price now by Rail Roads, is twenty-five cents per hundred, so that the saving to the grower of produce is, at the lowest estimate, twice as much as the freight per hundred on the Rail Road. Again, a merchant, of much intelligence, in Raleigh, has furnished the minority with a statement, showing the rates formerly paid on the transportation of produce, by waggon, to Petersburg, and the rates now paid by the Rail Road. From this statement it appears, that the price by waggon was from one to two dollars per hundred, the average being one dollar and fifty cents. The price now paid by the Rail Road for the same articles, is seventy cents, being a saving of more than one-half of the former rate. By waggon, the price paid on salt was two dollars per sack; the price now paid by the Rail Road on the same article, is sixty-five cents, being a saving of double the amount now paid by the Rail Road. The saving to the growers of produce, who send to market by the Wilmington and Raleigh Rail Road, has also been very great. These facts furnish some data on which to estimate the amount of saving to the agricultural interest in this State.

During the last year, the receipts on the Raleigh and Gaston Rail Road, amounted to, in round numbers, \$98,000. Deduct one-half of this sum, supposed to have been paid by passengers, and there will be left for freight on produce, \$49,000. The receipts on the Wilmington and Raleigh Rail Road, for the same time, were \$50,000. Allowed one-half of this sum, supposed to have been paid by passengers, and there will be left for freight on produce, \$25,000. The receipts on the Portsmouth and Roanoke Rail Road, for the same time, were \$174,000. Supposing the receipts on produce on this Road, sent from North Carolina, not included in the amount sent to that Road from the Raleigh and Gaston Road, to have been equal to one-fourth of the whole receipts, and we have the sum of \$43,500. The receipts on the Portsmouth and Roanoke Rail Road, for the same time, were \$70,000. The portion collected for freight on produce from North Carolina, is estimated at one-fourth part, and will give the sum of \$17,500. The amount of freight then paid on produce from North Carolina, and supplies received in return, will be \$140,000.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the condition of the State of North Carolina, requires that a liberal system of Internal Improvements should be immediately organized and vigorously prosecuted.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the General Assembly ought to provide by loan or otherwise, a fund that will enable the State to contribute substantial assistance in the prosecution of works of Internal Improvement.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, true 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 our own limits.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, it is the duty of the State, to aid and encourage the enterprise of her citizens, and this Convention do therefore respectfully recommend, that provision be made by law, for the State's subscribing two-fifths of the Stock, in any Company hereafter incorporated for the purpose of Internal Improvement, whenever the other three-fifths shall be paid or secured to be paid by individuals.

Before the adjournment of the Convention, a Committee was appointed to draw up and publish an Address to the people of this State, on the subject of Internal Improvement. The Address of the Committee, was a composition of surpassing beauty, power and eloquence. Even at this day, it is most vivifying and refreshing, to recur to the enlightened, liberal, patriotic and just sentiments embodied in that production—in contrast with the tone and tendency of the majority Report. It was signed by the following able and distinguished gentlemen:

William Gaston, as Chairman, Geo. E. Badger, John H. Bryan, Wm. Boylan, Isaac Croon, John Owen, James Somervell, Joseph J. Daniel, Louis D. Henry, John Huske, Wm. H. Haywood, Jun., Joseph A. Hill, Sam'l F. Patterson, Robert Strane, James Iredell, John D. Jones, Cad. Jones, Wm. B. Meares, Frederick Nash, Henry Seawell.

It will be thus seen, that gentlemen of the highest order of talents, & the most distinguished worth of character, of all parties, united together to sustain the great cause of Internal Improvement. Passing by the Conventions held subsequently at Fayetteville and Salisbury for a similar purpose, which the minority have not time to notice, let us now enquire how this matter stood at a much later period—in 1839. At this time, another Internal Improvement Convention met in Raleigh during the Session of the General Assembly of that year. It was numerously attended by delegates from almost every part of the State, and was composed of gentlemen of great intelligence and influence in Society, both Whigs and Democrats. After several days of anxious deliberation, the results of its labors were summed up in an Address to the General Assembly then in Session, in which the following works of Internal Improvement were urged upon the Legislature in an able and elaborate Address, viz:

1st. A guarantee by the State of five hundred thousand dollars to the Raleigh and Gaston Rail Road Company—in other and plainer words, a loan of the credit of the State for that amount.

2nd. A subscription by the State of four-fifths of the capital stock of the Fayetteville and Yadkin Rail Road.

3d. The incorporation of a Company for the opening of an Inlet at the foot of Albemarle Sound, near Nag's Head, and a subscription on the part of the State of three-fifths of the capital stock of the Company.