Maletgs Blegtster. SPEECH OF MR. CALDWELL. OF GUILFORD. ON THE CONVENTION QUESTION. Delivered in the House of Commons, Dec. 23rd, 185

I as execute

MR. SPEARER : Having had the good fortune to secure the floor at last, I would, stitution of this State, she was in a thriving even at this late hour, must respectfully and prosperous condition, and continued to crave the indulgence of the House for a grow in wealth, and increase in num bers with short time, while I proceed to submit a few each rolling year and rising sun, until she remarks on the all-absorbing question now was considered, by the wisest and best of men. before us for discussion. I ask this fivor to be one of the most thri ty and prosperous more cheerfully, because I am sure that colonies on the Continent And to satisfy the views I entertain on this subject are not the most sceptical that this is true, I need only misunderstood by some, but grossly but refer to the fact that emigrants continued misrepresented by others. Unt'er these c r to pour into her borders by thousands from cumstances. I hope no one will suffer him- the other Colonies around her, and that, too, self to prejudge or censure me for anything for a considerable time after the Revolution-1 may say on this occasion, until he has ary War. I altude to these things, Mr heand the conclusion of my remarks. This Speaker, for the simple purpose of showing courtesy can be well afforded by the mem-bers of both political parties; for I assure of North Carolina, that cannot be, in my them, one and all, thus publicly, that it is opinion, too earnestly or feelingly impressed no part of my purpose to speak as a partizan on the heart and mind of every individual on this question. No, sir, no t If I should within the sound of my voice. And that is, say anything in this debate about parties that, in the dark and stormy days of the Revor sections, it will be because I shall have to enswer the arguments of those who support the course of little truckling politiready sunk this question down to the lowest depths of the filthiest sewers of party ; and not becaure I have any desire in my breast to make it a party question. No, sir Oh! no. I have no such disposition whatever If I know anything of my own heart, and and resources. But where, ah ! where is of the motives that prompt me to action she to-day? I ask this question as one of this day, I earnestly, ardently desire to see her sons, Mr. Speaker, with some feeling, this question separated, or rather divorced, strong interest, and with the deepest emoand that too, forever, from party and party tions of heart. Where is she to be found in politics. And, had I the power to accom the year of our Lord. 1850? Is she still the plish it, I would at once, and that without pioneer that she was in 1776? Is it true ceremony, remove the one from the other, that the Old North vet shines, as in days of as far as the East is from the West, or the vore, the brightest of all the bright stars that North pole lies from the South ; and as now compose the constellation of this great high shove all local and sectional jealousies, and growing Republic? Oh, tell me, you as the Sun now rides above the centre of who can, does she still continue to lead them the Earth. all in the glorious cause of Liberty, progress and Improvement? No tongue need trouble

Mr. Speaker. I repeat it, 1 appear before you to-day, not for the purpose of making a speech for Buncombe or for Currituck; for party or for self. No, sir ; I occupy the floor, at this time, for no such purposes. I desire to speak upon this question, if I can do it, as becomes a patriot and a statesman ; or to blend both in one word, as a truehearted son of the Old North State should speak at the present time :- for, let others say what they may, I know that I am a North Carolinian in heart, sympathy and feelings : and by this triple cord will I ever be bound to her. let fate and destiny do with and for day.

The truth is, the more I contemplate it, the more importance do I attach to it. Nor am I yet sure, sir, that I would be going too far were I to say, that the political existence of North Carolina, as a State, depended, to a great degree, on the rightful decision of the constitution of the State, to the latter number representing what a great degree, on the rightful decision of the constitution of the State, to the present fine, and the El dorado as this in the new world, where this question. every man is placed upon the same footing.

I am aware, sir, that this is saving a great and mind is constitutionally valued as being deal in favor of an open Convention; yet worth more than matter to build up, strengthnot more, I hope, than its true importance demands. And why do I venture to hazard en, beautify and adorn a State? this assertion? Simply upon the fact that, previous to the formation of the present con-

Here I would not be misunderstood. Bear mind I have not, nor do I intend to assert, that this feature in the constitution of California has been the main cause of turning the tide of humanity thither in such a strong and rapid current for the last two years or mote. No, sir ; this is only one of the causes. Her rich and productive gold mines are unquestionably the loadstones that have drawn most persons to that distant land of promise. Yet I am equally sure that the liberal character of her constitution will induce thousands of industrious men to become permanent citizens of the Common weslta of Californa, who, under other circumstances, would have returned again to their fatherland. This may be denied by some, and ridiculed by others. Nevertheless, I am satisfied it is true. Who can doubt it for a moment when he beholds the rapid manner in which all the new States have increased in wealth and population, where they have recognized the principle that taxation and representation ought to go hand in hand together? I do not mean by this that a man should be represented in the Legislature in proportion to the amount that he pays taxes into the Freasury. This would be an outrage that ought olution, -yes, sir, at a time that tried men's not to be tolerated, and is not, even in money. souls-North Carolina's sons, our sires, had making corporations. All I mean to assert that every man that is taxed should be representhe high honor of going forward as the very vanguard of Freedom's hosts: and, after the ted in the Legislature freely and honestly. And i would here submit, Mr. Speaker, whethstruggle was over, of being considered the er these features in the organic laws of the other Banner State of this Union. The Empire States may not be correctly considered as one a-mong the greatest of all the inducements that they have held out to the poor and indigent of every realm, and more especially to this numerous class State, the Keystone State, the Old Bay State, together with all the other States, (except probably Virginia,) were her inferiors then in point of population, wealth, territory

