

THE DAILY REGISTER.

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THE DAILY REGISTER.

SEARON GALE,
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

THE SEMI-WEEKLY REGISTER.
Is issued on Wednesdays and Saturdays at \$4 per annum in advance; \$4.50 if not paid within six months; and \$5 if not paid until the expiration of the year.

THE WEEKLY REGISTER.
Is issued every Wednesday at \$2.50 if paid within four months; otherwise \$3.

BUSINESS DIRECTORY.

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MAIL ARRANGEMENTS.

Northern Mail—By Rail Road, Due daily at 12 p. m., and closes at 11 a. m.

Southern—Two-horse stage, due daily at 11 a. m., closes at 12 m.

Greensborough—Four-horse stage, due Monday, Wednesday and Saturday at 6 a. m., and closes Sunday, Wednesday and Friday at 12 m.

Newbern—Four-horse stage, due Wednesday, Friday and Sunday at 8 a. m., and closes Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday at 9 p. m.

Tarborough—Two-horse stage, due Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 10 p. m., closes Monday, Wednesday and Saturday at 9 p. m.

Pittsburgh—Two-horse stage, due Monday and Thursday at 7 p. m., and closes Saturday and Tuesday at 9 p. m.

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UP-STAIRS,

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Rate	First 10 words, E'h add'l w'd.
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" " Richmond	32 "
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" " Mobile	135 "
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And all the places on this and other lines of communication in proportion to distance.

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OF THE NORTH CAROLINA

Mutual Insurance Company,

RALEIGH

Second Floor, Smith's Block, adjoining Telegraph Office.

OFFICE

OF THE NORTH CAROLINA

Mutual Life Insurance Company,

RALEIGH

Opposite the Post Office—under Odd Fellows Hall.

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BANK RATES FOR SELLING EXCHANGE.

Sight Checks on New York 1/2 per cent. Premium.

" " Philadelphia " "

" " Baltimore " "

Notes of the South Carolina and Virginia Banks received.

J. D. WILLIAMS,

FORWARDING AND COMMISSION

MERCHANT,

FAYETTEVILLE,

NORTH CAROLINA.

July, 19th, 1850.

SPEECH OF MR. WOODFIN.

Delivered in the Senate, on Secession, &c.

[CONTINUED.]

Mr. Chairman, this right of secession has been claimed by a portion of the New England States as early as 1814 and a decided movement tending to it was taken in the Legislature of Massachusetts, and followed by Connecticut and other New England States, which resulted in calling the famous Hartford convention. It is known that there was a party opposed to the late war with Great Britain. The resolutions passed by the Legislatures of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island and the correspondence between the Governors of those States and between them and James Monroe, Secretary of State, show a strong opposition to the war and to the manner of conducting it; a determination to thwart the General Government as far as possible, and as a means to this end to refuse to aid with the Militia of their respective States. Over these they seemed to claim the exclusive control. They proposed to hold a convention at Hartford and in the meantime to aid each other by marching their respective forces &c. For full authority for this assertion I refer to Niles Weekly Register of 12th of Nov. 1811. Vol. 7th, Page 149, the correspondence therein between Governor Jones of Rhode Island and Governor Strong of Massachusetts; in which they each promise aid to the other and neighboring States, but no aid is promised the Union.

From the proceedings in the Legislature of Massachusetts, it will be seen that the resolutions condemning the war and calling for a sectional convention and from the protest entered on the journals of the Senate and from that tendered in the house of Representatives (but refused a place on the journals) that the Republicans in that assembly opposed the whole proceeding, and not one of them voted for the delegates to the convention. Allow me to read only the closing part of the protest of the minority of the Senate.

"From the Resolution and Preamble, and circumstances attending the debate, the undersigned have strong reasons to apprehend that propositions for a separate peace, may grow out of a proposed meeting of delegates from the New England States; should such propositions from the British Government be made to the Convention, and should the terms, as they probably would, be very flattering to this section of the Union, the temptation of momentary gain might induce a compact with the enemy, introduce an army of foreign mercenaries, produce a civil war, which would end in a subjugation of both sections to the power of Great Britain. Ambition has destroyed every other Republic on earth. The United States stands alone, like a solitary rock in the midst of the ocean, surrounded and assailed by storms and tempests; in vain may we look for aid, except from union, energy and heaven, apprehending and believing that from neither of these sources can we expect it, so long as we indulge in the adoption of such Resolutions. We have prepared and signed the foregoing protest, and we pray that it may be entered on the Journals of the Senate.

