The Columbus Democrat.

H. H. WORTHINGTON, [A STRICT ADHERENCE TO THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE CONSTITUTION—THE ONLY SAFEGUARD OF THE SOUTH.] Editor & Proprietor.

VOL. XVII. COLUMBUS, MISSISSIPPI, JANUARY 4, 1851. NO 27.

THE DEMOCRAT

Is published every Saturday Morning

Terms.

SUBSCRIPTION.

THREE DOLLARS in advance. FOUR DOLLARS if payment is delayed until the expiration of the year.

ADVERTISEMENTS

inserted at $1 per square (ten lines or less) for the first and 50 cts for each subsequent insertion. Liberal reductions will be made to persons who advertise by the year

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CARDS.

W. H. D. CARRINGTON
Attorney at Law,
Columbus, Miss.

16—48 —tf

STEPHEN A. BROWN,
Attorney at Law.
Columbus Miss.

Office, opposite the Chancery Clerk's Office
February 23, 1850.

J. D. MONTGOMERY.
Attorney and Counsellor at Law
Columbus Miss.

Office, South side of Main Street, near the Mayor's Office.
February 23, 1850.

DR. W L. LIPSCOMB,

Offers his professional services to the citizens of Columbus and its vicinity, and hopes by diligent and untiring attention to his duties to merit a share of their confidence.

He may be found at all hours, (when not professionally engaged,) at his office on Main street, formerly occupied by his father.

Columbus, Miss., July 6th, 1850. 1-1y.

DR. THOMAS N. LOVE

RESPECTFULLY offers his professional services to the citizens of Columbus and its vicinity and hopes by close attention to business to merit a share of their patronage. He may be found at all hours, when not any where else, at his office or residence, both on the same lot with the City Hall, immediately south of it, formerly occupied by M. J. Howard.

August 10, 1850. 6-tf.

DOCTOR GEORGE N. SMITH,

HAS taken Millican's new residence on the corner of Eliza and Genevieve Streets, recently occupied by Mrs. Baker.

Office at the Drug Store of H. S. Taylor & Co.,

Columbus, Miss. Jan. 10 1850.

L. C. GLOVER, M. D.,

HAVING LOCATED himself in this city respectfully tenders his professional services to its citizens and vicinity.

He practices upon Physiological and Botanic principles.

☞ Office in the East wing of the Columbus Hotel.

March 28, 1850 39—1y

DR. A. N. JONES

Has removed his office to the store of Lampkin & Whitfield, main street, where he would be pleased to see his friends, and where any message left for him will be promptly attended to.

Columbus October 19, 1850 16—tf.

NOTICE.

MARCUS W. Cage is our authorized agent.—Those who are indebted to Weaver, Mullin & Co., Columbus, will find their notes and accounts in his hands. Any one having claims against us will please present them to M. W. Cage.

WM. B. WEAVER.
JOHN M. MULLIN.

Columbus, Nov. 16, 1850. 20—tf.

A CARD.

MRS. A. M. MUSGROVE respectfully announces that the BEWETT HOUSE, formerly kept as a public Hotel, will from this time, be conducted as a private Boarding House for regular and transient boarders. Its situation is inviting and pleasant, being removed from the business and bustle of town. The rooms are airy and well furnished, and attended by a faithful servant who will be prompt at all times in attending those who may favor the house with a call. No pains will be spared to render comfortable, all who may visit the House. Terms of board will be moderate.

Columbus, Miss., March 16th 185

PENMANSHIP.

DOLBEAR'S WRITING ACADEMY, in the Masonic Hall, on *Main Street Natchez*, will be kept open during the summer and fall. Mr. Dolbear will qualify several gentlemen, during the season, to teach the Science of Penmanship, and act as agents for the sale of Dolbear's splended Gold Pens, and Dolbear's Penmanship, in the State of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

Persons of energy can make from $75 to $150 per month. Those wishing to qualify, must come well recommended.

☞ Letters addressed to LEVI DOLBEAR, Natchez, Miss., will receive attention.

*** Dolbear's Splendid GOLD PENS for sale at his room. March, 16, 1850.

NOTICE.

To the Surviving Officers and Soldiers of the War of 1812, with Great Britain, or of any of the Indian Wars since 1790, and to Commissioned Officers, who served in the Mexican War, and to the Widows of the deceased Officers and Soldiers.