of virtuous and enlightened men in our own State to leave the land of their birth, and the homes of their youth, with as much speed as if they had been chased away by a devouring pestilence, to find a home in the wilderness frontiers of the new States, where there are no other inhabitants near them but the wild beasts of the forest. In my humble judgment, it was to secure such privileges as these that the battles of the Revolu tion were fought, and our independence declared Yet, sir, these principles have never (yet) been granted to the people of North Carolina, though their right to them has always been acknowledged from the foundation of our government to the present ume. But what does the poor while man gain

by an acknowledgment of his inherent rights, when the constitution of the State in which he was born. still resides,-and it may be his fathers fought to the death for its Independence-denies him not only the right of suffrage, but that which is more intolerable, the right of being fairly and honestly represented in its councils, when it compels him annually to contribute both in money and labor to the support of its government, and peril his fallen (what a sickening thought!) from be-ing a leader, down to being a follower of the small items in the way of defence, and often does other States, as a dog follows the trail of his the poor man contrast them with the privileges is more mortifying still is the thought, that State, and those tendered to him in the others.

suttution of our State. I need but refer to the fact that there were 35 counties, seven towns and two districts represented in the Conven-tion by 168 Delegates, 125 of whom resided East of this spot, and 44 West; two, if not more, of the latter number representing what is now the State of Tennessee. Gentlemen will see by this, that, in the very commencement of the organization of our State government, all political power was in the hands of the majority which resided

vanage, and to the oppression of the West. in the East, a large majority of whom favor-ed the views of Mr. Hosper; or to use the for the purpose of creating any sectional feetlanguage of a descendant of one of them .--ing ; but because I know the ware true : and "they were high-toned conservatives, and urged the erection of a splendid government, independent of the control of the MOB, and of course of their boasted leaders. In other believe them to be important for the purpose I have in view. Now, if the wealth. territory, or population either, had justified such an apportionment of members, the legwords, their views of popular government islation that resulted from it might have been were similar to those entertained by Mr. borne with more patience and composure .-Hooper; and, like him, most of them no But this was not the case. No. sir-the apdoubt ridiculed the constitution of Pennsylportionment could not be justified on either vania, as giving too much power to the mob, of these grounds, when it was first made in one branch of the Legislature of that State: and, if not, then it is certain it could not and, taking his advice, they determined, in forming our constitution, that they would be- be at any subsequent period: for it grew worse come such high-toned conservatives as to shun and more oppressive every day, just as the West increased in wealth and population. all such political phrenzy, by smothering the until we find, by the census of 1830, the folvoice of the mob at the ballot-box, as they lowing to be the result of population and chose to call the people. And this they did representation in the State. The State was most effectually, notwithstanding there were then divided into 64 Counties, 27 west of strong exertions made by some of the Dele-Raleigh, and 37 east of it. The western gates from the West, even then, to have the lustices of the Peace elected by the people souls, who were represented in the Legisla--Waitsill Avery, the grandfather of the ture of the State by 81 members. The 37 gentleman from Burke of the same name, esstern Countains contained 346.522 inhabbeing one of the number who urged this all important measure. And why was it, Mr. Speaker, that the Delegates from the West of the State by 111 members : Thus giving them a majority of 30 members, when the then thought proper to press such measures on the attention of the Convention, as are 25,902 less than that of the west. now demanded by a majority of the people of this State ? It was done, sir, in obedience to the commands of their enlightened constituents : and they felt free to demand them

because they had fought for them. Sir, it would be worse than superfluous for me to repeat here again where and how they struggled to secure the blessings of a free and independent government, and all

to the west, to-wit : Orange, Lincoln, Row the inestimable rights of free white citizens, though it may be profitable as well as huau. Buncombe, Guilford, and Rutherford. miliating for me to show how signally the containing a population of 106,174 souls, failed to secure the object they had so much were allowed only 18 members. Thus giv ing the East 54 members more than the at heart. This can be done in a few words, West, when the latter portion of the State as I conceive, by showing that the basis of representation under the old constitution was contained a population of 4,249 souls more such as 10 effectually smother the voice of than that of the East. the people, or, as Mr. Hooper would have In addition to this, Mr. Speaker, I find

