

AN ADDRESS,

To my Fellow-Citizens, the Democrats, of Johnston County.

WHITE OAK, April 20th, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: You will soon hold a meeting as well for the selection of your County Candidates, as for the purpose of appointing delegates to the Raleigh and Nashville Conventions; the former to nominate your Candidate for Governor, the latter to elect your representative to the Baltimore Convention, whose important duty it will be, to aid in choosing from the list of distinguished Democratic competitors, the most suitable Vice President for the high offices of President and Vice President of the United States. I should be glad to be present, and to speak to you, in person, about the great questions upon which you are soon to act—to congratulate you upon the triumphs of the invincible democracy, and to urge upon each of you, the exercise of every honorable and legitimate means to foster, forward and perpetuate those cherished principles for which Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Polk and a host of our contemporaries of world-wide fame, have so honestly and so bravely contended. But a providential dispensation, as unexpected as it is afflictive, makes it necessary for me to be absent from the State for a few weeks; and feeling under obligations to you for that confidence and partiality which has placed me in the position of one of your representatives for several years, besides my identity as a citizen, I am not willing to set off on my journey, without addressing to you a word of "aid and comfort" and of warning, how feeble soever it may be.

If experience has taught us, that the present tariff, based upon the ad valorem principle, the object of which being revenue alone, has brought more money into the Treasury, with less inequality and oppression in its operation, than the protective policy, setting aside the constitutional question, it is both our duty and interest to oppose its repeal.

If experience has taught us that the country has prospered to an unparalleled degree without the agency of a United States' bank, in spite of the efforts and predictions of its advocates to the contrary, and that the sub-Treasury has answered the ends for which it was established, being a safe and sure mode of receiving and disbursing the public moneys, we ought to continue our opposition to the former, and our advocacy of the latter.

If we find in the Constitution, no power by which Congress can carry on works of Internal Improvement, by appropriations from the public Treasury, or pass any law, the right to do which is not clearly expressed, or so legitimately inferred as to leave no doubt as to the intention of its framers, it is too late now to abandon the doctrine. Our democratic predecessors have fought too many battles upon these questions. We, ourselves, have shaped our political conduct by them too long. Under their auspices, from an infant, our country has grown to be the great giant of nations. They have become "fixed facts" in our history. Even with a whig administration, these fundamental principles in the democratic creed are left in quiet repose. But why? The answer is obvious. A head without a body! If it were possible for it to plan, it could not execute. The President has no power in Congress. The majority is against him. The people have again decided in favor of democratic measures. They have uniformly done so, unless dazzled, for the time, by the glory of military achievements, or deceived by the presentation of false issues or no issues at all. But the day a whig President is installed in office, with a majority in the National Legislature, will be the resurrection morn for the tariff, bank, Internal Improvements, with all the other ingredients of the great American system. You will find that "Ezra Ripley" is asked, "are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus better than all the waters of Israel?" The people have again decided in favor of democratic measures. They have uniformly done so, unless dazzled, for the time, by the glory of military achievements, or deceived by the presentation of false issues or no issues at all.

The use of experience becomes more marked and extensive with age, the higher we ascend in the scale of life. Thus old birds are not so easily approached within gunshot as young ones; old foxes are less easily caught in traps, and old stags show more cunning. On newly discovered islands, the birds and animals have no fear of man, and the seals and other amphibious do not move at his approach; but a very short experience teaches them in what their safety consists. In tracts where the art of trapping has never been practiced, the animals are at first caught in numbers, but by degrees they become more wary, and the hunter is compelled to use greater stratagems. In woods which are much hunted the game is more shy and vigilant, while it seems fully to comprehend the sanctity of a preserve.—The Passions of Animals, by E. P. Thompson.

