

Danville, there is no rapid to the mile—there are but any real difficulty—namely, Hyco falls. The Horseford is in the other, and Hyco has the steepest. The only fall on the magnitude, is Tally's falls, where the quarters, is 15.23 feet—making it come, to render the rivers accessible to upwards of one hundred miles, on the Roanoke about fifty miles on the Staunton. If nothing else could be done but to rescue these portions of the rivers from the state of comparative uselessness in which they at present are, would it be nothing? It appears to me that these improvements, (if indeed any are required to be made,) can be done by the company in a short time and with but little expense. I am sensible that the Board of Directors, at their last meeting, directed that the work should be commenced at Rock Landing; but I think the policy of beginning at the head of Pugh's falls, and bestowing the first labor on the Horseford, Butcher's Creek falls, Hyco falls, and Tally's falls, is so obvious, that you ought to do, what I am sure the Board would do, had they now to decide the question again. Our policy is, certainly, to apply our labor so as to open as much of the river as we can, in the shortest time, and with the least expense: in what other way can it be done?

Let us consider for a moment, that these four obstacles are removed, and steam-boats can navigate the rivers as above supposed; there would be an immediate, easy, and expeditious communication between Danville and the Gaston rail-way, by running stages a short distance down the river, from Danville to the boat; and from the head of Pugh's falls (about 7 miles) to Gaston. And there would be nothing to prevent another boat's running from Brookline to the same place. I do not think it improbable, in such a state of things, that a toll of one dollar for each passenger, would give the company more revenue, than all the other tolls put together.

As to the falls between the head of Pugh's falls and Rock Landing, and those high up on the Dan and Staunton, they would be attended to, after these four places should be put in order. I think it not improbable that the 12 miles below Pugh's falls, will require more labor and expense than all the others: if so, the river being improved above, would give us ample revenue to work on, and remove these obstructions.

But suppose we find some place on the river which steam-boats cannot ascend? If steam cannot overcome it, machinery may; and to view it in its worst aspect, should we be obliged to change boats, and have passengers and baggage carried around such a place, still we shall have accomplished much.

All these remarks apply to passage boats; they are found to be capable of ascending worse rapids than tow boats. The latter, however, would soon follow the introduction of the former; and I have little doubt they can be turned to good account.

May I not hope, in conclusion, that this subject will engage the attention, draw out the energy, and stimulate the enterprise of the enlightened and patriotic sons of those lovely and fertile valleys? Ardently hoping it may,

I remain, dear sir,

Your obedient servant,

E. B. HICKS.

SPEECH

OF THE

HON. BEDFORD BROWN,

Delivered before a large assemblage of the Democratic Citizens of CASWELL and some of the adjoining Counties, at a Public Dinner given complimentary to him, at the Milton Hotel, on Saturday the 17th of September, 1834.

The following was the sixth regular Toast drank on the occasion: Our Distinguished Guest, the Hon. Bedford Brown—His zealous support of the Republican measures of the present Administration—his opposition to the discussion and agitation of the slave question in Congress—his intrepid and fearless denunciation of the panic makers of '34 and '36, proclaim him the honest and faithful representative of our feelings and interests, and must endear him to the hearts of his countrymen.

After the loud and repeated bursts of applause with which this sentiment was received, had subsided, Mr. BROWN rose and said:

IN tendering to you, Fellow Citizens, my most cordial and sincere thanks for the approbatory sentiment, with which, I have just been honored, I feel my entire inadequacy to give utterance to the sense of obligation which it recalls, and to the warm and grateful emotions, which it inspires. This honour, I am sure, in some degree the result of partial kindness, is, in my own estimation, greatly enhanced, from the circumstance, that it springs from those who have known me longest and best, and between whom and myself, from a very early period of my youth, the most friendly personal and political relations have subsisted.

If I had needed any other incentive to animate me, in endeavouring to discharge faithfully, the public trust confided to me, other than that which is to be found, in the most sacred duty of the Representative to defend at all times, and under all circumstances, the rights entrusted to him, it would have been furnished, by recurring to the honorable and distinguished marks of public confidence, which at different times, have been conferred on me by the citizens of my native State.

