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omenter of disorder, and an apo-t To the People of North Carolina

Following the example set by their political opponents, the Republican party have instructed its Executive Committee to ad-

It is very much against our wishes that you have been precipitated into a campaign upon this delicate and important subject. The State during the past ten years has been subjected to the experiments of various political doctors, and what seems most needed now is repose and quiet an opportunity for the operation of nature's soothing and restorative powers, rather than a resort to new pills and potions, however confidently recommended. On the contrary, the conservative party produces in great plenty lancets, blisters, drugs—both emetical and purgative, patent medicines guaranteed by many certificates and a glittering array of surgical instruments, the upshot of which is that North Carolina is once more to be subjected to active treatment.

It seems that conventions are to become of ordinary occurrence in this State. Mr. Jefferson has been generally denounced by conservative men for having advised that State conventions should be called once in every twenty years. Here, however, in about one half of that space we have had including that now pending) no less than five elections upon the subject of conventions and if the one new twenty had believed tions, and if the one now proposed shall be Tocqueville,) regards the township as a very corner stone of social liberty in this country, called (which Heaven forbid!) from these elections have resulted four separate sov ereign conventions. It is obvious to ask if the three conventions already encountered have reduced the State so low, what will be come of her after she has been submitted to the tender mercies of a fourth?

It has occurred to all men who labor,

and go about something else. By so doing we see ourselves in a short time restored to power, and are enabled easily to triumph over the obstacles which just before had overcome us; we even wonder how it was that they had given us trouble. May not Press, a Parliament, and the other noble inthis sometimes happen to whole commuities of men, as well as to individuals? Has not North Carolina, for the last ten years, been in just such a condition? We ask this question upon the conservative theory. If it be true, as said by them, that nothing but blunders have followed all this ten years of endeavor by North Carolina to amend her fundamental institutions, had she not better lay the task aside and await the coming of a season in which her brain will be clearer, her nerves more steady, her temper less ruffled, and her hand under better control?

Such is the advice which we most re spectfully tender to the people. As the State is most clearly out of sorts for constitution making, let her for a while lay this To the same one would add, if the loud adverse clamor upon this suggest and

permit us to be heard, that the present constitution is by no means the monster which it is represented. In very important respects it is an improvement upon any constitution we have ever had, and in no respect is it one that cannot be borne with until the community has reached a period more propitious for impartial consideration. Conceding that It needs amendment in substantial particulars, is such concession more than a common place, applicable to all our constitutions, State and Federal and indeed to every political contaitution that has existed in any age or country.

Before taking the very cursory view of of an address will permit, allow us to remind you that the mighty political violence to which we have been subjected since 1862, resulted in easting North Carolina sodety, after 1865, upon an waknown shore. Everything around is strange. The social machinery of our old forms of life does not suit here. What was political wisdom there, in many respects, is not so here. Perhaps even the wise men of that condition of things are not the wise men of our present and will not be so in our immediate future. If the character for wisdom in question was founded upon familiarity with the relations and proportions of the structure that has passed away, then it has perished along with them; and to call the possessors of such a quality to the conduct of that complicated machinery which now bears our fortubes, were as prudent, as under other circumstances it might be to call upon one heretofore known as a trusty wagon driver, to become at once engineer for a lightning express passenger train. There is, however, a quality more worthy of the sacred name of wisdom, which would, on such occasions, prove to be most valuable. If a citizen bail studied and been inspired by the great theme of human liberty, divested of all such circumstances as are merely technical, ac cidental and transitory, if, whilst jealous for his own peace and freedom, he prized aright the peace and freedom of all other citizens of whatever color or lineage, if the beatings of his heart had been taught to keep time with that famous saying uttered by a dark skinned man in Athens, two thousand years ago, which, endued with greater vi-tality and winged by a loftier eloquence than any other saying that had preceded it upon that renowned spot, has circled the earth and visited both poles, gathering new strength with the lapse of ages and bearing richer fruit with every returning season— to wit, that God has made of one blood all nations of men; if, in fine, his lessons had taught him to gaze with unabated delight upon that glerious scene within this Republic, on which the curtain rises higher from day to day, bearing in his heart all parts of the assemblage, and gifted with an eyesight so purged and unscaled as to be engrossed with the brilliance of the object rather than offended by its spots, then of such a one it

room as need diritioning out If not, then, without disparaging the just claims of our more distinguished fellowcitizens, it was not of their assistance that our society had most need. This new wine was not for their old bottles.