THE undersigned has made an arrangement with Major J. T. NEELY, *Attorney at Law*, of Washington City, for the preparation and prosecution of all such claims as are above referred to, under the Bounty Land Bill, passed September 28, 1850. Forms and instructions, directly from the Pension Office, have been received by him.

Terms moderate. Address, *post paid*,

J. M. DUFFIELD,
Jackson, Mississippi.

November 16, 1850. 20—1m.
Mississippian.

1 barrel superior Coach-Body Varnish.
1 " " Furniture "
1 " " Flowing Copal "
1 " " Brown Japan "
1 " " Black Varnish (for Leather.)

For sale by J. JONES, Jr.

SPEECH OF EX-GOVERNOR AARON V. BROWN.

In the second session of the Southern Convention on the Resolutions Reported Saturday, 15th November, 1850.

MR. PRESIDENT:—Since our adjournment in June last, Congress has acted on all the great and exciting subjects which had called this Convention together. Our business now is, to examine how far that action has been or ought to be satisfactory to the South. I have examined the bills, with the strongest predisposition to be pleased and satisfied with them. I am proud of my country—proud of her institutions proud of her brilliant and triumphant career. I am, therefore, painfully anxious that nothing should occur to retard her progress or to obscure her bright and glorious future. But, sir, I have tried in vain to be convinced that the South has received anything like justice at the hands of the North. In every effort my mind stands baffled and rebuked in the vain attempt.

I begin, sir, with the admission of California. I waive all irregularity in her application—all imputed Executive dictation—all doubts about the citizenship of those who participated in the formation of her constitution. Still I am compelled to demand, why was she permitted to come in with all this boundless extent of country? It was not *necessary* to her people; on the contrary, we know that it was highly *inconvenient* to them. Why, then, was it done? That man must be blind who does not see, and know, and feel that it was done for the sole purpose of excluding the South forever from the shores of the Pacific. The North had said, that she should be excluded. The Wilmot Proviso was the infamous instrument selected for the purpose. The people of California, forgetting for the moment how much they stood indebted to Southern labor and to Southern counsels for their very existence lent themselves to the inglorious deed. Congress by rejecting every proposition to curtail her enormous boundary, ratified and confirmed it; and thus the great work of our exclusion was accomplished. Remember, sir, I am not complaining that California was admitted as a State; nor am I objecting to any size and boundary which the wants and necessities of her people might demand. My precise objection is, that she was let in with an extent of boundary which she did not need and which she did not expect or desire to retain, and which, in reality, she is only holding over against the South, for the future benefit of the free-soil States of the North. Congress ought to have said, "Take of the common territory what you need—take largely and freely; but you shall not take all." Now, sir, if Congress was to say this, with the view of depriving the South of her fair and just proportion of this common fund, the device, though ingenious, was nevertheless a flagrant violation of the Constitution.

So much as to the admission of California into the Union. What of Utah and New Mexico, embracing all the balance of the territory! They have been organized into territorial governments but with no clause repealing any laws or ordinances of Mexico abolishing slavery which may be in force in them. For the want of such a clause, I maintain that they are as effectually lost to the South as if they had been sunken by an earthquake. If those laws and ordinances are in force, then, of course, they are lost. But I maintain that if it be only doubtful whether they are in force or not, that very doubt is as fatal to the South as the Wilmot Proviso. No Southern man will dare to take his property there until that doubt is removed. Congress ought to have removed it. Her own discussions had started, and the master minds of that body had fixed and confirmed it. If her object really was to open those countries equally and fairly to all the citizens of all the States, she should have added the following section: "*Be it enacted*, that all laws and parts of laws passed by Mexico, which may be in force in said territories in relation to slavery, be, and the same are hereby repealed.

Mr. President, this short but expressive sentence would have at once calmed the fears and discontents of the South. The clouds which lowered darkly over her horizon would have been dispelled, and the rainbow of hope and confidence would have shone with renewed brightness and glory. But, no! the amendment was offered and voted down, and the South doomed to submit—not to the constitution but to Mexican laws if they existed, or to stay away, from a well grounded apprehension that they might exist. Sir, that was the fatal vote that prostrated the South in those territories. She was the equal of the other States. She had as much right to enter there with her property as they had with theirs. But Congress leaves an old Mexican ordinance, or the well grounded fear of it, to do that which Mexican bayonets could never do: to drive Southern men away from the country.

