SPIRIT OF JEFFERSON.

BY JAMES W. BELLER.

OFFICE OF MAIN ST., CORNER ROOM OLD "VALLEY HOTEL," CHARLESTOWN.

The "SPIRIT OF JEFFERSON" is published every Tuesday Morning, at $2 in advance—$2.50 if paid within the year—or $3 if not paid until after the expiration of the year.

ADVERTISEMENTS will be inserted at the rate of $1 per square, for the first three insertions, and 25 cents for each continuance. Those not marked on the manuscript for a specified time, will be inserted till forbid, and CHARGED ACCORDINGLY.

Spirit of Jefferson.

AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE, AND NAVIGATION, THE FOUR PILLARS OF OUR PROSPERITY—MOST THRIVING WHEN LEFT MOST FREE TO INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE.

VOL. VII. CHARLESTOWN, VA., TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 1851. NO. 37.

BOOK AND JOB PRINTING,
OF EVERY DESCRIPTION,
SUCH AS
BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, CARDS,
BLANKS, HANDBILLS, LABELS, &c.,
EXECUTED WITH NEATNESS AND DESPATCH AT THE OFFICE OF THE SPIRIT OF JEFFERSON,
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Poetry.

FOR THE SPIRIT OF JEFFERSON.

PLEASANT THINGS.

GROUND OUT BY STUBBS & CO.

It's very pleasant, of a rainy day,
To find your umbrella stol'n away*—
Or notice, sadly, as you pass along,
Your boots are neither water-proof nor strong;
And if, in such a case, perchance, you meet
A friend, who WILL keep talking in the street,
You're very happy, your dear friend to see—
Your pleasure rises to a high degree!

It's very pleasant, in a hot sun's beam,
To see your cork go bobbing down the stream—
Expecting, happy man, to get a fry—
When, all at once, a cloud climbs up the sky,
And a small water-spout falls down on you,
Wetting your summer garments through & through;
How pleasant then, all dripping, like a duck,
To toddle homeward "with fisherman's luck!"

It's very pleasant, as you sit and chat,
With a sweet lass, about this thing or that—
When to her side, your chair you gently move,
And with an effort, fain would speak of love—
And then, perchance, the mother slyly creeps
In at the door, or through the keyhole peeps—
You're very happy when, 'mid hems and stops,
You pop the question, and in SHE pops!

It's very pleasant, when you long have tarried
In bachelorhood, to find you have been married
To a young miss who, were your life at stake,
Could not sew a stitch nor cook nor bake—
Or, better still, to find, ere many moons,
Your wife it is, that wears the pantaloons!
Thrice happy man! to be so blest at home,
Why would you wish "in other climes to roam."

It's very pleasant, when you put your name
To a friend's note, to have to pay the same;
It's very pleasant, when you've none to lend,
To have a hundred ask'd for by a friend;
And better still, when you would like to borrow,
In urgent want, to have to call to-morrow—
For then can prove that "friendship's not a name"
That lulls to sleep"—but burns a steady flame!

It's very pleasant, for an hour or more,
To be the victim of a prosy bore,
Whose shallow wit o'erruns a desert waste,
Like devoid of decency and taste:
Or hear the exploits of some village rake,
Who caused a regiment of hearts to break;
But pleasure's but a dreary waste of thorns,
To sum up all, if you're exempt from corns!

*Stubbs & Co. are very sorry the above line is not [illegible]—but it is so TRUE.

Miscellaneous.

BOY LOVE.

One of the queerest and funniest things to [illegible] of in after life, is "Boy-love." No sooner [does a] boy acquire a tolerable stature, than he [begin]s to imagine himself a man; and to ape [mann]ish ways. He casts sidelong glances at [every] tall girl he happens to meet, becomes a [regul]ar attendant at church, or meeting; sports [a cane], carries his head erect, and struts a little [in his] walk. Presently, and how very soon, he [falls i]n love: yes, *falls* is the proper word; because it best indicates his happy, delirious, self-[abando]nment. He lives now, in a fairy region, [somew]here collateral to the world, and yet, some[how b]lended inextricably with it. He perfumes [his ha]ir with fragrant oils, scatters essences over [his ha]ndkerchief, and desperately shaves and an[oints] for a beard. He quotes poetry in which ["eyes,"] and "dove," and "heart," and "dart," [regul]arly predominate; and, as he plunges deep [into] the delicious labyrinth, fancies himself [filled] with the divine afflatus, and suddenly breaks [int]o the scarlet rash—of rhyme. He feeds [on t]he looks of his beloved; is raised to the [seven]th heaven if she speaks a pleasant word; is [lift]ed into the most astonishing ecstacies by a [smile], and is plunged into the gloomiest regions [of mis]anthropy by a frown.

He believes himself the most devoted lover in [the w]orld. There never was such another. There [never] will be. He is the one great idolater!—[He is t]he very type of magnanimity, and self ab[nega]tion. Wealth! he despises the grovelling [though]t. Poverty, with the adorable beloved, he [rapturo]usly apostrophises as the first of all earth[ly ble]ssings; and "Love in a Cottage with water [and] a crust," is his beau ideal paradise of [earthly] delights.

He declares to himself, with the most solemn [em]phasis, that he would go through fire, and [wate]r; undertake a pilgrimage to China or Kam[schat]ka; swim storm tossed oceans; scale im[passab]le mountains; and face legions of bayonets, [all] for one sweet smile from her dear lips. He [dotes] upon a flower she has cast away. He [kiss]es her glove—a little worn in the fingers [next] his heart. He sighs like a locomotive [letting] off steam. He scrawls her dear name [on qu]ires of foolscap—fitting medium for his [fanc]y. He scornfully depreciates the atten[tions of] other boys of his own age; cuts Peter [[illegible]]s, dead, because he said that the adorable [Ang]elina had carroty hair; and passes Barry [[illegible]] contemptuously, for daring to compare that [[illegible]]y Mary Jane," with his incomparable An[gelina].

