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CONGRESSIONAL.

SPEECH OF MR DAVIS, OF MASSACHUSETTS,

On the Compromise Bill; delivered in the Senate of the United States, June 28 and 29, 1850.

[CONTINUED FROM YESTERDAY'S PAPER.]

What are the objections to permitting New Mexico to form a constitution and come into this Union as a State? The first objection—and it was started again this morning as if it were a new thing—is, that she has an unsettled boundary between her and Texas, and the extent of her territory depends upon the adjustment of this vexed question. What if she has such a boundary? Is that an insuperable difficulty?—or is it without precedent? Where was this same boundary question when Texas was admitted into the Union? Does not the honorable senator from Texas know that when the resolutions of annexation were passed, this very dispute existed between Texas and a foreign country?—that then it constituted no obstacle, although it promised to involve us in a war? Surrounded as it was with impending perils, these circumstances constituted no insurmountable objection to the admission of Texas. She was admitted with all the consequences which it was known would follow upon a step of that sort; and, sir, the resolutions themselves provided for the adjustment of that very question, and it was settled, we all know how. Now, it is said, forsooth, that New Mexico must stand out of this Union because its boundaries are unsettled. Sir, if she stands out as long as there was an unsettled boundary between Rhode Island and Massachusetts, she will remain outside some two hundred years.

The next objection is, that there is not population enough in this Territory to authorize its formation into a State. Sir, I am not aware that any particular number of people of any kind is required in order to entitle a Territory to admission as a State. Whenever Congress has admitted States into the Union, it has gone on the principle that if there was a general fitness and propriety, under existing circumstances, in admitting them, they have been admitted. Population, I know, is one of the elements; and, sir, let us look a little into the condition and character of that of New Mexico. I have seen it stated within a few days by the delegate from that Territory, who seems to be an intelligent and respectable gentleman, that there were at least 90,000 persons under the government of New Mexico. This number is made up partly of Americans, who have migrated thither, whose number upon the admission of New Mexico as a State everybody can see will greatly increase. It is made up, too, of persons of Spanish descent, who constitute the greater portion. The remainder are Pueblo Indians. These Pueblo Indians, I believe, amount to only some ten or twelve thousand. They are estimated at that. They are called by some gentlemen semi-barbarians, and declared to be unfit to exercise the duties and enjoy the privileges of civil government. Sir, I heard the honorable gentleman from Texas the other day [Mr RUSK] pass a high eulogium upon the officer who has been inquiring into this subject, speaking of him as a very intelligent and reliable man. I remember reading several letters of this Mr. Calhoun to the War Department, in which he speaks of these Pueblo Indians. He says that they are an inoffensive people, owning large tracts of land, and possessing extensive herds and flocks, and that they are worthy, and, as he thinks, capable of exercising the elective franchise, and that they ought to be made voters. That is what is said in the official letters. The gentleman from Texas shakes his head; but I think he will find upon inquiry that it is so; and he, the Indian commissioner, says, in addition, that there is not a better population in New Mexico than these Pueblo Indians. Then, sir, I hold that if they are fit to exercise the elective franchise for one purpose, they are fit to exercise it for another.

But, sir, I do not wish to dwell upon these points. The committee propose to invest this Territory with a territorial government. What sort of a government is that? It is to consist of a council, which is to be a legislative body, and a house of representatives. And what is this legislative body to do when it comes together? It is to make laws for the Territory, holding substantially the same relation to the people as a State government. Then what is the difference between a territorial government and a State government? The difference seems to be substantially this: that you appoint, through the President of the United States, the executive of the territorial government and the judicial officers. But, sir, the Territory itself makes the laws under which the people are to live. Let me ask, where is the most wisdom required: that necessary to the making of the laws, or that necessary to the administration of them? An honorable gentleman says that I must recollect that these laws are subject to revision, and that Congress may repeal them. The language of the bill is that Congress may disapprove of them, and such disapproval repeals them. But how has that power been practically exercised? I do not recollect, during my experience here, or during my service in this government, that there ever was a case in which Congress took that matter into consideration. I do not deny that there may have been some cases, but I do not recollect them. An honorable senator says that the executive is appointed by the President, and that his sanction is necessary, which is true; but who is to suggest the laws and go through with the business of legislation? It is the members appointed by the votes of the people; and if the people are fit to make such a government, I say they are fit to make a State government. Then, sir, I prefer that we should take this course, because I see that it produces a final and speedy settlement of this question, so far as regards New Mexico. The senator from Kentucky, I know, condemns it, and almost treats it with contempt; but he must perceive that it has this great mark of wisdom to recommend it: it covers the whole subject and settles it, while his plan only continues dispute and agitation.

