

SYMPATHY WITH THE IRISH EXILES.

The Senate having passed the consideration of the resolution of sympathy with the Irish exiles—the pending question being upon the amendments moved by Mr. Seaward to the amendment, and after that Senator had addressed the Senate—

Mr. Badger. I have desired to say a few words on the subject of this resolution, and as the Senator from New York (Mr. Seaward) has closed his remarks somewhat below our usual hour of adjournment, I do not know that I can find a more suitable occasion than this for the expression of my views in relation to the resolution. After every examination which I have been able to give to this subject, I cannot persuade myself that it is proper that the Congress of the United States should pass this resolution in any of the forms in which it has been proposed to our consideration, or in which it can be placed to be made more worthy of our approbation. If I could vote for this resolution in any form, I should undoubtedly vote for it in that which it has assumed from the suggestion of my honorable friend from Illinois (Mr. Shields). If any thing could persuade me to forego the exercise of my own deliberate judgment, and put myself under the mastery of those feelings which are apt to be excited in discussions of this kind, and favor the adoption of this resolution, it would be the speech delivered by the Senator from Illinois (Mr. Shields) upon Saturday last, full as it was of every thing that can do honor to a man's head or his heart. But whatever my feelings of attachment, consideration, and sympathy may be for the other nations and nations of the earth, and I trust I am not deficient in those feelings—I must still prefer my own country, my own race, and the people and the institutions among which I was born, and in which I have been reared, to all other nations and all other races of the world. I therefore cannot consent to give my support to any measure, however recommended to us by high considerations of sympathy, which in my judgment is capable of having an unjust and injurious operation upon the country to which I belong. I will not undertake to say what nation of the earth, if any, is next in my regard to my own; but any and all of them, in next, must be after a vast interval of distance.

Now, this resolution proposes that the Congress of the United States shall express, and that the Congress of the United States shall declare, that we feel it to be our duty to express an earnest desire that the Queen of Great Britain will extend her royal clemency to certain Irish exiles now confined under a sentence in Van Diemen's Land. In the first place, I do not feel myself called upon by my duty as an American Senator to express any sentiment upon that subject. But that would be, and is, the smallest of the difficulties that press upon my mind in reference to this matter. Though I cannot recognize the duty, I might nevertheless, feel willing, if no evil consequences could be readily imagined to result from it, to give expression to a wish. But I say you, Mr. President, who have had no little experience as to the state and condition of foreign affairs and the management of our diplomatic relations with other countries, and the mutual reciprocal operation of acts of this kind, whether we can affirm that there is no danger of the precedent we are now setting? My honorable friend from Michigan (Mr. Cass), in the remarks that he addressed to the Senate the other day upon this subject—in remarks conceived and expressed, I will not say with a force and clearness beyond what he usually exercises, but certainly with great force and clearness—had done some propositions to which I wish to invite the attention of the Senate, and to show, if I can, that the mode by which he undertakes to vindicate the proceeding now recommended to us is one that must, at all events, may, lead to mischievous counter-interference with our concerns, and that the suggestions which he has thrown out for the purpose of dissipating the fears of such a result, when properly considered, are entitled to no weight.

The honorable Senator first laid down a proposition in these words:—

“Mr. President, a great change has taken place in the opinions of the world on the subject of political offences. They were formerly carried with their reproach of crime. They violate, indeed, existing laws, but they generally originate in the most praiseworthy motives, and are pursued at the hazard of every earthly good, as Washington and a host of other illustrious men in ancient and in modern days pursued their patriotic enterprises.”

Again he says, alluding to these political offences:—

“They are recognized as being unfortunate, but not vicious. Indeed, they are often noble men, as are those whose case engages our attention, and who deserve the kind interest of the world, both from their motives and their character, and also from the position, as upon high but low, to which they have fallen, and in consequence of an effort made not for themselves but for their country. It cannot be—there is not the all-best ground of it—such a national application will ever be made in any case but in one like this, which is as far from moral guilt as innocence is from crime. It is not only that the example will set by it will be used for the purpose of intermeddling with the ordinary criminal proceedings of other Powers.”

