

For the American Advocate.

Fourth and Last Reply to Mr. Robinson.

Mr. Editor:—I did think, sir, when I wrote my late response to Mr. Robinson, it would be my last; but after sleeping and dreaming over the subject a week or two, that gentleman has seen fit to make a large number of "false issues" which demand a few parting remarks at my hands.

1. Mr. Robinson charged me with being "in the political field," because I discussed Romanism. To this I replied in substance that if the discussion of Romanism placed me in "the political field," then Romanism is political; which was the very thing Mr. Robinson had denied!

2. Mr. Robinson says of my first letter to him,—"it is beyond the scope of a political journal," and, consequently, doubted the propriety of noticing it! I showed that my public addresses were of the same character, and that, therefore, he had gone out of his way to notice them!

3. I modestly challenged him to discuss Romanism; but he declined upon the ground that he had nothing to do with religious discussions!

4. And after he had forced me, in self defence, to say more about political matters than I ever intended, he comes out with a "great flourish of trumpets" and says, "we have proved by Mr. Walsh's own language that he was in the political field!" Very well, sir, if I did get there it was through your agency, and in self defence; whereas, if you had not made an attack upon me, what I have written upon that subject would never have been written. So you see, Mr. Robinson, if there be anything wrong in this matter, you are the serpent that beguiled me! Here then is another sin to be laid to your charge. I hope you may speedily repent of it!

Now, I desire the reader to remember that, while Mr. R. has positively refused to discuss the Papacy upon the plea of its religious character, he has in his paper before us, given his readers an article purely religious! A religious spasmodic seizure he occasionally, and he becomes "hot-headed and impulsive" in defense of Romanism and Protestantism by turns! I now understand Mr. R.'s policy. He will discuss religious topics when he thinks it will subvert his party; but otherwise he will not!

But Mr. R. speaks of my letter which appeared on the evening before the election, and calls it an "electioneering letter." Now, why did that letter appear at all? Was it not called forth by remarks made by the gentleman himself on the eve of the election, when he thought I could not by any possibility reply before the election would come on? Was it wrong for me to reply at that time? If so, here is another sin resting on Mr. R.'s shoulders! Had he been silent, that letter would never have seen the light.

My position in that letter is fully stated in the extract made by Mr. Robinson, and I still maintain its consistency. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists can all consistently unite in opposing Romanism, although they are not agreed among themselves. I do not ask them to unite with me, Mr. R. as you represent in the article before me. If Whigs and Democrats, Abolitionists and Secessionists could unite in opposing or repelling an invading foe, is it not equally consistent for the various religious denominations to unite in opposing the high claims of the Papacy? There are at this moment, in the American Bible Union, Life Members from the Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Baptists and Disciples, who, while they differ among themselves, are agreed in giving the Word of God, pure and unadulterated, to all the nations of the earth. Is there anything inconsistent in this? They by no means endorse each others errors by this union and co-operation; but they agree in the one grand object before them. And if they can agree in this measure, why not in reference to Romanism?

But then "Pope John, Jr.," as Mr. R. very courteously calls me, has denounced all these sects as legitimate "daughters of the Mother of Harlots," and of course he is inconsistent in seeking their co-operation. Well, Mr. Robinson, I ask you who is represented by the "Mother of Harlots?" And who are the daughters? Do tell me, if you know. Take notice, I quoted the language of inspiration, and the mother and her daughter must be somewhere. Where and who are they, Mr. Robinson? I will venture to predict, sir, that you never answer these questions! No, they are too religious! "They are beyond the scope of a political journal!" Well, sir, all the sects I have mentioned agree that *Papa Rome* is the "Mother of Harlots." They all agree in this. Now, where are the "daughters?" Will you tell me? Will you tell your readers? Never!

Well, sir, I am candid enough to say that, the parties specified by me in that discourse, appear to me to be those "daughters." And I ask you, as a historian, is not the Lutheran Church an offshoot from the Catholic? Is not this true, also, of the Church of England? Of the Episcopal Church? Of the Presbyterian? Is not the Methodist Church the offspring of the Church of England? But, Mr. R. will say, all these are Protestant sects, and therefore cannot be the "daughters" of the "Mother of Harlots." True, sir, they are Protestant Churches; but, I am sorry to say, they have retained a few Papal elements in their creeds and organizations. These Papal elements I distinctly specified in my discourse, which you have so miserably garbled.