TEMPERANCE JOKE—A GOOD ONE. Joe Harris was a whole-souled, merry fellow, and very fond of a glass. After living in New Orleans for many years, he came to the conclusion of visiting an old uncle, away up in Massachusetts, whom he had not seen for years. Now there is a difference between New Orleans and Massachusetts, in regard to the use of ardent spirits, and when Joe arrived there and found all the people run mad about temperance, he felt bad, thinking with the old song, that "keeping the spirits up by pouring the spirits down" was one of the best ways to make time pass, and began to fear, indeed, that he was in a pickle. But on the morning after his arrival, the old man and his sons being out at work, his aunt came to him and said—

"Joe, you have been living in the South, and no doubt, are in the habit of taking a little something to drink about eleven o'clock. Now I keep some here for medicinal purposes, but let no one know it, as my husband wants to set the boys a good example."

Joe promised, and thinking he would get no more that day, took, as he expressed it, "a buster." After that he walked out to the stable, and who should he meet but his uncle.

"Well, Joe," says he, "I expect you are accustomed to drink something in New Orleans, but you find us all temperance here, and for the sake of my sons, I don't let them know that I have any brandy about; but I just keep a little here for my rheumatism. Will you accept a little?"

Joe signified his readiness, and took another big horn. Then continuing his work, he came to where the boys were mauling rails. After conversing awhile, one of his cousins said—

"Joe, I expect you would like to have a drink, and as the old folks are down on liquor, we keep some out here to help us on with our work."

Out came the bottle, and down they sat, and he says that by the time he went home to dinner, he was as tight as he could well be, and all from visiting a temperance family.

HUMAN NATURE. We all "look down" on somebody. The man of bullion looks down on the shopkeeper, the shopkeeper on his clerks; clerks turn up their nose at mechanics, while mechanics are above associating with hod-carriers; seamstresses won't associate with servant girls; servant girls think it "low and vulgar" to speak to the little huzzies who keep the crossings clean. Who the latter "look down" on we have not learned, though there is no doubt that they consider themselves "far above" somebody. Queer, isn't it!

EXCHANGE PAPER. QUEER READING. D—say! Do you believe in the Knotcher Lookers? Do you love figs' peat? Do you love tans' lungs? Do you live near the shotchary's pop? Did you ever ride in a waggage bagon?

Y—e-s! Was you ever shocked by a balvanic gattery; did you hear Wanier Debster's late speech in your city; did you ever see a steamboat bile her buster; did you ever drink a scoote of boh ale—and—oh speak! do you always vote the fig whicker!

IN the late gubernatorial election the Whig party took ground against any change in the constitution, that upon this issue Gov. Manly was defeated, and that their present advocacy of a Convention is not only a cunningly devised plan to regain the State, but to defeat also the measure which the people so loudly demanded by the election of Gov. Reid, to wit: Free Suffrage by Legislative enactment, without the dangers to the East which would result from a Convention. Let us then, Gentlemen, meet these federal issues, and in the exercise of our rights as freemen give a cordial and active support to the nominees of the Raleigh and Baltimore Conventions, and thus vindicate in the State our doctrine of equality at the ballot-box, and in the Confederacy our claim to be of the true Union party.

In conclusion, accept my thanks for the honors you have heretofore conferred, and allow me to decline a re-nomination as a candidate to represent you in the House of Commons.

I am very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
LINN B. SANDERS.

EXPERIENCE OF ANIMALS. The expectation of the recurrence of an event is the impression of a former circumstance, which, from certain causes and a resemblance of certain points, are again led to entertain and to see fulfilled; the former is caused by the memory, and the latter by understanding; for the imagination, by a comparison of the past with the present, prepares the mind to receive a certain conclusive result. This application of experience is traceable in the lowest orders of life. The razor-shell fish buries itself deep in the sand, when left by the ebbing tide, and is attracted to the surface by a little salt being dropped into its hole. A movement in the sand immediately follows, and presently half the fish becoming visible, the fisherman draws it out with an iron prong, but should he fail in seizing it, or relax his hold, the fish rapidly disappears and will not rise again, although more salt be thrown to it. It seems thus to be aware of its danger, for it will come forth on the fresh application of salt, should it not have been touched in the first instance. Borlase says that he saw the attack of a lobster on an oyster.

