THE UNION.

afords at least the chance of escaping insult. I say, with respect to that argument, that it would apply as well to the Wilmot Proviso as to this or any other measure, because it implies that we are to submit whenever a measure is desired by the majority who have the power. But they are not content that the measure should be passed by those who alone take its benefits; we must aid in its passage, although we take nothing by the bill, because otherwise the plan called the Executive plan might be carried into execution. In my opinion, both plans are wrong. According to both, you admit California as a State with the limits which she claims, and thus offer a great outrage to the South. According to both plans, you escape the insult of the Wilmot Proviso; but the Executive plan has the greater merit of proposing no transfer of territory from the jurisdiction of Texas. There is, however, a great and decisive difference between them, so far as I am concerned. If the Executive plan goes into operation, it does so against my vote; but for the plan of the committee I am asked to vote, and become responsible. I am thus asked to aid in establishing the precedent by which the South, in my opinion, is to be much injured, and thus give my bond not only to make no complaint of this injustice which is done me, but to submit for the future to any similar violation of my rights. Sir, I cannot do it; there is no difference between them which would justify me in voting for either. I am against both; I will institute no comparison between them. Sir, I recollect that old Hollinhed, speaking of the Low Countries, says that, between the Spanish government and the Popish Inquisition, they were like spice between the pestle and the mortar. I think that between the plan of the Committee of Thirteen and that of the Executive, the South may truly be said to be like spice between the pestle and the mortar; for, between the action of the one and the non-action of the other, it is likely to be ground into dust and powder.

If I have been right in my examination of the arguments in favor of this bill, there is but little left of them except the appeal to the friends of peace to pass it as a measure of peace. As I said before, I see no hope for peace from the passage of any such measure; it reverses the order in which we should proceed to attain that object; it proposes to put an end to the contest by making the weak weaker and the strong stronger. If it be the purpose to obtain peace by forcing the weak to surrender unconditionally to the strong, then, sir, this is the method; but if we mean to preserve not only the peace of the confederacy, but the rights of all who compose it, then we ought to strengthen the weak and weaken the strong, so far at least as this contest is concerned.

Mr. President, I believe it is useless to give rights under any system of government unless you also give the power to defend them. If the interest is small, the temptation to attack it is small, and it requires but little power to defend it; but if the interest be great, then the reverse of all this is true. Every interest, great or small, in a government, ought if possible to be guarded by power enough to enable it to afford as strong temptations to leave it at peace as can be furnished by any motive for attacking it. No man can weigh or measure these things with mathematical precision; but I think I hazard nothing, in the judgment of any impartial person, in saying that the power of the South ought to be increased and not diminished at the present period of our existence. I do not say that an actual equilibrium between the power of the free and the slave States is necessary to secure the continuance and harmony of the Union. I do not ask for any change of the constitution; but I do express the opinion that it would be better for all parties, for the peace and the happiness of the whole, if somewhere in our government there was an equilibrium of power between these great antagonist interests of our social system. But, whilst I believe this would be better, I do not say that it is necessary, but I do think that it is essential for the happiness and perhaps the union of the States that all the constitutional avenues to political power should be kept open to the South, and that any accession of strength to her would be a positive benefit to the interests of peace and union. I have no hope of convincing any northern man of the truth of this opinion; perhaps neither he nor I could recognise the other as an impartial judge upon this question; and yet such, I think, would be my conviction if I were a northern man. I do believe that whatever increases the strength of the South, whether by positive additions of power through constitutional means, or done by party organization, is so much gained for the cause of peace and union, and those who desire to pursue those ends should encourage and not discredit the efforts which are made to unite southern votes and efforts in the defence of southern rights. Give her in some mode the power to protect herself, and if we cannot always keep the peace we may long continue to prevent mischief.

Mr. President, I have no hope or belief that we can do anything here which will keep down all agitation upon this disturbing question. This results from the contests between the two great antagonist elements of our social system, the slaveholding and non-slaveholding interests. Here are the forces whose opposition results from the nature of our system, and that opposition developed itself at the formation of our government. Like the Hebrew twins, they came into the world with the heel of the one in the hand of the other, as an emblem and an omen of the perpetual strife which was to exist between them. These, sir, are contests which we cannot effectually quiet; heats, collisions will grow out of them; but if we were wise, we might prevent very serious mischiefs to which they may lead. This would be effected by increasing the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, the self-restoring principle of the system, which, after all, must depend upon a proper distribution of power between the parts. What rational fear can exist to justify an opposition to permitting the South to enjoy whatever addition of political power may be open to her through constitutional means? That the non-slaveholding States now possess the larger share of power, and must continue to increase their relative proportion, is manifest to all. If the interests of peace and union would be increased by adding something to the strength of the weaker party, why should not every American who is friendly to those objects be willing to use the means necessary for that purpose? What is there in the political, industrial, or social position of the South to justify any opposition to her possession of a fair share of power in our political system? That her political action has been conservative hitherto, is attested, I think, by the whole course of our past history. In an industrial point of view, she undoubtedly possesses the largest single producing interest of the Union. In the product of cotton she stands without a rival; and upon that product depend the subsistence and employment of almost as many persons out of the slave States as within them. Is it not a matter of deep interest to the northern capitalists and manufacturers, the northern ship-owners, mariners, and merchants—nay, to the whole world—that this vast production should be protected from assaults, and permitted to proceed in peace? And what is there in the social condition of the South to justify a fear on the part of any man at the idea of allowing that population a fair share of political power? In what other portion of the Union do we find a rural population so complete in all the elements of strength and allegiance? And does not history teach that a country population is the safest depositary of political power? I do not profess to know much of northern habits, or the structure of northern society, but I am told that the man who wins wealth or station there removes to the town to enjoy it. In the South the reverse is the case; the man who wins wealth there will buy a farm if he can, and move to the country to enjoy it. The North grows far more relatively in the town, and the South in the country population. The one represents, perhaps, more of the elements of progress, and possesses a more energetic social organization; but the other has more stability, and moves with a firmer and more assured strength. Both elements are necessary to complete the structure of society, and neither should despise the other.

