THE WILMINGTON JOURNAL.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1861.

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Death of General John Cowan.

DIED, in this town, on the forenoon of Wednesday, Jan. 16th, 1861, General JOHN COWAN, aged 37 years and 3 months.

Although one better qualified for the task has elsewhere furnished a sketch of the deceased, we cannot yet wholly omit some slight tribute to the memory of a departed friend, whom we honored for his noble qualities of head and heart; whom we knew only as a kind, generous and high-spirited gentleman, the announcement of whose death, although long anticipated, from the nature of his disease, (Consumption,) carries a painful sense of bereavement to a large circle of friends and relatives.

Gen. COWAN bore the lingering agonies of his painful illness with all the fortitude of a brave man and all the calm resignation of a christian, having made a profession of religion months before his death, which he met without fear and without apprehension.

He leaves a widow and family, upon the sacredness of whose sorrow it becomes us not to intrude. The same power that sustained the husband and father, will watch over those whom he has left behind.

A Convention and Its Powers.

We think that the progress of events is gradually bringing all parties to the conviction that a State Convention ought to be called and that at no distant day. Virginia and Tennessee have already acted although their Legislatures were called together long after the meeting of our General Assembly, which has been in session two months and has done nothing. Why even Missouri has acted.

Of course in our position we receive a batch of letters every morning, and nearly every letter we open contains some reference to the subject, some such remark as this: "What is the Legislature doing? Why don't they call a Convention? Do stir them up!" etc., etc.

Beyond doubt, the people want a convention; but there appear to be difficulties in the way. Some interposed, no doubt, factiously, others having weight with many honest and intelligent members of the Legislature.

The bill first introduced contemplated a restricted Convention, to be called by the action of a majority of both Houses. The Convention bills, now before both Houses, require the concurrence of two-thirds, and call an unrestricted Convention, although the intent in calling such Convention is plainly intimated in the preamble, which makes reference to the present condition of our Federal Relations. We have been, and would now be, desirous to have the action of the Convention, and of course the attention of the people in choosing delegates to such Convention, confined to the single issue of our Federal Relations. This is said to be legally impracticable. The Convention, when called, represents the sovereignty of the people, and cannot be restricted by any legislative enactment, although honesty and good faith would dictate that a body called and elected for the consideration of a specific question, and of the action which might be deemed necessary to take in order to carry out any decision of such question as might be arrived at, should not abuse its powers by taking cognizance of matters not desired nor contemplated either by the Legislature in passing the bill, or the people in electing delegates.

It is feared by many that the Convention, when called, instead of devoting itself singly to the questions of Union and Secession, together with their cognate issues, may wander off to the alteration, abrogation, amendment, or change of our State Constitution, or important provisions thereof, affecting the basis, both of taxation and of representation, which course, even if within the limit of its powers, would certainly be an abuse of those powers. We have assurances from the West that there will be no effort to turn this Convention to sectional account, nor to abuse the powers vested in it.—With these assurances we must try to be content. We had better trust each other at home than by wrangling put ourselves at the mercy of our enemies abroad.

But even supposing that the Legislature could legally restrict a Convention, and that a bill calling a restricted Convention could be got through the Legislature, we question whether it would be advisable to put too many restrictions upon it. It will be easily understood that changed circumstances might call for some changes in the organic law. Such changes, as well as the necessity for them, will readily suggest themselves to every reader.

We wish now to make a few candid remarks upon the subject of taxation. During the canvass of last summer we stated plainly our position upon the question of *ad valorem* taxation, or of the change of the constitution so as to make slaves taxable as property and not as persons. We took this ground, among others, in opposition to such change, that the whole question had been considered and settled in 1835, since which time debts had been contracted on that basis.—We contended that it would be unjust, after such debts had been contracted upon one basis to so alter the Constitution as to make them payable on another and different basis, whereby burdens might be shifted from those who did contract them, to those who did not. We also contended that inasmuch as the great expenditure of the State had been on internal improvements, constructed mainly for the development of real estate, it would be wrong to change the Constitution so as to shift the burden of such expenditures on to the shoulders of a class of property comparatively little if at all benefited by the works constructed.

Our opinions on these subjects are unchanged, but it seems to us that a new state of things might arise to which the above reasoning would not apply. We allude to any debt contracted or taxation rendered necessary by the action of the Convention in decreeing secession or taking other new and positive steps for the protection of the State. Inasmuch as this would be an expenditure rendered necessary, at least as much for the protection of slave property as of any other property, perhaps more so, we think that all slaveholders would cheerfully submit to bearing their full or more than their full share of all the burdens of the State so incurred, and we think that it would be within the scope not only of the powers but of the duties of the Convention to make provision to this effect.

