GATHERING OF THE PEOPLE FROM THE MOUNTAINS TO THE SEABOARD.

OLD PARTY LINES IGNORED. THE UNION OF THE SOUTH FOR THE SAFETY OF THE SOUTH.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE. THE SPIRIT OF '76 AROUSED.

THE BANNER OF SOUTHERN RIGHTS UNFURLED. ENCOURAGING SMILES OF THE FAIR ONES

Patriots of all Parties in Conference.

THE FIRES OF LIBERTY BURNING BRIGHTLY. Able and Eloquent Speeches from Distinguished Orators.

IMMENSE ENTHUSIASM.

TO MEET AGAIN IN THE CRADLE OF IN DEPENDENCE,

On Friday, the 22nd instant, in accordance with a notice previously published, a portion of the people of Mr. Craige, in behalf of the Committee appointed the State of North-Carolina met in the town of to wait upon the Hon. F. J. Moses, reported that they upon the important issues which are agitating our them at once. country. This meeting was intended to be no convention, but a Mass Meeting of the people themselvesthemselves their own delegates-for the purpose of consulting with each other, and effecting an exchange of sentiment upon the condition of our State. No primary | the distinguished stranger proceeded. He said: meetings had been held to appoint delegates-there had been no caucusings for the purpose of packing delegations—but the meeting was composed of the sovereigns themselves-each man a delegate, representing the honest convictions of his own heart and not hampered by the shackles of clique instructions. Thus assembled about 1,000 freemen of the State of

they met in council for deliberation. no Whigs, no Bell men, no Breckinridge men, no maintaining the rights of a common people. Though they were all Southern Rights Men; men who be- history stands vindicated before the eyes of the world. lieve that North-Carolina is justly entitled to those | He felt proud of this reception; but what else could fights and privileges for which their fathers fought the he have expected, in a land that gave birth to freebattles of the Revolution-and thus believing, they | dom and equality-the land of the Macons, the Ashe's will dare maintain them at every hazard.

My fellow-countrymen:—I undertake the duties of him in this belief, ple themselves. Such meetings are the purest type of Ruffin.) freedom, and, if conducted with moderation and prudence, they must result in the happiest consequences. He could not believe that North-Carolina would yield | (Prolonged and deafening applause.)

work for her." That was the issue,

the South. (Applause.) With the Confederate States | brethren of the South. she will find common sympathy and have a common her territory covered with poverty and bankruptcy, not time for North-Carolina to cut loose? [voicesand ruin will cover the land as with a pall of death. | yes! yes!!] There is no escape from these evils but for Northcentury? (Cries-"no, no,") We must go with the republican Union by thousands. [Applause.]

you. ing applause.)

Gen. T. J. Green, of Warren, said:

The Rev. John N. Andrews, of the M. E. Church,

in their struggle for equality and independence. The following gentlemen, whose names were put in Presidents, he asked, do the people prefer? Davis,

nomination by Thomas D. Meares, Esq., of Bruus- all the time!] wick, were chosen Vice Presidents: Lucius J. Johnson, Perquimans; Finmet Cuthbert, Thornton, Warren; R. A. Caldwell, Rowan; Gen. C.

M. Avery, Burke, to the election of Secretaries, resulting as follows: A. M. Waddell, New Hanover: J. J. Stewart, Rowan; Dr. J. J. Lawrence, Wayne; Col. J. W.

Morris, Craven; R. H. Whitaker, Wake; Dr. E. W. Ward, Onslow; J. C. Gorman, Wilson, W. B. Smith, Esq., of Tarboro', was chosen Reud-

ing Secretary. who had been appointed by the Legislature of South | young men went with the prayers of their sweethearts Carolina a Commissioner to the proposed Convention of to inspire them, each with the injunction given by that

North-Carolina, was in town; and he would move that a committee of three be appointed to wait upon that distinguished gentleman and invite him to address this

The President appointed Messrs. Ashe, Craige and Ruffin to perform that task. Gen. Greene said he had seen registered, upon the books of one of the Hotels of the town, the name of Edmund Ruffin, of the Confederate States; he hoped the committee, just appointed, would be instructed to

wait upon him also, and invite him to a seat in this meeting. The committee were so instructed. On. motion of Thos. J. Faison, Esq., of Sampson, the meeting proceeded to the selection of three gentlemen, from each Congressional district represented, whose duty it should be, to propose business for the Eurther action of the meeting-and that they be in-

structed to report to-morrow at 10 o'clock. The following gentlemen were selected by the va-

1st DISTRICT-Dr. M. A. Wilcox, J. H. Prince, Dr. W. H. Hill. 2d DISTRICT-George Greene, Geo. V. Strong, and J. A. Englehard.

3d DISTRICT-T. D. Meares, Thos. H. Holmes, Jas. 4th DISTRICT-Gen. T. J. Green, M. J. Branch, Basil C. Manly. 7th District-Hon, B. Craige, Col. J. M. Long,

David Schenck. Mr. Meares, of Brunswick, at the request of J. B. Whitaker, Esq., to whom it was addressed, presented to the meeting a letter from the Hon. D. M. Barringer, of this city, expressing a regret that indisposition in his family prevented his attending a meeting of the Southern Rights men, in Goldsboro, expressing the opinion that the days of compromises had passed; pronouncing the pretended compromises of the Peace Congress a cheat and a swindle, and urging the friends of Southern Rights to take a bold and decided stand in .

behalf of the South. The letter was read and ordered to be placed upon the Journals.

