

THE PRO-SLAVERY REBELLION. THE NEW-YORK COMPROMISERS. THE PATRIOTISM OF GENERAL SCOTT. THE SOUTH CAROLINA REBELS. AFFAIRS IN MARYLAND. FROM MARYLAND.

PROGRESS OF SECESSION IN MARYLAND. ITS EFFECTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

From Our Own Correspondent.

BALTIMORE, Feb. 4, 1861.

The Secessionists will hold their Ward meetings in this city to-morrow night, and under the protection of the Police, whose sympathies with Secession are no longer concealed, they will pack the City Convention with suitable instruments for furthering the objects of the movers in this rebellion, not only against the Federal Government, but against the State Government and its Executive. Most of the pieces of meeting are the usual haunts of the ancient Democratic party, and the process for choosing delegates will be by the ordinary party machinery.

County meetings of the same party, the old Democrats, now converted into Secessionists, have been held in St. Mary's, Prince George's, and Caroline. In the first, they refused to grant sovereign power to the delegates, but required their action to be submitted to the vote of the people. In the second, they granted full sovereign power, but on the same condition. In the latter, the Federal party voted down the Disruptionists, and refused to send any delegates. Today, the Talbot Democrats try the issue, and it is believed they will also be voted down. In Kent, a mass Convention has been called, and, if the Federalists are as true as they were some weeks ago, they will route the enemies of the Republic.

The rumor of insurrection in St. Mary's is all fudge. Some trouble arose between a white man and a negro boy, who let his tongue run too freely, and forthwith the newsmongers magnified the affair into importance. The boy was, of course, punished for his insolence. The department of the negro population throughout the State is said to offer no salient points of objection. No change has been observed in their behavior in Baltimore calculated to excite remark.

The general feeling in the city toward the get-together of the Secession meeting last Friday, and those who figured so largely on its boards, is that of pity and indignation, running occasionally into contempt. Before they are done they may get into trouble.

One of the schemes of the Federal office-holders in this city, to annoy Mr. Lincoln's Administration, is to hold over, and refuse to allow their successors to take their seats; but Mr. Lincoln will be apt to make short work of such a movement, should it be attempted. There are, however, three of the officials—the Postmaster, the Naval Officer, and the Navy Agent—who will not be caught in any such low trickery; and, I think, I may add the incumbent of the Marshal's Office to this list of law-and-order men.

The insolent and hecating tone of John Tyler's correspondence with the President exhibits the disgust of every true-hearted citizen whom I have encountered. Only think of a man who has been President of these United States, even by accident, engaged in the unwholesome work of pulling down the noble structure of the Federal Government!

I am credibly informed, through an eye-witness, that the contrast of the South Carolina negro army of picks and shovels with the snow-white sand of Morris Island and other parts of the seashore, affords a serious theme of reflection with those of the whites of that rebellious region who still retain their power of reflection. What a bitter satire is it upon a people who are seeking to escape from the bonds of fraternalization with their Northern brethren of the same color, because the latter are opposed to extending Slavery into free territory, to see that same people depending upon the slave to do their fighting-work for them!

Again: I learn from a reliable source that negroes are actually employed in the rural districts and around the villages of South Carolina to watch white men, and to report them and their conduct to the Vigilance Committees, and that upon negro testimony white men are dealt with. Recently, a poor white, long time resident of the State, stepped into the negro cabins along the road he was traveling, some three or four times, to light his pipe. He was reported by the negro patrols, and on being arraigned, his accusers were rebuked for their officiousness; but when they said that the accused had been too often among them, he was banished the country in double quick time!

An amusing case is told of a white who was shipped out of South Carolina, in charge of one of the express companies. He was found weeping in the car assigned to him. Upon being questioned upon the cause of his grief, he said that he had lived more than a dozen years in the State, and that his offense was his Mormon proclivities—adding that, if every man in the State was driven out for this cause, it would soon be without any defenders whatever!

The high-handed conduct of Louisiana in seizing upon the New-Orleans Mint, and stealing a million of the public treasure, is beginning to open the eyes of many in this city who have been blinded by passion in favor of Secession. People are coming to the conclusion that Lafitte and his buccaners have come to life again in Barataria Bay!

FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

FROM COLUMBIA.

