## SPEECH OF MR. WOODFIN. I sai as medan to frequent of Nash Carab Delivered in the Senate, on Secession, &c.

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## bul will also delay the Committee while I read a portion of the protest offered in the House of Representatives.

Against the Resolution proposing a Convention of delegates from he New England States, and the Resolutions connected therewith, the adersigned feel bound by every dictate of duty, and every suggestion of atriotism, most earnestly to remonstrate. To these Resolutions, they are opposed the utmost of their own reason, the language of the onstitution, and the solemn and warning admonitions of Washington. However disguised or designed, the obvious tendency of propositions for a partial conference by delegates from some States, without participation or consultation with other States, is to prepare the way for a paration and division of the Union-the suggestion of a peculiar terest in the States of New England, upon the subjects of public sevances, is predicated upon the idea, that this Nation has not a com-unity of objects, and is not connected by a similarity of obligation. he Constitution of the United States, has prohibited, in express terms, State from entering into any agreement or compact with another, without the consent of Congress; if, as the result of the conference of elegates on the part of New England, a compact for any purpose is stended, the proposition for such conference, is as gross an infringement of the Constitution as would be the compact when made; it cannot he tible to pursue means to an end, which it is wrong and illegal to attain, nor is there just pretence of necessity for this measure. The framers the Constitution wisely provided for its amendment; should abuses rist, growing out of supposed defects in the instrument, the mode of form is definitely prescribed, and if in this way they are not to be corrected, neither can they in any other, short of a change in the form of Government. It is not to be supposed that the States of the Union will rield to the dictates of a Convention, what they would refuse to the Convention of the Legislature. The undersigned, therefore. ional application of the Legislature. The undersigned, therefore, cannot disguise their apprehension, that more must be designed than is distinctly avowed. The reasoning of the report is supported by the alarming assumption, that the Constitution has fulled in its object, and the peuple of Massachusetts are absolved from their allegiance, and at iberty to adopt another; in debate, it has been reiterated, that the Constinution is no longer to be respected, and that Revolution is not to be dep recated ; the bond of our political Union is thus attempted to be severed, nd in a state of war and of common danger, we are advised to the mad experiment of abandoning that protection, which the combined energies of the nation might afford for the selfish enjoyment of our present, though partial resources. The Resolutions of the Legislature, it is to be feared, will be viewed by other States, as productive of this consequence, that Massachusetts shall govern the administration or the Govmment shall not be administered in Massachusetts. Jealousy and contention will ensue, the ( onstitution hitherto respected as the charter of national liberty, and consecrated as the ark of our political safety, will be violated and destroyed, and in civil dissensions and convulsions out independence will be annihilated, and our country reduced to the condition of vanquished and tributary colonies to a haughty and implacable foreign foe.

From these proceedings, it is manifest that a separation from the Union was contemplated ; and from the proceedings of the Convention and the numerous demands they made for amendments to the Constitution and for immediate peace, and on the failure of these, for another Convention to assemble in Boston in June 1815, that they intended to coerce the Government in time of difficulty into their own terms.

Mr. Chairman, what execrations were not heaped upon these disorganizers throughout the entire country ? Did not the people of the entire South and a large portion of the North condemn this movement ?

ment has failed to answer the purposes of its adoption. But un-til this shall take place (and I hope and believe it never will,) we should abide by the law and insist on its execution. If then, after pursuing the course we adopt by this State in obsidience to law and order, and using all Constitutional means for the redress of wrongs, if we shall be compelled to abandon alt hope of the Union, and look to our safety and interest, we shall have the consolation to know that we, at least, are not responsible for the destruction of the brighest hopes of the friends of civil liberty, throughout the world, and of gratifying those who look with calousy on our growing and glorious country.

Mr. Chairman, I differ totally with the Senator from Pasquotank, in his views in relation to our want of territory, and the danger that we shall soon lack room for our negroes. The gloomy picture way he has drawn is the creature of his imagination. Nor do I concur with my friend from Guilford, entirely, in the fears expressed about the fate of this institution.