Goldsboro', in compliance with an invitation from the had performed their duty, and if it be the pleasure of citizens of that town, for the purpose of consulting the meeting, that gentleman would proceed to address The enthusiasm following this announcement was terrific. The shouts, hurrahs and applause of the multitude lasted for several minutes-exceeding any-

thing we ever witnessed. Finally, silence ensued, and

Fellow-citizens:—Although belonging to a different government, I feel that I may call you fellow-citizens. (Applause, and cries of "we are fellow-citizens and we intend to remain so.") Yes, said he, we are fellowcitizens-not only fellow-citizens, but bone of one bone, and flesh of one flesh. South-Carolina has only got a little ahead of her Northern sister in the race of North-Carolina, on the morning of the 22d day of deliverance from Black Republican tyranny. She ex-March, 1861, and acting upon the rights of freemen, pects you soon to come along with her. ("We'll

In that vast assemblage there were no Democrats. | South-Carolina has only got a little ahead of you in Douglas men, no submissionists, no secessionists; but | much abused, she has outlived infamy, and to-day her the Caswells and the Davises? He had-been appoint-Assembling in the Court-house at half past 12 ed a Commissioner to the Convention of North-Carolina, and he hoped and believed that it would not be Or motion of that gallant advocate of Southern long before he would be honored with the privilege of Rights, V. C. Barringer, Esq., of Cabarrus, who pre- meeting that Convention. He was sure it would not. faced his motion with a few patriotic and well-timed He read from the history of North-Carolina, as well remarks, the honorable and venerable WELDON N. as in the faces of this people, that it would not be EDWARDS, of Warren, was unanimously chosen to long before North-Carolina, like South-Carolina, would preside over the meeting. He was conducted to his lassert her rights, and place one more star in the galaxy seat amid the most deafening applause. On taking of Southern States. The remembrance of the scenes of Mecklenburg, on the 20th of May, 1775, confirmed

the office to which you have chosen me, with a distrust | He hoped that no citizen of North-Carolina, like of my ability to perform them; but I thank you, his aged friend from Virginia, [Edmund Ruffin,] would nevertheless, for the compliment. No language of be compelled to leave his native State, the land of his mine can express the feelings of my heart on this birth, the ashes of his ancestors, in order that he may occasion. This is no ordinary occasion. This is no find a home among common friends. (At the menconvention; but a spontaneous outpouring of the peo- | tion of his name three cheers were given for Edmund

South-Carolina has seceded. She has cast off the yoke of oppression. She bids you come with her .-This meeting is an earnest that the popular mind has We are anxious for you to come, notwithstanding the been touched to save the fortunes and honor of the tongue of slander has told you that we have no sym-"good old North State.' Her position is a most mor- pathy with you. We love you as a sister, and we detifying one, and Mr. E. expressed the fear that influ- size your companionship. But, to induce you to reences were secretly at work, to ensure the people of | main in a Black Republican government, you are told North-Carolina in the meshes of the Black Bepublican | by the defamers of South-Carolina, that our citizens net. But he could not believe that those influences are groaning under a load of taxes. Such an assertion could be successful. He was not willing to receive the | is false, even though it come from ex-Governors and recent vote in North-Carolina as the voice of the people. | disappointed candidates for Governor-it is false.-

her rights. The people were called upon in the recent | He asked, has South-Carolina been precipitate in election to vote upon a false issue. They were told | her action? He thought not. If she had been prethat the issue was "union" or "disunion." We allowed | cipitate six other States had followed her example; the adversary to lay down this test, when there was no | but she had not been precipitate. She told the Repub-Union. The true issue was, "will North-Chrolina licans that if they elected Lincoln, she would go out. unite with ter sister Southern States in maintaining | She would have been false to her principles, and false the rights of the South, or will she sit supinely down | to the rights of the South, had she submitted. When and yield those rights, waiting for her sisters to do the | the vote was put in the Legislature of South-Carolina, "will you have a Convention," out of 170 men, there But, gentlemen, these issues and tests are no more. was not a single dissenting voice. His State was an Events treading rapidly upon each other, have brought | unit in this matter. May the time soon dome us to a new position. The time for compromises is when the same may be said of your State. He bepast. (Applause.) The day of submission is past | lieved that it would. The time is not far distant when by. Though a sad thought, the Union is dissolved, North-Carolina will add her star to the flag of the and it now becomes us to meet a new issue. We Confederate States, which now floats in your town.must no longer be beguiled by the fatal fantasy of (Applause.) He hoped North-Carolina would catch watch and wait." (Applause.) If we do, we some of the fire of the venerable Edmund Ruffin, who, shall be betrayed into the hands of our enemics; we he believed, had been at most of the Conventions when shall thereby yield our rights and allow the chains of the ordinances of secession were passed. That disla Black Republican tyranny to be placed upon our tinguished gentleman told him on several occasions that, if Virginia would not secole, he would leave her For what are we watching and waiting? - Has not | borders, for he never intended to be a subject of Abraevery effort of reconciliation failed? Has not every ham Lincoln. He kept his word most faithfully, for, proposition, for the settlement of our national difficul- from the best information on the subject, Mr. Ruffin ties, been hurled back into our faces by the Black Re- arrived in South-Carolina just one hour 58 minutes publicans? The Union is dissolved and the question | and 58 seconds before the inauguration of Lincoln,s, where will we go? With the Black Republican | (Laughter and applause.) He hoped no citizen of North, or with the sisters of the South? (Cries- North-Carolina would be compelled to leave his nativ-"with the South-the South-the South.") There is ity, because of the decision of his people to prefer no safety for North-Carolina in this fragmentary Abraham Lincoln as a ruler, and Black Republicans Union. She must, she will connect her fortunes with as brethren, rather than Jeff, Davis and their natural

You have waited and watched long enough; you interest. To remain in this Black Republican Union, have woodd long enough. No youth ever followed his - (God forbid it!) her position must be one of degrada- lady-love with more patient anxiety, and less favor tion and bankruptcy. Her wealth will be driven from her, than have the Southern States the North; from her borders. Seeking protection from her yet, for every proposal of peace they have received an northern masters, she will receive insult and injury in insult—and for every expression of devotion to the answer to her petitions; her fields will be laid waste, Union they have been mocked. After all this, is it