Now, Mr. R. what is Protestantism? Let the great Chillingworth answer:—"THE BIBLE, THE BIBLE ALONE, IS THE RELIGION OF PROTESTANTS." Now, with this definition before you, let me ask, is consubstantiation any part of Protestantism? Is infant sprinkling? These are parts of Lutheranism. Now, sir, what is the difference between transubstantiation and consubstantiation? The one is Catholic and the other Lutheran; and the difference between them is like that between *twinedium* and *twinedice*.

In the church of England, we have a modified form of the Catholic ritual, INFANT BAPTISM, PRELACIAL BISHOPS, &c. Are these elements of Protestantism or Catholicism? And we have the same in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, of which we shall presently speak again.

The Methodist church, of this country, has adopted the Catholic ritual, SECOND BAPTISM, INFANT BAPTISM, and prelatial bishops. Are these elements of Protestantism?

Well, then, you will ask me, how I can seek the co-operation of all these sects in opposing Catholicism? I answer, because they profess the great Protestant principle that, "THE BIBLE, THE BIBLE ALONE, IS THE RELIGION OF PROTESTANTS." Please read article 6 of the Protestant Episcopal Creed of the U. S., and also the 5th article of the Methodist Creed in the Book of Discipline.

But, sir, you do me great injustice, when you represent me as saying that, the BAPTISTS belong to this "family." Sir, I did not in the discourse to which you refer, or ever make them the offspring of Rome. Mr. R. labors hard to misrepresent me in my religious attitude to the sects, and doubts thinks that, by this means he will, at least, excite their prejudices against me. Well, if Mr. R. is a better friend to all these parties than I am, as he would have them believe; and if they will endorse him as a faithful exponent of the attitude they sustain towards Catholicism, then I will meet him in the Disciples Meeting

House in Kingston, at any time upon which we may agree, and give him an opportunity of defending those ELEMENTS in these Protestant sects, which I have specified as ELEMENTS of the Papacy. As he refuses to discuss Romanism, perhaps he will consent to defend those things which I, in the face of the world, pronounce to be elements of the Papacy. And I assure Mr. R. that if these Sects had no traits more redeeming than those specified, I should not be disposed to defend them at all.

Mr. R. says he "never read a Catholic book in his life," and therefore, as a matter of course, he knows nothing about them; and has heretofore been defending principles of which he was utterly ignorant!—Reader, do you wonder he was unwilling to discuss Romanism? And yet, strange to tell, he does not deny being a Catholic himself!

I never denounced "every member" of the churches to which reference has been made. My remarks had reference to them as ORGANIZED BODIES; and not as individuals. I believe there are Christians among the Sects, and hence the appropriateness of the language quoted in my discourse—"COME OUT OF HER MY PEOPLE!"

Mr. R. has lost sight of all the ORIGINAL ISSUES.—The claims of the Papacy was the first issue. This he has yielded up without a single struggle! Whether or not I was, IN MY PUBLIC ADDRESSES, in the political field was the second issue. I HAVE PROVED THAT if I was in the political field, in my public speeches, then it followed as a consequence that, ROMANISM IS POLITICAL. To this Mr. R. MAKES NO REPLY, because he knew it to be true. And, now, mark what I say, Mr. R. relies upon letters written AFTER he made the charge, to prove that I was in the political field when he made it!! This caps the climax of logical absurdity, and is worthy of the dark ages!

So far as the ORIGINAL ISSUES are concerned, Mr. R. has proved NOTHING. And so far as his new RELIGIOUS issues are concerned, he has proved that I am opposed to Catholicism, whether its PRINCIPLES are developed within that church, or within some PROTESTANT ORGANIZATION! This he has clearly proved by discourse, not one word of which I retract.

And now let me say to Mr. R. as he confesses his ignorance of Romanism, and may, perhaps, be ignorant of Protestantism, that, when any so called Protestant churches aspire to, or seek to propagate dogmas looking to political supremacy, as the Catholic does, I shall be in favor of excluding them from office; but, as yet, they have not done so, and I trust never will.

But, sir you speak of "defending yourself." This is rich! Defending yourself against what? Why, sir, I have been the respondent in this little controversy, and my object in writing at all was to DEFEND MYSELF from your groundless attacks! "Defend yourself!" Truly this is farcical! But you speak of defending the "administration!" Well, sir, it is sadly in want of DEFENDERS!! I retract nothing I have said against it. And although you laud it to the skies, you have not offered one sound argument in its favor! No, sir, "it is weighed in the balances and found wanting."