It will be seen at a glance that the periods fixed on by the Senator from Pasquotank to show the extraordinary increase of the slave population do not present a fair view of the National increase, but is calculated to mislead. He takes the period from 1790 to 1840. Now, it will be remembered that by the constitution the slave trade was allowed to be continued till 1808, here is a period of 1s years during which the importation of slaves from Africa was greater than at any former period; nor did, it entirely increase for years after 1808. If the Senator had selected the time from 1810 till the present, a very different result would have been formed. But, even admitting that this natural increase of the Negro race is as great as contended for, there is 'no ground for these fears. There is already an area of more than 900,000 square miles of slave territory, not one fourth, nay, I suppose not one tenth of which is yet sett ed. Take the case of our own State, one of the oldest, and see what a small proportion of it is yet in a state of nature. With fifty thousand square miles we have a population of less than 900,000 and less than 300,000 slaves; whi e Massachusetts without a seventh of the territory has a large population. Any one who will travel through this State, will see that it requires a population greatly increased and the number of laborers several times multiplied to improve and cultivate it properly. Is the same thing not true of the other four een Southern States and especially in the newer States? Take Texas for instance, with four times the territory of North Carohna and much of it the finest planting country, you find it almost one unbroken wilderness. Yes, in Texas, all the slaves in the United States could be profitably employed and then leave much of it, like the most valuable part of the land in North Carolina, remaining undrained and uncleared for ages to come. But, I do not refer to Texas, because that the intermediate country is fully settled. So far from it, only a few choice spots and those most conveniently cleared and reduced to cultivation is yet cleared and that portion is badly farmed for want of laborers. And the same thing must continue to be felt for ages to come. But, this is not the whole case. It is a mistake to suppose negroes only suited to field labor. The demand for them on works of Internal Impiovements, in the mines and mechanic shops is great and increasing. They make as valuable mechanics for most purposes as any people, and are capable of becoming efficient operatives in all the manufacturing establishments destined to grow up in the South .-Yes, Mr. Chairman, I would like to see this country (as I sometimes do in my imagination,) about two hundred years hence, if this Glorious Union shall be preserved. It might in that time be sufficiently peopled to be in a fair way for improving if our people would restrain their inclinations for a continual increase of terri-

But, Mr. Chairman, if the gold mines in California prove to be durable and as rich as they are represented to be, slavery is des tined to go there and that at an early day. The enterprising and intelligent emigrants to that country go there to make money-Yes, and many miners from the South have gone there and will go. They know the difference between working a company of stout well fed and well disciplined negroes who perform their labor, and retire to rest at night and rise next day ready and at their post cheerful and willing ; and the irregular picked up companies of white men that can be employed about such places. No one is going to be so silly as long to entertain his scruples on the subject of taking Slaves out of a cotton or rice field and carry them to the mines in California? I have never known a negro that would not sooner work in a gold mine than any other employment. Already this change is spoken of there and I have little doubt will be carried out. No one doubts the right of the State, to do as the people of the State may determine in this matter. Mr. Chairman, I am one of the class referred to by the Senator from Pasquotank, who believe that Slavery is no evil, but a blessing to the South. I do not doubt that it is a mutual advantage to the master and the slave. True, in some sections of the country, like my own, the slave has the best end of the bargain ; but even there, I find few who do not desire to own them, even while the price is so high. That there may be cases of abuse forming the exception to the general rule, I admit. But this is not part of the system, but abuses of it. And what institution will not man abuse ? Do we not see bad men and misguided fanatics, even abusing the Christian Religion, and endeavoring to use it as the means of stirring up strife between the master and servant who are happy together, each performing his duty to, and confiding in, the other? Unless some portion of this numerous race can be shewn as well off, as happy and improving in some other portion of the world, as in the Southern States, I must insist, on my proposition that they are benefitted by the relation they bear here to the master and protector. On the other hand, slavery is identified with the South, and especially the planting portions of it, and is indispensable to the country Who but the African, can perform the labor in the rich low grounds of the South and South-west, and especially in draining and clearing up the marshes and swamps? No other. They, and they alone, must do it, and in turn, must have the protection of the master, and have themselves and families provided for ; a blessing that is not guaranteed to the unfortunate free negro, either North or South.