Private Letter Communicated to The Tribune.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Jan. 31, 1861. You wish to know if the palmetto tree bears fruit. It does not; but, when quite young, the heart is cut out from the tuft of leaves at the top, and prepared like cabbage, which it is said to resemble in appearance and flavor. A large tree is about 25 feet in height. It is an evergreen, not common to this section, but flourishes along the sea-coast. There are, however, several in this city. Here is a pretty correct sketch of one, under

the shade of which a brave Abolitionist commenced his life, but is now quite old-fashioned of the tree under which a dandy has recently put on his hat and thrown himself, when, having fallen on his back, a flock of muskies is seen hovering about his nose, while a huge rattlesnake is stealthily crawling toward him from under its roots, cannot be represented here. You ask if South Carolina flourishes in spite of the great pest! That is a question which I shall be better able to answer by and by. It was expected that the work upon the new State-House would be suspended; but at the eleventh hour, the Legislature made an appropriation which will insure its progress for the present. Money is very scarce, and credit ditto. The planters cannot get their usual advances upon cotton. The expenses of a standing army at Charleston, and of extra legislation, and \$10 per diem to Commissioners to "Foreign States" and Governors, without any income except by taxation, must produce a slight stringency in the money market; and unless the pressure is removed the public works must stop, and business of every kind will come to a comparative standstill. The means for carrying on their great public work—the new State-House—come from the people at large, as must also, to a great extent, the "shovels of war." I know some persons who were the blue coatists, inclined to question the infidelity of Southern politicians since the new tax rates have been fixed.

Active war preparations have been carried on ever since the occupation of Fort Sumter by Major Anderson. The people of Columbia are rife with military feeling, and the "soul-stirring drum" is heard through the streets daily stimulating the chivalrous sons of South Carolina to resistance of "Northern rule." The ladies of Columbia are actively engaged in sending comforts to the army, and also in *scrapping tents, cooking bills, and making bandages*, all of which will be in demand if, as proposed, they attempt to storm Fort Sumter. About 500 men have left this city for Charleston, and nearly as many more are awaiting the Governor's orders. This taking away of the strength and protection of the city has created some trepidation in the minds of those left at home, and the remaining strength has been organized into a "Home Guard" for the protection of the city against insurrection. Every able-bodied man is obliged to do night patrol duty and arrest any person who fails to give a plausible account of himself. A plot was discovered last week for setting fire to the city in twenty different places. A German working upon the State-House is said to be the instigator, and will undoubtedly meet his fate at a rope's end very soon. Strangers residing here temporarily are called upon to patrol, and I shall be on duty to-night with a gun upon my shoulder.

Many people distrust the negroes, and I rather suspect they entertain designs not entirely favorable to the well-being of the whites. The slaves largely outnumber the whites in this State. Whites, 300,000; slaves, 407,000.

The population of Columbia is as follows: Whites, 4,475; slaves, 3,365; free negroes, 334; total, 8,174. Thus it will be seen that the whites outnumber the blacks only 776, and it is very apparent to a common observer that at least one-half the negroes have white blood coursing through their veins!

With these figures before you, judge for yourself if South Carolina can furnish in spirit of the great park.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A DIALOGUE ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

The following dialogue actually took place on Monday in the back parlor of a broker in Wall street. The person to whom we have given the name of Old Sensible is one of the richest and shrewdest men in the city; the other parties were one of our State Senators and a South-street merchant.

Merchant—No, Sir. Rely upon it, everything is going to the devil if this thing is not stopped.

Old Sensible—Oh! no. There never was such a year of prosperity as this would have been, had foolish South Carolina kept quiet. As it is, if things are managed right, it will all come out right in the end.

Senator—All this thing could be settled, if the Southern States would return the Federal property they have so unlawfully seized.

Old Sensible—That is not necessary. There are other questions. If we are to get rid of the Southern States, it is useless to vex ourselves about the forts and arsenals. Let them go. Now the South, in consequence of this negro business, are more alienated from the North than ever we were, when colonies, from Great Britain. So, the best thing to be done is to let them go. The seceding States will soon find their level in the world, and no blood is shed to keep them, in less than two years the Southern States will come begging back, one by one, glad to get into the Union again upon any terms.

Senator—But, Mr. Sensible, we can never allow them to hold the mouth of the Mississippi. Never, Sir.