tails, their work would not be affected by the deadly sin of a failure to correspond with the situation; whilst upon the other hand, however skillful might have been

stead is gold only as to debts contract 1784

lina that any paper that would probably have been drafted by the best of our native citizens. It will be said that it sympathized with the new social life that had sprung up dress you in relation to the proposed Con- and was to continue—whereas that sympathy ventional must store this daily still was the very point of disgust and aversion with those whose theories had taken color and proportion from the former North Car-

> A consideration and digestion of such questions in the only wise temper—that of travelers—will, we are persuaded, entitle the constitution to a favorable judgment, and and render a consideration of its most important details light work.

Take, for instance, the new system of county government, including townships. It is generally supposed that townships are a Yankee invention, imported into North Carolina as a badge of subjugation and machinery for oppression. The truth is that they are a feature which for more twelve centuries, as all students of English law know, have marked that free society from which we have borrowed the substantial parts of our own. The most philosophic foreigner who has discussed American institutions, one whose decision upon various portions of our system seem, at the end of the forty years which have passed since he wrote, possessed of prophetic glance, (De as well as in that from which it was introduced. It is known that a like subdisame ideas were carried out. They disappeared before the Revolution, probably un-der the growing influence of our slave inwhether with hands or head, now and then to der the growing influence of our slave interest. It deserves consideration whether that the whole? Is it not true that the convention which formed it did not understand that influence did not naturally substitute the slave plantation in place of the township. The brain and hand seem the slave plantation in place of the township. The township, according to De Tocqueville, to have lost their cumning. Blunder follows it was to work in many important particulars, and indeed did not realize what part of it would be most prominent in the new society which it was to create! comes wisdom to withdraw the attention the only free societies that have endured for new society which it was to create! centuries.

Is not the plantation its correlative in slave societies? The communion, free speech and local self-control of the one naturally grows, in the society at large, to a free stitutions which mark the conscious presence and free movement of a self-governing People. The isolation, restraint and combined independence and refinement of a few, with the ignorance and constraint of the many, that distinguished the plantation, were, on the other hand, no less seen and felt to the extremities of the other society. What was peace in the one, in the other was | same, is not so clear!

mere solitude. Merely suggesting then that the township of 1871 was the proper substitute in North Carolina, for the plantation of 1861, we submit that its introduction here, which in carpet-baggers was mere habit or instinct, in a North Carolinian would have been proof of profound reflection and wisdom. For the and confusion to arise from a constitution, rest, the Township is a small and natural republic made up of neighbors,—of those an irregular assembly, called in a revolu-who have great similarity of interest, and who olight to be, and generally are, friends. The next convention is to It controls matters in which they only are interested. Incidentally, it promotes publie spirit, prevents consolidation of county expressed his ideas in elegant language is matters at the court house, develops talent in rural communities, brings forward good material for public servants that would otherwise remain unknown, and, what observers of such things will not underrate, it affords, in the organized circle of its neighbors, that machinery for forcing forward and upward local merit, in the abscence of which promotion so much depends upon the reuctant favor of court house cliques.