I will, however, no longer detain you, by allusions to circumstances, having a personal relation to myself, but will pass to some other subjects more immediately connected with questions of public interest.

In common with those, whom I see assembled around me, I feel the deep interest and importance of the present crisis. The government of the United States encompassed, as it often has been, by difficulties of the most serious and alarming magnitude, in the course of the last six or seven years, has passed through trials, some of which were of a character well calculated to test, severely, the competency of the people to govern themselves, and the capacity of our Republican system of government, to maintain itself, amidst the angry and conflicting elements, which have occasionally threatened its destruction. Hitherto it has been preserved by that patriotic feeling and steady good sense that has, on all occasions, pervaded the country, and which operating on and through its public agents, has never yet failed to find a remedy to reconcile all differences, and to heal all dissensions.

In having done this, let us rejoice that the people of the United States have most signally vindicated their capacity for self-government, and most sternly rebuked that political party, which under every name and modification, from that of Federalists down to modern Whigs, has so often attempted to underrate that intelligence. Under no administration which has gone before it, have so many questions arisen, involving the liberty and safety of the country, as have been presented for decision, since President Jackson, has filled the Executive Chair. From his very first entrance on his public duties, an opposition, distinguished for the talents as well as ambition of its leaders, arrayed itself against his administration, and have constantly since, opposed it with a zeal and a violence, without an equal, in the annals of party warfare. Honest in his motives and firm to his purpose, and sustained by the approving voice of his countrymen, he has triumphed over all difficulties at home and abroad; and the spectacle most gladdening to the heart of every true American, is at this time presented, of universal prosperity throughout all our land, and of honor and respectability abroad.

Fresh in our recollections, in the history of this eventful Administration, is the great struggle, by the Bank of the United States, seconded and powerfully aided, as it was, by the combination of all parties supporting it, to break down the Administration and to subdue the public will into an acquiescence to its dangerous pretensions. Never has a contest been conducted with such bitterness, arrogance and vindictive persecution, as that was on the part of the Bank and its partizans,

against those who stood up for the country and the constituted authorities of the land. The country has happily passed through it all without injury, and its present "high and palmy state" of prosperity, ought to afford an instructive admonition to those who would not admit that we could enjoy either happiness or prosperity, unless under the auspices of a great moneyed monopoly.

This question is at this day mingling itself with another that is now before the American people, and which is shortly to be determined. It is the animating principle, and in a great degree the very soul of the political combination, which is, at this day, acting in perfect concert together; the object of which is the overthrow of the republican party and the prostration of the public will, and thus, to effect that purpose by stratagem, which it failed to do a few years since by force. Who does not remember the bold and daring insolence, assumed by the Bank and its partizans, and the threats of ruin and distress, made against the people of the United States, if they did not compel their government to submit to its audacious demands? The Chief Magistrate was day after day insulted by threats from Panic Committees, deputed by the power and influence of the Bank from the large commercial Cities—The Republican Members of Congress were often insulted by hisses and violent gesticulations from the Galleries, crowded by the creatures of the Bank, from the seats of its authority—Anonymous letters were almost daily addressed to many of them, to alarm them into submission. Such, I know, personally, were the scenes which the friends of the Administration had to encounter in that great contest which saved the liberties of the nation, and rescued them from the grasp of a vulgar and insolent moneyed aristocracy, that sought to "rule or ruin it."

Are we now to be told, that these principles are no longer in dispute, and that the controversy is at an end?—Are we now to be told, and that in less than two years from the time, when the battle raged hottest and fiercest, that this is no longer a question between the parties that divide our country? Mark the glaring inconsistency between the acts of the opposition and their declarations! When a republican is to be run down—when Jackson or Van Buren is to be assailed, this same party, that in the brief space of less than two years after these scenes were acted and who now say that the Bank question is no longer before the people, are ready, in the next breath to travel back some fifteen or twenty years, to recall some act of the President or Vice President, and with a memory that clings with the most constant tenacity to the acts of their opponents, to make it the ground of assault! When that most stupendous and wicked scheme, to subjugate the American people to the rule of a heartless moneyed aristocracy, is alluded to, the memories of its partizans are short indeed; but when the object is to assail a Republican and destroy him in the public estimation, why, then, a quarter of a century is no bar to the bringing up of the accusation!