Mr. President, I have been at pains to point out what seemed to me the true path to public peace and social prosperity, because I fear that every step which we take in the direction of what is called the Compromise bill is a departure from the road to quiet and safety. What sort of a compromise is that which a majority of a stronger party—I mean the North—vote against and repudiate? How can it bind them? Whom amongst the agitators upon this question are we to conciliate by the adoption of such a measure? The first class of agitators is composed of those who believe that slavery is a sin which they owe to earth and heaven to eradicate. They hold this (some of them) to be a duty higher than the obligations of constitutions or compacts, and agitate everywhere, through the press, the church, public assemblies of every description, to make the institution odious, dangerous, disagreeable, detestable. Others amongst them admit the obligations of the constitution, but search for every opening through which they may discharge their weapons at the institution upon which they are warring. These constitute a large and formidable body. Will they be induced to desist from their purposes by the passage of such a bill as this? On the contrary, will they not be stimulated by success, and regard this as a cheap and easy victory? Will they not say: "Behold what we have already accomplished, and how much success attends us! The South no longer dares to demand the Missouri Compromise; she dares not insist upon a division of territory, but abandons it all to escape the insult of a restriction which her surrender makes unnecessary. Our anti-slavery petitions are no longer denied a consideration in Congress; they are not only received, but are producing their fruits. Already is Congress acting upon the subject of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Have we not already met with success enough in our past efforts to stimulate us for the future?"

But there is another class of agitators upon this subject. They may be denominated as camp followers of the first; they consist of men who understand the power of a third party, organized upon an idea stronger than the ties of parties merely political. They attach themselves to it to obtain its aid in advancing themselves in the church, in society, and in the State. Will any of these be deterred from an agitation hostile to slavery by the adoption of this scheme? Surely not.

But there is yet a third class of agitators, more numerous and occasionally more dangerous than both of the others. I mean those who agitate for political purposes, without any particular feeling upon the subject of slavery either the one way or the other. But they represent what may be called the capitalist interest in society, and they regard the southern power as being generally hostile to their schemes. The southern proprietor represents labor, and it is his interest that the wages of labor should be high. In all the wars between labor and capital, he is therefore the defender of the former. Upon the subject of banks, tariffs, and in all the schemes by which government is invoked to give capital an indirect advantage over labor, southern influence has been felt, and often fatally felt, by the former. For this reason the northern capitalist has shown himself hostile to every increase of political weight in the confederacy on the part of the South. Upon that question he is consistent and undeviating. He never fails to oppose any measure which could increase in the least degree the relative power of the South in the confederacy, because he regards that power as hostile to him. Upon the mere subject of slavery, his agitation is occasional and not steady. He agitates for other purposes, and not from any real hostility to the institution. He will agitate whenever there is a question of extending southern power, to get up a feeling at home which otherwise might not be directed against such an extension. He also agitates sometimes for the same reason which used to induce France, when at war with the English, to stir up their Scotch neighbors, to produce a division at home. If southern influence is about to become dangerous to his schemes of protection or assistance, he is then willing to give them trouble at home, to alarm them if possible so deeply as to deter them from attending to his measures, or to prevent them from opposing him to get peace at home. Upon this subject, sir, history has something to say. It was not until it became evident that the protective system was reeling under the blows of the South, driven as it was almost to madness and desperation, that the anti-slavery war assumed its most dangerous form. If the tariff was to fall before southern agitation, then slavery, the great southern interest, must totter under northern agitation, and upon that institution blow after blow has fallen, until we have reached our present condition. How often have we heard certain northern senators adverting in bitterness of spirit to the fact that the votes of the Texan senators passed the tariff act of 1846? Who does not see that this feeling has much to do with the determination to exclude the South from every foot of territory acquired from Mexico? Sir, we have already heard more than obscure intimations that the true grounds of compromise were between the slavery and protection interests. But the senator from Massachusetts, in speaking of the ambitious spirit of the cotton interest, forgot to say that there were two classes of the cotton interest—the one in the free, the other in the slave States—with opposite views, in some respects, and the former, as I think, far more aggressive than the latter. If Mississippi has her cotton planter and slave owner, Massachusetts has her cotton lord, whose capital is engaged in manufacturing that fabric—operatives depending upon that employment for subsistence, and ships, and mariners, and merchants largely engaged in the transportation and exchanges of that raw material and its fabrics. But, as I said before, the cotton interest North has in some respects different views from the cotton interest South. The first desire to make slave labor low, and cotton abundant and cheap; the latter desire to make their labor high, and to raise the price of cotton. The former wish to confine all the slave labor, therefore, to the cotton lands; the latter have a deep interest in extending it to other employments, and over a larger surface. In this difference of feeling and interest is to be found, perhaps, one of the bitterest elements in the present strife. If slave labor had been permitted to be employed in California, there is every reason to believe that it would have gone there to a great extent. We have the evidence of a member of their convention, quoted by my colleague, who measured the value of a year's labor of a slave in thousands of dollars. We know, too, that in all times mining seems to have been the employment peculiarly fitted for slaves. It was carried on by Indian slaves before the Spaniards came, and it was to relieve them that African slavery was introduced. So soon as the mines had fallen into private hands, slaves would have been employed in them, had the government permitted it. They would have gone, probably, in great numbers from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Why should any northern philanthropist object to it? Was it not better, if slavery was such an evil, to relieve the old States from it, and send it to vacant territory? In that point of view, yes, but in another far worse. It would have raised the price of slaves, of slave labor, and of cotton. It would have diverted a great deal of that sort of labor from the production of cotton. The general belief is, whether correct or not I do not say, that slaves will leave the grain-producing States in the course of time. To concentrate them in the cotton States must, for a long time, be regarded as a valuable object to those who desire to see cotton abundant and cheap. Now, unless this bill should give these persons all the territory and all the power in dispute, how its passage to satisfy them? And if those are the terms on which alone they can be quieted, how is the South to be satisfied by it? Mr. President, I acknowledge that this class of agitators sometimes pause in their work; I own that it would give a period of comparative quiet if they could be detached from the others, and that the war is fiercest and most dangerous when all of these forces are united. But, sir, I do not believe that this bill, much as it concedes to them, would satisfy them: they have further purposes in view, and will go on until they either reduce the South to unconditional submission, or find that it is impossible to do so.