Pressed by such reflections, which no doubt have often occurred to them, our opponents, whilst specifying this township system as a main objection to the present constitution, admit that it works well in other parts of our country, adding that this is because they are populous, intelligent and wealthy, which we are not! How very poor a shift this may be for an argument to countenance unfounded predjudices, appears by recalling the fact that they were adopted where they now fourish, at times when those countries were thinly settled, grossly ignorant, and very poor! They have grown to their present prosperity under the influence of this institution. Long centuries ago, when thick darkness covered all people, before printing was invented, when people who could read were as rave as in this country now are men who own their million of dollars, the Township took form. What its splendid story has since been history tells! What, the bright consumnate flower that now adorns it in the spot where it sprung

up, is seen and known by all men! It is matural that there should be some yearning after the plantation, throughout North Carolina. Many virtuous people no doubt struggle with the forbidden appetite. One step towards its restoration would properly be the abolition of the township. We enter our protest against it! Under our constitution the township is very much under the control of the General Assembly. Its powers, until we become more used to the new county machinery, may be clipped very close by the Assembly, and then by degrees new functions may be added, until at last all merely local affairs be entrusted ever under the circumstances this may of Chief Justice Ruffin, that to consult him, to its control. Such is our proposal, instead of its abolishment by a Convention,

The other county machinery is so obvious ly an improvement upon former methods, that its consideration need not detain us.— The difference between being taxed by our representatives,—those whom we voted for, and who have to come before us again, and render an account, as is the case with county dommissioners-is, beyond all measure, an improvement upon the former system of county taxation by an irresponsible and par-tially distributed bench of magistrates.

CHANGES IN LAWS. It was to be expected that a number of shrewd lawyers, rendered skilful in such matters by old experience, in the defence of eriminals, would be able to say something worthy of their reputation in defence of the Was there in all our borders such a man? old system of Law and Equity, of Trespass, Case and Detinue, and other eaitiffs, as against the system recently introduced. Let it be remembered that the Code is no part of the constitution. That may be altered as the General Assembly shall think Our fundamental institutions required best, What the constitution provides, is only the abolishment of two sets of courts,for sure laying workmen who were not transmelled by ideas peculiar to the former state of things in North Carolina. However such men might fail upon certain details, their work would not be affected by the deadly sin of a failure to correspond with the situation; whilst upon the other has gone back to the former condition of things. Fyen in England, the cradle of the

1868 in this one item, might well float that true condition of the people of North Caro- instrument, even if loaded with objections ten-fold greater than any which can be as-

It may be pronounced, with great certainty that this change in the law as well as that of townships for plantations, are in more dan-ger of being annulled now, than, if they escape this assault, they can ever be again, If unchanged within the next ten years, they will remain permanent tributes, to the instinctive wisdom of the convention of 1868. Meanwhile, no one will wonder if all middle aged and more advanced lawyers, much of whose capital consisted of familiarity with the hooks and crooks of that rusty, musty, dusty labyrinth, -- hooks and crooks that concern justice to otherwise that by of-ten serving to plague and defeat it, are keenly sensible of the mighty loss that has been sustained, or should indulge in new Lamentations thereabouts.

We greatly marvel that the Conservative party should have urged, as a general and most potent objection to the Constitution, that, with regard to many of its provisions important ones at that—nobody could tell what they signified until they had received judicial construction; when the very same remark is no less true of the Constitution of If he says no, then the present section is the United States, and of every other Con- without effect. the United States, and of every other Con-stitution that has been formed upon the continent. Have they not, each and all, been a theme for debate ever since they were made? Is not this notably true of the Constitution of the United States? Did not the people get together by the ears, and fight

GENERAL OBJECTION.

vision of counties was recommended by for four years, because one or other side (perhaps both) did not understand provisions in that constitution? Were not there passages in it that seemed contradictory, and required judicial construction, before any man could say what was meant upon

No convention can remedy such defects. A new constitution may abolish errors in the one now existing, but it will be at the expense of creating new ones. It may safely be foretold that a great harvest for the legal profession will follow the work of another convention. Nobody will know where he stands. All the questions now at rest will be renewed. Other fees will be to pay. An unbloody revolution (such as we hope the approaching one will be) is necessarily a great feast for lawyers. All of them ought to be in favor of such. Whether the interests of the people in general are the

Upon this topic it may be added, that whilst the conservative party are fluent upon the matter of the want of perspicuty, simplicity and logic in the present constitution, and upon the doubt and confusion necessarily resulting therefrom, they have not enlarged upon the measure of the doubt however worded, which is the offspring of an irregular assembly, called in a revolube called, the people have some interest in this view. That a vendor of land has not certainly a defect in a deed, but, after all, is not one to be compared with the trouble which arises from his having no title to convey the land!