He spoke of the secession of South Carolina; that Carolina to unite her destinies with the South. It in passing her ordinance the Convention was a unit. pains me to utter such sentiments. Can we expect | Your women, said he, are for secession. They are for sympathy from a people who have waged a war upon | Southern Rights, and were the vote taken to-morrow us and our institutions for more than a quarter of a they would vote to carry the State out of this black South. I have but a few years left me, but so help women are always right. If there is anything in this me God, they shall be spent in the cause of the rights | world a woman bates it is a coward, or a man who of the whole South: (A voice-" we will follow your | will not contend for his rights. [That's so.] Yes, lead,") Would to God that I had more years to lead fellow-citizens, the women are for secession, and your men will vote for it at no distant day. You are bound: Gentlemen, I am growing tired. I am an old man, to go with the South. They are your natural allies-I have lived before this Constitution was formed; but, they are your brothers and your sisters—they are old as I am, my heart will be with you in every battle your sons and your daughters; and they have a place for the rights of the South. (Prolonged and deafen- in their hearts for you at your coming; and, besides, they have a vacancy upon the flag of the Confederate States for the Old North State : will she fill it ? [Cries-Mr. President, I see present several ministers of the of "she will!" "she will!" She must either take gospel, and I hope, before entering upon the impor- her position with her sisters of the South, or she must tant duties of our meeting, we will invoke Divine aid remain the tail of a black republican government under Abraham Lincoln.

The speaker here referred to the means of Lincoln's came forward, by request, and made a most appro- election, and to his creeping into the City of Washpriate and touching prayer, invoking the God of na- ington, and compared that "old thing," as he called tions to rule over and guide the people of the South | Lincoln, to the bold, gallant, clivalrous Davis, President of the Confederate States. Which of these

Mr. M. alluded to the reports which the croakers had put in circulation against South Carolina relative Craven; Dr. Thomas, J. Bunting, Sampson; F. A. to taxation. If was said by her defamers that her people were groaning under taxation, this was untrue; but he could say this much, if secession had cost them On motion of Gen. Green, the meeting proceeded everything, the people would have borne the burden rather than the disgrace of yielding to a government that did not acknowledge their rights. It was said by others that the negroes would become discontent. This had dikewise proved false, for the negroes who went to the Forts at Charleston, each, on returning to his master, wore a red cockade. South-Carolina did not count the cost of liberty. The old men gave of Mr. Ashe said, before proceeding to business, he their means—sons enlisted and went to the rescue, would state to the meeting that the Hon. F. J. Moses, with the mother's kiss yet warm upon their cheeks -

He said that Gov. Pickens had been abused for his

course in not attacking Fort Sumter; but humanity Meares, Esq., of Wilmington. would acknowledge the prudence of his action, While

that it would be better for the citizens of the State to were eloquent and full of the fire of patriotism. possess them now, than permitting thom to pass into the hands of abolition forces and then to cost the lives adjourned until 10 o'clock on Saturday. of thousands of North-Carolina's best men to retake them. They were not built for the subjugation or intimidation of the States, but for their protection. Will you allow a black republican force to menace your seaports? To inspect your commerce and to twenty-five Counties were represented, besides the hold your State in military subjection? [Let them County of Wayne, by about two hundred and fifty or

Mr. Moses spoke for more than an hour, amid the most enthusiastic applause, and convincing every man present, we presume, that it would be to the interest of North-Carolina, as well as all the Southern States. to join the Southern Confederacy. The reporter does not presume to give anything more than a mere out- mously adopted, the resolutions being voted upon line of this great speech-nor have we written out all

At the conclusion of this speech, Edmund Ruffin. the venerable farmer of Virginia, was conducted to he stand by the Hon. W. S. Ashe, who introduced him to the audience. That venerable old gentleman. whose flowing white locks fell about his neck, but whose face beamed with the enthusiasm of youth, pro-

ceeded to address the audience. He said, he came as a spectator, and not to take pare dience in no public character whatever. He was but a plain citizen, though he claimed for himself no particular State-he was a citizen of the giorious Confederacy of the South. He was not a talking man, and least of all was he prepared to respond to so flattering a call at this moment. He would, however, refer to some points which his honorable friend touched in the course of his able and eloquent remarks.

He proceeded to show that the so-called border States were entirely powerless in this Union, and while they might not have the power, constitutionally, to abolish slavery in the States, the day was not far distant when, by the introduction of new States, the North would have that power. He showed that, as the border States became more and more free-soilized, slaves would be transported South, to the amount of millions of dollars; until the great burden of taxation would fall upon the land and the working classes .-Such a State of things would involve the country in

Mr. Ruffin alluded to the fact of being in the Conention of South Carolina when the ordinance of secession was passed. He said, when the ordinance was introduced not a voice was heard for some moments. Not a voice was heard by way of comment, objection or amendment, and when the vote was put, one hundred and seventy men, the whole Convention, voted aye-making a unanimous vote. Since that time he had spent much time in South Carolina, and he had yet to hear the first word of complaint or objection to that action, whatever you may hear in the papers to ern Confederacy are dissatisfied with their new gov- the earliest practicable time, county organizations, whose ernment. They are the most satisfied people in the world, and they ask only to be let alone, to work out their future greatness.

Mr. R. concluded by making a few remarks relative to the forts in North-Carolina. He thought, if they were reinforced by federal troops, that reinforcement would be for the sole purpose of intimidating the

Mr. Myers, of Mecklenburg, said, lest there might e some doubt whether the 7th Congressional District was represented, he would call on his friend Dr. Young

Dr. Young responded to the call ably and eloquentv, recounting the wrongs which the South have enured, and appealing to the people of North-Carolina to ex officio of said Committee. discard old party names, break down old party lines, and unite as one people in defence of Southern Rights: He alluded to South-Carolina, as an example of the H. M. Shaw, Indian Town, Currituck. propriety of such a course. There were no parties there, and the consequence was that all were South- Dr. Milton, Selby, Hyde, Carelina men. Old parties must be broken down, and all Southern Rights men must meet upon a common | Leake, Richip ad. olatform. He was proud to meet here men of all the old political parties. The venerable President andhimself | ton, Warren. had belonged to opposite parties heretofore, but he was proud that, to-day, they stood side by side upon a common platform.

