The Freemen of Warren County. For the course I deemed it my duty to pur sue, as Speaker of the Senate, in the last Gen-eral Assembly, in regard to the "Free Suffrage" Bill, in withholding my vote from it on its final reading, I have been arraigned at the bar of public opinion for disloyalty to the principles of Democracy; and the most unsparing vituperation has been dealt out to me—nay, many would consign me to the block—and demand my political life, of as little value as it is -as an atonement for what they arrogantly denounce as an offence against the majesty of party. Whether I am an offender to this extent will appear in the sequel of this paper. It will be seen, that, for my political principles, I have looked to the example and precepts of the sages and Fathers of the Church—and not to the crude views of the younglings of yesterday—nor to the teachings of modern political Doctors, who claim the right to prescribe new articles of faith—as tests of Orthodoxy-and, as by authority, to proscribe and excommunicate all who do not subscribe

To deny freedom of opinion, and conformity of conduct to convictions honestly entertained, is tyranny in its most odious form. The party that is animated by such a spirit, contains within itself the elements of its own dissolution. It is destined to discover, when too late-that the minds and consciences of men, cannot, and will not, be swayed, this way, and that, at its bidding. If this were not so-servility, the most abject, instead of virtuous independence, would become the only passport to public place and public honors-and duty to country be sunk in the slengh of party bondage. But let this pass—my purpose is to show the nature and character of the proposed change, in contrast with the striking advantage of that provision in the constitution sought to be altered.

The great and good men, who formed our incomparable excellent Constitution in 1776, had no occasion to consult old theories, nor to indulge in nice speculations, to find out by what means and what motive, the right of man had been invaded and disregarded. The reality was before them. They had seen and felt the oppressor's wrongs; they had thrown off the injustice and cruelty of unchecked and irresponsible power, and in framing the govern-ment they were about to establish, they provided such safeguards as to prevent a recurrence of the calamities they had so successfully resisted. The condition and circumstances of the country at that pertod, and the causes which led to the struggle for independence, plainly point out the ends they had in view-the protection of persons, and the security of property, the two great and essential elements of society.—
And these, I think, they effectually accomplish-

powers in the work which came from their hands, as I will now proceed to show. According to the American theory, Government is a system of mere agencies, created by, and responsible to, the people, and, for their benefit, entrusted with certain powers, clearly and well defined. These agencies are divided into three separate and distinct departments. the Executive, the Judicial, and the Legislative -with the latter only we have now to deal. In North Carolina, this again is subdivided into two branches, so constituted as to represent the two great interests of Persons and Property, the one, if you choose, the majority, the other, the minority interest. Each thus formed a check upon the other, and was designed to prevent any one interest, or coa bination of interests' from oppressing the other. To the House of is, we see confided the representation of the whole body of voters. It being thus the organ of the aggregate wills of all, the propriety and necessity of some other power to prevent abuse became obvious. The Senate was looked t) as that other power, and it is submitted, that

so safe a depository, selected as it is, could not It is an admitted truth, that power can only be resisted by power. And it is believed that no instance can be found in the American Constitutions of all Legislative power being exer cised by the numerical majority, where another agent or functionary has not been established, and endowed with as much power as may be Granville, 2,068 needed for the performance of its adoted funcs. These instances tion; which is to watch over that other, and guard against mal-administration.

This is what is denominated the Veto power -the power of revision and correction. In some States, it is given to a single head, as to the Governor; inothers, to many, asto the Governor others. And this is the banquet to which we and Council, variously chosen, according to the current opinions which prevailed at the time in invited. They are all bid, it is true, by the different localities. All admitted its necessity, and the only difficulty seemed to be as to the mode of its selection. In North Carolina, it is whole loaf, to others not half a loaf, while more wisely entrusted to the Senate. I say more wisely because it gives to our system more simplicity, and less complication, by a division of the legislative powers into but two classes who are to become the recipients of its branches, instead of three, or more, which pre-vail in most of the States, and thereby affords merits as to another cause of universal operaa safer guarantee against abuse and combina- tion. Man is ever animated by a restless and tion. And while, in the mode of its selection by Freeholders, is ensured greater security to ity with his fellow man, and whenever an opproperty, without endangering, by any possi-bility, other interests, it produces a spirit of

monious and healthy action. In regard to the alleged inequality, or the distinction arising out of this arrangement, the charge may with equal propriety be preferred against any other public functionary or agentagainst the Governor, the Judges, and other high officers of State. They, like the Senate, are need ful and necessary in the administration of public affairs, and the honors and powers conferred up-Freeholders. They certainly are as respectable more so. They are not confined to any par ticular locality or section, but are diffused, with They are connected by all the ties of kindred. their welfare and happiness.

