# WEEKLY PROGRESS

WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 26, 1860. Will our People Have It.

Several gentlemen have recently suggested to us the propriety of establishing a Public Reading Room, or Merchants' Exchange, or something of that kind, in connection with the Progress Office, and after deliberating on the matter we have thought it prudent to call pub-

In the first place there are but few commercial towns in the country with the business and population of ours that have not established something of this kind, and if our merchants, professional men, gentlemen of wealth and others will reflect for a moment on the pleasure and benefit which they derive from reading rooms when they visit other places they will at once realize our deficiency in this respect; for when strangers visit us they have no place to spend their evenings or other leisure hours but in tramping around our streets and lounging around our hotels, and if they are so lucky as to pick up a newspaper at all it will most likely be some of our home publications in which they feel no sort of interest. Hence a well conelevate us as a community in the eyes of strangers, but would be of incalculable benefit to a ment. large number of our people.

In the second place it would furnish reading for that class of our people whose condition in life prevents them from having access to the well stored libraries which are so indispensable with those who can afford them; and too it would keep our boys and young men, many of old men out of young ones, nor need we attempt will "knock around," and in the majority of ment of any such talents as he possesses. cases if you do not afford him some rational, intellectual, healthful employment he will run inte all manner of temptations and dissipation. What one thing will do so much to elevate and save from dissipation and debauchery our young men and boys as a good Reading Room, kept open day and night and well filled with papers, periodicals, books, maps, and other works that tend to enlighten and refine the mind.

Now it is with our business men and the citizens to say whether they will have this much needed improvement or not. Owing to the fact that we have a large exchange list we can fit up a Reading Room in which we can have filed, on the arrival of each day's mail, the leading daily papers from all the leading cities in the Union, together with the leading literary weeklies, monthlies, &c. These with the addition of a few choice works would afford an attractive place for citizens and strangers, and would be the means of giving a partial education to many who will never get it from schools. The labor necessary to keep such a place we would be willing to perform without compensation, for as a citizen we feel that it would be our duty to contribute our proportion towards an object so desirable, and hence the only cost would be rent, fuel and lights, which items would not amount to more than \$250 a year. We have the rooms in the new building adjoining our office, and if those of our citizens who ought to take an interest in such matters will have a meeting, form an association and the amount necessary to save us from loss we will at once have it fitted up and opened.

We would suggest that an association be formed, officers elected and rules and regulations established for the government of the rooms, and that a nominal tax be levied on every citizen who desires to avail himself of the privileges of the Reading Room. Merchants and professional men could be taxed three or four dollars a year, mechanics and clerks one, laborers fifty cents, &c., and let those who are not able to pay anything have the benefit of it

Actuated by nothing but our pride as a citizen we throw out these suggestions, and leave the matter with our citizens who have more interest in it than we have.

# More Disunion Treason.

Senator Brown of Miss., a milder type of the fire-eater, made a speech in that State a few days ago when he used the following lan-

"In the event of Lincoln's election, he might be asked, What will the South do? He would answer, I do not know. But he would tell what she ought to do do. He would have the Southern States, or so many of them as could be induced to act in concert,say Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi and a few others-meet in joint convention, through delegates chosen by the people.-Withdraw your representatives from a Congress unwilling to protect your rights. But so far as the laws upon the statute book are concerned, he would see them faithfully executed. He would return the delegation to Congress when the North should give sufficient guarantees; but if she refused his mind was made up. He would have the Southern States unite in a Southern Confederacy, and thus break up the Union. He knew that in saying this he was lay- in 1860, should we try to do by Wilmot-Proing his own political head upon the block, with the knife suspended over him. But let it fall. He had carefully, calmly, deliberately considered what he said. He was proud of the honors his State had conferred upon him; but he would not insult his people by saying that he would wait for an "overt act." Those of you who think that Lincoln will turn a stark mad fool, and turn you all into subjection like so many Camanche ponies, mistake the man. He will treat you as you would a wild young horsepat you first, mount the seat, ply the lash, and drive you seventy miles a day. You cannot submit if you would. The present census will show that there are in Mississippi 400,000 slaves | the Vigilance Committee, which has been extento 350,000 whites. The purpose of the Republican party is to emancipate this people; and the same power at the North which sets the negro free, will defend him when he is free. If you haven't the pluck to meet the enemy at the door-sill, he will drive you from the hearthstone through the back door. Better resist now; better go out of the Union at mid-day, than be lighted out of it at midnight by the burning of your own dwellings."

A CAMPAIGN DOCUMENT.—The leading campaign document which fills the columns of the Opposition press in this State, seems to be the Speech made at Raleigh by Stephen A. Douglas. Even our venerable and quiet friend of the Hillsboro' Recorder, has got it in with a puff equal to Cherry Pectoral or the "Big Indian." + Wil. fournal.

It is a good campaign paper, nevertheless,

# NEWBERN WEEKLY PROGRESS.

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VOLUME III.

NEWBERN, N. C., TUESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 2, 1860.