"We cannot affect the action of the majority in Congress—and we are really subject to a foreign nation. It were preferable for South Car-ling to go back and subject herself to all the evils of a connection with England, than to be in our present condition. We boast of our indepen-dence; but we have become vassals to a mob of fanatics; and South Carolina cannot indulge in the idea of submission. The North may with-Carolina cannot indulge in the idea of submission. The North may with-hold the blow, but come it must. Those who have masters can hold no property; and we hold all we have at the pleasure of those who have the mastery over us. We are now, exactly, in the condition of the same quarrel as that which led to the revolution, but this is vastly aggravated. We have given up the Government of England, and substituted the ty-ranny of low-bred men; the union with England, was one, glorions in the mame of Shakespeare, and Chatham, and Burke; and these associations are around the hearts of the people of the colonies. and finally, to cut name or smaxespeare, and chatham, and burke; and these associations clung around the hearts of the people of the colonies, and finally, to cut asunder their connection, required the exercise of courage, fortitude and patriorism. But, they held back until they could persuade their own people that, a new Union was necessary. And this is our remedy. We must have a Union of the South—these two people must be cut asun-der. The colonies formed a union with obstacles in their way, of which der. Ine colonies formed a union with obstacles in their way, of which we can have no conception; we are vastly superior to them, in power, in telligence and wealth. They had io revolt against England, their reme-dy was revolution, and every one who revolted did so in peril of the hal-ter. We are sovereign and cannot *revolt*; we make war. The ('onstitu-tion of the United States, by its provisons, recognises the right of the States to make war, enter into-alliances, &c., and only limits in the exercise of that power, and we are only prevented from the exercise of the right by the fact that we have agreed not to exercise it. The revolution was a struggle for principle; we have more to unite the South than the Colonies had

"Mr. M. proceeded to discuss the various measures which had been offered, and said that secession on the part of this State would not bring to our aid the other Southern States; such a step would produce a revul sion, and perhaps reverse the action of those States. They must not only unite with us to take us out of the difficulty, but also to assist in forming another Union. Though he did not believe that South Carolina could be coerced into submission, yet she might, perhaps, after her accession, be induced to enter into a compromise. This would be a mere patched up remedy, and secession now cannot effectually remedy the evil, and therefore he was opposed to it now. Besides, it would not be in good faith to our sister States, for this State, after she has entered into consultation with her sister States, to depart from the terms of that agreement and act without their aid and co-operation. If we go for separate sacession, we leeve the platform of the Nashville convention and desert our friends in other States, who are still struggling to carry out its measures. We are leagued with our friends in other States, and we must not abandon them now by precipitating measures. Besides, a po-sition in the Union gives more advantage for carrying on measures of re-sistance than if we were out of it. Let us, therefore, remain in the Union though we remain only as a fire-ship, ready when the time comes to rush into the midst of the enemy and scatter them to the winds. We have a deep and settled purpose in view, and let us not be diverted from it by taunts and abuse. By going out of the Union alone, we lose our power to construct this Southern government which we all have so much at heart. We are not prepared for sccession. When we leave the Union we claim the right to leave it peaceably; and if we do so, we have no right to retain those arms and munitions of war now within this State. which is the property of the General Government; if we are resisted in the effort, then we would have a right to retain this property. We, as a State, are now prepared for war, and because we have not sufficient arms he was in favor of waiting until we could get them.

Sir, does this look to reconciliation and preservation of the Union ? Is it not apparent that a declaration made by us favoring the doctrine of secession, may lead to encourage this hasty and rash action ? The speaker says that the spirit of disunion is gaining rapidly. That 12 months ago there were few in that State in favor of a dissolution, and that they are now unanimous, and that it will soon be so in other Southern States. Sir, I hope not. I hope that the causes of the Southern dissatisfaction will cease; and this excited state of the public mind in partions of the South, will soon be quieted. But we cannot hope for that, if we pass secession resolutions, and continue to arouse the passions of the people by dwelling on the wrongs, perpetrated by the lawless and crazy fanatics, whose zeal is not according to knowledge. Mr. Chairman, I ask every Senator on this floor to say whether he entertains such sentiments as are expressed in this speech ? I hear no answer in the affirmative. I was satisfied that no one was prepared for such a step. If, then, we are not, but all ardently desire to preserve the Union, I ask why unnecessarily agitate the question of secession. We only get up our own feelings of resentment, and excite others without producing any good revult. We should remember that an excitement is more wisely gotten up chan quieted. Some years ago, we saw our sister State almost as unanimous on the doctrine of nullification as they now are on dissolution in another form. But, sir, North Carolina and other Southern States did not concur in the movement, nor did "the South generally seek to encourage the feeling of discontent, but on the contrary, endeavored rather to allay than to aggravate the gathering storm; should we do less now to promote harmony than then 1 Mr. Chairman, we are told that a Southern Congress is called and will assemble. For what purpose is it to assemble? I shope, sir, that without stronger cause than now exists, North Carolina will not participate in this Congress. We are yet represented in the only Congress recognised by the Constitution, and while we continue to recognize the authority of the Constitutional Congress, I hope that we shall not concur in creating another not recognised by the constitution,

## SPEECH OF DAVID A. BARNES, ESO.,

On the subject of Negro Slavery, delivered in Committee of the whole House, January 7th 1851.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I rise to address the committee with feelings of unaffected embarrasment. I am to follow the distinguished gentleman from Cumberland, (Mr. Dobbin) whose reputation is not confined to the limits of this State, a gentleman

" Of piercing wit and pregnant thought, Endued by nature and by learning taught To move assemblies

Whil- I am not gifted with the "power of speech with which to stir mens souls."