or avarice, by increasing its honors or angment- the individual over the social feeling ! ing its wealth. It is purely elective, and clearly responsible. The only function assigned to it, is to approve or disapprove the acts of the House I should have been pleased to see omittedsupposable, readily occur to the simplest minds. in which it is, and may be, the instrument of the greatest public good. Such is the true na-ture and just character of the Senate of North Carolina. It is not that despicable thing it is would receive 28 and the East 22 members. represented to be, but the most important, and, the whole scheme of Government. Its office is to impart health and stability to the system, to promote the peace and happiness of the peace, and advance the general prosperity. With these views, it should not excite surprise, nor proat the same time, the most harmless organ in

provisions in the constitutions of other States

zen participates in government, with a view to partial rule, make equal partition of the powers the control of that government, as well as to his of government. own protection and security. It is the lever by which his will contributes to the movements of neans may be employed for the attainment of that end. Take away its efficiency, in this respect, and it is worth nothing. If it did not look to some ulterior object to be accomplished by its exercise, it would be but a barren and empty privilege—a right simply to put a piece of paper in a box; the right to the weapon, without the right to employ it. That this is the true principle and just object of Suffrage cannot be controverted. And, if it be proper to apportion it, as in the instance before us, according to persons merely, without regard to pro porty, it is surely just and necessary to institute some scheme which shall, as nearly as practicable, approximate equality in the distribution of its benefits. Does the measure under examination present such a scheme? We will now inquire.

The State is divided into fifty Senatorial Districts; each elects one member of the Senate, and therefore to each is given an equal voice or weight in that body. In the number of voters, be seen that the large and the small Districts; the less populous and the more populous; have

the same share of political power. In 26 Districts 31,833 voters, 179,015 white wielded by 26 Districts, containing very little more than one-third of the voters, not one-half of the white inhabitants, and a small fraction above one-third of the Federal population. Again: there are in 17 Districts 47.132 voters. 308,717 white inhabitants, 364,739 Federal population; and in 33 Districts 45,184 voters, 243,757 white inhabitants, 389,852 Federal population-the result being, that 17 Districts, with more than half of the voters, and with a large fraction more than half of the white ined by the distribution and classification of power of the Senate.

It is difficult to imagine so many divisions of which such vast inequalities would be found .foregoing tables can be reconciled with the principle, upon which the Free Suffrage bill undertakes to establish suffrage, is inconceivable. It professes to dispense rights according to persons, rejecting property as an element in the distribution. Persons then being equals, each

Districts, as the following table will show .-There are in Voters. White Inhab. Fed. Pop.

Hertford. 10,366 4.604 Warren, 861 5,005 7,040 Each of these districts have equal political

Wake, 2,663 14,177 21,123 Buncombe da 3 804 27,289 25.30225,976 Wilkes dis., 3,618 10,296 17,303

These instances are put merely for illustra-tion. Many such might be stated, if it were necessary. They are sufficient to prove that the value of Suffrage, under this new scheme, depends upon its locality, and that it takes four or five voters in some Districts to make one in

ever active desire to attain a condition of equalportunity offers of satisfying that desire, to however small an extent, and in whatever the compromise, which cannot fail to result in har- least particular, he is ready, though not always wisely, to avail himself of it. When, therefore, he learns that a measure will make him equal at the bailot box and in the Legislative hall with his neighbor residing in the same district, he cheerfully gives it his support, while, at the same time, he utterly repudiates the idea, that another of equal intelligence and qualifications, entitled to the same rights, and committed to the same destiny, shall be admiton them are in consideration of public services.

The choice of that body could not have been placed in better or safer hands than with the neighbor, being separated only by an ideal county line, it is his lot to live in another and and as patriotic as any other class; I do not say different District. Hence, we find the voter in Franklin, with her 1,100 votes and 5,685 white inhabitants, unwilling to concede equal governsurprising equality, throughout the whole State. | mental powers to his neighbor in Wake, with her 2,663 votes and 14,177 white inhabitants; and interest, and good neighborhood with the most he in Nash, with her 1,114 votes and 5,972 white numerous class, and it is not too much to sup- unhabitants, to his neighbor in Edgecombe with pose that they feel a common sympathy for her 1,700 votes and 8,365 white inhabitants; and them, and take a deep and abiding interest in he in Warren with her 875 votes and 4,604 white inhabitants to his neighbor in Granville It is idle to call the Senate an aristocratic with her 2,068 votes and 10,296 white inhabibody. It is not endowed with a single attri- tants. What utter disregard of the golden rule, bute of aristocracy. It possesses neither the which commands, that "What whatsoever ye means of perpetuating its own powers, nor the would that men should do to you, do you even capacity of gratifying the cravings of ambition so to them!" And how strongly is developed

From the foregoing exhibits, I think I have shown the greatest disparity between the different Senatorial Districts, be they in the East or the of Commons, with the single exception that it | West, in regard to the value of the right of suffrage may originate bills, which, though nothing to each, as well as in regard to the means of promore than the humble right to implore favors, tection and security derived to each from its exercise. I will now briefly notice results in their only, however, because it affords greater scope application to the two great divisions of the for the complaints of bigotted prejudice. Its State. In the Western, 45 counties and 22 dispowers are purely defensive, not aggressive- tricts, 52, 707 voters, 336,720 white inhabitants, preventive and conservative, not destructive. The Manual States, and 28 districts, most fruitful imagination cannot suggest a 39,609 votes, 215,754 white inhabitants, 343. case in which it could, if it would, perpetrate | 068. To the West, then, with a large excess harm; but numberless instances, actual and in all these elements, are given but 22 mem-068. To the West, then, with a large excess bers, while the East, with vastly diminished numbers, is allowed 28 members, whereas s common ratio, adjusted upon persons alone, would just reverse the scale, and the West