But I may be asked what I would do with Utah? I feel no embarrassment with regard to that. These Mormons went into the most obscure, unfrequented spot that could be occupied by any people, in order, I believe, to escape from the people of the United States, and to be by themselves, where they could peacefully enjoy their own peculiar views. They went into a foreign territory, having, probably, little conception that we would so soon be upon their heels. They are there, and we have overtaken them. There is, however, but a small number of them—some ten or twelve thousand—and they have a government of their own—a government which is self-constituted, and of which they make no complaint whatever. Justice among them is well administered; they have satisfactory laws to govern them, and to keep them in peace; the rights of person and property are respected, and, when necessary, protected. Then I say that I would postpone that subject until we settle this question with regard to New Mexico; and, you may rely upon it, no harm will result from such postponement, if the United States do what they ought, if it becomes necessary to protect them against the Indians. Let us settle the New Mexican business first, and the rest will follow in due season. There will be no difficulty, in my opinion. That is the way, sir, in which I would adjust this matter. I would follow substantially the plan indicated by the Executive; and I think it is a way which would more satisfactorily and speedily bring the thing to a close—much quicker, in my opinion, than the mode proposed by the bill.

Under all these circumstances, we are called upon to abandon the principles to which we have adhered, and leave this question open; and we are asked why we cling to this ordinance of 1787? I cling to it because I consider it as establishing a very sound principle. I consider it a sound principle that slavery should not be extended to free territory. I limit my remarks to this principle, and this only. I have many times avowed my adhesion to the constitution, and my determination to abide by its provisions in regard to slavery; and in contending for the principle which serves as the basis of my remarks, I neither intend to disclaim nor to modify any of those opinions. I think, then, if this controversy can be settled by an adherence to the principle that territory now free should remain so, we may do very much to save the constitution; we may do very much to promote and continue the peace of the country, and I will explain shortly a little more fully what I mean by it.

In order to understand the whole compass of this question, and to see what it embraces, and what its elements really are, we must look abroad and see what is the tone and temper of the times—what the opinions which are prevalent to some extent are. I do not intend, sir, to call the great cotton-growing interest of this country ambitious. It is, nevertheless, a great interest, having great control in the affairs of this country—greater than any other interest in it, and it mingles more effectually and with greater success in the affairs of this government than any other interest in the Union. At the same time, while I am not disposed to complain of this—for I know it is done by successful combinations of political power—I must say that I sometimes see in the southern region signs of restlessness, evincing a determination to have things in their own way, without much regard to the harmony or stability of the Union.

While we have been sitting here and deliberating upon this subject, studying by what mode we may best adjust these questions, what do we see? Sir, a convention assembled from this section of the country—and what for? I know not, except it be to overawe and influence the doings of Congress. If any gentleman can find a better or wiser reason for this step, I should be gratified to adopt it; but I cannot much mistake if the opinions and declarations of some of the members of that body have been correctly reported. Once at least has the credit, I hope without deserving it, of saying they would be better employed in running bullets and casting cannon than in making speeches and passing resolutions.

Well, sir, this is not the only thing in connexion with this subject which is noticeable. While we have been deliberating upon this subject, meditating upon the question how this Union is to be saved, and how its various interests and the conflict of opinions are to be harmonized, there springs up in the bosom of this country a military expedition; and a regiment called the Kentucky regiment, another called the Louisiana regiment, and a battalion called the Mississippi battalion, start into existence and engage in an expedition of their own contriving, and, without authority, invade the ancient colony of a nation at peace with us. Yes, sir, the expedition had apparently no other than the express purpose of invading a colony of a nation between whom and ourselves there is existing a treaty of peace. Permit me, sir, to remark, upon another fact, in connexion with this, which possibly is more ominous than all the rest.

Sir, when the existence of this expedition was known, the Chief Magistrate of the United States, feeling bound by the duties imposed upon him to maintain the honor and the faith of the Union, and to execute the laws, did what the power placed in his hands authorized him to do, to cause the plighted faith of the country to be respected, and the laws to be carried into execution. What have we witnessed? When the leader of this expedition came back, and an attempt was made to arraign him for his crime, he was hailed as a patriot, engaged in honorable and meritorious service, while unmeasured denunciation is poured out from the press upon the Chief Magistrate of the country, because he attempted to execute the duties confided to him by suppressing this outrage upon neutral rights, and holding those engaged in it answerable for a crime committed against the law.