VERY PROPER.—In all the free States the pa- FROM OUR CORRESPONDENTS. ers and grators in the service of the Republican party are denouncing S. A. Douglas as the defender of slavery and as having assisted in the acquisition of slave territory. His bold defence of the right of the people of the South being the burden of their song-the only weapon with which his abolition enemies North fight him, it is simply caused by its being the present times eminently proper that the fire-eating dema- because it is because it is something; whereas all gogues in the South should liken him to Lincoln, and abuse him as unsafe and unsound -But the conservatism of the country will swalow up all these creatures and our country willl go on prospering and to prosper, and the Union will outlive all the traitors who are endeavoring to destroy it.

A Suggestion.-We would suggest to the fire-eaters South and the abolitionists North. that they fast at least one day in each week and devote it to the reading of Washington's farewell address and in praying for light to enable them to emerge from the darkness which surrounds them. This continued till the November election will be of service to them-especially will the farewell address to beneficial the evil thereof," (by a parity of reasoning) why to such of them as can read. In it is something about frowning down every attempt to ducted Public Reading Room would not only alienate one section of our country against anbe an ornament to the town-would not only other. We fear that many of those about whom we speak have never read that instru-

> Appropos.-We have been assured by the editor of a Bell and Everett paper, that he, the editor in question was solicited during the Douglas Convention to take charge of the "organ" before Mr. Busbee's services were engaged. Is this true ?— Tarboro' Southerner.

No! We say emphatically no, it is not true, and we can make good our assertion. The inthem, from lounging around the bar-rooms, dividual to whom you refer was not "solicited" loafing in the streets and visiting other places by the Convention or the Executive Committee fatal both to body and soul. We cannot make to do any such thing, nor was he ever approached by either to take charge of the organ. to shut young America up in the closet-he They have no work whatever for the employ-

### Is This So ?

We find the following in the True Democrat, Petersburg, Va. Is it so? We cannot see how it could be otherwise when we put Gen. Cass' Nicholson letter and Douglas' non-intervention doctrine together:

GEN. CASS FOR DOUGLAS.—The Detroit Free Press, Gen. Cass' home organ, announces that Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of State stands for Douglas in the present crisis. Gen. Cass not only supports Douglas now, but he was actually an advocate of his nomination.

JONES COURT .- The County Court for Jones, Fall Term, commenced Monday. We learn that speeches were made on that day by F. D. Koonce, Douglas elector. J. H. Haughton, Esq., Bell and Everett, and Hon. Thos. Ruffin, for Breckinridge and Lane.

Ten years ago, Henry Clay, Lewis Cass, Daniel Webster, Stephen A. Douglas, Millard opposite politics, united to enact the Compro- are over. mise Bill, a cardinal principle of which was leaving to the Territories of the United States the self-government of their own settlers, in the matter of Slavery, or Anti-Slavery. Henry Clay sacrificed his life in the great effort. In 1860, the successors of Clay and Web-

ster, the men trained in their school, unite, practically, to keep the subject of slave agita- at least. establish rules and regulations, and guarantee | tion as much as possible out of Congress. The creed of Douglas, as in 1850, so in 1860, is their creed. Douglas did not invent it. The patent was with Henry Clay, in his "Omnibus." We are sadly abused, though, especially "we" of the Express,-"we" who have been consistent, who have not erred or wandered a step from the great compact of 1850,-but who have clung to it, and are clinging to it, to the

In 1852, both parties nominated their Presidents upon the principle of quieting Slavery agitation, and of withdrawing it from Congress as much as possible. To do this, they both agreed to abandon to the Tereitories their own government—that is, to give them, on this subgratuitously; and of course let it be kept open | ject; self-government; to treat them, in this respect, not as Colonies, but as a People capa ble of governing themselves. Winfield Scott accepted the nomination on that principle. Gen. Pierce did the same.

But it is said "Douglas disturbed that compact," "and you act with Douglas." Grant, that Douglas did disturb it-the results of the disturbance have been alike in Kansas and Nebraska-what he contended for, the establishment of self-government—and with "free soil," we may add-what Congressional legislation never could have given. Grant that he did disturb it-vet in resisting the Lecompton Bill, in the very face and eyes of a powerful administration, he manifested the sincerity and purity of his conviction in insisting upon self-government and fair play for the people both in Kansas and Nebraska. Grant that he did disturb it again, he was but carrying out for the Kansas-Nebraska Bill the principle of non-interference and non-intervention with Kansas and Nebraska, as agreed upon in 1850, and all ending in making the Territories "Free Soil." 1860-Ten years ago, then, presents the

same issue, the same principles that were presented when Henry Clay acted with Lewis Cass, Daniel Webster, and Stephen A. Douglas, and why should not we vote now, as Clay voted then, all together? Why should the political compact of 1852, made by both parties in Convention at Baltimore, not be kept? Why, visoing the Territories, what we declared should fires. A desirable contingency, either way. not be done in 1850, and what we all agreed not to do in 1852?

Slavery-the negro-must be withdrawn from Congress, if the white man is ever to be attended to there. The Republicans, with no territory needing the Wilmot Proviso slavery restriction, yet insist upon it,-it may be only to insult and degrade the South, -it may be only to excite passion and fanaticism in order to get office in the North. But why should any old Whig or old Democrat aid them ?-New York

CONSISTENCY .- The following handbill, from sively posted in Evansville, Indiana, a thoroughfurnishes a forcible but melancholly illustration of the utter hollowness of Black Republican professions of sympathy for the negro: Notice to Free Negroes .- The laws of Indiana

provide that after a certain date no free negro shall emigrate to this State. Other cities and towns in Indiana are expelling the negroes from among them, and owing to the laxity exhibited by our authorities and citizens generally, Evansville is being overrun and cursed by the worst class of this lazy, worthless, drunken and theiving race, and to such an extent that those who have suffered from their bad conduct are resolved to suffer no longer, and will take the law in their own hands. This notice is therefore given, that at the end of five days from the date hereof, every negro, of either sex, who is not by law entitled to a residence among us, must not be found in the city, else he will be dealt with in a summary

VIGILANCE COMMITTEE. Evansville, Aug. 23, 1860.

