adjacent may yet demand and receive terms to enable them to re-construct the constitution about which I have no doubt, and by which we shall be the greatest, happiest and most prosperous people on earth; and that all the sisterhood of States will again be numbered in one great confederated family with ample guaranties to protect all. Let us not like the prudent Mariner, who, when his vessel is tempest tossed, casts around observes the weather, looks on the broad ocean before him, and determines on what course is best to save the vessel from the peril which surrounds it, before he takes a new departure. And so with a bewildered traveler when he comes to several forks leading in different directions, a little delay in examining for the right road will often save him from being involved in difficulties—sometimes in bogs and quicksands, and the trouble of taking to the back track to escape from the consequences of precipitation and rash decision.

Mr. B. had heared with sorrow and profound regret, the sad notes with which the Senator from New Hanover, (Mr. Hall,) had pronounced the funeral knell of the federal Union and consigned it to the tomb of all the capulets." He regretted that while the Senator had paid such marked respect to such names of evil omen as Sumner, Seward and others, by reading their fanatical effusions to the Senate, that he had not paid *like respect* to such names as Franklin Pierce, George M. Dallas, Daniel S. Dickinson, Commodore Stockton the eloquent Valandigham and many other pure and intrepid patriots of the North, whose noble sentiments in favor of the constitutional rights of the South would be more refreshing to us. He regretted that the Senator had not dwelt more at large on the million and a half of undaunted patriots of the North, who had stood by us and cast their votes against Lincoln. The Senator's speech was a sample of that kind of one sided speeches, by which extreme men North and South had inshed up sectional feelings to their present height. Because bad men in the North, taking advantage of the disruption of the democratic party had banded together—*old whigs, free soil democrats and abolitionists*—and for the first time in the history of our government elected a President, is that any reason for denouncing the whole North?

Mr. B. said Southern chivalry, Southern honor, severe historic truth, all required that these illustrious names, and a million and a half of men of the North, called by us in the Breckinridge campaign our brothers and allies in a common cause, should not be ignored. Is it, he would ask, in the true spirit of knighthood, because they had fallen—and not by a large majority of the popular vote—to abandon them? Their defeat and that of the Democratic party was, he was confident, brought about by the conduct of the delegations of the seven cotton States, which seceded at Charleston, and which fatal movement, by a train of events, had compelled Constitution, Union-loving men to withdraw afterwards at Baltimore. If the delegations of the seven cotton States had not withdrawn at Charleston, there would have been a moral certainty of obtaining a platform of principles, substantially as strong and with principles the same, as the platform required by their State conventions. The resolution to which he referred, was adopted by a committee of the New York delegation in conference with the seven slaveholding States which remained in the Convention—was submitted to the entire New York delegation, assented to by them in full meeting, and a pledge given by them to support it in Convention. The resolution is as follows, to be found in the proceedings of the Convention at Charleston:

"*Resolved*, That the citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the Territories of the United States; and that, under the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, which we recognize as the correct exposition of the Constitution of the United States, neither the right of persons or property can be destroyed or impaired by congressional or territorial legislation."

Here then, was a resolution as explicit and as comprehensive as language could make it, declaring the equal rights of the citizens of the States to settle with their property in the territories; declaring that the decision of the Supreme Court is a correct exposition of the Constitution of the United States, and that neither the right of persons or property can be impaired or destroyed by Congressional or Territorial legislation. The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, declares that slaves are not only property in the Territories, *but that it is the duty of every department of the government to protect them as property.* The delegations of the States which withdrew at Charleston, or most of them, remained some days there, expressing a desire to return if their platform of principles was complied with. The resolution referred to, as he knew, was shown to many of them in private interviews, and known to all, yet they declined doing so. By this course they prevented the passage of a resolution—for by their votes it could have been carried—as strong virtually as their own State conventions had adopted, for the resolution by adopting the decision of the Supreme Court, which asserted it to be the duty of the government to protect property in the Territories, recognized fully the principle of protection. The presence of these delegations would not only, as he believed, have secured the passage of the resolution, but they could under the two-thirds rule have defeated Mr. Douglas, and in all probability have nominated and elected some such national man as Daniel S. Dickins; on and a united nomination would no doubt have been victorious over Lincoln. Should those who brought this calamity on the country, or at least, who are largely responsible for it, now be followed in their precipitate course in overthrowing the federal Union, without exhausting all proper means first for a settlement, just, safe and honorable to ourselves? Let all the States interested in slave property act together in making their demands, and act as one, if proper terms are not conceded.