I fear, sir, that this bill, instead of opposing new obstacles to the march of the aggressive spirit which wars upon the institutions of the South, is removing from its way some of those which already exist. I have indicated what I believe to be the path of peace, not from any hope that it would be pursued, but because I believed it due to truth to do so. I know, sir, that what I have said will have no effect in turning the purpose which is formed. I shall probably be denounced, as others have been, for even looking too closely in the race a proposition which bore the name of compromise. To such denunciations I am generally almost indifferent. I know for what purposes, and by whom, a war of epithets is usually waged. The very declaration of such a war, in the general, is evidence either that the weapons of reason are few in the armory of those who wage it, or else that the arm is wanting which is strong enough to draw the bow of Ulysses. But, averse as I am to notice such idle missiles in the general, yet upon the present occasion, when the public mind is so sensitive, it is possible that there may be persons who are distrustful, and ought to be relieved upon this subject. So far as I am concerned, I am unwilling that any honest man, or sensitive woman, or inquiring child, should believe that I was capable of conceiving any purpose against this Union, and would not make any reasonable sacrifice to maintain it. I believe, Mr. President, that I have voted for everything which bore the semblance of a fair compromise, upon the subject of slavery, since I have been in Congress. I voted for the Clayton Compromise; I voted for the scheme offered by the senator from Wisconsin; I have voted for the Missouri Compromise; I would vote for it now, if offered according to its true spirit an effect. I do not vote for this scheme, sir, because I do not regard it as a compromise; I look upon it as a surrender on the part of the South. I do not believe that it would either give peace or do justice. I am called upon to vote for the admission of California, with an anti-slavery constitution, which was not the result, as I believe, of natural causes, or the spontaneous movement of her people, but of the action, direct and indirect, of the general government, which has at last reached this end, through more than one breach in the constitution which gave it being. With these opinions, how can I vote for such a bill? How could I do it with a decent degree of respect to the resolutions of my State? What is the meaning of the denunciation of the Wilmot Proviso, and "kindred measures," if such a course of measures as brought California here petitioning to be received as a State is not to be included in that denunciation? But I will not repeat my objections to the measure.

Mr. President, I have not been loud in my professions of attachment to this Union, because I was not aware that I had done anything to bring that attachment into question. I have had also another reason for this forbearance: I have thought sometimes that these professions were used to cover and cloak unworthy submissions to power, and improper surrenders of right, and I did not choose to incur such a suspicion. But at the same time I believe I have shown by my past course that I would do anything reasonable and proper to preserve it. I believe my present course tends to produce the same result; for I am defending not only what I deem to be the just rights of the South, but the constitution of the United States, as I understand that instrument. And if the time shall ever come when it shall be treason to the Union to demand justice for the South, then the days of this Union will be numbered. On the contrary, I believe I strengthen it by what I do to promote justice, and to sustain and defend the constitution.

Sir, I have not been in the habit of considering the Union as in danger. I have looked upon disunion as a thing scarcely possible to occur. It may have been a superstition; but it has seemed to me that there was so much of human destiny, so much of human hope, staked upon this experiment of ours, that I could not believe the kind Providence whose sustaining hand has been so manifest in our past history would permit it to fail. Sir, we have already achieved so much, that our growth and success must be accounted as a marvel, and almost a mystery; for known causes will scarcely account for it. And still our progress is forward and onward, stimulated by every motive which can awaken hope or fire enthusiasm in the human breast. Vast associated interests march together in that grand procession, and these interests contain all the elements of human grandeur and prosperity. The bonds of brotherly love are not yet broken; the cords of kindly feeling have not fretted asunder. We have our traditions, too—traditions of trial and of glory—to which we cling with pride and with fondness. They do not extend, like those of older nations, into the remoter regions of fable or of eld, but they already begin to grow faint in the distance, and shed their dim religious light upon the path over which we have passed. When we look to the future, to the prospect before us, the imagination pauses to measure its strength for the flight which is before it.