SALISBURY, N. C., Sept. 17, 1860. Dear Progress :- This is a great time in Salisbury. In fact, the best time that possibly could be, or ever has been! There now, I know you are nervous to learn "what's out." "What's the cause of this felicitous time ?" you ask. Well, it other times are nothing.

"Simply but to be-

"To live, to breathe, is purest ecstacy." The time present, therefore, is essentially better than any 5ther time, in the proportion of something to nothing. I hope you consider this logic -if not, why, you may "kill time" as you please. But I assure you, that if you are inexperienced in the art of "killing time," you will find the "list-less idieness" of the employment beyond all expression. I have tried "the delicious repose of one's own study" with mind unmolested, indulging in its own reflections, till they lapse from thought to reveries of future bliss, or retrospections of repining regrets, and I have found that says: "the thing don't pay"-if prolonged a few moments. Moreover, if "sufficient for the day is not "sufficient for the day the good thereof?"

A disposition to look on the bright side of things, coupled with the ability and the necessity to earn a livelihood by continual, mental and bodily exertion, is certainly more conducive to happiness and pleasure, than a large inheritance. But to those who can look on things, just as they are, "All things work together for their good." "Whatever is, is right." To such, the present time is all sufficient-or rather, it is all; for we cannot enjoy any other, because no other is susceptible of being enjoyed, except through the medium of the present. But,

"Ye Gods, how I prate. While bits of news sit by unheeded."

However, you and your sage readers should not complain if we anonymous writers occasionally insinuate into our lucubrations : few lines that are directed to our exclusive satisfaction. For I think that no pecuniary emolument, would be equivalent to the privilege of writing nonsense now and then. Indeed, if I was I might as well be an "author" at once! (I consider this last hit, a settler.)

The merchants are returning from New York, &c., variously elated or depressed, by their contact with northern politicians, (polytickers )-The piles of goods boxes ranged before the several stores, eclipses all former displays of the kind; and would be a "caution" to the limbs of "nocturnal perambulators," were it not for the gas ready, by parties from Wilmington. Mainly dependent, as this place is, on a local trade, it is astonishing how the immense semi-annual relays of dry goods disappear. But the well known taste of Salisbury merchants, induces the really fashionable people of all the neighboring towns, to do The case of W. F. Haggins was to come up their "particular shopping" here; which, partly, accounts for the extensive retail business of this

There will be a Breckinridge Democratic Mass Meeting here on the 4th of October and a Bell and Everett ditto on the 11th of October. I will Fillmore, and many others in Congress of very | give you a faithful synopsis of each as soon as they

> I forgot to say in my last that over the spacious market house, now erecting here, is to be a lofty Town Hall, 55 feet long by 50 feet wide. It will be elegantly fitted up and adapted to theatrical and concert purposes. Plenty of public halls and parks are of incalculable benefit to towns, and Salisbury certainly has a full share of the former,

> The Salisbury Band is employed by the State

A fire broke out in Mr Wm. Murphy's kitchen at 8 o'clock on Sadurday night last. The fire completely consumed the kitchen, and was very near being communicated to his dwelling house. other public spirited citizens prevented it. The kitchen being so large and so near the house, (a very combustible wooden structure) and being completely enveloped in flames before the engine getting water, made the preservation of Murphy's fifty millions of dollars. residence appear to me almost like a miracle .-There are many people who attend fires here, men of property too, who strut about and view the spectacle with that sort of speculative and philosophic indifference, which people manifest at a pyrotechnic display in a public garden. This may all be well enough to a certain extent, for the scanty supply of water may be an excuse for many free States, and to large bodies of men in all who run to a fire without taking buckets with of them, to execute the fugitive slave law. them; but there is no excuse for such individuals selecting the most eligible points, from which to watch the progress of the conflagration, and thus as soon as any of them are aware that a water their owners. carrier is trying to pass they will jump nimbly out of his way, but, very often, only to run against the bucket of another, spilling half of its contents. Officers should be appointed to keep the way would be a good town law that would levy \$100 from every one who had a valuable house clearly saved by the fire company. This would soon produce a fund sufficient to get an artesian well and reservoir with, or else there would be no more

Bailey's Theatrical Troupe opens here to-night and plays all the week under a canvass. In my next you will find my opinion of their perfor-COSMO.