And again he says:—

“As to improper interference, it appears to me an entire misconstruction of the terms to apply it to a case like this. It is not interference at all; it is intercession.”

affirmed, I apprehend, without universal assent, but with few exceptions. But even assuming it to be so, then the honorable Senator says, we come forward not to interfere, but to intercede for these political offenders, upon the ground that they are persons free from moral guilt; that they are noble patriots who have been condemned to grievous imprisonment—originally condemned to forfeiture of life—for the discharge of a high act of patriotic duty to their country, with the noblest motives influencing them in what they have done, and they are not to be considered as affected with any species of moral blame. Well now, sir, be so, as usual that it is so in fact, and that we believe it to be so. How is that proposition to be viewed by the British Government? That Government represented these men as traitors for an attempt to overturn the existing Government of the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland. For the offences they were convicted of, for the offence they received sentence of death, and that sentence was afterwards commuted to transportation or exile to Van Diemen's Land.

Now, sir, it seems to me, in the first place, that the English Government will scarcely think when they have prosecuted these men for an offence of this kind, pronounced by their laws to be a criminal offence, and after conviction and judgment have not thought proper to pardon the criminal, but have changed that sentence of death for banishment from the realm—they will not consider that they are honorable and noble men, who have been influenced by high and patriotic motives in what they have done. They look upon them in a far different light. That being the case, Mr. President, does it not follow that we have reason to fear, if we set this example, that we shall have it followed with a multitude of unpleasant and disagreeable interferences with the administration of our own laws?

I come, Mr. President, from a part of the country which I look upon as especially conservative. We are in the habit of great deal—when the breeze of public sentiment have blown until they have agitated the country of the State, and almost incapacitated their own judgment of what is right and prudent, in consequence of the proximity of a certain portion of the United States, and the motives, considerations, and influences that are apt to stir them to a great degree of excitement—to consider a little, being ourselves somewhat removed from these immediate causes which are so apt to mislead the judgment, to look a little ahead and inquire whether what we do may not be done in a very unpleasant manner in respect to us.

Now, Mr. President, let us suppose for one moment that some of the actors in the Christiana riots had been found guilty of high treason. They were indicted for high treason. High treason is a political offence, we know, in this country, but not a treason like that which, from time to time, has been established by the statutes in England. We know of no treason except levying war against the United States, or giving aid and comfort to their enemies. Now, sir, suppose that the transaction in which any of these parties were engaged had been declared to be an act of levying war against the United States, that being an act adopted in consequence of the execution of a law of the United States, it was in no judicial sense to be described as any other than an attempt to deprive the authority of Government, and to put an end to the supremacy of the law. Now, I pray you, sir, to consider if that case would not, in the view of the sympathizing friends on the other side of the water, have presented a case, with all the claims which the honorable Senator brings forward in behalf of the Irish exiles, for the interference of the ultra, for the interference of the masses, or of Government, or Parliament, or legislative assemblies on the other side of the water, representing the strong feelings of modern humanity, and of general sympathy with the oppressed everywhere. Why, sir, to such people those Christiana rioters would have appeared noble men—engaged, indeed, it is true, in the small and technical offence of violating the municipal laws of the country; in fact, what is called treason against the United States; but influenced by high and noble motives, and under the inspiration of a higher law, and an enthusiasm which prompted them to go forward as every earthly hazard, not for the benefit of themselves, but as my friend from Michigan said with regard to these gentlemen, for the benefit of their country; to relieve the oppressed, to prevent the hunted way-farers from being dragged back into a state of captivity from which they had fortunately escaped—as men influenced by a high and lofty spirit of hospitality, who, with outstretched arms, were willing, even at the hazard of destroying the constitution of their country, to carry into effect these high, noble, and generous impulses of their nature.

