J. J. BRUNER,
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

TERMS

Single copy, $2.00
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Carolina Watchman.

VOL. XVII. SALISBURY, N. C., DECEMBER 27, 1859. NUMBER 31.

Devoted to Politics, News, Agriculture, Internal Improvements, Commerce, the Arts and Sciences, Morality, and the Family Circle.

BLANKS.

The following Court and miscellaneous BLANKS are kept on hand for sale, at this office. Can be sent by mail to any part of the country, at small expense.

Civil Warrants, Com. to take Depo. C & S C.
Ca sa & Bonds, Apprentice Indentures,
Writs, C. & S. Court, Letters Testamentary,
Recognizances, C. & S. C. Letters of Administration,
Subpoenas, C. & S. C. Special Letters, &c.
Witness Tickets, C. & S. C. Marriage Licenses,
Fieri Facias, Do. Certificates,
Prosecution Bonds, C. & S. C. Various Equity Blanks,
Bail Bonds, civil cases. Do. Indictments,
Bail Bonds, State, Land Deeds,
Attachment Writs, Deeds in Trust,
Delivery Bonds, Sheriff Deeds,
Administration, do. Equity do.
Guardianship, Notes of Hand,
Appeal, Notes to Bank,

All any other forms of less frequent demand. Blanks of to order at short notice.

Professional Cards.

DENTAL NOTIC.

DR. BESSENT,

Has removed to the DENTAL ROOMS on the corner formerly occupied by Dr. Rosse, where he is prepared to attend all operations connected with his profession.

June 1, 1859. 1f20

Drs. M. WHITEHEAD & J. A. CALDWELL

Have associated themselves in the practice of Medicine and offer their Professional services to the public. Those who wish it, can have the services of both, in any case, without extra charge.

Office in the room recently occupied by M. Whitehead.

LAW PARTNERSHIP.

A. H. & R. A. CALDWELL.

OFFICE the one formerly occupied by Dr. Nesbit, on Water Street.

SALISBURY, N. C.

March 1, 1859. 1f40

BUSINESS CARDS.

N. M. MARTIN, BRO. & CO.,
GROCERS AND COMMISSION
MERCHANTS,
No. 120, Sycamore Street,
PETERSBURG, VA.

N. M. MARTIN, SON & CO.,
COMMISSION MERCHANTS,
RICHMOND, VA.

N. M. MARTIN, Sr. | R. O. YANNAHILL,
E. L. MARTIN, | R. L. HUGHES,
W. G. MARTIN, | N. M. MARTIN.

Strict personal attention given to the sale of produce. Orders for goods promptly filled.

References—D. A. Davis, C. F. Fisher, Esq.

June 14, 1859. 1y52

H. W. RUPP,

Watchmaker & Jeweller,

CONCORD, N. C.

Having removed to a New and Larger Store, opposite Mansion Hotel, I am better prepared than ever to meet the wants of my former patrons and the public generally. My stock of JEWELRY will compare favorably with any other Store. Special attention given to the repairing of Watches, Clocks and Jewelry. All work warranted.

Sept. 6, 1859. H. W. RUPP. 1y15

Auction House!

IN SALISBURY, N. C.

The subscriber having been appointed Auctioneer by the County Court, would respectfully solicit the patronage of those wanting business done in that line.

J. K. Burke having qualified as my Agent, is hereby authorized to attend to the Auction business in my name. THOMAS J. MERONEY.

Jo. K BURKE, Auctioneer.

Persons sending us Goods on consignment can have reference if necessary. T. J. M.

May 31st, 1859. 1f1

DE ROSSET, BROWN & CO.,
WILMINGTON, N. C.
BROWN, DE ROSSET & CO.
NEW YORK.
Commission Merchants.

Sole Agents at Wilmington for Reese's Manipulated Guano, and W. Whitelock & Co's Superphosphate of Lime.

Importers of pure Peruvian and other Guanos, Land Plaster, &c.

Particular attention given to the sale of Naval Stores, Cotton and other Produce.

April 19, 1859. 3mpd47

JAMES HORAH
WATCH-MAKER AND JEWELER,
SALISBURY, N. C.,

One door below R. & A. Murphy's Store.

Keeps constantly on hand a large assortment of WATCHES and JEWELRY of all kinds.

Clocks, Watches and Jewelry of every description repaired in the best manner and on the most reasonable terms.