If the question of reviving a National Bank is at an end, as our political adversaries would have us believe, why is it that the partizans of the Bank, in every part of the United States are constantly endeavouring to depreciate the great object which President Jackson wishes to effect, of reforming the currency, and towards the accomplishment of which, so much has already been done, by measures tending to expel small notes from circulation and to the introduction of specie in their stead? If the question is at an end, why is it that Gen. Harrison, the "Military Chieftan" of the Bank party, is brought into the field, for the Presidency, supported by the whole force of that party, and himself the avowed advocate of such an institution? If the issue is not to be made up, for what purpose is it, that Mr. Van Buren has been called on by an opponent of the present Administration to answer whether in certain contingencies, he would sign and approve a Bill for a National Bank, if he is made President? It is true, that the Bank, after one of the most fierce contests for power, ever witnessed, in this or any other country, has been driven from the halls of Congress, discomfited and defeated. But though defeated there, it has not met a similar fate elsewhere. Its mighty capital and energies are still concentrated for farther action. It still desecrates the name of the American Republic, by assuming to itself the name and style of "The Bank of the United States," and is endeavouring to penetrate the States by its Agencies, and thus to re-establish its former power and influence, throughout the Union, under another form.

I have said, gentlemen, that this Bank power and Bank feeling, constitutes the very soul of the coalition party, that now assails the democracy of the country, and is, at this day, powerfully contending with it for victory. In the address delivered by Nicholas Biddle, President of the Bank, some time in the course of last fall, at Princeton College, he exhorts and animates his partizans in this strain, "Never desert the country—never despond over its misfortunes. Confront its betrayers, as madmen are made to quail beneath the stern gaze of fearless reason. They will denounce you. Disregard their outcries, it is only the scream of the vultures whom they scare from their prey. They will seek to destroy you. Rejoice that your country's enemies are yours. You can never fall more worthily than in defending her from her own degenerate children. If overborne by this tumult and the cause seems hopeless, continue self-sustained and self-possessed." And again he tells them, "From your own quiet elevation, watch calmly, this servile route, as its triumph sweeps before you. The avenging hour will at last come. It cannot be, that our free nation can longer endure the vulgar dominion of ignorance and profligacy." The cause of the country, spoken of by the President of the Bank, in this address, is, in his estimation, no doubt, the cause of the Bank, and there is as little doubt but "the vulgar dominion of ignorance and profligacy" which he speaks of, is intended by him to characterise the administration of the people's choice, the great body of whom, are as much elevated in correct sentiment, above the MINIONS of the Bank, as virtue is superior to vice, or manly independence is superior to degrading servility. This exhortation, coming as it does, from an individual possessing unbounded influence over many of the leading opposition presses throughout the United States, and with numerous partizans devoted to him, has been most faithfully obeyed. For the part that Mr. Van Buren has taken against the Bank: for the manly firmness and powerful ability, with which himself and many of his warmest friends supported the President, in that contest for civil liberty, he has committed an unpardonable offence. Nothing! Nothing! but his political destruction can appease its offended pride. Who are they, at this day, that are most fiercely engaged in defaming and vilifying him? Are they not to be found, mostly, among unprincipled Editors, who sold themselves to that corrupt institution? Are they not, in many instances, to be found among partizan Orators, who stood up and defended its greatest abominations?