The Senator from New Hanover, (Mr. Hall,) in his recital of the wrongs and injuries which the North had inflicted on the South, had continued the same one sided statement, and ignored, or seemed to ignore the great and essential aid which the true hearted national men of the North had rendered us. Mr. B. said there were no words of reproach, no epithet of denunciation that the abolition traitors of the North, acting in conjunction with British emissaries, did not merit it. On the other hand, there is no language of eulogy that the good and true men there, who, rising above sectional feelings, and standing with us on questions of peace and war, were not entitled to from our hands. Let the *anathema maranatha* be pronounced against the traitors who had nullified the laws and Constitution in the North. On the other hand, in the spirit of Southern honor and Southern chivalry, let justice be done, though the heavens fall—give honor to whom honor is due.

The Senator in charging grievances and injuries by the North, again ignores the noble deeds of our friends there. By their aid Southern Presidents have been elected and directed the policy of the government for two-thirds of the time the government has been in operation; and when Southern men were not Presidents, with rare exceptions such men as Pierce and Buchanan have governed with principles in harmony with ours. History awarded to Robert R. Livingston, of N. York, more credit for the purchase of Louisiana than any other statesman next to Mr. Jefferson. He was the untiring negotiator, who, afterwards joined by Mr. Monroe, effected the treaty with Napoleon. True-hearted national men of the North voted with Southern men for the fifteen millions to purchase it, and for the ratification of the treaty. Its acquisition not only saved the federal Union from the alarming spirit of discontent and disunion pervading the entire Western and South-western States—from the fact that the free navigation of the Mississippi had been denied them, and the great outlet to the Gulf of Mexico closed—but it established the institution of slavery on a greatly *firmer basis* than before, by the indoctrinable resources which it opened to slave labor, and the command which it gave to the slave States of the Gulf of Mexico. The larger portions of the States of Mississippi and Alabama, held then as territory of the State of Georgia, had been purchased of Georgia by the United States, and erected into great and flourishing States by the aid of votes from Northern statesmen. Florida had been purchased of Spain; a Northern Secretary of State having negotiated the treaty for its purchase. The Indian treaties, wars and removal of Indians from Florida had cost the government of the United States, first and last, he supposed, not less than thirty millions of dollars. The same national men had contributed speeches and votes to effect these objects. The Indians occupying a portion of the soil of North Carolina, Tennessee, near a fourth of the entire soil of Georgia, a large portion of Alabama and Mississippi, were treated with, the soil purchased and they removed, thus amplifying immensely the agricultural resources and population of the South. These great measures were effected by the aid of such men as Silas Wright, Franklin Pierce, and their compatriots. The acquisition of Texas was also made by the same kind of patriotic aid.

While, therefore, he would again repeat, that no language could express the contempt for the sectional traitors who had made war on us, no language was too lofty, no eulogy too great, to commemorate the deeds of those who had stood by us in sunshine and in storm, and the million and a half of true men who stand on the solid rock of the Constitution.—If they and their services are to be ignored—if they are to be included in the sweeping denunciation against the entire North—this language, striking *at friends* as well as foes—he would ask, where has good faith among men fled? where is that sentiment of brotherhood which was proclaimed in all the high ways a few months since? and where is nationality gone!—Is the plighted faith, which binds men together who stand together in a common cause—no matter in what latitude—to be violated? Are we, because defeat has perched on our banner, and that brought on by the violent men of our own party, *with Yankee calculation*, to cut loose from our million and a half of true Northern friends, and cry save himself who can? If this is in the code of Southern honor and Southern gallantry, I confess I have now for the first time learned it.

Mr. B. said this million and a half of national men of the North *are the only friends* which the slaveholding States have, *outside* of those States, in the civilized world. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that England—which has been *the evil genius* that has haunted us as colonies and independent States—is the deadly foe of our government and the slave institution. The visit of her Prince and *the noble spies* who accompanied him to this country, shows their old rancor. Slave States were treated with no respect, while their visit to Richmond gave an opportunity to their calumnious writers and editors to libel us. *That a deep design* lurked beneath this visit, he fully believed. The Canadas were *the ostensible* objects of the visit, while the United States were the real objects of *diplomatic attack*. The Prince was the mere decoy duck to conceal more effectually the old crafty *diplomatic spies*, who were cunningly, under the guise of smiles and friendship to our country, to look *deeply* into the affairs of state here, and sound the union or disunion sentiment, and to insinuate as much British influence as possible in Northern sentiment, to re-establish their ascendency. It was a remarkable incident in our history with England, that when Jefferson from Paris and Adams in London, soon after the acknowledgement of our independence, to make commercial treaty, on being presented to George the Third, after a cold reception, he turned his back on our Ministers. Our independence had just been gained; hatred following its establishment. It is another striking incident, that, for the first time in eighty four years since our independence, a British Prince makes a general tour *through the Western States* just at the moment, when the elements of sectional strife were doing their work of destruction, in overthrowing our federal system, and with it, paving the way to monarchy. A profusion of smiles and a shower of noble and royal compliments have suddenly, and for the first time, fallen upon us. The British government and the British nation are notoriously the most selfish and heartless on earth. They move only for a purpose; when they smile on the masses, it is to betray. They were pirates on the ocean for five hundred years, violating the flag of every nation and capturing their vessels, until in the war of 1812, we taught them some lessons as to the law of nations. Their history is entwined with the blood of Ireland and the East Indies and other regions of the world, where the iron hoof of British conquest has trodden. He honored the Irish regiment of New York for refusing to attend at the ceremonies of receiving the representatives of a government, which government was stained with the murder of Robert Emmett and his compatriot United Irishmen. The train which she had been laid more than sixty years since, for the dissolution of our Union, was now in a rapid state of consummation. Had her wiley statesman come at this period of our national woe to look on, *under the guise of friendship*, and witness its two successful workings! He feared the Greeks bringing presents. *It was Nero fiddling while Rome was burning.*

