

to bring, other than their feeling of right promptness, since they suffer more from a party point of view, than they do from the State generally. The Whigs may perhaps, in some instances, be operated on only by a feeling of jealousy, but that strongest class of Julia's those whom they habitually...

When an election is pending they rally loudly on us. It is then "HURRAH FOR THE GREAT WEST!" "HURRAH FOR THE GREAT WEST!" "HURRAH FOR THE GREAT WEST!" THE STATE IS IN DANGER! READ BY THE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE, AND BY THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE. "HURRAH FOR THE GREAT WEST!" "HURRAH FOR THE GREAT WEST!" "HURRAH FOR THE GREAT WEST!"

If it were known, for example, that a particular gentleman would, if a candidate for the office of governor, lose ten Whig votes in either the county of Wake or Orange, this would be decisive against him, and he would be set aside. But if it were only known that the same individual would lose one or two thousand votes in the West, such an intelligence would not shake the determination of these vote-pullers to make him the candidate. If a burden is to be borne, "throw it on to the Western reserve, her back is strong and fit to bear burdens."

Under such a system, therefore, it is no wonder that our party is constantly pressed, notwithstanding that it has a large majority of the effective men and party newspapers of the State. No party, as was said in my hearing by a shrewd observer, can expect long to succeed "when the tail insists on going before."

After, however, the contest is over in the State, these wire-workers having by arrangement among themselves settled all things, forthwith go to work to execute what has been decided on, by a series of articles framed for the purpose, endeavoring to mould public opinion to the proper shape.

If, for example, their candidate for the Senate happens to be a young man, then they proudly refer to the great achievements of young men in the world generally, and bring to mind the fact, that those men who have acquired most reputation and influence in the Senate have gone there early, and insist that if North Carolina would elect any of her sons on that theatre to take the first rank, she must give some of her young men of talent a fair chance. But should their favorite happen to be an elderly man, then they say that the senatorial station was from its very nature intended for old men whose judgment, softened by time, enables them to control the fiercer spirits of the nation, and they indulge largely in praise of effete Bourbonism and senility generally.

The general argument is thus shifted from time to time, and they make also labored eulogies on their favorite, while they refuse to publish any communication, even that may be intended to operate in favor of some other person. Besides, these letters are written to all such persons as they can venture to approach throughout the State, and every sort of influence put in motion for the purpose intended. When the members of the legislature begin to assemble, the managers and their instruments are exceedingly active. There are always among the members a select number of plain, honest, sensible men, who accustomed to live in retirement, and to believe that persons at Raleigh are much more knowing than themselves, and having a strong purpose merely to do what is right, and because of their own honesty and fairness, slow to suspect others of an unfair purpose. Such men are easily operated on, they are told that Judge A. declares that Mr. P. their candidate, is the greatest man ever seen in all his life, and that if he is elected to the Senate North Carolina will stand higher than she has ever done; that Mr. B. has just returned from the North, and says that all over that region, especially in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, every body is looking with the greatest anxiety for his election.

These things being reported by nearly every one who speaks to him on the subject, his shoe black inclusive, probably makes an impression on him, in the confusion of mind attending the first day or two, he has not time to reflect, and is going at once to the polls, and is supporting the man who is collecting the cry of the place fairly. Should a man seem a little obstinate, they tell him, my dear sir, you are wrong in this matter; we here in the centre can tell exactly the opinion of the State; your friend is a man of such eminent abilities that he cannot be kept back long; in fact he is our second choice now, and will be our first, but that the present emergency, as well as the general opinion of the whole State, requires that our man should be elected.

Elderly men with sad countenances, with groans and starting tears, are exclaiming around him, "My God you are not wisely doing to back up the Whig party now, when we have triumphed over every thing."

into a candidate for the Senate. Should this be decided to be a precipitate movement, and further time be desired, the concerted movement of the managers, who are unerringly enabled them to lead over the resistance, because they are usually aided and unscrupulous enough to give aid in addition to the reasons, publicly given to them, that there are some secret causes of a decisive character, but which must not be mentioned, for equal weighty considerations.