Again, sir, the subject is one of such magnitude that it towers above me as a mountain from which an avalanche is about to be hurled upon the plain beneath. Here, I would gladly pause, but a sense of duty impels me to ascend it and view the prospect which lies beyond.

Mr. Chairman, I am no alarmist ; my imagination is not prolific in conjuring up "Gorgons, Hydras and Chimeras dire," with which to frighten men from their propriety, but I am rather disposed to gild the future wi h golden colors and to strew its pathway with the richest flowers.

What I am about say, therefore, is not the fruit of an overheated and excited imagination, but the result of calm and serious reflections, convictions which have been un willingly forced upon me by the events of the day. We have arrived at an eventful period in our country's history which requires the exercise of all our patriotism and firmness. No man can shut his eyes to the fact that a dark cloud is lowering above us, from the bosom of which are heard those muttering thanders and from the surface of which are seen those vivid flashes of lightning which threaten to destroy that beautiful temple of liberty, which was erected by our fathers and at the al ar of which we have su often bowed. Every gale that comes from the North brings melancholy tidings. Wise and patriotic men take counsel of each other and anxiously enquire what must be done. With all these lights before them, however there are some whose buoyant hopes lead them to believe that all's well and that no . forts on their part are required to secure the perpetuation of our Union and liberties. As well might the mariner, when old ocean is tempest tosed. fold his arms and trust to the strength of his gallant bark. Ours is indeed a noble ship, she walks the political waters like a thing of life, she is freighted with the richest hopes of the world, but in order to insure a successful voyage she must be manned and the crew must be loyal and united. If there be an individual here who entertains an opinion of entire security, I beg him to dispel the illusion ; he may be calmly reposing above a volcano which may startle him with its deafening explosion .---Dangers, in order to be successfully m. t, must be seen at a distance and carefully guarded against. The subject of negro slavery has been an embarrassing one from the foundation of the government up this time and it is to be greatly feared will continue so. In the convention which framed our federal constinution, there was a controversy between the different States, in regard to this matterone insisting that s'ave property should be represented and another urging with equal zeal that it should not. This question was ultimately settled in the adoption of those provisions which are found embodied in our constitution. The slaveholing States assented to the first clause of the ninth section of the first article, which provides that "the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight." When the South yielded this right of importation, the North assented to the adoption of the third clause of the second section of the first article, which provides that "representation and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons; and the third clause of the second section of the fourth article, which provides that "no person held to service or labor in one State under the Laws thereof, escaping in o another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." The controversy was then settled by this fair and equitable arrangement. No man then had the hardihood to oppose these provisious as unjust either to the South or the North. Years passed away and we were moving harmoniously to that h gh and common destiny which wise statemen had reason to suppose would be the result of our form of government, when the voice of fanaticism was again heard wi hin our happy borders, falling heavily upon the ear of our public sentinels "like a fire bell at night." In 1819, Missouri applied to be admitted as a S ate into the Union. Upon this application it was a rongly argued by certain men, that congress had the right to require Missour to insert a cause in his constitution abolishing slavery within her borders, as a condition of her entering the Union. This doctrine was then controverted by the ablest minds of the South. It led to an angry discussion which threatened the destruction of the Union, but wise counsels prevailed and the controversy was ended by the adoption of the Missouri compromise which abolishes Slavery North of 36° 30' North latitude and leaves it to the people South of that line to establish it as they may think proper. This compromise was acquiesced in by the whole p ople and peace was again restored to a distracted and divided country.