Now, Mr. President, I confess the idea which occurred to me that this proceeding instituted by us might be an extremely unpleasant and disagreeable one, when resorted to in some of the future contingencies of the country by persons abroad who would have assumed precisely the same position that the honorable Senator has argued—that they were not interfering in our concerns, but only interceders—I say my fear has not been removed by the assurance he has given. I can well conceive this, Mr. President, that no applications of this kind would ever be made by foreign Governments. No resolution of a higher law, and no resolution which the English Parliament, except in behalf of those whom they think to be meritorious objects for their interposition. Nor shall we ever adopt any such proceeding, except in behalf of those whom we regard in that light. But this is not the question. If we are to interpose, and think we can interpose without giving offence, and can properly do so, and think that it is our duty to interpose, because we look upon these persons sentenced to this banishment by a foreign Government as meritorious and noble men, and as entitled to our sympathies, and accompanied with no moral blame, we cannot resist the right of a foreign State, or a foreign Parliament, or legislative bodies, to interfere in precisely the same mode in regard to citizens of ours that we may think worthy of the extreme position in which they may regard us occupying in the same relation with regard to moral guilt which we attribute to the persons in whose behalf these resolutions are now offered. We should cut ourselves off by adopting this proceeding from any right to object. Let us not where the thing would end. A resolution of the British Parliament may be passed. They may take up and discuss resolutions to send to us, or have them communicated to us in the kind of indirect and somewhat unostentatious mode which the Senator from Michigan (Mr. Cass) has referred to, through their Minister in this country. I wish upon this subject to practice upon the old definition of morality—of being

to others as I would be done by. I saw no interference of foreign States and Governments in our internal affairs anywhere, and therefore I am not willing to set the precedent of such interference on our behalf with their internal concerns. I know, Mr. President, that this resolution springs from the highest and best motives. I know that my honorable friend, who has modified it, at least in my judgment, has no superior (in knowledge of the honorable and elevated sentiments which belong to the human heart, but it was well remarked, as I think, by Salmon, or some of those old Roman writers, that Cassius once said in the Roman Senate that there was never any course of measures which had brought ruin upon a country which at their first outset did not spring from some good motive, and in the initiative were intended to accomplish some good end. Seeing, then, Mr. President, as I think I do, that the step which it is asked of us to take may lead to the unpleasant and disagreeable consequence to which I have alluded, I cannot, for myself, vote for this resolution.

I beg to say, before going further, that in the illustration I have selected for the purpose of conveying to the Senate the notion which I have of the evils to which we may be subjected, I do not mean at all to intimate that these gentlemen to whom this resolution refers are to be, in any single instance, confounded with the Christiana rioters that I have mentioned. Far otherwise! I intended no such thing. It was an unpleasant comparison; but I selected it as an illustration of the principle upon which we may hereafter be assailed through a proceeding initiated by ourselves.

The honorable Senator from New York, in the remarks he has submitted to the Senate this morning, after assuring us that there was no danger that Great Britain would take any offence at this proceeding, became exceedingly bold, and holds in very slight regard and estimation any offence or serious displeasure of that Power. Well, Mr. President, I am not a very valiant man, and I confess myself to have a large share of that extreme reluctance as well to cutting the throats of other people as to having my own cut, which is denominated by the word “fear.” And I go one step further. In my representative character, I have a great deal of fear of involving this country in collisions with the great Powers of the earth. Who should not fear it? Is not war a dreadful evil? Is not a war with the naval and commercial Power upon earth, if not the latter respect our own country should not be excepted, a fearful evil? Who does not fear such evils? I fear them for my country; I fear them for those who might be called upon on such an occasion to wage the battles of the country. It is very easy for us—particularly those of us who are past that age when we should be liable to be called into the service of the country in the prosecution of any of those wars in which we might be involved, to talk lightly about feats and wounds, and battles, and death. If we know the conflict is to be waged by others, and not by ourselves, we can be very brave with a very small amount of personal exposure.

But, sir, I should fear such a result far more upon another ground. I should fear that my country would bring upon itself the displeasure of other States, by going out of its way to do what, as a nation, it has no right to do. I should fear putting ourselves in the wrong, in the outset, by such a proceeding. If we must have a conflict with Great Britain, or any other nation, let us be right in the commencement and in the prosecution of the whole conflict. And rely upon it, sir, when such a conflict comes—if it must, which God forbid—those who have some little salutary fear beforehand of the coming emergency will not be found the least resolute to do what that emergency may require.

