

POLITICAL

SENATOR BENTON'S SPEECH ON SLAVERY

We have received the whole of Col. Benton's highly interesting speech to the people of Missouri, delivered at Jefferson City, Mo., on the 26th ultimo. There are about a dozen columns of it; but we are limited to the following synopsis and extracts:

The speech was drawn out by the resolutions recently passed by the General Assembly of Missouri, denying the right of Congress to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the territories. The resolutions were designed to instruct Mr. Benton and his colleagues. For himself, Mr. Benton declines to comply with them, and appeals to the people—the whole people.

Col. Benton starts out by giving the substance of the Missouri resolutions, which he says are a mere copy of Mr. Calhoun's resolutions offered in the Senate, in February, 1847; that he sees no difference between the two, but in the time contemplated for the dissolution of the Union—Mr. Calhoun's tending "directly," and those of Missouri "ultimately," to that point.

Having established, to his own satisfaction, the identity of the two sets of resolutions, and declared those of the South Carolina Senator to be the parent of those of the Missouri Assembly, Mr. Benton gives his attention first to the former, and begins with an argument against them, derived from the conduct of the originator himself. He says:

"In the year 1820, Mr. Calhoun was a member of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet, and as such was required by the President to give his opinion in writing to be filed in the department of State, on the question of the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in Territories, and on the constitutionality of the 6th section of the act for the admission of Missouri into the Union, and which section applied the anti-slavery clause of the ordinance of 1787, to more than half of the whole territory of Louisiana. The questions were momentous. The whole Union was then convulsed on the subject of slavery, growing out of the Missouri controversy. Congress had just passed an act for the admission of Missouri without restriction, but with prohibition of slavery in all the territory north and west of her. The act was just coming to Mr. Monroe for his approval or disapproval. If approved by him, it became a law at once; if disapproved, it was defeated forever; for it was known that the constitutional majorities of two-thirds of Congress could not be obtained for the act, if disapproved by the President.

"The whole responsibility of passing or defeating the act, then, rested on Mr. Monroe. He felt the magnitude of that responsibility, and saw that it was an occasion to require the gravest advice of his Cabinet. He determined to have his own views on the subject matured and responsible form. The act had passed on the 3rd of March. He immediately convoked his cabinet—stated the questions—reduced them to writing—gave a copy to each member—and required them to be answered in writing. On the 6th, all the answers were given, and all in the affirmative on both questions; and the act was immediately approved and signed, and became the law of the land."

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colored citizens. This the State at once complied with, and did not refuse as Mr. Calhoun had said she did. Without then re-applying for admission to Mr. C. said Missouri was admitted by proclamation of Mr. Monroe. Having, as he thinks, established the fact, that Mr. Calhoun, as a cabinet minister under Mr. Monroe, supported the constitutionality of the Missouri compromise act, he then shows what that act is, the 8th section of which is as follows:

"Sec. 8. That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of the crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and hereby it is, forever prohibited."

"Such, says Mr. Benton, are the words of the act—the very words of the Wilmot Proviso; and if any modern copyist is to supersede Mr. Jefferson in the paternity of that proviso, it should be John C. Calhoun, and not Davy Wilmot!—It should be called the Calhoun Proviso; and that for moral and cogent reasons. In the first place, he was near thirty years ahead of Davy in the support of this Proviso. In the second place, his position was higher, being a cabinet minister, and his voice, more potent, being a southern man. In the third place, he was part of the veto power, where three votes were a majority—Davy, only a member of the legislative power, where it requires a majority of both houses to do anything. In the fourth place, Calhoun was successful—Davy is not. Finally, Davy's proviso is a weak contrivance to prevent slavery from being where it is not, and where it never will be: Calhoun's proviso was a manly blow to kill slavery where it then existed by law, and where it would now exist, in point of fact, if that blow had not been struck. The proviso supported by Mr. Calhoun abolished slavery where it existed by law—in all the upper half of Louisiana from 36 degrees 30 minutes to 49, and in the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains—over territory nearly a thousand miles square—nearly a million of square miles—enough to make twenty States of 50,000 square miles each—more, in fact, than all California, New Mexico, and Oregon put together. Over all this vast territory, the proviso, supported by Calhoun, abolished slavery—abolished it, then existing by law—and shut it up from the slave emigration of the South—And now what becomes of the dogma in his mouth, and that of his followers, so recently invented, of no power in Congress to legislate upon the subject of slavery in territories? What becomes, in their mouths, of the new fangled point of honor, just felt for the first time in thirty years, of insult to slave States in their exclusion from settlement in the territories bought by the blood and treasure of the whole Union?"