February 15, 1858. 1y38

MICHAEL BROWN,
COMMISSION MERCHANT,
SALISBURY, N. C.

Prompt personal attention given to the purchase of all kinds of PRODUCE. And to all consignments to be sold in this market or shipped to other Ports.

February 7, 1859. 1f3

C. B. ROBINSON,
BANKER & DEALER IN EXCHANGE,
Salisbury, N. C.

By permission I refer to Hon. D. F. Caldwell, J. H. Jenkins, Esq., Messrs Brown, Coffin & Mock.

Aug 9, 1859. 1f11

CIGARS! CIGARS!! CIGARS!!!

5000 CIGARS at Wholesale or Retail at the Post Office. M. A. SMITH.

May 17 1f31

MARRIAGE LICENSES
FOR SALE AT THIS OFFICE

MISCELLANEOUS.

Salisbury, Sept. 19th, 1859.

NEW
Fall and Winter
GOODS!

A. MYERS,

No. 4, Granite Building,

Respectfully informs his friends and the public generally the late arrivals of Fall and Winter Goods,

consisting of all Styles and Sizes generally kept in a FIRST CLASS DRY GOODS HOUSE, and will receive additional supplies through the Season, so as he will be able to offer inducements to buyers as will not fail to please. In the Ladies DRESS GOOD DEPARTMENT the Styles and Fabrics are very new and attractive, and the variety is greater than that of any former season.

A. MYERS.

No. 4 Granite Building,
Salisbury, N. C.

Have You Seen
R. & A. MURPHY'S
Boots and Shoes?
If You Have Not,

Go immediately and see them; for their low prices, and the splendid quantity of their Stock of

BOOTS AND SHOES,

for Gents and Youth's, and Ladies, Misses and Children's will astonish you. All right for cash and now offered for sale so low that it almost as cheap to wear BOOTS and SHOES as to go barefooted.

They have a large assorted lot of good NEGRO SHOES and BOOTS, which they can sell cheaper than ever before. Try the market and be sure and give us a call.

Wilhelm & Gorman.

OUR MOTTO—

Quick Sales and Short Profits.

In Boyden's Old Stand, Opposite the Rowan House.

The public are invited to call and examine our splendid stock of Furniture to be seen here, ever in this part of the State, Bureaus, Card Bureaus, Centre-tables, Sofas, Tete-a-tetes, China Presses, Wardrobes, Bedsteads of every kind, Parlor Chairs, Rocking Chairs, Cane seat and Windsor Chairs, Children's Chairs, Hat-stands, Whatnots, &c., in fact every thing in our line, all of which we will sell as cheap as can be bought in the State.

Also, a good assortment of Wood Coffins kept on hand, and furnished on as reasonable terms as can be had. We have a fine new Hearse for funeral occasions. Call at the Furniture Store of

WILHEM & GORMAN.

Salisbury, April 26th, 1859. 1f40

W. R. WILSON

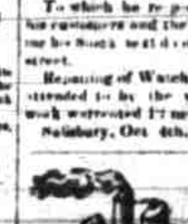
Has just returned from the Northern cities, with his fall Stock of

WATCHES, JEWELRY,
SILVER WARE,
FINE TABLE CUTLERY, &C!

To which he respectfully invites the attention of his customers and the public. Please call and examine his Stock next door to McNeely & Young's, Main street.

Repairing of Watches, Clocks and Jewelry strictly attended to by the very best watch-makers. All work warranted 12 months.

Salisbury, Oct 4th, 1859. 1f19



THE LARGEST LOT OF
COOKING,
PARLOR,
AND
Church Stoves

Ever offered in this Market, and will be sold lower than can be had in Western North Carolina, for Cash. Also all kinds of PLAIN and JAPANED TIN-WARE and STILLS kept on hand. All kinds of Copper and Sheet-iron work done at the shortest notice.

J. D. BROWN & CO.

Oct 18, 1859. 1f21

All PERSONS indebted to me for Medical Services, (previous to 1st December) whose accounts are not settled by August Court next, will, after that time, find them in the hands of an officer (without exception.) I mean what I say.

M. WHITEHEAD.

June 14, 1859. 1f3

LEATHER!

2,000 lbs. Hemlock sole Leather.
10 doz. French and city make Calf Skins.
15 doz. lining and binding skins, at
1f18 McNEELY & YOUNG'S.

HIDES.

