

From AUSTIN Hotel, Aug. 10, 1860.

Several contemporaneous journals in this part of the Union having recently declared that the late election results in Kentucky, Missouri and North Carolina present conclusive evidence that the Southern States would patiently submit to the election of Lincoln to the Presidency, and that his election would be productive of no unpleasant effects in that section of the confederacy, and being myself of a very different opinion, and being well satisfied that every intelligent and judicious citizen of the South now in the part of the Union, stands ready to endorse the leading views contained in a letter just received by me from one of the most respectable and influential citizens to be found in any part of the South, A. Burwell, Esq., of Vicksburg, Mississippi, I beg leave to place the letter of this gentle man in your hands, with a request that it may receive an early insertion in your extensively circulating journal. I need scarcely add that Mr. Burwell is one of the most eminent jurists of the South, a gentleman extensively known in the Southwestern States, a large property holder there, and a man of proverbial integrity and truth. He has ever been a firm supporter of the Union cause, and was one of those who presented, twelve months since, a fearless and manly opposition to the reopening of the African slave trade in the Southern Commercial Convention at Vicksburg.

Respectfully and cordially your friend and colleague,

H. S. FOOTE.

Mr. BURWELL TO SENATOR FOOTE.

NEW YORK, Aug. 10, 1860.

Your letter requesting my opinion as to the course of action on the part of the Southern States in the event of the election of black republicans to the Presidency and Vice Presidency in November next has been received, and the contents carefully considered. The opinion of no individual is of any importance or weight in a matter of such delicacy, and depending on so many complicated relations, unless that opinion is sustained and vindicated by facts and arguments. At the risk, that being treason in my response to your letter, I will give my views of the delicate, embarrassing and important question.

You are well aware that I have, in my private and humble way, always sustained that party which I considered most conservative, and most likely in the administration of public affairs to sustain and defend the Union, the equality of the States and the general welfare. Having no aspirations for office of any kind to be gratified, I have at every Presidential election cast my vote for those whom I regarded as most likely, from party position and principles, to carry out the great objects for which the Union was formed, and the constitution adopted. In the present condition of parties and the chaos and confusion, in which all of them except one seem to me to be hopelessly involved, you can assure that my unalterable resolution is to cast my vote and to lend my influence in the main circles of the constitutional Union party—Bell of Tennessee, and Everett of Massachusetts. If it had entertained any doubt on my mind, or had any difficulty in bringing my mind to a conclusion, that doubt and difficulty would be removed by the consideration that their election to office will ally and put down excitement both in the North and in the South, and their administration be conducted in such way as to give just cause of offence to neither section. Mailed by messengers which have not been redeemed, delayed by postmen which have been kept neither to the one nor the other, I, with many others who ascertain the same views of public affairs, was induced to cast my vote at the last election for the nominees of the democratic party. That party was then united and national, and those having charge of its affairs and put forward as its standard banners then promised the country repose on the agitating question of slavery in the States and Territories. That the party and its leaders have been powerless for this all important purpose, let the history of the country for the past four years and its present condition testify.

We all know, and in our day have felt, the immense power of the democratic organization, when united and national. But we have all seen and we all know how powerless and fruitless, party organization is when distracted and divided; and we have realized how easily the names of this party, strong and cohesive as it has always been, can be broken and severed upon the delicate question of slavery under discussion. This question has divided, and now irreconcilably divides, those who agreed fully as well as brothers on every other. May not this irreconcilable breach now existing in the democratic party, which may be said to divide it into two factions—one for the Northern and the other for the Southern view of the subject—fore-shadow the disruption and division soon to occur in the event of the election of what all Southerners now consider as a sectional candidate.

It is not my purpose to institute an inquiry in order to ascertain whether the sentiment universally pervading the South is well or ill founded. It is sufficient for my purpose to state the existence of that feeling, and to refer to well known admitted facts to show that it does exist.

