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BY GEORGE HOWARD,

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DOMESTIC.

TO THE
PEOPLE OF N. CAROLINA.

A numerous and respectable portion of your Fellow citizens, who assembled at this place on the late Anniversary of American Independence, to consult on the means of improving the condition of the State, have directed us to lay before you the result of their deliberations. Without pretensions to authority or the wish to obtain it, without party or sectional views of any sort, and with no influence save that of reason, we claim your attention simply because of our communion of interest with you on a subject of deep and abiding importance, and because of a sincere and hearty zeal to advance the prosperity of our common country. Nor do we deem it too much to hope that, even at this moment, amid the din of political strife and the struggle of contending candidates for your favor, these claims will not be disregarded by an intelligent and well-meaning community.

North Carolina is endeared to us by every tie of nature and every obligation of duty. Her advancement in whatever is great and good is inseperably interwoven with our hopes and wishes, our patriotism and our pride. Keen therefore is the mortification, to be obliged to confess that she is falling behind several of the States of this glorious confederacy, in that career of distinction to which all were invited by the bounties of Providence, the freedom of the American Institutions, and the capacity of the American People. Forty four years have passed away since, under the auspices of the Federal Constitution, she entered upon this generous competition. In extent of territory she had then the advantage of New-York and of Pennsylvania. Excluding their principal cities she was not inferior to either of them in wealth. In free population she nearly equalled New York, and was but a third less than Pennsylvania. Her superiority in extent of territory yet remains, but in all other points of comparison how changed is the scene! Her free population is now to that of Pennsylvania as one to three, and to that of New York as one to four, while in wealth she bears to each of them but the ratio of one to six. In New York, and Pennsylvania, Colleges, Academies, Scientific and Literary Institutions are spread throughout the land, presenting the opportunities of acquiring a finished education to those who have the means to procure this invaluable blessing; while ample provision has been made by law for communicating necessary instruction to every child in the community however poor and destitute. In our State, notwithstanding the injunction in our Constitution, and except in the erection of the University, and in the incorporation of a few Academies either without funds or with funds not derived from legislative grant, no public Schools have been established "for the cheap and convenient instruction of youth." In Pennsylvania, more than seven hundred miles—in New York, six hundred miles, of Canal Navigation have been created, while Railways are every where in the process of construction, stimulating and employing labor, making and defusing wealth throughout their wide spread borders. Their sea-ports are crowded with vessels; their mechanics find constant employment and high wages; their manufactures are prosecuted with still increasing skill; and their agriculture is beautifying and enriching the soil at the moment when it gathers the reward of industry. There, Hospitals for the sick and the insane—Asylums for orphans—Institutions for the care and instruction of the blind—Schools for the deaf and dumb—and other beneficent establishments for the removal and mitigation of human woe,—delight the eye and elevate the heart of the beholder—fit offerings of gratitude from a prosperous community to the Father of the human race for His blessings on their exertions, and mute but expressive solicitors for a continuance of His bounty to those who delight in doing good to the children of men. How are all these things in North Carolina? Fellow citizens, we do not require your answer, nor do you need information from us. *You* know how they are—and *we* forbear to speak. It is sufficiently mortifying to discover, it were too painful to dwell on the humiliating contrast.—Indeed, did we not hope that this reproach would ere long be removed from amongst us, we should endeavor to bury it in thick night, hide it from the world, and if possible forget it ourselves. But we trust that a blessed change is in store for us. We know that there are difficulties, and serious difficulties to be encountered—but we are sure that there are none which may not be subdued by wise counsels and united exertions; and we are convinced that on You, *People of North Carolina*, it depends, whether the State shall or shall not become all which her warmest friends ought to desire for her.

"Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and SUBDUE it," announces to man the first direct command of his Creator, and a command rich with promised blessings. To subdue the earth, implies effort; effort would have been unnecessary, had not difficulties been purposely left for man to overcome; and He who is all wise and all good, never would have imposed an obligation impossible to be fulfilled, nor have enjoined an act which was not pleasing in His sight. The subjugation of the earth can be effected but by labor—and the steady, judicious and economical application of labor to this purpose lies at the root of human prosperity. The extraordinary fertility of the Gennessee Country, like that of the valley of the Mississippi, no doubt attracted to it many citizens from the adjoining States, and many emigrants from foreign countries, and thereby hastened its settlement and growth. But taken in the whole, it may well be doubted whether New York or Pennsylvania presented a better natural soil for the labors of the husbandman than was generally to be found in North Carolina; while in the mildness of our winters, the higher value of the products of a Southern climate, and the greater ease with which our earth is tilled, we had on our part decided advantages. But these were compensated, and more than compensated, by two physical blessings bestowed on them in an eminent degree. Each of these had a port of safe and ready access from the ocean, and bold rivers penetrating far into the interior—possessing thus the means of cheap transportation to a home market, and of easy exportation to foreign ones. Marts were to be found within each State for all that the industry of its citizens could produce, and the products of labor were not consumed by the expenses of reaching the place of sale. While adequate motives were thus furnished to excite agricultural industry, its success gave activity to mercantile adventure and employment to the mechanical arts. The profit of these built up capital, and capital led to enterprise, to the discovery of new sources of wealth, to the extension of facilities in business, to manufactures, to every species of improvement, and to general prosperity. The great wants of our State then are emphatically, good marts of traffic and the means of cheap transportation. Until these can be supplied, our forests teem to little purpose with the luxuriant and valuable productions of nature, our alluvial lands present too feeble attractions to their general subjugation, and many of the mineral treasures with which our earth abounds must lie undisturbed and even unexplored. Men can not be well induced to labor for more than they can consume, unless the surplus may be conveniently exchanged for the commodities which refinement has made valuable, or can be stored up in accumulations for the winter of age or the wants of posterity. While production is thus kept back, there is neither supply nor demand for commercial capital. The products actually made, because of the costs of transportation, are of little value, and there is therefore no increase of agricultural capital. Slovenly farming, slender traffic and a languid circulation, general want of enterprise, inactivity & listlessness become habitual, and generation succeeds generation with scarcely a perceptible improvement in wealth, manners, science or the arts. If by a sudden dispensation of Providence, the shoals which endanger and impede our maritime navigation were removed, and the various streams which intersect our State were rendered fit for the purposes of conveyance from their very sources, all will admit, that we should spring forward with resistless energy to the consummation of our hopes. The impulse given to business of every sort would be felt in every section of the State and in every department of industry. Let children indulge in day dreams; but it is for men to inquire whether they have not the power of supplying the deficiences of nature, and of acquiring by their own exertions what for wise purposes was originally denied. Obstacles surmounted and difficulties subdued, as they are the best trials, so they become the noblest triumphs of virtue, intellect and courage. Often the most eminent among men have been trained up to fortitude and wisdom in the school of adversity; and the most illustrious of nations have usually passed through the stages of infancy and childhood, struggling for existence, gradually gaining and consolidating their strength, and by severe trials acquiring the qualifications and forming the habits which were to be displayed in the maturity of manhood. "Heaven grants the gifts it grants the power to gain." Is the navigation of our rivers obstructed? To a considerable extent and with no mighty effort, we can remove these obstructions. Where these are not removable, or the streams are too shallow for boat navigation, or streams are wanting, experience has shewn, that the Canal and still more the Rail-way, furnishes better means of conveyance. As in no country are these more needed, so in none can they be made at less expense. The process of effecting speedy and safe communications with the ocean has already commenced amongst us under the happiest auspices. Art in this respect, signally triumphing over nature—dredge boats are removing in hours the slow accumulation of years; and we announce to you with joy that the day is not far distant when our main outlets to the sea will afford ready passage to vessels of sufficient burden for all ordinary commercial purposes. There is then ample room for exertion, but there is no cause for despondency.

We are aware that injudicious attempts heretofore made in the cause of Internal Improvements have prejudiced many against the renewal of any efforts at improvement. But prejudice is a wretched counsellor, whether it seeks to conceal the selfishness of the sordid and the fears of the timid, or is seen in the apathy of the sluggard, or speaks in the snears of the scorner. We have attempted too many plans at once—we have fritted away our means over too great a space, and have expended much money in many silly schemes. Let us then profit by experience. Let it teach us caution, judgment, and a proper application of our resoures. Let it guard us against the recurrence of former errors, but never let it repress exertion in the cause of duty. Others have by a well devised and spirited course of Internal Improvements, brought incalculable blessings on their country. And why may not we? Are the people of this State by some irreversible interdict of Providence, disqualified for improving their condition? If so, in what does this incapacity consist? Do they want mental energy? Look abroad and see the sons of North Carolina, wherever a field is presented, contending gallantly in every department of manly excellence for the palm of victory. We have been called an unpretending State, and long may it be before a wretched self conceit shall cause that epithet to be exchanged for one less equivocal & far more to be abhorred. But it were not a want of pretension—it would be self-degredation, ingratitude to God and treachery to ourselves—to admit any inferiority for good or great purposes to the proudest among the members of this Union. Do we want the pecuniary ability? If we were called on to raise at once a large sum of money to be sunk in the ocean or transmitted to a distant land, it may be conceded that we could with difficulty comply with the requisition, and should severely feel the loss. But it is among the striking effects of this system to which we invite your attention, that it disburses within the community what the community furnishes, and returns speedily and in abundance all which it exacts. From the moment of its commencement, it creates neighborhood markets for labor, materials and provisions, and throws out money into brisk circulation. As it proceeds, it not only contributes by its profits to pay the interest on advance, but it extends more and more the sphere of activity; so that, independently of the immense benefits which it promises in the end, it pays in its progress by the excitement which it communicates to industry, and the impulse which it imparts to business of every description. Money thus employed is not sunk, nor lost; but is money put out at compound interest. Such a course of expenditure and restitution is like that of the blood in a young and vigorous body. It gushes forth from the great reservoir, the heart, and is propelled through the arteries to the very extremities, enriching and strengthening the entire system in its course, but is returned by the veins to be again and again sent forth in a round of life-giving circulation. Our very poverty then, the result as has been seen of unrewarded labor, languid trade and limited production, is the strongest reason which can be urged for engaging zealously in the system. The one vanishes as the other comes forward. True we must have, or procure, wherewith to begin the experiment. But here there is no real difficulty. If each one amongst you will consent to set apart half of what he can spare without inconvenience to his family; if he who has not money will be ready to make his advance in timber, food, or work; we shall at once have a capital more than sufficient for the undertaking of every useful enterprise. But the State Treasury ought to aid, and if you say so, will aid, in their accomplishment. Why has a public revenue been collected if it is not to be used, and where is the advantage of public credit if it is not to be employed for the public good; and where is the service in which either can be more beneficially engaged? Is the character of the State part of the property of every one of its citizens? Does his heart throb with