But, Mr. President, I have an objection to this resolution of another and different kind from that suggested by the honorable Senator from New York. It has been said by the Senator from Michigan (Mr. Cass) that Great Britain will not regard this in the light of an official interposition with her concerns. We hear from various quarters that the probability is that the British Government, acting upon this information of the wishes of the American people, may gladly interpose and discharge these gentlemen from their hard captivity. For one, I should be a little sorry that the Government should, at our interposition and as a favor to us, interpose and set these gentlemen at liberty. And why? Because sir, it is very obvious that it places us under an obligation to the British Government. It only entitles them to interfere by way of interceding in behalf of our people, if any of them should be convicted of offences similar to that to which I have referred—not only to interfere by way of interceding, but to come with a claim upon us that shall be heard. I, for one, am not willing that this country shall lay itself under any such obligation by the clemency, courtesy, and kindness of the British Queen.

I do not join in the denunciation which the honorable Senator from New York has this morning poured forth upon the conduct and character of the British Government, or the conduct and character of the British church. But, while I do not choose to enter into such tirades of condemnation upon any foreign nation or establishment, I nevertheless say this, which I wish to be intimated to those who are disposed to interpose in behalf of the Irish exiles, and in the first place without any right to complain upon our part, and in the next place with the right of complaint upon theirs, if we do not treat their interposition as favorably as they have treated ours. But, Mr. President, if I did pronounce the denunciation which the honorable Senator has this morning pronounced upon the English Government and people, I would not make the disclaimer which he has made. He speaks of Ireland and the Irish as being victims of the most detestable, barbarous, and unprincipled oppression and persecution—I do not mean to quote his words, but that is the substance of what he has said—and at the same he says he has no prejudices against the oppressor. I do not understand how a man can extend his sympathy equally to the oppressor and the oppressed, equally to the wrong-doer and the wronged. If the first of what he has said is correct, it appears to me that he cannot consistently do otherwise than to merely denounce that Government, but have, in that is the proper word, rejected against the Government and the people—as just animosity, founded upon the fact that upon his own showing they are totally unworthy of consideration and regard—I am not called upon to pronounce as to the conduct of the British Government, or to relation to the conduct and character of O'Brien, Mitchell, and others, who are now in the calamitous condition of exiles from their country. It is sufficient for me here—what ever opinions as an individual I may entertain

upon this subject—to say that, as a Senator of the United States, I cannot consent, for my part, to support a measure which, whether it gives offence or not by approbation and accordance upon the part of the British Government, seems to me to be followed in every case, and in the latter principally and chiefly, with consequences which we may see occasion to regret.

There is one gentleman who was expressed by the honorable Senator from Michigan (Mr. Cass) which commands my most cordial assent. I was struck with it. I felt its force and propriety, and its applicability to the question now under consideration, and some kind subjects, which, though not very aptly applied, were, upon your table. It is in these words:—

“It is best to let a little common sense into our diplomatic questions.”

I know no case which, according to my judgment, more requires that we should let a little common sense upon us, as a nation, than a little common sense in the regulation of our concerns. Let us not be carried away captive with emotions which are generous and noble in themselves, but which do not furnish a proper guidance for representative conduct. A man in the private transactions of life may allow a profuse generosity for help, and thus exhaust his purse and beggar himself for life. When it is done, however severely we disapprove, we are obliged to have a sympathy for him who, under such impulses, has sacrificed his own and himself. But those who represent a nation are bound, in my judgment, to have all their sympathies and feelings under thorough and complete control, and regulate themselves by their deliberations—let common sense weigh in all their deliberations. They would not be like the generous man who squanders his own; for if he yield themselves up to their feelings, they are apt to be misled, and to do not their own—the wealth, the power, and the resources of the State, of which they are only the representatives. They sacrifice not themselves but their country.

With the kindest feelings and the highest respect for my honorable friends who take an interest in the passage of this resolution, I cannot, for these reasons I cannot give it my vote in any form.

EXTENSION OF THE WOODWORTH PATENT.