And what are the explanations and apologies for this extraordinary vote when given by Southern men? It is first alleged that these Mexican laws are not in fact in force, and then it is gravely insisted that you cannot repeal what is not in force!—that you cannot repeal a nonentity! In passing a new law, how often does the legislator find himself in doubt as to how many of the old laws may be in conflict with it! or, how often does he doubt of what the opinions of the judges might be on the subject? and how sure is he in either case, to give certainty and force to the new enactment to declare "that all laws and parts of laws which *may* be inconsistent with it shall be repealed!" No man can give dignity or respectability to such a sophistry, and I dismiss it, in order to notice another. It is said that such a repeal of the Mexican laws would be equivalent to the establishment of slavery in those territories, which cannot and ought not to have been done. What! to repeal "all laws and parts of laws" in relation to slavery equivalent to the establishment of it? Directly the reverse—it leaves the whole country, *rasa tabula*, a mere blank—with nothing for or against slavery. What then? Why, it must remain forever unestablished, unless Congress shall interfere and establish it.—This is forbidden by the great doctrine of non-intervention. What then? It must remain so unestablished until the territorial legislatures establish it. The universal opinion has been (until very lately) that territorial legislatures had no such power. What, then, becomes of slavery in these territories, the common property of the States, during the interval of the repeal of the Mexican laws and the time when they form a State constitution, preparatory to admission into the Union? During all this time the country is *a mere blank*, with nothing for or against its establishment. It is subject to the Constitution of the United States alone. If *that* will protect the Southern man's property there, he is content. If it will not, he is content. As it invokes no intervention of *Congress*, save to set aside the previous intervention of *Mexico*. When that is done he has an open field and a fair chance under the constitution.

But sir, another argument is made, that the doctrine of non-intervention forbade this repeal of the Mexican laws and ordinances. I pretend to understand something of this doctrine, I have borne its banner through three hard fought political wars. I have unfurled it in every valley and planted it on nearly every mountain top of Tennessee. What was the doctrine? Non-intervention by any body and every body—between the people and the right to settle the question of slavery when forming their State constitution. Non-intervention by Congress, non-intervention by Mexico, non-intervention by any body and every body—that was the Polk, the Cass, the Democratic doctrine, if you please. What an absurdity! To hold on with a death-grasp to non-intervention by Congress, and at the same moment to advocate intervention by Mexico cleaves your rights to the earth, as certainly as intervention by Congress. Why all this clamor against the Wilmot Proviso? Why this bold and daring declaration that you would resist *that* at all hazards and to the last extremity, if, after all, these old Mexican ordinances were to remain unrepealed, the only things which American valor could not subdue in Mexico!

Mr. Clay, Gen. Cass, Mr. Webster, and many others whose names may well stand in proud association with theirs, long since told you that these ordinances were in force. If you did not mean to open that country to the South, by repealing them, why did you not surrender at once and say that the South never could and never ought to get any portion of it? Sir, I put the question to this convention, I put it to the good sense of mankind, whether great constitutional rights ought ever to be sacrificed by holding to a *mere abridgement* of the doctrine of non-intervention, too narrow and contracted for their protection!

Mr. President: in the progress of this dispute about our territorial possessions, we have lost too much by not better understanding this doctrine of non-intervention. At our last session we maintained this doctrine in its fullest, broadest sense. In ten resolutions we maintained it—maintained it as to the whole country. But sir, after exhausting every argument and making every appeal to our Northern brethren to allow us the full benefit of it, we turned to the contemplation of the painful fact, whose bitter realization, we have since experienced—to the fact that there was little or no probability that our rights would be fully recognized. Under the full belief that they would not, we planted ourselves on the former compromises which had been made in critical periods of our history. Sir, we were unanimous in favor of the Missouri compromise line—not one discordant voice was heard through the spacious hall of our deliberations. If the Congress of the U. S. had responded favorably to that voice, all would now have well with the Republic. California would have been in the Union, but with her Southern boundary on 36 deg. 30 min. She would then have been larger than Virginia, New York, or Pennsylvania. The remaining country would have been organized into territorial governments, without saying a word about slavery—neither admitting it nor rejecting it; but with a repealing clause of all laws which might be in force there abolishing slavery. Thus the South and the North would have been thrown on an equal footing, leaving it to the constitution—not to Congress—not to the laws of Mexico—to say whether slaves should be carried there or not. Ah, if this had been done, what contentedness and peace would have then pervaded our once happy country! Then, indeed, we could have rejoiced and started afresh in the career of national greatness and glory. But sir, it was rejected, and the story is now told us, that it was anti-republican! Anti-republican to abide by the Missouri compromise! by the Oregon compromise! by the Texas compromise! Take back the incredible charge. The last message of Jas. K. Polk to his countrymen, just before he went down to the tomb, implored them to settle this question on the principles of the Missouri compromise. Take back the charge that he was no republican. When Texas was admitted on the compromise line of 36 deg. 30 min., Andrew Jackson was still living, and his heart rejoiced to see the noble work accomplished. Take back the charge that Andrew Jackson was no republican. Take back the charge against the hundreds and thousands, and tens of thousands, who voted for 36.30 in voting for her admission into the Union. Take it back, or stifle your shout for Polk and Dallas, and tear down from your banner the lone star of Texas.

