

THE STAR, And North Carolina Gazette, PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY LAWRENCE & LEMAY.

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HILLSBOROUGH CONVENTION.

At the late Internal Improvement Convention held at Hillsborough, resolutions were adopted, providing for the institution of several committees. In pursuance to said resolutions, the President of the Convention has made the following appointments:

Committee to address the citizens of the State interested in the Rail Road recommended by the Convention:—Jas. S. Smith, James Mebane, Walter Anderson, Grinnell—Joseph H. Bryan, Thomas Turner, Spencer O'Brien, Perry—Benjamin Sumner, Stephen Dickens, Thomas Johnston, Council—Bullard, Brown, Dr. Miller, Col. Thomas Graves, Warren—James Somerville, Thomas White, Philip C. Guiffard, John M. Morehead, George E. Mendenhall, John M. Dick, Rowan—Gen. G. Polk, Charles Fisher, Rufus Kilpatrick, Wake—William Boylan, Alfred Jones, John Hinton, Council—James Seawell, John Hoke, E. S. Winslow. Committees were also appointed for the same object in the different parts of the State, and present to them memorials to the Legislature praying the grant of a charter, and when the signing of said memorials shall be completed, transmit the same to the committee appointed to obtain the charter, to be presented to the Legislature; and that the same committee be requested to adopt the best means in their power to ascertain the public sentiment in relation to the state becoming interested in the execution of all internal improvements, and that three-fifths shall be paid or secured to be paid by private individuals. The committee for Wake consists of the following persons:—William Boylan, John Hinton, Seth Jones, Thomas Barber, Henry Seawell, D. L. Barringer, Cyrus Whitaker, Col. Rogers, Col. William Hinton, Weston R. Gales, Capt. A. J. Lawrence, W. H. Haywood, Jr., Woodson Thomas, Charles Manly, State (Fish Dam) James Hinton, Thomas G. Scott, Alfred Jones.

Committee to obtain at the next session of the Legislature an act incorporating the rail road recommended by the name and title of the "Roanoke and Yorkin Rail Road Company."—George James Mebane, Grinnell—William M. Sneed, Pearson—George W. Jeffrey, Council—James Rainey, Warren—Henry Fitz, Garris—Nathan Mendenhall, Rowan—Gen. G. Polk, Wake—William Boylan, James Seawell, James Seawell.

REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

Your committee, in obedience to an order of the convention referring to them the several resolutions affirming the policy and expediency of a participation, on the part of the State, in such projects of internal improvement as her citizens may patronize, by a contribution of a reasonable and suitable sum, beg leave to

REPORT.

That they have bestowed upon this important subject such consideration as the very short space of time assigned by the convention would allow. The general course of reflection pertaining to this grave question, has been familiarized to them, and it is believed to the public mind generally throughout the State.—Your committee have long entertained a thorough conviction that no system of internal improvement commensurate with the resources of the State and honourable to the character of our citizens, can be effected without a general co-operation of all the parts, and an extensive development and application of our means, both public and private, under a liberal and enlightened system of legislation. They do not feel it necessary, nor have they the time to indicate this opinion by an elaborate course of reasoning. But they deem it more useful to plain sound-headed, practical men, to refer to the past history of the State.

The close of the revolution found a people essentially industrious and agricultural in our habits, in possession of a territory of great fertility, blessed with the finest climate, adapted to the production of the most valuable staples, and teeming with abundance, whose broad virgin surface was but barely dotted with the culture of man; but in a state of entire destitution of all the facilities of transporting to market the fruits of our industry; and yet after the lapse of more than half a century of industrious and persevering toil, not a solitary work of public utility has been constructed, by individual contribution and individual effort.

We have seen our beloved mother and gradually strip of its beauty and exhausted of its fertility, scarred and defamed by injudicious cultivation; and yet by reason of a ruinous loss of time, property and expenditure, in transporting our surplus products to market, but little wealth has been realized from all

these labours. While our country was new, and our choice lands were first opening for cultivation, a general prosperity under all our commercial disadvantages, pervaded our happy land. But the fertility of our soil, overtaken as it was, waned apace, and much of the wealth and enterprise of the State went to swell that tide of emigration that for the last thirty years has set, with such exhausting and disastrous effect upon us, beyond the Alleghenies to newer countries, situate in more favored commercial positions.

It is to be apprehended, that under the inauspicious influence of these causes, a production necessarily diminished by the gradual deterioration of our lands, is yet further diminished by the languor, indeed the lethargy, consequent upon a long series of toil, but partially and insufficiently rewarded.

