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LEONIDAS B. LEMAY, Associate Editor

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SPEECH

MR. CALHOUN, (OF SOUTH CAROLINA.) ON THE Slavery Question, delivered in the Senate of the U-nited States, March 4, 1850.

I have, Senators, believed from the first that the agitation of the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in disunion. Entertaining this opinion, I have, on all proper occasions, endeavored to call the attention of both of the two great parties which divide the country to adopt some measure to prevent so great a disaster, but without saccess. The agitation has been permitted to proceed, with ost no attempt to resist it until it has reached a period when it can no longer be disguised or denied that the Union is in danger. You in the electoral college of 52. have thus had forced upon you the greatest be preserved!

To give a satisfactory answer to this mighty question, it is indispensable to have an accurate and thorough knowledge of the nature and the character of the cause by which the Union is endangered. Without such knowledge it is impossible to pronounce, with any certainty, by what measure it can be saved; just as it would be impossible for a physician to pronounce in the case of some dangerous disease. with any certainty, by what remedy the patient could be saved, without similar knowledge of the nature and character of the cause of the dis-The first question, then presented for case. consideration, in the investigation 1 propose to make, in order to obtain such knowledge, is-What is it that has endangered the U-

'To this question there can be but one an ower; that the immediate cause is the almost universal discontent which pervades all the States composing the Southern section of the Union. This widely extended discontent is not of recent origin. It commenced with the agitation of the slavery question, and has been step further back, is-What has caused this widely diffused and almost univeral discontent?

It is a great mistake to suppose, as is by some, that it originated with demagogues, who excited the discontent with the intention of aiding their personal advancement, or with the disappointed ambition of certain politicians, who resorted to it as the means of retrieving their fortunes. On the contrary, all the great political influences of the section were arrayed against excitement, and exerted to the utmost s keep the people quiet. The great mass of he people of the South were divided, as in the people of the other section into Whigs and Democrats, The leaders and the presses of both parties in the South were very solicitous to prevent exeitement and to preserve quiet; because it was seen that the effects of the former would necessarily tend to weaken if not destroy, the political ties which united them with their respective parties in the other section,of preserving quiet. But as great as it was, ficient to prevent the widespread discontent which now pervades the the discontent itself, that they not remain, as things now are, consistently honor and safety, in the Union. The ment question to be considered is-What has

929,827, Of this number the Northern States had 1,977:899, and the Southern 1,952,072, of the former States. The number of States including Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee were sixteen; of which eight inclu-ing Vermont belonged to the Northern, mak-king an equal division of the States between the two sections, and eight, including Kentucky and Tennessee, to the Southern, mak-king an equal division of the States between the two sections, and eight, including Kentucky and Tennessee, to the Southern, mak-king an equal division of the States between the two sections under the first census.— There was a small preponderance in the states are may and sub of 36° 30′, called the the territory acquired with Texas. If the

coulege in favor of the Northern, owing to the fact that according to the fact that according to the provisions of the Constitution, in estima-ting federal numbers, five slaves count but, so and the large part of Texas is all the powers of the system. A single see the provisions of the construction of the ting federal numbers, five slaves count but, and the large part of Texas is all the powers of the system. A single see the provisions of the construction of the tion governed by the will of the numerical majority, has now, in fact, the control of the sill in content the tion of the system. A single see tion governed by the will of the numerical has extended over both; and the great mass of the assistance in the system of the system. A single see to power, and a gradnal is there one of the remaining cords which is have not been greatly weakened. To this south 609,023. But a large part of Texas is ablished. This ting federal numbers, five slaves count but still in contest 'between the two sections, three; but it was too small to affect sensibly which leaves it uncertiain what will be the tern.

population of the United States amounded to that from which the is a diversity of interests, the interests of the Northern section 17,063,357, of which the Northern section contained 9,728,920, and the Southern 7,334. South has already been excluded, 526,078 ter will be sarificed to the former, however op-most of the Northern States to pass acts, square miles, and would increase the whole pressive the effects may be as the South posto which section she properly belongs. have acquired 2,373,046 square miles of terri- things might be endured, without the hazard This was followed by petitions and resolu-Considering her as neutral, the Northern State tory, from which the north will have excluded of destruction to the South. But such is not tions of Legislatures of the Northern States will have thirteen and the Southern States the South, if she should succeed in monopo- the fact. There is a question of vital impor- and popular meetings, to exclude the Southtwelve, making a difference in the Senate of lizing the newly acquired territories, about tance to the Southern section of the Union, ing to the apportionment under the census of South but about one fourth, tions are as 1840, there were 223 members of the House Such is the first and great cause that has possibly be.