THE highest market price paid in CASH for green and dry Hides. Apply to

BEARD & BROTHER.

May 9th, 1859. 1f50

LEATHER.

A very superior lot of Upper Leather and Calf Skins for sale by BEARD & BROTHER.

Salisbury, N. C. 1f50

NAILS AND HORSE SHOES.

70 Kegs now in Store for sale low.

R. & A. MURPHY.

Salisbury, Nov 15, 1859. 1f16

50,000 Brick For Sale

THOSE wanting to buy Fifty or Sixty Thousand good Brick, can get a bargain by calling at this Office. 1f47

White Lead.

5 Tons Pure White Lead and Zinc, at
1f1 McNEELY & YOUNG'S.

BOOTS.

The best double soled Water Proof Boots at the lowest price. Call at McNEELY & YOUNG'S.

Tanner's Oil.

25 barrels Tanner's Oil, at
1f18 McNEELY & YOUNG'S.

Crockery and Glassware,

Come and see McNeely and Young's Crockery and Glassware. 18

Blanks of all kinds for sale at this office

OUR LINE OF POLICY.

Under this head the New Orleans "Bulletin" has an able article on the present aspect of our relations with the North, and the remedies therefor which it concludes in the following language;

"Against the machinations of these wretches the South must protect herself, and the first measure towards the accomplishment of this object is to undeceive the North, the whole North, first, that the abolition of slave labor at the South would not affect Northern and Western prosperity injuriously; secondly, that the South cannot get along independently of the North. Upon these two points we think there is deep delusion enshrouding Northern and Western minds, not all minds, but the mass. They evidently think, and honestly, that the South would go to wreck and the North would scarcely feel the effects of it. There never was a greater delusion. Unless it be dispelled, it will prove fatal to the best interests of the North. No theorem is more clearly demonstrable.

"The other error is that the South is dependent on the North, and cannot really get along without her. All threats of disunion we despise. Disunion would aggravate rather than eradicate the evils in both North and South; but the North is not aware of the resources of the South, and for the very reason that these resources have been neglected by the Southern people. We have been depending upon the North, and we are still depending upon her, and this is the chief cause of the delusion we speak of. It is the reason why the Abolitionist and multitudes of others believe that the South is weak and cannot stand alone. The only way to dispel the two illusions, to do it effectually, to make it felt as speedily where it is most needed, is to withdraw—and from the Union—but our patronage, from the North and West! Depend upon it, such a withdrawal, without blowing any trumpets, or making ourselves in any way ridiculous, would open eyes wide that are now almost hermetically sealed. In other words, it is the pocket argument, and we believe it is the only one now available. It is an argument that can be made in the Union, that can be constitutionally and patriotically made, and that when made, will reach, in its resistless and practical logic, every city, town, hamlet and farm throughout the Northern and Western States. We cannot, in a single article, descend to particulars, but the idea will involve the writing of our own books and periodicals; the making of our own machinery and agricultural implements; our clothes and clothing; to the making of our own beef and pork; our own fire-arms, shoes, furniture, drays, carriages, saddles, harness, paper, hats, starch; catching our own fish; growing our own wool; in a word, it will extend to the growth and manufacture of every article that we require, except such as we may obtain from Europe.—Does any one say that this is impracticable? Then we answer that there is no practicable method of self-defense within our reach. A paper declaration of independence from the North while sending millions of dollars there every year to enrich and give power to the very persons against whom the paper fulmination would be hurled, would only bring upon us shouts of ridicule; and while we should be impotent at home, we should be a laughing stock abroad. The pocket argument we speak of would exercise the spirit of abolitionism from the minds of nine tenths of the Northern and Western people, though we well know that the idea of this argument in advance will not do it. This effect could only be expected to appear when the workings of the argument itself should begin to be *felt*."

Mississippi.—Mississippi is an ultra Southern State, and her Representatives have for a long time been very bitter in their denunciations of Northern repudiation of constitutional obligations. We are glad to see that her present Governor recommends that Mississippi free herself from the stain of a repudiated debt. When this recommendation is acted upon favorably, Mississippi's denunciations of broken faith in others will sound better.

Gov. McWillie very properly says in concluding his message on the subject:

"The question for your solution is, are these bonds due and unpaid? If this question should be answered in the affirmative, in my opinion the question of payment is no longer debatable, and proper provision should be made for their liquidation or adjustment. It is due to ourselves and to the character of the State that all acknowledged obligations should be promptly met. It can never cost an individual or a State too much to be just."