Yes, sir, the sage of Ashland, in April while in this place, wrote a letter, in April these emphatic words, "I consider the an of Texas at this time, without the assent co, as a measure compromising the acter, involving us certainly in a war with probably with other toreign powers danger the integrity of the Union, inexpedient in t sent financial condition of the country, called for by any general expression of put inion." I make this allusion now, not forth pose of adding one cubit to the height of dividual, or one more laurel to the unfad which encircles his brow. This would be less attempt. The measure of his I can neither add to it or subtract fame is intimately blended with the inter fame is intrinately shall be a switcherd, never shall sink while there's echo left to a I say again, sir, that I make this diam

I say again, on the fact that was but as an evidence of the fact, that we shall a guided by the advice of those whose whose winds experience entitle their opinions to high n

Mr. Chairman, that warning voice was garded. Texas was annexed, and with it what had been so confidently predicted, and Mexico, in which millions were expended Mexico, in which and the serie expended thousands of valuable lives were serified every battle field the blood of the starty w New England was mingled with the division of the South. Together the division of the South. Together they ascede heights of Monterey, together they entered Halls of the Montezumas. The flag of our try was borne triumphantly through that a versy, which terminated in the acquistion of tory, which has given rise to sectional aris animosity. Yes, Mr. Chairman, our army home from controversy covered with imper post of honor, that brave old chief who stre first decisive blow in that sanguinary configuration when the scene upon which particular to back the scene upon which particu eyes were called to look. In the "tented for led to glory and victory a united band of bro animated by one thought, one impulse, the of the country; at home he presides over a d and destructive people, scrambling over that and destructive people, scramping over that tory which his efforts had aided in acquiring noble heart sickened at the sight, the burbe State sat heavily upon him, and in the begin of his career he was gathered to his father, who stood firm and unshaken, even and the of arms and the dread shock of contending yielded to the common enemy of individuals nations. What gloomy forebodings filed has no man can tell, but soon after his melan death there was exhibited in the Capital a death there was exhibited in the Capital as upon which his disembodied spirit might looked with pleasure if angels take augut terest in the affairs of men. While his e trymen were shedding tears of sympathytam the sod which guarded his peaceful dust, the sembled around his tomb a noble lond of pa who there buried their feelings of sectional and renewed pledges of union and brother tachment. Yes, sir, a noble band of patho Washington, looked forth with anxious eyes throbbing hearts upon the agitated ocean of p opinion and sought some measure to still its bled waters. Among them stood conspired Clay, Cass, and Webster, statesmen of half a tury, who encircled with their courageous and Constitution of the Country, and bravely h their bosoms to the shafts of those fanatical a who would extingaish the flame that burns the altar of our freedom. They framed a se of measures which they fondly hoped would peace and confidence. Whether such will be result is yet to be seen. If they should fail, ever, they are the fruit of an enlarged parise and if those noble spirits full in their efforts should be cheered and animated with the that

Though all admitted that the carrying States. as they were called, suffered more from the war than others, yet, it was necessarily so and they should have submitted to it for the benefit of the whole. Indeed no policy can be ... expected to act precisely in the same manner on the in? terests of every section of this extended country This Union can only be sustained by that same spirit of concession and compromise that brought it into existence.

Suppose, sir, that the New England States, or even Massachusetts alone, had seceded in the time of war with England and had made a separate prace and formed an alliance with Great Britain ; can any one estimate the extent of the injury that must have resulted to the Uni ted States. Yet we are asked to lay down a doctrine that would justify the step if the State had determined that it was a fit occasion for its exercise.

Mr. Chairman, to admit this doctrine is in effect to declare that the Government of the United States is only to act upon the willing. That any State not disposed to allow a law of the General Government to be executed in her borders, may so declare. and by seceding the law is nullified. A law that does not speak with authority and command obedience of the unwilling as well as of those in favor of it, is no law and should not be called a law. It is an abuse of terms.

Suppose, sir, that thousands of the slaves of the Southern citizens escape into Ohio, Pennaylvania, or New York, and the masters in pursuit of them call upon the authorities under the provisions of the late Act of Congress, for the reclamation of such property. Cannot either of these States secede and say to the Judges, Commissioners and Marshal, or to the President, that we have seceded, and your supposed law is no longer a law in this State? Then where is the remedy of the owner of this property. Sir, have not the abolition societies openly advocated secession and disunion, rather than allow slavery to exist ?

True, they have not been encouraged in this madness by many of the States; but they would no doubt rejoice to see it take place, and are, doubtless, watching, with much anxiety, the movements of Southern States. Yes, and pray daily, that we may all declare the right of secession, and establish the doctrine, that their movements may not share the fate of the Hartford Convention in its effort to divide the Union by the means now advocated in this latitude.