of Representatives, of which the Northern destroyed the equilibrum between the two

of Representatives of 48. The difference in the Senate of two members added to this, gives to the North in the electoral college, a majori-to the north in the electoral college. North in the electoral college, a majori-to the north in the electoral college. North in the electoral college, a majori-to the north in the electoral college. North in the electoral college, a majori-to the north in the electoral college. North in the electoral college is the second of the north in the electoral college. North in the electoral college is the electoral college is the electoral college. North in the electoral college is the electoral college is the electoral college. North in the electoral college is the electoral college is the electoral college. North is the electoral college is the el of Representatives of 48. The difference in Government. It is well known that the Govty of 50. Since the census of 1840, four show that such dutes must necessarily fall ligation to use every effort to destroy it. In-States have been added to the Union; Iowa, Wisconsin, Florida, and Texas. They leave the great exporting States, and that the difference in the Senate as it stood when the census was taken; but add two to the side of the Duor, has in reality paid vastly more than the due proportion of the revenue; because I sing it by the use of all and every means. of the North in the House, making the present deem it unnecessary as the subject has on so Those less opposed and hostile regard it gress, until it fulfils the ultimate end proposed

the electoral college of 52. shall I for the same reason, undertake to show they call it, and, although not so fanatical, above to prevent it rus any one or me causes. The result of the whole is to give the that a far greater portion of the revenue has feel themselves bound to use all efforts which has added to its increase from its original to the same reason. and the gravest question that can ever come under your consideration—How can the Union and the gravest question that can ever come under your consideration—How can the Union are under your consideration—How can the Union partment of the Government, and thereby con share; and that the joint effect of these causes are least opposed and hostile regard it as a bolt has a trained its present magnitude, diminished Normern section a predominance in every de-partment of the Government, and thereby con entrate in it the two elements which consti-tute the Federal Government; majority of States and a majority of their population, esti-States and a majority of their population, esti- revenue and disbursements, would not have bound to give it no countenance or support.mated in federal numbers. Whatever section been lost to her. If to this be added, that On the contrary the southern section regards been lost to her. If to this be added, that many of the duties were imposed, not for ray the relation as one which cannot be destroyed numerous or influential, or have they less in-in the opposite character, by not much less many of the States, it will be in vain Not so the Executive proviso. It concentrates the two in itself possesses the conenue, but for protection-that is, intendended to put money not in the treasury, but directly and the section to poverty, desola-ties of the North in elections? Or has the to stempt to conciliate them by pronouncing But we are just at the close of the sixth de-

ade, and the commencement of the seventh. into the pocket of the the manufacturers, some tion and wretchedness; and accordingly they South greater means of influencing or control- culogies on it. The census is to be taken this year, which must conception may be formed of the immense feel bound, by every consideration of interest add greatly to the decided preponderance of the amount which, in the long course of sixty and safety to defend it.

are making to bring in three additional States her population by attracting emigration from of the northern section over all its depart-

from the territory recently conquered from all quarters to that section. Mexico; which if successful, will add three This combined with the great and primary made an impression on the minds of many, other States in a short time to the Northern eause amply explains why the North has acsection, making five States; and increasing quired a proponderance over every depart-the present number of its States from fifteen ment of the Government by its disproportion-the choose to do. This was sufficient of itself to to twenty and of its Senators from thirty to ate increase of population and States. The put the most fanatical portion of the North in tween abolition and secession! Indeed, as forty. On the contrary, there is not a single former, as has been shown, has increased in action for the purpose of destroving the solar destroving the solar of the Southern section. increasing ever since. The next question, Territory in progress in the Southern section, fifty years, 2,400,000 over that of the South. ing relation between the two races in the and no certainty that any additional State will be added to it during the decade The pros-period is satisfactorily accounted for, by the The

pect then is that the two sections in the Sen- number of emigrants, and the increase of their commenced in 1835. Then, for the first time ate should the efforts now made to exclude the South from the newly acquired Teritories Northern section from Europe and the South Northern section from Europe and the South