Happy! happy! foolish Boy-love; with its [hopes], and its tears; its joys, and its sorrows; [its jea]lousies, and delights; its raptures, and its [[illegible]]s; its ecstatic fervors, and terrible heart[burning]s; its solemn ludicrousness, and its in[vari]ably prosaic termination.

[*Arthur's Home Gazette.*

NEGRO BANKING.

[Talk]ing of Banks, reminds me of the negro [bank I] once heard of in Virginia. Cato (an old [negro] who was noted for his cunning) had suc[ceeded] in making his fellow servants in the [neigh]borhood believe that banking was a very [profita]ble business. So they concluded that they [would] throw all their change together and start [a bank], old Cato taking care to have himself con[stitu]ted the bank, to whom all the sixpences of [the dar]kies in the neighborhood were duly paid [in]. And now, said Cato, whenebah neigah [draws a] sixpence, out dis bank, to buy bacca, he [must] come back in three weeks and pay in two [sixp]ences, and in dis way you see ebery sixpence [[illegible]] mada sixpence, till after a while all dese nig[gahs'll] be as rich as old massa C——y." And [on] this principle the bank went into operation, Cato taking care that every darkey should [pay] over according to bank rules. But in the [cour]se of time, some of the stockholders thought [they] smelt a rat and called on Cato to withdraw [their c]apital from the bank, when the following [conv]ersation took place between Cato and Jack:

Jack—Well, Cato, we want to draw our mo[ney] from the Bank and quit the banking busi[ness].

Cato—Did you heah de news?

Jack—No, what dat Cato?

Cato—Why de bank broke last night.

Jack—Who care, what de bank do. I tell you [give] my shah ob de money.

Cato—Well but I tell you de bank broke.

Jack—I not talking bout dat. I say I want [my m]oney?

Cato—Why you cuss'd fool, dont you know [when d]e bank brake de money all gone sartin.

Jack—Well, but whah de debbil de money [gone]?

Cato—Dat's more 'an dis nigga know. All he [know ab]out it is, dat when white folk' bank break, [the mon]ey always lost, and niggah bank no bet[ter dan] white folks.

Jack—Well, whenevah dis nigga gage in bank[ing ag]ain, he hope de debil get him fuss.

[Cato]—Berry sorry do bank break, Jack berry [sorry]

[[illegible]] our informant left.

[SILV]ER COIN.—The Philadelphia Ledger of [yester]day says: The trade in silver coin is much [less act]ive than it has been, and the premium paid [for it] in gold nearly one per cent. less than a fort[night a]go. Three and a half per cent. has been [pa]id for new American halves; now two [and a q]uarter and two and a half are about cur[rent rat]es. The article is becoming daily much [more c]urrent in our small retail trade, and now [passes] comparatively free from hand to hand.—[Old] worn American halves and quarters com[mand n]ot more than one per cent. premium, a [rate] hardly worth the trouble of saving them up [for] sale.

FREE BANKING.

The bill authorizing the establishment of "*The Merchants' Bank of Lynchburg*," on what is generally called the *free banking* principle, was ordered to its engrossment in the House of Delegates, on Monday last, by a vote of 69 to 31. This is equivalent to the bill, which it is said, may be regarded as indicative of several similar schemes now before the Legislature.

We regard the free banking system as the safest and soundest which has yet been devised. The great and leading principle is, *security to the bill-holder* against the possibility of loss. As the system bids fair to be adopted to some extent in Virginia, and as some of our readers may not have a clear understanding of the principle, we will endeavor very briefly to explain it.

It is proposed to organize for instance, the Mechanics' Bank of Lynchburg, on the free banking system, with a capital, say, of $100,000.—Before the Company can go into operation, it is required to deposit with the State Treasurer, or other officer designated by law, good government securities, such for instance as U. S. Bonds, or Virginia State Bonds, or undoubted dividend paying stocks, equal to the amount of the capital, $100,000. This deposit then constitutes the capital of the bank, which, as we have seen, is necessarily sound, and is placed beyond the reach and control of the Bank, to wit, in the hands of a sworn State officer. It is likewise the duty of this officer to keep the plates with which the notes of the Bank are printed, and also to countersign each note he delivers to it for circulation. In addition to these safeguards, the Bank itself is always required to keep a certain amount of specie on hand for the redemption of its notes; so that it is obvious the danger of an over-issue of notes is avoided, because the State officer has the notes in his own keeping and only delivers them as they may be needed; and security against their possible depreciation, is found in the deposit which this same officer has in his keeping. If the bank were to make bad debts equal to the whole amount of its circulation, which can never exceed the amount of its capital, still the bill holder is secure, because the State has then only to sell the securities deposited, and redeem the notes of the bank with the proceeds. Thus it is seen that it is necessarily the best paper money the public can have.

The advantages to the corporators to be derived from such a system, may not be so obvious to those who have given but little reflection to the subject. Premising that, all companies operating with a large cash capital and dealing exclusively in *interest* and *exchanges*, will always realize good profits unless there be palpable mismanagement and a total disregard of the laws of trade, we may without entering into the minutiae of the subject, show, by a very simple illustration, how such a Bank as we have described, may not lose, if it fail to make money. The capital, $100,000, we have seen, is an interest bearing fund, and yields say,

The capital, $100,000, ... yields say,	$6,000
Supposing the bank to be authorized to issue notes only to the amount of $75,000 the ordinary interest on which will be	4,500
The net income then is,	10,500
But we have seen the Bank is required to keep on hand a certain amount of specie, (say one-third of the amount of its circulation,) the interest on which is a charge to the bank amounting to	1,500
Expenses, Salaries of Officers, &c.,	3,000
Total expenses of the bank,	$4,500

which leaves a balance still in its favor of just six thousand dollars, the interest on the deposit.