Mr. Chairman, I am one of those who believe that the rights of the South are acknowledged and guaranteed under the Constitution. I believe that our interest and our duty alike, require of us a cordial support of the Constitution as it is until we find that it is insufficient to protect our rights. This I hope we shall never find. We will probably find in the execution of the fugitive slave law, whether there is strength enough in the Government, and integrity in its officers, to execute its own laws and pro ect our Constitutional rights. I hope and be-, lieve that we shall find it sufficient, and have little doubt of the fidelity of the present Chief Magistrate of the nation, to "see that the laws are faithfully executed." I hope that Southern States will not afford a pretext for resistance to the law to those who only desire to break down the Constitutional protection to our property, that they may, with impunity, seduce away, harbor, or steal it I go further, Mr. Chairman; I think the South should abide by the compromise measures of last Congress, as one whole, and I deprecate the effort that is here made to dissatisfy our friends at the South with those measures while no remedy is pointed out for the evils complained of. I think that we have less cause for alarm or to despair of the Union on the terms of the Constitution that when we discussed this delicate subject, in this place two years ago. Then we were threatened with the Wilmot Proviso, and had little hope of so favorab e a law for the protection of slaves as that passed at last Congress. But happily or the Country, there was found patriotism enough amongst the law abiding and Union loving portion of our Northern brethren, to give up the one and pass the other. Though this was the least that we had a right to demand, it was not then believed that it would be yielded. I confess that this concession gave me renewed and additional confidence in the Government, and new hope of maintaining the Union. We have yet to see whether it will be kept in good faith. That must be the turning point. I will hope for the best ; and while there is a hope of sustaining the Government and Union as it is, and of obtaining the protection due us under it, I will be found advocating it. But we are told that it will not be executed in good faith. Of this there seems to be some well founded fears, but while I see so many meetings of the people, and various sections of the Northern States favorable to law and order, led and encouraged by such names as Webster, Cass, Buchanan, Choate, Cu tis, Dallas, and other enlightened and influential statesmen, appealing to them and to every portion of the Country, to sustain the laws and put down the lawless mob, I will not despair of the Republic. That there may be temporary excitement, and occasional outrage by a mob, led on by bad men and the law be thus obstructed in its execution for a while, may be expected, but it is to be hoped that on reflection and after the lovers of order have time to explain to the people the importance of the law and of obedience to it, these outrages may cease or the ottenders may be properly punished. But, sir, if in all this we shall be d ceived and the law shall be set at definite, and if on proper application made the President shall not be able to have the laws executed, or shall be unwilling to do so, and impeachhent shall fail; then, indeed, may it be said, that the Govern-

Mr. Chairman, no consideration on earth could induce me to encourage the bringing of one negro from Africa ; but I doubt whether it would be less cruel to force them away from this. country, in which they have been brought up, and to which they have almost the same attachment that we have.

Sir, I have no uneasiness about the fate of slavery in the South, whatever change it may occasion in governments, or however much we may differ about forms of government, about State policy and national associations ; that institution is as unalterably identified with the South as the climate and the leading Southern staples

Mr. Chairman, we may differ as to constructions of Constitutions, as to the right of secession, consistently with the constitution and as to the policy most likely to secure our rights in the present aspect of the case; but we do not differ as to the guarantee of this right under the Constitution. Nor will we find a division or difference of opinion about the maintainance of this right, at all events, and under all circumstances. Both races are here, and both seem to be necessary to the country. Neither can leave. Both cannot live together on equal terms. It unequal then, the present is the best relation for both races. It has to be so, and the South alone has and must have the deciding of the question, and will not debate it except with each other.

Mr. Chairman, I wish not to be understood to say that we got all in these compromises that I thought was due to us; but I do say as a compromise, and a work of peace, I approve of it as a whole,

Mr. Chairman, we are told by the advocates of secession, that they do not want to secede now, but only wish to avow the principle. Sir, not believing that the right exists, consistently with the Constitution, I cannot assent to it. The difference between us is, that I do not believe the right exists, except as a last resort hy the way of self preservation, and growing out of the wrong and oppression that may render it necessary. I do not claim the right to raise my hand against my friend who sits by me. Yet, if he were to assatl me, my right to repel the wrong, would arise at once, and justify that degree of force necessary to selfdefence.