Mr. President, what more enviable position can any man occupy than one from which he may look backward with so much of pride, and forward with so much of hope? Is it to be supposed that any sane man would wantonly sacrifice it or abandon it, except under a sense of the sternest necessity? But, sir, we will sacrifice it inevitably, if we forget that the order and peace of this grand possession depend upon the mutual affections of its members; that these mutual affections depend upon justice and fair dealing to each other; and that the bond of our peace is broken, the covenant of our liberties dissolved, and the chart of our progress destroyed, when we set aside the constitution of the United States. That man ought not to be rebuked who steps forward to defend this instrument with even a too eager zeal; for his is a pious work, a holy zeal, and, if erring, he errs on the right side. Such a man deserves the respect of every honest man, and of every lover of well-regulated liberty. It is to defend this sacred instrument in my poor way that I stand here to-day. I should be insensible to the highest duty of patriotism if I were unwilling to fall here to-morrow, if by so doing I could perpetuate this covenant to my countrymen, not in its letter merely, but in its spirit and truth. Sir, I will stand by the constitution, by the Union which is prescribed in that constitution; but I cannot vote for this bill upon any considerations which as yet have been presented to me.

Mr. President, the senator from Massachusetts admonished us the other day that the fate of this bill might be in the hands of the South; and he seemed to think that we were incurring a deep responsibility, and running the hazard of much reproach, if we did not come forward and sustain it. Sir, I ask why should the South sustain it more than the North? The North has a majority of votes upon this floor. And has the North no interest in peace and union? Are these considerations only for the South? Why, then, when this bill gives everything to the North, does not the North come forward and vote for it? Why ask us to support a bill in which the North gets everything, as the senator from Massachusetts distinctly asserts? Why ask us to help to establish a precedent by which our rights are sacrificed, and thus give our bond, by aiding in the work, to make no complaint of this outrage, or of any similar wrong which may be inflicted on us hereafter?

Sir, if you take the most distinguished advocates of this bill, they all tell you the same story. Ask the senator from Kentucky if he believes, after this bill passes, that you can carry a slave into these Territories, and he will tell you "no." Ask the senator from Michigan, ask the senator from Massachusetts, and they will both reply in the same language. And yet, in the very breath in which this exposition is given of the bill, it is demanded of us why we do not come forward and sustain it? If it be true that this bill does give up everything that we contend for in relation to these Territories, are we not more deeply wounded in being asked thus to inflict any injury upon ourselves, and to participate in the perpetration of a wrong upon our own section, than if another, strong in his superior force or power, wantonly offers us an insult? Sir, so far as insult is concerned, if that bill is to have the effect in regard to the South which I believe it will have, I do not see how we can escape from insult by sustaining it. If the North is to have the benefit, then let the North pass the bill by her own votes.

But the senator from Massachusetts says we ought to be cautious how we act, because we are in strange company, in company with men with whom we have never acted before. Sir, when I hear his speeches, and the speeches of some to whom he refers, I must own that I would rather be found in his company than theirs. But when we come to action, and I find them aiding the South to defeat a bill by which, according to the senator's own admission, she loses all chance for the territory in dispute, whilst he is doing his best to pass it, I am constrained by a sense of justice to admit that when we come to deeds their company is better than his. I believe, sir, the case is one put in the Scripture of the two men, one of whom said he would do it, but did it not, whilst the other said he would not do it, but did it; and the Scripture judgment, I think, is in favor of the deed and against the word. But, by way of relieving the senator from Massachusetts of all apprehension as to any permanent association of this oddly assorted company, I beg leave to assure him that we have never met together in caucus yet, nor have we adopted a common seal. If he wishes, however, to see the association broken up, and the old work of opposition going on between us, let him defeat this bill, and he will then not only gratify these desires, but himself have the pleasure of that company which he so much grudges us.

But, sir, is this a proper manner in which to treat so grave and important a subject as that which we are now considering? Do we stop on such an occasion to inquire who is voting with us and who against us? No, sir; no. There are higher questions involved than that of those with whom we are acting to-day or shall act to-morrow, higher questions than those of the popularity or position of this or of that man. Upon these questions depend the peace, the happiness—I will not say the union—of the country. Sir, peace and happiness are stakes high enough to enlist the attention of every statesman. They are objects which should induce us all to pause before we act, and to consider what mighty consequences may follow from a mistaken course. Sir, I believe in my conscience that, if this bill were to pass, it would be the worst movement and the worst augury, so far as this Union is concerned, that I have ever seen since I have been engaged in public life.

[The debate was continued by Messrs. FOOTE, BUTLER, CLEMENS, HALE, DAVIS, of Mississippi, and others, which will appear hereafter.]

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 *feræ 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 40 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, or sent 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 75 per day; meals or lodging 50 cents each. Servants, and children under 12 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,
Superintendent.

June 15

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.
" Niphon	do.	"	75	" "
" Diari	do.	"	50	" "
" Osacca	a green tea	"	1 00	" "
" Too-taisa	do.	"	75	" "
" Ticki-taisa	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.

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

June 1—d3m

FAIRFIELD MARINE HOTEL.—J. B. MONNOT informs his friends and the public that on the 15th of June he will open the above hotel, as a branch, for summer resort, of the New York Hotel. The hotel thus announced is situate in the pleasant village of Fairfield, Connecticut, upon Long Island Sound, and is contiguous to an excellent and safe beach for sea-bathing, and in the midst of a surrounding country celebrated for the beauty of its scenery and facilities for romantic rides and drives. Trains per New Haven Railroad stopping at Fairfield, leave and return to New York at Canal street six times each day, the trip occupying from two to two and a half hours. The hotel will accommodate about five hundred guests, and will be under the personal direction of Captain Stephen E. Roe.