Our object has been to show there *need be* no loss; but in fact there *will be* large profits. We have taken no estimate of the difference between *common* and *banking* interests, of the profits arising from dealing in exchanges, nor of various other advantages which necessarily result from a combination of capital. We are decidedly in favor of this *principle* of banking, for the reasons stated, and should not regret to see it become general throughout the State. Indeed we are inclined to the opinion that this is a result to which events are fast hurrying us.

[*Lynchburg Virginian*

TO THE EDITOR.

SALEM, Roanoke county,
February 15, 1851.

DEAR SIR: Will you please give the following publicity:

VIRGINIA COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Wm. Bowers, David Rife, Nicholas Shaull, Peter Bowers, Mary Pulse, each $10; Elizabeth Kownsler, Elizabeth Ward, Geo. Shaull, Ebenezer Sibole, Jacob Emlet, Geo. Emlet, Jacob Rees, Benj. W. Jefferson, Jno. Holt, David Shaull, Martin Sensendifer, Lewis Sensendifer, John F. Shaull, Barthol. Shaull, David High, Joseph Hout, each $5; smaller donations $41. Other subscriptions will be acknowledged when paid. We hope the friends in arrearages will endeavor to pay promptly as the money is much needed. Hand it to the Rev. Proctor, or any friend of education, not called on by the agent, may enclose any amount, and send it to J. F. Keiser, Treasurer, Salem, Roanoke, Va. We can assure you it will be very gratefully received as we wish forthwith to complete the College edifice.

EXAMINATIONS.

There are two public examinations in the year, one at the close of each term.

EXPENSES.

Summer Sessions of Sixteen Weeks.

Tuition and incidental expenses,	$12 50
Room rent,	2 00

Winter Session of Twenty-six Weeks.

Tuition and incidental expenses,	$18 75
Room rent,	3 00

To be paid without exception in advance.

Boarding in common, with washing included, may be had at an expense not exceeding $1 per week. This term it is furnished at 87½ cts. It is expected that a regular Steward will soon be appointed, and permanent arrangement made to afford boarding in common at the lowest possible rate.

For further information inquire of the principal, Rev. C. C. Baughman, Salem, Roanoke, Va.

S. SCHERER, Agent.

☞ Free Press please copy.

THE LOCUSTS COMING.

We gave lately a communication from Mr. Gideon Smith, a naturalist of this city, predicting the appearance of the seventeen year locusts in Pennsylvania and other parts of the United States. The Philadelphia Ledger, of yesterday, says:—

"This prediction is likely to be fulfilled early, for yesterday a gentleman called upon us with one of these locusts, which he had found on the grass in his yard, near Front and South streets. Its appearance is that of a grub-worm, about an inch and a half in length. The insect breaks thro' this covering, and comes forth looking something like a moth. They issue from the ground in their grub state early in the spring, and the ground where they are seen is found perforated with holes through which they ascend. The late warm weather has no doubt given an early start to the insect, and about May the woods will be found vocal with their peculiar music. They are perfectly harmless in their character, and though found clinging in numbers to trees and plants, they are not injurious to vegetation. The chickens and hogs destroy them by thousands."

KIND.—An editor of a southern paper by the name of Long, asked Prentice, of the Louisville Journal, if he never intended to speak the truth. Prentice, in reply says that he shall probably learn to tell the truth *before long!*

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM LUCAS,

OF JEFFERSON,

In the Virginia State Convention on the Basis of Representation, Wednesday, Feb. 25, 1851.

The Convention resumed the consideration, in Committee of the Whole (Mr. Miller in the Chair) of the report of the committee on the basis of representation.

The CHAIR stated the question to be on the proposition of Mr. SCOTT, of Fauquier.

Mr. LUCAS having the floor—

Mr. FAULKNER. My colleague, at my request has very kindly yielded the floor for a few moments, for the purpose of enabling me to correct a manifest misapprehension of the effect of some propositions submitted by me to this body a few days ago, under which the gentleman from Fauquier, (Mr. Scott,) judging from the character of his remarks upon yesterday, appears to be laboring.

The propositions I submitted related to the subject of limiting the power of the legislative department to contract debts in future; and an unwillingness to interrupt the gentleman from Fauquier during the continuance of his very able and fervid argument, and the late hour at which he closed them, prevented me from making the explanation on yesterday which I now propose to make. I had supposed, judging from the opinions that gentleman is known to entertain upon the subject of a liberal. I will not say, an extravagant system of internal improvements—that if he had had any objection to the scheme I offered, it would have been to the number and stringency of the safeguards I proposed to throw around the exercise of the power just alluded to. But in his remarks upon yesterday he treated these propositions as calculated to throw wider open the floodgates of expenditure, so that I am sure that he could not have examined my scheme with his usual care and accuracy. I stated distinctly, when I submitted those propositions, that I designed pressing them upon the consideration of the Convention without the slightest reference to the question, whether the East or the West should succeed in the contest now going on upon this floor. I said that our experience in the legislation of the State during the last twenty years had sufficiently proved, in my opinion, that the possession of the control of the legislature by an Eastern majority had been no safeguard against the abuse of that power of reckless and injudicious appropriation, and that I had no reason to suppose that if that power were transferred to the West, without proper limitation, it might not be equally liable to abuse; and, therefore, in presenting these propositions I distinctly stated that I designed pressing them upon the consideration of the Convention without the slightest regard to the fact as to which party should succeed in the pending controversy.

The second error which the gentleman committed in treating of these propositions was in representing them as yielding the power of appropriation to the unchecked and uncontrolled action of the popular majority of voters at the polls.

