

CAROLINA WATCHMAN.

BY HAMILTON C. JONES.

SALISBURY, N. C. SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1837.

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TERMS.

The WATCHMAN may hereafter be had for two Dollars and Fifty Cents per year. A Glass of four new subscribers who will pay in advance the whole sum at one payment, shall have the paper for one year at Two Dollars each, and as long as the same class shall continue thus to pay in advance the sum of Eight Dollars the same terms shall continue, otherwise they will be charged as other subscribers. Subscribers who do not pay during the year will be charged three Dollars in all cases. No subscription will be received for less than one year. No paper will be discontinued, but at the option of the Editor, unless all arrears are paid up. All letters to the Editor must be post-paid; otherwise they will certainly not be attended to.

TERMS OF ADVERTISING—Sixty two & a half Cents per square for the first insertion, and 31 1/2 Cents per square for each insertion afterwards. No advertisement will be inserted for less than one Dollar. Advertisements will be continued until orders are received to stop them, where no directions are previously given. Advertisements by the year or six months will be made at a Dollar per month for each square with the privilege of changing the form every month.

MARKETS.

SALISBURY.

Beeswax per lb. 16 a 17 cts.; Brandy, Apple per gal. 45 a 50 cts.; Cotton per lb. (in bond) 3 cts.; Cotton bagging per yd. 16 [25] cts.; Coffee per lb. 16 a 18 cts.; Castings per lb. 4 a 5 cts.; Cotton yarn, from No 6 to 76 No 11, 81 75 a 2 00 cts.; Feathers per lb. 35 cts.; Flour per bush 54 75; Wheat per bush 51 12 1/2; Oats per bush 30 cts.; Corn per bush 55 cts.; Iron per lb 6 a 8 cts.; Lead per lb 8 a 10 cts.; Molasses per gal. 75 cts.; Nails per lb 9 a 10 cts.; Beef per lb 0 a 0 cts.; Bacon per lb 12 1/2 cts.; Butter per lb 12 1/2 cts.; Lard per lb 15 cts.; Salt per bush 1 25 a 1 50 cts.; Steel, American blister, per lb. 10 cts.; English do per lb 20 cts.; Cast do per lb 25 a 30 cts.; Sugar per lb 12 a 15 cts.; Rum (Jamaica) per gal. 42; Yankee do \$1; Wood (leaves) per lb 30 cts.; Tallow per lb. 10 1/2 cts.; Tow-line per lb 16 a 20 cts.; Wine (Teneriffe) per gal. 50 cts.; Portugal do \$1 50 a \$1 75 cts.; Claret do per gal. \$1 3 a 1 75 cts.; Malaga, (sweet) per gal. \$1; Whiskey per gal. 45 a 50 cts.

CHERRY.

Beef in market per lb 9 a 8 cts.; Bacon per lb 12 cts.; Hams do 00 00 cts.; Beeswax per lb 20 a 22 cts.; Bagging per yard 18 a 25 cts.; Bale rope per lb 12 1/4 cts.; Coffee per lb 12 1/2 a 16 cts.; Cotton per 100 lbs 54 75; Flour per bush 54 75; Wheat per bush 51 12 1/2; Oats per bush 30 cts.; Corn per bush 55 cts.; Iron wagons per brl \$7 000, from stores per \$10 a 13; Iron per 100 lbs 7 0000 a 0, classes per gal 45 50 cts.; Nails cut assort per lb 8 1/2 a 9 cts.; Wrought do per lb 20; Pork per brl \$8 9; Rice per 100 lbs \$4 00; Sugar per lb. 12 10 1/2 a 2 cts.; Salt per bush 3 25; Salt per bush 87 1/2 a 1 cts.; Steel American blister per lb 10 16 cts.; Tallow per lb 10 1/2 cts.; Tea Imperial per lb 1 25 a 1 37 1/2 cts.; Iron do per lb 1 25 cts.; Tobacco manufactured per lb 10 a 15 cts.

FAYETTEVILLE.