Court enlines and judicial advertisements, 25 per sent higher. A distancion of 33 per cent. for advertisements by which that union was for the first census. A distancion of 33 per cent. for advertisements of the remaining cords which in the electoral which that union was for the first census. A distancion of 33 per cent. for advertisements of the remaining cords which in the electoral which that union was for the first census. A distance of power, and a gradual is there one of the remaining cords which in the lectoral first census. A distance of power of the first census. A distance of the remaining cords which in the lectoral first census. A distance of the remaining cords which in the lectoral first census. A distance of the remaining cords which in the lectoral first census. A distance of the remaining cords which is the cord of the cord of the remaining cords which is the cord of the cord of the remaining cords which is the cord of the

by agitation, in the only way it can be, by glory of his life, which has glory of his life. which has spread his over the whole globe, and will transm snapping asunder and weakening the chords which bind it together. the latest posterity. ing with increased intensity, as has been shown will finally snap every chord, when mothing will be left to hold the States together except force. But, surely, that can with an except

acquired by the treaty with Mexico. The integration of that of the Administration of the A 17,003,357, of which the North has any out of the content section of the southern 7,334. 437, making a difference in round numbers, of which the North has appropriated to herself the attent of the Government. But if there was the function of the functio not ordered it-but will consider them subscribers so creased from sixteen to twenty six, making she may succeed in excluding us from in no question of vital importance to the South followed to abolish slavery in foris, magazines, dependent, and sovereign States, in one conan addition of ten States. In the mean time Texas. To sum up the whole, the United in reference to which there was a diversity of the position of Delaware had become doubt- State since they declared their independence views between the two sections, this state of Congress had exclusive power of legislation.

The plan of the Administration of the sacred name of Union. Having now, Senators, explained what it is that endangers the Union, and traced it to two Senators in favor of the former. Accord-ing to the apportionment under the census of South but about one fourth. which the views and feelings of the two sec-ing to the apportionment under the census of South but about one fourth. but one way by which it can be, and that is ification of the Wilmot proviso. I refer to the relation between the two races And congress is invoked to do all this expressly by adopting such measures as will satisfy to effect the same object, of Representatives, of which the Northern destroyed the equilibrum between the two sections in the Government. In the southern section, which constitutes a sidering Delaware as neutral) 87, making a difference in favor of the former in the House difference dif be the ultimate object from the beginning of the agitation until the present time ; and yet is, again, only one way by which that can be so, and has commit opposition is not to the name, but kind feelings between the sections be restored. hold to be unconstitutional, unjust, sistent with their equality as membe and every apprehension of danger to the Union removed. The question, then, is-By what can this be done? But before I under-The question, then, is-By common Union, and cale trievably, the equilibrium between the tw take to answer this question, I propose to show by what the Union cannot be saved. tions. These objections equally apply to what for brevity, I will call the It cannot, then, be saved by enlogies on the Union, however splendid or numerous. The ery of "Union, Union-the glorious Union!" object, and in that respect I must Wilmot, except in the mode of effecting to assert it over the Territories mot proviso, and thereby avoid encouthe united and determined resistance Besides this cry of Union comes com-So th, it denies, by implication.

of Congress to ms the right as belo to the inha effect the object of excluding takes care, in the mean time, to let in freely from the Northern States and quarters, except from the South, to exclude by them the danger of having their sary consequence is to exclu from the Territory, just as offee Wilmot proviso. to effect indirectly and on