it, the mob. I use this word frequently, not by a calculation, that the expenses of each for the purpose of trying to cast odium upon County to the State at that time, was pre-Mr. Hooper, or a majority of the members cisely \$1.270 dollars per year ; and yet, sir, of the Convention. By no means; far be that thought from me; sir; I believe they were patriotic and intelligent men, who ardently desired to do what they thought was master, always behind. And yet that which granted to him under the Constitution of this right, and best calculated to build up a strong and splendid government. But, in attemptshe is still sinking lower and lower every Do you suppose, Mr. Speaker, that poor and in they were greatly mistaken, as the history of the fact, that they have never had the privilege of forming a constitution for themselves and their abundantly prove. posterity, like the freemen of the other States ?-But, let us see what restrictions were laid on the noble-hearted freemen of this State. erty. Nor will my views and heart ever both upon the character and position of a trodden Europe-yes, sir, even when they come especially in the Western portion of it, where the ball of the Revolution was first put in to, and find room for, but a section of my there must be an adequate cause at work, preached all the days of their lives, are recognised motion, and their right to be a free and independent people first ascertained and declared to the world. The Convention, after deliberating for a few moments (for I believe it was in session but three days) thought it would be best to commence their labors with the acknowledgment of the fact, that all political power is vested in and derived from the people alone;" and "that the people of the 000 State ought to have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government West should have been dissatisfied, and that posed to a Convention, if he thinks the and police of the same. . These are no doubt the principles upon which the Revolution was conducted from its commencement to its close. And the Delegates to the Convention did well to acknowledge them in the manner they have, if they did nothing more; as they are true land-marks to guide us in the old Republison taught from these articles, which is again being verified upon this floor; and that is, that men may acknowledge right, and prowill never grant, if they can help it ; and the latter violate at any time for gain. This inconsistency appears to have marked the proceedings of the Convention that formed our constitution, to a remarkable degree .-For, after acknowledging all that could have been asked or desired by the people, they seemed to have turned right round and formed a constitution on such principles as to violate the two first and fundamental sections of the bill of Rights, that they themselves had just formed. And to prove this scale turned in our favor ! beyond cavil, I shall now proceed, as I have just promised, to notice, as briefly as possible, the basis upon which representation was fixed by them. The State at this time, Mr. Speaker, was, as I have before remarked, divided into 35 counties, 27 of which were East of this place, of all parties, if there is one among them who and 9 only, I believe, West. These counties were each allowed three Representatives. be it large or small, rich or poor, sparsely or a Convention-not such an one as the East densely populated, it mattered not ; each thought proper to give us ; but an open and was allowed three members, and some of their borders. This arrangement not only sir, if we had a right then to an open Coushowed great contempt for the people, by making the countries the basis of representation, but it was exceedingly oppressive to vention of 1835, that it was impossible for the large counties of the West, as their peo- them to regulate the basis of representation ple were forced to travel muny miles to and in this State, as the people desired it should from Court, and often to camp out for weeks be done. No, sir ; they were bound to the at a time, while in attendance on Court, as letter, and under an oath to fix it as the majurors or witnesses. 'Yet were they not only jority in the East desired it. And how was deprived of being represented according to that, Mr. Speaker? Why, sir, they required from the services they had rendered to the cause of numbers, but they rarely succeeded in get- that the Senate should be based on taxation, ting a county divided, it mattered not how

This shows that the East had, in the begin-Ouslow, who represents the great number of 4.675 white souls, who pay in taxes to the Treasury, the enormous amount of \$868 91. In these six Senatorial Districts, which are but a specimen of the rest, we see the

enormity of the outrage that is committed against the rights of freemen under the Constitution. Again, sir: we will look at this matter in

a different light. Suppose five farmers of the West own each 107 acres of good land, worth, under the hammer \$3,00 per acre. That would make 535 acres that they own and cultivate, worth \$1.605. This much real estate, under our State laws, would have to pay into the Treasury \$1.00 And, now, sir, for the sake of contrast, we will suppose gentleman to reside in Hertford County. who owns five negroes-an old man and his I have not time now to occupy; but will merely wife, each fifty years old, with three children, the youngest a girl of 12 years of age. According to our laws, they will have to pay into the Treasury of the State \$1,00 also .-Consequently the land and negroes have precisely the same weight, voice, and influ- to them over persons and property. The repreence in the Senate, not withstanding the real sentative who has the whole State to legislate for estate is imperishable and immovable in its has to give an account of his stewardship directly Counties contained a population of \$72,424 character, and supports upon its bosom five families of 10 each in all 50 souls, who are families of 10 each, in all 50 souls, who are in ev ry respect, identified with the best in- upon every one who takes part in carrying out terest of the State, and that which is more the Revolution were fought by our fathers before itants, who were represented in the councils important, its only hope of defence in the they would consent to be taxed by a parliament in hour of insurrection or invasion. I say these which they were not represented. I bring no railpopulation of their section of the State was five farms contain a population of 50, from the fact that the census shows that there is for, in my County, at least, I am sure they are But, Mr. Speaker, let us take a more critin the Western Counties of the State a pop-