Lobsters, like most other crustacea, feed principally on shell fish, which they extract with their claws, and in the instance in question the oyster closed its shell as often as the lobster attempted to insert itself; after many failures the lobster took a small stone, which it placed between the shells as soon as they were separated, and then devoured the fish. Monkeys in the West Indies have been seen to resort to the same device. Crickets, if disturbed, withdraw quickly into their holes, and reappear again soon; but if the disturbance be repeated, they remain altogether within them. A fox escaped from a trap in which it may have been caught, remembers the danger, and is not again to be deceived. Birds are equally suspicious.

The quail which has once been enticed into the net by the call pipe, will not allow itself to be caught again; but some like the redbreast and titmice, are not so readily alarmed. A wasp encumbered by the struggles of a large fly, which it had caught, bit its wings off, and then bore it away with ease; the same with a sand wasp, which attempted to draw a small moth into its hole, but being prevented by its wings, it separated them and the legs from the body, and thus secured it. Duges saw a spider which had seized a bee by the back, and effectually prevented it from taking flight; but the legs being at liberty, it dragged the spider along, which presently suspended it by a thread from its web, leaving it to dangle in the air till it was dead, when it was drawn up and devoured.

The use of experience becomes more marked and extensive with age, the higher we ascend in the scale of life. Thus old birds are not so easily approached within gunshot as young ones; old foxes are less easily caught in traps, and old stags show more cunning. On newly discovered islands, the birds and animals have no fear of man, and the seals and other amphibious do not move at his approach; but a very short experience teaches them in what their safety consists. In tracts where the art of trapping has never been practiced, the animals are at first caught in numbers, but by degrees they become more wary, and the hunter is compelled to use greater stratagems. In woods which are much hunted the game is more shy and vigilant, while it seems fully to comprehend the sanctity of a preserve.—The Passions of Animals, by E. P. Thompson.

ESTIMATES OF FASHIONABLE HAPPINESS. The Duchess of St. Albans was a fascinating actress, of good common sense, who married first a banker and then a Duke. She had seen poverty in the most trying as well as the more pleasurable of its shapes, and was well prepared to judge of high life by comparison. She thus speaks of it in her memoirs:—

"Few persons have seen so much of the various aspects—I may say extremes—of life as myself; the difference between great poverty and great wealth; but, after all, this does not by any means constitute the chief and most important distinction between the high and low states. No; the signal, striking contrast, is not in the external circumstances, but in the totally opposite minds of the two classes as to their respective enjoyment of existence. The society in which I formerly moved was all cheerfulness, all high spirits, all fun, frolic, and vivacity. They cared for nothing, thought of nothing, beyond the pleasures of the present hour; and to these they gave themselves up with the keenest relish. Look at the circles in which I now move. Can anything be more 'weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable' than this whole course of life? Why, one might as well be on the treadmill as toiling in the stupid, monotonous round of what they call pleasure, but which is, in fact, very cheerless and heavy work. Pleasure indeed! when all merriment, all hilarity, all indulgence of our natural emotions, if they be of a joyous nature, are declared to be vulgar. There can be no cordiality where there is so much exclusiveness and primness. No; all is coldness, reserve, and universal enmity, even where this sternness of manner is unaccompanied by any very strict rigors in matters of conduct. Look, now, at those quadrille-dancers in the other room; they have been supping; they have been drinking as much champagne as they liked; the band is capital; the men are young and the girls are pretty; and yet did you ever see such crawling movements, such solemn looks, as if they were all dragging themselves through the most irksome task in the world? Oh! what a different thing was a country dance in my younger days!"

GOOD PAY. The pay of Louis Napoleon as President of France, is twelve millions of francs a year, (\$2,130,000) which is about \$192,500 per month, equal to \$6,330 per day. So Louis Napoleon gets in a whole year, his pay for one day is more than the annual salary of any of the members of our Cabinet! There is something, after all, in being President of France. It is a strange characteristic of Frenchmen that they let one man—and that man Louis Napoleon too—hold such an office with such pay, at his pleasure. If it were here, there would soon be a party organized, who would go in for dividing the spoils by limiting the term of the office for a week.