With such means in their hands they of course have no difficulty in nominating anyone they may choose to select; just as the dullest quack, when he has the privilege of shuffling the pack to his liking is able to turn up a particular card.

To insure the support of the requisite number, each member about whom there is doubt is attacked in various ways. If he be a man of some facility of disputation, companionable, and fond of good living, a generally is appealed to, and he is in the most kindly manner solicited not to stand out against the general feeling of the party and State, at the same time that he is plied with dinners, wines, &c., just as in some counties of the West, it is still the custom, on election days, to operate on voters by treating them to figgers, cider, gingerbread, and the like. Should he, on the other hand, be a man of some aspirations himself, his family is tickled, and he is persuaded that a man of his talents cannot long remain in obscurity, and that if he gives a cordial support to the action of the party, he will soon be taken up himself and promoted. This has readily believed, seeing that men of no merit are elevated by these means with the utmost ease. He soon makes such demonstrations of zeal that he is complimented, so far as to be made a deputy, and is thus employed to beat down opposition, and whip in the rebellious from his own section. Whenever there is an office to be filled, he is of course postponed, on account of some pressing emergency which requires the election of another. He is slow to learn that his servility has not brought him the respect of his managers, and that by abandoning the rights of his constituents he has not gained the confidence of those who have seduced him. After he has grown too old to serve the public, he perceives that he has been making an exhibition of folly, similar to that of the clown who waited on the bank of a river for the water to run off, so that he might get dry. Very imaginable means, whether of solicitation, fraud, or intimidation, are resorted to. If, for example, a member shall be anxious to pass a measure for the relief of his constituents, he is told that if he does not come in his bill shall be defeated. Thus, during the present winter, men of respectable standing in the Legislature have not hesitated to say to such as were regarded as their friends, that if they persisted their local measures should be defeated. In such cases, I, of course, advised them to make the submission required, to protect from injury the interests of their constituents. I have some reason to believe that two years ago, on account of the show of opposition made to the central influence, which was soon given up, they extended a little favor to the West, to soothe and keep it quiet. I trust that at least a match will be done this winter. As far as I am individually concerned, I shall cheerfully acquiesce in any disposition I may be supposed to feel for any of my constituents get an advantage in exchange therefor. They will probably have to pay a higher price each year to secure our submission. But, fellow-citizens, this ought not to be. You ought not thus to be compelled to buy justice. You ought not to be obliged to secure your fair share of legislation, to sacrifice your men always, because you may sometimes have those who cannot be bargained away without injury to the public. It ought not to be so, gentlemen, but legislative benefits and official honors should be distributed to all sections according to merit.

To break the force of these views, it will be said that, in 1840, the Legislature acted through a caucus, and that I, as a member, concurred in that course. But then, the system just adopted was materially different from what it is at this day. Then, on the evening of our second meeting, after the preliminary steps had been taken, the names of several candidates were presented; those gentlemen, all of whom were then in the city, were invited into our meeting, and in their several addresses made known their views fully on all subjects of interest at that time. We then adjourned over to the next week, before balloting for a candidate, so as to give time to allow members to decide for whom they would vote, and to afford a fair chance to the friends of each candidate. I remember well that, when it was proposed, that we should meet after an interval of two days only, a prominent gentleman declared that in such a moment they would not be bound by the nomination. How different was this proceeding from that adopted two years ago, when the present incumbent was taken up. Then it was given out that it was to be a mere meeting for taking preliminary steps, and the members generally were taken unawares; its proceedings were exclusive, secret, sudden, and characterized by circumstances of fraud. It was only, however, by such means that the majority were entrapped into a course of action which their own sense of propriety, as well as their regard for their constituents, would have enabled them to avoid, had a day's deliberation been afforded them.