Brandy, peach 80a 90. Do. Apple, 65a 70 cts. per 100 a 000; Cotton per lb 6 a 8 cts. off per lb 12 a 14; Flour bid. 55 a 64 a box per lb \$1 00 a 000; Feathers per 64 a 000 per bush 75 a 80; Iron per lb 54 a 6; Molasses per gal 10 1/2; Nails cut 7 1/2 a 8; Salt per bush 3 25; Sugar per lb 7 1/2 a 11; Tobacco, 12 a 3; Wheat per bush 80 00; Whiskey gal. 52 55; Beeswax 23 a 00

PROPOSALS.

FOR carrying the mail of the United States in the following post route, will be received at this Department until the 1st day of June next, to be decided on the next day. The contract to be executed by the 1st of September next, and the service is to commence on the 1st of July.

The contract will continue in force until the 31st of June 1839.

No. 2165. From Salisbury, N. C., by Stage to Spring, Mount Lebanon, Hill's Store, Sugg's Ridge, Columbia, McChane's Hill, Prosperity, Pledge, Pocket, and Johnsonville to Fayetteville, 133 miles and back twice a week in stages.

Leave Salisbury every Wednesday and Saturday at 5 a. m., arrive at Fayetteville next days 10 p. m.

Leave Fayetteville every Monday and Thursday at 5 a. m., arrive at Salisbury next days 10 p. m.

NOTE.

No proposal will be considered unless it be accompanied by a guaranty, signed by one or more responsible persons, in the following form, viz: "The undersigned guaranty that if his bid for carrying the Postmaster General, shall enter into an obligation prior to the 1st day of September next, to good and sufficient sureties, to perform the service proposed." This should be accompanied by the certificate of the Postmaster General, or other satisfactory testimony, that the guarantors are men of property, and able to make good their guaranty.

AMOS KENDALL, Postmaster General.

OFFICE DEPARTMENT, 3rd March, 1837. 3rd March, 1837.

On ROBERT STRANGE of the U. S. is to deliver the Annual Address before the Literary Societies, at the commencement of the University. 6w-42

The partnership of Doctors Mitchell & Boucheffe, is this day dissolved by consent of parties.

1st. 1837—742

BLANK DEEDS FOR SALE AT THIS OFFICE

MR. WEBSTER'S POLITICAL VIEWS.

Speech of Mr Senator WEBSTER, of Massachusetts, delivered at Niblo's Saloon, in the City of New York, on the 15th of last month.

THE OPENING.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: It would be idle in me to affect to be indifferent to the circumstances under which I have now the honor of addressing you.

I find myself in the commercial metropolis of the continent, in the midst of a vast assembly of intelligent men drawn from all the classes, professions, and pursuits of life.

And you have been pleased, gentlemen, to meet me, in this imposing manner, and to offer me a warm and cordial welcome to your city. I thank you; I feel the full force and importance of this manifestation of your regard. In the highly flattering resolutions which invited me here, in the respectability of this vast multitude of my fellow-citizens, and in the approbation and hearty good-will which you have here manifested, I feel cause for profound and grateful acknowledgements.

To every individual of this meeting, therefore, I would now, most respectfully, make that acknowledgement; and with every one, as if with hands joined in mutual greeting, I reciprocate friendly salutation, respect and good wishes.

But, gentlemen, although I am well assured of your personal regard, I cannot fail to know that the times, the political and commercial condition of things which exist among us, and an intelligent spirit, awakened to new activity and a new degree of anxiety, have mainly contributed to fill the moment of difficulty and of much alarm, you come here, as Whigs of New York to meet one whom you suppose to be bound to you by common principles & common sentiments, and pursuing with you, a common object. Gentlemen, I am proud to admit this community of our principles & this identity of our object. You are for the Constitution of the country, so am I. You are for the union of the States, so am I. You are for equal laws, for the equal rights of all men; for constitutional and just restraints on power; for the substance and not the shadow; for the Government which has liberty for its spirit and soul, as well as in its form; and so am I. You feel, that if, in warm party times, the executive power is in the hands distinguished for boldness, for great success, for perseverance, and other qualities which strike men's minds strongly, there is danger of derangement of the powers of Government; danger of a new division of those powers, in which the Executive is likely to obtain the lion's part; and danger of a state of things in which the more popular branches of the Government, instead of being guards and sentinels against any encroachments from the Executive, will, rather, support from its patronage, safety against the complaints of the People in its ample and all protecting favor, and refuge in its power, and so feel, and so I have felt for eight long and anxious years.