> Suffrage is a cause merely; its substance is to be found in its effects. It can therefore only

ed by Counties and Districts, as nearly equal as

Another great principle of Republican Govthe political machine. In plainer language, it ties. They all recognize the necessity of some of 1835. And is it a rash conclusion to supis the means to an end, and its value is always defensive power for the protection of persons and proportioned to that extent to which these property, wherever suffrage is unrestricted and representation equal. In all, except those of Tennessee and Ohio, the veto power is granted to the Governor, or to the Governor and Counplicit guaranties on the subject of debt, loans,

the tax-laying and appropriating powers and upon the subject of slavery, in States where that institution exists-all obviously employed for legislative power. And why? because power in the hands of mere numbers, is always view- excess of difference at the latter period. ed with distrust, and deemed unsafe, without sufficient checks thrown around it to guard against the hangers of mal-administration. In In the West, do the States of Georgia. New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut and New Jersey, though representation is unequal, the veto power, and most of the guard above referred to, form a

part of the organic law. All the authorities adduced, establish, beyond dispute, two great principles. FIRST-Where suffrage is distributed to persons withand of white inhabitants, they range, taking out regard to property qualifications, representhe two extremes of each, from 606 to 3,873 of tation is also distributed according to persons the former, and from 3,553 to 27,509 of the lator numbers, which is the same thing, upon ter. There are ten Districts with less than principles of equality, giving to every voter, as 1,200 rolers; 20 ranging from 1,200 to 2,000; nearly as may be, an equal amount of political 15 between 2,000 and 3,000; and 5 exceeding power. Secondar—That, where the legislative 3,000 and nearly as high as 4,000. It will thus power, in both branches, is given to the whole body of voters, whether in equal proportions or not, constitutional limitations of that power are deemed essential and invariably employed .-Now the proposition contained in the "Free inhabitants, 284,703 Federal population; and Suffrage "bill, embraces neither of these prin-in 24 Districts 60,533 voters, 373,459 white insabitants, 469,898 Federal population-show- upon all voters for both branches, without reing that the whole power of the Senate may be gard to property qualification, it takes no concern in representation, but creates the greatest inequalities in the quota of power allotted to each, and is entirely silent in regard to all those constitutional guards deemed so indispensable by our sister States. We must pear in mind that, in the Constitution of North Carolina, there is no one man power, as the veto power is called, nor any limitations upon the power of taxation and disbursement, nor in regard to slavery, except in the third section, fourth article, which partially restricts the capiabitants, and nearly one-half of the federal tation tax upon slaves. In our neighboring population, are allowed but one-third of the | State, Virginia, where representation is distributed by an arbitrary rule, according to certain geographical divisions, and suffrage is univerany community, made professedly by rule, in sal, so great was the jealousy of power in the hands of mere numbers, that these limitations And how the disproportions exhibited in the would, of themselves almost, constitute an entire code.

I submit, that I may now be allowed to insist, that Free Suffrage does not carry out the principle of equality, nor follow the precedents relied upon by its advocates, but utterly fails in both respects: and that, if it be incorshould receive, in all fairness, an equal quota of porated in our organic law, it will constitute an anomaly in republican government, and prove the boldest experiment upon popular sovereigntial extent, is admitted. Voters in the same ty ever made by American statesmen. So bolds District, individually, exercise equal political that it requires a more intrepid man than mypower, but, relatively, they are much more high- self to assent to it, or to venture upon its untried

> And is it for such a scheme, that the bugle of party is to be sounded, and all are to be unchurched who do not hearken to the summons. and fall into the ranks, be the cost of submission what it may? Thank God! there are many yet left, who prefer to obey a summons to duty, rather than to the work of party; and who, though denied the honors of membership, cannot be deprived of the grateful privilege of "hoping on " for their country's welfare, and the happiness and prosperity of their fellow men. Lamentable, indeed, will be the day, should it ever come, when the making or reforming of constitutions shall be considered a party job, and not the work of a whole people or nation, and of all parties.

But, it is asked, will the advocates of this new plan carry out their principle of equality, by correspondent reforms in representation and constitutional guaranties? They answer no .-But can they prevent them? Will not their present scheme, if consummated, make a breach through which a host of invaders will enter? They will have opened the question of the distribution of political power, and made it one of mere numbers, by discarding property as an element. They will have uncaged the lion, with the vain hope of arresting him in the work of destruction. Let them not repose with too much confidence on their means of resistance, but remember that there are many now co-operating with them in behalf of Free Suffrage, only because they regard it as tending certainly and inevitably to their favorite measure, the adjustment of representation on the white basis, or some equivalent basis of persons. It is at this point the subject assumes its gravest aspect, and whatever may be the measure of conservatism remaining with those engaged in the present work of reform, it will be forced to yield to the pressure of which they themselves are the authors. They cannot say, so far shalt thou go and no farther. They will in vain attempt to blink the powerful array of precedents to be found in our sister States, all of which, with here and there only a solitary exception, recognize, in their organic laws, the principle of equality. Nor will they be permitted to elude the force of the precedent established by our own convention in 1835. At that time unrestricted suffrage prevailed in regard to the House of Commons; and that convention, with the view of making it of equal value, and alike available to every voter, based reprefeverish restlessness is already manifested in the great West on the subject of the white basis. Not only politicians, but the masses have taken hold of it. These will be animated by brighter hopes, and stimulated to greater exertions, when Free Suffrage shall lay the foundation upon which they may claim the right to plead these authorities in favor of their own fondly cherished scheme.