Judge Manly has resigned his commission as a Superior Court Judge from which we may conclude that he has accepted the appointment on the Supreme Court bench as the successor of Judge Ruffin. Who will be appointed in Judge Manly's place is more than we can say, or indeed than any body can say in advance of the action of the Council of State. A number of distinguished gentlemen in the Western circuit are already spoken of. No doubt a satisfactory appointment will be made.—*Wilmington Journal.*

The Supreme Court.—The Supreme Court of North Carolina commenced its winter Term in this City on the 12th instant. Chief Justice Pearson and Judges Battle and Manly are in attendance. The oath of office was administered to Judge Manly by the Chief Justice. *Ral. Standard.*

FLORIDA.

The Charleston Courier says:

We have been permitted to make the following extracts from a private letter recently received by a gentleman in this city from his friend in Fernandina. The rapid advancement of Fernandina, even before its main channel of trade and travel has been opened to the Gulf, foreshadows the future magnitude of this new city:

"The progress of our town here is onward.—We never expected any rapid increase till after the road was finished to Cedar Keys, and our commerce with the Gulf had commenced; yet before that event has taken place we have increased more rapidly than any other new *South*ern town that I know of.

"Three years ago at this time there were only some three or four houses in the town. We now have some fifteen hundred inhabitants; four large churches which would be a credit to any place, three hotels, two of which are very respectable ones, a number of wholesale and retail stores, and commission merchants sufficient for the business *at present*. Buildings are going up in every direction, but, in my opinion, there will not be houses enough built in time to accommodate the business when the connection with the Gulf opens, which must now be accomplished in two or three months. "Coming events cast their shadows before."

"The local business on the road is constantly increasing, and would increase still more if there was sufficient rolling stock. The turpentine business is going to be a very important one, not only furnishing large freights for the road, but opening up here a large business. A number of North Carolinians are opening turpentine plantations near the road, and it is expected that about thirty thousand barrels of turpentine will come down the road next year, and that, in a very few years, it will increase to two hundred thousand barrels, and perhaps much more. You will see that this is an important addition to the business of our town. From Gainesville to the sand hills, on each side of the road, for ten miles, is said to be the best turpentine country in the world.

"As further evidence of our progress, I can inform you that lots to the amount of some $300,000 have been sold here already *at private sale*. There never has yet been an advertisement nor a public sale of lots here. We have just established "The Bank of Fernandina," and our telegraph line will be in operation in a few weeks. Thus do we move briskly on the road to our destiny."

THE WILMINGTON LIGHT INFANTRY.

This Company paraded yesterday and turned out quite a respectable number of muskets. They manoeuvred well, but in some instances the firing by platoon was not so good. This *may* have been owing to the new and inexperienced members in the ranks. If so, then it is excusable.

By the way, we hear that the Company has been considerably augmented of late by the addition of new members, and that many more of our citizens—even some of mature years—have in contemplation the enrollment of themselves in the ranks. This is as it should be. In the present existing state of the times, every man should be a soldier, and we know of no better way of becoming acquainted with military tactics, than by joining a good military company. The Wilmington Light Infantry should enroll two hundred *bona fide* members.—The place is large enough to furnish that many volunteer soldiers, and it would, we feel sure, were not a great number frightened off by that great bugbear—expense.

In the earlier days of the Company this might have been a valid excuse, but at present, we have been told, it is not. The *greatest* expense—that of Armory hire—has been overcome; and those who join now, have only their uniform to purchase and current expenses to pay. The latter does not amount to much. Suppose fifty applicants send in their names between this day and the next meeting? What say you, gentlemen?—*Wil. Herald.*

"Homespun."—A very good friend of ours, who is a most ardent Southern man and true patriot, presented himself to us on Saturday, clad "from top to toe" in Virginia cloth—genuine "homespun."—He is a good looking man, and we never saw him show off better than in his domestic suit. How much prouder it is to be an independent man in homespun than to pay tribute in broadcloth!—and that tribute to those who wrong and outrage us—who take our property and deny us the means of recovering it—who misrepresents us and revile us, and yet have all the benefits of the carrying trade of our $200,000,000 of staples and all the profits in the manufacture and sale of nearly all we consume—people who have all the benefits of union, and inflict upon us as much of evil as possible.—*Richmond Dispatch.*

Incendiary Documents.—Robert H. Glass, Esq., the postmaster at Lynchburg, Va., has written the following letter to old Greeley, of the Tribune:

Post Office, Lynchburg, Va.,
December 2, 1859.