Now, sir, what is at the bottom of all this? Why this feverish desire for acquisition? It cannot be a very important matter to the South to increase the amount of cotton, sugar, or rice which is produced—the motive to acquire new lands and new people cannot be found in such a desire. We must look for other motives to sustain this eager pursuit of the extension of slavery. What, then, does this controversy reveal to us—a controversy which it is said threatens the safety of this Union, and said with truth if such lawless acts are countenanced? From the day when the annexation of Texas was publicly meditated to this time, all movements for the acquisition of territory have been esteemed proofs of a desire to increase sectional power. There has been but one impression on the public mind on this head. The question has been viewed and treated both in and out of Congress as political in its character and consequences. The public have believed, and have had reason to believe, that the great object has been to increase in the halls of Congress the power of one interest, (which now nearly overwhelms us,) by introducing new States—States which sympathize with it, and which will co-operate with it in carrying into execution its views and plans of policy. I hope that this is not so, but I cannot very well shut my eyes against the inference. It is, however, immaterial what plans or purposes have been meditated. It is the consequences which come of such acquisitions which most interest us. We know that every additional slave State brings in two senators, to be probably, as most of them are, the advocates of a policy adapted to the application of slave labor in a way to advance the interests of those who employ it. Sir, what remedy have we for this if annexation is to be continued by war and invasion? How shall we stay this restlessness which leads to the adoption of unlawful means? How shall we stop this unjustifiable desire of acquisition by force? I say, sir, as I said here two years ago, that there is but one remedy, and that is to plant the frontier with a free population. That is the remedy, and there is no other which can be effectual, because it will put an end to acquisitions by force. Those acquisitions which come by voluntary compact stand on quite a different footing.

Now, I would ask the senator from Kentucky how his compromise act would stop the progress of such events as this, and what there is in his bill that is likely to restrain feeling or subject it to subordination? What is there in it that is likely to curb this zeal for unlawful acquisition, which is the disease that we are contending with? Sir, I must confess that I see nothing; and yet no settlement of this controversy can be of any avail without some assurance against the rupture of treaties and the violation of law. But this is not all the evidence of an uneasy, restless feeling, which indicates that political influence is the object to be attained. There are some other things that are deserving the consideration of Congress which have been brought to light in the convention to which I have referred. I will read a paragraph or two from the doings of that body, with a view that the tone and the feeling which actuated it may be understood, and that we may the better comprehend the causes of agitation. The first paragraph I shall read speaks to the South as follows:

You have tamely acquiesced, until to hate and persecute the South has become a high passport to honor and power in the Union. You have unwisely stood still, whilst year after year the volume of anti-slavery policy and sympathy has swollen into unanimity throughout all the non-slaveholding States, and the sections of the Union now face each other in stern collision. You have waited until the constitution of the United States has been *virtually abolished*, or, what is worse, is only what the majority in Congress think proper to make it.

Thus, sir, the constitution is virtually abolished, or, what is worse, the arbitrary will of Congress is set up in the place of its provisions. Then, sir, we have another paragraph which will illustrate this a little further, and show who is charged with this contempt for the organic law:

Local and sectional interests absorb the time and *business of Congress; and thus a sectional despotism, totally irresponsible* to the people of the South, constituted of the representatives in Congress from the non-slaveholding States, ignorant of our feelings, condition, and institutions, reigns at Washington. These are the fruits of your past forbearance and submission.

Sir, what local interest has absorbed the attention of Congress for the last six months? What sectional interest has occupied the whole attention of this government? If they mean the southern portion of the country, the allegation is true; otherwise, it has very little application or foundation in truth.

Mr DAWSON. It is the attempt to enforce the Wilmot Proviso for the benefit of the North to which they have allusion.

Mr. DAVIS. I will read the paragraph again, sir, that it may be understood; for I do not think the senator comprehends its import. This local and sectional despotism is constituted of the combined non-slaveholding States. These irresponsible despotic forces are the representatives in Congress of the non slaveholding States, who, it is alleged, maintain their despotic sway here. Some members of Congress, who have always thought they were in a minority on most questions of power and policy, will learn that they have labored under a total misapprehension, and been frightful tyrants without being conscious of it. But the address goes on, and, after alleging that two people cannot live under the same government unless their interests are identical, it says, in speaking of interests which differ:

But the great difference, the *one* great difference—the greatest which can exist among a people—*is the institution of slavery*. This alone sets apart the southern States as a peculiar people, with whom *independence* as to their internal policy is the condition of their existence. They *must rule themselves*, or perish.

A despotism reigns in the chambers of Congress—a despotism created by the non-slaveholding States—and the cool commentary upon this state of things is: "These are the fruits of our past forbearance and submission." Then, sir, they condemn, in pointed terms, this forbearance and submission as if it were a criminal neglect of duty. They declare that two classes of people cannot live under the same government unless their interests are identical; and, after having laid down that axiom, they contrast a people having slavery with one having none; and the conclusion is, that "the great difference, the one great difference—the greatest which can exist among a people—is the institution of slavery. This alone sets apart—yes, sets apart, or separates—the southern States as a peculiar people, with whom independence, as to their internal policy, is the condition of their existence. They must rule themselves, or perish."