same weight or voice in the Legislature, notwithstanding they were marked by the greatest disproportion in area, population and wealth. These disproportions were to be found not only between the two great divisions of the State, but also between the different counties in either division. Such unequal allotment of power engendered in the public mind the most fearful discontent, and a restless agitation was felt in every portion of the State. Many of the friends of reform seized upon the occasion, and by a committee of distinguished gentlemen, duly appointed, issued an elaborate address To the Freemen of North Carolina," in June, 1833; in which, after arguing that there was not "even a plausible appearance of equality in our representation," and that "the right of representation, of a fair and equal representation of the People, had become, in our day, but another name for civil freedom," earnestly urged them, "by their votes at the elections in August, to announce their determination upon the question, whether a change is needed in the Constitution," and added, that "that expression

provisions in the constitutions of other States as nearly countries and Districts, as nearly countries and Districts and to numbers, upon principles of equality; but, reaffirming the Freehold qualification of voters plied with. In making this inquiry, it is necessary to bear in mind that the measure entirely rejects property as an ingredient in the adjust-non-necessary to bear in mind that the measure entirely the result in each being not materially variant. No one can consult these authorities without in that branch, by basing representation on at once seeing how distinctly the principle of taxation. Now we cannot fail to perceive, that, asis. Suffrage is the expedient by which the citi- both suffrage and representation, and by an imthe population of Districts-the same manifest inequalities in the allotment of power, will be found to exist in regard to the Senate, as exisernment may be deduced from these authori- ted in regard to the Commons before the reform pose that the same wide spread agitation, the same fearful strife and discord, and the same vehement appeals to the popular mind, will be visited upon us, with all their maddening effects? and will not, must not, the same result cil. We also find in almost all, strong and ex- irresistibly follow by a similar reform in representation? Should it not, then experience furnishes no tests of human action, and the past no clue to the future. The following table exhibits the difference in the population the purpose of restricting and limiting the of the East and West in 1830, compared with that difference in 1850, showing the greatest

Fed. Pop. Free Pop. 304.232 In the East in 1830, 210,150 283.231 336,430 In the East, in 1850, 235,033 343.068In the West, do 345,475 411,533 Excess in free population in 1830, in favor of

the West, 341 per cent, and of Federal population, 11 per cent. Excess in free population in 1850, in favor of the West, 47 per cent, and in Federal population in 1850, in favor of the Vest 20 per cent. For this statement, and others before made.

see [pamphlet copy.] And are the people of North Carolina pared to take a scheme of government like this? A scheme which lodges unlimited power in the hands of mere numbers, without any check or guard to control it; a scheme condemned by the practice and example of every other State ; scheme, in which, by the showing of every State, property is without safeguards, denied all influence at the ballot box, and without any defense in the organic law-for we find in the Constitutions of all of them, limitations and restraints upon the Legislative power-a scheme, in fine, that offers no guaranties to the rights of Slave owners, and interposes no barrier between the citizen and oppressive taxation, and anjust and wasteful expenditures. No-I am persuaded that neither the people of the East nor the West, of this county, nor of that county, of whatever political complexion, will ever. apon mature consideration, consent to give unbridled power an open field in which to gratify

What then are we to expect? Search American History, and it will tell you what our sister States have done. They have made unlimited suffrage, and, with three or four exceptions only, equal representation the bues of their Governments. INDIVIDUAL equality at the Ballot Box, and Individual equality in legislative halls, are the principles they promulgate. But were they content with this? Far from it - they have solemnly warned you, that power so distributed is subject to abuse, and should not be trusted, by having subjected it to constitutional -we dare not do less-an uncontrollable necessubject legislative power to restraints and checks. Your legislature, from year to year, and for a the same circumstances as at the last-withheld period, the end of which no one can predict, my vote from the same measure-and could not will be harrassed with plans of amendment designed to limit and restrict the tax-laying, believe that you did not comprehend a question cord will rule the hour-then all the currents with, or be endorsed by, me. of public service will become turbid from agitation, and wholesome and essential legislation be either forgotten or neglected.

and forward. This is truly the fit and proper season - now is the time to decide the grave and solemn question-is it better to provide these safeguards by specific enactments in the Constiism of the Senate? Are they more safe-certain and effectual-resting upon the unstable and fluctuating foundations of law, or upon the the wisest provisions of man.