The meeting took a recess until 7½ o'clock, P. M. - EVENING SESSION. The meeting re-assembled at 7½ o'clock, the President in the Chair.

The following resolution offered by Mr. Trigpen,

of Edgecombe, w s adopted. Resolved, That a list of Representatives, present from the various counties be furnished to the Clerks. and the same be recorded as members of this body. A call was made for V. C. Barringer, Esq., of Ca-

Mr. Barringer said he thanked God for this day. He thanked God, that he had lived to see the day when it might be hoped that a North-Carolinian would not be required to leave his native land in order to free himself from the shackles of an unjust party government. It was a bright day in the history of the Old North State. The light was breaking, and he hoped soon to see the bright day of deliverance. He would not leave his old mother. He would not forsake the land of his fathers, but he wished to see that land, ere many months, a portion of that glorious Southern Confederacy which lies on our borders.

He alluded to his venerable friend from Virginia, Mr. Ruffia, and hoped, that although now an exile from his native State, he might yet see her freed from Black Republican rule, and that, when at last he fell, it might be to repose his ashes in the soil of Virginia, beneath the flag of the Southern Confederay.

These Submissionists, said he, want us to leave the State. Those who desire to keep North-Carolina under Black Republican rule, would be glad for Southern Rights men to leave the State, but we will not do it. We will carry the State with us. He believed, that, before the Autumn leaves had fallen, North-Carolina will have taken her position with her sisters of the

He contended that the people of North-Carolina had een educated in error. This might sound harsh, yet, t was true, nevertheless. We have been taught that we owe allegiance to the Union. This is false. We owe no allegiance to the Union. We do not swear to support the Union, but, to support the Constitution.

We owe allegiance to North-Carolina.

The great difficulty with which the Southern Rights party had to contend in the recent election, was in alowing the adversary to state questions for us. The issue was falsely put. It was made "union" or "disunion," when the fact was, there was no Union. The Union had been broken up, and the real and true issue was, to which government will North-Carolina belong: with the free and happy South-or with an abolitionized North? That is the issue. Go home, therefore, and tell your friends that they must meet this question boldly, and face to face. The Union is dissolved, and there could be no reconstruction. Patrick Henry told the tories of his day, that a reconstruction of the government with Great Britain was impossible. It is so now. "Watch and wait," said the tories, and Parliament may redress our wrongs-that is the cry now. Do not be deceived by this cry. Our forefathers did not believe it they could not be deceived, and history has shown that they acted wisely in not listening to the cry of "watch and wait." There is no more hope of reconstructing this government, than there was in the days of '76, of reconstructing with the British

government. He called the attention of the people to the striking analogy between the present grievances of the Southern people and the complaints of the Revolutionists, and showed that our forefathers were less forbearing than we had been. He alluded to the action of the Peace Congress, denouncing its so-called compromise

Auglo Saxon heart, and our good old State will soon out of this Black Republican Union. add another star to the galaxy of the Southern con-

stellation. [Applause.] which he endorsed the action and speeches of the Southern States. meeting. He said it had been said by the leaders of The citizens of Wayne, and especially of Goldsboro' the "watch and wait" party that it was a bad omen deserve great credit for being the means of inauguraor the success of a cause when he, Mr. McRae, led in | ting a new and enthusiastic impulse in North-Carolihe movement, and lest there might be some truth in | na. | May the ball which they have set in motion roll

Roman matron who told her son to come home with the remark he preferred giving place to others. He indicated his willingness to address the meeting at a subsequent time, and gave way by calling upon O. P.

Mr. Meares addressed the meeting at length, and he had maintained the dignity and honor of South-Carolina, he had not needlessly sacrificed the sons of and Mr. Fox, of Mecklenburg but of the and Mr. Fox, of Mecklenburg, but of these speeches we took no notes, and therefore cannot do them the He referred to the Forts in North-Carolina, saying compliment of an extensive notice. Their speeches At the conclusion of these speeches the meeting

> SATURDAY, 10 O'CLOCK. List of gentlemen present from various Counties were handed in and it was ascertained that about

> three hundred persons. On motion of Mr. Schenck the name of Gilbert Dickson, Esq., was added to the list of Vice Presidents. Hon. Burton Craige on behalf of the Committee appointed to prepare resolutions for the action of this meeting, made the following report which was unani-

seriatim: WHEREAS, The General Assembly of the State of North-Carolina, recently in session, passed, by the constitutional majority, an act authorising the people of the State, in their discretion, to call a Convention for the consideration of the relations of the State of North-Carolina to the Federal Government, or agency of the United States, and to the different States composing the Union or Confederacy known as the United States; and whereas, the citizens of North-Carolina, ardently attached as they have been and still are to the institutions under which they have been raised, and which have been transmitted to them from their revoluin the proceedings. He appeared before this large autionary ancestors, have, in some cases, been unavailing, to recognize the fact that these constitutions, and the true principles upon which they were founded, have been totally subverted, or if such fact were recognized, have still hoped that some plan of compromise or reconciliation might yet be agreed upon; and whereas, further events have sufficiently and most conclusively shown that so far all efforts to obtain any proper and satisfactory guarantees for the protection of the threatened rights of the Southern States (and North-Carolina claims to be in the fullest sense of the word a Southern and not merely a border State,) have failed, and we believe will fail, be it

Therefore, Resolved, That the interests, as well as the honor, of North-Carolina naturally and imperatively demand that her political connections hereafter should be with her sister States of the South and not with the States of the North, opposed to her as they are in social institutions and in pecuniary interests, and enemies as they have shown themselves to be in both relations.