"Independence as to their internal policy," is a condition of their existence. Sir, I think that these avowals cannot very well be misunderstood. The North is held up as tyrannical, vindictive, despotic; they aver that the non-slaveholding States have *virtually* abolished the constitution of the country, and in place of that sacred instrument substituted its own arbitrary will. If the non-slaveholding States have been guilty of such outrage upon the constitution, and such reckless, unprincipled exercise of power, the South may very justly not only complain, but may seek relief from it. If the constitution is virtually abolished, and the will of a majority in Congress stands in its place, the term despotism does not characterize the act too harshly. If there be any just foundation for these assertions, which I by no means admit, how can this bill remedy such wrongs, or harmonize and reconcile the opinions revealed in these complaints? The non-slaveholding States tyrannize over the slaveholding, the latter feel insecure, and the exact thing desired to counteract and restrain abuse, as they call it, is power—more power, more influence in this Senate. It is not a question of territory, except as territory gives new States, and new States add political power. Whatever other complexion these questions may put on, this is the great matter which lies at the bottom. This is the disease which demands a remedy; it is this which keeps the country in confusion and peril; and what is the remedy for it? What will stop its repetition? I repeat, sir, that it consists in maintaining the principle that territory already dedicated to freedom should not be turned into slave territory, and that this southern frontier of Mexico should be settled by a free population. That is the remedy, sir, which will cure the disease, and it is a great mistake to suppose that we, in maintaining this doctrine, inflict any wrong or injustice upon the slaveholders. We only carry out a sound principle.

I have already intimated that the catalogue of wrongs imbodied in the address of the Nashville Convention, and given to the public to justify the sectional movement which has been made, and other measures anticipated hereafter, is, like most such papers, adapted to the purpose in view; but let us put its allegations to the stern test of historical truth and see how they tally with it. Let us remember the charge is that the non-slaveholding States are combined in Congress into a despotism, substituting their will for the constitution. Can this statement be maintained? It implies as clearly as if it were said that the non-slaveholding States act in concert and rule with a high hand the affairs of this government. If this be so, it is matter of record, and the truth of it may be triumphantly sustained. What is there in our political history which authorizes such charges? How far are they justified in putting forth declarations such as I have read from that address? Sir, I have said that the cotton power was great; that it is at all times mixed with great influences in the affairs of this government; and I now say that by its own strength and its own intellect, aided by the combinations which it has been able at most times and upon most emergencies to form, it has not only taken the lead in public policy, but has substantially, by legislation or vetoes, ruled this country through the larger portion of its history.

In the first place, sir, it has had, nearly through the whole period, an officer in the chair of the executive department of the government, who harmonized with it in opinion, and sympathized with it in all its affairs. Besides having had possession of the executive department of the government, they have always had, at least within my recollection, possession of the court below, by a majority of members from that section. And it is to be borne in mind all the time that this interest constitutes but a minority of the people, little more than one-third the free population of the country. I will venture to say that whoever will search the records of this government will find that a very large portion of the high places of honor and emolument, a very large portion of the places which are desirable in this government, have fallen to the lot of gentlemen from that section of the country. I recollect very well that it was shrewdly remarked by a gentleman on the other side, that they deserved them or they would not get them. That I am not disposed to question at this time, though it may imply a deficiency of merit elsewhere. But I am disposed to oppose these facts against this catalogue of wrongs which it is said has been inflicted by the non-slaveholding States. So much, then, for the doings of this inexorable majority of the non-slaveholding States governing and ruling the southern country. And, I might ask, when and where has this reckless majority, which has substituted its will for the constitution, violated that instrument? When and where is there any proof that any party from the free States has ever been able at any time, if willing, to substitute its will for the provisions of the constitution, and thus practically abolish the constitution itself? If there is such an era in our history it can be pointed out; but I know of none.

I cannot stop to dwell on these matters. But it is perfectly obvious that most of these allegations are pure fiction. There is no foundation in the history of the government to sustain or to support them. We naturally ask, how it is, and why it is, that this cotton interest is able to do so much, being a minority? How is it that it sways the affairs of a great country? I can show very easily, and in close connexion with what is pertinent to this bill, how that happens. When I speak of this great party, I know there are many in the South who have not co-operated with it in all things, but others have, and enough is found in the country to accomplish the object. But to proceed. We added Louisiana to this confederacy. The great cotton interest took possession of it, and appropriated all that was valuable to its own use. We heard nothing then of a division of the acquisition between slavery and freedom. And on that territory the cotton interest has now three States that have their senators on this floor. When the second of those States came in, a controversy sprung up. The free States seem to have waked out of a kind of dreamy sleep. One State, with two senators on this floor to control the affairs of this government, had been admitted as a slave State out of this territory. The non-slaveholding States had realized nothing, and now a second slaveholding State, Missouri, was offered for admission, and offered under circumstances which rendered it apparent that a third would follow. They began to ask why all this territory, by far the larger part of which was a wild unsettled region at the time of the cession, should be devoted to slavery. The controversy then arose which resulted in establishing the line of 36 deg. 30 min.