Old Sensible—You talk like a fool instead of a New-York Senator. Let them block up the mouth of the Mississippi and be hanged to them. It all benefits New-York. It will double the amount of produce that comes to our city. Close the Mississippi, or let war rule there for six months, and it will add millions to the value of New-York. The work has begun now.

Senator—If we allow the Southern States to secede, Philadelphia and New-York will have antagonistic interests. Both will be anxious for Southern trade. They will separate. Have they a right?

Old Sensible—Very likely they will. As for right, Power makes right. States will do as they please, and it is all right, if they have the power to do it. We of the North can coerce the South. We have the power to do it. But is it policy to do it? If we coerce, there must be war, and where will it end? Commerce and trade will be killed for years. The general prosperity will be at an end. It is—d hard to look on and see those Southern fools pitch in, and not give them a quietus; but will it be best to do so? Decidedly not. The first question is this: If we concede, compromise, do all they ask to get them back into the Union, and they are willing to come now, would it be wise to do it? No, decidedly not. We do not want those States back while they adhere like idolaters to the institution of African Slavery. Our two systems are antagonistic. It is Liberty against Slavery. They can never live together under the same political system. It is useless to try it. Eternal warfare and bitter hatred will be the fruit of such a trial. Let the Southern States go. Let them have their fortifications if they will. The expensive and costly fabric will only ruin the South the sooner.

Merchant—What will become of commerce and trade? Will not the Southern Republic pass prohibitory laws against the North—against manufactures—against our coasting trade?

Old Sensible—Very likely. They will have the right to do it. But it will result in distress to themselves. They cannot change the laws of trade, if they are allowed to go out peacefully. War and bloodshed may change the course of trade. But in spite of any law, men will buy where they can buy cheapest. New-York will be the spot. It will be the center. It will be the heart, if there are fifty Southern Republics.

Senator—But do you suppose the South can go out peacefully?

Old Sensible—Decidedly. The Northern States can meet in a Convention, and agree to it, and the thing is all settled. Men will make up their minds to this. It is the true policy. It will very likely be the policy of Mr. Lincoln.

Senator—But ought not the Southern ports to be blockaded?

Old Sensible—What is that but war, civil war, a horrible war—a war in which no honor is to be gained—a war which will lead to disaster and sorrows for the next half a century, and what for? What good will come? None. Every man North ought to go on his knees and thank Almighty God, that we have a chance now to get rid of the Southern States from our political system. They are dangerous to its permanency. Let them try

in Southern Republic based upon Slavery. See how they will get along. See the abhorrence with which they will get the "United States South" will be regarded in Europe. South America once separated from us, will no longer be received abroad as they have been.

Merchant—If the South secede peacefully, will it not go into shipping, manufacturing, and the like?

Old Sensible—Never. She will be more dependent upon the North for her supplies than ever before. She never can have any navy. She has no employment that develops and makes sailors. She will never need a navy, if she intrudes free trade. No, not even a revenue cutter. If she is at peace with us, our ships and steamers will do her foreign as well as domestic carrying trade. Her taxes will be tremendous, and she will resort to direct taxation. She can never be a manufacturing country to any extent. Her simplest attempts thus far with everything favorable, at Augusta, Ga., at Greenville and at Charleston, S. C., and other places, all have been miserable failures. They will be for ever. If we separate now peacefully, ruin will come, when our Southern free-trading brethren are humiliated by poverty, anarchy, loss of self-respect, slave revolts, and are perfectly willing to agree to an amendment of the Constitution, by which Slavery shall cease to be recognized in any shape, manner, or way, and be allowed to die out of itself.

Senator—I am of the opinion that your view is the correct one. It will end the business of the Legislature.

Merchant—I agree with you also, Mr. Sensible, that if we can have a peaceable secession, trade will be as brisk as ever it was.

Old Sensible—Ten times more profitable, too. The Southern merchants will beg to do business here. They will do it more honestly, too. They will pay better—more promptly. Trade will increase, and never leave the old channels. War will change it all. If we gained anything by getting the infernal Hotentots back, it would be different. We do not. Let us leave the Rattlesnake, now out in the cold. Why should we try to bring him back to the fire to be stung to death by his venomous poison? Our true policy now is a Constitutional Convention—a peaceable secession—a residence of a political Union with our Southern neighbors, and a vigorous support of the Northern Union States.