One other topic urged for a call of a convention demands particular consideration. It is that which is most strenuously urged in this connexion: The matter of high and ruinous taxation, which, it is, urged, can only be urged, can be avoided only a convention that shall strike out, the obnoxious

The present constitution requires (Art. 5 Sec. 4,) that the General Assembly shall provide for the prompt payment of the interest on the public debt "by appropriate legislation and adequate taxation." It is admitted that no one can compel the General Assembly to impose such taxation, but the point is made that, as the constitution requires that members of the Assembly shall swear to support it, they are bound in conscience to do so.

It seems that this provision applies only to the old State debt, i. e., to that which was in existence when the constitution was adopted. The debt to arise after the aboption of the constitution was provided for in the next section. The method of providing for its interest is marked out there. This rids us of the great bugbear connected with the many millions of the new, extravagant and fraudulent debt. The obligation of conscience in question does not extend to that. That there should appear, as upon the face of both the addresses of the conservative party to the people this year, there does, a suggestion that the conscientious obligation extends to both, shows how uncertain a thing the conscience of a politician may be. Probably some brass might be digged out of an address which insinuates a threat that if the people do not call a convention, the signers of the address, who are also members of the Legislature, will be constrained by their consciences-whatmean-to levy a tax to pay the interest up- was, "as if one had inquired at the oracle?" in the whole debt-whether Swepson's of Littlefield's or whosoever. But then, as to the old debt. How does that stand? Is there an obligation in con-

science, under the oath in question, to lay adequate taxes to meet its interest promptly? The answer is this: The provision in question is of no force for any purpose! If we were not under the constitution of the United States it might have effect. But it adds no force to the obligation already iniposed by the constitution of the United States. Members are sworn to support the constitution of the United States as well as that of the State. The constitution of the United States recognizes the existence of the obligation of a contract, not only by for-bidding the States to impair it, but also by enforcing it itself. It enforces it in various ways, according to the character of the person it deals with. As to most people it enforces this obligation through its courts; sometimes by ordinary execution against goods and chattels, and sometimes by mandamus against officers who are charged with official duties in levying taxas (say in counties and towns) for such purpose. There of a Southern State, by a Northern Presiare other classes of officers whom it reaches only through their official oaths; i. e., operates only upon their consciences. Such are members of the Legislature. All of such in the stability of everything that promotes are sworn to support that constitution.
That constitution applies itself to the details
of all contracts, and imposes an obligation of like quality, manner, form and condition.

the United States Constitution I Such persovereign requires that they are to have some discretion as to laying taxes; for instance, in times of great public want, &c., they are to consider the appropriateness of the proposed legislation, its appropriateness all around, so to say, i. e., to the wants of the creditors and the exigencies of the State. We do not know how this may be JuWe are discussing a question of casuistry, and such questions are proverbially delicate and deceptive. It may be presumed, however, that the conscience of a man who was in fear of his constituents, would be apt to take some such turn. However this may be decided in regard to the constitution of the United States, it is very plain that the State constitution binds nobody's conscience who believes that a tax bill for payment of the interest on the public debt is, under the circumstances of the community, inappropmate legislation. 1 He is required to do it only by "appropriate legislation," Let any gentleman who threatens the people with such a law be asked whether he regards such legislation as appropriate to the present circumstances of the times. If he says yes, then he is bound, even in the absence

Two oaths to the same duty binds no more than one oath. The section in the State constitution is a mere nullity, for it commands a duty already commanded by the constitution of the United States, and this, too, in terms not so comprehensive.