We offer these suggestions because they appear to us reasonable and fair, and ask fair and reasonable consideration of them. Our proposition is, that present debts and taxes, being contracted or levied upon the existing Constitutional basis, and under the understanding that such basis should not be disturbed, ought to be so left, but that in future, all the debts and expenditures in the nature of war debt, or rendered necessary by movements arising out of our Federal Relations, ought to be placed upon the *ad valorem* basis, as far as practicable, due reference being had to the best interests of the State.

The Feeling throughout the State.—One Hundred Guns at Greenville.

We had supposed that we had already alluded, among other indications of public feeling, to the following fact which was communicated to us by a valued friend writing from Greenville, Pitt county, under date of Jan. 11th, 1861. We certainly intended to have done so the day the letter was received. Our friend says:—

"One hundred guns are being fired here to-day in honor of the people of Smithville. The people are tired of waiting for the tardy demagogues at Raleigh.

There is no questioning the fact that there is a strong feeling abroad. Let this feeling find a legal expression through a convention, and all difficulty will be avoided, otherwise it is impossible to say how far a different result might follow.

Things in Washington.

It would appear that negotiations between South Carolina and the Federal authorities have been brought to a close. For the present Sumter is not to be reinforced, and the South Carolinians will defer any attack upon it. The President refused to recognise Col. Hayne in any official capacity. So Fort Sumter, for the present, is neither to be evacuated, reinforced, nor attacked. The Charlestonians will permit Major Anderson to come to market and get his supplies.

Senator Crittenden's compromise resolutions have been voted down in the Senate—every Republican voting against them.

It is said to be the plan of the Secession leaders by all means to avoid precipitating a collision with the Federal Government. Col. Hayne will probably remain some time in Washington City, counselling with the leaders from other States. Virginia is trying to mediate between the Federal Government and the seceding States.

We notice that Judge Smalley, formerly of Vermont, but somehow got down to New York as a sort of Federal Judge, has been charging against selling or shipping arms or munitions of war to seceding States. We hardly know whether the little Judge makes it out to be treason or not. At any rate, those who have arms to sell will sell them. A day or two ago, the New York Tribune wanted the authorities there to seize the steamship Columbia, in order to prevent her taking out provisions and munitions of war for Charleston. The authorities did not stop her.

Things in Raleigh—The Convention.

A private letter from Raleigh expresses the opinion that it is not probable that any Convention bill will be passed before next week, so many people want to talk, that it is proposed to establish a rule limiting debate. Our friend further expresses the opinion that the following bill, introduced by Mr. Clark, of Craven, or something like it, is perhaps the only bill that can pass. We cannot but think that the course set forth in this bill looks very much like an evasion of responsibility, and a division of labor and legislation not contemplated in the Constitution, which never intended that mere acts of the General Assembly should be submitted to the people. The bill seems to us to be a confused affair generally, but such as it is we lay it before our readers It may be amended or killed yet, for there is no knowing *what* the Legislature may do, or not do:—

A BILL *concerning a Convention of the People.*

WHEREAS, The present perilous condition of the country demands, in the judgment of this General Assembly, that the sovereign people of this State should assemble in convention to effect an honorable adjustment of existing difficulties whereby the Federal Union is endangered, or otherwise to determine what action will best preserve the honor and promote the interests of North Carolina: and, *whereas*, This General Assembly, on matters of such grave import, involving the relation of North Carolina to her sisters in the confederacy, is reluctant to adopt any settled policy without the sense of the people, in whom, under our government, all sovereignty resides, being first ascertained.

SECTION 1. *Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same*,. That upon the passage of this act the Governor of the State be, and he is hereby required to issue a proclamation commanding the Sheriffs of the respective counties in the State to open polls at the several election precincts in said counties, on the — day of —, when and where all persons qualified to vote for members of the General Assembly, may vote for or against a State Convention; those who wish a convention voting with a printed or written ticket, "Convention," and those who do not wish a convention voting in the same way, "No Convention:" also, to open separate polls at the said time and places for the election of delegates to the convention, to be assembled on such terms as hereinafter provided, said polls to be superintended by inspectors appointed by the Sheriffs, with the advice of three justices of the peace, of the respective counties, who shall be sworn according to the provisions of sec. 6, chap. 52, of Revised Code.

SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the Sheriffs to make out duplicate statements of their polls, in their respective counties, on the question of "Convention" and "No Convention," sworn to before the clerk of the county court, one copy of which shall be deposited in said clerk's office, and the other copy transmitted to the Governor of the State, at Raleigh immediately after said election.

SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the Governor, as soon as he shall have received the returns of the sheriffs, in the presence of the Secretary of the State, Public Treasurer and Comptroller, to compare the number of votes for and against a Convention; and if it shall appear that a majority of the votes polled are in favor of a convention, he shall forthwith issue a proclamation in such manner as he may think proper, summoning the delegates elected to said convention, as aforesaid, to convene in Raleigh, on — day of ——, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one. And if the majority of the votes polled are against convention, the Governor shall, in like manner, issue a proclamation of that fact; and in that case, the assembling of the said delegates, elected as aforesaid, under the provisions of this act, is hereby declared to be illegal and of no effect.

SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted*, That the election for delegates as aforesaid shall be held and conducted in the same manner as elections for members of the General Assembly, and the vote shall be counted and the scrolls compared, and certificates issued in the same manner as prescribed by law for members of the House of Commons.

SEC. 5. *Be it further enacted*, That if a vacancy shall occur by the death, resignation, or removal from the State, or by the refusal to serve, of any person elected delegate as aforesaid, the presiding officer of the convention shall issue his writ to the sheriff of the county in which such vacancy may have occurred, after such notice as the convention may order, to open a poll to fill such vacancy under the same rules and regulations as hereinbefore prescribed for the election of delegates.

SEC. 6. *Be it further enacted*, That the said convention shall consist of one hundred and twenty delegates, and each county shall be entitled to the same number of delegates as members of the House of Commons under the last apportionment.

SEC. 7. *Be it further enacted*, That the mileage and *per diem* pay of the delegates to said convention shall be the same as that of members of the General Assembly, to be paid in the same manner; and said convention shall have power to fix the pay of all its officers, and of any representatives to any convention or State, and shall provide for other expenses, to be paid out of the treasury as it may direct.

SEC. 8. *Be it further enacted*, That the said convention shall have power to elect officers and prescribe qualifications for its members, not inconsistent with the true intent of this act.

SEC. 9. *Be it further enacted*, That the said convention shall have power to consider all grievances affecting North Carolina as a member of the confederacy, according to the true intent and meaning of this act, and all questions of constitutional reform, excepting such as may propose a change in the present basis of representation—the assent or dissent of the people to the proposition herein contained being respectively expressed by the votes, "Convention," and "No Convention," at the time and in the mode hereinbefore provided.

SEC. 10. *Be it further enacted*, That no ordinance of said convention shall have any force or validity until it shall have been ratified by a majority of the qualified voters for members of the General Assembly, to whom it shall be submitted according to the mode prescribed for election of members to the House of Commons—the assent or dissent of the people hereto being expressed as in preceding sections of this act.

SEC. 11. *Be it further enacted*, That this act shall be in force from and immediately after its ratification.

Jewish Disability.

Mr. Hall, of New Hanover, has introduced the following bill into the Senate of North Carolina:—

A BILL *to repeal so much of Section second of Article four of the amended Constitution of North Carolina, as prohibits persons of the Jewish or Israelitish faith from holding offices of profit or trust in the State.*

WHEREAS, Section 19 of the Declaration of Rights proclaims "that all men have a natural and inalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences;" and *whereas*, Section 2nd of Article 4th of the amended Constitution is inconsistent with Section 19th of the Declaration of Rights, contrary to the spirit of the age, and anti-republican in its operation,

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, (three-fifths of the whole number of members of each House concurring,) That so much of Section 2nd of Article 4th of the amended Constitution as prohibits persons of the Jewish or Israelitish faith, from holding offices of profit or trust in the State, be and the same is hereby repealed.

The Cutter Forward and our Forts.

The extract which we make from the Washington *Constitution* confirms us in the opinion formerly entertained and expressed, that the Cutter Forward had been secretly ordered South with troops and that their destination was the mouth of the Cape Fear. Lieut. Nones, her Commander, had long experience upon this coast and in this river. Whether he belonged to the celebrated beef-bone crew or not we do not know. They *do say* that some revenue cutter many years ago lay so long at her anchorage here, that she got aground upon the beef-bones that her crew threw over-board!—We do not vouch for the story farther than to say that we have heard it.

North Carolina bonds were selling in New York, on the 15th inst., at $74, and $17,000 taken at this price. Kentucky 6's, 96½; Tennessee 74¼; United States 6's, 93 to 90⅞.

☞ It is said that John Mitchell is the Paris correspondent of the Charleston Mercury.

A Pause.

For a time—a brief time, we fear, there is a pause, a comparative lull in the excitement arising out of the perilous condition of the country. Men stand at gaze before starting on the stern race which they may be compelled to run. They are surveying the ground—taking their bearings, estimating their means, but not changing their purposes.

This pause is ominous. It is the clear indication of a serious fact—the fact that the Rubicon is soon to be passed—the irrevocable step soon to be taken.

It is folly now for anybody North or South to compare the present up-rising to the "Whiskey Insurrection," or such like merely local disturbances. We are now in the vortex of revolution—on the very edge of bloodshed. Shall this revolution progress, or shall it not? If it does progress, shall it be peaceful or bloody? Whether we claim secession to be a right or not, or whether we suppose its exercise will be quietly permitted or bloodily resisted, we cannot deny that the severance of a great Confederacy is a revolution, even if we assume that it be both legal and peaceful;—a legal and peaceful revolution, then, but still a revolution, a change, an overturning.