And, now, sir, let me say, in conclusion, that you have, by marking new and "FALSE ISSUES," most gloriously retreated from the field! And here I bid you farewell. I shall notice nothing that you may say, unless you will confine yourself to the ORIGINAL ISSUES; or, unless you, endorsed by those you profess to defend, will meet me and discuss the PRINCIPLES I have charged with being anti-protestant.—I am willing, in a kind and friendly manner, to discuss Romanism, or those ELEMENTS of Romanism, already specified, as existing in some Protestant Sects. But so far as politics are concerned, I shall turn Mr. R. over to a gentleman who is, by profession, a politician.

The American party is, in no way responsible for the sentiments advanced in this letter.

Yours respectfully,
JNO. T. WALSH.

Sept. 20th, 1855.
P. S. As this letter is designed mainly to correct Mr. Robinson's religious misrepresentations, I respectfully ask him to republish it, and oblige his personal friend, who, as ever, remains,
Respectfully,
JNO. T. WALSH.

For the American Advocate.
Mr. Editor:—I have read with considerable interest the little controversy that has been going on between yourself and the Journals of our Town, with regard to the nature and name of an eruptive disease that is, and has been prevailing for several months in our Town. Without wishing to become a party to this controversy, I have thought that I might make a few suggestions as to the history and character of this disease, and might thereby reconcile the different opinions that have been elicited from some of our Medical men, and others. If, with some of the English Physicians we regard Chicken Pox as an uniformly mild disease and almost peculiar to infants and children of tender years, no one will contend that the disease which we have among us, is Variola, or Chicken Pox. But if, on the other hand, with some of the Irish and French Physicians, we regard Variola as a variety of Variola or Small Pox, and can easily be distinguished from Varioloid or modified Small Pox, or is, as by some considered identical with; and that all the varieties may, and do mutually produce each other, then we shall have no difficulty in declaring the origin of this disease, Chicken Pox, but that it has actually engendered some few cases of Small Pox; or at least Varioloid, as attested by the certificate of three of our Physicians.—The character of an epidemic should not be judged by one or two cases—they may be exceptional ones—as we should not call all bilious fevers of one season, Typhoid or Nervous, simply because we had one case assuming that type—but the type of the whole epidemic should decide the character of it. That the generality of the cases has been Varioloid, will be denied by none who has seen them, and as we think the mortality has proved. Small Pox ordinarily claims twenty-five per cent. of fatal cases, whereas we have had but three deaths out of the entire number; say thirty, forty or even fifty cases.

This disease had been prevailing among us for months without attracting the attention of the town authorities or of any one else; and it was not until the first death occurred, that it was known that we had Small Pox raging to a frightful extent in our midst. No precautions by any one—no standing regulations by the town authorities had been put in force, and yet during some months Small Pox had been raging and only about a dozen cases could be found after diligent search. We certainly had a very contagious form of Chicken Pox among us, and it has in a very few instances produced Small Pox, or at least Varioloid—but has not been, in a single instance, that we have heard of, communicated by a third person—but requires actual contact. We would say to our country friends that there is not the slightest risk in visiting our Town, to transact any business that ought to be transacted by honest men. FIAT JUSTITIA.

Falsehood could do but little mischief, if it did not gain the credit of truth.

THE AMERICAN ADVOCATE.

"Put none but Americans on Guard."
KINSTON, N. C.
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1855.

JOHN COLLINS, Warrenton, N. C., is our authorized Agent for the American Advocate. A. G. EUBANK, Esq., Pollocksville, is our agent who will collect and receipt for us. S. M. PETTINGILL, & Co., 119 Nassau St., New York, are our authorized agents to receive subscription and advertising.

Telegraphed Expressly for the Raleigh Register.
Sebastopol Taken!

SEPTEMBER 28, 1855.
We have another arrival from Europe, SEBASTOPOL, was TAKEN, on the 8th, after desperate fighting. The Allies were repulsed six times, with terrible loss—some fifteen or twenty thousand men! Malakoff was finally captured, whereupon the Russians advanced to the North side of the harbor, after blowing up their magazines, works, &c. The Russians still hold all the forts on the North side. When the Allies took possession of the South side, they found nothing but ruins! The Russians burnt the town.