June 11—2tawif Aug1

IN CONGRESS OF THE U. STATES.

Thirty-First Congress—First Session.

MONDAY, JULY 22, 1850.

SENATE.

The PRESIDENT *pro tem.* laid before the Senate the following communication from the Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER; which was read:

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1850.

SIR: I have to request that you will lay before the Senate the accompanying copy of a communication addressed by me to the governor of Massachusetts.

With the highest regard, I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

Hon. WM. R. KING, President *pro tempore* of the Senate of the United States.

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1850.

SIR: I have to inform you that I have been appointed Secretary of State for the United States; and thus my seat in the Senate is vacant from this day.

I have the honor to be, with regard, your excellency's obedient servant,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

To his Excellency GEO. N. BRIGGS, governor of Massachusetts.

MEMORIALS AND PETITIONS.

Mr. MILLER presented a petition of R. Byington and others, citizens of Warren county, New Jersey, asking that Congress will pass a bill providing means to remove from their midst all that portion of the African race now free, and that provision may be made for their real wants for one year; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WALKER presented a petition from Lewis Masquerier and numerous other citizens, residing at Green Point, near the city of New York, asking that no new State may be admitted into the Union unless the public lands within its limits be set apart in limited quantities for the benefit of actual settlers not possessed of other lands; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. BENTON presented a petition of S. M. Bennett and others, citizens of St. Louis, Missouri, asking that a portion of the public lands may be set apart for the benefit of the Hungarian refugees now residing in the United States; which was referred to the Committee on the Public Lands.

JURISDICTION OF TEXAS.

Mr. HOUSTON desired to present the proceedings of a large and respectable meeting held at Matagorda, Texas.

The PRESIDENT inquired if they were addressed to the Senate.

Mr. HOUSTON. They are not, sir.

Mr. HALE. I hope, sir, the rule will be enforced not to receive them.

The PRESIDENT. Objection is made, and they cannot be received.

Mr. HOUSTON. I presume, if the gentleman was aware of the character of these proceedings, he would not object to them.

Mr. SEWARD. I hope the senator will withdraw his objection. I do not think it right to deny the people the privilege of coming before Congress with such proceedings as their representatives may choose to present. I do not think the honorable senator's cause and mine will gain anything by a course of retaliation.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I did not calculate whether I would gain or lose by the objection I made to the reception of these proceedings. The Chair indicated the other day that he intended hereafter to enforce the rules; and my intention was, so far as so humble an individual as I am can go, to sustain the Chair in so good a determination.

Mr. HOUSTON. I did not understand that it was contrary to the rules of the Senate to receive such proceedings. This is the first favor of the kind that has been solicited, I believe, by any representative of Texas, at least in this chamber, and I would hope that the same privilege should be allowed to Texas that has been granted to other States.

Mr. HALE. I withdraw my objection.

The PRESIDENT. It requires the unanimous consent of the Senate to have the proceedings received, and if not objected to they will be presented. The Chair hears no objection. The senator can proceed to present them.

Mr. HOUSTON proceeded to read the proceedings, and resumed: Mr. President, were I not acquainted with the character of the individuals controlling or that presided at this meeting, and did I not know them to be in the highest position there, I might be disposed to regard this as a mere ebullition of feeling that would pass off with nothing but a transitory excitement. Being acquainted with them, however, and knowing their high standing in the community when Texas was a republic—occupying then the place of national senators—sustaining a high reputation for great wealth, activity, and intelligence, I feel bound to regard this as a matter of solemn import, indicating no ordinary state of feeling in Texas. And it is a matter of pride and congratulation to me, in view of the flagrant outrage that has been committed upon the rights of that State, that good temper and an amicable disposition seem to obtain, and that there is no disloyalty to the Union or a reflection upon the constitutional action of this government. It is, I say, a matter of congratulation to me, and of satisfaction, that no intemperate remarks were here used—no menace implied—no threats of aggression or resistance beyond the absolute necessity that has been forced upon Texas. And I repeat, I am satisfied that everything will be carried out that here is indicated, unless some adjustment is made to place Texas right, and reinstate her in full possession of all that she constitutionally claims. You may rely upon it that action, positive, decisive, and earnest, will be pursued by that State for repelling the aggression that has been so wantonly committed upon her rights.

I will not occupy the time of the Senate this morning, as important measures are to come up, involving in part this very subject, and I hope it will not escape their attention. I move that this memorial be received and printed.

The proceedings were then ordered to lie on the table; and the motion to print was referred to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. DAVIS, of Massachusetts, presented the petition of Bethiah Black, daughter and heir of George Black, a revolutionary officer, asking to be allowed a pension; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. HUNTER presented the memorial of Robert Mills, architect of Washington, proposing to furnish a plan for a national mausoleum in the city of Washington, for the reception of the remains of all the Presidents. The memorialist sets forth that such a structure, while it would constitute a noble ornament to the city of the nation, could be made subservient to the great purpose of rendering conspicuous and honorable the names of those of our citizens who have rendered distinguished services to the nation in her councils, and died in her service at the seat of government.

The memorial was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings.

Mr. MANGUM presented a memorial very numerously and respectably signed by citizens of New Hanover and Brunswick counties, in the State of North Carolina, asking for an extension of credit on duties imposed on railroad iron, imported for the construction of the Wilmington and Manchester railroad, and pledging every facility to government for the transportation of the mails, troops, munitions of war, or other public stores.