ical view of this matter. I find, sir, upon ulation of 9 for every voter in them. Then. examination, that 24 small Counties in the let me appeal to gentlemen, and ask them if they think it is just, that five o'd and young sir, they will not be called on to levy taxes and do east, to wit : Tyrrell, Lenoir, Washington, negroes of both sexes, that, like other mor- all the important legislation for a County, on the Columbus, Hyde, Greene, Jones, Carteret, Camden, Chowan, &c., &c., containing tals, are liable to disease and death, and who Tuesdays of Court. And when appropriations are population of 101,925, sent to the Legislacan be removed at the will and pleasure of made for County purposes, it will be done on betthe owner, not one of whom are in the least | ter authority, and always after more mature delibture 72 members ; while 6 large Counties degree identified with the soil, or personally eration than is now required ? and that which is interested in the prosperity of the state, should have as much weight in forming the Senate. as the land, its owners, and the families, in all not less than 50 souls. Is there any bold enough here to answer-ves? I beg leave to crush any representative if they should desire so to propound to such a republican, another to do, by acting in concert with this view when question. Is it right, in his opinion, to give the five negroes that we have named and the

owner, four votes in the Commons; and the land and the log cabins on it, which pay, as charges of one to the State : and Currituck king five negroes and their owner in the and Carteret both added to the above, will East, weigh down \$1,600 worth of land in make them all five still pay but the sum of the West, and hush the voice of 45 white

tioned among the people, from the first organiza-tion of the State, to the present time, and the peo-ple had the election of their magistrates, as many of our people desired from the first, and the other States granted to their people, North Carolina to-day, instead of following all the other States, would be still the pioneer ; as she was in the days of the Revolution.

And, Mr. Speaker, I believe, as honestly as I believe anything, that it will always be our pain-ful privilege to draw these humiliating contrasts, while the constitution of our good and great Old State remains unchanged. The manner it appor-tions the members of the Legislature is but one of its defects. There is another to which I have more than once slightly alluded, and which comes in direct conflict with the second section of the Bill of Rights which has been already quotedthat is as odious in my eyes as it is Anti Repub-lican in its character. I allude to the manner in which it requires the magistrates to be appointed as well as to the powers it gives, and the duties it enjoins upon them.

Here a field opens before me for argument that glance at some of the most weighty objections to this feature of the Constitution. These men are appointed by the Representatives of the people for life. They cannot be removed or impeached ; they are above the control of their creators, and the only officers that have almost unlimited authority given her internal police or government. The battles of ing accusation against the magistrates of the State: high minded, honest and intelligent men. notwithstanding, I contend that they should be elected from townships by the people, as is now the case in a large majority of the States. Then, perhaps more important still, at a time when the County is not paying jurors, witnesses and others for their services and attendance in Court. In addition to these facts, I will here state that I know that the Justices of a County have it in their power they come to levy the taxes for County purposes. To illustrate this, Mr. Speaker, let us suppose that a Representative has voted for laying a tax of 5 cents on the poll and 2 cents on the hundred