A Protracted Meeting.
Is now being held at Wheat Swamp Meeting house, conducted by Rev. J. T. Walsh and Joseph Latham, of the Disciple Church. Twenty-two persons came forward as candidates for admission into the church of Christ, up to yesterday (Friday) much interest seems to be felt in the neighborhood on the subject, and we suppose many others will "go and do likewise."

"Ministers in Politics."
We have heard, recently, much of this sort of cant croaking from certain *known* sanctified (?) and peculiarly religious persons. Much bitter and indignant invective hath escaped the lips of these "religious" gentlemen, about "preachers in politics," because Ministers of the Gospel have deemed it their duty to take a stand against the dangerous dogmas of Romanism. Yes, this, in the land of Protestantism, is the *sin* for which unsparring denunciation by low, foul-mouthed demagogues is poured upon Ministers, because forthwith, such sermons or discourses may tend to strengthen the American party! Is not that, alone a commentary on the position of our opponents. A Minister of the Gospel rises and addresses his audience against Roman Catholicism, whereupon he is denounced as anti-Democratic!

And has it come to this? Are Protestants to cease to preach the word of God,—point out the errors and dangers of Romanism, or else be subjected to the charges of persecution and 'proscription' by these very "religious" objects? But while this is going on these "religious" consistent gentlemen, recommend and publish letters from Ministers on their own side wholly devoted to politics and nothing else! This is all right! O, yes! "Your bull has gored my ox."

See the letters of Reverend Mr. Longstreet of the Methodist Episcopal Church. [Shade of John Wesley defend us, whose letter, we publish to-day embodied in Berriens, on the corrupt and anti-sepahan tendencies of Romanism. O, that he could rise up in full view before this professed disciple of his just a few days ago, when he had the pleasure of forming his acquaintance. We found him sociable, agreeable, communicative, intelligent and in a word a very clever fellow. His paper is in full communion and fellowship with the Democratic party of Alabama, and is we regret opposed to the American party. But being convinced that he is not influenced by that utter and entire spirit of demagoguism which characterizes the opposition to the American cause in this state, we hope he will look a little farther in this new question, where he may see abundant reason to espouse the American Cause. At any rate we commend the Jeffersonian to all who wish to subscribe to a democratic paper in Alabama.

THE STAR OF TEMPERANCE is the title of a prospectus for a new paper proposed to be published in Nottasuga, Alabama, by J. T. Osburn. It is to be a Temperance paper. There is not another Temperance paper in Alabama. Edited by E. W. B. Bayer.

Our space is given up to Correspondents 'this week. Their communications are more interesting than any thing we could hope to furnish.

READ the letter of Hon. Solon Borland, late Democratic U. S. Senator. Gen. Pierce's Minister to Central America. He cannot be charged as a disappointed office seeker. He has had all he could desire. It is the conviction of his judgement, *most* EXPRESSLY, without the fear of demagogues before his eyes. Read also Judge Berrien's (of Georgia) patriotic letter, particularly that portion of each on the slavery view.

Appointment.
We are requested to announce that Rev. Hope Bain will preach at the Court House in Kingston on the first Sabbath in October.

The Yellow fever is reported to be materially abating in Norfolk and Portsmouth.

We are pleased to learn that the Variola Varioloides is fast disappearing in New Berne. Only four or five new cases having appeared in 8 or 10 days. We believe, from what we can learn, that there is very little danger in visiting New Berne now.

Democrats cannot fuse.—Henderson (Ky.) Reporter.
But they can confuse. They can play a double game, and be abolitionists in the North and fire-eaters in the South.

The Union says that the report that the President has purchased a farm in Maryland is an unmitigated falsehood.
[Was there any thing wrong, in buying a farm in Maryland, asks the New York Express, that the official should deny it with so much animosity.]

AMALGAMATION AVOIDED!—A correspondent from Wooster, Ohio, says that R. R. Gaily, the Locofoco nominee for Treasurer of Wayne county, in a speech a few days ago, made the assertion that he was in favor of amalgamation with negroes, because that mixing the blood produced better stock than the pure white race!

Row in the Cabinet.
Washington letter-writers intimate that a serious difficulty has occurred in the Cabinet, touching Kansas affairs—Marcy and Cushing occupying a position of antagonism to Davis and Dobbin and McClelland and Campbell preserving a strict neutrality. A dreadful state of affairs, but accidents will happen.