2. Resolved That we respectfully recommend the formation of an organization, to be known as the Southern Rights Party of North-Carolina, whose object it shall be to disseminate the facts and present the arguments bearing upon this issue to the people of every county in the State of North-Carolina, believing that when the facts prior as well as subsequent to the day of election. (28th February, 1861.) are fully understood, the citizens of North-Carolina will reconsider their action and demand from their servants, the Governor and General Assembly an opportunity to so express their wishes through the ballot box.

3. Resolved. That for the purpose of disseminating these facts and presenting the arguments deducible therefrom, we suggest-Ist. That the president of this meeting appoint a State Executive Committee, consisting of two from each Congressional District, whose duty it shall be to adopt all honorable and proper measures for carrying out the objects and defending the principles of the Southern Rights voters of North-Carolina 4. Resolved, That we respectfully recommend to the Sonththe contrary. It is false that the people of the South - ern Rights citizens of each county in the State to form, at

> per executive officer shall correspond with the Souther lights State Executive Committee. . Resolved, That the forts of the Federal Government on the soil of North-Carolina were intended to defend and protect and not to menage and subjugate her citizens, and that any additional forces placed in such forts, not simply without the request, but against the wishes of the people and of the authorities of the State, must be regarded as

> a menace, and as a preliminary step to subjugation, which.

as North-Carolinians, we must not only denounce, but in the last resort resist at all hazard. In accordance with the third resolution the followng gentlemen were chosen as an Executive Committee f the Southern Rights party of North-Carolina, to

carry out the objects of said resolution. The President of the meeting was made Chairman EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1st Dist. - L. J. Johnson, Woodville, Perquimans; 2d Dist.-John L. Bridgers, Tarboro', Edgcombe; 3d Dist. O. P. Meares, New Hanover; W. F.

4th Dist. - Dr. Pride Jones, Orange; F. A. Thorn-5th Dist. J. R. S. McLean, Guilford; Sam'l P. Hill Caswell 6th Dist .- F. D. Stockton, Iredell; Col. Sam. Har-

grave, Davidson. 7th Dist. Hampton B. Hammond, Anson; Rufus Barringer, Cabartus. 8th Dist. Gen'l C. M. Avery, Burke; N. W. Wood-

Mr. Craige being called upon delivered one of the ablest and most conclusive speeches we ever heard.— He thoroughly exposed the wickedness of the Black Republican party-their objects and aims, and showed how futile it was to expect to make anything by compromising any longer with them. He exposed the deformity of the so-called Peace Congress Compromise, and said it would not, could not satisfy the South.— The North, he said, would not yield to the South her rights, and the only way to settle the diffic lty, was to separate from them. Mr. C. spoke at great length to an enthusiastic addience.

In the afternoon, Mr. McRae addressed the meeting. He said he had refused to respond to the repeated and flattering calls which had been made upon him, not because he was inflifferent as to the cause, but from a desire to hear others speak, who were here from a distance. He hesitated not to say he was for secession by the shortest route possible. He considered it a degradation to remain in a Union presided over by such a man as Mincoln, and he was for taking the shortest route out of it. He alluded to Lincoln's Presidential tour from Springfield to the National Capital, bringing down thunders of applause as he satirically commented upon the old rail-splitter's creeping into

During Mr. McRaels remarks, he was interrupted the presentation of a beautiful bouquet to the Hon Mr. Moses, of South-Carolina, by the young ladies of Goldsboro'. This was one of the most interesting features of the whole proceedings. L. J. Johnson, Esq., Vice-President, presented it in

chalf of the ladies, in a most gallant speech. Mr. Moses responded in a most beautiful and comlimentary manner, to the ladies. He told them he was proud to see them there, for it proved to him that their hearts were in the great cause of Southern rights. Women governed the world at last, and it was all important that, in matters of so much moment, we should have their aid and smiles. The hand that rocks the cradle, said he, rules the country. His remarks were well received by the ladies and enthusiastically applauded by the male portion of the audience.

In this connection, it will not be amiss to state that, throughout the entire meeting the galleries of the Courthouse, and frequently the jury boxes were filled with old Wayne's beautiful daughters, whose beaming faces proved how delighted they were at the scenes that were being enacted. May the daughters of North-Carolina never have cause to be ashamed of the action of her sons in yielding her rights to the aggressions of Black Republicanism

combe, Dr. Wilcox, of Halifax, and Mr. Bunn, of Wilson, were severally called upon and delivered eloquent and soul-stirring speeches. It was resolved, on motion of Mr. Englehard, that when this meeting adjourn, it do adjourn to meet in

Gen. Greene, of Warren, Mr. Englehard, of Edge-

Charlotte on the 20th May next. After a vote of thanks to the officers of the meeting and to the Goldsboro Brass Band, which was present during the whole time, discoursing soul-stirring airs, under the leadership of Prof. Whitaker, the meeting adjourned to meet in Charlotte on the 20th day of

May-birth day of Independence. We have thus given a brief report of the proceedings of the Grand Mass Meeting of the Southern Rights men, who met at Goldsboro' on the 22nd and 23d as a cheat and a swindle upon the South, which, as un- inst. Taking it from beginning to close, it was one satisfactory as it was to the South, had been rejected of the largest, most attentive and most enthusiastic meetings that it has ever been our good fortune to at-Mr. B, in conclusion, paid a beautiful compliment | tend. We saw nor heard of any unpleasantness—we to the ladies of North-Carolina, and said that much saw nor heard of any division of sentiment-we saw depended upon them in this crisis. If they would but no Union men, nor any secession -but all were Southact well their part, this abolition storm will be met ern Rights men-determined to have their rights, or with all the patriotism and zeal that animates the take the shortest cut that would lead North-Carolina

It was indeed a glorious meeting-the good old spirit of 1776 was fully aroused-the fires of independ-Loud and prolonged calls were made for the Hon, ence were rekindled, and the ball fairly put in motion D. K. McRae, who responded in a few remarks, in to place North-Carolina side by side with her sister

on, until the State has chosen to prefer Jeff Davis to Abe Lincoln for President.