Mr. Horace Greeley: Sir—I hereby inform you that I shall not, in future, deliver from this office the copies of the Tribune which come here, because I believe them to be of that incendiary character which are forbidden circulation alike by the laws of the land, and a proper regard for the safety of society. You will, therefore, discontinue them.

Respectfully,
R. A. GLASS, P. M.

An Awakened Conscience.—The Secretary of the U. S. Treasury has acknowledged the receipt of $1200, from a man in Jersey City, who says, in his note to the Secretary, "I have defrauded the United States Government out of it, and desire to restore it, that I may be happy."

Give a wise man health, and he will give himself everything else.

UNION, PATRIOTISM AND PEACE!

SPEECH OF Hon. EDWARD JOY MORRIS, of Pa.,

IN THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
December 8, 1859.
ON THE ELECTION OF SPEAKER, AND IN DEFENCE OF THE SOUTH.

Mr. Clerk:—Occupying, as I do, a perfectly independent political position, I am at liberty, free from any particular party bias, to vote in the election of Speaker, and on all questions which shall come before the House when it shall have been duly organized, according to my sense of duty to the country and my constituents. In such a position, I do not sympathize with extreme men and millions, on either hand, and shall, as far as possible, avoid any countenance of, or participation in, the discussion of topics of an exclusively sectional character, introduced merely to stimulate party passions, and inflame local prejudices.

As a representative, Mr. Clerk, of an eminently conservative constituency, I am surprised to see the deeply exciting question of slavery, the agitation of which has been so constantly deprecated as inflaming the public mind and disturbing the peace of the country, prematurely introduced here by gentlemen representing slaveholding constituencies. Sir, I am opposed to all unnecessary agitation on the subject. I am willing to meet it only when it comes before us in the ordinary action of a legislative body. But I protest against its being thrust upon us now, before the House is organized, and to the obstruction of public business, and in order to confuse the election of Speaker.

There are many tests, Mr. Clerk, of the fidelity of men to the Constitution of the United States, and to the Union and harmony of the country. Crises in our political history, from time to time occur, which put men's principles to a stern proof, when loyalty to a party and devotion to the country come in conflict; when the voice of patriotism or faction must be heeded; when the popular will or that of the Executive must be observed. In such a crisis stood my honorable friend from Ohio (Mr. Sherman) in the last Congress, during the memorable struggle on the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution. Upon our action at that time depended not only the tranquility of the particular district of country about which we were legislating, but the peace of the whole nation.

Under previous legislation the people of Kansas were allowed to determine for themselves whether they would come into the Union as a free or slave State. While engaged in the solution of that important question, every act of fraud, violence and ruffianism perpetrated against them to prevent the free expression of opinion, was countenanced by this wicked Administration, and a Constitution was brought into this House which was not the act of the people of Kansas. It was fraudulent from beginning to end; one which would not bear the test of investigation. When the House raised a Committee for the purpose of investigating the frauds with which it was tainted, the Speaker—for whom I entertain personally the most profound respect—violated the first principles of parliamentary law, and appointed a majority on the Committee opposed to the very object for which the House had created it, and thus defeated the exposure of the iniquitous proceedings by which the legal voice of the people of Kansas had been counterfeited.

Here we sat, sir, for months, debating whether the mandate of an arbitrary Executive should be obeyed, and that fraudulent Constitution be forced on Kansas by the Federal Government. We knew that if it were, it would lead to a bloody civil war—a war that might overspread the limits of Kansas, and embrace the whole nation in its flames. Where stood my honorable friend from Ohio, (Mr. Sherman?) With his back firmly set against this despotic Administration, nobly maintaining the cause of law and order, and the rights of the people; yielding not an inch during all that glorious struggle for popular privilege against Executive usurpation; from first to last, true as steel to truth and justice, foremost among the most able champions of the people. For his gallant conduct during all that contest, he shall have my vote, as long as there is a possibility of electing him, Speaker of this House.