Mr. B. would say a word or two to the Senator from Jackson—a county, he would say, bearing a very good name. The Senator (Mr. Thomas) has discovered that those who are opposed to rash action are submissionists—an imported phrase from some other States, where it has been used, for the want of a better argument, to enlist the weak and timid; and that the Tories of the revolution had counselled submission to George the Third. The Tories were of that desponding class of persons, said Mr. B., who had no *hope*, and doubtless if there could be a resurrection of them, on this occasion, the Senator from Jackson would receive their loudest applause for aiding in the attempt to pull down the free government which the patriots of the revolution won by their valor, and which the Tories so hated. The privileged orders of Britain would no doubt join in hosannas to those who were doing the self government of man so much injury, and that of crowned heads so much benefit.

The senator also had ridiculed the idea of delay in our action. A wise delay was oftener right than wrong. Precipitate action was generally both unwise and wrong. Gen. Washington as many periods of the revolution and especially in his campaigns in New Jersey, was often reproached by some of the hotspurs of that day with pursuing a fabian policy—sometimes charged with cowardice; and if living now would probably, by some of the young America's, be called an old fogy. Washington unsurpassed in moral as he was in physical courage, spurned the reproaches of military fops, and when they rudely asked him how long he was going to retreat, replied that he would retreat, if necessary, to the mountains of Virginia—plant the flag of the country there, and rally its brave inhabitants to its defence. What was the result? Why Washington by a little delay, gained the splendid victory of Trenton, and made the glorious attacks at Princton and ended the war of the revolution in a blaze of glory at Yorktown. What went with his accusers, Generals Charles Lee and Horatio Gates both native Englishmen, and who had been trying to supplant him as Commander in Chief? Why, in a short time after the conspiracy was formed, and Washington was accused of timidity and delay, Lee was disgraced in the battle of Monmouth; and Gates having been sent South to take command of the Southern army, in his hot haste made an attack on the British army at Camden, and was signally overthrown, and such was his precipitate flight, with whip and spur, that it is said he reached Hillsborough, from the field of his defeat, in a day and night. The moral of this is, that rash precipitation is often great folly, and prudent delay, generally, great wisdom.

If said Mr. B. the country should unfortunately become involved in civil broils, he hoped the Senator from Jackson would fly to the rescue—place himself at the head of the fed men, who yet linger in his region of country; and, from his gallantry, we may expect that he will not be found in the rear, but will lead on the front in defending the country.