We must not omit to state that the committe of arrangements had had made, and run up, a most beautiful flag of the Southern Confederacy, which floated from the top of a pole over 100 feet high. The flag contains seven stars and three stripes two red and

one white-the Union in blue ground. Messrs. Gregory and Granger and J. B. Whitaker are entitled to the thanks of the large crowd of strangers who visited Goldsboro', for the very hospitable manner in which they were entertained. The Reporter here tenders his thanks to Mr. Gregory, of the Griswold House, for kindly attention.

SPEECH OF

HON. JOHN C. BRECKENRIDGE, Delivered in the U. S. Senate, on the 18th of March, 1861.

FORTS IN THE SECEDING STATES. The Vice President. Does the Senator from Kentucky move to proceed to the consideration of the resolution indicated by himself? Mr. Breckinridge. Yes, sir.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed the consideration of the following resolution, submitted by Mr. Douglas on the 13th instant : Resolved. That the Secretary of War be requested to inform the Senate what forts, arsenals, navy-yards, and other public works within the limits of the States of South-Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, are now within the actual possession and occupation of the United States, and by what number of men each is garrisoned and held, and whether reinforcements are necessary to retain the same; and if so, whether the Government has the power and means, under existing laws, to supply such reinforcements within such time as the exigencies and necessities of the case may demand; and whether the defence and protection of the United States and their interests make it necessary and wise to retain military possession of such forts, places, and other property, except at Key West and Tortugas, and to recapure and reoccupy such others as the United States have been deprived of by seizure or surrender, for any other purpose, and with a view to any other end than the subjugation and occupation of those States which have assumed the right to secede from the Union, and within whose limits such forts and other public property are situated; and, if such be the motives for recapturing and holding the forts and other public property, what military force, including regulars and volunteers, would be necessary to enable the

the Federal capital. The pending question being on the motion of Mr. Clark. to strike out all after the words "United States," where they first occur, in the following words:

"And by what number of men each is garrisoned and reld, and whether reinforcements are necessary to retain the same; and if so, whether the Government has the power and means, under existing laws, to supply such renforcements within such time as the exigencies and necessities of the case may demand; and whether the defence and protection of the United States and their interests make it necessary and wise to retain military possession of such forts, places, and other property, except at Key West and Turtugas, and to recapture and reoccupy such others as the United States have been deprived of by seizure or at any time, express an opinion that does not justify me surrender, for any other purpose, and with a view to any other end than the subjugation and occupation of those States which have assumed the right to secede from the Union, and within whose limits such forts and other public property are situated; and, if such be the motives for recapturing and holding the forts and other public property, what military force, including regulars and volunteers, would be necessary to enable the United States to reduce the States aforesaid, and such others as are supposed to laws of the Union, and to protect the Federal capital." Mr. Breckingidge, Mr. President, it is not my n to trespass long upon the patience of the Schate; but it | seems to me, in the present anxious and distracted condition of the country, that this body should not adjourn without expressing some opinion upon the condition of affairs, and without giving some advice which may tend to allay the public apprehension.

Senate, I have been of necessity a silent spectator of the scenes passing before us. Since the Congress met, the Confederacy has been dismembered; and, sir, I have sat, as it seemed to me, looking at a drama that was rapidly enacting itself? while many who might have contributed to | question. If we mean to make war on them, let us the direct its course were either indifferent or paralyzed. At a very early period of the session, a number of gentlemen (of whom I was the humblest) made strenuous efforts to have some measure brought to the attention of the Senate, and passed by it, to furnish the basis of a thorough and satisfactory adjustment. Unhappily, all those efforts failed. I foresaw, or thought I foresaw, at an early period of the session, that they would all be futile; and accordingly, more than two months ago, in a brief letter that I had occasion to write to the Governor of Kentucky, I stated that, in my opinion, no thorough and satisfactory plan of adjustment would be proposed by Congress to the States. Unhappily, that, sir, and other predictions in that letter, have been verified by the result; and no man can regret it more sincerely than I do. And now, the

other branch of Congress having adjourned, I should regret to see this body depart—the representatives of the States-without the expression of some opinion, or giving some advice which might tend to allay the excitement and apprehensions of the public mind. Then, sir, as it seemed to me, and as I said, the immediate question was one of peace or war. It remains the immediate question. As it was then, so it is to-day. Whatever may be the possibilities of an ultimate adjustimmediate question now is one of peace or war. The issue will depend upon the policy of the present Administration.

ment that may re-unite all the States, unquestionably the What is that policy? About this opinions seem to be divided. The Senator from Illinois [Mr. Douglas] construes the inaugural of the President to mean peace and conciliation. The Senator from Maine [Mr. Fessenden] also says it means peace and conciliation. The President himself certainly uses general terms of conciliation, and expresses a desire for harmony and peace; but it becomes us, sir, toinquire what kind of peace is meant, and upon what terms that peace is to be obtained. We should not delude ourselves, nor should the country be deluded, by general declarations in favor of conciliation and peace, unless that course of policy is to be pursued which will secure these

I regret, sir, that I have not been able to construe the inaugural address of the President as it has been construed by other Senators. I freely admit, and I am gratified to whelming majorities of their representatives, declared that be able to say so, that the general expressions employed by that eminent gentleman were expressive of a desire for conciliation, for harmony, and the prevention of bloodshed; but I fear that the policy which he deems it his duty to pursue must inevitably result in a collision of arms against the policy of coercion. Then, sir, it may be asand in the effusion of blood, unless it is essentially modified. I will occupy but a moment in reading that portion of the inaugural which seems to be the key of the President's policy on this important point. After declaring that no State or States have a right to separate themselves from the Union, and that all resolves and ordinances to that effect are void, and that acts of violence within any State or States are either insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances-that is to say, I suppose, according to the number engaged and the magnitude of the movement-he proceeds to say:

