## REMARKS OF MR. HAUGHTON,

Delivered in the Senate, on Secession, &c.

But the Senator says that South Carolina nullification "has very properly been pronounced by the whole country, an aboutday." Why? Let the gentleman answer! Hear him: "Il I have been able to understand what South Carolina unfortunately contended for twenty years ago, it was this; she asserted that whilst a meraber of the Union, she had a Constitutional right in her sovereign capacity to nullify an act of Congress, or in other words to decide for herself whether such an act should be operative upon any of her citizens."

Now. Mr. Speaker, where is the difference between nullification which the Honorable gentleman very properly pronunces an absurdity, and secession? Is not each theory based upon the idea that a State has a right to

decide for herself?" Let me suppose a case. Congress declares War; New York deems the act an oppressive exercise of power; she secedes Pennsylvania thinks it unconstitutional under the circumstances, (for States as well as individuals differ in their construction of the Constitution, as the former Tariff excitement proves.) She nullifies. Now under such circumstances are the laws more or less operative upon the citizens of one State than another? If the people of Pennsylvania could be punished for resistance to the laws; could not those of New York likewise? The citizens of each would have precisely the same plea, that

their State had decided for herself! If. Mr. Speaker, the reserved rights of the States confer apon them the right to prescribe "mode and measure of redress," whenever they consider themselves aggrieved. temakes the reserved rights paramount to the Constitution itself, and establishes a principle at war with the spirit of all written argreements whatever, that more is understood than expressed in the instrument. Take the case of Vermont. She has taken a stand against the Fugitive Slave law. Has she a right to nullify? no, the gentleman will say not. Has she a right to secede?-Now, here is a law that is confessedly constitutional, one passed for the preservation peculiarly of Southern rights. lask, emphatically ask, has any State the right in any way to oppose its execution? Will any Southern man say Vermont has this right? if she has, then is the Union Itruly a "rope of sand." It a State can in any manner oppose the execution of "the laws passed in pursuance of the Constitution," then is that instrument which we all have been taught to regard as the master piece of human

wisdom, "an absurdity!" Did the States give up none of their rights of independent sovereignty? What says Gen. Washington, in his letter to the States, urging the adoption of the Constitution, dated 17th September 1787. "It is obviously impracticable said he, in the Federal Government of these States, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all"

I was surprised, when the Senator quoted Mr. Webster as authority for his doctrine of Secession. What sir! Daniel Webster a Secessionist!! The great champion of the Constitution, its greatest enemy!! He, who with unsurpassed, are, with unequalled ability, has illustrated expounded and defended it, he a Secessionist. (Here Mr. Shepard interfered and stated that he had not said Mr. Webster was a Secessionist, but that that doctrine might be fairly deduced from his reasoning in reply to Mr. Hayne, and that, like an ingenious lawyer, he had explain ed it away, in his reply to Mr. Calboun ) Mr. Haughton resumed; I insist, Mr. Speaker, that this doctrine cannot by any fair interpretation of Mr. Webster's language be deduced; on the contrary, it is evident that Mr. Webster is speaking of the natural right of revolution, and if the Senator had taken the trouble to read only one single sentence farther he would have seen that that was his meaning. He says, in the very next sentence to the last one quoted by the Senator, " But I do not understand the doctrine now contended for to be that which, for the sake of distinctness, we may call the right of revolution. I understand the gentleman (Mr. Hayne) to maintain that without revolution, without civil commetion, without rebellion, a remedy for supposed abuse and transgression of the powers of the General Government lies in a direct appeal to the interference of State Government. If the gentleman had intended no more than to assert the right of revolution, for justifiable cause, he would have said only what all agree to. But I cannot conceive that there can be a middle course between submission to the laws, when regularly pronounced Constitutional, on the one hand, and open resistance, which is revolution or rebellion, on the other. I admit that there is an ultimate vio lent remedy, above the Constitution, and in defiance of the Constitution, which may be resorted to, when a revolution is to be justified."

The Senator has also called to his aid, the authority of Edward Livingston, but in this an examination into his argument will show the gentlemen is equally unfortunate. After using the language quoted by the gentleman, to wit : that "if the act be one of those few which, in its opinion, cannot be submitted to the Supreme Court and be one that will, in the opinion of the State, justify the risk of a withdrawal from the Union, that this last extreme remedy may at once be resorted to." Mr Living. stor in the very next sentence says: "That the right of resistance to the operation of any act of Congress in the extreme cases above alluded to, is not a right derived from the Constitution, but can be justified only on the sup position that the Constitution has been broken and the State absolved from its obligation; and that whenever resorted to, it must be at the risk of all the penalties attached to an unsuccessful resistance to established authority.