Senator—I will advocate it.

Merchant—I will make my business arrangements accordingly.

THE NEW-YORK PETITION—DEFENCE OF WASHINGTON.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4, 1861.

A bill for the better protection of the lives of passengers traveling on ocean steamers, which passed the House in May last, and which is now before the Senate Committee on Commerce, is likely to meet with much secret opposition from those engaged in the transportation of passengers. This bill has some good and wholesome provisions in it, which will remedy evils long and justly complained of. The opposition to it is led by the non-lawyer of Cornelius Vanderbilt, now in Congress. When the North Star ran on French Keys, it will be remembered that the public were informed by Capt. Vanderbilt's agent in New-York that the steamer had about seven hundred souls on board, while she really had over twelve hundred passengers, to say nothing of the crew. To place that number of persons on board of a steamer not sixteen hundred tons burden, in a warm and sickly climate like that of the Gulf in certain seasons of the year, should be forbidden by a law like that before Congress.

The Chiriqui men are confident in the final success of their drive on the Treasury for \$300,000, having formed alliances with every other clique having similar bills with life in them to be passed at this session of Congress, provided the Secession excitement lasts. The great Convention meets here to-day at Willard's Hall. I will not call it the Union Convention, for that would be giving them a wrong name. If they do anything, it will be done to the interest of the Union, but with a view of staying proceedings on the part of the President, who will be appealed to for the sake of the Union to do certain things which will tend to strengthen the hands of the Secessionists, such as the withdrawal of the troops from Washington and the surrender of Fort Sumter. It is said that the great States are in favor of that. If they are, most certainly the people are not; they, thank God, are sound on the Union, and don't preach and profess Union sentiments like the Cotton men of New-York, while they are unwilling to do anything in its defense.

A number of highly respectable citizens came to this city from New-York the other day, with what they termed a monster petition signed by the commercial class in favor of an adjustment of the present seeming difficulties. The effect of presenting a petition of such large proportions, and claiming for it the credit of representing the merchants of New-York alone, when they don't amount to more than 10,000 men, while the petition contained nearly 40,000 names, caused many of the friends of Southern secession here to denounce the whole thing as a barefaced cheat, gotten up by a few Southern traders in molasses and cotton who came on here to get their names in print in order to stand right with their Southern brethren. Among this last batch of cotton compromisers there were several reported supporters of Mr. Lincoln, who now repudiate their former acts, and, it is said, go with the South. In order that these toddlers to the South may know what Southern men think of them, I beg leave to state that a distinguished and intelligent citizen of one of the Cotton States, to whom they all had been introduced, declared to-day that in conversation with him he failed to discover anything which even approached to ordinary intelligence, and as to the history of the country whose welfare they professed to have so seriously at heart, he believed he did not do them injustice when he said he could select from almost any primary school in this city a child not twelve years of age who could surpass them on that particular point.

When these men have discovered what every reasonably informed man has done already, they will find that the Secessionists do not want compromises—that they despise them as much as they do the toddlers who offer them. If these gentlemen desire to preserve this Government, they must do something else beside come to Washington and join in denouncing and misrepresenting the position of Mr. Lincoln, who, we are told by these wise and great men, will be all right when he gets here, they having secured Senator Seward, who will do the rest.

While this is going on, and the great City of New-York is being positively disgraced, Gen. Scott continues to bring all available forces at command within the District, so that by the 15th of this month, I am informed by an officer to-day, the City will contain a well drilled and well disciplined army of 5,000 men. Companies of soldiers are dropping into the city almost hourly, and the timid are leaving or preparing to leave the city, so as to be out of the way when the bullets and musket-balls meet. The House Committee thus far have made few if any discoveries that would lead to the detection of those engaged in the secret plot of seizing the Capitol. The time is so short for them to accomplish anything, and the ring-leaders of that enterprise are too far out of their reach. Still, Gen. Scott may be able to hand them over for an examination before the 4th of March.

Mr. Sikes made a speech in the House yesterday in favor of the Chiriqui grant or purchase, which the Committee of Ways and Means reported unanimously against, regarding the whole thing as a swindle.