Mr. M. observed this was a connecting link between the North and South, and of very great importance. For that reason he moved that the memorial, without reading, be referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

The memorial was then referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF ZACHARY TAYLOR.

Mr. DAVIS, of Mississippi. I now ask the permission of the Senate to present a beautifully prepared memento, as a tribute from a Hungarian exile to the government of the United States, and especially to the late President of the United States. The chirography of the work is a literary curiosity. It is written in fourteen different languages, with a pen, and with a degree of beautiful execution I have never seen equalled before. Not being able to read many of the languages in which it is written, I must rely upon the opinion of others more competent to decide, when I say that the idiom of each language has been preserved, and that the tribute in each of these fourteen languages is presented in the idiomatic construction of each. It is written in the Swedish by Miss Bremer, with an English introduction; in the Prussian, Hebrew, German, Chaldean, French, Wallachian, Syrian, Sclavonian, Arabic, Armenian, Hungarian, and Dutch. In all these languages the warm heart of one who has been the historian of the struggles of his own country in its recent revolutionary attempts (Dr. Gabor Naphegzi) has beautifully presented this tribute, as I will read in the introduction, in our own language:

Dedication to the people of the United States.

America! the great republic, the refuge for the oppressed of all countries, I, a Hungarian exile, come with the voice of fourteen peoples, to mingle, as it were, their lamentations with hers, at the death of Zachary Taylor, the patriot, the statesman, the soldier. The voice of Hungary, as the voice of an exile, without one patriotic hope, is heard amidst the weeping of the nations.

MED. DR. GABOR NAPHEGZI.

WASHINGTON, U. S., July, 1850.

This, in our own language, presents the feeling, idiomatically presented in thirteen others, by this Hungarian exile, who, fleeing from the oppression of his own country, after having borne arms in her support, has received a welcome in this land, which he aptly styles "the refuge for the oppressed of all countries." He received a cheering welcome from the late President of the United States, and a feeling of gratitude has come over him at this moment, leading him to the preparation of this work. He has requested me to present it to the Senate as a heart-offering of tribute to the people of the United States, to the memory of their late Chief Magistrate. To carry out what must have been the design of the donor in presenting it to the Senate, I move to refer the book presented to the Committee on the Library, for them to take such action as may to them seem best.

The volume was then referred to the Committee on the Library.

REPORTS FROM COMMITTEES.

Mr. HAMLIN, from the Committee on Printing, to whom was referred the motion to print the report of the Secretary of the Interior, showing the quantity of land sold, the amount of money received therefor, and the amount of incidental expenses thereon for the years 1847, 1848, and 1849, with the quantity remaining unsold the 31st December, 1849, reported in favor of printing the same; which was agreed to.

BILL INTRODUCED ON LEAVE.

Mr. BRIGHT, in pursuance of notice, asked and obtained leave to introduce a bill to limit the term of office of the three Assistant Postmasters General; which was read a first and second time by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

[This bill provides that after the passage of the act, the Assistant Postmasters General authorized by law shall be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for the term of four years, but shall be removable at the pleasure of the President: *Provided*, That the commissions of the present incumbents, unless vacated by removal or otherwise, shall expire with the 3d day of March, 1853.]

NOTICE OF BILLS, &C.

Mr. BRIGHT gave notice that he would to-morrow, or some early day thereafter, ask leave to introduce a bill for the relief of Ebenezer Dumont.

Mr. DOUGLAS gave notice that he would introduce a resolution to apply the "previous question" in the Senate.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

The following resolution, submitted by Mr. CASS on the 15th July, was taken up and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations be instructed to inquire into the propriety of allowing to John P. Brown the pay of chargé d'affaires for the time he discharged the duties of that station at Constantinople.

The following resolution, submitted by Mr. SEBASTIAN on the 19th instant, was considered and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs be instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing by law for military escorts to accompany the companies of overland emigrants from Fort Smith, Arkansas, or other points upon the western frontier, to California, by any of the routes usually pursued.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR.

Mr. HALE. I have been requested by several senators to call up the report that was made by the committee upon the amendment to the rules of the Senate with regard to admission on the floor. They have often been inconvenienced, and wish the subject taken up. I move, therefore, to suspend all prior orders, and proceed to the consideration of the subject in relation to the amendment of the rules of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair understands the report was laid on the table, and ordered to be printed, and that it has not been returned.

Mr. HALE. I beg leave to say that it has been under consideration once or twice since then.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is informed that it was considered merely from its entrance upon the journal.

Mr. HALE. It is the wish of some of the senators to have the subject considered, and acted upon one way or the other.

The PRESIDENT. It is not in order to consider it as has been done before. The Chair cannot act upon it unless he can get the paper.

Mr. HALE. I will waive my motion now, and wait till some other opportunity to make it.

ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS.

The following resolution, submitted by Mr. YULEE, came up for consideration:

Resolved, That the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives adjourn their respective houses on Thursday, the first day of August.

On motion by Mr. YULEE,

Ordered, That it lie on the table.

THEODORE OFFUTT.

The bill for the relief of Theodore Offutt was taken up, read a third time, and passed.

EXERCISE OF CIVIL AUTHORITY BY MILITARY OFFICERS.

Mr. CASS. I gave notice on Saturday that I should call up the resolution with regard to the civil power exercised by military officers. But I have been requested to postpone it; and I now give notice that I will call it up to-morrow, when the senator from Texas will make some reply to the senator from Maryland.