Paper guaranties endure only as long as the of the day-and limb after limb of your funda- sought or desired to exchange your service for mental law will be lopped off, until- its beauty any other. and harmony are transformed into a bundle of deformities.

custody—and you take an irrepealable bond of be, most cordially, fate, which will last, in all the freshness of Your obliged fellow citizen. fate, which will last, in all the freshness of youth, as long as man's nature. Who is it that had rather trust the veto-the one-man power -with the Governor, than with a body of men selected from among the people, by fathers, brothers, sons, neighbors? Who is it that doubts the security of property, against the dangers of title to be expounders of what is, or ought to oppressive taxation and wasteful disbursement be, the true policy of the country, because their when its protection is confided to the Senate, ambition imposes, on each of them, the necessity chosen by and responsible to voters, who pay at of adopting a set of principles peculiar to himleast two-thirds of the revenue raised upon pro- self, and unapprepriated by others. When a perty? Owners of two-thirds of the aggregate man then thinks himself too great to be a folwealth of the State-you hold ample security lower-such are becoming numerous in our for their good behavior. To enlist interest in country-and wishes to figure as a leader, he sentation upon persons. No-we cannot escape the management of human affairs is no new ceases to represent any body but himself, and principle. You demand it as a guaranty from all his words and actions are to be scrutinized all public servants and private agents-it is with caution by that standard, and never to be found in your organic law-it pervades your implicitly received. Let us not be too skeptilegislation-it lies at the foundation of man's cal, however. A great proportion of such men confidence.

all influence at the ballot box-deprive it of a menting, these must constantly accumulate. voice at the fountain of power—even in the modified and stinted form in which it now possesses it - and commit uncontrolled power to therefore say of such characters, that, when they Under the old constitution of 1776, representite majority of numbers—or persons—whether do not follow suit, if they are not trumps, they tation was according to counties; each had the in equal quotas or not, is immaterial-may there are nothing, and consequently are sure to lose not be cause then to fear insecurity to proprie the trick, and finally the game, for which they tary interest ? May not excessive taxation be are playing. too readily resorted to, upon the instigation of The foreign press, therefore, which extracts interest or passion-when the tax-laying and their information of the views of ours Governdisbursing powers are in the hands of those who ment from the speeches of aspiring members of etteville, N. C. bear an inconsiderable portion of the burdens? Congress, even of the same party nominally and this whether the taxation be for public with the Executive, will be very likely to be schools, plans of colonization, emancipation, or | misled. Another thing : there is even danger wild schemes of internal improvement, or to in taking the speeches of a gentleman when favor what is called free labor? But I will not out of office as infallible exponents of conduct venture upon the ungracious task of examining when he has the good fortune to get in. The this branch of the subject-I have already oc- responsibilities of a grave trust naturally and cupied too much space. In all power there is a properly produce increased sobriety of thought certain tendency to abuse and oppression-and and prudence in action. unwise is that Government which abandons the This is sufficient, without any imputation upon defenses of property to the ingenious, and not motives, to account for modifications of conduct unfrequently-corrupting expedients of SELF- and opinions which we frequently observe in INTEREST. It is the sure road to ruin. If my men when advanced in power. humble voice could be heard, if my poor council could avail. I would say to all the people of North Carolina- take heed to yourselves what you intend to do as touching these" things.

And why is the Senate made the peculiar oband adonce the general prosperity. With these views, it should not excite surprise, nor provide consume, that I am unwilling to exchange to be substituted by the "Free Suffrage" bill, which I will next examine.

In the States of Kantacky, Tennessee, Missuch Williams, Massissippi, Louisi, which I will next examine.

This measure proposes to abolish the Free-bold qualification for voters for the Senate, and provided allow all who vote for members of the Senate, and does no more. Its advocates olisse for the Memory of the Estate, which I will next examine and added, that "that expression being sent to your representatives, they will be on account of any distinction conferred upon fresholders. I have shown that that distinction of the tits to pand the interior is all days being sent to your representatives, they will be on account of any distinction conferred upon fresholders. I have shown that that distinction of the shown that that distinction of the substituted by the "Free Suffrage" bill, which I will next examine.

This measure proposes to abolish the Free-bolders of the Senate, and how prophetically was this spotection of public policy, and that their powers were of public policy, and the Legislature was been sent and the proposition of the House of Commons is given more than an about you consist of the House of Commons is given more than an about you consist of the House of Commons is given more than an about you consist of the House of Commons is given more than an about you can judge you have succeeded in cleaning the jug which was the proposition of the House of Commons is given more than an about you can judge you have succeeded in cleaning the jug which was the proposition of the House of Commons is given more than an about you can judge you have succeeded in cleaning the jug which was the proposition of the House of Commons is given more than an about you can judge you have succeeded in cleaning the jug which was the proposition of the House of Commons in given more than an about you can judge you have

And what did that Convention do? Finding and thus command the Executive department, the Judicial department, and all the honors and trolling the choice of Senators, by electing the members of the House of Representatives, and by casting the vote of the State for President and Vice President. What a vast preponderance of political power is thus secured to them ! They have indeed the lion's share.

After all that I have said, I need not tell you I would not trust freeholders nor non-freeholders, I look upon him as "compassed with infirmity," tories of power, I would "trust no characterconfide in no integrity." If this be excess of authority of man himself. What are all constitutions? What are the limitations they conof Government? but so many evidences of disposed by man himself. But I cite the highest authority known to man, that which tells us, that even he, who is adorned in all the beauty of holiness, should watch, and not only watch, but pray, that he may not be led into temptation.

Of the capacity of man for self-government, I entertain no distrust. No man with an American heart can doubt it. It is sustained by too many proofs, fortified by too many experiments, old lands in this region, and, I doubt not genand its chief and best vindication is to be found in the number and character of limitations im- phosphates and potash than any other of the posed by the people on themselves, and on the exercise of every power to whomsoever com- have these elements in order to open well. The

Entertaining, then, these views-views em-Bill. I knew the high interests suspended on its fate-I knew the weight of responsibility that attached to my position-but the path of rels, or hope to win honors and preferment. But money value is in the ammonia. the post of duty was not, in this instance, a post | This suggested the idea of mixing the two .of danger-and, I thank God, that higher connerved me to the task.