THE prettiest design we ever saw on the tombstone of a child, was a lark soaring upward "ith a rose bud in its mouth. What could be more sweetly emblematic of infant innocence winging its way to heaven under the care of its guardian angel!

CHRONIC BRONCHITIS.

The following remarks of Dr. Cooper on Chronic Bronchitis were first published in the Savannah News, and were handed to that paper for publication by a gentleman of Savannah, who speaks confidently of the merits of the prescription, having seen its beneficial effects in many cases in which it has been tested by actual experiment. He desires that the remedy should be made known for the benefit of those who may be afflicted with bronchitis. The article is taken from the New York Advertiser:—

"The late lamented death of Dr. Rush, from that form of consumption known as chronic bronchitis, painfully reminds me of a duty the subscriber owes to his profession and to society, of making known a simple form of treatment that has never failed him in curing this form of consumption, so destructive to the clerical and literary professions. This treatment is nearly of equal efficacy in catarrhal phthisis, and is a valuable remedy for consumption in all its forms when in its chronic stages, and free from inflammatory symptoms. This treatment is based on the pathology of consumption, as the generic name for disease."

Under the name of consumption, are included that variety of diseases of the lungs attended with expectation as purulent matter from the breathing surface of the lungs, connected with emaciation, hectic fever, and as concomitants, night sweats, colliquative diarrhoea, &c. All the forms of consumption act on the general health from one common cause, the presence of matter acting on absorbing surfaces, and thus producing those symptoms known as hectic fever. It is the presence and violence of this symptom of consumption that prostrates the patient, until it more or less slowly ends in death. It is the consequence of this hectic fever, and not the immediate disease of the lungs causing it, that forms the source of fatality from consumption.

The treatment I now with reluctant diffidence submit, I have successfully used for more than twelve years, and during that period of medical practice, I am not aware of having lost more than four or five patients from all the various forms of consumption, and these were mostly passed to that stage of disease where the structure of the lungs had become so extensively diseased as to preclude the use of more than palliative treatment. Cases of chronic bronchitis were in every instance cured by it; even when the purulent expectoration amounted to pints daily, with hectic fever, diarrhoea, and entire physical prostration.

The treatment is the administration of sulphate of copper, nauseating doses, combined with gum ammoniac, given so as to nauseate, but not ordinarily to produce full vomiting; the usual dose for this purpose is about half a grain of sulphate of copper, and five grains of gum ammoniac, in a teaspoonful of water to be taken at first twice, and in the convalescent stages once a day.

In cases of chronic bronchitis, a gargle of the sulphate of copper alone is superadded. In this latter form of consumption this treatment almost invariably suspends the hectic symptoms in a few days, and the disease rapidly advances to its final cure.

In cases of the more proper forms of consumption, the treatment must be interrupted frequently and again returned to; and whenever soreness of the chest or other symptoms of inflammatory origin exist, the treatment should be suspended, as it is in the chronic state alone that the remedy is indicated or useful; that state in which the general system, as sympathetically involved, becomes the most prominent symptom, and the success of the treatment depends chiefly on the breaking up the morbid healthy tone of the stomach, and increasing its digestive power, and likewise causing, during nausea action, a more active and healthy circulation of blood through the lungs. Its curative powers are more immediately attributable to these effects of its action. But theory apart, the treatment is based on more than ten years' experience of its curative advantages, in the proper treatment of mucopurulent and purulent expectoration.

Having left a profession that more nearly than any other approaches the pure duties of humanity but which has nearly ceased in this country to be honorable or profitable, I have little motive in exposing myself to that certain ridicule that follows the announcement that consumption may be cured, but the assurance of practical experience, and the desire of making public a means of saving life in one of its most frequent and unwelcome exits.

E. D. COOPER, M. D.

THE STANDARD.

RALEIGH, N. C.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 5, 1852.

CONVENTIONS.

The Democratic National Convention, to nominate candidates for President and Vice President, will meet in Baltimore on Tuesday the 1st day of June.

The Democratic Convention for North Carolina will meet in the City of Raleigh, on Thursday the 13th day of May.