SOUTH CAROLINA'S NAVY, AND WHAT HE CAME OF IT!

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

Sir: Allow me to give you an account of the Navy South Carolina built in 1850, and what became of it. You will remember how, in 1850, the little State of South Carolina became jubilant over the prospect of Secession and direct trade with Europe. Divers learned

writers on political economy made it appear as clear as could be, in the columns of *The Mercury*, that we could build our own ships, export our cotton to Europe direct, and make our exchanges independent of New-York. There were a few who had at the time a lingering notion that the conception of these patriotic ideas belonged to some cunning Yankee, who wanted to turn a penny by their development. Of this I shall speak hereafter.

A company of patriotic gentlemen, all of Charleston, was formed, and the Legislature being in the right spirit, a bill was got through appropriating \$300,000 toward building two steamships, adapted to war purposes, and to be so used in the event of South Carolina seceding from the Union. The bill was drawn up with great circumspection, and with a view to increased patriotism. The ships were to be modeled after the most improved war-ship known, to have masted-deck ports, and spar-deck guns if necessary. They were to be propellers, full ship-rigged, and pivoted for stern chasers. They were to be built in Charleston, of South Carolina oak and pine—all but the trussing, apron, stem and stern-post, which were to be of live oak, got in Florida—and by Southern mechanics. Not a spike was to be driven by a Northern mechanic. But by some queer turn in affairs, or, perhaps, urgent necessity, the high honor of Superintendent of this all-important enterprise was conferred upon one Capt. Tucker, a gentleman of Northern birth, kindly alive to the value of dollars, and esteemed remarkably sound on "the nigger." Tucker was to have a good salary and a per centage. Tucker soon saw the perplexity of his position. There was good wood, however, enough in South Carolina to build forty war-ships, but not a Southerner in which the engines could be manufactured, nor a man to be found in the whole State skilled in war-ship building. We had a yard or two where small vessels could be repaired; and we consulted our neighbors that we had built three small vessels for carrying rice for St. Helena. They were not, to be sure, of the most approved model, but then we were proud of them, and the negroes who manned them wanted to suffer craft, seeing that they were exceedingly slow sailers.

There was no one in Charleston even to make a model, much less a loft spacious enough to lay down the lines of such a ship in. Capt. Tucker pondered the question well. The reputation of the State was staked on the building of these terrible ships, and it would not do to make an experiment of so important an undertaking. There was nothing to do but get the Legislature to grant a modification of the law ordering their construction. If they could not be built in South Carolina, they could not. If the raw material at her own door could be transported to the North, and the ships built there, at a saving of 30 per cent, it would be no sacrifice of patriotism. We all admitted this convenient way of getting over a great difficulty. It was also very wisely resolved to build one ship at a time.

Capt. Tucker took an affectionate leave of his friends, and, clothed with ample authority, sailed for New-York, where he spent an exceedingly pleasant Summer, made one contract for building the big ship with a Williamsburg ship-builder, and another for the engines with a New-York foundry. Things went on swimmingly in New-York, and expectation ran high in Charleston. The timber of which the first ship was to be built would all be of South Carolina growth, and on that point our pride alone ran high. I professed into the molding loft one day, and remember with what feelings of pride the draftsman showed me his model. I made some remark on the fullness of its lines, want of symmetry in the bow, and heaviness of counter. "The lines," he replied, "are not sharp enough to be pleasing to the eye accustomed to merchantmen, or clipper-ships, but you must remember that this ship is intended for war purposes, and we have to govern ourselves accordingly." Well, this terrible war-ship was built and paid for, and came tumbling rattle and rattle into Charleston Harbor, to the great delight of all good Secessionists, and in command of the gallant Tucker. Charleston rejoiced for several days over this great event, cat suppers, dinners, drank baskets of champagne, let off a vast amount of surplus oratory, and smoked no end of cigars. A short description of this terrible war-ship, as she lay peacefully at her moorings, may be without interest at this time. Imagine a very heavily sparred and rigged ship, with a very black hull, high out of water, broad lines, a bluff bow, a heavy counter, a savage-looking figure-head, her sides rounding sharply from the bilge, and "tumbling in," after the fashion of the most ancient war-ships, and you have the South Carolina, for such was her name. She had also high galleries, top-gallant bulwarks, was pierced for guns, and mounted two small brass pieces on the spar-deck. The experienced eye soon detected the defects of her model; but she was formidable to look at, and we congratulated ourselves that we had got a "big thing."