CALIFORNIA—TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENTS—ADJUSTMENT.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill for the admission of California as a State into the Union, to establish territorial governments for Utah and New Mexico, and making proposals to Texas for the settlement of her western and northern boundaries.

Mr. FOOTE submitted the following amendment, of which he gave notice on Friday last:

Amend the 3d section by inserting therein, in the sixteenth line, after the word "therefor," as follows:

And that the said State of California shall never hereafter claim as within her boundaries, nor attempt to exercise jurisdiction over, any portion of the territory at present claimed by her, except that which is imbodied within the following boundaries, to wit: Commencing in the Pacific ocean, three English miles from the shore, at the 42d degree of north latitude; thence with the southern boundary line of the Territory of Oregon to the summit of the Sierra Nevada; thence along the crest of that mountain to the point where it intersects the parallel of latitude of 35 deg 30 min.; thence with the said parallel of latitude to a point in the Pacific ocean three English miles from the shore, and thence to the beginning, including all the islands, bays, and harbors adjacent to or included within the limits hereby assigned to said State. And a new Territory is hereby established, to be called Colorado, to consist of the residue of the territory embraced within the limits of the said State of California, specified in the constitution heretofore adopted by the people of California for the government of which Territory, so established, all the provisions of this act relating to the Territory of Utah, except the name and boundaries therein specified, are hereby declared to be in force in said Territory of Colorado, from and after the day when the consent of the State of California shall have been expressed in some formal manner to the modification of her boundaries above described.

Mr. CLAY addressed the Senate at length, in answer to the objections urged against the bill. [His remarks, having been withheld for revision, will appear at an early day.]

A subsequent brief discussion took place between Senators BARNWELL, CLAY, and HALE, which, depending, in a measure, upon the remarks of the senator from Kentucky, is withheld for publication with them.

Mr. FOOTE next obtained the floor, and

The Senate adjourned.

NEW FURNITURE STORE.—The subscribers would respectfully inform the citizens of the District that they have taken the large store room at the corner of Pennsylvania avenue and 6th street, nearly opposite the National and Brown's Hotels, where they will keep constantly on hand a large and general assortment of furniture, viz:

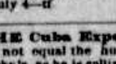
Mahogany and marble-top bureaus
Centre and pier tables, washstands, dress-stands, &c.
Mahogany French and other bedsteads of every variety
Parlor, easy, rocking, spring-seat, and other chairs
Stands, &c., mahogany settees
Plush and plain spring-seat and cushioned sofas and divans of every description
Maple and other cane-seat chairs of every description
Feather beds, bedding, hair, shuck, and palm leaf mattresses.

With a large and general assortment of other articles in the house-furnishing line, all of which we will sell at reasonable prices and on favorable terms.

GREEN & TASTET,
Auctioneers and Commission Merchants.

July 20—eod6t

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 9 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.

Passage and fare to Norfolk, $5.

July 4—tf

JAMES MITCHELL.

THE Cuba Expedition.—The flight of the invaders should not equal the hurry of persons in want of dry goods to get to Yerby's, as he is selling off his stock of summer goods at such prices as were never heard of before in this city. From this day forward I am determined to run off my stock of summer goods at very reduced prices, to make room for the fall trade. I deem it useless to enumerate, as persons will find a good assortment of ladies' dress goods, gentlemen's, boys', and youths' wear, with a good stock of house furnishing goods, that cannot be surpassed in quality and price in the United States, together with Canton mattings, oilcloths, &c. An early call is solicited.

G. WM. YERBY,
Opposite Centre Market.

June 29—3taw3w

By DYER & BROTHER, Auctioneers.

CORPORATION AND BANK OF WASHINGTON STOCK AT AUCTION.—On Tuesday evening next, the 23d instant, at six o'clock, we shall sell, by order of the Orphan's Court, at our auction rooms—

$2,000 Corporation stock
500 Bank Washington stock
200 Washington gas stock

TERMS: Cash.

DYER & BROTHER,
Auctioneers.

July 21—d

Proposals for Wood.

PENITENTIARY D. C., July 17, 1850.

SEALED PROPOSALS, endorsed "Proposals for Wood," will be received at this office until the 10th of August, 1850, for the delivery on the wharf of the Penitentiary, on or before the first day of September next, of one hundred and twenty cords of oak wood, and twenty cords of pine wood, of full length, of medium size, and free from limbs and lapwood.

JOS. B. ELLIS, Warden.

July 18—2t

CITY OF WASHINGTON.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 23, 1850.

☞ Mr. HENRY M. LEWIS, of Montgomery, Alabama, is our general travelling agent for Alabama and Tennessee, assisted by Mr. B. BRETT.

☞ Mr. ISRAEL E. JAMES, No. 182 South Tenth street, Philadelphia, is our general travelling agent, assisted by Messrs. WM. H. WELD, JOHN COLLINS, JAMES DEERING, A. KIRK WELLINGTON, E. A. EVANS, JAMES CLARK, and P. LOCKE.

☞ Mr. C. W. JAMES, No. 1 Harrison street, Cincinnati, Ohio, our general travelling agent for the western States, assisted by Messrs. J. R. SMITH, J. T. DENT, JASON TAYLOR, J. W. ARMSTRONG, PERRIN LOCKE, W. RAMSAY, and G. STEINMAN.

☞ Receipts from either of the above will be good.

