

men work, arranged with all the advantages and appliances that the art affords, be turned to the protection of the sea coast, and be shored by the men whose hearts they shelter. Happy for us that in no other place there are means of security that time alone can supply; and since the improvements of maritime warfare, by making distant expeditions easy and speedy, have made them more probable, and at the same time more difficult to anticipate and provide against. The cost of fortifying all the important points on our whole Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico frontier will not exceed the amount expended on the fortifications of Paris.

In this connection one most important facility in the defence of the country is not to be overlooked; it is the almost instantaneous rapidity with which the soldiers of the army, and any number of the militia corps, may be brought to any point where a hostile attack may at any time be made or threatened.

And this extension of territory, embraced within the United States; increase of its population, commerce and manufactures; development of its resources by canals and railroads, and rapidity of inter-communication by innumerable steamboats and telegraphs, has been accomplished without overthrow of or danger to the public liberties, by any assumption of military power; and, indeed, without any permanent increase of the army, except for the purpose of frontier defence, and of affording a slight guard to the public property; or of the navy, any further than to assure the navigator that, in whatsoever sea he shall sail his ship, he is protected by the stars and stripes of his country.

All this has been done without the shedding of a drop of blood, for treason or rebellion. All this, while systems of popular representation have regularly been supported in the State Governments and in the General Government; all this, while laws, national and state, of such a character have been passed, and had been so wisely administered, that I may stand up here to day and declare, as I do declare, in the face of all the intelligent of the age, that for the period which has elapsed, from the day that Washington laid the foundation of this Capitol to the present time, there has been no country upon earth in which life, liberty, and property have been more amply and steadily secured, or more freely enjoyed, than in these United States of America.

Who does not admit that this unparalleled growth of prosperity and renown is the result, under Providence, of the Union of these States, under a general Constitution, which guarantees to each State a republican form of Government, and to every man the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, free from civil tyranny or ecclesiastical domination?

To bring home this idea to the present occasion, who does not feel that, when President Washington laid his hand on the foundation of the first Capitol building, he performed a great work of perpetuation of the Union and the Constitution? Who does not feel that this seat of the General Government, healthful in its situation, central in its position, near the mountains from whence gush springs of wonderful virtue, teeming with Nature's richest products, and yet not far from the bays and the great estuaries of the sea, easily accessible and generally agreeable in climate and association, does give strength to the Union of these States; that this city, bearing an immortal name, with its broad streets and avenues, its public squares and magnificent edifices of the General Government, erected for the purposes of carrying on within them the important business of the several Departments; for the reception of curious inventions, the preservation of the records of American learning and genius; of extensive collections of the products of nature and art, brought hither for study and comparison from all parts of the world; adorned with numerous churches, and sprinkled over, I am happy to say, with many public schools, where all children of the city, without distinction, are provided with the means of obtaining a good education; where there are academies and colleges, professional schools and public libraries, should continue to receive, as it has heretofore received, the fostering care of Congress, and should be regarded as the seat of the National Government. Here, too, a citizen of the great republic of letters, a republic which knows not the metres and bounds of political geography, has indicated prophetically his conviction that America is to exercise a wide and powerful influence in the intellectual world, and therefore has founded in this city, as a commanding position in the field of science and literature, and has placed under the guardianship of the Government, an institution for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men.

With each succeeding year new interest is added to the spot; it becomes connected with all the historical associations of our country, with her statesmen and her orators, and, alas! its cemetery is annually enriched with the ashes of her chosen sons.

Before us is the broad and beautiful river, separating two of the original thirteen States, and which a late President, a man of determined purpose and inflexible will, but patriotic heart, desired to span with arches of ever-enduring granite, symbolical of the firmly cemented union of the North and the South. That President was Gen. Jackson.

On its banks repose the ashes of the Father of this Country, and at our side, by a singular felicity of position, overlooking the city which he designed, and which bears his name, rises to his memory the marble column, sublime in its simple grandeur, and fitly intended to reach a loftier height than any similar structure on the surface of the whole earth.

Let the voice offerings of his grateful countrymen be freely contributed to carry

higher and still higher this monument. May I say, on another occasion, "Let rise; let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit!"