No one North or South, who honestly looks this matter fully and fairly in the face, can fail to estimate the importance of the occasion. It is only among the professional demagogues, whom a corrupt or fanatical party has sent to Congress, or the ambitious soldiers or starched-up martinets of the regular army, that its terrible significance is ignored. General Wool or General Scott would like well enough to be military despots.—Seward would trim and wheedle, forgetting that "soft words butter no parsnips"—that mere figures of speech and forms of rhetoric heal no grievances and restore no lost confidence. Small Smug Smally may talk of treason from his little court room in New York, and better men than he elsewhere may talk about the "enforcement of the laws" without any peculiar effect that we know of. It must *now* be felt that these laws will give security—that they will be equal in their provisions and in their execution—that their forms will not be perverted so as to jeopardize the rights and insult the feelings of a whole section, otherwise it is folly to talk about their enforcement.

Yet, in the midst of this, the Republicans sit as quiet as lambs with a puritanical simper upon their faces—uttering now and then a sneer at the divided South.—And surely there is some reason for their sneering, for is it not strange to see the whole North united in a policy of aggression, while it appears to be impossible to unite the South in her own defence? Without the Republicans come forward in good faith, no settlement *can* be made. Who hopes that they will?

We have heard about the conservative and friendly character of the city of New York—the "Commercial Emporium," and yet we find one Chas. W. Sandford, who is said to be the Major General of the first division of New York Militia composed of the city, communicating to Gov. Morgan of that State the unanimous passage, by the Division Board of Officers of the First Division New York State Militia, of a resolution authorizing him (Sandford) to tender their services for any duty which the present emergency may require.

Gen. Sandford goes on to state that the armed, uniformed and disciplined force of the division is upwards of seven thousand men—officers, non-commissioned officers and privates. He then goes on to parade the further resources of the division. He and Gov. Morgan appear desirous to let the world in general, and the South in particular, know the imposing force with which New York threatens coercion.

The best portion of the New York troops will not volunteer to come down South, even though the Board of officers and Gen. Sandford should promise it. *They* will pause.

Another reason of the present lull is to be found in the fact that, as is shrewdly surmised, General Scott no longer wields the baleful influence at Washington that he once did, and that his control of the President has been checked.

Georgia is out of the Union. What folly would it be to compare this to "Shay's Rebellion," or anything of that kind? The difficulty is organic, and nothing but organic remedies are equal to the emergency. Neither repressives nor palliatives will do. There is now a pause. Even yet good use might be made of the opportunity—much might be done by fairness—nothing by threats of coercion.

There are now good reasons to hope that nothing will be done likely to produce actual collision while Mr. Buchanan occupies the Presidential chair, much as General Scott may chafe at his failure to set up a military despotism. But how brief is the respite, and how deep is the responsibility resting upon the party into whose hands will pass the government of what may then be left of the confederacy. We may truly say that they will soon have *all* the responsibility; for, as Southern delegation after Southern delegation goes out, the Northern abolition preponderance in the remnant of Congress becomes more and more overwhelming. Let us trust that even with these people, better counsels may prevail. That they will offer terms upon which reconstruction may be possible, or at least blood-shed be avoided.

One fact is beginning to be understood, and that is, that European Governments will recognize any *de facto* Government formed at the South. There will be no difficulty about that, although our Puritanical brethren in other sections may have flattered themselves that such would not be the case. A Southern Confederacy once fairly formed, will be promptly recognized by France and England.

☞ We see little in the proceedings of our Legislature on Tuesday and Wednesday, beyond squabbles over the Convention bill and amendments offered thereto.—As remarked elsewhere, we think that delegates to a State Convention should be chosen upon a single issue and for the consideration of a single subject, with the measures necessary to give effect to any decision come to. The desire evinced by some to pervert the Convention to purposes foreign to the main issue now upon the country, gives alarm to others, and therefore increases the difficulty of arriving at any definite understanding, or of concocting a bill that will meet the views and secure the support of all who are really in favor of a Convention. Anti-coercion resolutions have been passed.

We notice that Mr. Person, of New Hanover, has introduced a bill supplemental to a bill to lay off and establish the county of Lillington. Read and referred.

Letters received from Raleigh represent it as doubtful whether the Legislature will pass *any* Convention Bill. Things look queer,

☞ A gentleman who left here a few days since, writing to us on business, under date of Augusta, Geo., January 15th, says: "Senator Toombs came on with me in the train last night. He made a short speech here on the arrival of the train to a large concourse of the citizens of Georgia, and stated that he was certain that by Saturday night next, the State of Georgia would be 'high and dry' out of the Union. His address was well received and loudly applauded with music and firing of cannon."

"THE SLAVEHOLDING AND NON-SLAVEHOLDING INTERESTS OF THE SOUTH A UNIT."—We elsewhere publish in to-day's paper an article under the above caption, compiled and prepared mainly from DeBow's Review by a gentleman of this place, who has never taken any part in politics—not certainly in partizan politics, nor does he do so now. The article will amply repay perusal.