Mr. B. said if he had not known so well, by actual personal observation in Congress many years since, how and when this slavery agitation received aid and comfort and first began to assume any thing like size and proportion, and narrowly watched its progress ever since, he might, too, be for immediate disunion. The abolition party undoubtedly laid the foundation of it. Their strength, however, did not, in the last one or two years of General Jackson's administration, consist of more than eight or ten abolitionists proper in the House of Representatives, and three or four in the Senate. The States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut and all the North western States, including the State of Ohio, had resolutions on their statute books at that time almost as strong as respected our constitutional rights regarding slavery, as North Carolina or Virginia. The debates in Congress of that period will show that the *miserable effusions* of such miscreants as Garrison, then in utter obscurity, and his paper of very limited circulation at that time, even in Massachusetts, were brought into the Houses of Congress, held up as *Northern sentiment* by extreme men of the South, who were then bitterly opposed to General Jackson and the Democracy, and whose names were afterwards found recorded against him in the resolution of censure which the Senate afterwards expunged, and which he had the pleasure of voting to expunge. These extreme men at the same time denounced the *entire North* as abolition, while at the very moment the Northern Democracy and other conservative men were voting with us on all questions of practical importance—on the slavery question, on the treaties and appropriations to remove the Indians, to admit slave States, and all others in which the South had essential interests. These speeches were eagerly re-published and circulated by the abolitionists among the people of the North, with insulting comments on those of the North who acted with the South. At the same time, *the contemptible effusions* of the low abolition members of Congress would be sent forth among the people of the South by extreme men of the South and its newspaper organ at Washington, *as Northern sentiment*. The newspaper organ at Washington of the extreme men of the South, soon after the tariff question was settled by Mr. Clay's compromise, declared that it was manifest that *the South could not be united* on the tariff question, and that the *slave question* was the only one that could unite them. Agitation on the slave question, with this as the motto and rule of action, then commenced between *extreme North and South*, thrown like a shuttle back and forth, by which the monster of abolitionism was fed, and its size greatly increased. It had been a system of action and re-action of operation and co-operation more or less *pour* since, the abolitionists of the North abusing the slaveholder and his sentiments, *and his religion*, instead of the speeches of Pierce, Buchanan, and such men, sent forth in the South as *Northern sentiment*; while the speeches of extreme Southern men in the Senate of the United States, placing all the laboring classes, farmers and all of the North on an equality of our slaves, were eagerly and falsely seized on by the abolitionists, and circulated with provoking comments as *Southern sentiment*. This system had been kept up by demagogues and disunionists of both sections for twenty-four years past, until it had enabled the abolitionists to break down the tobiest, and at one time the most powerful political organization on the side of the constitution, whether as to number or talents, that had ever existed in this or any other country. Whatever difference of opinion may have existed between these extremes as to the institution of slavery, they were co-workers and allies in their common purpose of destroying the Union. Andrew Jackson, in the presence of hundreds now living, charged this agitation at the time on the extreme men North and South, and charged them with designs of breaking up the Union. The Newspaper organ at Washington at that day—known to have spoken the sentiments of Andrew Jackson, is filled with these charges, with the actors designated. He knew also that that pure patriot, the late William R. King, of Alabama, also beheld with decided disapprobation the agitation of the slavery question at that time, by the extremes of the North and South. Thus by a system of extreme doctrines and extreme measures—the latter sometimes yielding only the most bitter fruits—had our noble Democratic, and other constitutional allies of the North been borne down, and the abolitionists and other political combinations who hated with a deep hate the old Democracy, had been victorious; for which, with the causes mentioned, they had been largely indebted *to the seceders at Charleston*, for striking a blow at the Democratic organization which rendered it powerless to contend with the enemies of the constitution.

Was it, he would ask, generous, when our noble allies were prostrated by these causes, in which extreme Southern men had acted a conspicuous part, to cut loose from them and desert them because of temporary defeat? Was it manly after such strong appeals to stand by us in the late election to fly with precipitate haste out of the Union, and make no common struggle with our allies to repair the losses of the past and demand security for the future?—No, said Mr. B. let us for the present stand by our colors, and not retreat panic stricken from the Union. Wellington had won his great victory at Waterloo by standing firm in position—precipitancy would have destroyed him in two hours. The position of strength of the border States and others who do not secede now, is to call State Conventions—lay down our principles of action, call a general convention of all the slave-holding States; but the Convention distinctly set forth the terms on which we will alone consent to consult members of the Confederacy. Let these terms be presented *to the Northern States*, either in their capacity as separate States, or in a National Convention of all the States, and he had no doubt that we could obtain every guarantee demanded by our safety and honor—co-operation and a united demand by all the Southern States, would carry with it a weight that could not fail to be respected and responded to favorably. There is weakness in separate action, strength in Union. Whether we make demands before or after Lincoln's inauguration, we can, he had no doubt get them complied with. The idea of resistance or disunion on account of Lincoln's election, if carried out in practice, is fraught with destruction to Democratic principles and at war with all social safety. If there is to be an appeal to arms by the defeated party in presidential elections, it opens up a more horrid future than ever fell to the lot of any nation. We at once fall to the level of Mexico and Mexicans, the most degraded and abject nation on earth. That nation has been scourged for forty years by wars among themselves on account of the defeated parties for the Presidency. It has become the by-word of reproach among the nations of the earth—the country impoverished, property destroyed, and no one safe from the hand of violence and rapine. Miramon and Juarez—are the candidate of the party claiming rightful election, the other the leader of the opposite party, are the present actors in the bloody tragedy in that country. If the sword is to be substituted as the arbiter of elections instead of the ballot box, the horrors of civil war would be more aggravated here than almost in any other country, because of the daring character of the American *Anglo Saxon race*. When "Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war."

Is the glorious principle of self government by the people to go down in blood, civil war and darkness, asked Mr. B.? Are mankind again destined to be rode by desperate military adventures, with no safety for persons or property—property seized by the strong hand of power, and liberty of the citizen trampled under the bloody hoof of civil dissension? These and Mr. B. are most solemn and serious considerations, addressing themselves with more than solemn emphasis to those in every relation of life.