Now I claim no merit for introducing this plan; I claim not the credit of its paternity; and I desire in a few words to explain it to the Convention so that if gentlemen choose to make reference to it they may do it understandingly. The plan proposes that the legislature shall have no power to contract debts beyond the fixed sum of one million of dollars, unless for the purpose of repelling invasion, suppressing insurrection, or defending the State in case of war. This refers to debts hereafter to be contracted. It then proposes, in reference to debts that exceed that amount, that before the legislature shall have power to contract such debts, that the law shall in the first place explicitly authorize the creation of that debt for some specific object or work; secondly, that that law shall provide at the same time for the imposition and collection of an annual tax, sufficient to pay the interest on the debt thus created and discharge the principal within a period of eighteen years; and thirdly, that this law shall not receive the sanction of the legislative department until it receives the vote of a majority of all the members elected to both branches of the General Assembly, a majority that will practically amount to at least a two thirds vote, and that the yeas and nays shall be recorded on the passage of the law. These are very important safeguards so far; but the scheme proceeds a step farther, and declares that this law thus creating a debt binding upon the commonwealth shall not go into effect until submitted to the people at the polls, and there sanctioned by them; and it expressly provides that no two laws shall be submitted to the people at one general election. Without meaning to enter further into an explanation of the merits of this scheme, for I would not trespass so far upon the courtesy of my colleague as to do so now, I will simply state that at least three results will follow its adoption; whether the results be desirable or not it is for this Convention to determine in the first place, and afterwards for the people. They would be these; The first result would be to cut up by the roots all those petty and local appropriations of which our statute book furnishes so many and striking illustrations. It is idle to suppose for a moment that appropriations of that character could pass through the ordeal prescribed by these provisions. The next result that would follow would be the eradication from the halls of legislation of the whole practice of log rolling and the entire system of lobby membership. The third result that would follow would be the concentration of the energies and resources of this State upon those great works of internal improvement which are alone worthy, in my judgment, of the patronage of the state, and which certainly alone could receive the sanction of the voice of the people at the polls. I do not know how some gentlemen may regard the idea of submitting questions of this kind to the direct vote of the people, but it has always been viewed with favor by me. I believe that salutary influences would result from bringing the minds of the people directly to the comprehension and study of these questions of internal concern and domestic policy, and that they would be found upon all occasions to possess intelligence and liberality enough to decide upon any scheme worthy of their consideration at all, with judgment and fairness, and of giving to it precisely that support to which it would be entitled and no more. I have deemed it proper to make this brief explanation in order that gentlemen may understand the scheme properly and consider it upon its merits; and I would state that I hold myself prepared to abandon it at any moment, if another scheme looking to the same results, and which, in my judgment, will better accomplish the objects designed, shall be presented. All I desire is that the evil which I propose to remedy shall receive the consideration of this Convention and be acted upon in some form by it.

Mr. LUCAS. I certainly should not ask indulgence of the committee if I could reconcile it to my sense of duty, to give a silent vote upon the important subject under consideration. I feel very sensibly my individual humility in this body; and I am aware I cannot hope to requite for the time I may consume in expressing my views. I did not aspire or expect to present myself in the position circumstances have placed me in, having to succeed the able and distinguished gentleman from Fauquier, (Mr. SCOTT.) But it was not for me to forego my intention to speak, after my effort, on the day before he rose, to obtain the floor and fall back from the attitude I had assumed. It is not my purpose to attempt to follow that gentleman through his long and very able speech. Yet, I do propose to change to some considerable extent, the course of remark I had intended to pursue and to notice some of the principal arguments which he submitted.

I come from the lower end of the valley, where nature has been so kind and bountiful—where "the rich woods," so called, attracted in his youth the Father of his Country, before he had earned that name or any part of his renown. Where are the homes that were of many of the most illustrious heroes of the revolution—the brave old General Morgan, and Gates, and Lee, and Stephens, and Dark, and others little less distinguished, all had their homes within the district which I have the honor in part to represent.—And there the mortal remains of the most of them now repose in peace beneath the green turf of their own favored valley, their memories not forgotten nor their achievements; these still live; nor has the genius of their immortal spirits fled. That too is still with us, sitting in eternal wake, we fondly trust, keeping ceaseless vigils to inspire our bosoms with a love of liberty and equality. This is the district from which I have the honor to come; one I say rich in soil and renown and in all the beauties and bounties of nature which man could desire for a heritage and a home upon this earth.

I deem it neither bad taste nor inappropriate to bring up these reminiscences, in alluding to the peculiar situation and various advantages of my district. Indeed, what I heard yesterday and the day before in this house recalled them, and they now naturally arise and connect themselves with my view of the very nature of the subject and the great principle involved in the question under discussion, which I hold to be what is the true republican basis of representation for the representative government of a free State, and which I verily believe involves the very same principle for which our forefathers fought and bled. I hope, in that spirit of conciliation which should prevail in this committee, I shall be pardoned for this unreserved annunciation. It is no hasty opinion I advance, but one long entertained—one that has grown up with me and strengthened with my age. And although others, not too humble like myself, to indulge the hope of preferment, might be more prudent, I feel no such restraint, for I have nothing to ask for, nothing to hope for, nothing to expect politically, and no motive to shrink from the [illegible]est avowal of my sentiments.

I am here without effort, solicitation or desire—without a single aspiration that would have led me from my home, where centre all my earthly hopes and affections, where it is my pleasure to hear almost unceasingly, not the discord that salutes me here, but the social sound of the mingling flood, of the wedded waters of old Potomac and Shenandoah, allow me to say, not more congenial or happy in their union, nor identical in their destiny, when lost in the deep bosom of the ocean, than should be, I can say with as ardent a love as glows in the breast of her proudest son, east and west, and all Virginia forever!