However they may attempt to disguise and veil the real cause of their hostility to him by the slanderous cry of Abolitionist, Intriguer and many other such epithets, of every day use among his revilers and persecutors, yet I believe, and most honestly believe, that the real cause of offence, in the eyes of many who thus denounce him, is to be found, if traced to its proper source, more in his opposition to the United States Bank, and in his steadfast support of Andrew Jackson; than in any thing else. As regards the charge of being an intriguer, it is a sufficient answer to it, that his enemies, with all their boasted superiority of talent, have never yet been able to prove it in a solitary instance. With respect to the other charge, that he is an abolitionist, or that he, in any way countenances the designs of that party; with opportunities, by no means inconsiderable, to judge of its truth or falsehood, I do not hesitate to say, that it is utterly unfounded, and that in the whole history of party warfare, an act of greater injustice, has never yet been levelled at any public man. The manner in which it has, on some occasions, been attempted to delude the people of the South into this belief, I believe to be one of the most gross attempts to practice a political fraud, that the party contests of the present day, or of any other time, has given birth to. And the charge itself, is any thing else but complimentary to those in the South, who support his pretensions to the Presidency, constituting, as they do, some of the very largest slave holders of the South, and supported, as he is, by some of the very largest slave holding Counties in Virginia and North Carolina, and with as much to lose, as those who set themselves up

as the exclusive defenders of Southern honor and interests. Some of those who are most active in propagating this charge, are noisy political partizans, together with the Editors of Nullifying newspapers, who would not suffer the loss of very many slaves, even if their worst fears, which they affect to have, with respect to Mr. Van Buren's election, should ever be realized. If such men can succeed in getting up inveterate hatred, between the North and the South, as is the constant tendency of their labours, and produce a dissolution of the Union, in the convulsions that would follow, they, perhaps, might be benefitted but probably not much worsted. From the rash acts and indiscretions of such men, more danger is to be dreaded, to the best interests of the South, than from any other quarter. If they are to be taken as the political leaders of the people, the Union would be speedily dissolved, and universal anarchy and confusion prevail.

Knowing the indefatigable industry with which many of the opponents of Mr. Van Buren, continue to ply the public ear, that he is an abolitionist, and that the abolitionists to the North are his friends, and desirous, so far as is in my power, not only to do him justice, but feeling still more anxious that truth should prevail, on a subject of such vital interest to the Union, I will hastily advert to a few facts, which will not only show the utter want of truth in the charge, but will likewise show, with which of the political parties the Abolitionists have mostly taken sides. Among the most strong and decided displays of public feeling to the North, against the Fanatics, is that which occurred in the Town of Utica, in New York, during the last fall, where they assembled, for the purpose of forming a State Convention, but which object was defeated by their dispersion and precipitate flight, brought about by the determined measures taken by the citizens of Utica. The Hon. Mr. Beardsley, then a member of the House of Representatives, from New York, and known as a warm personal and political friend of Mr. Van Buren, was among the most active in taking steps to defeat the intentions of the Fanatics, and at a public meeting of the citizens of Utica, was placed on a Committee, with a number of others, to inform them that they would not permit their convention to be held in that town. The determined manner in which the committee acted, together with the strong indications among the citizens generally, to take the most summary means to suppress the evil, struck the Fanatics with dismay, and produced their immediate flight and dispersion. Let it be remembered, that the entire abolition party throughout the State of New York, mustered its force on this occasion, and from the events which afterwards followed, we perceive from the irresistible force of sound public opinion, in that State, that the Abolitionists, as a party there, are contemptible in the extreme, and are entirely without influence. The same gentleman, Mr. Beardsley, was in a very few months after he assisted in expelling the Fanatics from Utica, appointed Attorney General of the State of New York, by a most decided vote of its Legislature, four-fifths of whom were known to be the friends of Mr. Van Buren, and by this act giving the strongest proof, that his conduct was decidedly approved by them. The Abolition press in Utica, was, about the same time, demolished by an indignant people, and its types scattered in the streets, and so highly excited was the public feeling against it and those whose cause it advocated, that a Grand Jury of the immediate vicinity, refused to find a Bill against those concerned in doing this summary act of justice. But in addition to these powerful manifestations of public sentiment in that quarter, the Message of Governor Marcy, who is known as the warm friend of Mr. Van Buren, addressed to the Legislature of New York, at its last session, takes higher and stronger ground, in behalf of the rights of the South and against the Fanatics, than has ever yet been taken, by any Governor of a Northern State. He not only stamps their conduct with decided reprobation, but asserts the power of the State to pass penal laws to prevent it, and its duty to do so, if the force of sound public opinion shall prove insufficient. These sentiments were strongly concurred with, in resolutions passed almost unanimously by both branches of the Legislature of that State. To those who were attentive to the course of some of the leading Whig Journals in that quarter, it is known that this decided stand taken by the friends of Mr. Van Buren on that occasion, was the object of their special attacks, with a view to excite public prejudice against them. Nor is this all: most, if not every one, of the Legislatures of the Democratic States of the North, have passed resolutions strongly in our favor. The Legislature of the truly Republican State of Pennsylvania, is an exception to this remark. By divisions among the republicans of that State, in the election of a Governor, the opposition party succeeded in electing a majority to the Legislature, which chartered the United States Bank, and a Committee of one branch of that Legislature, reported resolutions, adverse to the rights and interests of the South, and calculated to aid in fanning the flame of excitement then in progress on that subject. I am not aware that these resolutions were finally acted on, and I refer to them, only to show what party was most active, at that time, in aiding the attempt to get up another panic on that question. The acts of that Legislature, have been most signally condemned by the people, in their public meetings since, and I do only justice to the State of Pennsylvania, in expressing the belief, that the sentiments of the great body of her patriotic citizens, are those of entire kind feeling towards the South.