GOLDSBORO', Sept. 24, 1860. Dear Progress: -Our citizens were awakened by the alarm of fire about 12 o'clock last night. Many persons proceeded in the direction of the fire, which appeared to be in the suburbs of the town, but was soon ascertained to be several miles distant in the country. 1 learned this morning that a barn upon the plantation of Jas. L. Washington, Esq., was consumed, together with its contents, which conly Black Republican town of that "Free" State, sisted, principally, of cotton. Mr. W.'s loss is about

Mr. Thomas P. Willis, a very worthy young me chanic of this place, had his hand dreadfully cut and broken by a planing machine, this morning in the Factory of Messrs, Riggs & Devines. The hickory pole about which I spoke in my last,

was duly raised with imposing ceremonies by the Breckinridge democrats. Then proudly flung they to the breeze A something much resembling unto A sheet, or table-cloth, or may be 'Twas a cover-lid; and thereunto writ Upon one side, and not on 'tother,

In letters much like unto print, The names of "Breckinridge and Lane." They didn't write on 'tother side-"Economy," they say, "is wealth," And hence they wouldn't spile the sheet So bad as all that would amount to.

(Some say, that sort o' writin's costly.) You see, the names upon one side Show thro' on 'tother side when the Breeze springs up and spreads it out Between you and the sun. Sometimes There aint no natural breeze, and then It hangs so close around the pole. And looks so like a shirt just stuck Upon a bean pole to frighten crows, That democrats get sorry for it.

And congregate around the pole. And let off wind by whistling, shouting, And various other ways, (you know They are a windy set of fellows.) Until the flag (that's what they call it,) Begins to straighten itself out. And then, by looking on its back side. While sun-shine plays upon the other. You may discover letters there Which "those who run" can't begin to read! But which, when standing on their heads,

Can very easily be did! Yours, &c.,

WASHINGTON AND EVERETT. The New York Correspondent of the Boston Post

The last link of that golden chain which shall hereafter for many generations, bind together the names of George Washington and Edward Everett, has just been fitted into its place. The unselfish labors of the scholar and statesman, of whom we are all proud, and whose successful de- ent time to not less than three billions one hunvotion to the purchase of Mount Vernon has dred and fifty millions of dollars." You ask, challenged the admiration of the world, are brought to a fitting conclusion in the compend of Washington's Life, contributed to Messrs. Black's new and revised edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. The enterprising Edinburg publishers, we understand, had designated the late Lord Macaulay as the writer of the article on Washington for the Encyclopædia, in its new edition, and had made propositions to Macaulay to under-

take the task. The engagements already pressing thereon as follows, viz: upon the great essayist and historian compelled his declination of the proposal, and, at his suggestion, Mr. Everett was invited to furnish the article in question. The selection was most fortunate for in no one's hands was such a task more likely to resolve itself into a labor of love, and to no fitter heart or mind could such a subject be commended. The result of Mr. Everett's labor is on the eve of publication in this country, by Sheldon & Co., of New York, in a single volume of 323 pages with the appropriate prefex of a portrait of the author, engraved after a marble bust.

In this work Mr. Everett disclaims all preten

sion to learned research or laborious investigation among original documents and revolutionary compelled to write nothing but sense and reason, manuscripts. He has prepared from the standard works already existing, a comprehensive, and comparatively brief, memoir of our national hero -comprising the salient features of Washington's career and character-presented in that concise and familiar or necessarily characteristic of Ency- purpose, should resistance be made to his leclopædia articles. The biography is a model of condensation, and by its rapid narrative and attractive style, must commend itself, in its new form, to the mass of readers, as the standard. pop ular life of Washington. In no respects pretentious or ambitious, as regards competition with the monumental works of Marshall, Sparks and fight. Besides, Dr. Hall has nearly finished two Irving, this con amore biography, by one so well new stores, which will be occupied as soon as qualified, will fill a vacant niche in literature, and would seem to be destined to a circulation earth upon which we tread because earthquakes among the people of both England and America, sometimes heave it and pestilence walks its sur-

> | Country has ever attained. In audition to the historical and biographical incidents of Washington's life, which are concisely narrated by Mr. Everett, this volume is enriched by a contribution by Dr. James Jackson. upon the nature of the disease of which Washington died; the inventory of the personal property at Mount Vernon at the time of the General's death; and the Will of Martha Washington. It found within the Union, and not among its may also be stated, that in the preface, Mr. Ever- bloody ruins ett pays a passing tribute to the memory of Macauly, which is a model of beauty and eloquence. expressed with rare terseness and kindness

#### Correspondence between Ex-Speaker Orr and Hon. Amos Kendall.

EX-SPEAKER ORR TO HON, AMOS KENDALL.

My Dear Sir: I have received your favor of the 9th inst. Your age, experience and ability, entitle your opinions to great weight on every reflecting mind, and I regret to learn from your letter that you dissent from my recom-Agricultural Society to play for the State Fair in | mendation that the honor and safety of the the South require its prompt secession from the party of able men whose aim has been to destroy case of the United States bank, by bringing the Union, in the event of the election of a black republican to the Presidency. You say your mind is equally clear that the South has long had a peaceful remedy within her own reach, and has it still, though impaired by the recent Nothing but the almost superhuman and well di- conduct of some of her sons." You would rected exertions of the fire company and a few greatly oblige me by a full exposition of your opinions upon that point, as well as the remedy to be resorted to by us, should the government, in November, pass into the hands of a party whose declared purposes is to destroy our property, amounting in value at the present time to got there, added to all which, was the difficulty of not less than three billions one hundred and