THE WHIG PLATFORM.

We present below the Resolutions adopted by the late Whig State Convention, as follows:

1. Resolved, That Millard Fillmore, for the able, firm and patriotic manner, in which he has administered the Government, deserves the confidence of the whole country; and we do not hesitate to declare that he is the first choice of the Whigs of North Carolina, for the office of President of the United States.

2. Resolved, That William A. Graham, by his ability, integrity, and patriotic devotion to the country, has endeared himself to the people of this State; and believing him faithful and capable, we earnestly recommend him to the Whigs of the Union for the office of Vice President.

3. Resolved, That whilst thus declaring our choice for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, we will nevertheless cordially support the nominees of the Whig platform, if they are unequivocally in favor of sustaining the Compromise measures, which we insist should be adhered to, and carried into faithful execution, as a final settlement, in principle and substance, of the dangerous and exciting subjects they embrace. And we declare it, as the opinion of this Convention, that no candidate for the Presidency or Vice Presidency can obtain the vote of the Whig party of North Carolina, unless he is, beyond doubt, in favor of maintaining the entire series of Compromise measures.

4. Resolved, That we are opposed to the doctrine of Intervention; and we declare that it is the duty of the General Government to adhere strictly to the foreign and domestic policy of the United States.

5. Resolved, That we disapprove the legislation of Congress by which the Public Lands—the common property of all the States—are so often appropriated for the sole and exclusive benefit of the new States; and we insist, and shall continue to insist, that in the disposition of said Lands for the purpose of Education and Internal Improvement, the State of North Carolina should receive her equal and just share of the same.

6. Resolved, That we cherish a cordial and immovable attachment to the Constitution and Union of the States, and it is our determination to resist every attempt to alienate one portion of our country from the rest, and to entreat the sacred ties which link together the various parts of the Union.

7. Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, whenever amendments are to be made to our State Constitution, they should be effected by a Convention of the people, elected on the basis of the House of Commons; and we are in favor of submitting it to the people, to say, whether such a Convention should be called or not, for the purpose making amendments to our Constitution.

8. Resolved, That four Delegates be appointed by this Convention to the Whig National Convention, to represent the State at large; and we recommend to the Districts respectively, that they appoint three Delegates each to said Convention.

9. Resolved, That we recommend to the Whigs of each county of the State, to hold meetings, and appoint Delegates to the Electoral Districts at an early day, so that they may act promptly, as soon as said Districts are laid off by the Legislature; and we further recommend that the Whigs in each county appoint committees of vigilance and a temporary elector to canvass his county.

10. Resolved, That the President of this Convention appoint an Executive committee of nine, whose duty it shall be to act for the Whig party in the approaching campaign.

The third Resolution, it will be observed, though it declares that the Whigs of this State will support no man for the Presidency who is not "unequivocally in favor of sustaining the Compromise measures," is nevertheless silent as to the action on this subject of the Whig National Convention. (The Resolution was ingeniously drawn, and with reference to expected events. The Free Soil Whigs, including Greeley and others, have declared all along that it makes no difference with them what the particular opinions of the Whig nominee may be on the Slavery question—they say they will support him, as a true Whig, without reference to his opinions; but they demand that the National Convention shall introduce no new test, but leave the Whigs of the United States, as heretofore, to agree to disagree on the subject. Indeed, Greeley has already declared that he will support Mr. Fillmore, if nominated; and it is well known that Seward, the champion of Scott, cordially sustained Gen. Taylor in the last canvass. They did so upon the ground above referred to; and now, suppose Gen. Scott should write a letter before the meeting of the National Convention, approving the "compromise" measures for the present, and suppose the National Convention should be silent on the subject, and nominate Scott, would not these North Carolina Whig leaders support him?)