In the Legislature of Vermont, a State whose councils have long been under the control of the party, at present, calling themselves Whigs, a stronger Abolition party exists, than perhaps in any other in the Union, though in a minority, even there. Let these facts, then, which cannot be controverted, show, who are for us and who are against us. I will now, briefly, notice some of the proceedings of Congress, on the subject of Slavery, at its last session. On the motion of Mr. Buchanan of Pennsylvania, that the prayer of an abolition petition, be rejected, the vote of the Senate stood, thirty four in favor of the motion, and six against it, of that six, five are opponents of the administration. In the proceedings of the House of Representatives, on the resolutions offered by Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, on the subject of slavery, and the strongest in favor of the rights of the South that ever passed either branch of Congress, the votes stood, on the first resolution, declaring "that Congress possesses no constitutional authority to interfere, in any way, with slavery in any of the States of this confederacy," 182 in favor of the resolution, and nine against it, those voting against it, all being in opposition to the administration. The vote on the second resolution, declaring "that Congress ought not to interfere, in any way, with slavery in the District of Columbia," stood, one hundred and thirty-two for the resolution, and forty-five against it; of the latter number, voting against it, thirty-seven are opponents of the administration, and but eight its friends. On the Bill to admit Arkansas into the Union, with a provision in her Constitution, guaranteeing to her citizens, the right to hold slaves, the vote in the Senate stood thirty-one in favor of her admission, and six against it, those voting against it, belonging entirely, to the ranks of the opposition. In the House of Representatives, the test vote, in passing the same Bill, was one hundred and forty-seven for its passage and fifty-two against it; the latter number being composed of opponents of the administration, with a very few exceptions. Among the first acts of Arkansas, on being ushered into the Union, is her triumphant vindication of Mr. Van Buren and his friends, from being enemies of the South, by electing a Governor, a Member of Congress, and a majority of her Legislature, who are friends of his election to the Presidency.

In the public acts to which I have referred, both in the Legislatures of the Northern States, and also, in the Congress of the United States, it is as clearly demonstrated as any proposition can be, that this charge is unfounded, and on the other hand, it is as clearly established, that in many instances, the abolition party have, on most political questions, acted in alliance with the opposition. As respects the sentiments of Mr. Van Buren, if his opinions already expressed, in a letter in answer to one from certain citizens of this State, in which he says in reference to emancipation by Congress in the District of Columbia, "that there are objections to the exercise of this power, against the wishes of the slave holding States, as imperative in their nature and obligations in regulating the conduct of public men, as the most palpable want of Constitutional power would be;" and again that if he is elected,