The foregoing exposition of my course, as your representative in the last Legislature, I have deemed it my duty to make-and regret that it could not be condensed in narrower limits-but whilst I desired to be brief, I still more desired to be perspicuous.

My political life has been marked by a steady adherence to the great principles of the Demo- saw it. cratic faith-and among them I recognise as one of the highest and holiest the obligation of the more rigidly than during the recent session of at \$2 50 per barrel, of about 320 pounds. limitations and restrictions. We cannot do less the Legislature. I had been twice elected on I lost, I may say, no tobacco by fire, while sity will force us also to the use of means to time by a largely increased majority-although crops for fire. I had at the preceding session-precisely under -and would not -do you the gross injustice to

the impolicy of the change sought by the friends | sions of his County, a simple magistrate's Court. It is the part of wisdom to avoid this sea of This, however, I may say, that I have employed member of Congress for years, former chairman and by them her case was considered how troubles by arresting, at once, the wave of com- no sophistry, but honestly labored by fair argu- of the Committee of Ways and Means, (the A friend prevailed upon her to try Holloway motion, at this time propelling us onward ment and illustrations, to present the subject in most important of all the Committees) acts in a ebrated Pills, which she consented to do. such a manner as to give the clearest idea of my similar capacity for his County. Hon. Calvin an incredibly short space of time they e positions. If right, they will, I trust, be an Graves has assumed recently a like post in Casperfect cure. positions. If right, they will, I trust, be aptution, or to leave them to result from the organ- involving your own interests, and I shall never Justice of the Peace, and regularly brings at plain that you refuse to follow my lead.

And now, my good friends, and no man ever sanctions of the eternal and ever enduring prin- had better, I have another and painful task to ciples which regulate and control the actions of perform ; painful, because it will sever long men-which unite the dictates of duty, with the subsisting ties. The heavy hand of TIME, and promptings of interest-a union, in which, I waning health, admonish me of the propriety enture to say, there is far more safety than in of retiring from public life, and I respectfully make known my purpose to do so at the end of my present service. I have been honored with provisions that contain them. They are in the your confidence for nearly 40 years, and throughsceping of those who control the Ballot Box and out that long period, am unconscious of having, the Legislature-who hold all the powers of in any instance, neglected your interests. If I thing in his line of business. Buggies & Coaches, can take exercise without inconvenience w government. The history of other governments have committed errors, and who has not? they | &c., made of the best materials and in the most fashhow that devices to throw them off, or to change | were errors of judgment, over which your kindthem will be used-whenever a motive to do so ness will, I am sure, throw the mantle of chariarises. Driven from our moorings by Free Suf- ty. I have never made your confidence and frage-the public mind will be incessantly toss- favor the stepping stone to office for myself, nor and fretted by struggles for other amend- abused - by lending them to the promotion of ments-change! change!-will become the order unworthy men. In no instance have I ever

Accept my grateful acknowledgments for your great kindness and goodness to me-my best Not so with the Senate-constituted as it now wishes for your prosperity and happiness, inis. Leave your guaranties and cheeks in their dividually, and collectively, and believe me to

> W. N. EDWARDS. POPLAR MOUNT, 4th March, 1853.

Men aspiring to be popular leaders have small have a host of difficulties to encounter, and, in But reverse this picture—take from property the nature of things, as our population is aug- Jr., deceased,

ABOUT THE JUG.—The jug is a singular utensil. A pail, tumbler, or decanter can be

GUANO ON TOBACCO. The Richmond Enquirer publishes the fol-lowing letter, giving some interesting particulars of the raising of heavy crops of tobacco by the

My Dear Sir-Yours of the 10th ult., did not reach me till last Saturday, in consequence of having been directed to Farmville, instead of Stone Point Mills; and I take the earliest opportunity to reply to it.

My experiment in growing such a heavy crop of tobacco last year, has attracted a gent deal the rich nor the poor, the exalted nor the hum- of attention, and I take pleasure in detailing it ble, with political power, without subjecting it for the benefit of the planting interest of the to all the guards, compatible with its proper ex- State. The ground was pretty liberally dressed ercise, which the utmost jealousy of power could with home-made manures, from my stables, suggest. I am not so infected with the modern farm pens and pits, as I think ought always to isms of the age, as to believe in the perfection be done, if we would grow tobacco profitably. or the perfectibility of man. On the contrary, When I was going to bed the land for hilling, or rubbing down, which I prefer, I sowed on and beset by temptations which are scattered each acre the following mixture: 2 bushels sifbroadcast in his path. Hence, I am for checks ted Peruvian guano weighing, I judge, about and guards, and for defending all the avenues one hundred pounds, intimately mixed with to the evil moral principles of our nature.— one bushel ground alum sait. I then mixed 21 one bushel ground alum salt. I then mixed 23 Best safety lies in fear." In creating deposi- bushels Mexican guano-weighing, I suppose one hundred and sixty or one hundred and seventy pounds-and 11 bushels of Kettlewell's distrust be it so. If I distrust man-I cite the mixture of Potash and Plaster, or about one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty pounds, and shovelled them all well together, tain? What the great divisions of the powers and sowed the mixture broadcast. The cost of the whole was about \$6 25 per acre. The crop trust, restrictions upon the popular will, im- that was planted in good time-I was scarce of plants, and the seasons very difficult-I am sure. gave me two thousand pounds per acre. The tobacco was topped from eighteen to