The seventh Resolution is a little thing in way and a little that—not for a change of the basis, in so many words, but for a Convention to change the basis, provided the people shall say so, by a majority at the polls. "Whenever amendments are to be made to our State Constitution." There is an amendment now pending; and we suppose, of course, that these Whig leaders are in favor of arresting the question of Equal Suffrage in its regular Constitutional course, until a Convention can be called. Are they, or are they not? Are they for or against Equal Suffrage? They have treated it, it is true, with silent contempt; but it may be that Mr. Kerr is expected to come out for it in certain localities, though according to his platform he is required to act just as if the subject had never been mentioned. We shall see. Again: The Constitution provides that no Convention shall be called by a two-thirds vote of both branches of the General Assembly. Let us suppose that it is submitted to the people to say whether or not they will have a Convention, and a majority should declare in favor of it; what then? How is a two-thirds vote to be obtained? Is the theory to be established, and that too by the "conservative" Whig party, that a majority of the people, at the ballot-box, can call a Convention to alter their fundamental law? Is that Whig doctrine! What Counties are expected to give way? Must Wake, Granville, New Hanover, Edgecombe, and others that might be named, surrender their vested rights, and consent to overthrow the compromise which was effected in 1850, and do this too, in obedience to a mere popular majority?

The fourth and sixth Resolutions are sound in themselves, and will meet with general approval; but we cannot help adding that the country would have been in a much better condition than it is, if these Whig leaders had proved true in times past to the sentiments contained in the latter. Instead of "resisting" the attempts of bad men of their own party in the free States to "alienate one portion of our country from the rest," their habit has been to understate these attempts, and to encourage these men in their unwholy work by yielding, time and again, to their aggressions. They have invited, by party alliances, the very attacks upon the Constitution and the Union which they now profess to deprecate; and even now they propose to send Delegates to a National Convention of their party, which, to use the language of Mr. Outlaw and other Southern Whigs, was called "by the Congressional Representatives of the free States,"

assembled in a Caucus which expressly refused to sanction the "compromise" measures; and yet these North Carolina Whig leaders are prepared to take part in this Convention, declaring at the same time they will support no man who is not unequivocally committed to those measures.

The fifth Resolution in the series we shall notice hereafter, and we shall also, during the campaign, pay our respects particularly and generally to the seventh Resolution. We shall also take occasion to contrast the present platform with that put forth by the same party in former Conventions in this State, with the view of showing our readers how consistent these Whig leaders have been during the last eight or ten years.

ADDRESS OF THE SECEDING WHIGS.

We alluded, in our last, to the address put forth to the Whigs of the United States by those Whig members of Congress, who, in the late caucus in Washington were overpowered by the Sewardites, and consequently seceded from the caucus. We shall give our readers the substance of this address, not being able to make room for the whole of it.

The signers declare, in the outset, that the events at the Federal City, within the last twenty days, "are likely to affect the future union of the Whig party, as they have already disturbed the harmony of its members." In the first caucus, Mr. Marshall of Kentucky said that, inasmuch as many of the anti-compromise Whigs had publicly assailed the resolution adopted by the caucus of the Whigs of the House, at the commencement of the session, endorsing the position of the administration upon the compromise measures, as an untrue expression of Whig sentiment in regard to those measures, it was thought proper to re-state, in the meeting of the Whig members of the two Houses, the position which the Whigs in Congress hold on the compromise measures, before proceeding to the steps preparatory for a Convention of the Whig party. He indicated his purpose to offer a resolution to that effect. This view was opposed by some, on the ground that any political test was beyond the province of the caucus, and by others that the proper course for the Whigs was to "agree to disagree" upon questions connected with the subject of slavery—leaving every section to think and act as it will, as a common platform was inaccessible.—Mr. Mangum, the chairman, also announced in advance, that he should decide any such resolution as out of order. "This announcement of a foregone determination," and this "assumption" by the chair, "was met by instant remonstrance"—the right to present the resolution was pressed as a point of principle, and notice was given that at the next meeting it would be insisted upon.

At the next meeting, accordingly, (on the 20th April,) Mr. Marshall of Kentucky offered a resolution embracing a recognition of the finality of the Compromise and at the same time recommending the holding of a Whig National Convention. Mr. Stantley objected that it was out of order, and the Chair sustained the objection. Mr. Marshall appealed from the decision of the Chair. Mr. Stantley moved that the appeal do lie on the table. The appeal was ordered to lie on the table by a vote of 46 to 21. Of those voting in the affirmative 38 are from the free States and only 8 from the slave States. Of the 21 noes, 14 are from slave States and 7 from the free States.