That the exercise of the powers last mentioned, would introduce a feature in our Government, not expressed in the Constitution, not implied from any right of sovereignty reserved to the States, not suspected to exist by the friends or enemies of the Constitution, when it was framed or adopted, not warranted by practice or contemporane ous expositions nor implied by the true construction of the Virginia resolutions of '98.

That the introduction of this feature in our government would totally change its nature, make it inefficient, invite dissension, and end, at no distant period, in separaion; and that, if it had been proposed in the form of an explicit provision in the Constitution, it would have been unanimously rejected, both in the Convention that framed that instrument, and in those which adopted it."

That the alledged right of a State to put a veto on the execution of a law of the United States, which such State may declare to be unconstitutional, attended (as, if it exist, it must be) with a correlative obligation on the part of the general government, to retrain from executing it; and the further alleged obligation on the part of that government, to submit the question to the States, by proposing amendments, are not given by the Constitution, nor do they grow out of any of the reserved powers.'

Now, it will appear from these extracts, that Mr. Livingston is speaking, like Mr. Webster, of the "extreme remedy" of revolution ; else, why speak of the States, taking the chances of the penalties that may attach to her act ? And why speak of a Constitutional as an extreme remedy? Why, sir, if secession be a Constitutional rem edy, in the case of Vermont, for example, should she think proper to secode, the Constitution and laws in pursuance thereof, (fugitive slave law, for instance.) can no longer operate within her limits and upon her citizens. but, on The contrary, the executive oath to support the Constitution forbids the general government from interfering with her, and thus the Constitution, which was framed to form a more perfect Union, protects and defends a State out of the Union.

The advocates of this theory contend, Mr. Speaker, that secession is a peaceful remedy, and peaceful, because Constitutional. South Carolina has herself furnished a complete retutation in 1833, and now, to her own theory,-Look at her course in 1833. She was then preparing for

a violent cullision with the General Government ; then citizens while in the Union to resist she was asserting the right of nullification; now that of them? Does not every State, while in secession. Is she not, at this moment, in the language of the Union, owe allegiance herself to the a distinguished statesman. " preparing the hearts of her Constitution and laws in pursuance tem, on the part of the Federal Government, people for war." Yes, sir, drilling and equipping her thereof, and can she require resistance which it was believed would promote the military, providing munitions of war, and for what?— where she has promised obedience?

Simply to exercise a peaceful and Constitutional remedy! Sir, the Senator (Mr. Shepard) him-Simply to exercise a peaceful and Constitutional remedy ! No. sir, no! South Carolina don't believe her own doc- selt, as before shewn, says that nullifi-

Mr. Speaker, reviewing the history of the States of is it an absurdity? because, to use the North and South Carolina, I have been forcibly struck gentleman's own language, on the 7th with some remarkable contrasts in their course. North page of his speech it "would be redu-Carolina was the first State to declare her independence cingthe Government to the old Confedeof the mother country, and that more than a year in ad racy." Now, sir, if the States, while vance of the other States, and when it was proposed in in the Union, cannot resist or oppose South. the Congress of 1776, on the 1st day of July, that a gen- the laws, so neither can they require eral Declaration of Independence should be adopted, or authorise one or more of the citizens true policy of the slave holding states hence- nified by the importance of the crisis; and North Carolina eagerly embraced it. while South Caro to resist or oppose them.—Why, sir, forth, to oppose any and all increase in the I should approach the fearful task assigned deposite act of Congress, the most lina refused to join the other States in Congress, Delaware you nor I, nor any Senator on this and Pennsylvania refusing with her. At last, on the 4th floor, could take a seat, till first taking of the same month, when the other two States gave in, an oath to support the Constitution of she yielded a reluctant assent, as her delegation declared, the United States and then the Consti for the sake of unanimity, not because they thought the tution of the State, not inconsistent with