☞ Some of the wiseacres who conduct papers in the interior towns, think it shows their wisdom, as well as their politeness, when they contradict the news brought to other papers by telegraph. It is not the fault of these other papers if their facilities are better or their enterprise greater than their interior cotemporaries possess. For instance, one of these interior papers lately contradicted the telegraphic report of the appearance of the Brooklyn off Charleston bar, and her apparent purpose to cross the same and enter the harbor. Now, the Brooklyn has returned to Hampton Roads, and we take the following from the Norfolk *Day Book:*

The U. S. steamer Brooklyn, in command of Capt. Walker, left Hampton Roads on the 9th inst. with sealed orders, which were not opened until she had passed outside of Cape Henry; none of the crew knew where they were going beyond Hampton Roads, and were much surprised when she put to sea.

As it is well known she went down the coast to Charleston harbor, and would have gone in, or, at least, would have attempted it, but for the fact that just as she got off the mouth of the river she met and spoke a small, rough looking schooner, coming out, said schooner carrying no flag.

"Where are you bound?" was asked by one of the officers of the Brooklyn.

"Philadelphia," answered the schooner. The schooner then imparted the intelligence that the Star of the West had attempted to enter the harbor, and had eighteen or twenty shots fired into her, and she thought it imprudent for the Brooklyn to venture in.

The Brooklyn rounded to, and was surprised to see that the schooner did not proceed to sea. It was also observed that a steamer came out of the harbor and talked with the schooner, and then took her in tow until she was some distance from the Brooklyn. The steamer finally went back, and the schooner made her way leisurely into the harbor. It now occurred to those on board the Brooklyn that the sailors on the schooner were black silk hats, standing collars, store clothes, &c., and the impression soon prevailed that the schooner was one of the guard vessels that had been sent out to intercept the Brooklyn.

The Brooklyn made no attempt to enter the harbor, but remained outside until she started homeward. She arrived in Hampton Roads about dark last night, and came to anchor under the guns of Fortress Monroe, in near the spot occupied by the Great Eastern when she was off Old Point.

It is a little remarkable that none of the guns on the Brooklyn were loaded, or even unlashed for the purpose; nor was the slightest preparation for action made on board during the whole cruise. The sailors on board were divided in sentiment, some being Southern men in feeling, whilst others were influenced by Northern views. As for the officers, nothing could be gained from them; they were perfectly mum on all the various subjects connected with the ship or her cruise, and if they discussed the subject at all, did so privately.

The two officers who sent in their resignation the day before the Brooklyn sailed were on board during the whole cruise. The acceptance of their resignation had not been received up to the sailing of the Brooklyn, and they were compelled to remain on board until they were absolved from their oaths of office.

The destination of the Brooklyn is unknown. She is at this time in the Roads, and it is believed that she will proceed to New York; but there is nothing certain about her future movements. Her crew should be paid off and discharged.

Contradictions are cheap—telegraphs cost money.—The telegraph was true. The contradictions were *not*.

☞ Instead of some seventy thousand stands of arms generally reported to have been in the United States' Arsenal at Charleston, it appears by the official statement furnished by Secretary Holt, that the whole number of small arms, including old flint-lock muskets, percussion muskets, carbines, rifles, pistols and everything else in the way of shooting irons, only amounted to 22,423.

South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida and Georgia have declared themselves out of the Federal Union. Virginia will go out—five States already out. When will the North Carolina Legislature act, and allow the VOICE of the PEOPLE to be heard?

Power of the South to Protect Herself—In Men, Position, and Agricultural Wealth.

[From the able pamphlet by Hon. Jno. Townsend, of South Carolina, entitled. "The South alone should Govern the South," and which should be in the hands of every Southern man.—*DeBow's Review.*]

[BY SENATOR HUNTER.]

What reflecting man can doubt the abundant ability of the South to protect herself, and to attain a power which will cause her to be respected among the foremost nations of the earth?

The *eight seceding States* alone, possess a territory more than *three times* as great as France; more than *six* times as large as Prussia, and nearly *six* times as large as England, Scotland, and Ireland put together; while the alliance of the other Southern and border States would increase the territorial extent of the Southern confederacy more than one third. Can a country like this, occupied by a people who from their childhood have been accustomed to the most manly exercise, and the free use of firearms—bold, hardy, restive under unlawful control—and numbering within its borders 1,800,000 men capable of bearing arms, and who, with a few weeks' warning, could be marshalled at every assailable point in bands of 50,000 and 100,000—can, I say such a country, and so peopled, be overcome by any foreign foe? The idea is simply absurd.