Some time ago we directed the attention of “all those concerned” to the efforts which were about to be made for the extension of the famous Woodworth Patent, for seven years beyond the term when it shall expire—which will be on the 27th day of December, 1856, nearly four years from the present date. Systematic and well planned efforts to get the present Patent Committee of the two Houses of Congress to favor the extension of the patent, will be made, and no means spared to get the Bill passed. It is time that those who honestly believe themselves to be morally wronged by the monopoly of this patent: were up and doing. It is for you, gentlemen, to organize and act. Things are managed in Washington with so much subtilty, that the first you will know will perhaps be an extension of the patent of William Woodworth to his heirs, &c., for a period of seven years from 1856. It may appear strange to some of our citizens, that the public body in this free country, would do such a thing—would dare to do it; but despotic and unjust grants of monopolies are not peculiar to kings and emperors. Unless our rulers are watched, they will forget themselves; the people must let them know that their eyes are upon them, and that they will call them to account for every vote they give. There are Senators and Members in Congress against whom the breath of suspicion cannot be raised; let their attention be directed to this case.

It is long since the late Common Council of the great city of New York passed a contract granting a monopoly to a Gas Company in the city, for seventeen years, and the grant was actually legislated for their successors, as it was not to take effect until they—the grantees—were six months out of office. If the present Congress extend the Woodworth patent five years before its expiration, it will exhibit a want of decency without a parallel, but, then, such considerations may not prevent its extension. The most effectual way to prevent its extension is to petition and use efforts to get the present grant repealed. We do not counsel this, but in consideration of the efforts made for its extension.

The Committees on Patents consist of Moses North, Jr., Charles T. James, James Watson, W. C. Deane, and Truman Smith—these are the Senators. The Committee of the House consists of David K. Carter, of Ohio, M. M. Dimmick, of Pa. W. J. Ward of Ky., Benj. J. Thurston, of R. L., and Alex. White, of Ala. These gentlemen are the proper persons to whom petitions on patents should be addressed.

RELEASE OF THRASHER.

The release of Mr. Thrasher, following so closely the pardon of the Cuban prisoners, forms a pungent commentary on the spiteful denunciations of the Democratic organs, and the few Whig prints which hunted with them. The action they ridiculed as weak has resulted in success. The policy they derided as squalid and undignified has realized its whole object, without periling the pacific relations that have existed between the two countries. A quiet and even course—betraying no signs of humiliation, and yet avoiding the opposite extreme of threats or violence—has accomplished all that was ever contemplated, with a degree of satisfaction attainable by no other means. The bitter quarrel into which the fiery Democracy would have plunged us has been avoided; while those whom war could not have helped are once more free.

Other outstanding questions between this country and Spain remain as they were before the Cuban difficulty arose, and must form the subjects of future negotiation. It is enough for to-day to know that the Cuban affair, however gloomy in its beginning and in its bearing upon individuals, has been settled amicably, with a result which vindicates the policy of the Administration and demonstrates the shamelessness or want of judgment of its revilers.—Republic.

IMPROVEMENT OF TAR RIVER.

We learn that Gov. Reid has appointed the following gentlemen as Commissioners under an act of Assembly, to superintend the contemplated improvements in Tar river, to wit:—

William Norfleet, Esq. of Edgecombe. Richard H. Lewis, Esq. of P. H. James K. Hatton, Esq. of Beaufort. Raleigh Standard.

And why could not the Standard, whose editor, it seems, is Governor de facto, have informed the folks down this way why this business of appointing commissioners, has been set dead by id now, when it ought to have been done nearly six months ago? Is the Governor de facto afraid to let the facts come out? So James K. Hatton, Esquire, is commissioner from Beaufort county! Pro di gratia! N. S. Whig.

Advertisements. We report the series of acts known as the “Allotment measures as drafted, in their original shape and connection, a system of compromise the most odious and the best for the entire country, that could be obtained from conflicting sectional interests and opinions, and that, therefore, they ought to be adopted in their present form, as a final settlement, in preference to any other.” (Resolution of Wm. Calhoun, December 1, 1851.)

FIRE COMPANIES.

We call attention to the City Ordinance and the Proclamation of the Intendant, relative to the formation of Fire Companies, which will be found in another column. It is absolutely indispensable, to give efficiency to the action of the Municipal authorities, in this particular, that there should be a prompt and cordial co-operation on the part of our citizens. We hope, therefore, that the requisite number of names to make the Companies complete will be immediately volunteered, and that the Intendant may be spared the necessity of resorting to the compulsory process designated by law.