I have not yet seen the plan of the proposed Southern confederation. I do not know whether it is to be like the old articles of confederation, or whether it is to be a form of Government like ours under the Constinu-

Mr. Chairman, we can destroy out present Constitution ; I have no doubt of that; but whether we could ever agree upon another. I seriously doubt. The South is not a unit. The interests of the Southern States are as diversified as were those of the thirteen in 1787 and '88 .--Sixty years may work as many changes in the slave holding States in building up of new interests, as the same time has in the original States. Yes, there would be a North and a South to the new Republic. These things must be provided for-other interests would expect some protec tion besides planting. Would free trade be a leading feature of the new Government? or would it be the policy of the new Confederacy to build up manufacturing interests, and especially in those portions of the country not suited to the planting of cotton, rice or the sugar cane? These are questions that I want answered, and difficulties that I wish to see adjusted; and in a manner better calculated to protect the rights and interests of minorities, and promote the interest of the whole, than the pre-ent much abused Constitution. Before I give up the one that has been so long tried-the one which has carried us successfully through wars with the most powerful enemy, and has secured to us a prosperity and growth unparalled in history, and further, Mr. Chairman, before abandoning the Union, I desire to be shown that our interests will be better secured than they now are. We can destroy the present Government, no doubt; but whether we could agree on another, that would unite the Southern States, I doubt. Suppose the Southern States re-main separate; is it likely that no causes of difference will arise amongst them, and that the rights of each will be respected abroad ? No one could hope for this. Then suppose we are forced for the sake of self-preservation into a Union : will slaves not then escape and cross the line, and will not the Mississippi river continue to flow through the North western and South-western States? Will not that river be navig ted as at present; and will the escape of slaves on these boats, and across the line elsewhere, be a continual source of strife? The owner will pursue his property by force, and will be met by force. This must make the line and border States the theatre of constant strife and blood-shed. Where would these evils end ? Nir, no finite being can answer. We hear calculations often made of the value of the Union, and as to the relative degree of independence of the North and the South. But in such calculations I become bewildered, and can only see far enough to know that each section could greatly harrass and annoy each other; and that in the end, nothing but a spirit of mutual forbearance could save both from ruin. They as this spirit at last is the only one that could save both sections, is it not better to invoke it before we make the experiment of separation ? Mr. Chairman, I have endeavored to give my reasons for sustaining

the resolutions, and opposing the proposed amendments ; and in doing so, have candidly expressed my opinions in relation to our rights and duties under the Constitution. I have also expressed my decided opinion in favor of acquiescing in the compromises of the last session of Congress, and in favor of insisting on their fulfilment; and have endeavored to show that there is no cause of alarm on account of a want of territory, about the acquisition of which we take more trouble and care than about its improvement. I have endeavored to show that the insti tution of slavery was safe trom successful altack, except by occasional escapes; and as a further evidence, that the Southern people sobeheve, we see that species of property now higher in demand, than at any pe-riod since the spring of 1837. I have endeavored to show the impropriety of agitating secession or dissolution in any form, under existing eir-cumstances. I hope that North Carolina will take no step that is not prompted by a desire to preserve the Union, and the rights of all parties under the t onstitution as long as there is a hope; and in the last resort, and only then, to maintain our rights at all costs. But, sir, whatever may be the determination of the people of my native State, her destiny 1s mine.

"If there be on this earthly sphere, A boon, an offering, Heaven holds dear, "Tis the last libation liberty draws From the heart that breaks and bleeds in cause.

The compromise or adjustment consisted five separate and distinct measures. First, the mission of California as a State in the Union, a clause in her Constitution prohibiting slav Secondly, a bill granting territorial governme to Utah and New Mexico, without the Wi Proviso. Thirdly, a bill settling the boundary between Texas and New Mexico. Fourthly,a abolishing the slave trade in the District of umbia, and lastly, a bill more effectually provi for the reca pture of fugitive slaves. It is not purpose to discuss these various bills or to a into a detailed history of the manner in which were adopted ; neither shall l enter into and rate argument for or against them as separate a sures. Some of them do not entirely accord my views, but I regard them as a compre-adopted for the patriotic purpose of preserving Union, and as such it is the duty of every p citizen to obey them as the supreme law of land, and if either a citizen or State resists a it is the duty of the Executive to enforce ther ecution. The first four bills seem to have b acquiesced in by all sections, notwithstanding remonstrances made against their adoption. gentleman from Burke, (Mr. Avery.) sits that South has submitted with a sense of degradati Sir, I was surprised to hear such a declaration How can the gentleman, jealous as he says h of Southern rights, advise a submission to which he says is degrading? If I thought with gentleman, I would advise resistance. I hope shall hear no more of "submissionis." from quarter. Mr. Chairman, the South has been m ed but not dishonored. No, sir, we are not will not be dishonored. Southern men

"Have souls to whom dishonor's breathing terrible than death."