"I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be aithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to tive if some Senator would introduce here a resolution exbe only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters—the American people—shall withhold the requisite means, or, in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the | collision and bloodshed. declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally

defend and maintain itself. "In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used | isting laws, it will be impossible to interfere, by taxation to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places be or otherwise, with the commerce of the second States. longing to the Government, and to collect the duties and think, also, this fact was sufficiently demonstrated the other imposts; but, beyond what may be necessary for these ob- day by the Senator from Illinois. Under existing laws. jects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against | the revenue must be collected within the ports. None of United States, in any interior locality, shall be so great | must be collected by Federal officers at the ports. No offiand universal as to prevent competent resident citizens | cers are there to act under the Federal laws. The Presifrom holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt | dent does not possess the right, nor has he, the power, to to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that ob- | blockade the Southern ports. Then, sir, I apprehend there ject. While the strict legal right may exist in the Govern- | will be no interference upon the question of revenue, at least ment to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to until Congress meets and new laws are enacted. The sugdo so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable | gestion of the Senator from New York, (Mr. King,) that withal, that I deem it better to forego, for the time, the the im orts and exports, to the amount of several hundred

And again: towards the close of the address, he says: not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict | nue. Smuggling is the secret importing or exporting of without being yourselves the aggressors.'

The leading idea, very clearly put forth in what I have the existence of another confederacy of States upon this continent, but that he regards all the proceedings in the lower southern States as insurrectionary and revolutionary, and as the illegal acts of certain "dissatisfied portions of his fellow-countrymen," merely; and that it is his purpose, to the extent of the power confided to him as the Executive of the United States, to execute the laws in all the States, including those which have assumed to withdraw. Beyond the power necessary to collect the duties and imposts, and to maintain, hold, and occupy the forts and other places within those States, and to execute the laws within their borders, "there will," he says, "be no invasion, no using of force among or against the people anywhere." The inference is irresistible, that, to whatever extent force or invasion may be necessary to collect imposts and duties, to hold and maintain the forts and other places within those States, and to execute the laws, force and invasion will be employed, he deeming it to be a simple, plain, con stitutional duty to do so. It is true, sir, that the President has qualified these clear and emphatic declarations by the following language:

"The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper; and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised, according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of a sectional majority, it becomef the worst on earth; and, for myself, neither in public nor in private life, will I ever con-

fraternal sympathies and affections.' I take that qualification to mean that he will not undertake to execute the laws or to hold the forts and other places within the withdrawing States, whenever circumstances shall show his inability to do so. Otherwise, and if it means that he will not undertake to exercise these functions if he believes that the effect would be further to irritate the public mind and to make the hopes of a peaceful solution more doubtful, then the course of the President, undoubtedly, would be to pursue that policy which | restored or preserved upon the principles which brought

would prevent all irritation, and the slightest possibility collision or bloodshed. I construe what I first read to the inaugural panels to read the inaugural panels. the leading idea of the inaugural, namely, that it duty and his purpose to hold the forts, to collect duty imposts, and to execute the laws; and that this policy is to

be modified only by the necessities of the case. Otherwise, the policy of the President would be simple and immediate. It would be to withdraw the troops, and cease to make Federal authority conflict with that confederate States. The view I have taken of his polstrengthened by the reasons given for the evacuation of Fort Sumter, if indeed it is to be evacuated. They are not political, but military reasons. Not because, in the opinion of the Administration, the holding of that fort will irritate the public mind and render conciliation and barmons more difficult; but because, with the military and naval forces now at the command of the Executive, the power does not exist to penetrate to the fort. Senators upon the other side of the Chamber know that is the reason. military, not a political reason. Unless the purpose President is to employ force to the extent necessary the forts and to execute the laws, and if he really into a peace policy, he will instantly withdraw the troops from that fort for political, not for military reasons. But military necessity is the only ground which the abandon ment of Sumter is to be excused by the Senators who opposite to me; that is the only ground on which it is ex-cused by the public press of the dominant party.

Then, sir, I think I am justified in constraing the manga-

ral to mean that the President will hold the forts and or places within the confederate States; that he will execut the laws in all those States, and collect duties and impost to the extent of his power; and that wherever a modifica. tion of this declared purpose takes place, it will result from his necessities alone. Mr. President, in addition to the reasons given for evare

uating Fort Sumter, I may add that the whole current of events around us impresses me gloomily with the appro hension that it is not the purpose, or has not been the pur pose or policy of the Administration, to pursue a co which will prevent the possibility of bloodshed. When the bill passed during the last session for a certain number , steamers of light draft and of heavy armament, and when it was suggested there could be no other purpose than to invade the shallow harbors of the Southern States, it was avowed on the other side that that was the purpose if should become necessary. The whole tone of the public press of the dominant party in this country gives us little ground to hope that the policy to be pursued is one which will avoid collision and bloodshed. Moreover, the character of the Cabinet is not such as to induce us to believe that force will not be used. I do not care to comment upon those gentlemen at length; but the eminent gentleman who is in the State Department, although he breathes general words of conciliation, declared very recently upon the floor of the Senate that he would speak for the Union, he United States to reduce the States aforesaid, and such would give money for the Union, and, finally, he would others as are supposed to sympathize with them, to subjecfight for the Union. If there has been any modification of tion and obedience to the laws of the Union, and to protect his views, I have never heard it. The Secretary of the Treasury, the Postmaster General, the Attorney General, perhaps every member of that Cabinet, except one, whose pinions are unknown to me, is supposed by the country to favor the policy of coercion, if it shall become necessary to reduce the Confederate States to obedience.