The voyage from New-York had been long and tedious, and the ship had rolled fearfully. These trifles, however, were attributed to defects of new machinery, and could easily be overcome. But it was clear to the nautical eye that the South Carolina's rolling qualities would be far superior to her sailing. The great question now came up, What shall we do with her? With her coils and armament on board, she would draw full twenty feet of water, and it was not safe to cross Charleston Bar with more than seventeen. The same difficulty would arise if she attempted to vindicate the "direct-trade movement," loaded with cotton. What was to be done with the big war-ship, were all inquiring. She made divers trips of pleasure down the harbor, to the great delight of those on board. But she was picking the pockets of her patriotic owners, and the State, which very wisely got its armor cooled down, and resolved to withhold the appropriation for building the second ship. It was all well enough to build a ship that could only enter in the harbor, and hence gain no victories over our enemies. The terrible war ship was, in truth, a sad failure. My Secessionist friends said they had been betrayed by the Yankees, and began heaping curses on their heads. Still, the great question persisted as, What shall we do with the ship? After lying peacefully enough at the wharf for some weeks, it was resolved to send her to New-York, in the vulgar capacity of a cotton-droger. I am not sure as to the number of bales she took on board, but it was very small; and yet, even with this small freight, she was unable to get over the bar, and had to wait nearly three weeks, moored off Sullivan's Island, for an opportunity to cross. During this peaceful occupation I had several very excellent opportunities of enjoying the Captain's hospitality. When she finally got underway to cross the bar, I had the honor of being one of a few invited guests, witnesses of the interesting ceremony. One gentleman towed us, and another accompanied us. We had a pleasant time enough, but the ship thumped twice when about midway on the bar. Or this we were enjoined to say nothing "up in town."

When safe over the bar, she went on her way to New-York, occupying only seven days, slurring certain nervous underwriters, disabling her machinery, and doing an immense amount of rolling. In New-York, an attempt was made to sell her, but nobody wanted a war-ship of such dimensions. And South Carolina had not the face to offer her to the Federal Government, which she had viewed as an enemy only a few months before. Capt. Tucker very prudently gave up his command about this time, and went into magnificent retirement at the North, where he still remains, quite sound on the negro question, but not at all inclined to return South. The South Carolina made another trip to Charleston, and returned to New-York, where she was put up at public auction without finding a purchaser. I chanced upon her one afternoon, lying peacefully at a wharf on the East River, a rough board over her side, on which the following night had these words: "For sale." In the following year I visited Liverpool, and, on strolling through one of the docks with a friend, almost the first object my eye caught was this unfortunate war-ship of South Carolina. Her sails were unbound, her topgallant masts hoisted, and she was in a sad plight. A deal plank hung over her side, on which was painted the same significant motto: "For

sale." It was a melancholy sight to see this wonderful war-ship tumbling about the world in search of an owner.

I am sure you will agree with me in commending the method now adopted by South Carolina in providing herself with a navy. It is a decided improvement over the one of 1850, and if her gallant sons who command United States vessels will only betray one or two more into her hands she can set up for a first-rate naval Power, at a very small expense. JUSTICE.

CRISIS OF THE REVOLUTION.

DIVERGENCIES OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH—PROBABLE RESULTS.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

Sir: No true friend of his country can, I think, see the disorders now existing without a feeling of humiliation. A Government that had obtained rank among the great Powers of the world, is found wholly destitute of force to repress an impudent insurrection. No one can doubt that when the first action was taken in South Carolina for the subversion of our Federal Government, all individuals concerned were made to be proceeded against under Federal laws. I have no doubt they are still amenable, inasmuch as the State has no authority, either by Legislature or Convention, to absolve its citizens from their obligations to the General Government. But it is a very different case when other States have been induced by the impunity allowed to such open defiance of Federal authority, to follow the precedent. Instead of a *revolt*, it then becomes a *revolution*.