Three slaveholding States, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri, have been admitted from this region of Louisiana, which was purchased by the United States. When Missouri came to be offered for admission, what was the ground then assumed by the South? Let us see how a great territory, acquired by purchase, and paid for out of the common treasure, was to be disposed of. This southern interest then went in for the whole, and they shook this government to its very foundation, as the senator from Kentucky informs us, on that very question. They shook this government to its foundation on the question whether they should or should not have the whole of this territory, and appropriate it to the uses of slavery. That matter was finally settled. After a sharp contest, the line of 36 deg 30 min. was established. And out of that part of the territory which was assigned to freedom, there has been added to this Union but one State, and that the youngest in it. We have on this floor but two senators from the territory acquired by the North from the Missouri Compromise line. That is all from that or any other acquired territory. Thus ended this matter.

Then came Florida. We bought Florida. But as slavery existed among the population, though this, too, was a wild and an almost uninhabited country, yet this interest was quietly allowed to appropriate it. It was all claimed and all taken because a few slaves were found there when the United States took possession. The principle then assumed was, that where slavery was, there it had a right to continue. And now, when we come to turn the tables upon you, and say that where freedom is there it has a right to be, and slavery shall be excluded, the converse of the proposition is opposed, and it is found to be a rule that works but one way, and in favor of but one interest. It goes to aid the extension of slavery, and displaces freedom to accomplish it. But, sir, I pass over this, as I have neither time nor inclination to dwell upon it, beyond remarking that we added in this way another or a fourth slave State out of purchased territory.

Then was sprung upon us the matter of Texas—an empire in itself, a vast country. Where, then, were all their notions of equity and equality about a division of the territory which now prevail? Where, then, was the North? Sleeping on her rights. Let the compact of Texas speak for itself. There was no hesitation in appropriating all Texas, and appropriating it by the resolution of annexation to the southern country. The democracy did this.

The line of 36 deg. 30 min. was, to be sure, put into those resolutions, but merely as a matter of form. It never touched an acre of Texas. It was put in, as has been explained in this discussion, at the close of the debate; and on that question gentlemen voted without any reference to geographical considerations. There was, as we are informed, no deliberation upon that question; nor was there any territory for the line to act upon, as facts now clearly prove. Texas came in, giving you one more State to be added to the Union, and two senators. Besides that, provision was made in the resolutions of annexation for four more new States out of Texas; and care was taken, as far as it could be, that they should be slave States—a provision to that effect being inserted in the resolutions. That is the kind of division which was made in regard to Texas, and that is the share which the slaveholding States got. I speak of "share," because that is the doctrine of the day—equilibrium of one interest against all others. These facts show how we have divided heretofore, and who has taken without hesitation the lion's share, as well as who has acquiesced in it without deeming it insult or degradation.

Texas was brought in. Then came the war. Everybody knows very well that one of the chief objects of that war was to get more territory. At any rate, as soon as the war was declared, the principle was avowed that we must have "indemnity for the past, and security for the future." That was interpreted by all the country to mean land. We acquired these Territories by arms, and afterwards by purchase, paying all they were worth—how much by the one or the other, I will not undertake to say. At any rate, besides all the expenses of the war, we paid the sum of fifteen millions of dollars for them.

Now, sir, permit me, for one moment, to say a word about this matter of equilibrium; and I shall be very brief. It means, as nearly as I can understand it, keep what you have, and get what you can. Some gentlemen set up the doctrine here as if this single cotton interest, which all must admit is a minority, had a right to one-half of the political power in the Senate, or to equal all the other interests of the country, if not to have a preponderance. This is a capital plan for a minority to govern a majority. But as it cannot be made certain, in the progress of things, by the admission of new slave States, it has been suggested that the constitution should be so amended as to secure and make permanent southern ascendency, under the idea that slave property can in no other way be secure. The details of such a proposition I have never seen; but, be they what they may, there can be no difficulty in understanding the object. The purpose is, to give to one interest in the country the power to control the others in their legislation. If an amendment to the constitution cannot be had, then other means may be employed. We may go on acquiring territory after territory—Cuba, or anything else—for these purposes.

It is quite time that we should look after these matters, and see to what they tend; for I am sure that the moment any one interest in this country has the control, the other great interests will be left in a deplorable condition. I neither ask it, nor desire it, for any interest whatever, however great it may be, however important it may be to the country.