I know, sir, that there is not in this House a member more obnoxious, politically, to the Administration, than the gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. Sherman,) and whose election as Speaker is more justly dreaded by it. To him the country is indebted for the investigation in the last Congress which brought to light the abuses and corruptions of the Naval Department, and which led to reformatory legislation, by which the Treasury will be in future guarded against similar practices. If further investigation is necessary into the conduct of the Administration, and if rumor and general suspicion are to be relied on it is absolutely necessary, the Administration has just reason to fear from the well-known firmness and integrity of character of my friend (Mr. Sherman) that he will so appoint the requisite committees as to procure a thorough and unsparing scrutiny into all the malpractices of the Government. The fact that his resoluteness of purpose and fearless energy in the exposure of corruption, has provoked the fierce and malignant hate of the ruling dynasty and its servile minions, should commend him to the support of all who wish to see the purity of the Government vindicated, and venality and political profligacy chastised with the scorpion lash of public indignation.

My constituents, Mr. Clerk, have too great interests at stake in the organization of this House to permit me to hesitate as to my choice of Speaker. I will vote for no candidate for that office, who is not a true and proven friend of the cause of Protection. I know Mr. Sherman to be such, and I know that he will so organize the Committee of Ways and Means as to give that question a fair hearing, when a proposition for a revision of the Tariff shall come before it. We have a right to expect that the business wants of the country shall be taken into consideration; that remedial measures shall be applied to existing evils, and that the voice of the great productive masses shall at least be heard and respected in the Committee specially charged with the protection of their interests. The election of my friend from Ohio will be the surest guarantee of the realization of such a hope.

But, sir, apart from all this, I know the gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. Sherman,) to be a man of just and equable temper—of a fair and honorable nature—and incapable of perverting parliamentary law into an instrument of partisan despotism. If I knew him to be otherwise, or if I had the slightest doubt on the subject, I would not give him my vote at any time, as I will never aid in placing in that chair, Mr. Clerk, any man who will not administer the rules of the House with equal and exact justice to all parties.

But, Mr. Clerk, we are told that Mr. Sherman is one of those who signed the recommendation in favor of Helper's book. Very well, sir; I did not sign it, and I claim no particular credit for not doing so. I have read but little of the book. So far as I do know anything about it, I understand that it is a work written by a native of a Southern State—a book primarily and almost exclusively addressed to Southern men, reciting the experience of a Southern man, and drawing a comparison between the productiveness and the utility of free and slave labor. The book, sir, must fall, or stand upon its own merits. And what is done here? Why gentlemen magnify this book into a tremendous engine of mischief. They proclaim that this book, and all who indorse it, are capable of producing infinite mischief to the peace of this country. They proclaim that all who indorse it, indorse treason. Has not my honorable friend said that, in so far as that book expresses anything contrary to the Constitution of the United States, so far he condemns it. Could any declaration be more unreserved, more candid, and I may add, more acceptable, if gentlemen are willing to believe in the veracity of their peers upon this floor. What have we to do with Mr. Helper's book more than any other book? Are we to sit here, as a college of Jesuit censors, to expurgate the literature of the country? Are we to convert ourselves from a congressional and legislative body into a literary tribunal, and pass in review the merits of every incendiary publication which may be thrown out in the country, and hold gentlemen responsible for the sentiments of that publication in so far as they have read and indorsed it, directly or indirectly? Why, sir, this is a most extraordinary proceeding. It lifts Mr. Helper into a consequence he never dreamed of attaining. It makes him an enemy of the South more formidable than he ever aimed to be, if, indeed, he aims to be an enemy of the South at all. It makes him an instrument of mischief far beyond his capacity, and far beyond the imagination of his most partial admirers. This book, so full of mischief, which has been occupying the attention of Congress now nearly for an entire week, you have asked the whole people of the United States to read and ponder upon. You have been dwelling and dwelling upon its inflammatory text, so that if it ever had any mischief in it, you have increased the power of that mischief to an incalculable extent.

And, sir, what has been done upon this floor is in perfect consonance with the action of the Democratic party. Who repealed the Missouri compromise? Who broke the bonds of peace which had been signed thirty years before by the wise men of the North and of the South? The Democratic party. Who framed the Kansas-Nebraska bill? The Democratic party. Who refused to carry out the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska bill? Who deluded the people of Kansas into the idea that they were to have a free expression of their will on their organic form of government, and then denied it them? The Democratic party. Who brings the question of slavery first into this Hall? The Democratic party. Who delays the organization of the House by factious expedients, and keeps the country in a state of dangerous excitement by the violent discussion of the slavery question, when it is totally uncalled for? The representatives of the Democratic party. For all the sectional bitterness now prevailing, and which grows out of the slavery agitation, the Democratic party is responsible. By that it lives, and by that it will perish.