No man of candor, it seems to me, will deny that the multitude of the republican party were nominated by Northern delegates alone. No Southern State was represented in the Convention, none was expected to be, and it may be assumed that none was desired. To distract our counsels must have been the sole object of many Southern men who would attend the deliberations of a body constituted as the Chicago Convention was, and having to view the object for which it was assembled. I shall not now stop to inquire whether this Convention was composed of honest, patriotic men, or was not. It seems to me equally irrelevant to inquire, at this time, whether the North in times past has committed in regard to the question of slavery, to the South, more rights than the South, or the South less than the North. The more tenaciously held by the resolutions of the Convention, and emphatically declared by their nominees for the Presidency, is that there is an irreconcilable conflict between free labor and slave labor, between free territory and the areas in which the same of slavery exists, practised by the laws and constitutions of the country. This view is adopted in various forms of language, some more, some less obnoxious to Southern men, than that which I have stated. That a feeling of hostility to the South and to Southern men and institutions largely pervades the republican party, and is the animating principle of this organization, no Southerner doubts. We have no good reason to suppose that the election of candidates on the principle above stated will be received throughout the South as convincing proof that Southern men, Southern men and Southerners, are odious to the great majority of Northern people. To think otherwise might argue either a want of courage or a lack of ordinary intelligence. This may be a misconception of the true views and designs of the republican party. I trust that it is. However this may be, it will be impossible to convince any Southerner that Southern people that there is any misconception on the subject; and those who attempt it, if they are so lucky as to have an audience at all, will soon find themselves without position or influence. The very nature of the struggle to be undertaken at the next session of Congress to indicate the course of action to be

pursued by those who control the political destiny of the South. When the North, by the abuse of its numerical power, shall have declared that now and in future, one section of the country shall rule itself, and therefore, what plausible argument can be urged to the conquered section in favor of submission or acquiescence? I do not believe, myself, that the election of republicans, under the forms of the constitution and in pursuance of law, is just or good cause for any such action as I apprehend on the part of Southern States. Many, doubtless, will be found to concur with me in opinion, and willing, for the sake of the greatest interests at hazard, to submit to what we regard as a great wrong, relying upon the intelligence and patriotism of the North to some extent, and even more upon the distractions and divisions which we apprehend will soon occur in the dominant party, and which we hope will deprive it of the power, that does not of the disposition to commit an act of treasonous aggression upon our rights. That in the late event the United South would combine to resist, and would apply the appropriate remedy, can it be what name you please, no man, at all acquainted with the character of the people, and familiar with their sentiments, can for a moment doubt.

Very respectfully, &c.  
A. BURWELL.

H. S. FOOTE.

## THE CENSUS AS A POWER.

Little rolls of manuscript are now being silently made up in one of our Federal bureaus that are charged with more force for the cause of human advancement than all the cartridges that ever thundered. These little rolls will in due time come forth. But they will make no stir. The falling of the snow-flake will not be more noiseless. They will be silent as the light. Nay, the light itself, are, for they are revealing. They will show to the world what this Republic actually is. What one will do nothing to adorn them; logic will spend upon them none of its skill; no art or device of man will be needed to make them more effective. They will be made up of a simple aggregation of facts and figures, just such honest statements as find their place in the farmer's memorandum-book and the merchant's ledger. And yet, in the cause of human progress, every column of these figures will have the power of a thousand columns of infantry, and every line of these statements will be worth a line of battle. These are forces which are overwhelming—irresistible. They drive all men, willing or not, into an acknowledgment of our power, and into the recognition that national freedom is the greatest of national blessings. They are an army before which every weapon is powerless—an army of stubborn facts which meanness dares not assail, and sophistry cannot turn to the right or left.

It has been said by the historian Hallam that there have been battles of which a contrary event would have essentially varied the drama of the world in all subsequent scenes. This may be true, but there are noiseless events of power which it may be, with far greater certainty, affirmed. Even the greatest of battles may be transient in their effects. No nation in the world ever sustained such a defeat in a single fight as Rome at Cannae, close by her very gates; and yet within fifty three years afterwards the Roman standard was planted in every corner of the known world. Stereotype rhodomontade about Waterloo to the contrary notwithstanding, it is to be seriously doubted whether the political state of Europe would not have been essentially the same as now had that battle turned differently. Napoleon might have crushed every Briton on that wide plain, and yet England would have remained England still. Moral causes are much stronger than physical as truth is more potent than brute force. Our census report, though ostensibly but a mere business document, is an agency of this character. It is a new vindication and enforcement of the principle of our political institutions—a practical summing up of the advantages of popular freedom in a way that may be known and read of all men.—*New-York World.*

A FUNNY INTERROGATORY.