dollars worth of property, to build an asylum for we have seen, as much tax as they do, not the poor insane of the State. And for the sake of Hyde, Columbus, and Tyrrell, paid into the a single vote? And those who till it, with illustration merely, we will suppose that this vote Public Treasury, the year I speak of, but their wives and children, whom they love should, for some cause, give offence to the whole \$1,144 50; all three paying less than the and live for, only five? Sir, is not this ma- body of Magistrates in a county; so much so that they were determined to come in contact with him in levying taxes, and forth with should proceed to increase the tax on land and polls for make them all five still pay but the sum of the West, and hush the voice of 45 white Common Schools, building a Jail, a poor House, 82,085, an amount less than this, and other inhabitants of the State? Yes sir, that is the Bridges, &c. unul the tax should be increased large Countres of the West paid. Yet the way the Constitution of this State operates. for such purposes, something like one dollar and fifty cents on the poll. taxes, under such circumstances? And who would be complained of most, do you suppose: those who held their office independent of all laid, or would the people complain of the representative who had legislated for Currituck and Cherokee as well as his own county? I am of opinion, sir, as they have no control over these Magistrates, they would call on their representative to be careful how he increased their taxes, or they would discharge him from their service. And Suffrage and nothing more. No, sir; nor in this Hall are so exceedingly careful how they vote to increase the burdens of the dear people. As an evidence of this fact, we find that the State taxes on land and polls have been sel-om increased over 6 cents on the hundred dollars worth, and so perfect an instrument, that it needed no 20 cents on the polls; whereas the county taxes commencemen of our government to the present Benches. By the remarks I have made, you will understand, no doubt, that I do not entertain as exalted an opinion of our present constitution as to be opposed to all other changes but that of Free Suffrage. On the contrary, I think it very defective, and am desirous of seeing it speedily amended by an open Convention. I am opposed to all special amendments by the Legislature, in the first place, because it will lead to unnecessary excitement, if not continual agitation. Should this mode prevail, every dema-Reid and his friends, have the right to alter this gogue will be proposing amendments to the Concompromise so as to permit all men to vote in the election of Senators that now have the right to vote candidates for Governor, and are being hard run In the second place, I am sure that a Convention is not only the cheapest, but far the most expeditious and unexceptionable mode of amending or forming a Constitution ; and, in fact, the only way it can be done free from party and sectional feelings. And, as it has heretofore been tion can be amended, at the present time. And, believing this, I shall steadily resist all amendments to the constitution of the State by Legislative enactment; as I firmly believe this is but the prelude to what is yet to come. And why is it. Mr. Speaker, that I say this? Because many of the dominant party in this Hall are in favor now of other amendments. Yes, sir, that peculiar organ of party, the grove and a nerable committee on amendments to the Constitution, itself, have reported some three or four amendments to the Constitution. And yet they are not willing to have a Convention called to amend it, but prefer to hold back each amendment for a separate campaign, and for the especial benefit of the Democratic party. This is too tinkering a business to suit my views. I am in favor, not only of free suffrage, but of free and equal suffrage, but Leannes vote for them ingenuity to defeat them. When they go before is their friendship now, when we hear it openly declared that it will not do to trust the people of the State to alter or amend the Constitution ?-Ah, no; it will not do to to us them ; they will be

me what they may. I trust I shall never prove so ungrateful, as to forget the blood an effect without a cause : and inasmuch as consecrated to the cause of Republican Libthat he the case while there can be found noticed. It is my purpose now, Mr. Spea. space in my heart for part, there will be for ker, to investigate this matter more thoroughall, and for no less than all.

Mr. Speaker, this language may seem doing-to try if I can possibly ascertain what holder in their domain. Yes, sin, they, like most strong-but I assure you there is no deception is it that has operated so disastrously to the of the other States, let every man be heard alike in it. Every sympathy of my heart twines growth and prosperity of our good old com- at the ballot-box that they require to pay taxes or appear in the field when the country is invaded. round and chings to my old mother, and will mon wealth.

do it, while a heart throbs in my bosom. Can the results I have mentioned be atthough humble she be. Yes, every atom of tributed in any degree to the example that her soil ; her tinkling rills and gushing foun- our forefathers set us? I think not. They taina; her broad lakes, deep sounds, and were not only wise, but prudent, patriotic sweeping rivers ; her fertile vales, smiling and persevering in all that they undertook. taxed, or representatives unfairly proportioned to lawns, green hills and blue mountains-all, Of the promptness and efficiency of their ac- property owned and taxes paid into the treasury. all have their charms for me, and should have tions. I need but remark that they invariafor every one that breathes her blessed air bly succeeded in all that they undertook to or exults in her invigorating sun shine-for perform. So I take it for granted that the I conceive that they are each but a part of State has not retrograded on account of any that glorious inheritance that has been he- example that they have left behind them to amended. For I contend, as before intimated, can paths. There is also an important lesquesthed to us in common by our gallant their sons. No, sir, they were not the men that it secures none of the objects before menforefathers. What then though I be a Wes- to leave behind them an unworthy example. tioned; but on the contrary, requires them all to tern man, am I not also a North Carolinian ? We have the high honor of springing from be violated in carrying out its behests. But, for Or, forsooth, because I happen to reside in the loins of men who had too much pride fear some gentlemen may think I am better at fess principles-the former of which they the West, will any one dare to rise in his and patriotism to disgrace their descendants. place and say that I haveno part or lot in or to be traitors siter others. They were the East ? or that I cherish no desire in my men in every way worthy of their country's breast to see her thrive and prosper, in com- regard, and always stood ready to prove their mon with the whole State ? Or will any one devotion to it, as they did at Alamance, tion for themselves. If they have, I should like Ramsour's Mills, King's Mountain, Moore's to know when it was that the people were called be so uncharitable as to suppose, for a moment, that I would be base enough to wrong Creek, and on the plains of Old Guilford, on to act in this matter? Surely no one will conany one section of the State to benefit my when the sun of its prosperity was eclipsed own ? If there be, that individual does me in darkness and gloom, and her soil drencha great wrong by barboring such a though', ed in the blood of her sons.