Fellow-citizens, what contemplations are awakened in our minds as we assemble here to re-erect a scene like that performed by Washington! Methinks I see his venerable form now before me, as presented in the glorious statue by Houdon, now in the capital of Virginia. He is dignified and grave; but concern and anxiety seem to soften the lineaments of his countenance. The Government over which he presides is yet in the crisis of experiment. Not free from troubles at home, he sees the world in commotion and in arms all around him. He sees that imposing foreign Powers are half disposed to try the strength of the recently established American Government. We perceive that mighty thoughts, mingled with fears as well as with hopes, are struggling within him. He heads a short procession over these then naked fields; he crosses yonder stream on a fallen tree; he ascends to the top of this eminence, whose original oaks of the forest stand as thick around him as if the spot had been devoted to Druidical worship, and here he performs the appointed duty of the day.

And now, fellow-citizens, if this vision were a reality; if Washington actually were now amongst us, and if he could draw around him the shades of the great public men of his own days, patriots and warriors, orators and statesmen, and were to address us in their presence, would he not say to us, "Ye men of this generation, I rejoice and thank God for being able to see that our labors and toils and sacrifices were not in vain. You are prosperous, you are happy, you are grateful; the fire of liberty burns brightly and steadily in your hearts, while duty and the law restrain it from bursting forth in wild and destructive conflagration. Cherish liberty, as you love it; cherish its securities, as you wish to preserve it. Maintain the Constitution which we labored so painfully to establish, and which has been to you such a source of inestimable blessings. Preserve the union of the States, cemented as it was by our prayers, our tears, and our blood. Be true to God, to your country, and to your duty. So shall the whole Eastern World follow the morning sun to contemplate you as a nation; so shall all succeeding generations honor you, as they honor us; and so shall that Almighty Power which so graciously protected us, and which now protects you, shower its ever-lasting blessings upon you and your posterity."

Great father of your country! we heed your words; we feel their force as if you now uttered them with lips of flesh and blood. Your example teaches us; your affectionate addresses teach us; your public life teaches us your sense of the value of the blessings of the Union. These blessings our fathers have tasted, and we have tasted, and still taste. Nor do we intend that those who come after us shall be denied the same high fruition. Our honor as well as our happiness is concerned. We cannot, we dare not, we will not betray our sacred trust. We will not flinch from posterity the treasure placed in our hands to be transmitted to other generations. The bow that gilds the clouds in the heavens, the pillars that uphold the firmament, may disappear and fall away in the hour appointed by the will of God; but until that day comes, or so long as our lives may last, no ruthless hand shall undermine that bright arch of Union and Liberty which spans the continent from Washington to California.

Fellow-citizens we must sometimes be tolerant to folly, and patient at the sight of the extreme waywardness of men; but I confess that when I reflect on the renown of our past history, on our present prosperity and greatness, and on what the future hath yet to unfold; and when I see that there are men who can find in all this nothing good, nothing valuable, nothing truly glorious, I feel that all their reason has fled away from them, and left the entire control over their judgment and their actions to insane folly and fanaticism; and, more than all, fellow-citizens, if the purposes of fanatics and disunionists should be accomplished, the patriotic and intelligent of our generation would seek to hide themselves from the scorn of the world, and go about to find dishonorable graves.

Fellow-citizens, take courage; be of good cheer. We shall come to no such ignominious end. We shall live, and not die. During the period allotted to our several lives we shall continue to rejoice in the return of this Anniversary. The ill-omened sounds of fanaticism will be hushed; the ghastly spectres of Secession and Disunion will disappear, and the enemies of united constitutional liberty, if their hatred cannot be appeased, may prepare to see their eyeballs as they behold the steady flight of the American Eagle, on its burnished wings, for years and years to come.

President Fillmore, it is your singularly good fortune to perform an act such as that which the earliest of your predecessors performed fifty-eight years ago. You stand where he stood; you lay your hand on the corner-stone of a building designed greatly to extend that whose corner-stone he laid. Changed, changed is every thing around. The same sun, indeed, shone upon his head which now shines upon yours. The same broad river rolled at his feet, and bathes his last resting place, that now rolls at yours. But the site of this city was then mainly an open field. Streets and avenues have since been laid out and completed, squares and public grounds enclosed and ornamented, until the city which bears his name, although comparatively inconsiderable in numbers

and wealth, has become quite fit to be the seat of government of a great and united people.