Again, in 1840, all the persons voted for went into caucus voluntarily and agreed to abide by its decision, and I might thus have well argued, as I did, that they were bound by its action. But in the case this winter, my friends expressly refused to go into caucus, leaving themselves free to act as they might think proper. As in 1840, we had acted through a caucus, when our proceedings were assailed, I made the best argument in my power, and defended, as well as I was able, the gentlemen attacked, viz. Messrs. Mangum, Graham, and Badger; the last being assailed because our legislative caucus had adopted a resolution, offered by me, requesting General Harrison to give him a cabinet appointment, as he consequently did so. If, however, the system of proceeding then adopted had been distorted and abused, it is especially my duty to arrest the evil. If my letter of credit has been grossly abused, then I ought to withdraw it. If I have been to any extent instrumental in "robbing" these gentlemen, then, "by the grace of God," I will "undo" them. If I have the power.

It is said by some that in the late election, I was the only person proposed from the West, and that the opposition was to me on personal grounds; then they reply in that, on all proper occasions, it was distinctly made known by my friends, that they would acquiesce in the support of others, as a condition of the caucus, if they should be taken into consideration to obtain the recognition of the right of the extreme of the State to have a Senator sometimes. It may also be said that Governor South and Governor Graham, both western men, have been favored with high office. But this is a mistake; for these gentlemen, before such elections had become citizens of the centre; the one being an inhabitant of Wake and the other of Orange. The question has been faintly asked, "Why do you not vote for me to the Senate?" I reply to you, "There is no reason why you should be excluded, because in choosing to reside in our district, a man in any part of the State is equally entitled to the right to be chosen to represent the centre. But these persons were not your inferiors, are constantly sneering at you for your supposed ignorance, coarseness, and obscurity. They despise you have other materials than you. It is not so, fellow-citizens; it is not so. Whether in the debates of parliamentary bodies or of popular assemblies, we have seen some of our distinguished members. No distinction shows any places you below them. Though some of us have conquered previous, though subjected to a defeat,

son which opposes your sons and weighs down their intellects, you have that in your mind wealth, your water power, your agricultural advantages, the salubrity of your climate, and the beauty of your scenery; above all, in the energy, the noble independence, the intellect and love of liberty of your sons; you have these elements, I say, which ought to make you respected and honored. That they should be turned to a proper account, you owe it to your own self-respect, and to the cause of justice, truth, and liberty. Should you resolve to act as becomes you, no one is under greater obligations than myself to go with you, and even to take the responsibility of the lead, because no one has received more favors at your hands; and you will do me the justice, I know, to bear witness, that as a return for the generous confidence reposed in me by you, my poor services have always been offered whenever they seemed to be a chance to advance your interests. And if you determine now to assert your equality with the rest of the State, then, as help me God, I will stand with you.

Your opponents say that they have no doubt but that there may be a temporary excitement in the West; but that it will all die away long before the next election, and that you will then submit as formerly. This, however, fellow-citizens, depends on yourselves. They say further, that if forced to yield to the wishes of the West, then they will take up some other western man and elect him, out of revenge against me as the originator of the rebellious movement against their authority. So let it be, then, for I may at least have the satisfaction of knowing that those who are to come after me have the way opened to them, and may fairly acquire any honor that their personal merit entitles them to claim in the State. They say further, by way of intimidation, that they will form combinations in the district, and bring the central power so to bear as to defeat me. On an occasion like this, I scorn all such calculations. It often happens that the prime originators of the movement to oppression perish, and yet the movements go on. Hampden and Sidney survived not, but the cause of English liberty was ultimately triumphant. Warren fell early in the struggle, but our revolution stopped not then.