It is sometimes declared to be unconstitutional. It was not proposed as an ordinary act of Congress but as *a compromise*—a compromise of a disputed question of constitution. Now, why cannot a disputed construction of the Constitution be compromised as well as any other?—Every other question, it seems, can be compromised. Even an omnibus full of all sorts of compromises will do. Yet the Missouri compromise and the Texas compromise will not do at all. And why were they unconstitutional? Because, it is said, they allowed of the intervention of Congress north of that line. No, that was not the compromise. The original demand of the North was, that Congress should intervene and exclude slavery from the whole country north and south of 36 30. Now, the *compromise* was, that Congress should *forbear* that intervention or exclusion of slavery, and leave a part of it for the South—that part was south of 36 30: that was the true nature of all these compromises!—Now, was it unconstitutional for us to *save a part* when we were otherwise to lose the whole country? Well, now, after all, let us look to results. Congress rejected our Missouri compromise, and passed its own bills in lieu of it.—Which was best for the South? Ours would have saved one-third or more—your bills have lost all—every square acre of it. What equivalent, let me now demand, has the South received under those bills for the loss and surrender of these vast possessions? For California, the key that commands all the amazing commerce of the Indies? The Fugitive slave bill? For Utah and New Mexico? The Fugitive slave bill?—What for the loss of nearly two States proposed to be carved out of Texas? The Fugitive slave bill? Truly this Fugitive slave bill must be something new and miraculous. No. It is not new—for it is only the act of '93 a little amended and enlarged; and the act of '93 was nothing but a meagre compliance with an express provision of the Constitution. But, if not *new*, surely it must restore vast numbers of fugitive slaves to their masters, in compensation for the loss of so much land? Restoration! I believe it is rather the other way. Instead of coming home, I believe they are getting further off—scampering away in great droves to Canada!—But, to be serious, what a pass has the country come to, when one half it has to bribe to other, simply to do its duty under the Constitution! The South to give up its half of the countries acquired from Mexico, in order to induce the North to surrender our fugitives from labor! What a commentary on the *fraternal*, Constitution-abiding spirit of the North! But, it seems that after giving up all our interest in the Mexican territories, even then, they are not willing to surrender our slaves. They seem determined to take our lands and keep our negroes too!

But, I admit these territories have not been lost by the instrumentality of the Wilmot Proviso. That was one of her advanced or outer works which the North concluded to abandon, because the South, the whole South, had vowed they should be carried, at all hazards and to the last extremity. With an adroitness which has distinguished all her movements on these slavery questions, she retired from the Wilmot and entrenched herself behind the *Mexican* fortress; and the South either had not the courage to attack her there, or vainly imagined that she had retreated from the field and given up the contest. No, sir, she has not retreated—there she stood undislodged, and there she stands, sole mistress of every province. California is hers—New Mexico is hers!—all the flocks and heards in their teeming valleys—the gold that glitters in their rivers—the diamonds that sparkle in their mountains—must now be hers, and the poor deluded and defrauded South has nothing left but the sad remembrance that this mighty domain was subdued by the valor of her gallant but now rejected people. Even the graves of those who died in the conflict are no longer ours—they have passed over into the possession of those who felt no sympathy in their fall, and who will never deck the green sod that now covers them. Pardon me, sir, for so often referring to our exclusion. I wish that great fact to stand out in bold relief, like the summit of some lofty mountain overpeering all others, that the South has been excluded—driven out of it. The North said she should be, and she has been, and there is the end of it.