I but use this figure to illustrate and enforce the sentiment, and I will, if indulged, extend it to say, that as these meandering streams of different source and seemingly once estranged, and brought together by some great convulsion, as our ancestors were by oppression united in the revolution, now consummate their union at that romantic spot so much admired, will henceforth, according to all human calculation, at least, mingle their continuous flow through all time, so, it is the first wish of my heart, that we, as a people who have one origin, one ancestry, one language, one renown, and one country, with common interests to unite us in one great and glorious Commonwealth, shall continue for many ages and generations yet to come, to live in unity and harmony together under a common government and a common name, and that name, I am sure all concur, Virginia and none other, and not only for ages and generations, but forever! And I will hope and hope on to the last, that this is to be our destiny, notwithstanding what I have heard without and within those consecrated walls, and within and without this ancient, this time-honored capitol of our common country, around whose altars we are gathered together, from every portion of this old Commonwealth to consult, to deliberate, and I trust in God, to act for the common good, not sectional interests! And why not hope it, why not, when I can say for myself and my respected colleagues and those we have the proud honor to represent in this assembly, that it is no part of our nature or of our purpose to indulge even in embryo for one moment, the thought of separation and division. Never, never, no, never, so long as there shall remain to us a single ray of hope of obtaining our just and equal rights. No, as for us, however it may be with others, we would rather see the hills and mountains that surround us, attached as we are to them, as nature formed them, and as we have been accustomed to look upon them even from our childhood, endeared to us by all their holy associations in our recollections of the past and by nativity, melted into one vast heap of ruins, covering in the mass our homes, our all; even the graves of our fathers and our forefathers, leaving tomb nor stone to tell the sacred spot of their repose, than we would rise up to sever the bond that binds this people in unity, as the children of a common mother.

Occupying this enviable position, favored with every natural and artificial advantage we only ask to be permitted to remain part and parcel of Virginia, under a free and equal form of government, truly republican, to secure us in the full enjoyment of what we have, and under such a government, and under no other, may hope for in future. Well, the question meets us here, have we such a government? For what have we assembled? For what purposes have we been chosen and delegated to this old capital, by a large majority of the electors of the whole State, a class I hope to see enlarged. We have been sent here, charged with the sacred duty to amend and reform our existing constitution and government, in various and important particulars, and especially its basis of representation, because deemed ineffectual for the great ends of its institution. And I apprehend, we should have very little in the way to prevent our arriving speedily at the end of our labors, and at harmonious results, but for one difficulty, and that is this question of the basis which lies at the threshold. We cannot take a step—we cannot move an inch it appears until we settle it, and fix the foundation upon which the whole government is to rest, and most unfortunately upon this question we stand here divided in two parties, and nearly equally, by a geographical line marked by a mountain, as though, as was aptly remarked by the distinguished gentleman from Henrico, at an early stage of our proceedings, "principles run with mountains." I entertain a decided opinion, that if no question of power was involved in this contest and no question of principle, we could settle it very soon. Is there any doubt of this? None in the world on my mind; none.

Well, in regard to this matter, my constituents, if governed by interest, which the honorable gentleman who addressed you on yesterday, told you governs all men and all things, and lies at the foundation of government, would occupy precisely the opposite to that upon which they have instructed me to stand here, and so may claim to be an exception to this rule. With those great natural and local advantages—with every great work of improvement nearly already made, we desire, which you know you were so emphatically told yesterday by the honorable gentleman, is not the case with the East, and is far from being true as to the West. With our markets beyond the limits of the State, and yet almost at our door, while we are to be taxed to make these improvements East and West, without direct benefit from either; in this situation, it is manifest, we have more to fear, in that respect, from power in the hands of the West than in those of the East, for we have nearly as large a slave population as the East, and a far larger proportion than the West, while our lands are richer and higher assessed than those of either, and much more so than those of the West; and we all know that it is upon these two great proprietary interests—slaves and lands—upon which the taxing power presses most onerously, and so must fall with a heavier hand upon us than either the East or the West, whoever wields the power. It is most clearly demonstrable, then, if we are to be governed by interest, or if we were to be influenced by the fear of taxation, which seems to be the main ground assumed by our Eastern brethren for holding on to power, that we should go with them upon the basis question, instead of with the West. To be still more explicit, if, in our opinion, this was simply a question of power, as asserted by the honorable gentleman from Halifax, (Mr. PURKINS,) if there was no principle involved in it, or if we believed principle was on the side of the East, and that a "majority of interests," as the honorable gentleman from Fauquier so powerfully contended, in one section of the State, and not numbers over the whole Commonwealth as one community, was the true republican basis, then the Valley, or at least my end of it, would, from interest and principle, be found on this question on the side of the East instead of with the West. These two powerful motives would impel us. But we are not able to concur in the view that there is no principle involved—that it is simply a contest for power when, so far as we are concerned, we know that it is not so. We cannot concede that a minority located in one section of the State, which happen for the time being, to own the most wealth, should therefore govern the State and the majority of the people. This is contrary to our feelings and all our notions of right. It would violate first principles and the right of self-government. We were born and inspired with different feelings and sentiments, and we have been taught differently—we have learned otherwise from the highest sources and the highest authority.

Our bill of rights expressly declares, that all power is vested in and consequently derived from the people—that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them; and that a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish their government in such a manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal; that elections of members to serve as representatives of the people ought to be free; and that all men, having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest in and attachment to the community, have the right of suffrage. And the declaration of rights made by the thirty other States of this Union—and when I name them, I certainly need not tell you that there are, strictly speaking, no other free States on earth—all set forth and affirm these great fundamental principles and eternal truths as self-evident, and, with three or four exceptions, have actually made them the basis of their governments. Yes, the whole thirty, with these few exceptions, have based representation upon numbers—people, and adopted general suffrage, and many of them have now actually had more than half a century's experience of the practical wisdom of equal representation and extended suffrage, and others more than a quarter of a century's like experience, while all the rest, the new States, have followed principle, and trod in the light of their example, and are now in the full tide of successful experiment. Yes, all launched from this same free port, and under full sail, on the same glorious voyage upon the onward, endless stream of time, fully equipped for their common destination, fearing not, under the smiles of heaven, storm or tempest, shoal or quicksand, but all sure of the glittering prize. Old Virginia, the eldest sister, "the flag ship," and the most seaworthy of all, lagging back solitary and alone, still afraid to venture upon a calm and tranquil sea, and upon such a voyage—still at anchor upon her old colonial ground—unequal representation and limited suffrage—as if given up to idle fear or worse idolatry; still lingering on an unsafe and uncertain shore, as if afraid of losing her freight or some part of it, and afraid, as my friend from Accomac (Mr. WISE) says, of the majority of her own noble crew—who would, every one of them, shed their last drop of blood in her defence—standing, as I hope to show, on her own shadow, in her own light, and frightened; that in opposition, I repeat it, to her own declaration of rights and those of her thirty sister States—against principle, example, experience, and that prosperity and glory which would attend an onward course in the plain republican path of duty, upon this most glorious voyage.