You stand alone, fellow-citizens, separated from the rest of the State; but your very isolation, though it deprives you of the power to act as others, renders you secure from attack. You have only to determine on it, and you triumph. As things were this winter, had four or five of your members determined to act together in support of your rights, they would have succeeded without a doubt; for as soon as these people perceive that you are determined no longer to be their slaves, they will, for the sake of obtaining your cooperation, add you to their ranks. If for the future you intend to act, then select your men with care. Take such men as will regard the servants of the central managers as men, in short, who will dare to tell them that if they want white slaves they must look for them elsewhere than in the Western reserve. Should the present this selected by you, when they get to Raleigh, be calmed or intimidated into an abandonment of your rights, then beat them with many stripes, and cut our marks upon them, so that they may be incapable of deceiving again.

In giving you these views, fellow-citizens, it is not my purpose to cast censure on, or create prejudices against, those western members who took a different course from the friends that I have been thus endeavoring to defend. No man, perhaps, is to be censured for not being the first to join in a new movement. These gentlemen, having been chosen without reference to such considerations, doubtless felt themselves justified in the course taken by them; and it is not my intention to question, in this address, the motives which governed them. On the contrary, a number of them, as they declared themselves, individually preferred me to any one else. My purpose now rather to the future; and, if some things seem strongly stated, it must be remembered that there are diseases which require sharp medicines.

To the conductors of the public press in central parts of the State, too, I have to say, that I am well aware that I have occasionally, in past times, received at their hands much more of favor, than I merited; and if, on any occasion, I have had less than my friends might think due to me, it was doubtless to be attributed, not so much to their feeling individually, (for I know that some of them were moved towards me by kind and generous impulses) as it was to the circumstances in which they were placed, being but natural that they should act in accordance with the sentiment of the atmosphere around them. As far as I am individually concerned, I wish it distinctly understood that I do not pretend to have any ground of complaint. I most willingly bear my testimony, too, to the general worth and liberality of the citizens of the central parts of the State, a large number of whom I have had the honor of numbering among my personal friends, and from whom I have received, in times past, many proofs of civility and kindness. It is due to them to say that they have never received nor sought any advantages from me, either in the way of patronage or otherwise. A few political managers only have, for selfish purposes, endeavored to control the power and patronage of the State.

In conclusion I have to say, that if this system of greedy rapacity is to be persevered in, if men of worth and talent ever the Nation, and by means of the system of puffing and machinery heretofore used the most eminent and unpopular men are to be pushed up from time to time into high places merely because they are their favorites, then they must expect to meet with resistance. They will find myself against them, some whom aid they have needed in times gone by, men who are willing long to struggle against tyranny.

And should they fail, as they are most likely to do, in their efforts to keep the State enslaved, then it would be but just if they should be treated as such cliques have been in other States, in consequence of the feeling arrayed against them on account of their rapacity. In other words, they ought not to complain if they should, under a just system of retaliation, be placed for half a century where they have kept the rest of the State. But if on the other hand, they should at last resolve to do justice to the extreme of the State, by allowing them to come in as equals, they have it in their power to restore harmony and good feeling. Under such a system, the centre, by means of its many advantages, as well as the nature of a portion of the offices to be filled, will always get more than an equal share with the other parts of the State.

In making this statement, fellow-citizens, I have not used all the materials within my reach. I could have made much stronger, but in so doing I should have been obliged to allude to persons by name, and I am averse to taking this course, unless I were to do it in self-defense. My purpose has been rather to indicate the grounds upon which my friends have acted, than to detail the reasons at length. I have a right to expect that those conductors of the newspaper press who have objected to the course of my friends, will feel it their duty to publish this statement. Should they fail to do so, and not retract the course heretofore expressed, they will stand convicted, in the public opinion, of a purpose to do wrong.

You, fellow-citizens, have only to will it, and you will do it. To opposition only we are opposed. I am, very respectfully, your fellow-citizen, and your friend, W. M. SHEPARD.