Upon the announcement of this vote some of the Southern members "withdrew from the meeting"—and the rest left, so soon as a similar resolution, moved by Mr. Gentry of Tennessee, was also ruled out of order. The signers of the address say:

"By a reference to the list of persons who participated in these proceedings, it will be perceived there was a great disparity in the representation from the free States and the slaveholding States. We are authorized to state that several gentlemen from the slaveholding States, belonging to the Whig party, declined to participate at all in a meeting of which the result was palpable, under the intimations of purpose advanced by the Chair at the first meeting. The meeting was composed of forty gentlemen from the free States, and twenty-one from the slaveholding States. The vote is divided, forty-six to twenty-one—seven from each class of States voting with the opposition section.

The entire meeting was a mere majority of the representation from the Whig in the most conservative of the United States. The quota from the slaveholding States remaining in the meeting after our withdrawal was just one-fourth of the Whig representation from the slaveholding States. The determination of the time and place for the Whig National Convention may therefore justly be considered as made by the Congressional Representatives of the free States. Of the members of Congress from the free States present and acting in this meeting, a large majority were committed, by legislative action, against the Compromise measures at their passage, or have refused to express an intention to maintain and execute them since their passage. Among those who took no part in the proceedings, the most conspicuous opponents of the Adjustment and non-actings of the North. Of the thirty-one Representatives from the free States, who voted affirmatively on the proposition that the appeal do lie on the table, only three had recorded their votes in favor of the passage of Hillier's resolution at this session, expressing as the sense of the country that the Compromise measures should be maintained as a firm settlement of the questions they embraced, and should be fairly and honestly executed. Nineteen had voted against that resolution. Nine were absent. These, united to the vote of the Senators, would have been sufficient to overpower the whole representation present from the slaveholding States, had that representation been united. We will not dwell upon the considerations these facts suggest, or express the reflections which they naturally awaken. It is apparent, however, that the time and place have been determined, not only by a minority of the Whig representation, but by a pro-ponderance of that element of the representation, who either opposed the Adjustment or disavows the "finality" of the settlement."

The signers then proceed to show the absurdity of the decision of the Chairman, Mr. Mangum, ruling the "Compromise" Resolution out of order:

"What reason can be rendered for the decision that the resolution was out of order? It differed from Mr. Stantley's in one particular only. In addition to the determination of the time and place for holding the national convention, Marshall's resolution suggested the congressional caucus resolution of December, 1851, as a condition precedent to the union of the whig members of Congress in the approaching canvass. It did not attempt to describe a platform for the national convention, or to dictate to the delegates from the primary assemblies of the people. It avowed the determination of its friends to remain uncommitted and to abstain altogether from taking steps preliminary to a national whig convention, unless the condition of its candidates. It did not dictate with Stantley's resolution, but cumulative thereto by the imposition of a condition affecting only the actors in this congressional meeting, and, implicitly, relieving them from a commitment to sustain the nominees of a convention which might fail to require the same condition of its candidates. It did not dictate or seek to dictate the programme of the national convention; but merely asserted an affirmative endorsement of the 'finality of the compromise' as a basis of union among the whig members of Congress. Was that improper? Can the whig members of this Congress, who can be trusted to sustain the Union, unite upon a candidate on any other basis? Ought national whigs, anywhere, north or south, to agree, for a moment, to forego a point so vital to the preservation of the peace of society? We did ardently desire the whigs in Congress to adopt the proposition as a conclusion of their own, and to publish it to the country as one of the bonds of their political association. It required no sacrifice of principle—no recantation of opinion—no renunciation of error; only a determination—to abide for the future by a settlement designed to restore peace to a distracted country and

to carry into execution honestly the compact of the constitution. We finally state it was our deliberate purpose to announce at three o'clock an unalterable termination to aid no scheme for a national association with or allied to men whose policy was to ignore the final settlement of those dangerous and exciting questions which are embraced by what is termed 'the adjustment.'"