And is it for this that we have been called upon to rejoice? To kindle bonfires in the streets? Was it for this that the booming of the cannon has been heard amid the stillness of mid night? Sir, let others rejoice if they can; let them sound the trumpet and ring the bells; let them make the hoarse artillery to speak; but for my single self, I cannot rejoice. My heart is too sad and sorrowful. It would break sooner than rejoice.

Mr. President, there is another thing this heart of mine will never do. It will never grow cold towards those Southern friends who may have felt it their duty to vote for any of those territorial bills, which I have disapproved. I know too well their devotion to the Constitution—to the Union—to the South. They have done what they believed to be best under all the trying circumstances of the case, and I hail and welcome them home, with unabated confidence and friendship. Compelled to cast their votes amid the fire, and smoke, and suffocation of a wild fanaticism on the one hand, and the most vehement threats to dissolve the Union if something was not done, on the other, what wonder were it if all their votes should have been cast precisely right, in the emergency of the moment! We are now examining their measures after the smoke of the conflict has dispersed, and as no man knows what votes he might not have cast, in order to secure the unity of this great nation, when he believed it was in danger; so let no man yield himself up to the foul spirit of intolerance. Besides, sir, this fatal war on our rights has only just begun. They have drawn a cordon of non slaveholding States around us by the late bills, and are now only waiting for the new apportionment to give them an increase of strength, and for the arrival of their new levies from California, Utah and New Mexico, to make a fresh onslaugh upon us: on the abolition of slavery in the States—in the District of Columbia—in the forts, arsenals, &c., of the United States—the prohibition of the transfer of slaves from one State to another. When that time shall come, we shall need that there should be no estrangement among the men of the South. "Shoulder to shoulder, and with shield locked on shield," we must then stand or fall together.—Till then, let no division of opinion make divisions in friendship.

There is yet another thing this heart of mine will not do. For nothing in the past, great as have been our wrongs, will it heat one pulse the less of ardent devotion to the Constitution and the Union. My motto now is, endurance of the past, resistance for the future. The past can be endured. Though it demand all the forgiveness of the christian, and all the forbearance of the patriot, it nevertheless can be endured. The future, I awfully fear, cannot. When you shall hear that the most solemn covenants of the Constitution are broken by lawless mobs, and your fellow-citizens imprisoned for demanding the restoration of their property—demanding it, too, with the late Fugitive slave bill in the one hand, and the Constitution of the United States in the other; when you shall see the beacon fires blazing all along the mountain border of Maryland and Virginia—all along the shores of the Ohio—as signals for the flight and escape of your property: when military detachments shall have to be sent, night after night, to the protection of your homes and families: when every fire-bell at night will make the mother clasp her infant closer to her bosom—how can you endure this, and more than this? In such a future, who then can talk of a Constitution with its violated covenants, or of a Union with all its shattered fragments strewn around us? The great law of self-defence will then be all that is left us. It is the law by which even the reptile resists the invader. Under that law, whether to be found in the reserved rights of the States under the Constitution, or in the admitted right of revolution, I care not—under that law of self-preservation, the States will have to fall back upon their full original sovereignty, and provide again "for the enjoyment of life, liberty and property." God grant, however, that the dark future which I have portrayed may never come. On the contrary, may it come to us crowned with peace and fraternal concord; may it come with the Constitution still unbroken, and the Union, with adamantine strength, still bespanning the continent from ocean to ocean, brighter and more glorious than ever. To such a Union I owe a perfect and perpetual obedience—to such an one I will adhere, and adhere to the last, like the gallant sailor, when about to be driven from the vessel which he had long defended, when he had been driven over the very side of his ship, he seized it with his right hand; when that had been cut off, he siezed it with the left; when that, too, had been cut off, he seized it with his teeth, and so went down with it to the bottom. Sir, I say this of that Union which now is—of that Union which Washington, and Madison, and Pinckney, and the Rutledges gave us. But to that Union which may be yet to come—to that Union which would deprive me of my property, which would beggar my children, which would fire my dwelling and spread around me all the horrors of a servile war—to a Union which would deluge "my own, my native land" in one vast sea of blood—by heavens, I owe it no allegiance!