Can it be prudent, safe, or manly in the South to submit to the domination of a party whose declared purpose is to destroy such an amount of property, and subvert our whole social and industrial policy? In glancing at the evil and remedy, I invite

specially your attention 1. To the persistent refusal of many of the

2. To the untiring efforts of fanatics who come to the slave States under the guise of preachers, teachers, &c., in inveigling away our slaves and to the general sympathy with their | had the democratic party been weakened by the impede and often completely obstruct the passage nefarious purposes, evinced by the facilities of the water carriers between the well and the furnished them by the underground railroad in engine. Of course they do not intend this, and spiriting away our slaves beyond the reach of cal statesman over a young man who had nothing the same footing with the original States. At

3. To the raid of John Brown, and the sym pathy which his well merited execution evoked. 4. To the recent insurrectionary movements in Texas-projected and carried out by abolition emissaries, where the incendiary torch of clear for water carriers, at least. An artesian | the slaves, lighted by abolition traitors, has rewell, or some other provision, for supplying wa- duced to ashes one million of dollars worth of cut loose from those who wer seeking to destroy instead of protecting it, I answer that such reguter at fires is very much needed here. I think it property, and where the timely discovery of it. For reasons, no doubt patriotic, but to me inthe hellish scheme alone saved the lives of thou- explicable, the reverse of that policy was pur- tified by the law of necessity, analogous to usur- that at least one half of the North will join you in

> sands of men, women and children. These are the natural and necessary results of the teachings of black republicanism; and if we have such developments under an adminis tration which profess to guard our constitution- if to deprive Northern democrats of the last hope Is the first settler a soveriegn? Does sovereignty al rights, in the name of Heaven what may we of successfully vindicating the rights of the South not expect when a great party takes the government and its machinery under its control, avowing openly its purposes to be the extirpation of African slavery wherever it exists?

Is it wise, if we do not mean to submit to such consequences, to allow a black republican President to be inaugurated, and put him in possession of the army, the navy, the treasury, the armories and arsenals, the public propertyin fact, the whole machinery of the government. with its appendants and appertenances? It the South should think upon this subject as I do, no black republican President would ever execute any law within her borders, unless at the point of the bayonet, and over the dead bodies of her slain sons.

In your letter you say that you have not the object of the new issue then gotten up was who for years past have been making and seek- adoption was the last thing they desired or de ing pretexts for destroying the Union. You have not misjudged me nor my designs. I have a profound and abiding effection for the Union of our fathers, and deeply deplore the existence of the causes which are rapidly tending to its destruction. During the whole of my Congressional career, I sought to tranquillize sectional strife. When I first entered the House, the abolition party, headed by Giddings and Wilmot, numbered eight; ten years have rolled away, and now the party is a majority of the whole House. Is it not time that the South should begin to look to her safety and

I trust that the impending storm may be averted; that our rights and the Union may be and true Union men. saved; that fraternal regard may be restored; And what is this principle, the non-recognition allow a black republican President to be inaugu-

independence?

and that our country may go on in the high- of which has riven assunder the democratic parway of prosperity that it has so successfully trod for the last seventy years. This is the aspiration of my heart, and yet I am painfully impressed with the conviction that it will never be realized. I am, very truly, your friend and obedient servant, JAMES L. ORR. Hon. Amos Kendall, Washington, D. C.

MR. KENDALL'S REPLY.

Washington, Sept. 10. Hon. James L. Orr-My Dear Sir: Your letter of the 15th ult., reached Washington while

I was absent in the North. Though I did not contemplate when I wrote you on the 9th ult., anything beyond a limited private correspondence, yet having no opinions on the portentous condition of public affairs which I have a motive to conceal, or am ashamed to avow, I cheerfully comply with your sug-

You quote from my former letter the declaration that " my mind is equally clear that the South has long had a peaceful remedy within her reach, and has it still, though impaired by the recent conduct of some of her sons," and ou ask of me a full explanation of my opinions on that point as well as "the remedy to government in November pass into the hands of a party whose declared purpose is to destroy our property, amounting in value at the pres-"can it be prudent, safe or manly in the South to submit to the domination of a party whose declared purpose is to destroy such an amount of property and subvert our whole social and industrial policy?

In a subsequent part of your letter you call the South, and conclude your commentary

"Is it wise, if we do not intend to submit to such consequences, to allow a black republican President to be inaugurated, and put him in possession of the army, the navy, the treasury, the armories and arsenals, the public property in fact the whole machinery of the government, with its appendants and appertenances? If the South should think upon this subject as I do, no black republican President should ever execute any taw within her borders, unless at the point of the bayonet, and over the dead bodies

executing the laws of the United States: the time gitimate authority, no matter by what party he

may be elected There seems to me to be, in the course recommended to the South, in the event of Mr. Lincoln's election to the Presidency, a fatuity little sort of madness. Would you pull down the canopy of heaven because wrong and crime exist beneath it? Would you break up the such as no previous life of the Father of his face? This Union, sir, is too precious to the ople it protects, North and South, East and West, to be broken up, even should a black republican be elected President next November. Should the attempt be made, an united North and three-fourths of a divided South, would spring to the rescue. No, no, the remedy for the evils of which you justly complain are to be