Notwithstanding these facts, we are daily told that the North is the disturber of the peace of the country—that it is implicated in acts of conspiracy and outrage against the people of the Southern States, and that it is responsible for the acts of John Brown, and the sentiments of a few radical and fanatical orators. I am no apologist for the North. The North needs no apology, and has none to give. It is loyal to the Constitution, it is loyal to the Union; and they who seek to misguide and impress the people of the South with the idea that the people of the North as a body, are hostile to them, do it for the purpose of factious mischief—a mischief that will have a wider range, and be attended by far more pernicious consequences, than they, in their shortsighted folly, imagine.

Mr. Clerk, God forbid that I, as the Representative of a conservative constituency, should have any part in embroiling different sections of the country, or in misrepresenting one section of the country to the other for mere political purposes and partisan aims. It is impossible for the people of the North and of the South to live together in amity and concord so long as the actions of individuals, or the opinions of individuals, or the actions of small bodies, are taken as indices of dominant sentiment in those sections. Sir, the constituency I in part represent is an eminently loyal one. It has no sympathy with John Brown or for those who incited him, directly or indirectly, to his mad crusade in Virginia. The people of the City of Philadelphia, where the Hall of Independence still remains, cherish deeply the feelings and motives that led our ancestors to the Declaration of Independence and the Union which sprang from it. They are animated by the sacred associations of that Hall, and they know that that Union can exist only so long as North and South and all sections respect their respective, reserved rights. We of the North insist that we are not to be made a *particeps criminis* in these transactions. We insist that it is a false and unwarranted charge. Yes, sir, it is a libel, it is unjust, and it is a calumny, to hold the whole body of the Northern people responsible for the acts of the leader of a band of madmen. Was the whole South, Mr. Clerk, held responsible when the Legislature of South Carolina passed an ordinance deliberately nullifying the laws of the United States? Did we identify the whole South with the people of South Carolina, or with the nullifying party in South Carolina, which was in favor of armed resistance to the laws of the United States? No, sir; we heard from the loyal States of North Carolina, Tennessee and others, indignant protestations against the South being incriminated in the action of South Carolina.

When the President of the United States, a native of Tennessee, issued his celebrated proclamation against the nullifying resolutions of South Carolina, he met with a response, not from the North alone, but from the East and West, and all the loyal men of the South. And the secession recommendations of the Nashville convention, of 1850, fell powerless upon the hearts of the loyal people of the South. We never believed that the whole people of the South were ripe for these sectional schemes of aggrandizement and separation of the Union. Nor do I believe that any considerable portion of them now, through the agency of secret societies, can be welded together to form a deliberate plan for the establishment of a southern slaveholding confederacy, and a dissolution of the Union for that purpose. You might as well expect the people of the North to identify the whole people of the South with the re-opening of the slave trade. You might as well expect us to believe that everybody there is in favor of the revival of that accursed traffic, because certain leading public men and presses advocate it. On the contrary, we know that one, at least, of the members of the present Cabinet, and that some of the chief statesmen of the South are arrayed against it, and we know that all truly humane and Christian men there abhor this infamous scheme.—We have no fears upon that subject.

Then why, gentlemen of the South, why, when we refuse to involve you in these general charges and odious suspicions as an entire people, do you persist in this war of crimination and misrepresentation against the North, when you cannot really believe in your hearts that the whole people of that part of the country entertain unconstitutional designs against the South? No, sir; for one I am for the Union; I am for peace; I am for law; and never until the last moment shall I despair of making this glorious Union, and the Constitution dependent upon it, perpetual. I hope we may be able to live together like a band of brothers; but, sir, we never can, so long as gentlemen come into this Hall and insist upon a course of misrepresentation, and upon involving innocent people in the acts of a criminal few.

No, sir. In the name of my constituents of Philadelphia; at least, and of the patriotic State of Pennsylvania, I protest against the assaults upon our character as a law observing and constitutionally-loyal people. There is not a City or State that is more ready to resist aggression in every shape and form in which it may be made against the people of any portion of the Union. We will defend the Constitutional rights of others, with the same zeal that we assert and maintain our own.