Our condition for nearly thirty years has gradually been becoming worse and worse, mainly, if not almost entirely, for the want of commercial facilities; and yet no effort has been made by individuals to retard this downward course, either honorable to ourselves or worthy of commemoration.

Your committee, however, will refer to one case of great and obvious interest to one of the wealthiest portions of the State—the charter granted to the "Dismal Swamp Canal Company." That was a case of individual effort unaided by legislative patronage, as will be seen by reference to the act of incorporation passed in the year 1790. It commenced with flattering prospects of success, on account of its vicinity to the flourishing borough of Norfolk and the anticipated patronage of many wealthy men, both in Virginia and this State. The whole valley of the noble Roanoke, with its tributaries in both States, and those rich agricultural districts bordering on our sounds, comprehending the finest and most fruitful region of the old Southern Atlantic country, had a great, immediate exigent interest in the completion of the work. It is curious to contemplate with what ingenious care the honest simplicity of the times contrived to scale, upon equitable principles, an excessive and unnecessarily large subscription list. Some of your committee have reason to know, that this act of incorporation has ever been regarded by some of the leading and most influential public men of the State, as the perfect *beau ideal* of all the schemes of internal improvement.—But mark the result. It barely struggled on through a series of years, in a state of dubious existence, utterly unprofitable to the corporators, useless to the public, and as sluggish as the dismal pools of its own swamp. It is within the last eight or nine years only that this work moved onward, giving promise of public utility; and then only under the influence of the liberal, in truth, the splendid patronage of the general government co-operating with the efforts of individuals.

Looking to this case with all its accompaniments and favoring circumstances—the location of the work in two States, in a position highly favorable for commerce, in the neighbourhood of lands unsurpassed in fertility, with forests presenting inexhaustible resources in lumber and naval stores, in the vicinity of towns wealthy, flourishing and highly commercial, patronized as it was, and yet *failing of success*—it should read to our sanguine anticipations, of commanding success by unaided individual effort, in less favorable positions and under less favorable circumstances, a powerful and decisive admonition.

Your committee reiterate their solemn conviction, that no work of internal improvement in any portion of the State, of much magnitude and public utility, can be begun, prosecuted and completed by the unaided individual efforts of our citizens. The feeble, debilitated and debilitating efforts that have been hitherto made in the State, have proved partially abortive, damped the patriotic dour of our citizens, and thrown back for many years, this great, interesting and vital cause.—Whether this general and disastrous failure resulted from want of science, from want of concentration of means and effort upon some single work, or from the intrinsic difficulty or impracticability of rendering our southern rivers subservient to the purposes of commerce, may now be an inquiry both painful and unprofitable.

The wonderful discoveries in physics and mechanical science achieved within the last thirty years, have pushed very far beyond its ancient limits the dominion of mind over matter; and the new lights that are constantly bursting on the world, give a fair promise that at no distant day, the secrets and riches of the great unconquered domain of inanimate nature, may be

subjected to the control and absolute dominion of human intelligence and enlightened philosophy. This glorious accession of light finds us in a geographical position not the most favorable to homogeneity and concentration of effort; scattered, dispirited, wanting in union, wanting in enterprise, and whether destitute is yet to be seen, of that high and patriotic public spirit which is an essential element in effectuating any great public work, worthy of our position, worthy of ourselves, and not discredit to the spirit of the times.

In this state of things, the appeal comes direct to our interests, to our love of country, to our sympathy in all that touches the dignity, the honor, the character of the land of our birth and the home of our affections, to make one great, united and manly effort to bring up our country to that high position of prosperity and honor and happiness, the attainment of which a kind Providence has unquestionably placed within reach of virtuous and patriotic exertion. That native son of North Carolina is unworthy of the land of his sires, whose heart is not large enough and whose affections are not broad enough, to think the consideration of mere selfish interests—to reach to every square inch of his native State, to kindle in this generous strife, to do honor to our common mother, and to feel with the fervour of patriotism, that this and every part of it—"is my own, my native land."