occasion justified the act. Again, when the Constitution was referred to the sev- | Could any of us have become members eral States for ratification. North Carolina in her Con- of this Senate by simply swearing to vention at Hillsboro', after discussing thoroughly and support the Constitution of the State? ably the various provisions of the United States Consti- And what is this oath, but the oath of tution, finally by a large majority, consisting of 100 allegiance? If in matters touching members, rejected it, and proposed certain amendments, the authority of the General Govern some of the most important of which were ultimately a ment, our allegiance is primarily as follows: dopted, and now form part of the amendments of the Con | and alone due to NorthCarolina; this stitution, and even those members of her Convention who outh is not only an absurdity, but favored the adoption of the Constitution, insisted there it is profanity, why, sir, are we olutions. It was not ins original intention vided for in a manner just and satisfactory to should be amendments, but that they might be proposed so studious in all the charters we grant to to have said any thing on the slavery ques- all the States. Subsequently, this question together with its ratification. On the contrary, South companies, to insert the clause, that they tion. But he feared the L gislature had deeply agitated the country, and the South Carolina readily adopted the Constitution, and so far as shall pass no by-law inconsistent with the been lulled into a false security by the ap- made concessions to the North and submit-I am aware, proposed no amendments, and when General Sumpter proposed an adjournment of the Convention of that State to give time for further reflection and deliberation, his proposition was rejected by a very large majority, and the Constitution adopted by a vote of 140 for, to 73 against it.

Thus it appears, Mr. Speaker, that North Carolina was the first State to resist the oppression of the mother country, ready to unite with her sisters in throwing off the yoke of British thraldom; and after her liberties had been secured, still true to her history, true to the interests of I shall be a Virginian; in the se of a general the scene of life? We have no hopes in the of all the advantages under this compromise. her citizens, zealous of their rights, and determined to maintain and preserve them-we find her, after full and mature deliberation, rejecting the proposed Constitution because in her opinion popular rights were not sufficient ly secured, and proposing and ultimately succeeding in obtaining important amendments to that instrument and refusing to come into the Union by adopting and ratify ing the Constitution, until these important advantages to her citizens were gained. Having been thus guarded in adopting the Constitution, (the last State but one to ratify it.) is it remarkable, Mr. Speaker, that our good Old North State should be careful how she loses or in any manner impairs the inestimable blessings of Constitution | sovereign. The allegrance of their citizens by the committee on Slavery. It had been al liberty, which she has been so assiduous to secure? Is was transferred, in the first instance, to the said that non-intercourse would be unpopuit wonderful that she shall now be as slow to abandon as Government of the United States, they be- lar at home. Suppose it were so, he she was to adopt the Constitution? That, as she was before South Carolina, in asserting the rights of her citizens, she will be behind her in surrendering them, and that as her Constitution and laws show a greater regard for the liberty and happiness, and independence of her people, or a like regard to those great interests, will re strain her from following South Carolina in her crusade against the Constitution and the Union!

And yet, sir, nothwithstanding North Carolina's early by another. What shows conclusively that people; and yet it would be the most sure devotion to liberty, not withstanding the care she took to the States cannot be said to have reserved and efficient means of bringing the North to secure that liberty in the adoption of the Constitution. undivided sovereignty, is, that they expr. ss- its senses. Every merchant and trader who and not withstanding South Carolina's reluctance to follow the example of her sister in resisting the oppressions of the mother country, and notwithstanding her engerness to come into this Union, by adopting the Constitution, she now affects to look down upon North Carolina with disdain, because she is not eager to quit that Union!

Sir, in view of the past history and present position of North Carolina, who is not ready to exclaim, in the language of one of her most gifted sons,

" Carolina, Carolina, Heaven's blessings atttend her! While we live, we will cherish, protect and detend her, Though the scorner may sneer at, and wittings defame her, Our hearts swell with gladness, whenever we name her!"