Next: Consider her compactness within her boundaries; her inexhaustible resources in money, and all other materials toward providing the appliances of war; and her capacity, arising from these circumstances, of resisting, or punishing, if necessary, all aggression upon her rights. With agricultural production the most valuable in the world, and which make them the objects of envy to every manufacturing and commercial people, and her friendship and alliance to be sought after by every civilized nation, she holds in her hands the very best *bonds* which they can give to "keep the peace" with her. It is a mistake, Mr. Chairman, to suppose that England, France, Germany, Russia, and the other commercial and manufacturing nations of Europe, are hostile to our African slavery. Nations (and even our sanctimonious North is not an exception) are not governed by *sentiment*, much less by *sentimentality*, but by their interest; and these people, to whom I have just referred, are too deeply interested in procuring the raw materials, which the South, almost alone, can supply them with, for their manufactures, to embark in a silly quarrel with us about the *kind* of labor, by which these raw materials are acquired. Not only many *millions of their people* are dependent upon these raw materials for employment for their bread—not only *thousand of millions of capital* are also dependent upon them for profits—but it becomes a concern of government, that these raw materials should be supplied; since it promotes contentment to the hungry laborer, and establishes *quiet* and *social order*, which might not otherwise be procured, except by the terrible resort of powder and lead. The South, then, need be under no apprehension of interference with her slave property from these nations; but, on the contrary, may reasonably expect friendly intercourse. Indeed, sir, no alliance would be more natural than one between these nations and our Southern confederacy. There would be no cause of rivalry and jealousy. We, the agricultural people, would grow the raw material, and they, the manufacturing and commercial people, would work it up and send it to their customers of the world.

THE UNITED STATES SUB-TREASURY AT CHARLESTON.—We have not cared, heretofore, to trouble ourselves about the false statements of the *Tribune*, and other New York papers, concerning the United States Sub-Treasury at Charleston. But as the honor of our State is concerned, and it is due to her friends everywhere that they should know the truth of the matter, we now state that neither the Governor of South Carolina, nor any other power or authority of law, has ever seized or made use of any of the funds of the Sub-Treasury in this city. We further state that the amount in the Sub-Treasury, when South Carolina seceded, was not the pitiful sum of $9000, as at first reported, nor the sum of $21,000 as the *Tribune* now reports, but it was $150,000, which amount has been reduced in the usual manner, by payments, according to the law of the United States, to about $50,000. This sum is still in the Sub-Treasury to the credit of the United States Treasurer and the disbursing agents. South Carolina has not touched a cent of this money, and her forbearance in that respect is the more remarkable, because a large amount of it is due to her own citizens for the outfit and provisions of Fort Sumter, for payment of which they vainly besiege the office doors of the Sub-Treasurer—that officer having no power to pay them without an order from the authorities at Washington.—*Charleston Mercury, 16th inst.*

READ AND REFLECT.

The following article, with some omissions and slight alterations, is from the pen of J. D. B. DeBow, of Louisiana:

The Slaveholding and Non-Slaveholding Interests of the South A Unit.

When in charge of the national census office, several years since, I found that it had been stated by an Abolition Senator from his seat, that the number of slaveholders at the South did not exceed 150,000. Convinced that it was a gross misrepresentation of the facts, I caused a careful examination of the returns to be made, which fixed the actual number at 347,255. I communicated the information, by note, to Senator Cass, who read it in the Senate. I first called attention to the fact that the number embraced slaveholding families, and that to arrive at the actual number of slaveholders, it would be necessary to multiply by the proportion of persons which the census showed to a family. When this was done, the number swelled to about 2,000,000.

Since these results were made public I have had reason to think that the separation of the schedules of the slave and the free was calculated to lead to omissions of the single properties, and that on this account it would be safe to put the number of families at 375,000, and the number of actual slaveholders at about two million and a quarter.

Assuming the published returns however to be correct, it will appear that one third of the population of the entire South are slaveholders. The average number of slaves is nine to each holder, and one half of the whole number of holders are in possession of less than five slaves.

It will thus appear that the slaveholders of the South, so far from constituting numerically an insignificant portion of its people, as has been malignantly alledged, make up an aggregate greater in relative proportion than the holders of every other species of property whatever, in any part of the world; and that of no other property can it be said, with equal truthfulness, that it is an interest of the whole community.

Whilst in the Southern States every third family are slaveholders, but one family in every three and a half families in Maine, N. Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticutt, are holders of agricultural land, and in European States the proportion is almost indefinitely less. The proportion which the slaveholders of the South bear to the entire population is greater than that of the owners of land, houses, agricultural stock, State, bank, or other corporation securities anywhere else. No political economist will deny this. Nor is that all. Even in the States which are among the largest slaveholding; South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee, the land proprietors outnumber nearly two to one in relative proportion the owners of the same property in Maine, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and if the average number of slaves held by each family throughout the South be but nine, and if one half of the whole number of slaveholders own under five slaves, it will be seen how preposterous is the allegation of our enemies, that the slaveholding class is an organized wealthy aristocracy. *The poor men of the South are the holders of one to five slaves, and it would be equally consistent with truth and justice to say that they represent, in reality, its slaveholding interest.*

The fact being conceded that there is a very large class of persons in the slaveholding States who have no direct ownership in that property, it may be well asked, upon what principle a greater antagonism can be presumed between them and their fellow-citizens than there exists among the larger class of non-land-owners in the free States and the landed interests there? If a conflict of interest exists in one instance, it does in the other; and if patriotism and public spirit are to be measured upon so low a standard as this, the social fabric at the North is in far greater danger of dissolution than it is here.