P. S. After the above was placed in the hands of the printer, but before I received the proof sheet for examination, my attention has been called to an article, in one of the Raleigh papers relating to this subject, which seems to have been sent to a number of members of Congress who are not subscribers to the said paper. Though the article in question appears as an editorial, yet, from the manner in which attention is called to it, from the style and tone of several of the paragraphs, it would seem to be intended to be taken as an authoritative exposition. If it is understood, as it appears to be intended, that this embodies Mr. Badger's views; and if it be true, as there stated, that he will not regard himself satisfied with the acquiescence of Mr. Farmer and Mr. Clingan in his resolution; if, in short, he repudiates the support, with what propriety can he retain the fruit of that support? If it be true, as there stated, that after a while he would have been elected by other means, then it is easy for him to test the truth of this declaration by resigning, because the Legislature is still in session, and an election will require no more public time than would then have been consumed by the prolonged balloting. By such a course only can he, in the public judgment, fully relieve himself from all obligation to Mr. Farmer and myself, unwilling as he appears to be to rest under such a burden. The fact that there is, in consequence of the occurrences of the session, a clear Whig majority of four or five, renders it certain that the interest of the Whig party will not be jeopardized by such a course, since no one but a Whig can be elected in any event. As to the gifts out in the article that when I return to my constituents I shall fail to get a renewal of their confidence, I shall leave it to you, fellow-citizens, to give it that response which your own unbiased judgment and free will shall hereafter dictate.

The mail from the South has also brought the intelligence that a citizen of West Florida has been elected to the Senate of the United States by getting eight Whig votes, and the aid of the Democratic party, so as to beat the regular caucus nominee, a resident of the centre of the State. This result, I learn, has been produced by the following cause. West Florida is decidedly Whig; and its majorities have enabled the party to carry the State; but the offices have been given heretofore exclusively to the centre. The western people therefore determined to submit no longer to such an unjust system. But Florida has not been four years in the Union as a State, and yet they became in that time so impatient as to get out their rights. How many generations must go by before the people of the western North Carolina will be entitled to follow this example?

REMARKS OF MR. W. M. SHEPARD, In Senate, Tuesday, January 16, 1849, on the Subject of Slavery.

MR. SHEPARD commenced by saying, that he promised the Senate on yesterday, when they agreed to make these resolutions the order of this day at 11 o'clock, that he would occupy but little of their time, he would now strictly comply with that promise. He would at an earlier period of the session have introduced the subject of these resolutions to the attention of the Senate, but as a move had been made on the subject in the other branch of the Legislature, he preferred for various reasons, with which it is not now necessary to trouble the Senate, to await the action of that House.

The session of the Legislature is now drawing rapidly towards its close, and he was sorry to say the House of Commons has not yet finally acted on these resolutions, and he was afraid the session will pass off, and leave them among the mass of lumber upon their table. Mr. Speaker, the people of North Carolina, the whole South, expect us to speak out boldly and without disguise, on this interesting and all important subject.

In my judgment, sir, it will be an indelible stigma upon the character of this Legislature, if it adjourns without a final and decisive action on these resolutions. It is idle to say the resolutions are abstractions and will produce no result; if so, then your constitution is an abstraction, and all the guarantees you possess for the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of your private property are abstractions, and you will not under the sanction of a Constitution, which we have sworn to obey, but at the will and caprice of northern masters.

Sir, I am no alarmist, but I cannot look at what is now passing in Washington City, without serious apprehensions for the result. Since the commencement of this session, we have seen the House of Representatives make an unprovoked and wanton attack upon the rights and property of the slaveholder in the District of Columbia; an attack so outrageous that most of the Southern members, without distinction of party, have been obliged to meet in convention to resist it. And shall this Legislature look on as unconcerned and idle spectators, without offering the slightest encouragement to those gentlemen who are fighting our battles and contending for our rights? I hope not, sir. I hope that North Carolina will at least be spared that ignominy.