There is another subject which has been introduced by the Hon. Senator, and by the minority of the Committee, to which I desire to invite the attention of the Senate for a short time. I allude to the question of allegiance .-The minority of the Committee assert, that, "should the State of North Carolina admit, that she has no right under any circumstances to withdraw from the Union, but must rely for protection upon what has been called her natural rights, and resort to rebellion or insurrection, she releases thereby her own citizens from all allegiance to obey her commands." Sir, this I deny, and will endeavor to demonstrate its fallacy. The idea is, that by secession, a State takes with her all her sovereignty; by revolution she surrenders all. Where then are our natural rights? Gone with our political and unless therefore a State can get out of the Union by force of the talismanic word se cession, the natural rights of her people are: but to be hung as rebels and traitors! To such straits does a talse theory earry its friends! Why, sir. does not every man know, that although we were colonies of Great Britain, at the commencement of the Revolutionary War, emphat ically a Revolutionary struggle, yet our officers and soldiers, when taken captive by British arms, were not treated as rebels and traitors, but as prisoners of War; and can it be possible that the General Government can Sir, it is my deliberate opinion, that if we pass exercise a right towards a State that may be forced to revolt, which England had not, and dured not exercise towards her colonies? Were the colonies sovereign States ? The States, the advocates of secession maintain, are sovereign, and yet they may not, and cannot resist, as a sovereign State, but may withdraw as one. Sir, this doctrine is at war with the very idea of State sovereignty. to form a Southern Confederacy, and invites us to for the veriest consolidationist that has ever lived, never join her. She is making extensive military precontended that the States had surrendered all their sovereignty, and that the people of the several States had no political rights except under the Constitution of the United States. Have the States, as such, no power to resist un in her warfare against the Union; and if they will constitutional and oppressive laws by revolution? Sir, do so, she most assuredly will break up this Union. this to my mind is, an alarming doctrine, for it amounts But if, as I hope will be the case, the other States to this, that secession is the only safe mode for a State to assert her rights, and that one which nine tenths of the people deny.

No, sir, whenever a State sees proper to resist by resistance and bloodshed, the action of the General Govern ment, and thereby severs the bonds that bind her to the resolution declaring uncompromising hostility to other States of the Union, she thereby takes back all her delegated nowers: for when disunion comes, the alledelegated powers; for when disunion comes, the allegiance of the citizens of the several States must be the

manufactures, so long as the agitation of Slavery which are such excellent counterfeits that of the many objects of public improvement which ite, are questions of Constitutional reports

the ordinary tests with a request that our the request that the requ same, by whatever name the act is called. Now, sir, I answer this doctrine of the minority report, which is signed by the Senator, by the speech of the Senator. At the bottom of the 11th page of his speech, he employs this language. "It the contract (meaning the Constitution) the repeal or essential modification of the Fugitive is violated or destroyed, the parties relapse back to their original position and inherent rights."

· But the Senator attacks the position of one of the distinguished Senators from this State. Mr. Budger, in which he speaks of his allegiance to the United States. Now, as I understand that Senator, I am prepared to sustain his position, and that, as I will presently shew, by the Senator (Mr. Shepard) himself. I understand Mr. Badger to
mean simply this, that as regards the Constitution and
the laws passed in pursuance thereof, his allegiance was
due to the General Government. If this be not the case,
what becomes of that provision which declares that the
Constitution and laws passed in pursuance thereof, and it will be declares that the
Constitution and laws passed in pursuance thereof, shall
be the Supreme law of the land. How can they be supreme, if any and every State has the right to require her

The pole not the legislature of North Carolina, to
decide as to "the mode and measure of redress,"
and it will be the duty of the Legislature to take
made as to "the mode and measure of redress,"
and it will be the duty of the Legislature to take
mean simply this, that as regards the Constitution and
the laws passed in pursuance thereof, his allegiance was
what becomes of that provision which declares that the
constitution and laws passed in pursuance thereof, shall
be the Supreme law of the land. How can they be supreme, if any and every State has the right to require her

The pole not the legislature of North Carolina, to
decide as to "the mode and measure of redress,"
"Zeb," said a chap to his chum the other day,
seems to me you didn't stay long at Squire Folis the mode and measure of redress,"

"Zeb," said a chap to his chum the other day,
seems to me you didn't stay long at Squire Folis the mode and measure of redress,"
"Zeb," said a chap to his chum the other day,
seems to me you didn't stay long at Squire Folis the mode and one objects of
the the door, and justiles and this time in embarking in other and new objects
of improvement, and it so, to what extent, is a
question which is submitted to the produce and
this time in embarking in other day,
seems to me you didn't stay long at Squire Folsaid on the folion,
"A No. 9 Fagetterille
this time in done the testing in this time in embarking in other and new objects
of th

cation is an absordity. Now, sir, why the Constitution of the United States.