WAKE COUNTY COURT.

This tribunal is in Session the present week. STEPHEN STEPHENS, Esq., was on Monday, elected County Trustee. Mr. S. will make an efficient and faithful officer.

FROM EUROPE.

The American mail steamer Pacific, from Liverpool, brings dates several days later from Europe, (to the 28th ult.)

Cotton has advanced an eighth of a penny, with sales of forty odd thousand bales in four days.—Floor had advanced six pence per barrel. In England rumors were current of a threatened invasion by L. Napoleon Bonaparte. The Government had ordered twenty-five thousand troops to London, and thirty thousand stand of arms to be sent to that place from Birmingham. It had also called home three of the principal ships of war stationed in the Tagus. The rumors may be a consequence of these warlike preparations which may have no other immediate object than the strengthening of the national defenses.

The news from France relates mainly to the organization of the new Government. The Paris Monitor of the 27th publishes the names of seventy two members of the new Senate and officers of Government. BAROCH is Vice President of the Senate, and presides in the absence of the President. There are thirty four Counsellors of State. The Ministry is definitely constituted.—CASSIENAGA is Minister of State; STANARD, of War; TURGOOT, of Foreign Affairs. The Monitor contradicts the rumors relating to fresh measures of severity on the part of Government.—M. MONTALMBERT and several of her members of the Consultative Committee have resigned their functions in consequence of the decrees respecting the Orleans family. The Monitor also announces that the Government will not require any exceptional measures to maintain tranquility. M. JULES FARRÉ, the President of the Civil Tribunal at Rodez, has been arrested on a warrant charging him with having excited the inhabitants to civil war. Napoleon has published a decree abrogating that of the late Provisional Government which abolished titles of nobility. The impression is gaining ground that Louis Napoleon will seek an early opportunity to pro-voke war with England.

GEN. CASS ON INTERVENTION.

In Gen. Cass's late speech delivered in the Senate or rather read in the Senate, for it was all written out and copied sent off to New York, and even as far as Boston, and were published there simultaneously with its publication in Washington—in this speech, the one great point, more emphatically insisted upon than any other, was this—that the declaration or protest of the United States against the intervention by Russia or other governments, in the affairs of Hungary, should not necessarily be followed by war. These are his words:—

I repeat emphatically, what I said upon a former occasion, when this subject was before us, and what upon no occasion have I since contrarily declared or unaltered—and I may add what I distinctly stated to the many of the struggles of my own country, now the honored guest of ours, in the first conversation I had with him upon this subject—that the people of the United States were not prepared to maintain the rights of Hungary by war, that the only influence we could exert was a moral and not a physical one. And certainly the considerations connected with this branch of the subject, are so obvious to me that I must be allowed to express my surprise that any American could seriously contemplate an offensive war—I mean offensive in the nature of its operation through us in its course—against Austria and Russia, in the present condition of this country and of Europe, to be carried on by fleets and armies, sent to the Adriatic or to the Baltic, or to both. Such an undertaking can hardly be the subject of serious investigation, not worthy of serious reflection.

Gen. Cass here says, that the United States are in no condition to go to war, and therefore, that we are not prepared to make the declaration good which he would have the Congress adopt and send forth to the world. He stops here, however, at the point when the question comes up, how would such a declaration—made, as Gen. Cass would have it made, with the admission that we are in no condition to follow it up—be regarded by other nations, and where would our failure to follow it up place the United States? That such a declaration would not have influence on the nation threatened, every man can answer for himself when he hears an idle threat made against him. How it would place us, as a nation, before the world, M. Cass has himself proclaimed. In his speech at the Bar dinner in New York, where the question was brought home to him, and had to be answered, he, with a frankness which Gen. Cass would do well to follow, confessed himself thus:—

“Yes, gentlemen, I confess should Russia not respect such a declaration of your country, then you are obliged, LITERALLY OBLIGED, to go to war, or else be prepared to be degraded before mankind from your dignity. (Applause.) Yes, I confess, that would be the case.”