NEW YORK KNOW-NOTHING CONVENTION.
—AUBURN, Sept. 25.—The American State Nominating Convention assembled here this morning at Stanford Hall. J. W. Barker called the convention to order, and the credentials of some five hundred delegates were received. At the opening of the afternoon session ERATUS BROOKS was elected President by acclamation and amidst tumultuous applause. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed. Mr. Brooks took the chair and made an elegant address, and then the convention went to work.

"This Oath Bound Party."

Embodied in the communication of "Vindex" in the Raleigh Register of last week, the following extract from the proceedings of the recent Democratic Convention, with an extract from the Washington Union. Yet these long faced hypocrites roll back their eyes in holy horror about "oath bound parties." If their hides are not thicker than "the Elephant Romeo's" will they not blush when they mention it?

"And again: did not the Washington Union, the organ of the present administration, declare the other day that there was something singularly manly and impressive in the following proceedings of the Democratic party, of Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, at their recent convention?"

"Mr. E. W. Power submitted a resolution that each member now makes oath or affirmation that he is not now, never has been, and does not intend to become, a member of any secret or other political organization which proscribes his fellow-citizens for their birth-place or religion; which was adopted after some discussion.

"Ald. Palmer was soon after introduced, and administered the following oath: "We do hereby solemnly and sincerely swear, or affirm, without mental reservation, that we are not now, never have been, and do not intend to become, members of any secret or other political organization, which proscribes our fellow-citizens on account of their birth-place or religion."

"One hundred and seventy-nine delegates took the oath and subscribed their names to it
"Mr. W. V. McGrath said he understood there were some who desired to sign the oath with the words 'I never have been stricken out of it; and as they had unfortunately been erring brethren of the Democratic party, and desired to return to it again, he moved the words be stricken out, which was unanimously agreed to. To this latter oath Jacob Peters, Jr., Roswell Parson, Albert Stewart, and C. D. Cassidy, subscribed.

"The different candidates for sheriff appeared before the convention, took the oath required of the delegates, and subscribed to it. Each of the candidates was also sworn to support the nominees."

The Press.
THE RALEIGH REGISTER has put on a new dress and is much improved in typographical appearance.

THE OCEAN BANNER is the title of a paper at Beaufort N. C., edited by S. D. Poole and John Camron. It succeeds the Halcyon, and like that paper espouses warmly the American cause.

THE LINDEN JEFFERSONIAN is the name of a Democratic paper published at Linden Alabama, which we place on our exchange list with pleasure. The Editor, W. H. Grant (a native of Onslow County, this state) paid a "flying visit" to this section of our State a few weeks ago, where he had the pleasure of forming his acquaintance. We found him sociable, agreeable, communicative, intelligent and in a word a very clever fellow. His paper is in full communion and fellowship with the Democratic party of Alabama, and is we regret opposed to the American party. But being convinced that he is not influenced by that utter and entire spirit of demagoguism which characterizes the opposition to the American cause in this state, we hope he will look a little farther in this new question, where he may see abundant reason to espouse the American Cause. At any rate we commend the Jeffersonian to all who wish to subscribe to a democratic paper in Alabama.

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Internal Improvements.