☞ V. B. PALMER, the American Newspaper Agent, is the only authorized agent for this paper in the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and is duly impowered to take advertisements and subscriptions at the rates as required by us. His receipts will be regarded as payments. His offices are—Boston, 8 Congress street; New York, Tribune building; Philadelphia, northwest corner Third & Chestnut streets.

Mr. Fillmore's Opinions—Critical Position of the President.

We perceive that many of the whig papers are circulating the letters which were written by Mr. Fillmore during the presidential campaign. They are now reproduced with the professed object of enlightening the public mind as to the views which the new President has heretofore entertained and now entertains of the various questions growing out of the anti-slavery agitation. We have seen, also, that the whig press, with its usual want of candor, has not dealt fairly with the public in this matter; for it has confined its publications only to those letters which were written during the campaign of 1848, when Mr. Fillmore was willing to make himself acceptable to the people of the South as a candidate for the vice presidency. Some care is taken not only to omit, but to make not even a remote allusion to, the celebrated letter from Mr. Fillmore's pen, which was written in the year 18[illegible] when he was a candidate for Congress in New York, addressed to W. Mills, esq., as chairman of a committee appointed by "*the anti-slavery society of the county of Erie.*" Nor is any allusion made by the whig press to the votes which were given by Mr. Fillmore while he was a member of Congress from the Erie district of New York.

We will endeavor to remedy, partially at least, the omissions, by publishing Mr. Fillmore's Buffalo letter. We publish, at the same time, his letter to Governor Gayle of Alabama, and his letter to one of his friends in Virginia.

It will be seen by reference to the first letter which we have mentioned—

1st. That Mr. Fillmore, in October, 1838, believed that petitions on the subject of slavery or the slave trade ought to be received, read, and respectfully considered;

2d. That he was opposed to the annexation of Texas under any circumstances, so long as slaves are held therein;

3d. That Congress should exercise all the constitutional power it possesses to abolish the internal slave trade between the States;

4th. That he was in favor of immediate legislation for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

The letter concludes with a refusal to give any specific pledge as to his future conduct; but yet Mr. Fillmore, while a member of Congress, fully carried out by his votes the doctrines of his letter addressed to the Erie abolitionists. When that letter was republished in the South, during the canvass of 1848, and those votes were made known to the southern people, great excitement was created; and at one time an impression was entertained that Mr. Fillmore's name should be stricken from the whig ticket in Virginia. Soon afterwards, the letters to Governor Gayle and to a gentleman in Virginia appeared.

The first of these letters—the one to Governor Gayle—repeats the doctrine of the Buffalo letter, as to the right of the abolitionists to petition for the abolition of slavery; but it slurs over the other three doctrines, and also the real, practical, and exciting question of slavery in the Territories. The greater part of the letter to Governor Gayle is taken up with an expression of Mr. Fillmore's opinions as to slavery in the States—a question which has never yet agitated the public councils. It should also be borne in mind that the last sentence of the letter reaffirms its author's previous opinions, and of course reaffirms the positions of the Buffalo letter. The second letter, addressed to a friend in Virginia—the third and last of the series which we publish to-day—is confined exclusively to the slave trade between the States, in which he refers to the case of Groves & Slaughter, which turned on the right of the State of Mississippi to forbid the importation of slaves within its jurisdiction for sale. The Supreme Court decided that the State of Mississippi had that right. With this explanation, Mr. Fillmore's letter can be understood; if not, a reference to the Buffalo letter may remove every difficulty.

We have only referred to the past; we do not pretend to know what the new President's opinions may be at the present time. We cannot doubt that the position of his *vis-à-vis*, Mr. Seward, may have had some effect upon him; and we sincerely hope that the imminent peril which the anti slavery agitation and the Erie abolitionists have in part contributed to bring upon the country may not be without some effect upon his intelligent mind. We trust he will now feel that he is the Chief Magistrate of the whole country, and that he may turn away with indignant disgust from the demagogues and factionists who have imbittered, by their mischievous acts, the feelings of the people until the permanancy of the Union itself is brought into peril. We know not what time may bring forth, and we wait events with as much equanimity as possible.

We have not the slightest unkind feelings towards Mr. Fillmore. We opposed his election. But a providential dispensation has raised him to be the President of the United States. What course will he pursue? is now the theme of speculation for thousands. Will he permit us "to forget the past in the future?" Has he the moral courage to bruise the serpent of abolitionism under his heel? or will he suffer himself to be hurried on by the current of fanaticism which is setting in from the North?

The press must speak out. The Union is in too serious a crisis to permit the democratic editors, who love their country, to fold their arms in silent inactivity. Never did a Chief Magistrate require more decision of character than the new President at the present moment. One section of the country is deeply agitated. The Union itself is in danger. Our public councils have been distracted for more than seven months by the most alarming controversy which can exist. The country is distracted by the excitement. Various attempts have been made to allay it, and give peace to the country. Will Mr. Fillmore fold his arms, and do nothing to pacify the country? He well knows that he stands suspected by many persons in the South of going against her rights. He knows that he was indebted to the southern whigs for the confidence which they reposed in him during the campaign, and the support which he received. To these politicians particularly he is under deep obligations for his election. Will he redeem these obligations by the liberal course of his administration? We must speak still more freely. No one's interest is more deeply concerned in getting clear of this stumbling-block in his path than the new President. Yet he will be strictly watched by the South, because of the position in which his own previous course has placed him. In addition to these, the constitution of his cabinet is not calculated to abate these suspicions