He then reviews the conduct of Mr. Calhoun with great severity in relation to the Florida treaty, the Indian policy, the annexation of Texas, his hostility to General Jackson, and talks about nullification and disunion doctrines.

Mr. B. undertakes to show also that Mr. Calhoun not only supported the abolition of slavery in territories, but also in a State, the State of Texas. He says:

"In the session of 1844-'45, two resolutions were adopted for the admission of the State of Texas: one, single and absolute—with the Missouri compromise in it; the other authorizing negotiations with Texas for her admission on an equal footing with the original States. The Secretary of State, and then Secretary of State, and virtual President of the United States; and in that capacity, he seized upon the absolute resolution, selected it, and applied it to the State of Texas, and thus run the Missouri compromise line through that State, thereby abolishing slavery in a State—in a part of a State—making one part of the same State free soil, and one part slave soil, and so it stands at this day! Before the act of Mr. Calhoun, the whole State of Texas was slave soil—made so by the laws and constitution of Texas."

After some particular notice of the Missouri resolutions, Col. B. comes to the main point, in which he declares it is absurd to deny to Congress the power to legislate as it pleases upon the subject of slavery in the territories—that it is absurd to claim for the territories that they have no form of government but that which Congress gives them, and no legislative power but that which Congress allows them. Congress governs the territory as it pleases, and in a way compatible with the constitution, and of this any State that has been a territory is a complete example, and Missouri as much so as any.

Congress has the power to prohibit or admit slavery, and no one else. It is not in the territories; for their governments are the creatures of Congress, and its deputies, so far as any legislative power is concerned. It is not in the States separately.

He then proceeds to remark on what he calls the gross delusion which has grown out of the peculiar metaphysics of Mr. Calhoun, that citizens of a slave State have the right to remove with their slave property into New Mexico and California. There is nothing new in this part of Col. Benton's argument. It is simply that property is in the law that creates it, and that the law cannot be carried in inch beyond the State that enacts it, and that if a different rule prevailed, there would be a confusion of laws in the new territories. No Judge could execute them—No! says Col. B.

The citizens of the States cannot carry the laws of their States with them to Oregon and California; and if they could, what a Babel of laws would be there! Fourteen States, each carrying a code different, in many respects, from each other; and all to be exercised by the same judges in territories where there is no slave law. What absurdity! No such thing can be done. The only effect of carrying slaves there would be to set them free. It would be in vain to invoke the Constitution, and say it acknowledges property in slaves. It does so; but that is confined to States."

The next is what he calls a practical point, and that is that Congress has the constitutional power to abolish slavery in the territories; but also has no slave territory, in which to exercise that power. We have no territory, he says, but the remainder of Louisiana north and west of Missouri—that in California, New Mexico and Oregon—and that north of Wisconsin, now Minnesota. In Louisiana, north and west of us, it was abolished by Congress in 1820. In the territory north of Wisconsin, now Minnesota, it was abolished by the Jefferson proviso of 1797. In Oregon it was abolished by Congress in 1846, by what you may call the Benton proviso, if you please. In New Mexico and California, it was abolished by the Mexican government in 1823, confirmed in 1837, and again in 1844.

After giving copies of the decrees of the Mexican government of 1823, and the law of 1837, he says:

"This is the decree, and this is the act of Congress confirming it, abolishing slavery throughout the Mexican republic. The constitution of 1844 does not abolish slavery, for that was done before, but prohibits its future establishment. Thus, there is no slavery now in Mexico and California; and consequently none in any territory belonging to the United States; and, consequently, nothing practical or real in the whole slavery question, for the people of the United States to quarrel about. There is no slavery now by law in any territory; and it cannot be there by law, except by act of Congress; and no such act will be passed, or even asked for. The dogma of no power in Congress to legislate

upon slavery in territories, kills that pretension. No legal establishment of slavery in California and New Mexico is then to be looked for. That is certain. Equally certain it will never be established in either of them in point of fact. The people of both territories—the old inhabitants—are unanimously against it.