But upon what ground is this claim to a division of the acquired territory placed? It is on the ground that it was acquired, to use the every-day phrase, "by the common blood and the common treasure" of the country. But this, if true, can give no individual right to the property. And the great mistake is, that gentlemen, when they talk of the right of carrying their slaves there, seem to confound individual right with the right of the government; for they have no more right to go there, and take up land and occupy it, than they have to go into Illinois, or any other place, and seize upon the public lands and devote them to their own use. They have no right of that description. They can have none. The property and the sovereignty is vested in the United States; it is only by their permission that they can go there; and they must go in conformity with the laws, if they go at all. Their property, like that of all others, must stand or fall by the law as it exists. If there is no law to sustain slavery, the question is, can the territorial government, if there be one, or the United States, if there be none, be compelled to make such a law? Is there any obligation of the kind? There is none whatever. Slavery may as well claim the right to enter a State against its laws as a Territory.

How was Louisiana acquired? Was it not by the "common treasure?" Was not the purchase-money paid out of the treasury of the country? Was it not the "common property" of the country? How was Florida acquired? Was she not paid for out of the treasury of the country? How did we pay for Texas? She came in nominally without purchase. But she came in with a war hanging over her head. And I take it that no one will deny that the acquisition of that territory involved us in that war. It was the immediate cause of it. If any one desires to ascertain how much Texas cost, let him compute the expenses of that war: the sum total will show what Texas cost.

I do not complain of this at all, but bring it to notice as appropriate for consideration; and I hope, when the claim to territory for the benefit of a section is founded on "the common blood" and "the common treasure" of the country, it will not be forgotten that this section has of acquired territory enough to make five States of the Union, acquired by "the common blood" and "the common treasure" of the country. When this section talks of dividing the territory purchased of Mexico for fifteen millions, I hope these facts, so closely connected with a just division, will not be left unnoticed. While I have thus hinted that if a division is made it ought not to inure wholly to the benefit of one party, I must say, in regard to this "equilibrium," that it is a thing unknown to the constitution—a thing undesirable in itself. It is dangerous to the peace, and happiness, and the best interests of the country, that any one interest should hold power and control over all the other interests, subjecting them to its will. What would be its effect? I have anticipated that by what I have already said. The result would be that it would make about one-third paramount to two-thirds. Looking upon this movement as a struggle for political power, I have noted these considerations as belonging to a full and complete view of the subject, necessary to be understood before we yield to a demand for concession.

Now I pass to another fact, to show what an amount of influence this cotton interest has held and exercised. Since 1846 it has had the whole policy of this government at its control. If then, with the aid of Texas, (newly acquired,) took the revenue system into its hands, and passed a law satisfactory to its own views and its own wishes. These cotton planters stretched their arms across the Atlantic ocean, and shook hands with the spinners of Europe. While the planters govern this country, the spinners govern the "United Kingdom." They have supplanted the old interests which ruled that country, and taken possession of the political power. These two powers coalesced in 1846; and one of the results of this coalition is the tariff act of that year—a very injurious act to many interests of the country.

It was a combination of the interests of those who employ slave labor on this side with those who employ the oppressed and down-trodden labor of Europe, which is in a condition scarcely more enviable than that of slave labor. The cry was "cheap labor and cheap goods;" money was at the bottom of the whole of it. Who can help seeing that this combination exerted its great power against the free laborers of this country? Who can avoid seeing that the combination of the producer of the raw material with the manufacturer who employs the cheapest labor presses upon and injures free labor? What is the tendency of it? Its tendency is to drag this free labor down to its own level—the level of the cheap labor of Europe and the level of the slave labor in this country. Like causes produce like effects. If you put a man to live here upon the means which are afforded a laborer in Europe, you will make of him a similar being, with as little elevation of mind and as little physical comfort—such influences has this interest by its political combinations been able to produce, in pursuing its own plans of policy.

And now, Mr. President, under these circumstances, with all these facts before us, I am asked to make concessions, as if they are due to a section of the country. And I am asked to make concessions which, if they have any influence at all, will necessarily increase the overgrown political power of this cotton interest. I am urged to vote for a bill that violates the principle that what is free shall remain so, by prohibiting any adjustment of the controversy and leaving the matter in dispute unsettled. It gives what is sought for—time, which may work out the results which are desired. I am not disposed to leave this question to a contingent issue, nor to leave it in a shape that will not bring it to an adjustment. I am opposed to extending slavery by indirection into free territory. Can I, with these views, give my assent to the measure proposed? Can I make myself instrumental in perpetuating this cotton-planting policy—this policy of encouraging the cheapest labor of other countries—this policy which has a tendency necessarily to embarrass and to degrade the free labor of the country, without ultimate benefit to anybody? No; I can never engage in any such work. The best interests of that section do not demand it; the interests elsewhere forbid it; patriotism forbids it.