Sir, may the consequences of the duty which you perform on this auspicious day equal those which flowed from his act. Nor this only; may the principles of your administration, and the wisdom of your political conduct, be such as that the world of the present day and all history hereafter, may be at no loss to perceive what example you have made you study.

Fellow-citizens, I now bring this address to a close, by expressing to you, in the words of the great Roman orator, the deepest wish of my heart, and which I know deeply dwells in the hearts of all who hear me: "Duo modo haec opto; unum, ut MORIENS POPULUM ROMANUM LIBERUM RELINQUAM; hoc mihi majus diis immortalibus dari nihil potest: alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de republica quisque meratur."

And now, fellow-citizens, with hearts void of hatred, envy, and malice towards our own countrymen, or any of them, or towards the subjects or citizens of other Governments, or towards any member of the great family of man; but exulting, nevertheless, in our own peace, security, and happiness, in the grateful remembrance of the past, and the glorious hopes of the future, let us return to our homes, and with all humility and devotion offer our thanks to the Father of all our mercies, political, social, and religious.

From the Raleigh Register.

HON. WILLIAM A. GRAHAM.

This distinguished gentleman arrived in this City on Friday last, en route for Washington, from his residence in Hillsborough. He received, on Saturday, the visits of his numerous friends, and left on Monday morning for the seat of Government. The subjoined Correspondence has been handed us for publication. The admirable letter of Gov. Graham will commend itself to every true-hearted man as an able and patriotic defence of the Compromise and the Union.

Raleigh, July 26, 1851.

Hon. William A. Graham.

DEAR SIR: On behalf of your numerous friends in this City, we greet your arrival among us with sincere pleasure.

Having resided here for four years as the Chief Magistrate of our State, we can bear high and faithful testimony to your eminent social worth, as well as to your exalted political virtues.

As the Head of a most important and interesting department of the National Government, we feel gratified by the ability and impartiality with which it has been administered by you. And, especially, do we admire the unflinching zeal, and the efficient labor, and the enlightened talent, with which you have defended the great and noble cause of the Constitution and the Union.

We have the honor to invite you to partake of a Public Dinner, at such time as will suit your convenience.

With sentiments of high esteem, Your ob't. serv't.

- W. D. HAYWOOD,
- RICH'D. HINES,
- JAS. IRDELL,
- CHAS. MANLY,
- J. H. BRAN,
- C. L. HINTON,
- H. W. MILLER,
- E. B. FREEMAN,
- H. W. HUSTED,
- SEATON GALES,
- CHAS. E. JOHNSTON,
- B. F. MOORE,
- J. F. TAYLOR,
- G. B. ROOT,
- GEO. LITTLE.

Raleigh, July 26th, 1851.

GENTLEMEN: I deeply regret the necessity of pursuing my journey, on my return to Washington, with all convenient despatch, denies me the pleasure of accepting your very kind and obliging invitation, in behalf of my friends in Raleigh, to a public dinner. However, beg those, by whom it is tendered, to be assured, that I received it, as a new manifestation of their friendly regard, and of the hospitality of a community towards which I shall ever cherish grateful recollection, not merely on account of the kind offices of good neighborhood, experienced during my residence among them, but of a social intercourse, which dates back almost to my boyhood, and enrols among the citizens of Raleigh many of my most esteemed and trusted friends. To retain their good opinion will be to me, always, among the comforts of life, as well as an assurance, that whatever my fortune may bestow, has been obtained by no derogatory or unworthy means.

You have been pleased, Gentlemen, to refer, in terms more complimentary than deserved, to my humble services, in the administration of a department of the Government, and in the cause of the Constitution and the Union. Called suddenly and unexpectedly, from the retirement of private life, to an important and responsible trust, at a time of much excitement to accept a distinction, which I conceived to be tendered in my person, to the steadfast and loyal character of my native State, rather than to the qualifications of the individual. And if there has been anything in the manner of discharging the duties of my post, which is at all worthy of the commendation in which you indulge, it is attributable mainly to the lessons learned in her schools, and some little experience in the conduct of her affairs.