All this, however, seems to be looked upon at the South as mere holiday games. Commissioners are sent from the seceding States to treat with our Government, not in regard to the admission of the sovereignty of the new potentate, but for the settlement of the claims it makes to territories and public property, as if the United States had seceded from South Carolina and carried off its domain. The public debt is shared by the States of Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana, and secession is declared by the first named, in which they are joined by Mississippi, and will be followed perhaps by others. The Senators of Florida have thought it, however, a wise course to remain in Washington, and resolve to let it be seen that they will be as earnestly endeavoring to destroy, and it is reported that Mississippi takes her Senators to task for not having committed the same honorable excommunication.

The Executive branch of our Government, while these things are being enacted, exhibits a paralysis or utter confusion of mind. The Executive has no power, as provided for upon a recent understanding, as it is said, that any change in the condition of things will be deemed hostile by the new Sovereignty of South Carolina—but it appears that the President only was bound, inasmuch as proceedings are vigorously taken to put the harbor into a complete state of defense, and not to be interrupted by the possibility of an attack upon the harbor. The public mind is in a state of confusion, but by the establishment of new batteries, was to prevent the possibility of any success when an attack should be ready to be made upon the weak garrison of the Federal forts left to its fate. I need not pursue in detail the subsequent movements in respect to the harbor. The public mind is in a state of confusion, but by the establishment of new batteries, was to prevent the possibility of any success when an attack should be ready to be made upon the weak garrison of the Federal forts left to its fate. I need not pursue in detail the subsequent movements in respect to the harbor.

In reviewing the reckless and arrogant conduct of the seceding States, I am reminded of the contrast in the proceeding of the South in 1847. Then the States in which the whole secession was left by the Federal Administration after the country had been precipitated into war without the consent of the Eastern States, and the disastrous consequences of which fell more heavily upon them than upon any other part of the country. Yet they refused to separate themselves from the other States, and submit to the enemy or seek some foreign alliance. They merely called a Convention by which a memorial was prepared asking Congress either to provide for the defense of the East coast, or to allow the States to be separated by the Federal Government at public expense for that object. Yet, moderate as was the tone of this Convention, there was an outcry against it by the South, which then, as it has done ever since, ruled the Democratic party. The Convention itself was denounced as traitorous, and its members stigmatized to the uttermost as cowards and traitors. It is not to be supposed that the Convention, although that body was composed of men who had proved their patriotism, and many of whom were possessed of abilities that would have been eminently useful to the country had they not been thus ostracized by the press and the public opinion.

It is not my purpose to pursue the comparison at any length. The reverse of history has sealed the character of that Convention. The persistence of the reference to it is only to bring into direct view the doctrine which was then maintained by the South and the utter repudiation of it now. Virginia was particularly conspicuous at that time, and it is to be regretted that no action by a State independent or subordinate to the General Government within the sphere of Federal authority for any cause whatever. Must we not infer from the double-faced policy thus avowed at the South that the doctrine there is that secession by a Northern State is inadmissible, no matter what may be the wrongs of the seceding State, but that it is equally objectionable with a Southern State to secede capriciously with or without cause. I state it thus because, according to the present doctrine, the State itself is the sole judge of the sufficiency of the cause, it is equally sufficient whether there be actual grievance or not if the State determine.

I know not how the State of Virginia can reconcile with its honor the abandonment of a principle formerly maintained with so much vigor by its most distinguished statesmen. Equally incomprehensible is it to me how she can find it consistent with the prominent part which she has taken in the formation of the Federal Government, and the high standard she has always taken in maintaining its integrity, with the submission now to the dictation of less important States, who have not the like energies of noble patriots and of eminent services to our common country to restrain the slatter passions of the passions, or the reckless passions of a misguided populace.

I speak of Virginia with the most sincere respect. I could not do otherwise when I remember the important service that State rendered in the war of the Revolution, and in the establishment of the present form of Government, and in the virtues of its many eminent men.

Again, when looking from the past to the future, it perplexes all speculation to find what community of interest the States of Virginia can have with the States which have taken the initiative of Secession, or what common policy could be agreed upon supporting all the Slaveholding States to act together. Virginia must look for her future prosperity to the development of her vast mineral resources and agricultural productions, not including either of the three staples of the South—cotton, rice, or sugar. She will naturally seek a protective policy; indeed, it is essential to her future prosperity that she should be so protected. The policy of the Cotton States is Free-trade. How this will be reconciled with the protection which Louisiana will require for sugar I know not. The discrepancy will be resolved, it is most likely, by new secessions, until the Southern Confederacy, that now looms up as if it might be a moiety of the present, re-federated States, will have severed all these arguments that have not sufficient homogeneity to cohere.