I may add that the very organization of this Senate, and the opinions continually expressed in our hearing by Sena tors upon the other side, show that the purpose is to maintain the authority of the Federal Government over those States by force, if necessary. In the organization of the committees of this body, there is scarcely a chairman whose known opinions are not in favor of the policy I have inde cated. I have scarcely heard one Senator upon that side

Then, sir, let us not deceive ourselves or the country. What is meant by peace? How is it to be obtained? desire it as sincerely as any man, as I desire the reunion of all the States as sincerely as any man in America. I confess to you that I have not seen any broad and practical policy which tends to secure that result. We are in constant danger of collision and bloodshed. Perhaps, in no other country upon the globe could the same events have sympathize with them, to subjection and obedience to the occurred without producing the most disastrous and bloody consequences. We are liable at any time to hear of a co lision of arms. The highest political and material inter ests of this country have been for weaks, and are to day, the sport of accident and chance. Sir, let us establish some leading principle, and let it draw all its pupper consequent ces after it. What is the question? Shall the Union be maintained by arms? Shall-the authority of the Federal Government be asserted by force over seven States, containing five million people, who have organized the osselves In the official relation which I have occupied to the into a separate confederacy, with all the machin sey of gove ernment in complete and regular operation? That is the simple question. It exhausts the whole subject. It peace or war. It is silly to take any lower view of the pare for it. We are not prepared now. The scatt ver orts and troops throughout that confederacy are incotent for purposes of subjugation, and are significant on as causes of irritation. If the Federal Union is to be many tained by arms, let us get ready for the conflict. Is not then, sir, the policy is clear. Let us cease to talk all an executing the laws upon individuals, and collecting tax from States not represented in levying them, and which will have no part in their expenditure. If we would cinbrace the last hope of restoring the Union, let the troops be withdrawn from the Confederate States, where their presence can accomplish no good, but will certainly produce incalculable mischief.

Besides, sir, you cannot disguise from youselves the fact that while seven States have withdrawn from the Union, eight other States are discontented and gloomy and trembling in the balance. Their course may be determined by the policy of this Administration. In my opinion, if a halting policy is pursued, and a fort abandoned here and a company or squadron withdrawn there, under the pressu of circumstances, setting up an impotent claim to coerco without the power to do it, keeping up a constant danger of collision and bloodshed; if that policy is pursued, collision and bloodshed will occur; and when it does, Mr President, you will have destroyed the last hope which now remains of reuniting the States: you will, have destroyed the last hope of maintaining, in its integrity, what is left of the Confederacy.

Sir, it may be presumptuous in me, but I shall speak plainly, yet with great respect. I think the Senate, representing the States of this Confederacy, and being the constitutional adviser of the President, should advise him by resolution to withdraw the troops from the Confederate States, and to be careful not to collect forces in large num bers in any of the Southern States, nor to take any step which would look like a menace to them; we should throw the whole question, where it really is, upon the chance of negotiation and amicable settlement. The seven States who have gone out are a protest against force in any form. From the eight Southern States that remain, making fifteen in all, there is also a protest against torce. Kentucky Tennessee, Virginia, and others, have, in direct terms and by overif force is employed they will consider the cause of these States their own; and Maryland-condemned to silence amid scenes that would move the utterance of a mutevoiceless Maryland, unable to speak, looks her protest sumed that if this Administration proposes to execute the laws of the Federal Government within the States that have withdrawn, it will array against it-ay, and against the old Union-fifteen sovereign States of this Confederacy. But, sir, if the President, under the advice of the Senate, will withdraw these scattered and impotent forces from the Confederate States, he will give the country an assurance that he really means peace. All good men will approve the act, and he will have adopted the only policy that leaves one lingering hope of a constitutional Union that shall embrace

the thirty-four States. Mr. President, I shall vote with pleasure for the resolution of the Senator from Illinois, because its purpose seems to me to look in this direction. I venture to add, however, that it seems to me it would be more direct and more effecpressing it as the sense of the Senate that, under the cir cumstances which surround the country, it is the duty of the President to withdraw all the troops from the limits of the Confederate States, and remove the last possibility of I have spoken of the forts and said nothing about the

revenue, for obvious reasons. It is understood that the question was very thoroughly considered by the late Administration, and the conclusion reached that, under exr among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the the ports are in the possession of the United States. million dollars annually, might be stopped, under the head of preventing smuggling, is important only as evidence of "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and | the flimsy arguments on which gentlemen rest their opinions that anything can be done upon the question of revegoods contrary to law. There is no law which prevents these goods from going into the Southern ports. The trade reads is, that the President does not recognize, in any sense, is not secret; it is the open commerce of nations, carried in ships and under flags; it has not one feature of smuggling, and cannot be arrested upon any such idea: Then, apprehend we are in no present danger of collision on the question of revenue, but only on the question of the forts; and it belongs only to this Administration and to its advisers in the Senate to say whether the country shall drift into war upon the question of holding a few soldiers at a few forts within the limits of those States, only to be taken finally with or without bloodshed.

But, Mr. President, if we can pass that question for the present, if the Administration, as I sincerely hope it may, will adopt a practical policy that will assure the country we are to have peace for the present, then thesquetion arises, what are the chances of reuniting all the States upon a thorough basis of government? And upon that shall trouble the Senate with a few observations.

Mr. President, for one, I prefer the present Federal Government, administered in the spirit of the Constitution, to any other Government on earth. I believe, thus administered, it is the best Government on earth. I inherit, and all my life have cherished, a habitual and cordial attachment to a constitutional Union, and now would be willing any day to die for it. But, while I believe, administered according to the true principles of the Constitution, it is the best on earth, I also believe that, administered without the limitations of the Constitution, and by the simple power of

municipal liberty, and of State equality, to the naked idea of Federal unity. It is of the nature of all great disputes to sift themselve down to their underlying principles; and the time has come for us to determine whether this Federal Government can be preserved upon the principles of the Constitution, my opinion, Senators, the Federal Government cannot be

sent to sacrifice the principles of constitutional freedor