My leisure will not allow such a presentation of my views on the present state of the country, as would be agreeable to me, were it in my power to meet you as proposed by your invitation. I cannot, however, forbear to say, that in

my opinion, the settlement of the vexed questions arising out of the acquisition of territory from Mexico, and the relations between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, commonly called the compromise acts of 1850, ought to be regarded in all sections as a final adjustment; as upon its faithful observance must mainly depend the peace and quiet of the country. Whilst it has not effected every thing which our own section might have insisted on or desired, it still, in my judgment, places our peculiar interests under a secure protection than they have enjoyed for the last twenty years. Not to mention the rejection of the Wilmot proviso from the Territorial bills of Utah and New Mexico, by a decisive vote of the House of Representatives, after the long protracted contest, year after year, upon Abolition petitions, it was an acquisition of no trifling importance to obtain such an enactment as the Fugitive slave law. True, it does nothing more than enforce the covenant of the constitution. But it is a Legislative acknowledgement of our rights and the provision of a sanction for their observance, such as I fear could not have been procured for many years preceding.

But this is but a part of the benefit. The Judiciary of the United States sustains this law in spirit and intent. The Justices and Judges both of the higher and inferior courts, have every where met the responsibilities imposed upon them by it, in a manner, and with an ability, learning and fortitude, worthy of the disciples and successors of John Marshall. They have not only maintained it in execution, but vindicated it in elaborate charges to the juries, which they have caused to be published for general information. We are a people of precedents, and of habitual reverence for the opinions of the Judiciary, under the high sanctions of official oaths. These Judicial addresses will do far more to correct vitiated public opinion at the North, than all the arguments of statesmen or politicians on the floor of Congress.

Nor is this all. The executive of the United States stands ready, in every case legally requiring it, to bring the military power to the aid of the civil officer, in the execution of this Law. And here, I shall not be restrained by any apprehension of being thought guilty of adulation by the censorious few, from doing an act of justice to the Chief Magistrate of a nation, in bearing my testimony to the "clearness in his great office," with which he has trodden the path of duty, in regard to this statute, without usurpation, ostentation or evasion, without vanity, fear or reproach. Such concurrent action on the part of every department of the Federal Government not only gives us the protection of a public authority, but cannot but have a salutary effect in bringing back the people of the non-slaveholding States to a sense of their obligations under the constitution, and convince those who are sincere, that instead of conscience requiring their aid in the escape of the slave, or passive indifference in regard to him, it demands that they shall give their assistance in all proper cases for his recapture and surrender. Need I add, that a large part of the press, the pulpit and the public men of the North, at the head of whom stands the great expounder of the constitution, are also on our side in the contest.

While these good influences are at work on our behalf in the non-slaveholding States, and the Government throws over us the shield of its protection, in maintaining the compromise, it is with unfeigned regret, that I perceive in our own section of the country, some who, while professing a willingness to abide by it, disparage it in such terms as to persuade all others not to do so; others who regard it as no effect, and are ready to renege the whole subject of slavery, *ad infinitum*; while others denounce it as a most intolerable grievance, making a real *casus belli*, and justifying a Revolution of the Government, under the name of secession.

I cannot now discuss these various positions. But it cannot escape observation, that the advocates of all three of them are most anxious to obtain a recognition of the doctrine that a state may at pleasure secede from the Union, and that after such declaration of secession, there is no longer any power, in the Government of the United States, to enforce the laws of the United States within our limits. Their anxiety and zeal for this doctrine in theory, places the two classes of persons first adverted to in the same category with the practical secessionist. If the fact be undeniable, that one who for immediate secession, and another solicited to have his right recognized to do so with impunity, it is difficult to perceive how he could more effectually aid and encourage him to that fatal result.

Nor can I dwell on the doctrine of secession further than to say, that it is utterly inconsistent with and repugnant to the constitution of the United States; and that it was fully discussed and in my opinion refuted along with nullification in the winter, 1832-33.

I counsel no abatement of vigilance over the true rights of the South, and shall be the last to surrender the right of Revolution, should aggressions and grievances arise to justify it. I trust, however, that if such a state of things shall ever occur, we shall make an out and out Revolution, which shall leave no room for doubt, and entrap no man's conscience. In the meantime, by faithfully adhering to the terms of adjustment agreed on in the compromise acts by the exertions and sacrifices of patriots of both the great parties which have divided the country, we shall entitle ourselves to have them in like manner observed and kept on the part of our Northern brethren, and in the event of a last appeal after a failure in our just

expectations, we would stand justified in ourselves, and before the judgment of mankind. I finally hope, however, that there is yet patriotism enough in all sections to preserve our Union in its spirit, and transmit the blessings of a constitution to the latest posterity.