So here we have it. Gen. Cass would have the Senate adopt a declaration threatening war, which he confesses he would not follow out to fight; and M. Cass tells us—and tells us truly—that to do so, as Gen. Cass would have us do, would “degrade us before mankind.” It is not for us to suppose that the shame of such a degradation rightly belongs to those who would bring their country to it. Let them have it!

As was to be expected, we have in the essay upon the Constitution passed in honor of Mr. Calhoun and Senator. Mr. Calhoun proposes to see in these the proper checks upon the General Government; that which in this republic will effect what other institutions did in bringing about the happy balance which history eulogizes as obtaining in Rome and Poland and the Six Nations of New York! It is not very surprising that one who sees beauty in nullification should indulge in romantic appraisals of the constitution of Poland, in whose Diet unanimity was required to pass laws, and in whose assemblies, consisting of from 150,000 to 200,000 persons, as he himself tells us, the humblest individual could interpose an effective veto to action resolved upon by the other 150,000. The edge that drawing men catch at straws, was never better illustrated, perhaps, than when we see so strong a swimmer as Mr. Calhoun, throwing out his arms towards the long since damned institutions of Poland, for aid and comfort in his efforts to float upon what Mr. Webster has well dubbed a “Serbenian log.” It was a tough problem in the higher mathematics to determine through how many centuries of progress and how many degrees of civilization the United States would have to retrograde, before they arrived at the rudeness and stupidity requisite to equal them in regard to Poland as an example. What then shall we say about the Six Nations? Really, when one thinks of the degradation to be accomplished among the Western Anglo Saxons in order to raise these last to the superiority to be desired in an oracle, he is fain to take refuge among geological periods as necessary, upon the most moderate calculation, to bring it about.

The reference to the veto possessed by the tribunes in Ancient Rome, deserves a more serious attention. This Mr. Calhoun believes strictly analogous to the veto which he contends for in a State; and so reasons from what the former undoubtedly accomplished for the glory of Ancient Rome, to what may well be anticipated from the latter in behalf of America. Mr. Calhoun's argument for nullification is briefly as follows. The only sovereign known to our institutions are the people of the several States. They created the separate State governments and the general government, which are co-ordinate and equal, alike supreme, the one over reserved and the other over delegated powers. If one of these has the right of determining the extent of its own powers, so must the other. This argument results in reducing to the absurd the claim; for it is manifest that the difference of judgment can be determined only by brute force. It results then that if a State denies the exercise of a particular right to the General Government—that right is in abeyance; that is, it is nullified. The only remedy (and he thinks a perfect one) is the power of amendment; a power, for the very purpose of compelling the submission of a refractory State, entrusted to three-fourths, and not requiring unanimity. The amendment having been made, then the State is to choose between acquiescence and secession. With regard to the tribunal veto the case was otherwise. The tribunes of the people first became so powerful about the year 494 B. C. They served the purpose of protecting the oppressed plebeians from the overwhelming power of the patricians. At first they were appointed by the patricians or at least their concurrence was necessary. In the year 472 their election was committed to the people. All this while the tribunes acted by a majority, but about the year 354, some say earlier, any one tribune could exercise his veto, so as to put a stop to the vote of his colleagues. This right continued down to about the year 130 and was only ended by a revolution. After this time the office of tribune lost its original character, and instead of protecting their own order from the assaults of patrician power, the tribunes engaged in oppressive operations upon the Senate and paved the way for Julius Cæsar, the great champion of the lower orders in Rome. Mr. Calhoun makes quite elaborate mention of this veto power in Rome; but always in general terms. The great difference between this and the power for which he contends in the States—a difference sufficient to destroy the analogy—is the influence possessed by the body restrained over those who restrained them. At first, we see, that the possessors of this veto held office under those whose conduct they served to check. Through two centuries and a half of the most glorious period of Roman History will that was necessary to secure the way to the Senate was to bribe one of the tribunes to interpose, and so prevent the action of his colleagues. That they did this we know from history, and it was the easier task that the patricians, until a very late period, had sufficient control of the comitia tributa, by their clients, to elect at least one of the five or ten tribunes. What better proof of the power could be asked for than what occurred in the case of the Agrarian Law proposed by Gracchus in 133? Even this, confessedly of the highest interest to the plebeians, was opposed by a bribed tribune, and so effectual was his high resistance that the measure prevailed only respects to-day, but we find ourselves as pressed for time, that we must defer it to another paper.