Sir: It was upon this great principle that the Tennessee resolutions were constructed.—That we will abide by the past—by the late legislation of Congress—with that fidelity which has always distinguished the South. But, at the same time, we solemnly affirm that our cup is full—we can drink no more. Will those who propose not to abide by the past, but to strike, and to strike *now*, will they hear from me one argument against this rash and perilous deed? Who are here? Call Maryland, call North Carolina, call Missouri, call Arkansas, call Louisiana, call Kentucky. Do they answer? No, not one of them. Who, then, *are* here? Virginia answers with one lone solitary voice. Virginia, whose trumpet notes have so often called the sons of the South together against all and every encroachment on the rights of the States. Where are all her mighty men that they do not come up to the great work which you propose to do?—Look too, to the falling off of that crowd of patriotic men who thronged these halls even at your last session! From Alabama, where is Campbell, and Coleman, and Davis, and Cooper, and Winston? From Mississippi, where is Mathews, and Boyd, and Sharkey, and Clayton, and Wilkinson?

Sir, there must be some good reason for all this. Let us look facts directly in the face, and they will tell us that since our last meeting great doubts have arisen in the minds of our Southern brethren as to whether the late legislation of Congress has not been such as ought to be satisfactory to the South; at least, so satisfactory as to supersede any further action of this body.—Sir, we do know that these doubts do exist.—Look to your own State—look to Mississippi—look to the accounts from Louisiana. What do we find? I pray you answer me the question: what do we find? Our own Southern people divided about equally upon the subject. Here I pause, to ask of every man who now surrounds me, is it wise, is it just, in such a divided and distracted condition of the Southern mind, to venture on so bold a measure? And is it not a bold measure to proclaim that the deep foundations of this Government are to be broken up and a new one to be erected on its ruins! Let me tell the gentleman from Virginia (Gen. Gordon) that when the news shall reach that ancient commonwealth, it will shake the very walls of her capitol, and the statue of Washington will tremble on its marble basement. When this great nation shall be passing through the agonies of dissolution, her dying groans will be heard through half the habitable world. Her fall, like that of Jerusalem, will be preceded by signs in the heavens and commotions on the earth, a sword will be seen in the sky, a great comet will blaze over her, and armies in battle will be seen amid the clouds. On earth you will hear and feel the earthquake tread of a mighty people, coming up to a larger council than this. Until we see this latter sign, at least, let us not proclaim that her end draweth nigh. In the spirit of the Tennessee resolutions, let us rather proclaim—Not yet! not yet! no, *never* shall this republic end until the sovereign people who created it, in one grand, united council, shall pronounce its doom.

[From the Richmond Enquirer.]

NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Special Message of Gov. Floyd.

The special message sent to the Legislature yesterday by Gov. Floyd proposes the exact measures adapted to the necessities of the times, and will in consequence attract universal approbation. It appears to be the one thing needful—the only adequate means of harmony and redress at all compatible with the present dissensions of the country. It is a strong, bold, candid proposal to settle definitely all sectional differences; and while it presents to the North easy conditions of peace, it encircles the true Southern ultimatum with an impregnable wall of defence. This proposal to call a National Convention ought to be, and will be responded to most enthusiastically by all true patriots, and all who are willing to make a last despairing effort for the salvation of the Union. It is the first gleam of sunshine which has for many months illuminated the dark expanse of our clouded heavens—and the first sign which could be interpreted as an omen of settled calm.

It is not difficult to conceive the consternation and confusion which this message is calculated to produce in the ranks of those who speculate for their own advantage on the continuance of sectional discord. It is a bomb thrown right into their midst, and its explosion will scatter to the winds all their treacherous webs of policy, and all the delusive but pernicious stratagems, by which they would convert the further discussion of the slavery question into a mere trump card to secure political tricks and take political honors in the next presidential campaign. The great question which now rends the vitals of the nation must be absolutely and finally settled, under the operation of the proposed Convention, before another Presidential election if possible. But if this proposal defeats all the Machiavellian wiles of those Whig or Democratic leaders, who are solicitous only about their own petty advancement, and on that account should be viewed by them with suspicion, it will be welcomed with the most cordial greeting by the sincere and uncorrupted masses of the people, and be hailed by them as the dawning of another and a brighter day for our national welfare and integrity. The time has come when the settlement of the great questions of national concernment can no longer be trusted to the sole discretion of politicians: the great body of the people must bring their strong practical sense, their unerring political instincts, their faithful allegiance to the country, their devotion to the Union, and regard for law and order, to bear upon this point, and coerce a final satisfactory solution of present difficulties.