You believe that a very efficient and powerful cause, in the production of the evils which now fall on the industries and commercial classes of the community, is the derangement of the currency, the destruction of exchange, and the unusual and unnecessary misplacement of the specie of the country, by unauthorized and illegal Treasury orders. So do I believe. I predicted all this from the beginning, and before the beginning. I predicted it all, last spring, when that was attempted to be done by law, which was afterwards done by Executive authority, and from the moment of the exercise of that Executive authority, to the present time, I have foreseen and seen the regular progress of things under it, from inconvenience and embarrassment, to pressure, loss of confidence, disorder, and bankruptcies.

Gentlemen, I mean on this occasion to speak my sentiments freely, on the great topics of the day. I have nothing to conceal, and shall therefore conceal nothing. In regard to political sentiments, purposes or objects, there is nothing in my heart which I am ashamed of; I shall throw it all open, therefore, to you and to all men. [That is right, said some one in the crowd—let us have it—with no non-committal.] Yes, my friend, (continued Mr. W.) without non-committal or evasion, without barren generalities or empty phrases, without art or but, without a single touch, in all I say, bearing the original character of an Inaugural, I shall, on this occasion, speak my mind plainly, fully, and independently, to men who are just as free to concur, or not to concur, in my sentiments, as I am to utter them. I think you are entitled to hear my opinions freely and frankly spoken; but I freely acknowledge that you are still more clearly entitled to retain, and maintain, your own opinions, however they may differ, or agree, with mine.

It is true, gentlemen, that I have contemplated the relinquishment of my seat in the Senate, for the residue of the term, now two years, for which I was chosen. This resolution was not taken in disgust, or discouragement, although some things have certainly happened which might excite both these feelings. But in popular Governments, men must not suffer themselves to be permanently disgusted by occasional exhibitions of political iniquity, or deeply discouraged although their efforts to awaken the People to what they deem the dangerous tendency of public measures be not crowned with immediate success. It

was altogether from other causes and other considerations, that after an uninterrupted service of fourteen or fifteen years, I naturally desired a respite. But those whose opinions I am bound to respect, saw objections to a present withdrawal from Congress; and I have yielded my own strong desire to their convictions of what the public good requires.

Gentlemen, in speaking here on the subjects which now so much interest the community, I wish, in the outset, to disclaim all personal disrespect toward individuals, all whose character and fortune have exercised such a decisive influence on our politics for eight years, has now retired from public station. I pursue him with no personal reflections, no reproaches. Between him and myself there has always existed a respectful personal intercourse. Moments have existed, indeed, critical and decisive upon the general success of his Administration, in which he has not altogether unimportantly, in my aid as not altogether unimportant. I now speak of him respectfully, as a distinguished soldier; as one, who in that character, has done the State much service; as a man too, of strong and decided character, of unshaken resolution and perseverance in whatever he undertakes. In speaking of his civil administration, I speak without censoriousness, or harsh imputation, of motives; I wish him health and happiness in his retirement; and I most still speak as I think of his public measures, and of their general bearing and tendency, not only on the present interests of the country, but also on the well-being and security of the Government itself.

There are, however, some topics of a less urgent present application and importance, upon which I wish to say a few words, before I advert to those, which are more immediately connected with the present distressed state of things.

VALUE OF THE UNION.

My learned and highly valued friend, (Mr. Ogden) who has addressed me in my behalf, has been kindly pleased to speak of my political career as being marked by a freedom from local interests and prejudices, and a devotion to liberal and comprehensive views of public policy.

I will not say that this commendation is deserved. I will only say that I have earnestly endeavored to deserve it. Gentlemen, this Government, to the extent of its power, is national. It is not constituted a department of the power of Government. On the contrary, it is delegated, restrained, strictly limited.