I will also delay the Committee while I read a portion of the protest offered in the House of Representatives.

Against the Resolution proposing a Convention of delegates from the New England States, and the Resolutions connected therewith, the undersigned feel bound by every dictate of duty, and every suggestion of patriotism, most earnestly to remonstrate. To these Resolutions, they have opposed the utmost of their own reason, the language of the Constitution, and the solemn and warning admonitions of Washington. However disguised or designed, the obvious tendency of propositions for a partial conference by delegates from some States, without participation or consultation with other States, is to prepare the way for a separation and division of the Union—the suggestion of a peculiar interest in the States of New England, upon the subjects of public grievances, is predicated upon the idea, that this Nation has not a community of objects, and is not connected by a similarity of obligation.—The Constitution of the United States, has prohibited, in express terms, one State from entering into any agreement or compact with another, without the consent of Congress; if, as the result of the conference of delegates on the part of New England, a compact for any purpose is intended, the proposition for such conference, is as gross an infringement of the Constitution as would be the compact when made; it cannot be admissible to pursue means to an end, which it is wrong and illegal to attain, nor is there just pretence of necessity for this measure. The framers of the Constitution wisely provided for its amendment; should abuses exist, growing out of supposed defects in the instrument, the mode of reform is definitely prescribed, and if in this way they are not to be corrected, neither can they in any other, short of a change in the form of Government. It is not to be supposed that the States of the Union will yield to the dictates of a Convention, what they would refuse to the Constitutional application of the Legislature. The undersigned, therefore, cannot disguise their apprehension, that more must be designed than is distinctly avowed. The reasoning of the report is supported by the alarming assumption, that the Constitution has failed in its object, and the people of Massachusetts are absolved from their allegiance, and at liberty to adopt another; in debate, it has been reiterated, that the Constitution is no longer to be respected, and that Revolution is not to be deprecated; the bond of our political Union is thus attempted to be severed, and in a state of war and of common danger, we are advised to the mad experiment of abandoning that protection, which the combined energies of the nation might afford for the selfish enjoyment of our present, though partial resources. The Resolutions of the Legislature, it is to be feared, will be viewed by other States, as productive of this consequence; that Massachusetts shall govern the administration or the Government shall not be administered in Massachusetts. Jealousy and contention will ensue, the Constitution hitherto respected as the charter of national liberty, and consecrated as the ark of our political safety, will be violated and destroyed, and in civil dissensions and convulsions our independence will be annihilated, and our country reduced to the condition of vanquished and tributary colonies to a haughty and implacable foreign foe.

From these proceedings, it is manifest that a separation from the Union was contemplated; and from the proceedings of the Convention and the numerous demands they made for amendments to the Constitution and for immediate peace, and on the failure of these, for another Convention to assemble in Boston in June 1815, that they intended to coerce the Government in time of difficulty into their own terms.

Mr. Chairman, what execrations were not heaped upon these disorganizers throughout the entire country? Did not the people of the entire South and a large portion of the North condemn this movement?

Though all admitted that the carrying States, as they were called, suffered more from the war than others, yet, it was necessarily so and they should have submitted to it for the benefit of the whole. Indeed, no policy can be expected to act precisely in the same manner on the interests of every section of this extended country. This Union can only be sustained by that same spirit of concession and compromise that brought it into existence.

Suppose, sir, that the New England States, or even Massachusetts alone, had seceded in the time of war with England and had made a separate peace and formed an alliance with Great Britain; can any one estimate the extent of the injury that must have resulted to the United States. Yet we are asked to lay down a doctrine that would justify the step if the State had determined that it was a fit occasion for its exercise.

Mr. Chairman, to admit this doctrine is in effect to declare that the Government of the United States is only to act upon the willing. That any State not disposed to allow a law of the General Government to be executed in her borders, may so declare, and by so doing the law is nullified. A law that does not speak with authority and command obedience of the unwilling as well as of those in favor of it, is no law and should not be called a law. It is an abuse of terms.