of such a provision as this, to levy the taxy

HOMESTEAD. Indeed, the tactics resorted to upon the point just discussed, by the supporters of the Convention, bring forcibly to mind the celebrated hunting expedition of the lion and the jackass, in which these tactics originated. The jackass was to set up an awful braying, and thereupon the affrighted game would escape from such jaws as he had, and fall into those of the lion lying in ambush. Here, this section about taxation is to play. people run off and fall into the trap upon the subject of Homestead, which has been requires no elaboration: The delegates are to be sworn not to touch the Homestead provision, and all the while, vows have been registered to clean out the Supreme Court! This will answer quite as well! The neat result will be that at the next Christmas many a present of homesteads will be made to honest creditors who now sit behind longsuffering judgments waiting to be let slip. The exceeding tenderness of Conservative consciences in regard to the oath upon "adequate taxation" &c., required the compensation of some indulgence. This has probably been allowed upon the Homestead question, where a certain anticipation of sales of that sort of property, coexist with solemn vows not to touch the words in the Constitution which guarantee them! If you take the conscience in too tightly in some quarters, you necessarily let it out too far

We have not said anything in regard to the method in which it is proposed to call this Convention. The point has been thoroughly discussed recently, as well as formerly, about 1854. We shall not elaborate it here. It is enough to repeat, that the method—i. e., a call under a vote of a majority of the Assembly—has been condemned by the General Assembly in times past as being revolutionary; that this doctrine was affirmed by resolutions of State Conventions of the Democratic party in this State before the late war; that it was acted upon in 1861 in reference to the call of the Convention of February, which did not sit; that language so extensively and notoriously discussed and construed, was adopted with out change into the present Constituton; and that recently the Governor, and the Su-preme Court of the State, have pronounced such a call to be unconstitutional and revolutionary. Those who wish for other an thority upon this question than can be had from persons who hold, or from others who seek offices that are at stake in the call of a Convention, we refer to the late CHIEF JUST TICE RUFFIN, the greatest lawyer we have at any time had in North Carolina. He was so convinced that such methods as the pres-ent are revolutionary, that he volunteered, upon a memorable occasion, to come out o retirement, and, in an elaborate paper, s'advise his fellow-citizens.

We quote his language: "Two modes of amending the Constitu-tion are provided. One through the agency of the General Assembly, proposing an amendment for ratification by a vote of the People, which need not be considered here; the other, by a Convention, called in a manner prescribed in the Constitution. It is obvious that in prescribing these two, all other modes are excluded by irresistible inference. In respect to a Convention, the all the Members of each House of the General Assembly." Letter of July 2d, 1866, to Mr. Conigland | Firm 1

Upon all points of law it may well be said Those who disregard such an array of We trust that the wisdom of the people at the election now at hand, will dissipate the cloud of apprehension which naturally arises in view of what seems to be, at any other buildings, and let the breeze come

consider what may be the result. If any of the present officials of the State relying upon Chief Justice Ruffin's opinion, believe their removal under elections held by virtue of the proposed Convention, tq be revolutionary and illegal, they may regard themselves bound by their oaths of office ident of the United States is bound by his oath of office, supposing him to be equally deferential to that as well as the other opinions quoted above to interfere with opinions quoted above, to interfere with a strong hand and suppress all the consequences of the contemplated movement. It was done in the case of a Northern State (Rhode Island) by a Southern President, Mr. Tyler; it may be done again in the case dent, Does anybody doubt it? Who does not feel that if it occur, it will not only shock, but shake down public confidence prosperity in, or that attracts capital