a nation, not members of a league, they sur- all their great leading interests. rendered many of their essential parts of sov- This could be done in part by congressionereignty. The right to make treaties, de- al legis ation on the tariff, and such is the obclare war, lay taxes, exercise exclusive ju- ject of his resolutions; to this policy there dicial and legistative powers, were all of them could be no serious objection. But Mr. B. functions of sovereign power. The States himself went further and was for non-in-erthen for all these purposes, were no longer course by this Legislature, as recommended came American citizens and owed obe- ly believed that the impending danger was dience to the Constitution and laws of the such as to require us all to make sacrifices to United States, and to laws made in confor- avert it, to do our duty and risk consemity with the powers it vested in Congress | quences. But he entertained a different o-How then can that State be said to be sov- pinion. He thought a small tax would be ereign and independent, whose citizens owe so equally divided between the Northern obedience to laws not made by it, and whose jobber, the home merchant, and the purchamagistrates are sworn to disregard those laws ser, that in a pecuniary point of view, it when they come in conflict with those passed would never be felt among the mass of our ly ceded the right to purn shtreason not trea- went there, with a copy of the law in his son against their seperate power, but treason hand, would do more practical good than a against the United States. Treason is an host of Union orators or a cargo of congres-

not less sacred because they have for their had no doubt as to its constitutionality. This common interest, made the General Government the deposi ory of these powers."

Mr. Speaker, I regret very much that the minority of the Committee have thought proper to introduce the question about Stute alle- Dev. & Bat's. law.) giance at all, for although I impute no such motive, (as I impeach the motives of no of drawing an unnecessary and odious distinctions between those who vote for, and who conscientiously oppose this resolu tion. Sir, we who oppose this doctrine are not to be held up as traitors. While I conceive it is our bounden duty to do all we building up our interests at home. can consistent with our rights and honor to preserve the Union of these States as guar- the Sena e, he had but little to say. the Old North State shall ever find that her situation in the Union is no longer tolerable consistent with her honor and her duty, then, when the storm comes, we will lash ourselves to the good old ship of State, and our united voice to her shall be, "We will shield thee, and succor thee,

Or perish there too. Sir, the present position of North Carolina is peculiar and commanding; and such as no other State in the South presents, and her course will have a corresponding influence on the destinies of

hand from those of ultraism on the other. Let her beware, therefore, how she suffers herself to be hitched on to the car of South Carolina. these resolutions of the minority and declare for secession, we will do much, very much, to drive course of her Southern sisters. She is at this moparations, and, as I believe, doing all she can, through her influential men, to keep up the excitement of the public mind, hoping, in the mean or rebellion-time, that the other Southern States will join her These re of the South refuse to join her, she will relapse back as she did in 1833.

I concur, Mr. Speaker, in the main, with the resolutions of the majority, except that one which proposes a tax on Northern merchandise. That, think, unconstitutional and mexpedient, and I

I heartily approve of that resolution of the ma jority, which makes it incumbent upon the Goyernor to convene the Legislature in the event of to the spirit of compromise, under which alone the

MR. BARRINGER'S RESOLUTIONS.

WHEREAS, the Southern States of the Union have long acquiesced in a revenue sysprosperity and independence of the country at large; but which was understood all the while, as peculiarly favoring the mining and manufacturing interests of the North. And, sions upon the domestic institutions of the

present rates of duty on foreign imports, be- me with greater reluctance, were it not for yond what may be absolut ly necessary for the fact that I find myself surrounded by the an economical administration of the General Legislative authority of the State, confided

of the foregoing preamble and resolution be gency. transmitted to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, with the request, that they use their best efforts to carry out

the principle herein set forth. In submitting these resolutions, Mr. Barringer enforced their propriety, substantially

offence against sovereignty, and sovereignty sional speeches. Such a law could be as effectually enforced as the act of the last "But the reserved rights of the States are Legislature taxing money at interest. He will appear by various decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, some of them referred to and approved of in a case in our own Court (Wynne vs. Wright 1st

If therefore we wish to perpetuate the Union, we should act. If on the other hand, man,) yet it is calculated to have the effect we believe ha f ot what we hear and see in regard to disunion, it is high time we were preparing for the dreadful alt ruative. Nonntercourse would stop aggress on. If it fail-

In regard to the various resolutions before antieing to us the greatest amount of blessings thought that at least an idle mode of warfare ever vouchsafed by a merciful God; yet if on this momentous question. The huge number now before the Legislature (some 70 odd) made the subject in his eye almost ridiculous. When a member of the other voted,) would produce no effect on the Free- madness and folly have provoked it. States. He was in hopes North Carolina That the rights of the States may be reswould pass no more such resolutions. If she pected, the Constitution preserved, and the moved at all, let her act. But he would de- Union, according to the Constitution, perthis mighty Country. She is the key stone of the fer to the better judgment of Senators and petua ed, is my ardent wish; and the Leg- Are these exciting scenes to be brought near Southern Arch, a sort of wall that separates and concur in the passage of such resolves as islature and the people of the State may rekeeps apart, the waters of abstraction on the one might be thought just and proper. He would ly upon my hearty co-operation in such meaproduce no division in this body.