With the candor of freemen we presented in the proposition submitted to the meeting of the 20th inst. the fact that it was assumed from a solemn sense of duty to ourselves and to our country; and we rely upon the honest impulses of the people, and the patriotism of all who love the Union, and wish to perpetuate its blessings.

To assert the converse of our proposition—to agree to disagree—on questions connected with the institution of slavery, as it is recognised by the constitution, on the fugitive slave law, and the finality of the compromise—is to open willingly the source of the most noxious agitation, and to reveal the means of assailing anew the harmony, and, mayhap, the peace of the Union. Have the dimensions of the peace of the future be marred by the progress and of a fanaticism which halts at no barrier erected by mortal power, and exultingly proclaims its evidence only to a power higher than human law? Shall we together strive to force upon the Union, in its name, the mask of liberty to perpetrate crime; or that reward ultimately a desire for self-aggrandizement? Will the whig party, under existing circumstances, shroud honest convictions of public duty in silence, and have its opinion interpreted variously to suit the latitudes? Follow-whigs! It is unworthy a great party whose sentiments are conservative, and whose aim is to reduce the whig party to mere heterogeneous ballast-box to a receptacle of discordant sectional factions; and upon one or other of the sections of the Union, States, and the Presidential election to a trial of efficiency; and dissimulation among political mountebanks. We do not seek to make an injurious ascription of motive and refuse to associate of men; but we repudiate support to any party, now and hereafter, to lend our aid to any man whose principles are not plainly defined, or to join in any measure against popular rights, the honesty of politics, or the public interest of the country, for the purpose of achieving a temporary political triumph."

The address concludes as follows:—

"It has been charged that it is our deliberate purpose to distract the councils of the Whigs, and to create an unnecessary schism in the body of the Whig party. It has been charged that our object is to open afresh the agitation upon the slavery questions, and to create sectional strife in order to weaken the concentration of whig strength at the approaching Presidential election. It has been charged that we present insulting terms to the north by requiring the reiteration of pledges to maintain and to enforce laws which exist on the statute-book, and which no member of Congress or political aspirant has manifested an intention to disturb. These statements, fellow-whigs, are unjust and untrue. If any schism shall occur in the whig party, it will result from the attempts of men whose present distinction is alone attributable to the success with which they have heretofore led the flames of sectional fanaticism, and whose hopes rest mainly upon the creation of sectional divisions. Our effort has been to induce the whigs to assume a national ground—a conservative and patriotic position—the only position upon which the statesman and patriot can maintain the harmony of these States or preserve the existence of this government."

The original constitution established the terms of this Confederacy, and constitute the organic law of government. After a series of years sectional disputes arose, and the Missouri compromise was made to quiet controversy relating to certain governmental powers and constitutional questions. It was faithfully executed by the United States, and submitted to by people of the slaveholding States. After another series of years new acquisitions of territory were made—new disputes arose touching the same powers and the same questions. A new Compromise was made, whereby the balance of power was yielded by the slaveholding States by the admission of California into the Union. This was submitted to by the States of Columbia, territorial governments were erected over the whole public domain, and an act was passed to enforce the delivery of fugitives from labor. This settlement being made, the South murmured at the law suppressing the slave trade in this District! Look upon the opposite shore, and see the fugitive-slaves, how have the laws for the delivery of fugitive-slaves been executed! We ask merely that the Whig party shall not go behind this last settlement—that it shall nationalize itself by taking a firm and true position upon the finality of this settlement, and shall hold its members bound, without regard to former opinions, to maintain and enforce the laws of the United States honestly. To this end we did desire the declaration to this effect to come from the distinguished gentlemen who assembled in the Capitol, under the hope that the country would enthusiastically respond to it. We have been disappointed in the realization of our wish, and in our disappointment, we have seen the Whig party, after another series of years new acquisitions of territory were made—new disputes arose touching the same powers and the same questions. 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