Then, Mr. President, I may be asked, if I disapprove of this, what am I prepared to do with this controversy? How will I dispose of it? Such a question would be appropriate. But I have no difficulty on that point—none at all. All free governments have causes of excitement. All free governments have more or less vexed questions always before them, and under their consideration. Interests either do or are supposed to conflict. There is more or less disagreement on all subjects. Discussion is free, the press is free, and the force of truth is great. All controversies, thus far, have yielded to the public judgment, and the spirit of contention has always subsided under the preponderating weight of public opinion. Then I would say, go on as we have heretofore, and let him who sees fit to depart from the provisions of the constitution take the responsibility of doing it. Be firm, and cling to the constitution, which has provided a mode for testing public opinion—a way in which it may work out reforms or revolutions in a peaceable manner. The fundamental law, with some qualification, is, that a majority shall govern. In order that no evil may be long endured, the constitution returns all power periodically to the people, and provides for a new choice by their vote. There are new elections for members of the other house, and for this house, in order that public opinion may be carried into effect. That is the constitutional mode of revolution. That is the constitutional mode of bringing men here whose wishes conform to the wishes and desires of the public. And it is the greatest and best mode of revolution that has ever been devised. It is the most certain means that can be devised to correct evils without violence. I leave it to that. And I say, go on reasoning and voting, and be firm and steadfast in principle. I have no threats to throw out. I have no menaces to fling in the face of anybody. I am for executing the constitution according to its terms, by carrying them fully into effect. I will not distrust others in the execution of their duty, until I see good cause to do so. My remedy, then, will be found in these provisions of the constitution, and in a firm and resolute purpose to adhere to them. And if the public judgment be wrong, there are better means to correct it than would be found in any measures of violence, or any concessions made through fear, which would probably only lead to further demands.

Now, Mr. President, I have touched—for I can do no more—upon all the facts connected with these subjects which I desired to bring to notice. There is, however, another matter connected with this supposed adjustment which I ought not to pass; that is, the recovery of fugitive slaves. But, as that is a separate bill, which will be brought up, I suppose, at some future day, I propose, whenever it does come up, to express my opinions upon it. There is one other subject left; and that is, the abolition of the slave trade in this District. Whenever such a bill is introduced, I shall very cheerfully vote for it. Without entering more into these branches at this time, I leave the subject.

The Assam Tea Company,
136 *Greenwich street, New York.*

THE proprietors beg to call the attention of connoisseurs in tea, and the heads of families, to the choice and rare selection of teas imported by them, and hitherto unknown in this country, which, by their fragrance and delicacy, combined with virgin purity and strength, produce an infusion of surpassing richness and flavor.

The teas offered are the following:

The Jeddo Bloom	a black tea	at	$1 00 per lb.
" Niphion	do.	"	75 " "
" Diaci	do.	"	50 " "
" Osacca	a green tea	"	1 00 " "
" Too-taina	do.	"	75 " "
" Ticki-taina	do.	"	50 " "
" Ud-fi Mixture, a compound of the most rare and choice teas grown on the fertile and genial soil of Assam		"	1 00 " "

With a view to encourage the introduction of these matchless teas, it is the intention of the proprietors to distribute by lot, among the purchasers, a quantity of teas equal to the first year's profits on the sales effected.

Each purchaser will receive enclosed in the package a numbered certificate, entitling him to one chance in the distribution for every fifty cents laid out, and on the receipts, amounting to $20,000, the under-mentioned parcels of tea, to the value of ten per cent., or two thousand dollars, will be given away as bonuses, according to the following scale:

5 prizes of 50 lbs. of tea each at $1 00 per lb.				250 lbs.	or $250
20 "	25 "	"	"	500 "	" 500
50 "	10 "	"	"	500 "	" 500
100 "	5 "	"	"	500 "	" 500
250 "	1 "	"	"	250 "	" 250
425 prizes in all				2,000 lbs.	$2,000

Those persons who prefer lower-priced teas can receive their prizes in proportion, or they will be re-purchased for cash, at a reduction of ten per cent.

☞ County agents required. Applications to be addressed (post paid) to the Company's Depot, as above.