As to secession, he thought it unconstitu. these desirable objects. tional. And if there was a distinction be-South Carolina out of the Union, and will, by the argue,) for his life he could not see the prac- also, whether the public interest does not Engratung the white basis on Equal Suffer act, have very far committed our own State, to tical difference in their consequences. His require further legislation to more effectually would be an indirect, but a most certain and the her cause and her desting. The future course of idea was, that even if the doctrine of seces- ensure the apprehension and conviction of tual mode of defeating the latter question. South Carolina will depend essentially upon the sion be declared, so attached were the people persons who endeavor to excite slaves to reof North Corolina to the Union, that they bellion or insurrection, or who kidnap or Suffrage, connected with a change of the would never give it up except as a last al- persuade them to leave their owners, and must fail; standing by itself, it must persuade them to leave their owners, and must fail; standing by itself, it must persuade them to leave their owners, and must fail; standing by itself, it must persuade them to leave their owners, and must fail; standing by itself, it must persuade them to leave their owners, and must fail; standing by itself, it must persuade them to leave their owners, and must fail; standing by itself, it must persuade them to leave their owners, and must fail; standing by itself, it must persuade them to leave their owners, and must fail; standing by itself, it must persuade them to leave their owners, and must fail; standing by itself, it must persuade them to leave their owners, and must fail; standing by itself, it must persuade them to leave their owners, and must fail the standing by itself, it must persuade them to leave their owners, and must fail the standing by itself, it must persuade them to leave their owners, and must fail the standing by itself, it must persuade them to leave their owners, and must fail the standing by itself, it must persuade the standing the standing by itself, it must persuade the standing the standing by itself, it must persuade the standing ternative; and when that dread day comes, it will make no difference to them whether their remedy be called secession, revolution

These resolutions (said Mr. B.) are so ramed as to involve no party feelings: if they did not accord with the views of the Senate, he had no disposition to press them His object was to express his own sentiments on this alarming and momentous ques-

our the ordinary tests with acids are of no avail. Senators and Representatives will conform their They are of copper, thickly coated with silver and can only be detected by filing.

THAT CANNON .- We are imformed that a gentleman who lately arrived from Carifornia brought Slave law. Sir, should the North (which I do not believe,) become so reckless to her obligations, brass, the "report" has not yet been made known. There is said to be something remarkable in the Constitution was formed, as to inteffere with that history of that cannon, which we are not at liberlaw which is but an emanation of the Constitu ty now to make public. We may state, however,

Inaugural Address of Gov. Reid.

Delivered before the two Houses of the General Assembly of North Carolina, the 1st day of January, 1851.

Senators and Members

of the House of Commons:

Impressed with a deep sense of gratitude whereas, the advantages accruing to that sec. to my fellow citizens, I enter upon the du- which it is intended. In 1826 tion, by this system, have seemed only to inties of the station to which their kind partisetting apart certain sources of
the disposition, and shillity of the nonality has called me, with the earnest invocamon and convenient Schools and crease the disposition and ability of the non- ality has called me, with the earnest invocaslaveholding States to persevere in their un- tion to Almighty God so to direct my official constitutional, unjust and fanatical aggres- conduct as to promote the welfare, the prosperity, and the happiness of the people of the State. The duties of the Executive, at 1st. Be it therefore Resolved, that it is the all times delicate and responsible, are magto gentlemen whose wisdom and patriotism. 2nd. Be it further Resolved, that a copy I doubt not, will be found equal to the emer-