The people of North Carolina under Providence, hold their own destiny in their own hands. It is but for them to will it, and this once lovely prosperous land will again smile in its loveliness, and spread its sunny beam to the eyes of its children, covered with abundance. Stimulate the activity and industry of our citizens by conferring on them the legitimate rewards of industry, and a renovation of our condition will be witnessed in every direction.—It will be seen on the face of the country, in the multiplied comforts of social life, in the general diffusion of education, and in the improvement and elevation of our intellectual and moral condition. (Where is the citizen who will not make some sacrifice and encounter much toil to accomplish these objects? It is believed there are but few. There may be laggards from inadvertence, or from want of confidence in the practicability of a specific work; but it is believed there are few, very few, who would slight and voluntarily cast away the rich bounties of Providence that are spread before them. It is for the people of North Carolina but to will it, and they may reach forth their hands and pluck plenty and abundance. It is for the people to arouse themselves from culpable apathy or do nothing in difference; to acquire the information within the reach of every citizen; to spurn the interested flatteries and fatal delusions of ill-omened demagogues, and speak to their public servants in the many tone of patriotism; to command their perfect obedience in the renovation of our institutions and the improvement of our moral and social condition.) It is but for the people to will it, to push the destinies of our beloved State to that high point at which it may vie with the proudest and noblest of its fair sisterhood, in all that gives dignity to man and confers happiness on our race. It is a noble object, worthy of our best efforts, and demanded by the spirit of the age. (And yet your committee feel bound to declare their conviction, that all this will prove to be delusive as mere day dreams, unless sustained and pushed forward by the Union, the energy and zealous co-operation of the whole people.—Separate and partial efforts will but disclose our weakness, and terminate in disastrous failure; while union of purpose and concentration of effort will not only deserve, but command triumphant success.)

that a sufficient portion of it may be conformable with its conceptions of the public interest.

Your committee have bestowed much of their consideration upon the question of proportion of contribution by the public and by individuals. They have adopted, as in their opinion the best, that proportion which has been tested by the experience of some of our sister States as the most efficient and just. They are of opinion that when three fifths of the whole estimated cost of any given work shall be paid, or be secured to be paid by individuals, that then the State, under such guards and limitations as it shall prescribe, shall contribute the remaining two fifths for its construction.

If any great work or works, penetrating the State in nearly its whole length or breadth, shall be undertaken, they can go on only by large contributions in the shape of labor. In a word, the work will not go on successfully unless it be patronized by the great body of our fellow citizens, especially the land holders. They may take shares of stock, and pay for the greater part of it by contributions in labor—in the execution of small contracts on the line of road. Contributions in labor is said to be the most costly. It is so in communities highly commercial. It is not so, it is believed, in the interior of our State, where commercial facilities are few and inconvenient. The people have not the money; they can labor themselves, and procure laborers, and be better paid for this species of labor than any other. A great part of the stock held by individuals can be paid for in labor; but money is necessary to procure surveys and estimates, to procure a proper degree of skill and science in the execution of the work, to procure iron, and other necessary materials; and this, of the greater portion of it, the State can more easily pay than can individuals.

This principle has the merit of equality, and is equally applicable to every part of the State. Such a course of policy would, in the opinion of your committee, put in a course of actual development all the resources of the State, public and private, inspire confidence, give vigour to enterprise, impart new energy to commercial activity, and scatter in profusion amongst all those good things, that in the allotments of Providence seem designed mainly for the attainment of virtuous toil and an enlightened economy. The State, in the exercise of this parental care, would best discharge its proper duties to its citizens, and erect around our beloved institutions, as a wall of fire, a cordon of a high minded, independent and happy people, to guard against every injury a government that had sheltered all their rights and fostered all their interests.

Your committee, therefore, beg leave to submit for the adoption of the convention the following resolution:—Resolved, That it is the opinion of this convention, that in every project of improvement of the State by means of a rail road, or other public improvement, where the citizens are friendly to such project, shall pay or secure to be paid three-fifths of the cost of such improvement, an enlarged and enlightened policy requires that the State shall pay the remaining two fifths for the completion of such work.

All of which is respectfully submitted. WILLIE P. MANGUM, Chm.

PATRIOTIC SPEECH OF MR. EMMET, As delivered at the Session House, Dublin, before Lord Norbury.

My Lords—What have I to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced on me, according to law? I have nothing to say, that can alter your pre-determination, nor that it would become me to say with any view to the mitigation of that sentence which you are here to pronounce, and I must abide by.—But I have that to say, which interests me more than life, and which you have laboured, (as was necessarily your office in the present circumstances of this oppressed country) to destroy. I have much to say why my reputation should be rescued from the load of false accusation and calumny which has been heaped upon it. I do not imagine that, seated where you are, your minds can be so free from impurity, as to receive the least impression from what I am going to utter—I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of a court constituted and trammelled as this is—I only wish, and it is the utmost I expect, that your lordships may suffer it to float down your memories untainted by the foul breath of prejudice, until it finds some more hospitable harbor to shelter it from the storm by which it is at present buffeted. Was I only to suffer death, after being adjudged guilty by your tribunal—I should bow in silence, and meet the fate that awaits me without a murmur; but the sentence of law which delivers my body to the executioner, will, through the ministry of that law, labour in its own vindication, to consign my character to obloquy—for there must be guilt somewhere; whether in the sentence of the court or in the catastrophe, posterity must determine. A