But what powers it does possess, if possible, for the general, not for any particular locality. It exercises a vast territory, embracing six and twenty States, with interests various, but not irreconcilable, and all blended into political harmony.

It, however, would produce this harmony, most survey the whole field, as it all parts were as interesting to himself as they are to others, and with that generous, patriotic feeling, prompt and better, than the mere dictates of cold reason, which leads him to embrace the whole with all-ottent regard as constituting, altogether, the object which he is so much bound to respect, to defend, and to love—his country. We have around us, and none or less without the influence and protection of the General Government, and all the great interests of agriculture, navigation, commerce, manufactures, the liberties, and the mechanics.

The duties of the Government, then, certainly extended all over this territory, and embrace all these vast interests. We have a maritime frontier, a sea coast of many thousand miles; and while no one doubts that it is the duty of Government to defend this coast, by suitable military preparations, there are those who suppose that the powers of Government stop at this point; and that as to works of peace, and works of improvement, they are beyond our constitutional limits. I have ever thought otherwise. Congress has a right, no doubt, to fortify, war, and to raise armies and navies, and it is necessary, the right to build fortifications and batteries, to protect the coast from the effects of war. But Congress has authority also, and it is its duty, to regulate commerce, and it has the whole power of collecting duties on imports and tonnage. It must have ports, wharves, and dock-yards, also, for its vessels.

Very early in the history of the Government, it was decided by Congress, on the report of a highly respectable committee, that the transfer to the States to Congress of the power of collecting tonnage and other duties, and the grant of the authority to regulate commerce, charged Congress necessarily with the duty of maintaining such ports, and wharves, and light houses, and of making such improvements, as might have been expected to be done by the States, if they had retained the usual means, by retaining the power of collecting duties on imports. The States, it was admitted, had parted with this power; and the duty of protecting and facilitating commerce by these means had passed, along with this power, into other hands. I have never hesitated, therefore, when the state of the Treasury would admit, to vote for reasonable appropriations, for breakwaters, light-houses, piers, harbors, and similar improvements, on any part of the whole Atlantic coast, or the Gulf of Mexico, from Maine to Louisiana.

But how stands the inland frontier? How is it along the vast lakes and the mighty rivers of the North and West? Do our constitutional rights and duties terminate when the water ceases to be salt? Or do they exist, in full vigor, on the shores of these inland seas? I never could doubt

about this; and yet, gentlemen, I remember even to have participated in a warm debate, in the Senate some years ago, upon the constitutional right of Congress to make an appropriation for a pier in the harbor of Buffalo. What? make a harbor at Buffalo, where Nature never made any, and where, therefore, it was never intended any ever should be made? Take money from the People, to run out piers from the sandy shores of Lake Erie, or deepen the channels of her shallow rivers? Where was the constitutional authority for this? Where would such strides of power stop? How long would the States have any power at all left, if their territory might be ruthlessly invaded by such unhalloved purposes? or how long would the People have any money in their pockets, if the Government of the United States might tax them at pleasure for such extravagant projects as these? Piers, wharves, harbors, and breakwaters, in the lakes!

These arguments, gentlemen, however earnestly put forth heretofore, do not strike us with great power at the present day, if we stand on the shores of Lake Erie, and see hundreds of vessels, with valuable cargoes, and thousands of valuable lives, moving on its waters, with few shelters from the storm, but havens created or made useful by the aid of Government. These great lakes stretching away many thousands of miles, not in a straight line, but with turns and deflexions, as if designed to reach, by water communication, the greatest possible number of important points, through a region of vast extent, cannot but arrest the attention of any one who looks upon the map. They lie connected but variously placed, and interspersed as if with studied variety of form and direction over that part of the country. They were made for man, and admirably adapted for its use and convenience. Looking, gentlemen, over our whole country, comprehending in our survey the Atlantic coast, with its thick population, advanced agriculture, its extended commerce, its manufactures and mechanic arts, its varieties of communication, its wealth and its general improvements; and looking to the interior to the immense tracts of fresh fertile, and cheap lands, bounded by so many lakes, and watered by so many magnificent rivers, let me ask if such a map was ever before presented to the eye of any statesman, and patriot? And let me ask, too, if any man is fit to set a part on such a theatre, who does not comprehend the whole of it, within the scope of his policy, and embrace it all as his country?