After the course of remark submitted by the honorable gentleman from Fauquier, I am led out of my way, as prescribed for myself. He has made it important to inquire, how Virginia came into the position just described, and why she has so long continued in it. In this investigation I beg the committee to follow me. Like the honorable gentleman just referred to, I fear nothing in search of truth. The story is a plain one and sold told, and presents another instance with which the history of the world is replete, of power holding on to power, once obtained, no matter how, and not unfrequently against both right and reason, leaving the many no alternative but submission or revolt, which, when success attends, and their cause is just, we all call glorious revolution, not rebellion.

The means by which the few have ever contrived, in all ages and countries, to rule the many, are numerous and various, and the modes of self-perpetuating power and force and fraud, and a combination of wealth and interests, the chief. With us, while we have had nothing of this sort, and I take pleasure in disclaiming the imputation, the process has been a simple one. Yet the fact is so. The few have ruled the many in Virginia from the beginning, and still do; not indeed tyrannically, not oppressively, but still it is true—as certain as there is a God in Heaven.

I agree that the origin of this minority rule in Virginia, is not without apology. I do not deny, at least, that there are many things to extenuate and even to excuse in the circumstances out of which it emerged. Yet I can see nothing to sanction the long continuance of it, and I do see much to condemn the existing, unequal representation, restricted suffrage, and other anti-republican relics.

Our constitution and government, as you are aware, except as amended and changed in some few particulars in 1829-'30, had its birth in the revolution. Those times of trouble "that tried men's souls." Our early ancestors, who fled to this western world from the persecutions and oppressions of the old, in settling here in a wilderness, brought with them only such laws as were adapted to their new and strange situation. And few in number, at first, and with little to care for but themselves, they indeed needed but little government and law. But they gradually increased, grew, and flourished, though but slowly, and improving but little as they advanced in their civil and political institutions, dependent as they were upon the crown to which they acknowledged allegiance still, until their prosperity attracted the rapacity of the mother country, ruled by a selfish tyrant and a cold blooded ministry.—Then soon that prosperity began to be abstracted under color of one pretence after another, against their consent, and exactions to increase and multiply until longer submission became intolerable. Then, we know, they resisted, and rose with their confederates, and threw off the yoke, casting it in the wide ocean that separated them. The contest was one of fearful odds, one of doubtful issue, and full of hazards, and while it was raging, the old government dissolved and abrogated—amidst the heat and carnage of this life-struggle, a convention was called under a law passed by the last house of burgesses, "whose power," to use the language of Mr. Doddridge, "had actually ceased with the colonial government, and by the same act that dissolved it." And that body, calling itself a convention, and assuming the authority, and to their honor be it said, made our first constitution. Our old constitution was thus gotten up in haste and danger, to meet the pending crisis, as a temporary expedient, intended only to ride out the storm, not to last; and being thus gotten up and designed, as was said by my friend from Greenbrier, (Mr. SMITH,) in opening this debate, it is no reflection upon its authors to say, what is the truth, that it was defective and imperfect. Indeed, as he truly remarked, "the wonder is, that it was not more so, under the circumstances, especially as they had no model to guide them."

In fact, it changed but little the old colonial government which had sprung up, under their connection with the crown, their dependence and allegiance. And the delegates who made it were elected by freeholders holding fifty acres of cultivated or one hundred acres of uncultivated land. But the country submitted to their authority and tacitly adopted their work, although the constitution was never submitted to a formal vote, as in truth they were obliged to, under the circumstances, if they had been otherwise disposed.

But who were these first constitution makers? I say they were confessedly but the representatives of this one particular class of freeholders, a portion only—and but a comparatively small portion only—of the people.

And what did they do? I repeat but little more, besides repudiating the crown and allegiance than continue the same state of thing before existing—the same old freehold government of the few, without the crown—under another name, it is true—but scarcely changed in form, substance, or power.

They substituted a house of delegates for the old house of burgesses, and a senate for the old legislative council, confiding to each precisely the same powers and privileges as possessed by the predecessors, and prescribing for members the same qualifications respectively, and to be elected by the same class of freeholders, and a governor for the crown? And the same old colonial basis of representation and limited freehold suffrage, they expressly declared, should remain the same as under the old colonial government, under which, from 1620, when the first house of burgesses assembled at Jamestown, the burgesses were elected by the different plantations or settlements in the colony, paying no regard to the size, population, or extent of territory, or wealth of the plantation, each being allowed a representation; and until 1645 as many members as they chose to send, no matter what its population, or wealth, or extent of territory. In 1634, for the first time, the colony was divided into shires or counties, eight in number, for military and judicial purposes only, which remained very different, as before, in extent of territory in their population, and the same representation remaining to each county; and, as different settlements, from time to time sprung up, new counties were erected and a like representation allowed to them; and, in like manner as applications continued to be made, the old counties, or some of them, were divided, with a like representation but none of the old counties, old or new were restricted as to the number of members until 1645, as before said, when they were limited to four each, and finally, in 1660, to two members each. The right of suffrage, in the meantime, which had at first been enjoyed by all the inhabitants, undergoing various changes at intervals, until 1677, when the king sent his private order to his obsequious governor—to use the language of the distinguished John R. Cook, in the last convention—backed by two regiments of British soldiers, and caused it to be restricted to a certain class of freeholders, from which it was afterwards changed, at intervals until limited to those first stated.