HON. WILLIE P. MANGUM.

The “Hillsboro Recorder,” alluding to the recent suggestion of the name of Hon. WILLIE P. MANGUM, by the “Weldon Patriot,” in connection with the nomination for Governor, says:—“If he can be prevailed upon to accept the nomination for Governor, we have no hesitation in expressing a belief, participated in by many, that he is THE MAN FOR THE CRISIS. If his health would permit him to canvass the State, his clarion voice would arouse the Whigs to a degree of enthusiasm and a unity of purpose which have not been often witnessed in North Carolina. We do not believe the Whig standard could be committed to safer hands.”

OUR UNIVERSITY.

We are requested to state that THOMAS S. ASKE, Esq.; of Wadeboro, has been chosen, and has consented, to deliver the Annual Address before the two Literary Societies of the University, at the approaching Commencement. A most excellent selection.

The “National Intelligencer” says that “the field of ‘intervention’ appears to enlarge with the encouragement given to it in the Hall of Congress. The Senate has now under earnest debate two distinct propositions for carrying out the principle; first, the general protest to all the world and Russia in particular, invoked by M. Kosuth; secondly, the intervention to the British Government in favor of the Irish officers.—Yesterday a third subject for our good offices was presented to the Senate, in a petition from certain Russians in New York, praying our Government to interpose its good offices in favor of their countrymen banished to Siberia. Another has been heretofore promised by an honorable Senator in favor of Abd-el-Kader.”

We are likely to have as many national wrongs to redress, as the renowned knight of La Mancha found, when he called forth on his noble and memorable mission to redress all private ones.

THE UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE.—We have received the first No. of this Periodical, edited by a Committee of the Senior Class of the University, and published by W. D. COOPER, at the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb. We have had no opportunity, as yet, of examining its contents, but have no doubt that they are highly creditable to the Editorial Committee.

We wish the Magazine's success. Such an undertaking has peculiar claims upon the patronage of the Public; and the present one, independently of those peculiar claims, is peculiarly favorable, will doubtless deserve its account of its intrinsic merits.

There are one or two matters in the last “Standard” to which we had designed paying our respects to-day, but we find ourselves as pressed for time, that we must defer it to another paper.

THE CASE OF MR. THRASHER.—DIGNITY OF MR. BARRINGER.—The New York Times, of Saturday, has the following special dispatch from Washington:—

Some papers have been inclined to censure Mr. Barringer, our Minister at Madrid, for his lack of zeal on behalf of Mr. Thrasher and the Cuban prisoners. Now, the fact is, and I state it on authority that cannot be gainsayed, that Mr. Barringer, by his earnest application, obtained the release of the prisoners before any instructions from our Government relating to them reached him. So, also, the pardon and release of Mr. Thrasher were obtained by Mr. Barringer before he received a line from Mr. Webster on the subject, and before the arrival of the special bears of dispatches relating to it from the United States.

Mr. Thrasher may be soon expected in this country.

MASSACHUSETTS NEGROES SOLD AS SLAVES.

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 9.—The four Massachusetts free negroes, charged with attempting to abduct a slave, and sentenced to be sold to slavery, in consequence of their inability to pay the fees, at Galveston, Texas, have been sold to the highest bidder, as follows: Saml. South, of Alabama, bought Anthony Hays for \$225; Levana Smith for \$270; and William Brown for \$200, intending to re-sell them again at Mobile. John Ford, of Galveston, bought Jacob Thompson for \$285, on speculation.

ANOTHER COPY OF ETAT OF NAPOLÉON.—The last of a note perpetrated by Louis Napoleon in the discarding of Madame Bonaparte, his mistress and the mother of his children, (a lady said to have been born in Baltimore,) preparatory to the espousal of a Royal Princess, from one of the reigning houses of Europe. It is said to have been banished from France like a fiend—expelled from Paris by firing with the children of the U. S., or in her arms, and compelled to seek an asylum in England.