man in my situation, my lords, has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune, and the force of power over minds which it has corrupted or subjugated, but the difficulties of established prejudice—the man dies, but his memory lives: that mine may not perish, that it may live in the respect of my countrymen, I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alleged against me. When my spirit shall be wafted to a more friendly port; when my shade shall have joined the bands of those martyred heroes who have shed their blood on the scaffold and in the field, in defence of their country and of virtue, this is my hope; I wish that my memory and name may animate those who survive me, while I look down with complacency on the destruction of that perfidious government, which upholds its domination by blasphemy of the Most High—which displays its power over man as over the beasts of the forest—which sets man upon his brother; and lifts his hand in the name of God against the throat of his fellow who believes or doubts a little more or a little less than the government standard—a government which is steered to barbarity by the cries of the orphans and the tears of the widows which it has made.

[Here Lord Norbury interrupted Mr. Emmet, saying, that the means and weeks! enthusiasts who felt as he did, were not equal to the accomplishment of their wild designs.]

I appeal to the immaculate God—I swear by the throne of Heaven, before which I must shortly appear—by the blood of the murdered patriots who have gone before me—that my conduct has been through all this peril and all my purposes, governed only by the convictions which I have uttered, and by no other view, than that of their cure, and the emancipation of my country from the superhuman oppression under which she has so long and too patiently traileaded; and that I confidently and assuredly hope, that wild and chimerical as it may appear, there is still union and strength in Ireland to accomplish this noble enterprise. Of this I speak with the confidence of intimate knowledge, and with the consolation that appertains to that confidence. Think not, my lord, I say this for the petty gratification of giving you a transitory uneasiness; a man who never yet raised his voice to assert a lie, will not hazard his character with posterity by asserting a falsehood on a subject so important to his country, and on an occasion like this.—Yes, my lords, a man who does not wish to have his epitaph written until his country is liberated, will not leave a weapon in the power of envy nor a pretence to impeach the probity which he means to preserve even in the grave which tyranny consigns him.

[Here he was again interrupted by the court.]

Again I say, that what I have spoken, was not intended for your lordship, whose situation I commiserate rather than envy—my expressions were for my countrymen; if there is a true Irishman present, let my last words cherish him in the hour of his affliction.—

[Here he was again interrupted, Lord Norbury said he did not sit there to hear treason.]

I have always understood it to be the duty of a judge, when a prisoner has been convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law; I have also understood that judges sometimes think it their duty to hear with patience, and to speak with humanity; to exhort the victim of the law, and to offer with tender benignity his opinions of the motives by which he was actuated in the crime, of which he had been adjudged guilty; that a judge has thought it is duty so to have done, I have no doubt.—But where is the boasted freedom of your institutions, where is the vaunted impartiality, clemency, and mildness of your courts of justice, if an unfortunate prisoner, whom your policy, and not pure justice, is about to deliver into the hands of the executioner, is not suffered to explain his motives sincerely and truly, and to vindicate the principles by which he was actuated?

My lord, it may be a part of the system of angry justice, to bow a man's mind by humiliation to the purpose of ignominy of the scaffold; but worse to me than the purposed shame, or the scaffold's terrors, would be the shame of such foul and unfounded imputations as have been laid against me in this court: you, my lord, are a judge, I am the supposed culprit; I am a man, you are a man also; by a revolution of power, we might change places, though we never could change characters; if I stand at the bar of this court, and dare not vindicate my character, what a farce is your justice! If I stand at this bar and dare not vindicate my character, how dare you to calumniate it? Does the sentence of death which your unhalloved policy inflicts on my body, also condemn my tongue to silence and my reputation to reproach? Your executioner may avenge the period of my existence; but while I exist, I shall not forbear to

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When my spirit shall be wafted to a more friendly port; when my shade shall have joined the bands of those martyred heroes who have shed their blood on the scaffold and in the field, in defence of their country and of virtue, this is my hope; I wish that my memory and name may animate those who survive me, while I look down with complacency on the destruction of that perfidious government, which upholds its domination by blasphemy of the Most High—which displays its power over man as over the beasts of the forest—which sets man upon his brother; and lifts his hand in the name of God against the throat of his fellow who believes or doubts a little more or a little less than the government standard—a government which is steered to barbarity by the cries of the orphans and the tears of the widows which it has made.

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