SPRING HILL, N. C. Sep. 17, 1855.
Mr. Editor:—The reader will see from what has been said, that we are apprehensive, lest there are especial pains taken to prevent it, North Carolina is destined in the course of a few years to be log-rolled into a public debt, that will cause every yobman, who has to labor for his bread in her borders, to reel and stagger under its oppressive weight, as doth a drunken man. And happy indeed will it be for us, if a majority of our people do not cry out for reformation, to find relief. In promulgating these opinions we well aware, that we shall inherit the sneers and contempt of many of North Carolina's noblest sons. Nevertheless we venture to repeat, that the signs of the times plainly indicate to our mind that we will soon have an enormous foreign State debt fastened upon us. A debt heavier than that of any other State in the confederacy, in proportion to our wealth and population. We shall dwell upon this important point because we know that there are many of the original and true friends of Internal Improvements who do not believe there is any danger of these things happening. We shall never forget how, on the 28th of November 1854 some of these gentlemen mortified our feelings by openly ridiculing us for entertaining the opinions here expressed. They then, as many do now, contend that our people were too cautious, and our legislature too timid for the results, we anticipated ever to happen. The future, they prophesied, would prove that both the people and our legislators would need the spur more than the check-rein. They declared—"the premises you have assumed are wrong; your theory is unsound; nothing more, sir, than injurious conjectures, a wild utopian vision calculated to alarm more than instruct." We were also gravely advised "to close our month and say nothing more about an unwieldy State debt and repudiation. We could do no good by publishing our sentiments, but much harm among weak-headed faint-hearted and timid men." And yet strange to say, before the legislature adjourned we had the mortification of seeing some of these same gigantic intellects, men who, even yet, pride themselves on their great genius and far reaching reputation, thrown into prolixity of different import by the Senate, last winter, suddenly chartering Rail Roads enough, counting them at twenty thousand dollars per mile, the cost of the North Carolina Railroad, to run up our present STATE DEBT TO SOME TWENTY MILLIONS AND MORE. This rashness on the part of the most conservative branch of the Legislature dumfounded them with astonishment, the solers who had grown strong enough in their own conceit to prophesy on the assumed strength of their prospective powers of mind. And some of these knowing ones, who had but a few weeks previous been so ready to ridicule others, and advise them to close their mouths, when they read the extraordinary report made to the Senate by its committee on Internal Improvements actually, themselves, become "weak-headed faint-hearted and timid, as to become alarmed, and took their advice—closed their mouths and remained as dumb as so many oysters for the remainder of the session, on this subject at least. We regret exceedingly that we only have room for a short extract from the report of the committee referred to. It is a powerful document, and should be read by every citizen of the State—especially those, who still remain firm in the opinion, that the prudence of our people and the timidity of our Legislatures, will prevent us from being plunged over head and ears, as it were, in debt, to raise money, to construct an indefinite number of conflicting schemes of Internal Improvement. We confess, that we the more willingly proceed to make the quotations from this wonderful report that will soon appear, for the additional purposes of showing the public, that we have done the Senate no injustice by the remarks we have heretofore made; and that there is danger just ahead of us; and that it becomes the original and true friends of internal improvement, everywhere in North Carolina to be on the qui vive, and see that those who have stepped in, as laborers in this great and good cause at the eleventh hour does not carry us headlong to destruction. But here is the extract—"Your committee are of the opinion, as before said, that the passage of the North Carolina Rail Road was the first step in a great system, since approved by the people, of a GENERAL SYSTEM, to benefit every quarter of the State, in the manner most conducive and effectual for its development, and whether this be completed now, or at a later day, it must surely follow, because justice demands that all sections should be treated alike, far as possible, your Committee have not been able to see either the wisdom or justice of that policy sometimes advocated, of constructing one single main trunk line through the State, and of giving only to this one the aid of the State. It is well known that our population is not dense enough, nor is capital sufficiently diffused, to make the construction of these expensive works possible by individual investments alone. And it is equally understood, that in the Southern States especially, wealth, when it exists, is not in a form capable of being used conveniently for such investments; is not easily "convertible," as expressed in the commercial world. Many of our people being rich in land and slaves, not money; and another fact has been well ascertained by all those who have endeavored to get subscriptions for stock to any scheme proposed, a fact mortifying and deplorable, but undeniable, that those who have capital, and those who are to be benefited by the works, are the most reluctant and the most backward contributors of aid. The man of moderate means, the enterprising men of our country being the construction every useful work. There is then BUT ONE WAY IN WHICH CAPITAL CAN BE FOUND TO THE JUST CONTRIBUTION DUE FROM IT IN THE INFANCY OF PUBLIC WORKS, AND SO LONG ONLY DO THOSE WORKS NEED AID, THAT IS BY TAXATION FOR REVENUE. This is the protection of the poor, the salutary and just enforcement of the illiberal capitalists! It is equitable, because it requires to pay according to their means and benefit, who are profited by improvements, and those to pay most largely, where the improvements, are made; thereby working a general good to the people and the State. In order then to do justice and right to all sections, so far as possible, your committee believed, and have so recommended, that public Improvements should be constructed wherever, in the different sections of the State, the wants of the communities and the peculiar localities indicate their expediency—whether by considerable or moderate expenditures, for railways plank roads, or navigation. And this must and will go down at this session of the Assembly, must have their just claims recognized at another; since the objections made to some local schemes, are based not upon any opposition to them, but upon a doubt as to the propriety of undertaking too much at one time. It should be well remembered by these sections, however, the day has now passed by, when any anti-improvement people can receive the same consideration at the hands of legislators, as those who are favorable to the policy adopted by the will of the people of the State; and when any section may desire just aid, it can always be best attained by representatives left free to act in an spirit of general liberality, or better still, by such as are specially instructed to act in this spirit, according to the will of their constituents.