Mr. Speaker, I am no sectionist in my feelings. I repeat it again, I claim to be a North Carolinian ; and as such, I claim Beau- cl ned from this cause, what can be the reafort and Washington, Newbern and Wil- son? Can it be attributed to any natural fort and Washington, Newbern and Wil-mington; aye, sir, and your own Fayette-causes? I apprehend not. For surely there its inhabitants, or the size of its territory, with an ville, as mine. Yes, sir, all mine, as North is no State to be found in the bounds of this

Entertaining these views, it is but natu. a wantages than she can justly lay claim to. ralthat I should become somewhat incensed, She has a larger territory than either of the and feel indignant when I see gentlemen great States of N. York or Pennsylvania; and calmly rise and coolly charge the advocates as fertile and productive soil; with a far of an open Convention on this floor, with more genial and salubrious clime than either being illiberal in their views, and selfish of the other States of this Confederacy. And and sectional in their motives. These in- which of them is it, from the Atlantic to the floor who entertains that opinion, I am sure he sinuations, however, have no terrors for Pacific shores, that can produce more of the differs with me, and every other man I have heard them four when they had a small town in me. I intend to discuss the various ques. staple articles of commerce, than can be express his views on this subject. But, Mr. Spea tions involved in this matter without fear, grown here on our own soil. The empire favor or affection. And if gentlemen will State, the keystone State, the buckeye State continue to make charges that are groundless -all can boast of being able to rai-e corn, in themselves, then, sir, I shall (eel no com oats, rye, wheat, onions, turnips, potatoes, punctions of conscience whatever, I assure and barley ; but which of them, like North you, in hurling back to the very teeth of Carolina, can produce to any extent all of those making them, all such slanders, with these, together with all the great staple aras much contempt and indignation, as I am ticles of commerce, such as rice, cotton, tocapable of exercising, come they from what bacco, tar, pitch and tu pentine, indigo and madder, fish and lumber, with the choirest quarter they may.

special amendments by the Legislature—a mode that I detest, charge us with being influenced by a lust for political power. This I dony sir. We are contending for principles and nicht with the people will have, though the Democrats may use all their In making these remarks, I earnestly hope fruit from our trees and vines. In addition "You have seen the Constitution of Penney! large its territory might be, or what the ne. provided, each County should be entitled to that I shall not be understood as denying that | to all this, Mr. Speaker, she has the greatest vania; Humano capiti crevit equins juncta, (a man's head and a house's neck.) the motley mixcessities of the people might require, for the one member, whether it had the requisite are contending for principles and rights, which, simple reason that it would decrease the pow- population or not. Now, let me ask gentle. though they have ever been denied us, in this there is any disposition to legislate here for a water privileges of any other State in the section. No, sir; I cannot, if I wished, deny Union, with one solitary exception, perhaps ; ture of monarchy and an execrable democracy ; a though they have ever been denied us, in this them on the stump, they profess to be their loving State, are nevertheless dear to our hearts, as they and devoted friends. But where, Mr. Speaker, er of the East. This argument was sufficient men where the Counties lie that are benethe fact, for the history of all past legislation while her hills seem to be literally based upbeast without a head; the mob made a second branch of legislation ; laws subjected to their re-visal in order to reform them ; s washing in orders the West; consequently, though there were If there are any, do they not all he in the were to our forefathers and the rest of their comin this States proves that there has been, on inexhaustible foundations of marble, iron, heretofore, not only such a disposition mani-fested, but a great power actually exercised, and that which is still better, wander where peers in arms. And those who have been bold by way of purification. Taverns and dram-shops are the councils to which the laws of this State thousands and ten of thousands of acres of East ? Most assuredly they do. Then what enough to make such unworthy insinuations as these I cannot but believe, from their location, land entered and sold in the Western coun- did the West gain by amending the Constito effect this very object. Much less would you may among them, and you will find peto effect this very object. Much less would I intimate that the charge was false as regards the lust manifested for political power. No, in I count denv this charge either, and in V and then with a healing fountain run-in I count denv this charge either, and in V and then with a healing fountain run-in I count denv this charge either, and in V and then with a healing fountain run-in I count denv this charge either, and in V and then with a healing fountain run-in I count denv this charge either, and in V and then with a healing fountain run-in I count denv this charge either and then with a healing fountain run-in I count denv this charge either and then with a healing fount in run-in I count denv this charge either and then with a healing fount in run-in I count denv this charge either and then with a healing fount in run-in I count denv this charge either and then with a healing fount in run-in I count denv this charge either and then with a healing fount in run-in I count denv this charge either and then with a healing fount in run-in I count denv this charge either and then with a healing fount in run-in I count denv this charge either and then with a healing fount in run-in I count denv this charge either and then with a healing fount in run-in I count denv this charge either and then with a healing fount in run-in I count denv this charge either and then with a healing fount in run-in I count denv this charge either and then with a healing fount in run-in I count denv this charge either and then with a healing fount in run-in I count denv this charge either and then with a healing fount in run-in I count denv this charge either and then with a healing fount in run-in the state either and are to be referred for approbation before they pos-ties, at different rates, we find no money ap-tution? Scarcely anything at all, sir, ex propriated in that direction scarcely at all. cept the poor privilege of dividing a few outlines which mark the production. In this in stance they all work powerfully. I shall low not that any preparation should have taken place in Carolins in fusor of the WISDOM is politics in the public acts of the Convention should have any weight to give such a place a converse of the practical reality in the public acts of the Convention should have any do most unequivocally and emphatically, round their sides and on their lofty summits vocate Free Suffrage per se, with the hope of be- States that have the most slaves have adopted the ing raised and elevated over the heads of their su-periors, to some incrative office of honor or profit people prosperous. Why, then, do the Demothat the charges, or any part of them, are may be found the finest sheepwalks, and the true when made against Western men. But most beautiful and bewitching scenery in in the State. cracy object to a Convention ? Is it because why need I say this? Their votes on the the world. Yet with all these great natural I have said thus much, to retaliate upon those their strength lies in the East ; and that they fear, Journals, and the patience with which they advantages, we find, from some cause, North who have thought proper to charge the advocates of an open Convention with being influenced to tice will be done to the West; and that thereby have ever, home oppressions and insults from the majority—from the day the State was first organized down to the present time— are sufficient to vindicate their character from weight to give such a PLAN a currency. It is truly the EXCREMENT of the capitring genius of political Martin County is entitled to a Senator, Is it any wonder, then, Mr. Speaker, that under the present arrangement, with a white North Carolina has failed, with all her na- population of 4,438 souls, and by paying into such a course by a lust of political power. was they will be shorn of some of their ill-gotten powthe majority-from the day the State was first organized down to the present imp-ar sufficient to runce their character from all uch charges, if they had no other argo-integrated too far liesely unit character from all uch charges, if they had no other argo-integrated too far liesely unit character from all uch charges, if they had no other argo-integrated too far liesely to pursue these to the great influence, and is before her, and is before her. The before her, and is before her. Thous it restricts to the section of the great filter of the first first great filter of a state for the section of the section of