Suppose, sir, that thousands of the slaves of the Southern citizens escape into Ohio, Pennsylvania, or New York, and the masters in pursuit of them call upon the authorities under the provisions of the late Act of Congress, for the reclamation of such property. Cannot either of these States secede and say to the Judges, Commissioners and Marshal, or to the President, that we have seceded, and your supposed law is no longer a law in this State? Then where is the remedy of the owner of this property. Sir, have not the abolition societies openly advocated secession and disunion, rather than allow slavery to exist?

True, they have not been encouraged in this madness by many of the States; but they would no doubt rejoice to see it take place, and are, doubtless, watching, with much anxiety, the movements of Southern States. Yes, and pray daily, that we may all declare the right of secession, and establish the doctrine, that their movements may not share the fate of the Hartford Convention in its effort to divide the Union by the means now advocated in this latitude.

Mr. Chairman, I am one of those who believe that the rights of the South are acknowledged and guaranteed under the Constitution. I believe that our interest and our duty alike, require of us a cordial support of the Constitution as it is until we find that it is insufficient to protect our rights. This I hope we shall never find. We will probably find in the execution of the fugitive slave law, whether there is strength enough in the Government, and integrity in its officers, to execute its own laws and protect our Constitutional rights. I hope and believe that we shall find it sufficient, and have little doubt of the fidelity of the present Chief Magistrate of the nation, to see that the laws are faithfully executed. I hope that Southern States will not afford a pretext for resistance to the law to those who only desire to break down the Constitutional protection to our property, that they may, with impunity, seduce away, harbor, or steal it. I go further, Mr. Chairman; I think the South should abide by the compromise measures of last Congress, as one whole, and I deprecate the effort that is here made to dissatisfy our friends at the South with those measures while no remedy is pointed out for the evils complained of. I think that we have less cause for alarm or to despair of the Union on the terms of the Constitution than when we discussed this delicate subject, in this place, two years ago. Then we were threatened with the Wilmot Proviso, and had little hope of so favorable a law for the protection of slaves as that passed at last Congress. But happily for the Country, there was found patriotism enough amongst the law abiding and Union loving portion of our Northern brethren, to give up the one and pass the other. Though this was the least that we had a right to demand, it was not then believed that it would be yielded. I confess that this concession gave me renewed and additional confidence in the Government, and new hope of maintaining the Union. We have yet to see whether it will be kept in good faith. That must be the turning point. I will hope for the best; and while there is a hope of sustaining the Government and Union as it is, and of obtaining the protection due us under it, I will be found advocating it. But we are told that it will not be executed in good faith. Of this there seems to be some well founded fears, but while I see so many meetings of the people, and various sections of the Northern States favorable to law and order, led and encouraged by such names as Webster, Cass, Buchanan, Choate, Curtis, Dallas, and other enlightened and influential statesmen, appealing to them and to every portion of the Country, to sustain the laws and put down the lawless mob, I will not despair of the Republic. That there may be temporary excitement, and occasional outrage by a mob, led on by bad men and the law be thus obstructed in its execution for a while, may be expected, but it is to be hoped that on reflection and after the lovers of order have time to explain to the people the importance of the law and of obedience to it, these outrages may cease or the offenders may be properly punished. But, sir, if in all this we shall be deceived and the law shall be set at defiance, and if on proper application made the President shall not be able to have the laws executed, or shall be unwilling to do so, and impeachment shall fail; then, indeed, may it be said, that the Government has failed to answer the purposes of its adoption. But until this shall take place (and I hope and believe it never will,) we should abide by the law and insist on its execution. If then, after pursuing the course we adopt by this State in obedience to law and order, and using all Constitutional means for the redress of wrongs, if we shall be compelled to abandon all hope of the Union, and look to our safety and interest, we shall have the consolation to know that we, at least, are not responsible for the destruction of the brightest hopes of the friends of civil liberty throughout the world, and of gratifying those who look with jealousy on our growing and glorious country.

Mr. Chairman, I will not quarrel with the Senator from Pasquotank, in his views in relation to our want of territory, and the danger that we shall soon lack room for our negroes. The gloomy picture that he has drawn is the creature of his imagination.