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SPRING HILL, N. C. Sep. 17, 1855.
Mr. Editor:—The reader will see from what has been said, that we are apprehensive, lest there are especial pains taken to prevent it, North Carolina is destined in the course of a few years to be log-rolled into a public debt, that will cause every yobman, who has to labor for his bread in her borders, to reel and stagger under its oppressive weight, as doth a drunken man. And happy indeed will it be for us, if a majority of our people do not cry out for reformation, to find relief. In promulgating these opinions we well aware, that we shall inherit the sneers and contempt of many of North Carolina's noblest sons. Nevertheless we venture to repeat, that the signs of the times plainly indicate to our mind that we will soon have an enormous foreign State debt fastened upon us. A debt heavier than that of any other State in the confederacy, in proportion to our wealth and population. We shall dwell upon this important point because we know that there are many of the original and true friends of Internal Improvements who do not believe there is any danger of these things happening. We shall never forget how, on the 28th of November 1854 some of these gentlemen mortified our feelings by openly ridiculing us for entertaining the opinions here expressed. They then, as many do now, contend that our people were too cautious, and our legislature too timid for the results, we anticipated ever to happen. The future, they prophesied, would prove that both the people and our legislators would need the spur more than the check-rein. They declared—"the premises you have assumed are wrong; your theory is unsound; nothing more, sir, than injurious conjectures, a wild utopian vision calculated to alarm more than instruct." We were also gravely advised "to close our month and say nothing more about an unwieldy State debt and repudiation. We could do no good by publishing our sentiments, but much harm among weak-headed faint-hearted and timid men." And yet strange to say, before the legislature adjourned we had the mortification of seeing some of these same gigantic intellects, men who, even yet, pride themselves on their great genius and far reaching reputation, thrown into prolixity of different import by the Senate, last winter, suddenly chartering Rail Roads enough, counting them at twenty thousand dollars per mile, the cost of the North Carolina Railroad, to run up our present STATE DEBT TO SOME TWENTY MILLIONS AND MORE. This rashness on the part of the most conservative branch of the Legislature dumfounded them with astonishment, the solers who had grown strong enough in their own conceit to prophesy on the assumed strength of their prospective powers of mind. And some of these knowing ones, who had but a few weeks previous been so ready to ridicule others, and advise them to close their mouths, when they read the extraordinary report made to the Senate by its committee on Internal Improvements actually, themselves, become "weak-headed faint-hearted and timid, as to become alarmed, and took their advice—closed their mouths and remained as dumb as so many oysters for the remainder of the session, on this subject at least. We regret exceedingly that we only have room for a short extract from the report of the committee referred to. It is a powerful document, and should be read by every citizen of the State—especially those, who still remain firm in the opinion, that the prudence of our people and the timidity of our Legislatures, will prevent us from being plunged over head and ears, as it were, in debt, to raise money, to construct an indefinite number of conflicting schemes of Internal Improvement. We confess, that we the more willingly proceed to make the quotations from this wonderful report that will soon appear, for the additional purposes of showing the public, that we have done the Senate no injustice by the remarks we have heretofore made; and that there is danger just ahead of us; and that it becomes the original and true friends of internal improvement, everywhere in North Carolina to be on the qui vive, and see that those who have stepped in, as laborers in this great and good cause at the eleventh hour does not carry us headlong to destruction. But here is the extract—"Your committee are of the opinion, as before said, that the passage of the North Carolina Rail Road was the first step in a great system, since approved by the people, of a GENERAL SYSTEM, to benefit every quarter of the State, in the manner most conducive and effectual for its development, and whether this be completed now, or at a later day, it must surely follow, because justice demands that all sections should be treated alike, far as possible, your Committee have not been able to see either the wisdom or justice of that policy sometimes advocated, of constructing one single main trunk line through the State, and of giving only to this one the aid of the State. It is well known that our population is not dense enough, nor is capital sufficiently diffused, to make the construction of these expensive works possible by individual investments alone. And it is equally understood, that in the Southern States especially, wealth, when it exists, is not in a form capable of being used conveniently for such investments; is not easily "convertible," as expressed in the commercial world. Many of our people being rich in land and slaves, not money; and another fact has been well ascertained by all those who have endeavored to get subscriptions for stock to any scheme proposed, a fact mortifying and deplorable, but undeniable, that those who have capital, and those who are to be benefited by the works, are the most reluctant and the most backward contributors of aid. The man of moderate means, the enterprising men of our country being the construction every useful work. There is then BUT ONE WAY IN WHICH CAPITAL CAN BE FOUND TO THE JUST CONTRIBUTION DUE FROM IT IN THE INFANCY OF PUBLIC WORKS, AND SO LONG ONLY DO THOSE WORKS NEED AID, THAT IS BY TAXATION FOR REVENUE. This is the protection of the poor, the salutary and just enforcement of the illiberal capitalists! It is equitable, because it requires to pay according to their means and benefit, who are profited by improvements, and those to pay most largely, where the improvements, are made; thereby working a general good to the people and the State. In order then to do justice and right to all sections, so far as possible, your committee believed, and have so recommended, that public Improvements should be constructed wherever, in the different sections of the State, the wants of the communities and the peculiar localities indicate their expediency—whether by considerable or moderate expenditures, for railways plank roads, or navigation. And this must and will go down at this session of the Assembly, must have their just claims recognized at another; since the objections made to some local schemes, are based not upon any opposition to them, but upon a doubt as to the propriety of undertaking too much at one time. It should be well remembered by these sections, however, the day has now passed by, when any anti-improvement people can receive the same consideration at the hands of legislators, as those who are favorable to the policy adopted by the will of the people of the State; and when any section may desire just aid, it can always be best attained by representatives left free to act in an spirit of general liberality, or better still, by such as are specially instructed to act in this spirit, according to the will of their constituents.