I admit that the grievances which you enumerate are hard to be borne; but a few Southern men are not without responsibility for their existence. The general sentiment of the country North and South, at the close of the revolutionary war was anti-slavery. It has changed in the South, but remains unchanged in the North. There, however, it has been roused to unwonted activity by the preachings of fanatics and the denunciation of political demagouges, aided not a little by the arts, the language, and the

It is needless to give in detail all the causes say that you have long had in the South a small design, they have sought to break up the demothis end were to act with it, and force upon every possible issue obnoxious to the general sentiment of the North; that they have, dragged after them the true Union men of the South, partly through their fears of being considered laggard in their devotion to Southern interests, and partly North, they became the advocates of slavery on bled the enemies of democracy in the North to deern rights than their opponents By these means | destroy as well as to protect. the democratic party was reduced before the last presidential election to a minority in most of the Northern states, and in the residue had the utmost | stitute an independent community with all the difficulty in maintaining their ascendency. In attributes of sovereignty. Though the Constitution the meantime, the union men in the South had measurably ceased to consider the democratic par- live under another constitution of powers perhaps ty as friendly to the Union; and the union sentiment, in the border slave states, whose interest in cessity. They are in the condition of bands of its preservation is preeminent, sought expression through the American party. To such an extent | may adopt such rules and regulations as may be abinsiduous policy of their disunion allies, that they had the utmost difficulty in electing an old practi- dependence by admitting them in the Union on to recommend him beyond a few successful explorations of our wilderness territory. There were those who foresaw that longer affi-

liation with Southern disunionists would inevitably destroy the ascendency of the democratic his administration on the rock of the Union, and tions adopted to destroy some kinds of property under its banner. fraud, was made the test of democracy : one lead- | unjust. ing democrat after another was proscribed bean act of Congress was passed for the admission but postponing her admission indefinitely if she

In your published letter you justly condemn the seceders from the Charleston convention, who, you think, ought to have remained and prevented the nomination of a candidate who is obnoxicus to the South. Do you not perceive, sir, that the secession was a part of the programme for breaking up the demomacratic party? And destruction by drawing off another detachment? the result most desired by the disunionists; that government.

Glance a moment at a few facts: Alabama, led by an open disunionist, went to Cincinnati, in had not the population of a third-rate city of the armies, grinding taxes, ruined agriculture, pros-1856, under instructions to secede unless the present day, and no harm would be likely to arise trate commerce, bloody battles, ravaged countries equal rights of all States and Territories should be conceded and incorporated into the platform of the democratic party. The concession was made and they had no opportunity to secede.

They came to Charleston under the same leader again instructed to secede unless the convention would put into the platform a new plank, the effect of which, if adopted, would be further to disgust and alienate the Northern democracy - the union of the existing states? In this instance the sine qua non was not complied with, and the Disunionists floated off on the ly carrying with them a large number of good

NUMBER 5. tp, and apparently threatened the dissolution of

the Union? It is that, it is the right and duty of

Congress to legislate for the protection of slave pro-

perty in the Territories.

Now, I take it upon me to say that a more latitudinarian and dangerous claim of power in Congress never was advanced by federalists of the Hamilton school. Look at it in a constitution and practical light. If Congress have the right to legislate for the protection of slave property in the territories, they have a right to legislate for the protection of all other property; and, if they have a right to legislate for the protection of persons, the assumption that they can legislate for the protection of slave property leads, logically and inevitably, to the conclusion that they have power to legislate for the territories in all cases whatsoever. If you can put your finger on the this principle, Congress may acquire an empire event force would be met by force, and there outside of the organized States, over which it may would be instant civil war, in which the country exercise unlimited power, governing it as the Roman State did their conquered provinces. And this under a constitution which jealously restricts the exclusive power of legislation by Congress to a few spots of land purchased, with the consent | to secede from the Union and resist the execution of the states, for specified objects, and grants no power of general legislation over a territory whatso-

To verify these positions, we need only advert be resorted to by us-the South-should the to the Constitution. Among the grants of power that it is impossible for the state, to relieve its to Congress is the following, viz:

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the U. States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, maga zines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buil-

Mark the jealousy with which this power my attention to certain grievances endured by restricted. For the protection of the government even it is limited to a territory not exceeding ten miles square, and it cannot be exercised over "the forts, in gazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings," situated within the states, unless the land on which they may be located shall be first purchased within the States, unless the land on which they may be located shall be first purchased with " the consent of the that the wise men who restricted the exclusive nower of legislation in Cougress to a territory not exceeding ten miles square, did, by any indirection, grant that power broadly enough to cover the whole continent outside of the or

one whose sincerity I cannot doubt. The time | the Constitution which has been chiefly, if not was when 150,000 men tendered their services | exclusively relied upon to sustain the position that to the President to aid him, if necessary, in | Congress has any power whatsoever to legislate | signs against the institutions of the South, checkover the territories, viz: The Congress shall have power to dispose of

specting the Territory or other property belong The word "territory," used in this provision. obiviously means land, and nothing else. The