twenty-five leaves, and ripened remarkably well to the top leaf, without firing. The tobacco was | yard. cultivated for the manufacturers, is of very fine quality, and remarkably sweet. My reasons for this mode of cultivation are few and simple. Our reasonable terms as any. erally in middle Virginia, are more deficient in mineral manures; and the tobacco plant must Peruvian Guano has but a small part of its value in phosphates-only about one-sixth, and braced not hastily, but upon the fullest and five-sixths of its money value, or near \$40 to the most mature consideration-it would have been | ton, in ammonia, which powerfully stimulates passing strange had I voted for the Free Suffrage | the growth of tobacco, without causing it to ripen, or without giving it the healthy growth which will secure it against firing. The Mexican Guano is the richest that has been brought duty was a plain one-I fearlessly pursued it. to the country in phosphates, containing 57 to I knew full well that it was not one of ease- | 60 per cent, and only one or two per cent of nor one in which I could expect to gather lau- ammonia. Consequently about five sixths of its

The salt was put with the Peruvian to fix the siderations than mere personal consequences ammonia, and to furnish the muriates and the soda. But the tobacco plant specially needs potash, especially in its ripening process-the outer coat of the stalk and the stems being formed principally of silicate of potash. Thus you see at a glance what I aimed to accomplish by my mixture. The success was beyond my expectations. It was the heaviest crop of tobacco I ever saw-and so said every one who

The Mexican Guano can be had at Baltimore. at \$25 per ton of 2240 pounds. Stirling & Representative to do the will of the constituent | Ahrens deal in it. The Potash and Plaster, body. To that I have ever conformed, and never Mr. Kettlewell, of Bultimore, prepares and sells

the same issue, (Free Suffrage,) and the last every one of my neighbors had to cut their With high regard, yours very truly,

J. S. ARMISTEAD:

## NORTH CAROLINA.

The North Carolina editors are congratuladebt-creating, and disbursing powers-on the so long agitated and so fully discussed. It ting the citizens of their State on the eminent would be a reflection upon the intelligence of men now occupying minor judicial positions slave interests. Then strife, jealousy and dis- the people of Warren, which will never originate | The late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, Thomas Ruffin, is now chair- Rheumatic Fever for upwards of two How far I may succeed in satisfying you of man of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sesof Free Suffrage, is not for me to determine .- | Hon. Jas. J. McKay, of Bladen, an influential proved; if wrong, let them, as they should, be well. Win. A. Wright, Esq., of New Hanover, discarded. You are the just judges of questions accepted a year or two ago the appointment of be found presumptuous or vain enough to com- each County Court the weight of his legal learning and acquirements to the assistance of the beach in the trial of causes. Examples like To Professor Holloway: these strike us as worthy of commendation. Philadel. Daily News.

## New Coach Shop.

HE Subscriber respectfully informs the Publie, that he has occupied the well known my advanced state of life, these Pills have Stand of Mr. Willie W. Johnson, on Wilmington St, about one hundred yards South of the Capital be made acquainted with their virtues. In Square, where he is prepared to execute every- | rendered by their means, comparatively acm ionable and durable style. He would say to those who may wish to purchase

Buggies, or any thing in his line, that they would do well to call upon him before purchasing elsewhere, as he is determined to spare neither pains nor expense to please those who may favor him of the Bowels, Consumption, Deblity, with their custom. He is determined to sell at Dysentery, Erysipelas, Female Irregularian prices to suit the times.

Dysentery, Erysipelas, Female Irregularian vers of all kinds, Fits, Gout, Headnehe, in Also, repairing done cheap at the shortest notice.

JAMES BASHFORD. August 9th, 1872.

William S. Mason,

ATTORNEY & COUNSELLOR AT LAW, Wake. He may be found at his office, at Wake. He may be found at his office, at the corner of the square upon which Mr. McKim-Mon's residence is situated. Raleigh, Jan. 25, 1853.

CLAUDIUS B. SANDERS, SMITHFIELD, NORTH CAROLINA,

WILL attend the Courts of Johnston, Wayne and Nash.

Ed. Graham Haywood,

ATTORNEY AT LAW, RALEIGH, N. C. ATTILL practice in the Courts of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for the Counties of Wake, Johnston and Chatham. He is to be found at the office lately occupied by Hon. Wm. II. Haywood,

TN sets, or parts of sets, with all other N. C. Law Books, and Law Books generally, sold on the most favorable terms, by E. J. HALE & SON. Also, a large stock Medical, Historical, Miscel

N. C. Supreme Court Reports.

laueous, and School Books, Blank Books, Paper, &c. at wholesale and retail, at the Book Store, Fay-April 15, 1853.

TATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, -- CHATHAM Mary Williams vs. David Williams,-Petition for Alimony.