The misguided fanaticism of Abolitionists at the North threatens the overthrow of the Constitution and a dissolution of the Union. The Slavery question is one of momentous importance to the Southern States of the Confederacy, involving an incalculable amount of property, as well as the domestic Fund should be divided according to follow the lation. Since that time our School well as peace and security of our people. In the lation. Since that time our School large has He commenced by begging the pardon of formation of the federal Constitution the inthe Senate for troubling them with these res- stitution of Slavery was recognized and pro-Constitution of this State or of the United parent calm at the North. That calm is de- ted to the Missouri compromise, with the as-States? Mr. Badger did not mean that in signed, delusive, deceptive. He felt that surance and expectation that this exciting matters purely local, or in those cases where the agitation would go on. The South would element of political stri e was to be forever power had not been delegated to the Gene- ultimately have to repel aggression by action. put to rest. After availing herself of all the ral Government, his allegiance was not due He was for doing it now. He was for the advantages derived under that compromise, in the first instance or exclusively to his own Union and the compromise. He applauded the North urged exerbitant demands, which State but that where his State had transferred the efforts of Mr. Webster, Gen. Cass, Mr. led to the enactment of the series of compropower to the General Government, she had Dickinson and others in the late crisis. But mise measures passed by the present Contransferr d allegiance with it. This was the they had scarcely been able to stem the gress, by which the South lost important, very idea of Gen. Lee, when he said in the swelling tide. What must we expect, when rights by again making concessions to the Virginia Convention, "In all local matters that class of statesmen shall have passed from North. The North, having availed herself nature, I shall not forget that I am an Amer- rising generation in the free States of either does not cease to agitate the subject; and people or politicians. The great masses there now threatens to repeal the only one of the So likewise of Gen. Jackson in his Proc- would have to be ultimately driven into a sense measures which enured to the benefit of the lamation: "The States (says he,) severally of returning justice. The South would have South, accompanied, in many instances, by have not retained their entire sovereignty. to do this by retaliatory measures—a sys. violent threats to disregard the Constitution It has been shown that, in becoming parts of tem which would strike at the prosperity of and the laws, and to farcibly resist their exe-

We have not been indifferent to the en- other, our attention may not be more properly croachments that have been made on our rected to the enlargement of the fund and its in ights, yet we have patiently suffered them per investment, and to the improvement and bei with the hope they would not be again re- regulation of the Schools themselves newed. We now have just cause to fear time past engaged public attention, and it is he that this hope was illusive. North Carolina, lieved that a large majority of the prople deman one of the last States to enter the Confede- this Constitutional reform. The subject embrace racy, yields to none of her sisters in ardent | the plain proposition, whether the right is attachment to the Union. She would re- the Senate shall be extended to such persons r gard its dissolution as an awful calami y, are at present entitled to vote for the House which she would avoid at any sacrifice con-sistent with her rights and her safety. She in choosing both branches of the General Assess which she would avoid at any sacrifice concame into the Union to be governed by the bly. To withhold this invaluable privilege for federal Constitution, and to secure herself those whom it is proposed to place upon lenus against tyranny and oppression; and so long equality at the ballot box, upon the ground that as the Constitution is faithfully adhered to they enjoyed the right they might abuse it is and her rights respected, she will be among unjust reflection upon their virtue and intelligence the last of the States to desert the Union .- and is denying the fundamental principle of But she never gave her consent to enter into which all free governments are based. Thurst a Union which would overthrow the Constitution, violate her dearest rights, and manacle her with the fetters of oppression. To one of the dearest rights of American freemen. such a Union she owes no allegiance. A It is gratifying to know that this question of solemn sense of public duty impels me to tending the right of Suffrage has not arrest declare, that the encroachments of the North landholders against the pon landholders for me on the domestic institutions of the Sonth, have already proceeded to the furthest allowable ple, that both classes are found actively cooper point. Entertaining this opinion, I regard Constitutional reform. Efforts have been ma it as due to candor that we should make that to connect with this question a change in the fact known, that our brethren at the North sis of representation. I do not think that eth may be fully informed that "we know our justice or public policy demands such a change rights, and knowing, dare maintain them"; and that if they proceed in their aggressions, they must expect to meet the consequen-

In view of all the circumstances, I respectfully recommend to the General Assembly to provide-in the event of a coned in this, it would prepare us for the worst tingency arising to justify it-for taking the our representation in the State Legislature, but contingency, by arousing our people and necessary steps to maintain the Constitution ever well intended, as fraught with equal misches of the United States and the rights of this and danger. The federal basis consists of three State; that we may co-operate with such lifths of the slaves added to the whole number other States as may determine to stand by a Union governed by the compromises of the clude the computation of slaves in representation Constitution. Pursuing this course, we shall feel a proud consciousness of the rectitude of our cause, and be justified in the estimation minors; still they are represented. Slaves, a of all impartial minds; and then, if the awful though property, are persons, and subject to in House two years since, he predicted that the calamity must come-which God forbid! islation in that two-fold character. resolutions then passed (and for which he let the consequences fall upon those whose

sures as may tend to the consummation of the peace and friendship which it is so desirable

more especially in cases where such offen- This amendment to the Constitution may be deeper floor flor ders flee to other States.