The object contemplated by the proposed National Convention, is the complete and effectual settlement of the slavery question, and all dependant topics of difference between the North and the South. The dissensions of the country have been carried to such an extent that half way measures and palliatives can no longer be efficient, nor can they again deceive any one. No uncertain, casual, temporary or provisional tranquility will any longer satisfy the South. The question must be finally put to rest—some adequate and trust-worthy assurance must be afforded that henceforward it shall remain forever undisturbed by the sacrilegious hand of fanatical interference. There must be no further attempt to remove or displace the foundation stone of our Southern organization, which is, at the same time the keystone to the arch of the Union. The South is willing to forget all former and even recent injury and injustice, provided the North will honestly observe and maintain the compromises of the Constitution relative to slavery, and give its cordial and unquestioning support to the Fugitive Slave Bill, (as it stands) by which those compromises are only re-affirmed. Let the Northern States but once render the South confident that this is their fixed and sincere determination, and the South will not only be ready, but anxious to bury the hatchet, to forget all causes of animosity, and to repeal all measures, non-intercourse or other, which may have been adopted as subsidiary means towards compelling a due recognition of Southern rights. After what has occurred in Vermont and Massachusetts, the required assurance can only be given in a National Convention. The South has been too often defrauded and deluded to trust to any weaker guarantee. But if the conditions of the federal compact are flagrantly violated by the North; if no assurance of their future observance is or can be given by that party, certainly the other, *the injured party*, can no longer be bound by the obligations of that instrument, which is thro'out a system of compromises. The issue is now made openly & in an amicable spirit. If the North in general convention pledges itself never again to permit the agitation of the slavery question, either in Congress or in the individual States, the South will be satisfied and secure, and the Union will be preserved. If the North, on the other hand, should refuse or be unable to come into a convention called for this purpose, and based on these principles; or, having done so, is unable to afford the assurance required, the futility of any further continuance of the Union becomes apparent to all, because every power of the confederacy is then palpably converted into a scourge for the castigation of the South. Thus either full justice must be done to the South, and the Union preserved by the harmonious and united efforts of both North and South, or the South is thrown back upon her reserved rights, and her own strong arm, and must preserve herself and her honor by united Southern action, which will easily be attained when its necessity has been made so glaringly apparent, and the hopelessness of all other remedies so conclusively established. The issue is thus rendered simple, clear, and definite; and its settlement either way is final, immediate and conclusive. The vital question is also relieved from the fatal manipulation of party intrigues and manœuvers, for it must now be settled one way or the other, before we can be confident of having another President of the whole Union to elect.

Our impetuous sister of the South, who have got entangled in impracticable schemes, and are embarrassed by a variety of indicisive projects, and hampered by false issues, will see, in this proposal of the Governor of Virginia, that, though this State is cordially and earnestly attached to the Union, she is, nevertheless, determined to make no concessions for its preservation, which might be fatal to Southern Rights.—Calmly, but decidedly, she has presented an amicable issue, which involves the whole subject of dispute, and has thus at length brought within manageable compass, a question whose infinite ramifications and Protean forms, have hitherto eluded any complete and satisfactory decision.—Seeing these things, we trust that the more violent Southern States may suspend all measures contemplating secession, until after this new and complete issue has been fairly tried, and its decision for weal or for woe, made obvious to the whole country. A slight delay will thus, if the event be unfavorable, (quod di advertenti!) ensure the strenuous concurrence of all the Southern States in any resistance to Northern aggression, which may be rendered necessary. We trust it may not be—we trust that all wounds and breaches in the Constitution, may be radically and permanently cured by the result of the deliberations of the National Convention—but our hope is by no means a very sanguine one.

There is no reason why the contemplated non-intercourse laws should not be carried into effect. We perceive that the Governor regards their strict and early enforcement, as additional means to urge the Northern States to a speedy adjustment of the great controversy; and we think their early adoption would be highly efficient in expediting the desired end.

We would now turn to the Northern States, and invite their cordial co-operation in the proposed National Convention. They must see that there can be no longer either temporizing or delay. The South is in earnest, and prepared for either event. The question must be settled. We appeal to all lovers of this country, to all patriots, all friends of law and order, all adve-