Though I protest against the false and degrading standard to which Northern orators and statesmen have reduced the measures of patriotism which is to be expected from a free and enlightened people, and in the name of the non-slaveholders of the South fling back the insolent charge that they are only bound to their country by the consideration of its "loaves and fishes," and would be found derelict in honor and principle and public virtue in proportion as that they were needy in circumstances, I think it but easy to show that the interest of the poorest non-slaveholder among us is to make common cause with and die in the last trenches in defence of the slave property of his more favored neighbor.

The non-slaveholders of the South may be classed as either such as desire and are incapable of purchasing slaves, or such as have the means to purchase and do not because of the absence of the motive to do so, preferring to hire or employ cheaper white labor. A class conscientiously objecting to the ownership of this property does not exist at the South, for all such scruples have long since been silenced by the profound and unanswerable arguments to which Yankee controversy has driven our statesmen, popular orators, and clergy. Upon the sure testimony of God's holy Book, and upon the principle of universal polity, they have defended and justified the institution.

As the competition of free labor with slave labor is the gist of the argument used by the opponents of slavery, and as it is upon this they rely in support of a future social conflict in our midst, it is clear that in cases where the competition cannot possibly exist, the argument, whatever weight it might otherwise have, must fall to the ground.

Now from what can such competition be argued in our cities? Are not all the interest of the merchant and those whom he employs of necessity upon the side of the slaveholders? The products which he buys, the commodities which he sells, the profits which he realizes, the hopes which sustain him of future fortune, all spring from this source, and from no other. The cities towns, and villages of the South, are but so many agencies for converting the products of slave labor into the products of other labor obtained from abroad, and, as in every other agency, the interest of the agent is that the principal shall have as much as possible to sell, and be enabled as much as possible to buy. In the absence of every other source of wealth at the South, its mercantile interests are so interwoven with those of slave labor as almost to be identical. What is true of the merchant is true of the clerk, the drayman, or the laborer whom he employs—the mechanic who builds his houses, the lawyer who argues his causes, the physician who heals, the teacher, the preacher, etc., etc.

And an illustration of the truth of this is furnished in the city of New York—almost as much dependent upon Southern slavery as any city in the South—which records a majority of nearly 30,000 votes against the further progress of abolitionism.

As the competition does not exist in the cities, it is equally certain that it does not exist in those sections of the South which are employed upon the cultivation of commodities in which slave labor cannot be profitably used.

Having then, followed out step by step, and seen to what it amounts, this so much paraded competition and conflict existing between the non-slaveholding and slaveholding interests of the South, I will proceed to present several general considerations, which would be found powerful enough to influence the non-slaveholders, if the claims of patriotism were inadequate to resist any attempt to overthrow the institutions and industry of the section to which they belong.

1. The non-slaveholder of the South is assured of this: That the remuneration afforded by his labor over and above the expense of living, is larger than that which is afforded by the same labor in the Free States. To be convinced of this he has only to compare the value of labor in the Southern cities with those of the North, and to take note annually of the large number of laborers who are represented to be out of employment there, and who migrate to our shores, as well as to other sections. No white laborer, in return, in times of ordinary prosperity, has been forced to leave our midst, or remain without employment. Those who come among us are enabled soon to return to their homes with a handsome competency. The statement is nearly as true for the agricultural as for other interests, as the statistics will show.

The following table was recently compiled by Senator Johnson, of Tennessee, from information received in reply to a circular letter sent to the points indicated:

Daily wages in New Orleans, Charleston and Nashville:		
Bricklayers.	Carpenters.	Laborers.
$2½ to 3½	$2¼ to 2¾	$1 to 1½
Daily wages in Chicago, Pittsburg and Lowell, Mass.:		
Bricklayers.	Carpenters.	Laborers.
$1½ to 2	$1½ to 1¾	75c to $1

The rates of board weekly for laborers as given in the census of 1850, were in Louisiana $2 70, South Carolina, $1 75, Tennessee $1 32, in Illinois $1 49, Pennsylvania $1 72, Massachusetts $2 12. The wages of the agricultural classes as given in Parliamentary reports are in France $20 to $30 per annum with board. In Italy $12 to $20 per annum. In the United States agricultural labor is highest in the Southwest and lowest in the Northwest, the South and North differing very little, by the official returns.