U. States at the time when the Constitution was by its connection with the words "and other property"-" territory and other property." erritory spoken of therefore, is property in lands. "Rules and regulations" are a grade of legisla tion somewhat below the dignity of laws; but admitting them in this case to have the same effect. on what are they to operate? Simply on the property, of the United States, not on any other property nor persons, except so far as they may e connected with the public property. To this extent, and no further, is the power of Congress to legislate over a Territory granted to Congress, and whenever all the lands and other property are disposed of, the "rules and regulations" be

come obsolete, and the power of legislation granted in this clause is thenceforth in abevance. Moreover, this grant of power extends as well to property within a state as within a territory. In a state the general power of legislation is the state legislature; yet the power of Congress to make "rules and regulations" respecting the public property, is the same in a state as in a territory. The scope of the grant can, of course, be no greater in a territory than in a state, and it nec-

tion confers on Congress no general power of to gratify the ambition of South Carolina and Al legislation, either within states or territories. It is not a satisfactory reply to this argument which have brought the politics of the country to to say that such power has to some extent, been the usurpation than to put a stop to it, as in the government back to the constitutional test Which is the safest for the South, the constitucratic party : that their means for accomplishing | tional principle that Congress shall not legislate for the territories at all, or the adoption of a principle unknown to the constitution, which, in its object it is advanced to promote, but would en- ground, the secessions at Charleston land Balt holding states and encircle the Union with an through ambition for political distinction; to make | empire outside of the organized states, over which | bility, the democracy would have recovered its the democratic party as odious as possible at the the majority should exercise the power of un- ascendancy in the North, and an united party principle, justified the African slave trade, and | idea be chimerical, the apprehension is not chidenounced the laws prohibiting it. By these merical that the black republicans, should they acquire the control of all branches of the government, will use the claim now set up for Congressnonnee them as pro-slavery men, and to all this ional legislation over one species of property in next, secure a majority of the electors, patriotic they added occasional taunts that they were no the teritories, as an apology for assuming the pow- men, North and South, without waiting for his more to be relied upon for the protection of South- er of general legislation, involving the power to inauguration, irrespective of party lines and

> It by no means follows that the people who more limited. I mean the paramount law of nesolutely necessary for the protection of persons and property, until Congress acknowledges their in-

cause they would not submit to the test, and as Territories, when does sovereignty therein begin? accrue when there are ten, or one hundred, or one thousand, or one ten of thousand settlers ? Where South to the harmless pastime of belching fire of Kansas into the Union at once, provided she shall we draw the line and pronounce that on and fury at each other at a safe distance, protecwould consent to become a slaveholding State, this side the settlers live under the law of neces- ted by the patriotism and good sense of nine sity, and on that they become rightfully sove-

The Constitution of the United States was not made for Territories but for States, as its name implies. It has, by strict rules of construction, probable circumstances, can be found among nothing to do with Terrritories outside of the the candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Pres States united, beyond the protection and disposition of the common property therein. It seems at Charlston, they went to Baltimore for the mere to the formation of a respectable community, purpose of more effectually completing the work of when their independence should be acknowledge-

But if there be a doubt as to the power of Conand more consistent with democratic principles | dant blessings, will they not be irresistible ! to deny the power than to assume it? Some of have doubled the population of Delaware or essential interest of the country and jeopardizing

Let us briefly consider the practical workings rejected plank into an unknown sea, unfortunate- suggest, in case a black republican is elected to ly political aspirations are that when he dies he the presidency. You ask, "is it wise, if we do may leave his country united, happy and free. not intend to submit to such consequences, to

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rated," &c., and you say, "if the South should think upon this subject, as I do, no black republican President should ever exicute any law with in her borders unless at the point of the bayonet, and over the dead bodies of her slain sons. I know there are men in the South who would sacrifice their lives and endanger the communities in which they live, upon a point of honor, and that such men often fire up with unwounted fierceness if reminded of the probable consequences of their own rashness. But the time has come when consequences should be looked in the face, not for purposes of defiance, but that we may consider whether the policy which would

lead to them is required by Southern interests How do you propose to prevent the inauguration of a Black R publican President, should such an one be unfortunately elected ? Will you grant of this power in the Constitution, please put | come to this city with an armed force, and attempt it on its limitations, if any can be found. Upon to prevent an inauguration by violence! In that and the world would declare the South to be the

He would be inaugurated, here or elsewhere,

in spite of you. Well, suppose you then attempt of the laws? Every lawyer in the South knows that every citizen of every state is as much bound by the laws of the United States, constitutionally enacted, as by the laws of his own state, and citizens from allegiance to the United States as it is for the latter to relieve them from allegiance to their own state. And it is the sworn duty of the President to take care that the laws of the United States shall be faithfully executed upon every citizen of every state, and as long as we have a faithful President they will be so executed, if the courts, the marshals, the army and navy, remain faithful to their respective trusts. I know that much has been said in the South about reserved rights and nullification, secession. and not coercing a sovereign state, &c., when in fact the conventions representing the people of made no such reservations, but bound their consti-

the several States which adopted the constitution tuents, one and all, to to allegiance to the Constitu tion of the United States, as firmly as similar conventions bound them to the State constitut. And although the general government cannot technically cocree a state, it can rightfully coerce all the citizens of a state into obedience to its conlegislatures" of those states. Is it conceivable stitutional laws. The pretended reserved rights of nullification and secession, therefore, are in effect nothing more nor less than an outspoken right of rebellion, when wrong and oppression become intolerable. But when the crisis comes there are two parties who must necessarily decide, ganized states, should it be annexed by purchase cach for itself, whether circumstances justify the act-the seceders and the government of the I shudder at such sentiments coming from The following provision is the only one in United States. And do you conceive that the mere election of a President entertaining obnox