Now, as it is certain that there cannot be and mayers with which she was baptized and we have the unmistakeable evidence before How mortilying must the reflection be to all such us of a great change having been wrought that the poorest emigrants from any part of downbecome so narrow and contracted, as to look | Sovereign State, we take it for granted that from Ireland, where they have heard abolition hative State, No, sir-never, never shall somewhere, to produce such results as I have in Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, in fact all ly than I have heretofore had the privilege of

Then, Mr. Speaker, if it be true, as I have

supposed, that North Carolina has not de-

itself to reply to these questions. No. sir-

I read the answer too plainly in the conn-

tenances of those around me to require this

to be done. I see, from various indications,

enough to satisfy me that North Carolina is

not the leader that she once was; but hath

fallen (what a sickening thought !) from be-

the large slaveholding States as intellectual beings, who, after a short residence, on their soil, it wil not only be right but proper to admit to the ballotbox, upon the same terms as the largest slave-

These principles are not only just, but have proved to be highly beneficial to every community that has adopted them. And I assert, without the fear of successful contradiction, that when or

wherever property is unequally represented or as at present in this State, it is not only unjust. but a flagrant outrage on Republican principles. and ought to be remedied as speedily as possible. If this doctrine be subscribed to, then it will be admitted that the Constitution of this State should be making assertions than I am at giving proof to establish them, I shall proceed to give a few facts in vindication of what I have just said. First, that the people of North Carolina have never had an opportunity of forming a Constitu

tend that a Committee of Thirteen, appointed as they were by the housekeepers and freeholders of the Province of North Carolina, did give the people an opportunity of being heard in the election of the Delegates to the Halifax Convention, when they "ordered" them to be chosen from the free-

holders and by the freeholders alone, of each County, not exceeding live in number from each respecadditional Delegate from each of the towns of Curolina is mine, by birth and inheritance. Republic, that can boast of any more natural Bath, Brunswick, Campbellion, Edenton, Hali

fax, Newbern and Salisbury. Now, sir, let me ask gentlemen around me here. honestly believes that either the people or the property of the State were fairly represented in the Convention that convened in Halifax on the 12th of November, 1776? If there be one, sir, on this ker, I rejoice to know, it is in my power to give other and much stronger proof of this fact than I have yet done. And I am sure I can do this by reading to you a short extract from a long letter written by William Hooper to Samuel Johnston, Esq., in which he ridicules, very sarcastically, the idea that Franklin, and the eminent statesmen in Pennsylvania, entertained of forming a Constitution in which they proposed giving the people more power than he thought they were entitled to. Liberty in the tented field. But to the letter :

dividing of a County, until they have receiv ed from the State Treasury east of this place,

ning, all power in the pretended councils of

the State. And they used it as they wish-

ed, and, of course, always to their own ad

Mr. Speaker, I make these remarks, not

Is it any wonder, Mr. Speaker, that the they should now be poor ? Aye, sir, do you not suppose Western men feel, and that shall have nothing."