Again, gentlemen, we are one in respect to the glorious Constitution under which we live. We are all united in the great inheritance of American Liberty. Descending from the same ancestors, bred in the same school, taught in infancy to cherish the same general political sentiments, Americans all, by birth, education, and principle, what do we care for a narrow, or a selfish, or a besotted self-interest, or party bias, ten times ten times bleeded and fed by any of us, to regard the citizens of any part of the country as strangers and aliens?

The solemn truth, moreover, is before us, that a common political fate attends us all. Under the present Constitution, wisely and conscientiously administered, all are safe, happy, and prosperous. The measure of our country's fate may fill all our breath. It is fame enough for us all to partake in her glory, if we will carry her character onward to its true destiny. But if the system is broken, its fragments must fall alike on all. Not only the cause of American liberty, but the grand cause of liberty throughout the whole earth depends, in a great measure, on upholding the Constitution and union of these States. If shattered and destroyed, what matter by what cause, the peculiar and cherished liberties of united American liberty will be no more forever. There may be free States, it is possible, when there shall be separate States. There may be many losses, and feeble, and hostile Confederacies, when there is now one great and united Confederacy. But the noble idea of united American liberty, of our liberty, such as our fathers established it, will be extinguished forever. Fragments and severed columns of the edifice may be found remaining; and melancholy and mournful ruins will they be; the august temple itself will be prostrate in the dust. Gentlemen, the citizens of this Republic cannot sever their fortunes. A common fate awaits us. In the honor of upholding, or in the disgrace of undermining the Constitution, we shall all necessarily partake. Let us then stand by the Constitution as it is, and by our country as it is—one, undivided entire; let it be a truth engraven on our hearts, let it be borne on the flag under which we rally, in every exigency, that we have ONE COUNTRY, ONE CONSTITUTION, ONE DESTINY.

THE PUBLIC LANDS.

Gentlemen, of our interior administration, the public lands constitute a highly important part. This is a subject of great interest, and it ought to attract much more attention than it has hitherto received, especially from the People of the Atlantic States. The public lands are public property. They belong to the People of all the States. A vast portion of them is composed of territories, which were ceded by individual States to the United States, after the close of the Revolutionary war, and before the adoption of the present Constitution. The history of these cessions, and the reasons for making them are familiar. Some of the old Thirteen possessed large

tracts of unsettled lands within their chartered limits. The Revolution had established their title to these lands; and as the Revolution had been brought about by the common treasure and the common blood of all the colonies, it was thought not unreasonable that these unsettled lands should be transferred to the United States to pay the debt created by the war, and afterwards to remain as a fund for the use of all the States. This is the well-known origin of the title possessed by the United States to lands northwest of the river Ohio.

By treaties with France and Spain, Louisiana and Florida, with many millions of acres of public unsold land, have been since acquired. The cost of these acquisitions was paid, of course, by the General Government, and was thus a charge upon the whole People. The public lands therefore, all and singular, are national property, granted to the United States, purchased by the United States, paid for by all the People of the United States.

The idea, that when a new State is created, the public lands lying within her territory become the property of such new State in consequence of her sovereignty, is too preposterous for serious refutation. Such notions have heretofore been advanced in Congress, but nobody has sustained them. They were rejected and abandoned; although one cannot say whether they may not be revived in consequence of recent propositions which have been made in the Senate. The new States are admitted on express conditions, recognizing, to the fullest extent, the right of the United States to the public lands within their borders; and it is no indefinite idea of State sovereignty overrides all these stipulations, and makes the lands the property of the States, against the provisions of their own Constitution, and the Constitution of the United States, than it would be that a similar doctrine entitled the State of New York to the money collected at the New-York-house in this city, since it is no more inconsistent with sovereignty than one Government should hold lands for the purpose of sale within the territory of another, than it is that it should lay and collect taxes and duties within such territory. Whatever extravagant pretensions may have been set up heretofore, there was not, I suppose, an enlightened man in the whole West, who insisted on any such right in the States, when the proposition to cede the lands to the States was made in the late session of Congress. The public lands being, therefore, the common property of all the people of all the States, I shall never consent to give them away to particular States, or to dispose of them otherwise than for the general good, and the general use of the whole country.