The non-slaveholders, as a class, are not reduced by the necessity of our condition, as is the case in the free States, to find employment in crowded cities and come into competition in close and sickly work-shops and factories with remorseless and untiring machinery. They have but to compare their condition in this particular with the mining and manufacturing operatives of the North and Europe to be thankful that God has reserved them for a better fate.—Tender women, aged men, delicate children, toil and labor there from early dawn until after candle-light, from one year to another, for a miserable pittance, scarcely above the starvation point, and without hope of amelioration.—The records of British free labor have long exhibited this, and those of our own manufacturing States are rapidly reaching it, and would have reached it long ago, but for the excessive bounties which in the way of tariffs have been paid to it, without an equivalent by the slaveholding and non-slaveholding laborer of the South. Let this tariff cease to be paid for a single year, and the truth of what is stated will be abundantly shown.

4. *The non-slaveholder of the South preserves the status of the white man, and is not regarded as an inferior or a dependant.* He is not told that the Declaration of Independence, when it says that all men are born free and equal, refers to the negro equally with himself. It is not proposed to him that the free negro's vote shall weigh equally with his own at the ballot-box, and that the little children of both colors shall be mixed in the classes and benches of the school house, and embrace each other filially in its outside sports. It never occurs to him that a white man could be degraded enough to boast in a public assembly, as was recently done in New York, of having actually slept with a negro. And his patriotic ire would crush with a blow the free negro who would dare, in his presence, as is done in the free States, to characterize the Father of the Country as a "scoundrel." No white man at the South serves another as a body servant, to clean his boots, wait on his table, and perform the menial services of his household!—His blood revolts against this, and his necessities never drive him to it. He is a companion and an equal. If a distinction exists it is only that which education and refinement may give, and this is so courteously exhibited as scarcely to strike attention. The poor white laborer at the North is at the bottom of the social ladder, while his brother here has ascended several steps, and can look down upon those who are beneath him at an infinite remove.

The non-slaveholder knows that as soon as his savings will admit he can become a slaveholder. This, with ordinary frugality, can, in general, be accomplished in a few years, and is a process continually going on. Perhaps twice the number of poor men at the South own a slave to what owned a slave ten years ago. The universal disposition is to purchase. It is the first use for savings, and the negro purchased is the last possession to be parted with. If a woman, her children become heirlooms, and make the nucleus of an estate. It is within the knowledge of the writer that a plantation of fifty or sixty persons has been established, from the descendants of a single female, in the course of the lifetime of the original purchaser.

6. The large slaveholders and proprietors of the South begin life in great part as non-slaveholders. It is the nature of property to change hands. Luxury, liberality, extravagance, depreciated land, low prices, debt, distribution among children, are continually breaking up estates. All over the new States of the Southwest enormous estates are in the hands of men who begin life as overseers or city clerks, traders and merchants.

7. But should such fortune not be in reserve for the non-slaveholder, he will understand that by honesty and industry it may be realized to his children. More than one generation of poverty in a family is scarcely to be expected at the South, and is against the general experience. It is more unusual here for poverty than wealth to be preserved through several generations in the same family.

8. The sons of the non-slaveholder are and have always been among the leading and ruling spirits of the South; in industry as well as in politics.

And nowhere else in the world have intelligence, industry and virtue, disconnected from ancestral estates, the same opportunities for advancement, and nowhere else is their triumph more speedy and signal.

9. Without the institution of slavery the great staple products of the South would cease to be grown, and the immense annual results, which are distributed among every class of the community, and which give life to every branch of industry would cease. The world furnishes no instances of these products being grown upon a large scale by free labor. The English now acknowledge their failure in the East Indies. Brazil, whose slave population nearly equals our own, is the only South American State which has prospered. Cuba, by her slave labor, showers wealth upon old Spain, whilst the British West India Colonies have now ceased to be a source of revenue, and from opulence have been, by emancipation, reduced to beggary. St. Domingo shared the same fate, and the poor whites have been massacred equally with the rich.

EXPORTS.

	1789	1860
Hayti	$27,829,000	$5 to $6,000,000

Sugar is no longer exported, and the quantity of Coffee scarcely exceeds one-third, and of Cotton one-tenth of the exports of 1789. This I give upon Northern authority.

Jamaica.	1805.	1857.
Sugar	150,352 hhds.	30,459 hhds.
Rum	93,950 "	15,992 "
Coffee	24,137,393 "	7,095,623 "

The value of the present slave production of the South is thus given:

United States Exports for 1859.

Of Southern origin—	1859.
Cotton	$161,434,920
Tobacco	21,074,168
Rice	2,267,148
Naval Stores	3,694,474
Sugar	196,716
Molasses	75,646
Hemp	9,227
Total	$188,693,498
Other from South	8,108,432
Cotton manufactures	4,989,779
Total from South	198,389,301
Total from North	78,217,305
Total merchandise	278,392,606
Specie	57,502,395
To the Southern credit, however, must be given: 60 per cent. of the Cotton