Let us then, said Mr. B., take no rash step. Let the slave holding States all act together; let them make a united demand on *the Northern States as States*, not on the shuffling politicians at Washington, who, so far as extreme men are concerned are the political ephemera of the day, who were generated in sectionalism, and could not politically survive a month if the corrupt atmosphere in which they live and have their being, could be purified by the more healthy tone of a true public sentiment. Let it be demanded that the slavery question be forever taken from the halls of Congress, where the slave institution has so long been made the foot ball of sectional demagogues; and moved as men are on a chess board to win a game or answer a selfish purpose. Justice to the slaveholder—the best interests of the slave holder, nay, the peace and harmony of the country all require that it should at as early a period as practicable, by constitutional amendments, be taken out of the hands of trading politicians, forever settled, and forever taken from the halls of Congress.

Mr. B. said, by the border and other States not now seceding and remaining in the Union, these guaranties he most sincerely believed, and did not doubt could be obtained, and by amendments and a re-construction of the federal government—the reasons for secession being removed—the States that had seceded would joyfully be hailed on returning to the Union, and the Southern and Northern States rejoice at the dangers which they had escaped, forgetting past dissensions, remembering in a generous patriotism only glories and friendship, would, like Brutus and Cassius, after an angry quarrel, become the better friends.

Mr. said that he had heard with pleasure mingled with pain his friend, the Senator from Brunswick. While the opinions declared by him in favor of separate State action and despairing of the continuance of the present Federal Union gave him pain, he would say, that the Senator had, on his part conducted the debate with a dignity, and ability and parliamentary decorum that contributed to lessen the pain incident to such differences of opinion. He, Mr. B., like the Senator, admired the history of South Carolina—to one of her lamented sons, Robt. Y. Hayne, he was more attached than to any member of Congress with whom it had been his fortune to form an acquaintance;—he had lived in the same house with him at Washington, had been honored with his intimacy, had received acts of kindness from him, when himself comparatively a young man, that he could never forget. He was the gentleman, the scholar, the statesman and soldier. He had always contended that she or any other State had that right, as a last resort, and while he regretted that she had not in concert with all the slave holding States, united in a common demand upon Northern States for a redress of our wrongs and all acted together, if refused, yet he had no word of reproach for her. While she acted on the defensive and confined herself to that line of action, he would say that she was entitled to a common sympathy and common resistance against force, come from where it may. He could not permit himself to doubt that her own wisdom and patriotism, as well as respect for her sister States of the South, would induce her to pursue the course indicated. In secession, without all proper efforts to settle difficulties with the North, he could not see the benefits which the Senator from Brunswick saw. He could only see in it, at this time, an incalculable aggravation of present evils. There would probably be twenty fugitive slaves in the border States for one at present, on a hostile border line of fifteen hundred miles, with no law to recover them, civil war in a few weeks would be inevitable—a standing army in North Carolina alone of fifteen or twenty thousand men, with an annual expenditure for its support, with some war steamers to defend our sea coast, amounting to at least six millions per annum, besides coming in conflict with the glorious principle of our Bill of Rights, that standing armies are dangerous to liberty.

In entering on this movement of secession, he Mr. B. would like, before taking the leap, to know what kind of government we are to come under? Before a family removes from one house to another, a prudent head of the family always examines the new premises to be occupied. He would go under no government that did not take great State right and democratic principles as its fundamental doctrines. Any constitution that does not acknowledge that all government, to be just, is derived from the consent of the governed, is a usurpation. He doubted not the mass of our countrymen were right on this principle; yet, when standing armies and military power are in the ascendant, all history proves that they override the authority of the people and become *the government*.

It may be said, that he had been too frank in stating the dangers of disunion. It required more moral courage to do this, boldly, than to pass over and conceal the dangers. The man of true moral courage, in every age, before entering on an expedition of adventure, looks the difficulties *squarely in the face* and candidly weighs and states them, to see if he is justified in taking the proposed course of action. He would now, in conclusion, say, that let all the slave holding States meet together, in convention, make a definite demand of the North such constitutional guarantees as are demanded by our safety and honor, as equals in the Union—a much more effectual plan than for fifteen separate States to make as many different demands,—and if those demands are refused, it will then be conclusive evidence that wrong to us is intended, and will *justify us* in the eyes of the whole world in standing to *our arms* and seeking safety in a separate form of government.

Letter from Hon. John A. Gilmer.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Dec 21, 1860.

J. H. Esq.,

DEAR SIR:—If in my power I would go to your meeting, and into every neighborhood in every State and Territory in this Union. We are in a most perilous crisis, but one which the country might yet pass without serious harm, if the honest masses everywhere could at once be reached and made sensible of the great danger that hangs over us.