WE ARE FOR THE UNION AND CONSTITUTION IN THEIR FULL SUPREMACY, AND AGAINST ALL WHO WOULD IMPAIR THE EXISTENCE OF THE ONE, OR OBSTRUCT THE OPERATION OF THE OTHER.

NELSON'S GREAT UNION SPEECH.

In the House of Representatives, on the 7th instant, Mr. Clark's resolution with Mr. Gilmer's substitute, being under consideration, Mr. Nelson of Tennessee thus addressed the House:

Mr. Nelson. Nothing has been said by any gentleman in this body with respect to the resolution offered by the gentleman from North Carolina, [Mr. Gilmer,] and as he and I occupy a position here between the dominant parties of the House and country, I trust that I will be allowed—although I had hoped that it would have fallen into abler hands to do so—to say something to this House in behalf of that resolution.

I am one of those, Mr. Clerk, who believe that the resolution of the gentleman from North Carolina ought to be adopted, in preference to the resolution offered by the gentleman from Missouri, [Mr. Clark.] I was pained to see the resolution introduced by the member from Missouri. While I go as far as any other man in the South or North to denounce that most infamous publication that has excited the attention of this House, I, for one, think—with great deference to the sentiments that have been expressed on the other side—that we are giving too much dignity and too much importance to a most infamous publication. I, for one, am not in favor of placing Mr. Helper and his book in the same enviable notoriety that Erostratus acquired by destroying the Ephesian temple. I, for one, am opposed to damning his name to everlasting fame, by placing it on the records of this House and handing it down to an inglorious immortality. It seems to me—with great deference to the opinions of other gentlemen who have expressed different sentiments—that we are dignifying this infamous pamphlet too much by giving it the notice which it has commanded here.

I think that the resolution of the gentleman from North Carolina answer the purpose designed by the mover of the other resolution, and is more in accordance with the dignity of this House and the gravity of legislative proceedings than the resolution offered by the gentleman from Missouri. And why should we not all come up, from the East and from the West and from the North and from the South, and record our voices in favor of the resolution offered by the gentleman from North Carolina, which contains nothing that, by any legitimate construction or intendment, could be construed as wounding the feelings of any member of the House? Why will we not all vote for these resolutions? They breathe the spirit of the two great parties that have hitherto controlled, alternately, the destinies of this great country. One portion of the resolution is copied from the resolutions of the great Democratic party in 1852, another is copied from the resolutions of the Whig party in the same year. The sentiments that are avowed in the resolution of the member from North Carolina are—I respectfully submit to the gentleman from Missouri—infinitely more comprehensive than the resolution which he has offered here; because, while his resolution signalizes a particular publication, and gives it a notoriety which is altogether unworthy its nature, the resolution offered by the gentleman from North Carolina condemns the slavery agitation in every shape and form. I, for one, prefer, therefore, the resolution offered by the gentleman from North Carolina, and I earnestly insist on its adoption by this House.

There is one thing, Mr. Clerk, which I think cannot fail to have struck the mind of every patriot, and every member of this House. We meet together under most extraordinary circumstances. An event of a most exciting character has occurred in one of the States of the Union, and it is natural that there should be a feeling of excitement on the part especially of those who represent that State on this floor. It is natural that there should be feeling of sympathy among those of us who live in adjoining States; but at the same time, Mr. Clerk, I maintain that we may carry this feeling of excitement too far. I know that a sentiment exists on the part of a portion of the members of this House—judging, at least from the conduct of those who represent part of the Northern States—that this excitement is altogether unnecessary, that there is no cause for it, and that it better comports with their dignity and with their honor that they should not participate in the discussion which has taken place here. Permit me to say to those who entertain that sentiment that I think they underrate the state of excitement that exists at this time in the southern States. And while I belong, Mr. Clerk, to a minority here, and while I cannot expect that the sentiments to which I shall give utterance will meet the approval of either of the dominant parties in this House, I beg leave to call the attention of the House to what I regard as the alarming crisis that exists in the history of our beloved land. I wish to do this temperately and moderately. I wish to do it in a spirit of perfect respect to every gentleman of the North and of the South. When we look to the South, we find a state of excitement there that is in accordance with past events. What do we find on the part of a considerable and highly respectable number of the southern States of this Union? Is it not something like a determination to precipitate a crisis? For one, I do not agree either with the extremists of the North or with the extremists of the South.—When you look at the history of parties in this country, it is an undeniable fact that nullifica-