But some may contend that this is not the language of the majority. Let such persons look at the appropriations in the State; let them look to the division of the School fund ; let them look to the denial of the Charter of the Danville and Charlotte Rail Road ; and then, sir, to the runnous attacks that have been made on the North Carolina Rail Road -when two-thirds of the million necessary to secure the Charter has been subscribed in this City and the Counties West; and a. bove all, to the quarter from which these attacks have come. Contrast the liberality of the two sections of this State in these parhow soon is the question answered, and the

But some gentlemen may wish to know why it is, I refer to these matters, all of which have been compromised in the Convention we permitted you, with all our power, to call .-on their's, not only to expect, but to demand unrestricted Convention to alter the Constitution to suit the views of the people. And, vention, we have that right still. For such were the restrictions thrown around the Conand the Commons on the federal population,

ive eastern Counties sent 15 members to the Yet the gentleman from Martin, (Mr. Miz-Legislature, and the County of Wake only 3. Yet this is not all. Unequally as Wake the Constitution as it now reads, as it is the would there not be some grumbling about high and other Counties in the West were rep- result of a compromise made in 1835, beresented, that which aggravated this cruel tween the East and the West. Yet he has ninstice was, that their people were taxed taken especial pains to tell us, that he is in authority, and all of whose appropriations h d to pay the Representatives from the East- favor of engrafting on it Free Suffrage and been confined to the county where the tax was who came to the Legislature to vote appro- nothing else. Aye, more sir-he travelled priation after appropriation to the East, and out of his way to tell us if he had been in against everything in the Wess, even to the the Convention of '35, he should have voted against any change in the Constitution. Mr. Speaker, my heart sickens for such a demosomething the rise of four millions; while crat as the gentleman from Martin is! And we have received West, not exceeding \$60 .. I am not surprised that he shou'd go for Free this is one reason why so many representatives am I at all astonished that he should be op-Constitution, previous to its amendment, was

deeply, too, when they hear Eastern gentle- al eration wha ever. I repeat, I am not sur- have steadily and gradually increased from the men tauntingly say to them, with a smile on prised that he should be opposed to a Contheir countenances, "You are poor, and have vention. Yet, I cannot see how an individ- tume-all of which may be attributed to hasty put little into the Treasury ; therefore, you ual, advocating such doctrine, can have the and imprudent legislation on our County County face to rise here, and claim to be a Demo-

crat. His Democracy, I fear, is of the bastard order, and he, in heart, is more of a despoi than a Republican. But before I leave this point of my argument. let me ask the gentleman to tell me, if he looks

upon the Constitution, as amended in 1835, as a sacred compact or compromise between the the sections of this State, that should ever be regarded by all parties as inviolable, how it is that he has arrived at the conclusion that he and David S. compromise so as to permit all men to vote in the for Governor ? . Sir, if it is a compromise, it must by their opponents. be considered such as a whole : and the moment

it is violated in any particular, the party disticulars, and all others, if you please, and turbing the compromise have no right to complain if their opponents wish to make other and different amendments from those they have proposed ; especially where the latter are in favor of something substantial, when they are striving to delude the uniform custom of other States to amend in the people by giving them a shadow. Yes, sir, the this way, I cannot see why it is that gentleman most of them, like the gentleman from Martin, are object to it in this instance, when I remember that willing to barter off the rights of freemen, to secure the people of North Carolina never have had a I will answer these inquiries. My main ob. to them a mess of pottage! Sir, they shall not be Convention called for this purpose. Under these ject in referring to these things has been to sold at so cheap a rate, if I can prevent it. I have circomstances, I think it not only the preferable, show, that, if the East had the power on their no objection to Free Suffrage, if they will let e- but the only proper mode in which our constituside, the West had equity, justice and right quality of rights go with it. And this the true on their's, not only to expect, but to demand friends of Reform will have. It is true, sir, the ball has been put in motion by others, and rolled on by their followers auidst the loudest acclamations of praise. And now that triumph has re-warded them for their labors and ingenuity, they would no doubt be willing t stop the suffrage ball. But as for myself, I assure you, sir, that I have no disposition whatever to step it. Let it go, and ere it stops, the freemen of the Old North will have secured to them and their posterity, the rights of freemen at the ballot box, not only in name, but in reality. And for the purpose of securing these rights, I go for an unlimited Convention-or open Convention-not called upon the white basis, as has been charged. No, sir, before I could go for that, I would have to be assured that negroes would never be taxed. I go for an open Convention on the Federal basis. Yet those who favor special amendments by the Legislature-a mode