Whilst extreme Northern and Southern politicians have been plotting and distracting the country, those who care nothing for office or political position, and who have been laboring in the agricultural, mechanical and trading departments of the country, have, under the blessings of Providence, made us really all that we are.

This great majority and most worthy portion of the citizens have not had time to examine and satisfy their minds as to whither we have been drifting by the fatal or sectional, selfish, ambitious men. If we can, in time, call into counsel those to whom we are most indebted for our industrial and intellectual attainments, and, in fact, for all our superior prosperity and greatness, the best government that ever fell to the lot of man may yet be preserved.

All that is wanting is for the honest masses North and South to be induced, without passion and with their cool heads, to understand the abstract points of difference, and they will at once arm themselves with the fraternal spirit of their revolutionary fathers, infuse the same into their political agents, and force a settlement of all sectional difficulties, and again return to their fields, shops, stores, ships and schools. They are taken by surprise, they are scattered.—They have, it is true, to contend with trained bands; but there is time, and they will come and settle those quarrels about trifles, if they can in proper time and manner be appealed to.

When our government was formed some of the States held slaves, some did not. The revolutionary fathers in the North were not too good to form a confederacy and then a government with slave owners. They provided for the rights of both, and further, that if slaves escaped from their owners they should be returned to them. They generously recognized the rights of the slave States. For the sake of fraternity and peace, and for the general welfare, they even voted to continue the African slave trade for twenty years. All that is needed now is to have again with our people, of all sections, the independent and patriotic spirit of our fathers. Virginia gave up territory, and agreed that free States should be formed out of it. This has been done. We now own territory in which all the States, free and slave, are tenants in common. Shall not the slave States, as such, have a share in this common territory? We are not the same people that were here in the days of the Revolution, or there could be no difficulty in relation to this. The question is too insignificant to distract, divide and ruin this country.

The free States now number eighteen; the slave States only fifteen. The free States have majorities in both houses of Congress, and these majorities are soon to be increased. The free States have the surplus population to settle and make free States out of the territories. The slave States have no surplus. Common sense ought to teach the people of the free States that the chances are all on their side. They very well know that if they were to grant all that the slave States request, the laws of climate, soil and production will settle the question at last; that the result will be precisely the same under any of the theories about which the politicians of the two sections have such other so much by the ears.

Our Northern friends say they are fully sensible of this, but they read to us what Jefferson and others have said. They say they rely on political authority.

It should be borne in mind that in the days when Jefferson spoke we had no cotton gin. It had not then been discovered that slave labor was so useful in hot climates, in raising tobacco, rice, cotton and sugar cane. At that day they were not worth more, and did not sell for more than horses. They were rather consumers than producers. There was no anxiety to retain them. Now they are worth from six to fifteen hundred dollars each. Their labor is the source of more than two hundred millions of dollars annually to the national wealth. A new and powerful interest has sprung up.

Judging from what the fathers did when they formed a Union with the slave States, under the then condition and circumstances, we have a ready answer as to what they would now do, were they here with this Territorial question under existing circumstances. No fair-minded man can doubt but they, if alive, would say, "Let their Southern slaveholding brethren have all the territory which they can fairly settle under the invitations of soil, climate and production, especially if it is understood that the *true fair* settlers, when they come to agree on a State Constitution, may fairly determine the question of slavery for themselves in their own way."

One of the beauties and excellencies of the common law is, that it conforms itself so as to embrace and shield new and increased interests.

As these interests grow up and increase, the common law extends its encouragement and strengthens protective power.

It has been likened to the bark upon the sapling, which widens and thickens imperceptibly as the tree grows.

We have only to have the people—the industrious masses—look at these questions practically and in their proper bearings, and they will at once have this quarrel settled, the great Ship of State again floating at ease and in safety.

I would have them at once pull up their stakes and come pitch their tents around Washington, and command their representatives to adjust the difficulties which now divide the two great and powerful sections.

JOHN A. GILMER.

Not Very Particular.—We yesterday heard, says the Boston Courier, a couple of politicians sighing over the affairs of the nation. "I wish," said one of them, "Old Jackson was in Buchanan's place." "I ain't so particular about that," retorted the other, "I'd be satisfied if old Buchanan was in old Jackson's place."

Carolina Watchman.

SALISBURY, N. C.

TUESDAY EVENING, JANUARY 15, 1861.

HON. R. BROWN'S SPEECH.

We publish in this paper the noble speech of the Hon. Bedford Brown, in the Senate of the North Carolina Legislature. It meets every point made by the disunionists, and is a masterly refutation of their revolutionary arguments.

New Developments, &c.

Well, the disunionists of the Legislature seem at last, to have recovered a small portion of their common sense and reasoning powers. They have at length ascertained the true interpretation of the 1st section of the 4th article of our State Constitution, which reads as follows:

"No Convention of the people shall be called by the General Assembly, unless by the concurrence of two-thirds *of all the members* of each house of the General Assembly."