Such is the origin, and such the circumstances preceding and accompanying the birth of our old constitution, and such the state of things with which its framers had to deal; and after expelling the presence of king and parliament, they only re-established matters nearly as before existing, under our connexion with the crown, giving, in like manner, to the new legislature, as before possessed by the old house of burgesses, the same power to form new counties, and to divide old ones, with a like representation of two members to each, but none as before existing, to take away any representation from any county.

This want of power in the new legislature, to take from a county, after divided and reduced in size, any part of its representation, not only continued, but aggravated the old colonial plantation county-converted basis of representation, by increasing the inequality still more under it, while it was being still further increased by natural causes, so that when the new constitution of 1776, which we hear so much lauded, was amended in 1829-'30, the least county in the State had as large a representation as the very largest county, each having two delegates; and the representation in the senate remained even more unequal, until the re-organization and favorable change in that body in 1816. While the old freehold suffrage remained the same as under the old colonial government, and continued to be exercised and enjoyed by a portion—not to say even a minority—the freeholding class, which was itself a minority of the freemen of the State, so that the whole government, under the old constitution, until amended in 1829-'30, from the first, was in the hands of this portion only—not to say minority of the minority—of the freeholders, with all its powers, which were very great. The legislature possessed the right to do almost any and every thing within State jurisdiction, under the general government of the Union, not expressly denied, such as they should not suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, pass any bill of attainder, or any *exposte facto* law, or any law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, &c., and with all the power, all elections and offices were retained in the hands of the legislature, and withdrawn and taken away from even this limited number of the people, these few freeholders themselves but a portion of the freeholding class) who elected legislatures, and whose government it was—a government, I do not hesitate to say, with all my respect and reverence for the memory of its illustrious authors, and I yield to no one in my veneration for them—constituting, beyond all question and denial, an aristocracy. Even the power of life and death, in addition to that of unlimited taxation, was held by this old government oligarchy, it being well settled that while the federal government possesses no powers but those expressly granted, and such as are incidental thereto, and necessary and proper to carry them into effect—that the State government have all power not denied. They elected our United States Senators, our Governors and Council, Judges, generals, and other officers, and passed all laws affecting life and liberty as well as property. Its power, in the emphatic and expressive words of the distinguished John R. Cook, quoted in the last convention, "was over every thing, coming home to the bosom and business of men." It was as omnipotent, almost, as the British Parliament, without even the check of kingly negative, and which, we all know, is all powerful, for it has even changed the descent of the crown, more than once; and under the king, engaged in war after war, and has entailed a national debt upon the debt upon the people amounting now, although diminished to some eight hundred millions of pounds sterling, near three billions, and which it is, I verily believe, that holds that great consolidated empire together.

Against this old constitution, and the State of things existing under it, even before the revolution had fairly closed, and the sunshine of peace, after a seven year's eclipse of darkness and blood, had fully opened upon the land, which so many had spilt their blood to redeem from a foreign thraldom, the voice of complaint, opposition and remonstrance went up, from various parts of the Commonwealth. As early as 1781, we find the great "apostle of liberty," the author of the Declaration of American Independence, and our own, and our act of religious freedom—he who laid the axe to the root of the odious rule of primogiture and entails, to which some of our distinguished statesmen long clung; the philosopher, sage and statesman, whose love of liberty and equality was as ardent as it was sincere, and confined to no country or clime, but extended everywhere where man had a home, and which abated not, even with the ebbing pulse of life—as evidenced by his letter of 1816, to Mr. Kerchival—the influence of which has been spoken of in a tone of complaint within these walls, as still operating, and which I trust in God, will continue to be felt until Virginia is reformed, and cease till the world is redeemed from vassalage wherever enslaved. Yes, at this early period we find Thomas Jefferson declaring this constitution "to be but our first essay at free government," and urging upon his countrymen the duty "of reducing those principles to practice so soon as leisure should be afforded them for entrenching, within good forms, the rights for which they had bled." And the people, and especially of the west, have never ceased, from that day forward, to appeal to their brethren in power for reform; then "this eternal clamor," which the honorable gentleman from Fauquier, and others, have denounced, commenced, and it has never ceased, and I can tell gentlemen, never will, until justice is done.

As far back as 1790, we find petitions from various counties pouring in upon the legislature, from year to year almost. In 1806, a resolution passed the House of Delegates to submit the call of a convention to the vote of the freeholders, but failed in the Senate. Again, in 1814, another bill, for the same purpose, only failed by a small majority, the minority, we are assured, representing a majority of the people, and among other matters of reform then demanded, was an extension of the right of suffrage, and an equalization of representation.

Again, in 1815, another bill was gotten up for the same end, and rejected as before, by a vote representing a minority of the people.

These repeated rejections of bills by the Legislature, by majorities representing minorities of the people, as was stated by the honorable gentleman from Augusta, (Mr. SHEFFEY,) led to numerous public meetings, and to one of an exciting character held in Winchester, which was soon followed by a convention of the people of the west generally, and from other portions of the State, called in 1816, at Staunton, very numerously attended, which passed many resolves, and sent up a warm and able memorial to the Legislature, calling for a State Convention, and among other things again, for the extension of the right of suffrage and an equalization of representation, among the free white population of the Commonwealth, and that failed in the same way. But, it led to the re-organization of the Senatorial districts of the State, under which the West, which had but four Senators to twenty East, got nine members in that body and representation upon the white basis in that body, which appeased the spirit of reform for a time. After all this, however, a second Convention convened at Staunton, in 1825, setting forth still the same objects, and this resulted in the second or third year after in the call of the State Convention of 1829.