It is a common practice now-a-days, when a move is made in defence of Southern rights and institutions, to raise the cry of Nullification and Disunion in order to alarm our loyal and peace-loving population. Such a cry as this cannot do me harm from doing my duty. At a time when nullification has made every admirer in North Carolina, when it was the favorite doctrine with most of the leading politicians in my district, I opposed it as an unconstitutional move, and a remedy worse than the disease. If South Carolina erred in her resort to nullification upon such a subject as the Tariff, is it therefore wise or statesmanlike in us, situated as we are, to brand all resistance of federal power, as dangerous to the Union.

It will be said by North Carolina when our Legislature tolerates such folly as this. Upon the subject of slavery the South stands isolated from the rest of the Union. We have in fact, sir, the whole world at war against that institution, as it exists among us; and whether we desire it or not, the whole Southern country must stand up together.

The institution of slavery is so deeply engrained in our social relations that it cannot be eradicated by Legislation. The ruin and desolation which England has wrought upon her West India Colonies, ought to satisfy every man of sense that Legislation cannot touch the subject with the best intentions, without producing incalculable evil. And yet, sir, what every man comes laden to our halls with the most undoubted testimony of the daring recklessness of Congress, we are told we must be silent, your resolutions may disturb the Union—as if an union of freedom could ever be permanent upon any other principle than that of equal and impartial justice to all its members. There is not, sir, nor has there been for years past, the slightest probability of the dissolution of the Union of these States. We are not, and should not be, the slave of interest, nor to be divided—the people would not know how to begin to divide. Our members, brethren, with all their clamorous sympathy for negroes, have no idea of putting

things to that extremity. They know too well who it is that gets the real benefit from your rice fields, your cotton fields and sugar plantations, and to separate from each such positions.

They will keep up the claims about slavery as long as they can make political capital out of it—as long as they can show equal rights in our ranks, and rob us in detail of our equal rights and privileges as members of the Union. The bold intrusions of the Constitution which have taken place for years, were upon this subject of slavery by two leading Northern States, Massachusetts and New York, who openly and shamelessly repudiated that plain feature of the Constitution, which gives to the Southern Slaveholder, the right to recover his fugitive slave. South Carolina talked of nullifying an obnoxious law of Congress; but New York and Massachusetts practiced it; and yet we have never heard the Union was in danger from their acts, but when a Southern man remonstrates against such unconstitutional aggressions upon an abstract principle, he is told to be quiet, he is pursuing an objection.

In my judgment, sir, the only disunion we need fear, is a disunion among ourselves. United, we can bid defiance to all our enemies; divided, "no one so poor as to do us reverence." There is one fertile source of disunion in our ranks, the power and patronage of the Federal Government. Washington alone, with its brilliant official stations, is worthy the ambition of aspiring genius; the Northern press, with its thousand blasts, can alone with reputations to the remotest corners of the Republic. It is not then, Sir, very surprising, that the poor South should be regarded as an abstraction, the rich and teeming North a substantial reality. Let us then, as the temptation to stray is very great, keep a vigilant eye upon our public servants; let us pass the resolutions before us, that gentlemen may know what are our sentiments upon the subjects which now agitate our public councils. If ever that glorious motto of the gallant Decatur, "our country, right or wrong we go with her," was true, it is so in the South on the subject of slavery. When this institution is assailed from without its borders, the man who can stop to calculate the cost of defending it, is no Southern man in feeling. If it be an evil, those people who endure it, are the sole and exclusive judges of the mode and method of redress.

There is, Mr. Speaker, a manifest propriety, and an urgent necessity for the passage of these resolutions at this session. It is in vain to disguise the fact, that the speech and vote of one of our Senators, Mr. Badger, upon the Compromise Bill of the last session of Congress, was much disapproved of by many Whigs throughout North Carolina; a disapprobation which required the most stringent party drill in this Legislature to overcome. They were surprised that a gentleman representing the large slaveholding interest of North Carolina, could not on that subject have acted with the great body of Southern Senators, together with Berrien, of Georgia, and Clayton, of Delaware, two names dear to the Whigs of North Carolina.