Can a plainer or more unequivocal sentence be written in the English language? Is it susceptible of the slightest doubt or equivocation? Can any two fair and impartial minds, however humble in capacity, have a doubt as to the proper construction of this clause of our Constitution? And yet a Bill was introduced into our Legislature in common form, and it was gravely insisted by members of the House of Commons from the county of Rowan, that only a majority vote was necessary to call a Convention of the people of North Carolina by an Act of the General Assembly! Is it not mortifying that old Rowan should be thus represented by men who either could not understand the plainest proposition in the English language, or who were willing for the basest party purposes to trample under their feet, the sacred Charter of our liberties which they had solemnly sworn to support and defend. Oh! shame, where is thy blush! If those who ruthlessly attack our most sacred rights are our enemies, who will defend these men.

And what has our friend James E. Kerr to say now? Will he change again? Before he learned the party news at Raleigh, he understood the Constitution as other men of common sense and common intelligence understood it, that no Convention of the people could be called by the General Assembly without the concurrence of a two-thirds vote of all the members of both Houses; but when he found that the disunionists had determined otherwise, he, like a good subject of the party, at the word of command at once gave up his own opinion and adopted that of the party! Will he adhere to this second sober thought? Or, will he, at the word of command, retract the opinion he gave his fellow county-men at the Union meeting into which he obtruded himself on the first Saturday in January, instant? We shall see.

At all events, it is gratifying to learn that the disunionists in the Legislature now admit that the General Assembly cannot call a Convention of the people except by a vote of two-thirds of all the members of both Houses in its favor; and for this reason they have, in each House, offered a substitute for the original bill; and in that substitute it is stated that "two-thirds concurring," &c.

But although the disunionists have in their substitute, set this matter right as to the two-thirds vote, yet, in another particular, they have shown their utter hollow-heartedness and hypocrisy in their pretended trust of confidence in the people, and are determined, if in their power, *to make the action of the Convention final*, and that nothing their majorities see fit to do, shall ever come before the people for their ratification!

Note this, good people of Rowan, and of North Carolina.

These disunionists have at length also disclosed another portion of their plot. We have frequently charged it upon them, but until now they have generally denied it. Now, they come out plainly; it is, that they desire the Convention *not* to deliberate—not to endeavor to have this matter settled in the Union; but at once and without the slightest deliberation, *to put us out of the Union*, and attach us as a tail, to the fire eaters of South Carolina.

People of Rowan and of North Carolina, are you ready for such a revolution as this? Are you ready to lay violent hands on the fairest and best Governmental fabric on God's earth, and all your own, distinguishing you as the most favored people in the world, and tear it to pieces, thus despoiling yourselves and robbing your children of their birthright? You have no just complaint—not even the shadow of a complaint, against the Government: and if you commit this wickedness in the sight of this age of civilization and religion, you will call down upon your guilty heads the amazed curses and reprobation of the whole world. Your children for generations to come, as they shall read the wonderful history of the Country established under the pure and patriotic fathers of the Revolution, and its needless destruction by you, will curse you. Your own souls will ogulcate you, just as surely as that passion is condemned when allowed to triumph over reason and interest.

"THE LAST FEATHER BROKE THE CAMEL'S BACK."

A good thing is likely to come of our present troubles: it will result in the downfall of many an unprincipled politician, North and South. They have been committing abuses upon the people for years, deceiving them with lies and misleading them by perversions of truth, until now they have attempted to rend them to break up the best Government in the world and fling themselves and their families into the horrors of civil war, resulting in general destruction to life, country, property, and civilization. This last abuse of confidence, like the last feather laid upon the patient and enduring camel's back, has broke the spell which bound the people to the politicians, and now look out, gentlemen. The camel fell to the earth under the added burden which had been piled upon him, little by little; but the people have not yet fallen hopelessly; they will arise, and with a power sufficient to teach their tormentors that it is a fearful thing to trifle with their lives, their honor and their dearest interests. They are fixing their eyes upon every man who is now helping to consummate the ruin of their national heritage, and woe be to them.

It is reported that "immediate secession" will pass the Alabama Convention by a small majority if at all, there being a large party in favor of co-operation with other States.

The steamer Star of the West, sent to Fort Sumter, with reinforcements and supplies for Maj. Anderson, was fired at by South Carolina troops on entering the harbor; but it is not known that she sustained any damage. She immediately rounded to, and returned to Portsmouth.

The Special Legislature of Virginia, now in session, has passed resolutions against coercing a seceding State and pledging the State to resist any such attempt on the part of the General Government.

MISCELLANEOUS.