From this brief sketch, which I have gathered from the debates in the former Convention and other sources and given as accurately as I could from memory, and since hearing the speech of the honorable gentleman who addressed us yesterday, arranged in my mind as well as I could, of the continued appeals and movements of the West and other portions of the State for redress, and especially for the extension of the right of suffrage and equal representation, almost from the period of the revolution down to the call of the Convention of 1806, we see how constant and ardent was the desire for these great reforms.—Yes, how loud and long this "clamor,"—as Eastern gentlemen are pleased to characterize the just complaint of the people against a minority rule. During all this time, more than half a century, the government was in the hands of a class of freeholders, composing but a small portion of the freemen of the State, holding on to power, the offices and all, and refusing redress, and even a Convention all this time—more than half a century—and at last granted it upon unequal terms.

Well, the Convention of 1829 for I have come to this point of the history of power holding on to power, which it had taken almost from '76 to 1829, of such continuous appeals to obtain from this small minority in power upon unequal terms, met in this house. I was about to say—I mean in the capitol, and found itself nearly equally divided on both these great questions, suffrage and representation by this geographical line, the blue ridge mountains; all suffrage men, for the most part, and white basis men I believe, without exception, west, and nearly all anti-suffrage and mixed basis men, of some description, with a few exceptions East, and this basis question divides us now, with some few exceptions East, in our favor, and by the same line. But I am happy to be assured, that we nearly all, are now, at last, in favor of giving the election of all officers from Governor down, direct to the people, and of extending the right of suffrage and of limiting and restricting the hitherto almost unlimited powers of the minority—government—thus proving that truth, right and justice have so far triumphed and are prevailing, and will finally completely triumph—that the grasp of power is relaxing.—Well, the Convention of 1829, after a hard struggle, characterized by the most brilliant displays of arguments and eloquence ever witnessed perhaps in any assembly, in any age or country, was finally obliged to compromise upon this basis question to reach results. And what did they do. Although the right of suffrage was considerably extended and a few other reforms made, yet, instead of deciding this basis question, they settled and fixed no rule at all. They divided the State, in reference to the house of delegates, into four great districts, and gave to each so many members: 36 to tide-water, 42 to piedmont, 25 to the valley, and 31 to the trans-alleghany; and then laid off the State in reference to the senate into two grand divisions, East and West of the blue ridge, retaining 19 members in that body East, and giving 13 West.

Under this arrangement was secured to the east, a majority of 22 members in the house of delegates, and of 6 in the senate and 28 on joint ballot, while there were but some forty three thousand, a few hundreds of a majority of white population east of the blue ridge—and this of course continued and secured the government and all its power, patronage and offices in their hands, if not as strongly, as surely as before. For it was further provided, in regard to future apportionments, that the number of members should never exceed one hundred and fifty in the house of delegates, and thirty six in the senate; so that in any event the east was always to have, as the ultimate limit of apportionment, a majority in both branches of the legislature; and of at least twelve on joint ballot, however great and overwhelming the excess of population and wealth too, might become in time, to the west, unless two thirds of each house should after the year 1841, concur in general re apportionment throughout the commonwealth, a thing never to be expected at the hands of the east. This arrangement, although equalizing to some extent representation among the several counties within each of the four great districts, and two grand divisions, is but tantalizing. It is an equalization of no avail in giving equal political power to the west, in not extending over the whole State. Its effect is limited by these districts and divisions, and the limitation of the ultimate number of members assigned to the two branches of the legislature. It is worse in fact, than the simple mixed basis would be, in the end, and even worse than under the old constitution, in the particular of taking away the white basis in the senate, under which already we would have gained a majority in that branch; and infinitely worse in the end, in securing the majority of the power to a sectional minority east of the blue ridge, which no increase of population and wealth in the west, however great, can ever overcome without a change in the organic law.

And as there is no hope of two-thirds of the legislature agreeing to a general re-appointment under our existing constitution, resting upon this arbitrary basis, with these districts and divisions and ultimate limit of the number of members in both branches of the legislature. The west must therefore forever remain in a minority in the government without a change—she must remain forever powerless under all circumstances and in all probable events in a state of political inferiority, not to say vassalage, for the great purposes of self government, and hopelessly so, for all time. And yet we have now a majority of ninety-three thousand of the white population. I use strong language, but I think not too strong for our present constitution and government, like its predecessors, the old one, is so framed and contrived in all its departments of power, under this unequal mixed basis in disguise, (for the effect is equivalent,) that this sectional minority east, which has thus secured to it this permanent sectional majority in both branches of the legislature—besides having the appointment of our United State senators under the constitution of the Union—holds in the hands of its majority legislature, the election of governor, the executive council, militia generals and our judges; and even through the commissioning power of its executive, that of justices of the peace, or county magistrates, constituting our county courts which decide, manage and control every thing belonging and appertaining to county police and levies, and so even our purse strings.

Our members of Assembly we select, and our inferior militia officers under a brigadier general, the companies and battalions may, I believe elect, but besides these, of all elections and officers, that of our overseers of the poor, is the poor privilege allowed us. Thus, the majority of the free white people of the State—a majority rapidly increasing—hold life, liberty and property all, subject to the will of this sectional minority east of the blue ridge, (and I repeat, the powers of this government are scarcely limited by any restrictions) as limited only in power, for good or evil, weal or woe, by the organic law of this constitution. Limitations we are told, if we held the power, would be mere "paper guaranties," not worth the paper they are written upon, as a security to the property of the East. And all this while we are tauntingly warned, by both the gentlemen who preceded me on the other side and others, to remember "that we are living and deliberating under an existing constitution and laws." Yet what is that but a paper constitution? This is the pretence under which the minority in the East have hitherto ruled, and still insist on retaining the power.

Power and property, we are gravely told, can-