I felt bound, therefore, on the occasion just alluded to, to resist, at the threshold a proposition to cede the public lands to the States in which they lie, on certain conditions. I very much regretted the introduction of such a measure, as its effect must be, I fear, only to agitate what was settled, and to disturb that course of proceedings in regard to the public lands, which forty years of experience have shown to be so wise, and so satisfactory in its operation both to the People of the old States and those of the new.

But, gentlemen, although the public lands are not to be given away or ceded to particular States, a very liberal policy in regard to them ought undoubtedly to prevail. Such a policy has prevailed, and I have steadily supported it, and still continue to support it, so long as I may remain in public life. The main object, in regard to these lands, is undoubtedly, to settle them, so far as the growth of our population, and its augmentation by emigration, may enable us to settle them.

The lands, therefore, should be sold at a low price; and, for one, I have never doubted the right or expediency of granting portions of the lands to mechanics, or of making grants of money, for objects of internal improvements connected with them. I have always supported liberal appropriations for the purpose of opening communications to & through these lands, by common roads, canals, and railroads; and where lands of little value are sold to market, and on account of their inferior quality are not likely to command the common price, I know no objection to a reduction of price to such lands, so that they may pass into private ownership. No do I feel any objection to remove those restraints which prevent the States from taxing the lands, for five years after they are sold. But while in these and all other respects, I am not only reconciled to a liberal policy, but I support it, and have consistently done so, I hold, still, the national domains to be the general property of the country, confided to the care of Congress, on which Congress is solemnly bound to protect and preserve, for the summing good.

The benefit derived from the public lands, after all, is and must be, in the greatest degree, enjoyed by those who buy them, and settle upon them. The original proceeds to Government constitute but a small part of their actual value. Four hundred rise in the value, in the hands of the settler, gives him competence. It exercises a power of selection over a vast territory, all on sale at the same price, and that price an exceedingly low one. Selection is no sooner made, cultivation is no sooner begun, and the first turn of spade, than he already finds himself a man of property. These are the advantages of western emigrants, and western settlers, and ever before afforded to her citizens. This opportunity of purchase and settlement, this certainty of enhanced value, these sure means of immediate competence and ultimate wealth, all these are the rights, and the blessings of the People of the West, and they have my hearty wishes for their full and perfect enjoyment.

In the next place, gentlemen, I am of opinion that, with no more than usual skill in the application of the well-tried principles of discrimina-

tion and specific duties, all the national industry may be protected without imposing such duties on imports as small overcharges on the Treasury.

And as to revenues arising from the sales of the public lands, I am of opinion that they ought to be set apart for the use of the States. The States need the money. The Government of the United States does not need it. Many of the States have contracted large debts, for objects of internal improvement; and others of them have important objects which they would wish to accomplish. The lands were originally granted for the use of the several States; and now that their proceeds are not necessary for the purposes of the General Government, I am of opinion that they should go to the States, and to the People of the States, upon an equal principle. Set apart, then, the proceeds of the public lands for the use of the States; supply the Treasury from duties on imports; supply to the States a just and careful discrimination, in favor of articles produced at home, by our own labor, and thus support, to an extent, our own manufactures. These gentlemen, appear to me to be the general outline of that policy which the present condition of the country requires us to adopt.

TEXAS AND THE UNITED STATES.

Gentlemen, proposing to express opinions on the principal subject of interest, in the present moment, it is impossible to overlook the delicate question, which has arisen, from events which have happened in the late Mexican province of Texas. The independence of that province has been recognized by the Government of the United States. The Congress have the President the means, to be used when he saw fit, of opening a diplomatic intercourse with the Government, and the late President immediately made use of those means.