by the State has ever been regarded as an object of importance worthy of the consideration and the initiatory step, it requires a larger number action of the General Assembly. Cheap transportation could not fail to add to the wealth and tion than to pass the amendment. The Court convenience of all classes of our citizens, and to tional mode of effecting this reform wealers the prosperity of the State The Prosperity of the prosperity of the State. There are various question, while the Legislative mode dies sit objects which claim the consideration of the Legislature. Feeling a deep interest in the prosperity of every part of the State, and believing that the members of the General Assembly, residing as they do in the various countries will be Galler as an isolated question, without being connected will pared to give due consideration to the claims of

The election of Judges and Justices of the election of the electi Thomson's Bank Note Reporter cautions pared to give due consideration to the claims of the public against receiving Spanish silver every pornon of the State, I do not feel myself Peace by the people, and for terms less thanks demand the patronage of the State. In carrying General Assembly, There are other at out a system of Internal Improvements a large expenditure of money is necessarily required, and it is not to be expected that a State can at once embark in all the schemes that are desirable.-Works of this description should be undertaken with due caution in regard to their practicability and the adequacy of the means of the State to complete them. As a general rule, I think the Legislature which authorizes the construction of works of Internal Improvement ought, at the same tion itself, or in any other way interfere with or disregard our rights, the time will have arrived for the prople not the legislature of North Carolina, to ed look out.

and, with it, the prosperity of the State. The

laws in force for carrying out works Improvement already provided lor, an as the Legislature in its wisdom provide for, so far as depends upon Executive, shall be faithfully

In a State like ours, where the rects and governs public affairs, ject of general and paramount therefore the policy of the State prove our system of Commo answer the landable and Counties in proportion to the tion in each, whenever in the on This fund did not sufficiently into operation a system of Comthe State received a considerable together with stocks belonging to the transferred to, or invested for the use erary Fund. The State received from the General Government and al population, and the Assembly transferred these new acquisitions to the la. Fund, expressly stipulated that the the General Assembly." These acrons the General Assembly had, in the opinion of the Legislature, when had the legislature is the legislature of the legislature. increased the fund to justify the room of a system of Common Schools; adia act was accordingly passed. Theact of vided that the nett annual income of the frequently revised and re-enack , but every retaining the principle of distribution acro no plan for the distribution of this fan to others. Such a result is inseparable from condition of the State; and it is believed that the present mode of distribution is, upon the whole perhaps as just as any that could be about .

The difference in the amount received by the larger number of Counties in the States, whether the tribution be according to federal or while protion, would be very inconsiderable. Share, owned in every part of the State, and each Com shares alike in the distribution in proportion to federal population. Federal population is made the basis of education, but of the data tion of the fund for that purpose. This princip of distribution has, in a commendable nor Legislature. Is the agitation of this question ber encounter in relation to our system of Comm Schools, I apprehend, is not to be found in the mode of distribution, but in the adequacy of fund and in the imperfect manner in which Schools are regulated. And I submit whether it stead of continuing this agitation, which is cal lated to arry one portion of the State against #

ting in their efforts to carry out this question The Convention of 1835, in a spirit of compr mise and concession, adopted taxation as the h sis for the Senate and federal population at the basis of representation for the House of Common the basis of federal population upon which we me free persons. The white basis would wholly ex Persons other than voters are properly represente Although federal population prevails as a hass, yet slaves do not vote, nor do white females and

Every county in the State is interested in the voice on this important subject. Experience in but too recently shown us the sad consequents resulting from the agitation of the slavery queto cultivate between the various portions of the It is well worthy of consideration whether State ! Let us forget that we are partizant, and sed by the present and succeeding Legislating and submitted to the people for ratification is the A judicious system of Internal Improvements manner provided in the Constitution, without it the initiatory step, it requires a larger number promoted by being submitted and voted upon a

> ments to the Constitution that have attracted publication lic attention, to which, I doubt not, you will give that degree of consideration which their impor-

tance demands. General Assembly may rety upon my hearly co-operation in such 'measures as may tend in the prosperity and happiness of the people of the

CLOTHS, CASSIMERES, &C. At No. 9 Fayetteville Strat. Good and Common Vesting, Blick Sain Silk and Worsted Serge, Padding and Canvass,

Raleigh, Oct 28th, 1850.

VERY TIGHTLY BOUND