We fear the scenes of preparatory riot in the South is attributable of the opposition of the North, who oppose the treaty in a divided form and all that they have to do is to stand firm and refuse consent to terminate properly for a pacific settlement of differences between the two sections, and that in a little while they will see the Southern people engaged in the practicality work of cutting each other's throats. The opposition accomplish in the Northern States are to blame for this misapprehension, in crisis, than any action or expression of views, on the part of Southern conventions, will justify. They are also to blame for all the complications which have led to the differences which really exist amongst us; and it becomes them to exhaust all the amends in their power, in order to heal those breaches of confidence their conduct has produced. The application of reprobation to this may, in the end, produce the very conversion of things which the republicans foolishly believe already exists; or at the least, greatly obstruct that unanimity by which the whole strength of the State may be brought in resistance to our common enemies.

We ask those who are now so strenuous for North Carolina to secede to bear in mind that the masses in this State cherish in their hearts the belief that ours is the best Government known amongst civilized men; and that nearly all the leaders of every party have uniformly labored to cultivate in the minds of our people, a great reverence for and devotion to the Constitution, and the Union of which it is the bond. We ask them to remember that even down to the late Presidential contest they all avowed their devotion to the Union, and plainly declared that the election of a black republican under the forms of law, would *not* be sufficient cause for breaking it up. Gov. Ellis took the lead in this work, and repudiated and pooh-poohed in the most unmistakable language, the course of certain men in the Charleston Convention who there clearly manifested the deliberate purpose to destroy the Union; and ninety-nine members out of a hundred of the present General Assembly followed suit, and vented their denunciations against them, and especially against their secession purpose. We ask them to remember that men cannot easily reverse the whole tenor of their lives in regard to sentiments so devotedly cherished, and especially as it is so, when by the abandonment of all the benefits of this Union they are left to pass into a black future, vainly striving to deaden to what results that abandonment must lead. If the leaders of this movement had been favored with some super-human solution of the difficulties which to the people seem inexplicably connected with secession, and instead of a kind and charitable effort to communicate it to their more benighted brethren, bound with them in the same destiny, they have bestowed unsparing and unpardonable epithets, what wonder that they should not see the public virtue of persons whom strange lunacy now defies them "to do not say what they please"; and what wonder that they should manifest a sensibility so becoming their own dignity as it is regardful of their long most cherished institutions. If, upon assembling in Raleigh, these servants had united in an address to their masters, the people, setting forth a faithful review of the questions which now divide the Country, plainly giving the reasons which had operated upon their minds, leading them to think and act so contrary to their pledges made on the stump, and asked the concurrence of their constituents in a course sustained by the organic law of the State, looking to a redress of grievances, it would have gone far, if it had not had effectual, in preventing whatever of division may exist in the minds of the people, and relieved members from the charge of a pre-determined purpose to deceive and coerce them, against their will, into a position of hostility to the supreme government. The people are chiefly jealous of their rights and liberties, and one of the greatest difficulties in harmonizing them at this moment upon some decided Southern action, should there be any, will grow out of the fact that they do not want to give even a *seeming* approval to those who by treachery, and abuse of power, have sought and are seeking to inaugurate a state of things in our national relations revolutionary in its immediate effects, and dangerous as a precedent.

It is then, the rashness, the desperate temper of the Breckinridge party, who have suddenly sprung up as mushrooms, breathing blood and thunder, sporting war cockades, and with defiant and menacing manners attempting to frighten and drive their fellow citizens down the precipice of disunion without allowing time for reflection, that has produced the seeming consternary amongst us. Before these measures are pressed to business to apprehend with the old decency, setting forth fairly the grounds of complaint and proposing a rational mode of relief, and there will be no division to disturb the harmony of our action, and none to mislead those republicans who may vainly imagine that we are about to destroy each other. All of us adore the existence of wrongs which need to be redressed, and all should desire that the proper steps should be taken in a proper spirit to that end. But when we are asked to begin where we ought to end, with the chances against us of ending where we ought to begin, none but enemy men could expect acquiescence. The Legislature is competent to do all that is necessary to be done at this time, and it is the duty of that body, having a due regard for our Constitutional rights, and the dignity and fair fame of the State, to adopt such measures as this crisis demands.

Among the measures it is in the power of the Legislature to pass, are propositions to amend the Constitution of the United States so as to strengthen the guarantee for the protection of slave property. And it may safely send to the North Carolina is opposed to a Union of force, and will resist with all her power any attempt to compel obedience to the national government while the spirit and letter of the charter is violated by other members of the Union. We believe the people are willing that the Legislature should do all this and more, if necessary. They might send delegates to consult with other States of the South, especially with those along the border, who are most deeply interested in the great questions now distracting the country. Our interest and destiny and theirs are the same; and by harmonizing views and co-operative action our cause will be strengthened.

But there is no doubtedly a party in the men