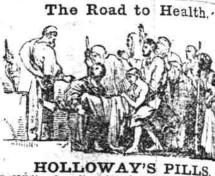
It appearing to the satisfaction of the Court, that David Williams is a non resident of this State: It is therefore ordered by the Court, that publication be made for six weeks, successively, in the Raleigh Register, a newspaper published in the City of Ra-leigh, for said David Williams to appear at the next Term of said Superior Court, to be holden for the County of Chatham, at the Court House in Pittsborough, on the third Monday in September next. then and there to plead answer or demur to said petition, or the same will be heard ex parte, and proceedings taken thereon pro confesso. Witness,



HE Subscriber having been North and pure a large assortment of Italian and Ana MARBLE for Monuments, Tombs, and Ileon and Hearth, paint stones, slabs for Soda Founds Slabs, and Nova Scotia grindstones, solicits tronage of the citizens of Raleigh and the sur ing country. He invites the citizens to call a his monuments, tomb and head stones and or send their orders, which will be tended to.

The subscriber has been in business in the sixteen years, and you can refer to any of His Marble-Yard is ten minutes' walk in State House, at the South-East Corner of the

and has no hesitation in saying he can do wo Raleigh, Sept. 13, 1852.



7 Prescott St., Liverpool, dated 6th June o Professor Holloway: Sir: Your Pills and Ointment have steel ighest on our sale list of Proprietary Mer or some years. A customer, to whom I can for any enquiries, desires me to let you kn particulars of her case. She had been b or years with a disordered liver, and bad tion. On the last occasion, however, the vin of the attack was so alarming, and the infa tion set in so severely, that doubts were fortunately she was induced to try your Pile she informs me that after the first, and each ceeding dose, she had great relief. She con to take them, and although she used only boxes, she is now in the enjoyment of health. I could have sent you many more but the above, from the severity of the atlant the speedy cure, I think, speaks much in is

your astonishing Pills. (Signed) An Extraordinary Case of Rheumalic Fe Van Dieman's Land.

Copy of a Letter inserted in the Hobert Tom Margaret McConnigan, 19 years of age. which had entirely deprived her of the use limbs. During this period she was under the of the most eminent medical men in Hober! Cure of a Pain and Tightness in the Che

Stomach of a Person 84 years of age. From Messes. Thew & Son, Proprietors of the Advertiser, who can vouch for the following that

Aug. 2d, 1851. Sir-I desire to bear testimony to the ge fects of Holloway's Pills. For some years fered severely from a pain and tightness stomach, which was also accompanied by a ness of breath, that prevented me from wall bout. I am Si years of age, and notwitist

These Celebrated Pills are Wonderfully cious in the following, Constaints: Ague, Asthma, Bilious Complaints, Blots the skin, Bowel Complaints, Colles, Coas tion, Inflammation, Jaundice, Liver Comp Secondary Symptoms, Lumbago, Piles, Ra

tism, Retention of Urine, Scrofula or King) Sore Throats, Stone and Gravel, Tie Douise Tumors Ulcers, Venereal Affections, Weills kinds, Weakness from whatever cause, &c. Sold at the establishment of Professor way, 241, Strand, (near Temple Bar.) and by all respectable Druggists and deal Medicines throughout the British Empire. those of the United States, in pots and 371 cents, 87 cents, and \$1 50 each who the principal Drug houses in the Union Messrs. A. B. & D. SANDS, New York HORSEY, 84 Maiden Lane. New York. And by Messrs. S. B. & J. A. EVANS, W ton; and by P. F. PESCUD, Raleigh. There is a considerable saving by tall N. B .- Directions for the guidance of

n every disorder are affixed to each box. STATE OF TENNESSEE, IN CHANGE DRESDEN, -November Tenn, 1852.

Bill for Division of Land. John A. Gardner, Complainantes George L kerville, John W. Baskerville, Dilha P. Bask Roberta P. Baskerville, George D. Bask Lucy C. Baskerville, Isabella H. Baskerville, L. Duke, Mary R. Duke, Albert C. Junes and Ann Jones, Defendants.

On motion of complainant's Soliciter, it ed by the Court, the Hon. Calvin Jones, U lor, &c. presiding ;-And it appearing to the isfaction of the Court that all of the defends non residents of the State of Tennessee; and the Defendants, Roberta P — George D.—In and Isabella H. Baskerville, and Mary R. and Mary Ann Jones, are minors, under the of 21 years; that publication be made as a non-resident Defendants, in the "Raleigh ter," in the County of Wake, and State Carolina, for three weeks successively. 1 thirty days before the 4th Monday in Maj notifying them to appear in our Chancer at Dresden, on the 4th Monday in May 18 within the three first days of said Term, mur, answer or plead to said suit, or the sast

ing accordingly. A true copy from the Records of the Court W. F. HAMPTON, C. !

be taken as to them "pro confesso" and set for

MEDICAL SOCIETY OF THE STATE NORTH CAROLINA. THE next annual Meeting of the Medica held in the town of Fayetteville, on Tuesday

day of May, 1853. The Society will convene at ternoon of that day. Delegates, Members, and Members of the fession, in good and regular standing, are W. W. HARRISS, M.P. Cor. and Rec. Sed

M cLANE'S PILLS and VERMIFFEE AND Supply and for sale, by P. F. PESCI