I am, Gentlemen, with sincere respect, your ob't. serv't.

WM. A. GRAHAM.

Memrs. Haywood, and others, committee.

MR. VENABLE A DISUNIONIST.

The game which the secession Candidates for Congress in this State have been playing, is beginning to develop itself more clearly, as the election approaches. They well know that South Carolina is resolved upon the desperate alternative of dissolving the Union, if possible, yet their whole conduct has tended to encourage that State, regardless of the disastrous effects upon the whole South. We have it from good authority, that in May last, when Mr. Venable spoke in Pittsburgh, the following questions were asked him by John H. Haughton, Esq., in his reply:

"1st. Do you not think that every friend of the Country should use his utmost exertions to maintain and preserve the whole series of compromise measures, in their spirit and integrity?"

"2nd. If elected to Congress, and South Carolina should openly resist the laws of the Union, where will you stand—will you be found by the side of South Carolina, or the Union, in your votes?"

"To the first question he gave no answer. He refused to give any. To the second he replied that he did not agree with Rhetts & Co., but with Cheves & Butler. This then is the position of Mr. Venable. It is evident, that if he is returned to Congress, he will do all in his power to open the slavery agitation again, by voting to disturb that adjustment of it, which was secured by the co-operation of the patriotic men of both parties. In addition to this, he is ready to follow in the lead of Cheves and Butler, of South Carolina, who, although opposed to the secession of that State, are doing all in their power to get the other Southern States to join her, and then they are for seceding! With them secession is only a question of time. It is impolitic for South Carolina to go off alone, but let us do all we can to persuade North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, &c., to go with us, and then we will strike the blow!" This is what they declare. These are Mr. Venable's leaders! These he is willing to follow! Yet he has the assurance to tell the people of his district that he is no Disunionist! Do they believe him?

Standard.

In less than fifteen years—perhaps in ten—the free States will increase to such an extent, that, with the sympathies and assistance of such States as Delaware, Kentucky and Maryland, they will be able to propose amendments to the Constitution and pass them, making it constitutional for Congress to exercise jurisdiction and control over slavery in the States.

Standard.

Now, what provision does the Constitution make for its amendment? Here is the Article, (fifth):

"The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to the Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions of three fourths thereof, &c."

There are now fifteen Slave States and sixteen free States. To procure even a proposal by Congress of amendments to the Constitution, injurious to the slave interest, there must be added fourteen additional free States to the Union! Does any man—does even the Editor of the Standard—believe this can be done in ten—or fifteen—or even twenty-five years? After amendments are proposed, by a concurrence of two thirds of the Senate, with two thirds of the House, they would have to be sanctioned by three fourths of the States! This would require an addition of TWENTY-NINE free States! Can this be done in ten, or fifteen, or even fifty years? Where are they to come from, unless the Editor's rash spirit of conquest and annexation should again obtain the ascendancy in the National Council? But will not the slave States increase in number during this period? Where are the four slave States yet to be carved out of Texas? Under the Compromise, New Mexico is open to slavery if her climate will suit it—and California has a right to change her Constitution and adopt slavery. Amend the Constitution in ten or fifteen years, so as to give Congress the power to control slavery in the States! Why, the Editor must be crazy on this subject! Does he expect in dupe or frighten the People by such false statements? Does he wish to add another leaf to the laurel crown which he has already won as an alarmist and agitator? We again appeal to the voters of North Carolina to say whether they will suffer themselves to be led blindfold into the pit of Disunion by a print that would venture such statements, so full of untruth and misrepresentations!

Register.

New Orleans, July 24.

Important from Texas—Fugitive Slave Trouble.—By an arrival at this port, we have received advices from Texas to the 18th of July.

Great excitement prevailed on the Rio Grande in consequence of the Mexicans refusing to deliver up a runaway slave.—An armed party of Texans threatened to capture President. It is said that there are two thousand fugitive slaves in Mexico.