The fugitive slave law is now the only so of difficulty—the South contending that a sin be faithfully executed, and a portion of the Na insisting that it is unconstitutional, and them impediments in the way of its execution H is the Gordian knot which baffles the shift of wisest. He who shall succeed in removing obstacle, will deserve well of his country. receive her richest blessings. There are an ized bodies of men in the Northern States are constantly making war upon the rights South in regard to her peculiar institution. motives prompt them it is needless to enquine The practical enquiry is how can we most are fully resist their machinations, and to the quiry I shall confine myself to-day. All of us, Mr. Chairman, I hope haven

the same object-the protection of our and honor, and the preservation of this for Union. If, therefore, I shall differ with gentlemen, in regard to the means to arms this end, I am not to be regarded as less a to the South than they are. Those who the loudest professions of friendship are pot ways the last to desert you in a tring

The first remedy proposed is the safe of the right of a "Stare as an organized po ical community to secede or withdraw the Union." We will first examine if a power exists, and if so, what can be according to the second plished by asserting it. If those who ase the right hold that it is a constitutional ( they refer to the a:nended constitution in a tates reported and one which States reserved to themselves at the slope

of the Federal constitution, then we diagr

but if they simply intend to assert that re

which every people have to throw offang

pressive and tyranical government, or a

which has exceeded the limits of its authority, then we agree. If each State has

right to withdraw from the Union at please

then we have no National Government.

have simply an a hance, a league betwee

sovereign States which may be broken of

the pleasure of either party. We may friends or enemies according to the whin

or caprice of one State. How would meh

government differ from the old confederation

Our fathers saw the weakness of such an a

liance and hence they tormed a Constitute

in which they declare that "we, the people (not we the States) in order to form a more perfect U.S.

perfect Union, establish justice, insure do mes'ic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and set

But, Mr. Chairman, why assert the abstract right, even if it did exist. Is there a necessity for such a declaration, or could it do any good? No-but it may do much mischief. While we see the South generally disposed to acquiesce in the compromises if adhered to and carried out in good faith, this feeling, I regret to see, is not universal. Our sister State of South Carolina, whose legislature has just adjourned, has called a Convention of the People, and appointed Delegates to a Southern Congrees, to be held at Montgomery, and the slaveholding States are requested to unite in this measure. And I fear from the language used by many of the leading speakers, that the object of this meeting is not union with all the States. I have before me the Charleston Couvier, containing a report of a speech of one of the leading members, Mr. Meminger, delivered in the House of Representatives, from which allow me to read a few sentences to actual distribute of life bossissions and to mathem quells

VERY TIGHTLY BOUND

Mr. Chairman, I owe the Committee an apology for having so long occupied the floor; and desire to tender it my thanks for the indulgence so kindly extended towards me. 的爱望

Rhigas' Exhibition .- The feats and experiments which the Great Rhigas is nightly performing at Bosher's Hall, (corner, of Main and Ninth streets,) are truly extraordinary, and should be witnessed by all who can appreciate such things. He certainly pushes a sword blade, twenty-four inches in length down his throat, and there lets it remain for a few moments! There is n \$ deception about it. He equipoises vertically a bayoneted mucket, ... the sharp point of the bayonet sesting upon his forehead. He then transfers the musket to his teeth, and makes it which like. a topl Heperforms a number of other remarkable feats. Go and see him ..... Rich. Rep. Jan. 4.

Whether Congress had the power to make such a restriction, it is now too late to enquire. It has been acquiesced in by all parties and all sections and has furnished a basis upon which other compromises have been attempted to be effected.

This Missouri Compromise settled the question of slavery, so far as the then territory of the government was concerned. The originators and champions of that measure were every where re-seived with smiles of approbation, and their hearts were gladdened with the thought that the horrors of civil strife were no longer to be feared. How delusive was this hope. The discordant notes of fraternal strife had scarcely died upon the ear, many of the gallant champions who had fought that battle were still upon the theatre of action, ready to do good service in defence of our rights, ready to do good service in defence of our rights, when another occasion is presented for this mental conflict. An opinion was promulgated that our limits were too circumscribed, that the "area of freedom should be extended." In opposition to this doctrine there went forth from this City a warning voice, telling the Country that, "Extended Empire, like expanded gold, "Exchanges solid strength for feeble spendour."