North Carolina? The veryanildest form in which the ques tion can be put, is, can North Carolina justhe details of the work by our own good men, it would have been utterly cursed by being unconformable to, and unsusceptible of union with, our new society. The chances therefore are that the parties stignative as carpet-baggers and negroes, had some qualties for framing a new constitution of the government, bills to elight this very tion for North Carolina justify herself in resorting to doubtful expedit conscience in regard to officers who cannot to do officers who cannot conscience in regard to officers who cannot the sent in the sent of the swell is evidenced by its operation on those who can be. If county coupons are payable semi-annually, a mandamus may be had for the identical payment contracted for the constitution of the government, bills to elight this very payable semi-annually, a mandamus may be had for the identical payment contracted for. If State coupons are payable, the object of those possessed by many of the best edings of the New York Code! of those possessed by many of the best edings of the New York Code! The change is a North Carolina justify herself in resorting to doubtful expedit conscience in regard to officers who cannot to conscience in regard to officers who cannot the end of the swell its operation the sent is object. The sum of the sum of the sent in the constitution of the constitution of the constitutional remains and the constitution of the constitutional remains and the constitution of the constitutional remains and the constitution of the constitut

form suggested,—that standing alone, many of these suggestions deserve condemnation rather than endorsement, it is a warmen thing to call such Convention of Impropen ends by violent means, is simply preposter-ous!

The Republican party of North the larolina have the same interest in the general peace and prosperity that their opponents have.) They desire to see no public trouble revived; they wish to aid in raising and recovering the exhausted lenergies of the State. They prefer that all disorder in the State, if possible, shall be put down by the powers of the State, and, in the first in stance, inasmuch as an emote of prevention is worth a pound of cure, they desire that the people shall forbid this threatening measure is believed that the people shall forbid this threatening measure is believed that representatives of the Republican party from every section of the State, at two different meetings in Raleigh manipously, adopted the follow: Raleigh manimously adopted the followil

ing resolution: Resolved, That the Republican party of North Carolina, hereby protesting that the pending call for a Convention is unconstitutional, recognize that it will be most for the peace of the State that the people shall so decide at the ballot-box, and therefore ren commend that an appeal be made them for that purpose, and that such appeal be prosecuted in the usual way, by a Camiv

paign, and Candidates. Indicates and light It is in this interest that we have been directed to address them. We trust that our designs berein may prove to be effect in several important respects the Constitution is a great gain upon gall that have preceded it. In the large majority of its provisions it is a good Constitution, in

The Democratic homederslot said like The State is in an untried condition; in that condition it is not easy to say what constitutional provisions in some respects may be best. An experi-ment has been set on foot at great expense. Let us give it a fair and full trial—the rath er that if we were now under compulsion to make a constitution, no considerate man could be sanguine that such as we should adopt would answer even the purposes that we have in view. Let us walk carefully prettily set for that purpose. This trap is we have in view. Let us walk carefully coming to be very well understood, and forward to our place in the future, avoiding, so far as we can all risks of failing to secure so far as we can all risks of failing to secure for our posterity a fair chance in the race now being made up for the fortunate men who are to come after us. Above all things, let us tread no step backward, upon pain of receiving the maledictions of future generations, as those who, with great opportunities for escape, fell under condemnation meet for such as are not discerners of the meet for such as are not discerners of the times.

> With hearty good wishes for this State of ours, new North Carolina, and for all our fellow citizens, of every race—in this hour of danger to all, we earnestly ask that every man who wishes to avoid civil confusion and every man who has not buried his en ergies and affections—who has not vowed to go mourning all his days over a dead past, will lend his aid to defeat this threat-

TLANTIC & N. C. R. R. COMPAN

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tako sami hade beenkparedild andd the Map perfect. The township boundaries are given, and the railroads, county roads, streams and mannes of plany from sure plans letter. This was their only bedraut vi Accompanying the Map is a plat of Raleigh, showing location of public buildings deep biso a table showing the population of the different townships, male and female, white and colored, with the number of dwellings and families in cause area in requare trilled in uniter of further and authors of acres in each township.
The townships are described, the watting and tought products of anioant invested in manufacturing; rounty

onPrice \$1.50 and \$2.00 oitheouse s'qualled June 6, 1871. A TLANTICAND NORTH CAROLINA Rail Road Company, C : yldinine New Berne, Michalune di fishian so they voted down the Constitution of NOTICE.

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