"Of the new emigrants, all those from Europe, Asia, Mexico, Central and South America, and all those from the non-slaveholding part of the United States, will be unanimously against it. There remains, then, to overbalance all this unanimous mass, only the emigrants from the slaveholding parts of the United States—in itself the smallest branch of the emigration, and it divided upon the question—many going for the expressed purpose of getting rid of slavery—and very few so far in love with it as to go that distance for the pleasure of having a law suit with his own negro, and with the certainty of coming out second best in the contest. There is, then, no slavery at this time, either in New Mexico or California, in law or in fact; and will never be either, in law or in fact. What, then, is all the present uproar about? Abstraction! It is all the right of doing what cannot be done! The insult to the sovereignty of the States, where there is no insult! all abstraction! and no reality, substance or practice in it.

"The Romans had a class of disputes which they called de lana caprina—that is to say, about goat's wool; and, as the goat had no wool, the dispute was about nothing. So it is of this dispute among us about excluding slavery from New Mexico and California. There is none there to exclude, and the dispute now raging is about nothing."

Mr. B. excuses the great body of the Legislature for these resolutions against him, conflicting with instructions already read and obeyed—on the ground that not half a dozen were in the secret of their origin or design—charges that the resolutions were not emanate from any known desire or understood will of the public—says it is a question above party, and he means to keep it there—defies the few "conspirators," as he calls them, saying: "Between them and me, henceforth and forever, a high wall and a deep ditch! and no communion, no compromise, no caucus with them."

In regard to his "opinions," which have been wanted, he refers to his votes of 30 years—and says:

"But you want public declarations of personal sentiments: very good, you shall have them. My personal sentiments then, are against the institution of slavery, and against its introduction into places in which it does not exist. If there was no slavery in Missouri to day, I should oppose its coming in: if there was none in the United States, I should oppose its coming into the United States. As there is none in New Mexico or California, I am against sending it to those territories, and could not vote for such a measure—a declaration which costs me but little, the whole dispute now being about the abstract right of carrying slaves there, without the exercise of the right.

"To finish this personal exposition, I have to say that my profession and conduct—no unusual thing with frail humanity—do not agree. I was born to the inheritance of slaves and have never been without them. I have bought some, but only on their own entreaty, and to save them from execution sales; I have sold some, but only for misadventure. I have had two taken from me by the abolitionists, and never inquired after them; and liberated a third who would not go with them. I have slaves now in Kentucky, who are elevated to the dignity of real estate, by being removed from Missouri to Kentucky; and will have to descend next fall to the low degree of a chattel interest, in spite of the laws of Kentucky, when I shall remove them back to Missouri. And I have slaves in Washington City—perhaps the only member of Congress that has any there—and I am not the least afraid that Congress will pass any law to affect this property, either there or here."

Mr. B. then declares that he has never made slave speeches in Congress, because it was a private wrong to alarm individuals with ideas of insecurity of their property—though he had never seen any danger to slave property by the action of Congress.

He concludes this part of his speech, however, with an eloquent peroration as to the fulfillment of a great republican example which we owe to struggling liberty in ancient empires of the world.

THE SOUTH IN DANGER

Three recent events are of very grave significance, and ought forthwith to awaken the Southern people to the danger which threatens them.

1. The open and avowed coalition between the Northern Democracy and the Abolitionists, on the Platform of Free Soil.

2. As part and parcel of this coalition, the accession of a Northern man to the Editorship of the Democratic organ at Washington, coupled with the declaration that that paper will in future pursue the "non-intervention" policy on this question.

3. The open advocacy of free Soilism by Col. Benton—a Senator from a slaveholding State—and the most prominent and influential member of the Democratic party, and the probable candidate of that party for the Presidency at the next election.

These three events, we repeat, are of very serious import. They are the acts of people, who have hitherto professed to be the exclusive and peculiar champions of Southern rights. Who has not heard of the intense devotion of the Northern Democracy—"the natural allies" to the institutions of the South? Who has not heard of Washington Union's denunciations against Free Soil—which is now the corner-stone of Democracy. And Benton for 25 years has been the Ajax Telamon of the Democracy.