I saw no objection, under the circumstances, to voting an appropriation to be used when the President should think the proper time had come, and he deemed it necessary very promptly, that the time had already arrived. Certain gentlemen, the history of Texas is now a little wonderful. A very few People, in a very short time, have established a government for themselves, against the authority of the parent State, and which government, it is generally supposed, there is little probability of the present dominant of the parent State being able to overthrow.

This government is, in form, a copy of our own. It is an American institution, substantially, after the great American model. We all, therefore, must wish it success; and there is no one who will more heartily rejoice than I shall to see an independent economy, intelligent, industrious, and friendly towards us springing up, rising into happiness, distinction, and power, upon our own principles of liberty and government.

But it cannot be, disguised, gentlemen, that a desire, or an intention, is already manifested to annex Texas to the United States. On a subject of such mighty magnitude as this, and at a moment when the public attention is drawn to it, I should feel myself wanting in candor, if I did not express my opinion; since all most suppose that, on such a question, it is impossible I should be without some opinion.

Every gentleman, in all tracks, that I see objections, to the annexation of Texas to the United States. When the Constitution was formed, it is not probable that either its framers, or the people, ever looked to the admission of any States into the Union, except such as they already existed, and such as should be formed out of territories then already belonging to the U States. Fifteen years after the adoption of the Constitution, however, the case of Louisiana arose. Louisiana was obtained by treaty with France, who had recently obtained it from Spain; but the object of this acquisition, certainly, was not mere extension of territory. Other, great political interests were connected with it. Spain while she possessed Louisiana, had held the mouths of the great rivers which rise in the Western States, flow into the Gulf of Mexico. She had disputed our use of these rivers, already; and with a powerful naval force in the possession of these outlets to the West, it is obvious that the commerce of all the States in danger of perpetual vexation. The command of these rivers to the sea was, therefore, the great object aimed at in the acquisition of Louisiana. But that acquisition is necessary to the territory along with it, and that territory is now existing out of that ancient province.

A similar policy, and a similar necessity, though perhaps not entirely so urgent, led to the acquisition of Florida. Now no such necessity, in such policy, requires the annexation of Texas. The accession of Texas to our territory is not necessary to the full and complete enjoyment of all which we already possess. Her case, therefore, stands entirely different from that of Louisiana and Florida. There being then no necessity for extending the limits of the Union in that direction, we ought, I think, for numerous and powerful reasons, to be content with our present boundaries.

Gentlemen, we all see, that, by whomsoever possessed, Texas is likely to be a slavholding country; and I frankly avow my entire unwillingness to do any thing which would extend the slavery of the African race to this extent, or add other slavholding States to the Union. When I say that I regard slavery in itself as a great moral, social and political evil, I only use language which has been adopted by distinguished men, themselves citizens of slavholding States. I shall do nothing, therefore, to favor or encourage its farther extension. We have slavery already enough. The Constitution found it among us; it recognized it, and gave it solemn guaranties. To the full extent of these guaranties we are all bound in honor, justice & of the Constitution. All the stipulations contained in the Constitutions, in favor of the slavholding States, which are already in the Union, ought to be fulfilled, and so far as depends on me, shall be fulfilled, in the fullest of their spirit, and to the exactness of their letter. Slavery, as it exists in the States, is beyond the reach of Congress. It is a concern of the States themselves; they have never submitted it to Congress and Congress has no rightful power over it. I shall concur, therefore, in no act, no measure, no ordinance, no indication of purpose, which shall interfere, or threaten to interfere, with the exclusive authority of the several States over the subject of slavery, as it exists within their respective limits. All this appears to be a matter of plain and imperative duty.

But when we come to speak of admitting new States, the subject assumes an entirely different aspect. Our rights and our duties are then both different.

The free States, and all the States, are then at liberty to accept or reject. When it is proposed to bring new members into this political partnership, the old members have a right to say on what terms such new partners are to come in,