I pass, however, from these general considerations to a few suggestions which I hope may have some weight with thoughtful and right-minded men.

I. It is apparent that we are not to look for extractions from the present disordered condition of things, by any scheme of compromise. But the proposed men now in public office, holding the commanding position, nor perhaps having the imposing ability, that would be necessary to contrive or carry through measures of compromise that would allay the ferment of the country, as has been done on several former occasions. Indeed, any scheme of compromise, no matter how elaborately framed, would be a permanent adjustment of the difficulty, which it shall result in Southern ascendancy in the Federal Government; and I do not see how this can well be doubted by any one who has observed the course of events during many years past, and the deliberate preparation that has been made for which new battles will be even before the advent of the Administration whose future acts are prospectively determined.

II. There are intrinsic difficulties in the way of compromise, which I can barely hint at. From personal acquaintance in several of the Southern States, as well as what is known from other sources, I venture to say that the real question is not whether there shall be a revulsion of certain wrongs alleged to have been committed by the North. The fugitive Law is comparatively trivial—even the admission of Slavery into the Territories will be entirely short of what will be demanded in view. It is my conviction that no additional Slave Territories or States will be a permanent adjustment of the difficulty, which it shall result in Southern ascendancy in the Federal Government; and I do not see how this can well be doubted by any one who has observed the course of events during many years past, and the deliberate preparation that has been made for which new battles will be even before the advent of the Administration whose future acts are prospectively determined.

III. The most important question is, if a compromise is not to be looked for, what measures can be adopted to avoid civil war. To allow such a peaceably to proceed as chose to do so, is the alternative most frequently suggested. I hope, before that can be practically acted upon, it will be well considered whether we shall be likely to have amicable relations with a Confederacy that shall be formed of these seceding States. The same spirit that leads to a defiant rupture of the present Government, without consultation with the slightest negotiation with the States of the North, inevitably bring on a collision sooner or later. A pro-

text will be easily found. It may be a reclamation of slaves, or damages for non-delivery. On our part, too, there will be a necessity for some compensation, which shall suffer wrongs when traveling in our day boats on the South. A feud, at all events, must grow out of any attempt to dismember Mexico. That country will naturally and necessarily fall under our protection, and it would be a national disgrace were we to allow any interference with her territory, and especially when the avowed object of such interference is one that must be looked upon with abhorrence by all civilized men.

For these, and many other reasons, I for one prefer to see our Government maintain its attitude as having legitimate authority over all the States. If ever a division of territory is to take place, it should be done with a dignity and deliberation as becoming a great nation. It may require a Convention of the States. But it would be an entire demoralization of the whole if such an integral part is to be thus independent of all the rest.

A. B. D.

AN INCREASING EVIL.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

Sir: More than a reasonable doubt may be entertained as to the amount of good in the way of procuring which will be effected by that Virginia-invited Convention which has assembled in Washington. It is now patent to all men that little or nothing can be done to assuage the madness which has seized upon the Southern chivalry. It is not a divine rage, but a popular fury. It is a robbery—a robbery—which must be very grateful to the old Aristocracies of Europe. That "there is a divinity which shapes our ends," is, in this tumult, most evident. While we were boasting ourselves of "the largest liberty" on earth, and "inviting" liberty "oppressed of all nations," there was silently stealing over more than one-half the territory of our Republic the worst and most horrible despotism in the world; not a despotism which enslaved the negro, but the white man! Imagine a community where, from necessity, the most important political questions are decided not by reason, but by fate; where free thought and free speech are treason, and where a man is driven into exile for selling a book! A despotism which prevents you from sipping at the grave of Washington what Washington said, from avowing over the grave of Clay what Clay avowed, and which proclaims Jefferson a fanatic even in the shades of the tomb! And where the people are so degraded, and so demoralized, and so devoid of energy, that they are so simple-minded as to believe that the Republic is the simple truth of religion and morals; a Reign of Terror under the "Lion's aspect!" How causing the Arch-Fiend to bring all this about under our very noses! And, now that the fact is apparent, how the masses stupefied, agape with