It is in this aspect that this movement is most important. Benton is aspiring to the Presidency. He abandons and denounces his own section, and throws himself at the head of the great abolition movement. He is cordially received. In the meanwhile, the Southern Democracy, who for years have duped the Southern people with the notion that the Northern Democracy were their best friends, are professing to disapprove their leader's conduct, in order that they may succeed in the approaching elections to Congress. Let these elections pass by, and then we shall see whether these Southern Democrats are for or against Benton. Of the fourteen Democrats elected from this State; we do not believe there is one who will not be found zealously sustaining the election of Benton to the Presidency—renegade and abolitionist though he be—if he be the nominee of the National Convention. The rights of the South—the very existence of Southern institutions—are nothing with these gentlemen, in comparison with the ascendancy of Party. We had striking proof of this in the case of Cass. The Democratic Convention in this State had taken the very strongest ground against all men, who were in favor of the Wilmot Proviso, and they declared that, under no circumstances whatever, would they support any man who recognized the power of Congress, or of its creature, a Territorial Legislature, to legislate on the subject of slavery in the Territories. The first act which these men did when they reached Baltimore, was to vote for Lewis Cass, who had made a speech in favor of the Wilmot Proviso, and had written a letter contending that a Territory had the same right over the subject of slavery that a State had; and this man was their candidate for the Presidency!

Benton has struck Calhoun a fatal blow; there is no denying it. But that was unavoidable:—Calhoun's inconsistencies were so glaring, his contradictions so monstrous, his abandonment of the South so frequent and so injurious, that it did not require as strong an arm as Benton's to prostrate him. But that does not prostrate the rights, the constitutional and natural rights of the South. We do not recognize Mr. Calhoun as our champion, and are not, therefore, bound to abide the issue of the combat. The fight is a personal one between these two Democratic aspirants for the favor and support of their party. That Col. Benton has displayed consummate skill as a tactician in singling out Mr. Calhoun as his adversary, is true beyond a man more unpopular, or whose whole course was more obnoxious to severe and just animadversion. And he has executed his brilliant demonstration with singular energy and addressness. His lost "Calhounian" is a paper; it routs his adversary beyond the possibility of a rally.

This controversy between these two great Democratic rivals is only important to us of the South as foreshadowing the danger which menaces us. We have no interest in the result as between them. We stated nothing upon Calhoun, and therefore, if he is unhorsed by Benton, we lose nothing. But it is of the very highest moment to the whole people of the South, to know, in time, the overwhelming ascendancy which Benton has obtained in the Democratic party, and the strong probability, the almost absolute certainty, that he will be the candidate of that party for the next Presidency.

In this view of the matter, every accession to the Democratic strength in Congress from the South, is, to that extent, an accession to the strength of the enemies of the South. Let the whole will endeavor to the benefit of Benton. Let the people of North Carolina re-elect to Congress Mr. Venable, Mr. Daniel, and politicians of that stripe, and though for a time they may affect opposition to Benton, yet when the nomination is made, all their abilities and influence will be exerted to secure his election. The same will be true in respect to the Democrats of Alabama, Louisiana, Tennessee and Kentucky. Every Democratic Congressman from those States will, from the force of circumstances and party ties, be an aider and abettor of our worst enemy, and a foe to the only man, who, by his position, can render us invaluable assistance.

THE NEXT CONGRESS

The Washington Union has the following estimate of the political complexion of the next House of Representatives:

Table with columns: Dem., Whigs, Free Soilers. Rows: Elected, To be elected, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Ohio, Maryland, North Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana.

The National Era, the abolitionist paper in Washington, makes a similar estimate, and claims for the abolitionists the balance of power in the House. The Richmond Whig justly remarks: "This makes good what we have heretofore said, that every Democrat elected from the South, is substantially a vote given to the abolitionists. The Democrats, without the aid of the abolitionists, cannot possibly divide the representation—if North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee are recent, on their heads rests the responsibility of giving to the abolitionists the balance of power in Congress, and subjecting all the legislation of the land to their tender mercies."

We trust that the States which are yet to vote, and in one of which, North Carolina, there are some divisions will learn a lesson by the result of the election in this District, which has resulted, according to the above monitorial paragraph, in a gain to the abolitionists, and jeopardized the Whig strength in the House of Representatives. It would be indeed a sad reflection for Southern Whigs to entertain, that "on their head rests the responsibility of giving to the abolitionists the balance of power in Congress, and subjecting all the legislation of the land to their tender mercies."