June 1—d3m

Fauquier White Sulphur Springs, Virginia,
(More generally known as Warrenton Springs,)

WILL be open for the reception of visitors on the 1st of June. Extensive improvements are in progress that will give a new aspect to the whole establishment. No expense will be spared in adding to its embellishment, or to the comfort and pleasure of the guests. Knowing by ocular evidence, in numerous instances, the positive intrinsic value of the water, and its almost miraculous effect in particular cases, it has been regarded as good policy to enlarge the accommodations and to complete the original design, so as to gratify the taste and fancy of guests, as well as to promote their health and pleasure. Situated in a remarkably healthy region, in full view of the bold Blue Ridge, and in the vicinity of the beautiful village of Warrenton, visiters may, on horseback or in carriages, over the improving roads, enjoy the most picturesque scenery, or may seek exercise in the ten-pin alleys, the pistol gallery, the game of billiards, or the healthful dance. The lovers of music and flowers will find peculiar care has been taken to win their approval, while the fallow deer and the fawn, the gold and silver fish, the elk and the swan, may relieve a tedious hour to those who are interested in the *fere naturæ*. In a word, every step has been taken which expanded liberality could suggest, to add to the comfort and accommodation of visiters. The hurdle race and tournament, the fancy ball, masquerade, and brilliant fire-works, will lend their respective attractions. Nor are these preparations designed for the gay monde only. To the holy ministers of religion, of every denomination, a cordial, not a grudging invitation is given to spend the summer, without charge. The usual services of the church are respected throughout the season.

These Springs are 35 or 38 miles, according to the route taken, from Fredericksburg, and 49 or 50 from Alexandria. Tri-weekly stages will run from both these points till July, when daily lines will be established.

These Springs are known on the post office books as "Warrenton Springs," and all letters should be so directed; or they may be left at Warrenton, and forwarded to the White Sulphur Springs, in Greenbrier.

Terms of board will be as follows: $80 for the whole season, ending 1st October; $75 for three months; $60 for two months; $35 for one month; $10 per week; $18 for two weeks; $1 25 per day; meals or lodging 50 cents each. Servants, and children under 10 years old, half price. No charge for children under three years old. When separate tables are provided for children before the usual hour, those who retain their seats at the ordinary table will be charged full price. Horses 50 cents a day, or $10 a month.

DANIEL WARD,
June 15 Superintendent.

BERKELEY SPRINGS, VIRGINIA.

THE season at this place has opened, and stages are now run daily between it and Sir John's, a point on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, distant only two and a half miles.

Visiters leaving Baltimore or Washington in the morning, arrive here at 4 o'clock in the evening, and from Cumberland a quarter past 11, a. m.

The waters are beneficial in all cases where thermal baths are recommended—rheumatism, gout, chronic diarrhœa, diseases of the skin and of the kidneys—and are especially efficacious in all irregularities of the system peculiar to the other sex. As a luxury, the bathing is unsurpassed. There are nineteen plunging baths twelve feet long by five wide and four feet in depth, copiously supplied from fountains at a natural temperature of 74 deg. Fahrenheit, with shower, spout, and artificial warm baths.

The house of the undersigned, which will accommodate about four hundred persons, is furnished throughout with hair mattresses made by the best upholsterers of Baltimore; and, in every item of comfort, it will be found to be not inferior to the best hotels.

The customary amusements are provided, and no pains or expense spared in catering for this establishment. Bedford and other mineral waters will be kept at the bar, while in the immediate neighborhood there are fine chalybeate and sulphur springs.

Terms, as heretofore, $10 for the first week, with an abatement of ten, twenty, and thirty per cent. for the weeks succeeding, to such as prolong their stay, and to be less or more according to the amount of lodging accommodation required.

June 28—6wd&c JOHN STROTHER.

BY GREEN & TASTET, Auctioneers.

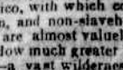
HOUSEHOLD AND KITCHEN FURNITURE AT AUCTION.—On Friday, 12th instant, we shall sell at the residence of C. Bestor, esq., at the corner of 7th and D streets, over the Patriotic Bank, at 10 o'clock, a. m., a good lot of furniture, viz:

Mahogany sofa, parlor, and rocking-chairs
Do sideboard, bureaus, dressing-glasses
Do centre, side, and writing tables
Do work and washstands, cane-seat chairs, &c.
Maple and painted bedsteads and wardrobes
Feather beds, bedding, hair and shuck mattresses
China, glass, and crockery ware
Painted window shades, ingrain and step-carpets
Solar, hall, and other lamps
Shovels and tongs and fenders
Stoves of various descriptions, with a good lot of kitchen requisites.

TERMS: All sums of and under $25, cash; over $25, a credit of two and four months for notes satisfactorily endorsed, bearing interest.

GREEN & TASTET,
July 10—d3t Auctioneers.

For Norfolk, Piney Point, and Old Point—Fare Reduced.



The steamer Osceola will, on the 10th of July, commence making two trips a week to the above places, leaving Washington every Wednesday and Saturday at 6 o'clock, a. m.; returning, leave Norfolk every Monday and Thursday at 4 o'clock, p. m.

☞ Touching, going and returning, at Piney Point, Old Point, Cone river, and the usual landings on the Potomac.

Passage to Piney Point, $1.

Passage and fare to Old Point, $4; to go and return at any time during the bathing season, $6.