Internal Improvements.
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Mr. Editor:—The reader will see from what has been said, that we are apprehensive, lest there are especial pains taken to prevent it, North Carolina is destined in the course of a few years to be log-rolled into a public debt, that will cause every yobman, who has to labor for his bread in her borders, to reel and stagger under its oppressive weight, as doth a drunken man. And happy indeed will it be for us, if a majority of our people do not cry out for reformation, to find relief. In promulgating these opinions we well aware, that we shall inherit the sneers and contempt of many of North Carolina's noblest sons. Nevertheless we venture to repeat, that the signs of the times plainly indicate to our mind that we will soon have an enormous foreign State debt fastened upon us. A debt heavier than that of any other State in the confederacy, in proportion to our wealth and population. We shall dwell upon this important point because we know that there are many of the original and true friends of Internal Improvements who do not believe there is any danger of these things happening. We shall never forget how, on the 28th of November 1854 some of these gentlemen mortified our feelings by openly ridiculing us for entertaining the opinions here expressed. They then, as many do now, contend that our people were too cautious, and our legislature too timid for the results, we anticipated ever to happen. The future, they prophesied, would prove that both the people and our legislators would need the spur more than the check-rein. They declared—"the premises you have assumed are wrong; your theory is unsound; nothing more, sir, than injurious conjectures, a wild utopian vision calculated to alarm more than instruct." We were also gravely advised "to close our month and say nothing more about an unwieldy State debt and repudiation. We could do no good by publishing our sentiments, but much harm among weak-headed faint-hearted and timid men." And yet strange to say, before the legislature adjourned we had the mortification of seeing some of these same gigantic intellects, men who, even yet, pride themselves on their great genius and far reaching reputation, thrown into prolixity of different import by the Senate, last winter, suddenly chartering Rail Roads enough, counting them at twenty thousand dollars per mile, the cost of the North Carolina Railroad, to run up our present STATE DEBT TO SOME TWENTY MILLIONS AND MORE. This rashness on the part of the most conservative branch of the Legislature dumfounded them with astonishment, the solers who had grown strong enough in their own conceit to prophesy on the assumed strength of their prospective powers of mind. And some of these knowing ones, who had but a few weeks previous been so ready to ridicule others, and advise them to close their mouths, when they read the extraordinary report made to the Senate by its committee on Internal Improvements actually, themselves, become "weak-headed faint-hearted and timid, as to become alarmed, and took their advice—closed their mouths and remained as dumb as so many oysters for the remainder of the session, on this subject at least. We regret exceedingly that we only have room for a short extract from the report of the committee referred to. It is a powerful document,