Let our brethren of the South bear in mind that our defeat in Virginia has rendered it necessary for them to fight a battle fully equal in importance to the Presidential election. We have succeeded in electing a President, against many obstacles in our own ranks, as well as those of the enemy, and we had a House of Representatives, which it is our duty to rescue, and to keep. Let our friends who have yet to vote, take warning by the past, and sacrifice all personal prejudices at the shrine of patriotism. Let "Principles, not Men," be the rule of action. Let there be no idle talk of Clay Whig, or Taylor Whig. Who is Clay, or who is Taylor, but a representative of that great cause which we believe to be the cause of the country, and the success of which is the common object of Whigs of every name!

We rejoice to see that the Whig press of the States yet to vote, is exerting its powerful influence, in behalf of the purposes of peace and harmony. It reserves its batteries for its political enemies, and pours oil upon the agitated waters of Whig discord. It is the duty of the Whig press of every State, to rescue, and to keep. Let our friends who have yet to vote, take warning by the past, and sacrifice all personal prejudices at the shrine of patriotism. Let "Principles, not Men," be the rule of action. Let there be no idle talk of Clay Whig, or Taylor Whig. Who is Clay, or who is Taylor, but a representative of that great cause which we believe to be the cause of the country, and the success of which is the common object of Whigs of every name!

A NEW VERSION OF "THE GRAPES ARE SOUR."—The New York Evening Mirror of the 29th ult. contains the following little story, which it is said Gen. Green, of Rhode Island, used to relate to disappointed applicants for office. Perhaps it may not be without an application at the present day. The joke is old, but nevertheless good:

A field slave in the South, to whom meat was a rare blessing, one day found in his trap a plump rabbit. He took him out alive, held him under his arm, patted him, and began to speculate on his qualities. "O how fat he berry fat! The fattest I ever did see! Let me how I cook him. I roast him? No, he so berry fat he lose all he grease. I fry him? He so berry fat he fry himself. Golly! how fat he be! No, I won't fry him; I stew him."

The thought of the savory stew made the nigger imagination, his arm relaxed, when off hopped the rabbit, and squatting at a goodly distance, he eyed his late owner with great composure. The negro knew there was an end of the matter, and summoning all his philosophy, he thus addressed the rabbit, shaking his fat at him all the time—"You longered, white-skinkered, red-eyed son of a—, you no so berry fat arter all noder!"

"I'm afloat! I'm afloat!" screamed out a young lady of powerful lungs and fingers to match, as she exercised both at the piano.

"You're afloat, eh?" growled an old sea dog, whose ears were only set for that wind instrument, the ocean, played upon by Eolus and Neptune. "I should judge you was afloat, by the squall you raise!"

At no former period within the history of our Country, perhaps, have the principles inculcated by the Father of his Country applied with greater force, than they do at present. His Farewell Address should be read over and over again by every citizen of the land; and he who would rise from its perusal, unaffected by its warnings, must indeed be callous to the instincts of patriotism. The following Extracts have a momentous weight at the present crisis:

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare which can not and but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent reflection, some sentiments which are the result of a candid observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of our hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also your dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes, and from different quarters, much pain will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth—as this is the point in your political foresight against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it;—accustoming yourselves to think and to speak of it as a palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned;—and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to ensue the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have ever to entertain a affection of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause, fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and success.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here, every citizen of our country has the most commanding motives to carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The north, in an unrestrained intercourse with the south, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and procures for its consumption the security and economy of a free market. The south, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the north, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the season of the north, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national wealth, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, which it itself is incapable of attaining. The east, in like intercourse with the west, in the progressive improvement of the interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home.—The west derives from the east supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must necessarily owe the secure enjoyment of its independence and its equal participation to the weight, influence, and future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest, as one nation. Any other tenure by which the west can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apocryphal and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be a precarious one.

While, in the present position of our country, such feelings of an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined can not fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resources, proportionally greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations, and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from the union a tranquillity from the broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which oppose foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, whose consequences were infinitely more mischievous. Hence, I believe, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere?—Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. I am authorized to hope that a proper conviction of the value of the union, will afford a happy issue of the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a party feeling, and by agitating local interests may seek to distract the passions of those who have a true and equal view of the national interest. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You can not shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head. They have seen in the negotiation with the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have seen in the negotiation of two treaties—that with Great Britain and that with Spain—which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. They it not be surprised that they have seen in the negotiation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Why then not honorably be deaf to those insinuations, if they are true, which are sent from their brethren and connect them with alien?

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