ar. The latter, to there are many others,) but because the vio- as joint partners a hatton in this particular is too notorious and of their sights in them; but it inflic palpable to be denied. Again: have they stood er wound than is absolutely nece forth faithfully to repel violations of the Con-stitution! Let their course in reference to the agitation of the slavery question, which was commenced and has been carried ou for fif-teen years, avowedly for the purpose of abol-ishing slavery in the States-an object all ac-teen definition of the states of t knowledged to be unconstitutional—answer. Let them show a single instance, during this loog period, in which they have denouneed the agitators or their attempts to effect what is admitted to be unconstitutional, or a single measure which they have brought forward for thet measure which they have with all there for a the sources. How any set the sources from Texas, (Gen. How a single in the sources is a single in the sources which they have brought forward for the sources. How any set the sources is a single in the sources is a single in the source is a single is a source is a sourc clesiastical nature consisted in the unity of the great religious denominations, with the exception, per haps, of the Catholics, were organized very much upon the principle of our political institutions, beginning with smaller meetings correst would be upon the principle of our political institutions of the upon the principle of our political institutions with the political determined to increase the vigor of their assults and to the upon the principle of our political institutions with the political determined to increase the vigor of their assults and to the upon the principle of our political institutions with the political determined to the upon the principle of our political institutions and to the upon the principle of the statement in the upon the principle of the statement were the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the statement in the upon the principle of the statement is the upon the principle of the statement in the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the statement is the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined to the upon the principle of the political determined that purpose. How can we, with all these facts of self-government as the peo-hefore us, believe that they are sincere in their profession of devotion to the Union, or stitutional, without example its commencement to the pro-shall proceed to show. The recent movement of individual ifornis to form a constitution and a S ernment, and to appoint Senators and haps, of the Catholics, were organized very much upon the principle of our political insti-tutions; beginning with smaller meetings corres-ponding with the political divisions of the country, their organization terminated in one great central assemblage, corresponding very much with the character of Congress. At these meetings the principal clergymen and Lay assumption. If the indiv this movement, had gone into C adventurers, and if, as such, they quered the Territory and est members of the respective denominations from pelling these assaults, and denouncing the au-all parts of the Union met to transact busi-thors as enemies of the Union. Why they dependence, the sovereignty would have been vested in rate and independent community, case, they would have had a right constitution, and to establish a gov themselves; and, if afterwards, U ness relating to their common concerns. It was not confined to what appertained to the doctrines and discipline of the respective de-nominations, but extended to plans for dissem-inating the Bible, establishing missionaries, distributing tracts, and of establishing presses for the publication of tracts, newspapers, and periodicals, with a view of diffusing religious information, and for the support of the doctrines and creation of the community, and find acthing in it to justify sub-mission to wrong. On the contrary, his great and creation of the community and for the support of the doctrines and creation of the community and for the support of the doctrines and creation of the support of the doctrines information, and for the support of the dectrines and exceeds of the denomination. All this combin-ed contributed greatly to strong then the bonds of the Union. The strong ties which held each denomination together formed a strong cord to hold the whole Union together; but, as pow-erful as they were, they have not been able to resist the explosive effect of slavery agita-tic resist the resist res deter us from seceding from the Union should it fail to fulfil the objects for which it shown that they have since vested of their sovereignty. Nor is it less clear, that the tion. The first of these cords which snapped, un-der its explosive force, was that of the pow-erful Methodist Episcopol Church. The nu-merous and strong ties which held it together are all broke, and its unity gone. They now form separate churches; and, instead of that indicate the separate churches; and do instead of that indicate the separate churches; and instead of that indicate the separate churches in the indicate the separate churches in the separate c ting over the acquired territ Congress, and not, as to accur power to acquire Territor or tenaty; but if the power it belongs to Con lisunion. There existed then, as well as now, a union ongs to Congress that between parent country and her ther donies. It was a union that had much t erly felt, they are now arrayed into two hos-tile bodies, engaged in Itigation about what was formerly their common property. The next cord that snapped was that of the Baptista, one of the largest and most re-spectable of the denominations. That of the Presbytarian is not entirely mapped, but some of its strands have given away. That of the Episcopal Church is the only one of the four great Protestant denominations which remains unhroken and entire. the Constitution exp gress shall have powe rich. power is vest

majority in the House in its favour of 50, and in the electoral college of 52. and shall I for the same reason, undertake to show they call it, and, although not so fanatical, dopted to prevent it? Has any one of the causes. suppressed, weaker now than at the com-mencement? Or is the Abolition party less of being regarded as a protector, is regarded ling the movements of this Government now,