ed, as he must necessarily be, by a Sonate and indleiary, if not a House of Representatives, withand make all needful rules and regulations re- out one overt act, can justify any portion of the South, even to their own consciences, in an act There is one notable feature in the attitude of

the South. The cry of disunion comes, not from those who suffer most from Northern outrage, but from those who suffer least. It comes from South Carolina, and Georgia, and Alabama, and Mississippi, whose slave property is rendered comparatively secure by the intervention of other slaveholding States between them and the free states, and not from Delaware, and Maryland, and Virginia, and Kentucky, and Tennessee, and Missonri, which lose a hundred slaves by abolition thieves where the first named States lose one. Why are not the States that suffer most loudest in their cry for disunion? It is because their position ena bles them to see more distinctly than you do, at a distance, the fatal and instant effects of such a step. As imperfect as the protection which the Constitution and laws give to their property undoubtedly is, it is better than none. They do not have the John Browns of the North let loose upon them, with no other restraints than the laws of war between independent nations construed by reckless fanatics. They prefer to fight abolition ists, if fight they must within the Union, where their adversaries are somewhat restrained by constitutional and legal of ligation. No sir; Del aware, Maryland, and Virginia, do not intend to the North and the South; Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, do not intend that their peaceful essarily follows that this clause of the Constituchannels of commerce shall become rivers of blood

ger cry out disunion. I have said that the South has all along had a peaceful remedy and has it still. The union sen timent is overwhelming in all the middle are western States, constituting two thirds of the republic. Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Iil nois are as little inclined to become frontier States as Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky -Had the present administration cut loose from the disunionists, instead of virtually ministering to general application, would not only defeat the their designs, and planted itself firmly on union able the free state majority to surround the slave- more would never have occurred, the "constitu tional uniou party" would have been an impossi limited and exclusive legislation? If such an embracing two thirds of the North and the South would now have been marching to certain victors next November

abama, who at a remote distance from present dan

What ought to have been the preventive, must be the remedy. Should Lincoln, in November throwing aside all minor considerations, must band together for the triple purpose of preventing may occupy a territory of the United States con- any attempt to break up the Union, checking the Republican party while in the ascendant, and expelling them from power at the next election .-Let the toast of General Jackson, " The Federal Union-it must be preserved," become the motto of the party, while strict construction of the Constitution and a jealous regard for the rights of the hunters or miners located in the wilderness, who States shall be its distinguishing principle and unwavering practice. Let the constitutional principle be adopted of no legislation by Congress over the territories, or throw aside altogether the mischievous issues in relation to them, of no practical utility, gotten up by demagogues and that moment, and not before, the powers of disunionists, as means of accomplishing their own a limited sovereignty accrued to them and may selfish ends. Let them refuse to support for any be exercised to protect or destroy local institu- Federal or State office, any man who talks of distions which may have grown up while the union on the one hand, and "irrepressible conlegislative power was limited to the absolute ne- flict" on the other. Throw aside all party leaders party, and a feeble and fruitless effort was made cessity of the occssion. If it be said, that the except such as "keep step to the music of the to induce the President to lay the foundations of law of necessity may be transcended and regula- Union" and are prepared to battle for State rights

lie this your 'platform: let the South rally upon sued. The support of the Lecompton constitu- pations of power in organized communities, rem- driving from power the reckless assailants of tion, which the country generally believed to be a ediless perhaps, but for that reason none the less your rights and institutions. But whether the United South come up to the rescue or not, I fore If this be not the true theory in relation to our | see that in the natural progress of events, the central States from the Atlantic to the far West, will band together on this ground, leaving the Aboli tionists of the North and the disunionists of the tenths of their countrymen, against the evils they

would bring on themselves. Can you doubt the success of such a freunion? Not an advocate of disunion under any

The supporte's of Bell to a man, the supporters to contemplate that the Territories shall be left to of Douglas to a man, and more than three-tourths is it not palpable that after vacating their seats | themselves until they have a population adequate | of the supporters of Breckinridge, are friends of the Union, and adversaries to northern interference with southern institutions. When convinced of ed and their admission into the Union granted the folly and madness of their warfare on each I, sir, entertain no doubt that the secession was on the sole condition that they adopt a republican other as they will be after the election if not before, they had together in common cause, and that cause the preservation of our glorious Union taken me to be of that class of men in the South | merely to perform a pretext for secession, and its | gress to legislate for the territories, is it not safer | and its invaluable Constitution, with their atten-How much more hopeful and cheering is a pros-

the original states, when admitted into the Union, pect like this than the contemplation of standing by leaving the territories to themselves until they and seeked cities. This continent, like the Easttern world is destined to have its "Northern Rhode Island in 1780. But would it not be in- hive." Shall its swarms be repressed by the comparably better to admit them into the Union strong hand of the States united or are they by as states, with a much less population, than to a dissolution of the Union, to be let loose upon leave them to be a bone of content on among our South, like the Goths and Vandals upon demagogues and disunionists, disturbing every | Southern Europe ! True, their bloed might in that event fertilize your desolated fields, but your

institutions, like those of the Roman empire would sink to rise no more, of the remedy for Southern wrongs, which you | These are the thoughts of an old man whose on-

With sincere regard. .