I did not, Sir, vote for Mr. Badger, but I am not disposed to do him the slightest injustice. I believe him to be a gentleman of great talents, and the strictest integrity. I admit that his vote upon that occasion was not a decisive test of his opinions, and that it might have been merely an error of judgment. Should he hereafter in his place as Senator, support the spirit and object of these resolutions, and give to his State the benefit of his great abilities, no man in North Carolina will acquiesce more cheerfully in his election than I will, or will rejoice more in any future honor which may be bestowed upon him. Should, however, he decline to do so, it is not for me to say what should be his course; but this I will say in the most confident belief that I speak the real sentiments of those who hear me, that if he declines to support the spirit of these resolutions, he will neither represent the majority of this Legislature which elected him, nor the wishes, or feelings, or interest, of at least nine-tenths of the people of North Carolina.

Let us now, Sir, examine these Resolutions, and see what they are, and how they regulated?

A series of resolutions on the same subject were introduced into the other House, by a distinguished member of the Whig party, Mr. Steele, of Richmond. These resolutions were thought by some gentlemen too strong for the occasion, and in order to put them into such a shape as would secure an unanimous vote, they were referred to a Committee equally composed of distinguished members of both political parties. It was thought, on such a subject of slavery, we should have no party distinction; but that the Legislature, if it spoke, should speak the sentiments of the great majority, if not of the whole people of North Carolina. The resolutions on your table, with a slight amendment are the production of that Committee, have received the sanction of that Committee, have received the sanction of the House of Commons, of both political parties; and I have introduced them here, that the Senate may have an opportunity of expressing their opinion, before the confusion and hurry of the last hour of the session.

What I trust, Sir, in these resolutions, which should prevent their unanimous adoption, or which can prevent the most timid or scrupulous member from voting for them. The language is not as strong and decisive as North Carolina has before used towards the Federal Government; nor in my judgment as strong as the occasion most amply justified. Unless we choose to remain passive and silent, under every indignity, we cannot say less. And, Sir, can we remain silent? Are we not bound by every tie which binds us to our constituents, to speak that they may be aware of the danger which approaches?

We are placed here as sentinels upon the watch tower, and if we slumber upon our posts, or fail to sound the alarm to our constituents, who are reporting in fanciful security under the banners of a Constitution which we know as to be violated, we are not true to those who rely upon our vigilance and fidelity.

The first resolution asserts the equality of the States in rights, privileges, and immunities under the Constitution. This is so plain and clear a proposition, that I presume no one will deny it, as long as this floor.

Slavery in the States was not only established, but extended, and its inhabitants assailed. The Constitution is an instrument of enumerated and defined powers, one of which, by the force of the Government, can justly give to the Federal Government any authority over that which is not municipal institution. At the formation of the Federal Constitution, the South had the power, and the wealth, and the North stood as in an union with the most flattering and endearing epithets. The Union has made her rich and powerful, and she is now disposed to impair the terms of the co-partnership by which she has so wonderfully improved.

The third resolution expresses the concern, which the constant aggression on our rights, by the encroachments of the North, is producing. This resolution, Sir, appeals deeply to the feelings, not only of every Senator here present, but of every thinking individual in our community.

This continual and senseless agitation, of the subject of Slavery, is the greatest grievance that any civilized government ever inflicted upon any portion of its citizens, whose peace and security it was bound to protect and promote. When before was it ever seen that a government, either civilized or barbarous, occupied itself in daily petty annoyances, calculated to disturb the peace, to endanger the security, and to embitter the feelings of a large portion of its citizens? And Sir, incredible as this fact may seem, it has been almost the exclusive occupation of the House of Representatives during its present session. The ignorance manifested by these agitators, of the true condition of Southern slavery, and of the best and safest mode to remove it, is only equalled by the intense malignity of their feelings towards the Southern owner. Can we then, Sir, with any sort of fairness, be accused of indulging in any hasty or improper feeling, when we throw back upon our assailants with energy, the indignity they would cast upon us?