add greatly to the decided preponderance of the North in the House of Representatives and in the electoral college. The prospect is, also be estimated with any certainty; but it is safe sent preponderance in the Senate during the period of the decided to its pre-sent preponderance on the Senate during the States. Two Territories, Oregon and Minesota, are already in progress, and strenuous efforts are already in the solution by attracting emigration from are already in the solution by attracting emigration from are already in the solution by attracting emigration from are already in the solution by attracting emigration from are already in the solution by attracting emigration from are already in the solution by attracting emigration from are already in the solution are in the solution are solution and strenuous efforts are already in the solution are in the solution and thus, greatly increase and strenuous efforts and strenuous efforts to destroy the are already in progress, and strenuous efforts and strenuous efforts bear opoulation by attracting emigration from are already in progress and strenuous efforts and existing emigration from are already in progress and strenuous efforts and existing emigration from are already in the solution are all the deciments and formation are solution are soluting are all the solution are solution are all the alleg ments furnished the cause. It was this which tion, before the great and final object at which stain, on the one hand, from violating it, and high duties that the Constitution can be preserved, and with it the Union. But how stands the professio

action for the purpose of destroying the exist-ing relation between the two races in the South. The first organized movement towards it commenced in 1835. Then, for the first time societies were organized, presses established.

Government and the entire powers of the sys-tem. What was once a constitutional Federal may be their opinion of the original abolition rest to the contrary, are considered as wishing to eventions the perfect equilibrium, which, with that ex-emiting the perfect equilibrium, which, with that ex-2. If subscribers order the discontinuance of their 2. If subscribers order the discontinuance of their 3. If subscribers order the discontinuance of the subscribers or order the discontinuance of the subscribers o the perfect equilibrium, when, when the two section, when the States equality of the two section equality of the two section equality of the two sections are with Mexico. The section equality of the two sections equal to the tw

Constitution, does not prohibit slavery. its ing more or less hostile to it. Those most the agitation until the present time ; and

than it had when the agitation commenced? monly from those who we cannot believe To all these questions but one answer can be to be sincere. It usually comes from our as-

put the most fanatical portion of the North in action for the purpose of destroying the exist-action for the purpose of destroying the exist-ing relation between the two races in the South to secole to dissolve the Union. Agi- to this test! Have they abstained from ris-

on the rights of the South during the time. 1 will not enumerate them at present as it will

be done hereafter in its proper place. There is another lying bank of it, with which this is intimately connected, that may be regarded as the great and primary cause. That is to be found in the fact that the equilibriam between the two sections in the Government d when the now stands, one section has the exclusive pow er of controlling the Government, which leaves the other without any adequate means of protecting itself against its encroachment and oppression. To place this subject distive weight of the two sections in the Govern-

ernment under the first census of 1790 and the last census of 1840. According to the former the population of the United States including Vernont, Kentne-ky, and Tennessee, which then were in their incipient condition of heavy with their slaves. By these several acts the of becoming States, but South was excluded from 1,238,025 square follows that they hold them at its pleasure and were not actually admitted, amounted to 3, miles an extent of country considerably ex- discretion and that all the powers of the sys-

succeed, will stand, before the end of the de- in consequence of the sdvantages derived from North, and incendiary publications scattered cords which bound these States together in Cade, twenty Northen States to fourteen the causes assigned. If they had not existed over the whole South, through the mail. The one common Union are far too numerous and Southern, (considering Delaware as neutral, and —if the South had retained all the capital South was thoroughly aroused. Meetings were powerful for that. Distance must be the work Southern, considering Delaware as neutral, and forty Northern Senators to 20 Southern. This great increase of Senators added to the great increase of members of the House of Represen-tatives and eletoral college on the part of the North, which must take place under the next North, which must take place under the detect. decade, will effectually and irretrievably destroy the equilibrium which existed when the Gov-ernment commenced. Had this destruction been the operation

of time, without the interference of Govern- her own people would have at least equalled the States, announcing at the same time, that spiritual or ecclesiastical; some political; othment, the South would have had no reason to the North in population under the census of their ultimate object was to abolish slavery, complain; but such was not the fact. It was 1840, and probably under that about to be ta- not only in the District, but in the States and caused by the legislation of this Govern- ken. She would also, if she had retained ment which was appointed, as the common her equal rights in those territories, have number engaged in the agitation was small readily appreciate the immense force which this cause exerted against agitation and in favor of the interests and security of all. The legis- with the North, and have preserved the equil-

classed under three heads. The first is, that at the commencement of the Government .-series of acts by which the South has been ex- The loss then of the equilibrum, is to be attri- The members of each party presented their eluded from the common territory belonging to buted to the action of this Government.