The editor of the *Journal* is an incorrigible wag, and it is always getting off something good. The last for him under the caption "Why don't Douglas and Bell withdraw?"—Tus.—"Breckinridge smile," caused by the recent elections, illuminates our neighbor's countenance, and is fast approaching the proportions of a genuine howl! and as evidence of the fact, we quote the last paragraph of said joke:—"Will not Meiers, Douglas and Bell withdraw, and take the stump for Breckinridge and Lane?" They may thus do their country a service, make a name for themselves, and escape the ignominy of a deserved defeat which awaits their continued persistence in running. Now that's what we eat *broad* humor, so broad indeed as to excite the risibilities of men of all parties, not even excepting the melanochroic "mug" of "Old Abe" himself. Imagine Douglas carrying the Christian precept "love thine enemies" to the extent of stumping for Breckinridge and Bell, the "abolitionist," working for the elevation of the same youthful individual! Isn't that funny? But when we reflect that by this means these two obscure individuals are to serve their country, and "make a name for themselves," we don't know how to restrain our hilarity. We do hope the *Journal* will not keep up this flow of humor. We have a very keen sense of the ludicrous, and, if we are to have it thus continually excited, we fear the consequences.

DAILY HERALD.

LISTEN TO NO OFFER OF COMPROMISE.

The national democratic party who nominated Douglas and Johnson can listen to no offers or propositions for a compromise from the *Secession* faction without a humiliating disregard of that self-respect which should characterize all men and especially all great parties. No, let there be no compromise short of a thorough abandonment, by the friends of Breckinridge and Lane, of their disunion ticket. If they will come to the Convention of the 30th as penitent, and pledge themselves to atone for past sins by a zealous exertion in favor of the regular ticket let them come; but if they come to dictate and tax the Convention with the same pompous bearing that has characterized them in other things let them be kicked out. How dare a handful of *Secessionists* attempt to dictate to and to control the great national democratic party? The thing is absurd and ridiculous, and but a few months will only be necessary to make those leaders now engaged in this unhallowed war upon the democratic party, and the Union cause, the day that they first wandered from the time-honored landmarks of their party and lifted their voices against the welfare of their country. The friends of Douglas will stoop to no compromise.

*Southern Progress.*

As far as heard from at latest accounts, the Missouri House of Representatives stands 26 Douglas, 25 Union, 12 Repub., 16 Breckinridge.

Spaches were made before the conve-



## Carolina Watchman.

SALISBURY, N. C.

TUESDAY EVENING, SEPT. 4, 1860.

## FOR PRESIDENT.

HON. JOHN BELL,

OF TENNESSEE.

## FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

HON. EDWARD EVERETT,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

## ELECTORS

FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT.

## FOR THE STATE AT LARGE.

HON. GEO. E. BATCHELOR,

OF WAKE.

DR. R. K. SPEED,

OF PASQUOTANK.

DISTRICTS.

1st District, J. W. HINTON, of Pasquotank.
2d " CHAS. C. CLARK, of Craven.
3d " H. D. DOCKERLY, of Richmond.
4th " L. C. EDWARDS, of Granville.
5th " A. G. FOSTER, of Randolph.
6th " HENRY WALSER, of Davidson.
7th " WM. P. BYNUM, of Lincoln.
8th " TOD R. CALDWELL, of Burke.

## PLATFORM

OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PARTY.

The following is the Platform adopted by the Constitutional Union Party, in National Convention at Baltimore:

Whereas, Experience has demonstrated that Protection, adopted by the patriotic Government of the country, has had the effect to mislead and deceive the people, and, at the same time, to widen the political divisions of the country, by the creation and encouragement of geographical and sectional parties; therefore—

Resolved, That it is both the duty of patriotism and of duty to the country, other than

The Government of the Country—

To Those who are Seccessionists; and

The Slaveholders of the South;

and, that, as representatives of the Constitutional Union men of the country, in National Convention assembled, we have pledged ourselves to sustain, protect and defend—separately and entirely, these great principles of the Constitution, and to oppose any amendment, at any time, to any section, or any article, that may ever more and more be resented in the country, the just rights of the People, and of the States re-established, and the Government again placed in that condition of Justice, fraternity and equality, which, under the example and imitation of our fathers, has already bound every State of the United States to maintain a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the Blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

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