The fourth resolution declares, the exercise by Congress of a power to exclude a Southern slaveholder from emigrating to any of our conquered territories with his property, would be an act not only of gross injustice and wrong, but likewise contrary to the true meaning and spirit of the Constitution. I am not, Sir, about to enter into any discussion upon the Wilmot Proviso; this resolution expresses in the most modified, and subdued manner, the least that a Southern man should claim upon such a subject. No wise government, least of all a republican one, should ever exercise a doubtful power, that may bring it into conflict with the rights and interests of any portion of its citizens. Ever since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the true mode of constraining its provisions has been a matter of dispute. One set of politicians are desirous of enlarging the powers of the General Government by a forced and strained construction of the provisions of the instrument; whilst the other class, go into the opposite extreme. Let who will administer the Federal Government, the experience of the last forty years has amply proved, that the apprehension of their not exercising power for any purpose whatever, is a mere chimera. The South, being the weaker portion of the confederacy, having an interest peculiar to herself, which is liable to be assailed from every quarter, very naturally and properly, looks upon any construction of the Constitution which tends unnecessarily to increase the powers of the General Government, as dangerous and alarming. This is what the fourth resolution expresses, and does any one here doubt the truth of the proposition? Where is the necessity for any section at all, by the Federal Government upon the subject of slavery? There clearly is none; why then contend for a power, which is not needed? Why not leave slavery wherever it may be found, solely and exclusively to the management of those who wish it, and who are best able to take care of it? Was it intended that the Federal Government should administer to the whims, the caprices, or if you prefer the expression, the philanthropy of the North? This fourth resolution then, Sir, simply expresses what every considerate Statesman, whether North or South, doubtless considers the true spiritual meaning by which your Constitution should be construed.

The fifth resolution tenders to the North a compromise on this vexed question; it says we are willing to adopt the Missouri Compromise, which gives to the North a climate which suits their constitutions, and a territory large enough for ages of emigration. If the North has any disposition towards fairness and equality she cannot reject this compromise. Admit, if you please, that New Mexico and California can never be slaveholding States, is not this fact a further proof that the present restriction of the North on the subject is deliberately intended for an unprovoked and careless insult to the South? If the Federal Government has the right under the Constitution to prohibit slavery, it has certainly the relative right to propagate it. We do not ask her to propagate it. We say to her let it alone—do not disturb the relations of your citizens by a Quixotic crusade, in search of ill-considered grievances, with which you have nothing to do.

The sixth resolution merely proposes to lay these resolutions before Congress as the deliberately expressed opinion of the constituted authorities of the State of North Carolina. There was a time when the Legislature of North Carolina, spoke in the tones of command to her Senators. (The title has gone by) we now speak with reluctance, and hesitation, as if we were approaching a subject which was a dread to offend. Why is this? When a short residence in Washington inspired a wisdom that cannot be improved, or create a dignity which is a death to furnish for other Sirs, is not another proof of that influence which emanates from Washington, and which fills a portion of all who breathe of it, a portion of that "divinity which doth hedge a King."

I have now, Mr. Speaker, run over these resolutions in a hurried manner, with a view of showing that they are not one of those which in my judgment, do not deserve the approbation of every Senator of this State. Your approval of them will show at least to your Southern brethren in Washington City, that you sympathize with them in the struggle they are enduring for their rights and privileges. And though you yield to some in your attachment to the Union of these States, remember that in politics, as well as in morals, the maxim is a sound one, "to thine own self be true, though it should make thee false to every one."

N. B. The vote was taken separately on the resolutions, and they all passed unanimously with the exception of the fourth and fifth, there were two votes in the negative.