section. Not some cause, in deeper and more powerful than the one supposed, must exist, to account for discontent so wide and deep, The question, then recurs—What is the cause of this discontent? It will be found in the be-lief of the people of the Southern States, as consists in adopting a system of revenue and disbursements, by which an undue proportion of the burden of taxation has been imposed the consummated. If it did it would not be lest the opposite party should take advantage upon the South, and an undue proportion of its proceed appropriated to the North; and the atan early period of the Government; that it pro-petitons. The effect was that both united in

ing that it is owing to the action of this Gov

whole powers of the system centered in a denied by any one conversant with the politisectional majority. The first of the series of acts by which the the right to resort to force to maintain whatev-

South was deprived of its due share of the er power she claims, against all opposition. Constitution was ratified Territories originated with the Confederacy, is equally certain. Indeed it is apparent, from put in action, has been which preceded the existence of this Govern- what we daily hear, that this has become the as it stood when the Constitution was ratified and the preceded the existence of this Govern- what we daily hear, that this has become the destroyed. At that time there was nearly a ment. It is to be found in the provision prevailing and fixed opinion of a great majoripacteet equilibrium between the two, which afforded ample means to each to protect itself against the aggression of the other; but, as it vast and fertile region which lies between the placed upon the point the placed upon which excluded the South from that large por-tion of Louisiana which lies north of 36° 30°, core you, I have Senators, prepared distical statement, showing the rela-tt of the two sections in the Govern-tt of the two sections in the Govern-

throughout the Union. At this period, the lation by which it has been effected, may be ibrium between the two sections that existed Neither party in Congress had, at that time any sympathy with them, or their cause .-petitions with great reluctance. section. No; some cause, far deeper and more all of the States, as the members of the Fede- But while these measures were destroying as small and contemptible as the party then

caused that belief? One of the causes is undoubtedly, to be traced to the long continued agitation of the slave question on the part of the North, and the many aggressions which they have made on the rights of the South during the time. insisting that the pritions should be received, and that Congress should take jurisdiction of the subject for which they prayed. To justify their course, they took the extraordinary ground that Congress was bound to receive petions on every subject, hower objectionable it might be, and whether they had or had not That the Government claims, and practically

maintains, the right to decide in the last resort, as to the extent of its powers, will searcely be

jurisdication over the subject. These views prevailed in the House of Representatives, and partially in the Senate, and thus the party succeeded in their first movements in gaining what they proposed-a position in Congress, from which agitation could be extended over the whole Union. This was the commencement of the agitation, which has ever since continued, and which as is now acknowledged,

has endangered the Union itself. Now, I ask, what limitation can possibly h

placed upon the powers of a government claiming and exercising such rights?. And if As for myself, I believed. at that early pe ried if the party who got up the petit should succeed in gotting Cougress to take jurisdiction, that agitation would follow, and that it would in the end, if not arrested, denone can be, how can the separate government of the States maintain and protect the powers reserved to them by the Constitution, or the people of the several States maintain those stroy the union. I then so expressed myself in debate and called upon both parties to take grounds against assuming jurisdiction, but in vain. Had my voice been heeded, and which are reserved to them, and among other the sovereign powers by which they ordnined and established not only their separate State constitutions and governments, but also the had Congress refused to take jurisdiction, by the united votes of all parties, the agiation which followed would have been prorented, and the fanatical zeal that gives impulse to constitutions and governments, But if they been of the United which followed would have been presented, and the function, and which has brought us to our present perilose condition, would have be-great Protestant denominations which remains to fits with the structure of the four sive present perilose condition, would have be-toome extinguished from the want of fiel to unbroken and entire. means of maintaining them against the righ ed from the want of faci to

had not existed over the whole South, through the mail. The one common Union are far too numerous and

Nevertheless

ness relating to their common concerns. It avoid this, and pursue the course they do, it

The first of these cords which snapped, un-

form separate churches; and, instead of that feeling of attachment and devotion to the in-terests of the whole church which was formerly felt, they are now arrayed into two hos