

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, MARCH 7, 1850.

THE SPEECH OF MR. CALHOUN.

Mr. Calhoun appeared in his seat last Monday, where he recited in a mere skeleton, and in a few minutes, the warm greetings of numerous friends. His speech was read by Mr. Mason of Virginia. The Senate was full; the ladies thronged the floor; the galleries were crowded. The speech contained no new statement or argument, but was rather an abstract of what Mr. Calhoun has been in the habit for many years past of saying and predicting. We saw no indications of any extraordinary sensation or impression produced by it.

All our readers will be curious to read the speech; and, crowded as the Era is, we have determined to publish it. It is divided into two portions. The first, attempting to show what it is that endangers the Union, and traces it to its cause, to explain its nature and character, we insert in this number. The other portion, discussing the question, "How can the Union be saved?" will appear in our next.

Mr. Webster will address the Senate to-day, on the whole question. Messrs. Seward, Hale, and Chase, have also indicated their purpose to speak.

CONGRESSIONAL SPEECHES.

The speeches published in the Era to-day are all remarkable, and will be read with profound interest. They commanded the attention of Congress, and will command the attention of the People. Between one hundred and two hundred thousand copies of them have been issued here in pamphlet form, and are now flying over the country. Orders for the speeches of Messrs. Campbell, Bissell, and Stevens, may be sent to the printers of the Era.

THE PAST WEEK.

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Sir, when that honorable gentleman or any other Southern gentleman speaks to this question, I wish to direct his particular attention to this point. Upon what ground do you rest your plea of justice, do you make this discrimination? You denounce us, if we propose to enlighten the slave, as "aggressors"—you refuse to teach him your-

solvers—to fix upon his mind the impress of morality, and his duties to his fellow man—you deem him to degradation, and ignorance of the right, and yet you hold him for the wrong; whilst the master, who has done what he can, and who has been permitted to go unpunished for justice. Sir, that all just God, who rules the destinies of the world will make no such distinctions in our favor, when in a few brief years we shall be summoned to answer at the bar of the AVENUE.

Mr. Chairman, gentlemen from the South insist upon calculating the value of this Union. We of the North will not. I regard it as more profitable to endeavor to elevate the people of the South, than to calculate the value of the Union. Gentlemen talk about their Southern Convention, and about dissolving the Union. I have already shown that this is the old scheme of a few big-winded men, who, perhaps, are not so much as they seem to be. It is a matter of deep regret to me that some of those with whom I deeply sympathize in former struggles, whose noble efforts in the cause of their country have been commended and honored, should now be so disposed to unite with them in the "dream of a separate independence—a dream to be interrupted by bloody conflicts with their neighbors, and a vile dependence on the power of a foreign nation, to secure the glorious flag of our country—in destroying the peace of mankind, and deluging our fertile fields in blood. As to a dissolution of the Union, it cannot occur. As to a dissolution of the Union, it cannot occur. We will not contemplate it. We will not consent to the great principles of our fathers—unwaved by the storm which may threaten—we will follow the advice of the great men of our country, who have shown us the way to peace and good government, and we will not consent to any measure which would abandon, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to enslave a portion of our country from the rest, or to enable the slave to purchase his freedom, or to free himself from the yoke which now binds him. Sir, the attempt may be made, but the whole North, with thousands in the South, will resist it to the last.

The gentleman from North Carolina, [Mr. Caldwell], with a coolness by no means creditable to his patriotism calculates it as a matter of dollars and cents! You do not find the Yankee making such calculations, and you do not find him in pamphlet form, and are now flying over the country. Orders for the speeches of Messrs. Campbell, Bissell, and Stevens, may be sent to the printers of the Era.

Has not been marked by much excitement. The debates in Congress generally were without much interest. The absence of Mr. Foote from the Senate, on account of sickness, lessened the attractions of that body, as a theatre for dramatic entertainment. The feelings of the Southern members in both Houses have apparently undergone a slight change for the better. There has been less menace; we have had more argument. Mr. Toombs' speech was very fair and temperate. Mr. McWiliams' was extravagant, but without weight. The Northern members, Col. Baker of Illinois, Mr. Sackett of New York, Mr. Van Dyke of New Jersey, sustained themselves creditably. The speech of Mr. Parker of Virginia was good-tempered.

The letter-writers were busy, and discovered that a challenge had passed between Colonel Davis of Mississippi and Colonel Bissell of Illinois; but that, upon the intervention of the President, the challenge had been withdrawn, and bloodshed prevented. All the public was permitted to see a short correspondence in the Union between the two military Congressmen, in which Colonel Davis asked Colonel Bissell whether he meant to redress the Mississippi regiment. Colonel Bissell wrote out the remarks he had made in debate concerning that regiment, and stated that he had done justice to the dead, without disparaging the living. So this matter went over.

As to the end of the world, which was to take place last Monday, according to the letter-writers, the world suffered a disappointment. People had come from a distance to see what was to be seen, and were dazzled with the crowds of pretty ladies in the Senate Chamber and galleries of the House, not in their ascension robes, but in garments brilliant as sublimity wealth could make them.

It is said that one of the Senators has kindly granted a reprieve to the North of one week, probably in view of the late meeting of the devout Hall.

GENERAL CASS AND HIS DOCTRINES. The late speech of General Cass on the Territorial question has attracted but little attention in the country. Neither friends nor enemies seemed to be much impressed by it. It has provoked no criticism, excited no discussion.

In Congress it has been the subject of occasional remarks, whenever there are any "over-acts," arguments more potent than mine will be furnished by the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army, the "Old Whig," who nips the grass on the public grounds, and will be in good light!

I have shown some of the reasons why I am in favor of the Proviso of the Ordinance of 1787. I desire to bring before the public another practical illustration. For want of time, I will relate an anecdote which is calculated to impress them upon the mind.

I have a constituent who has been an eye-witness to the rapid progress of that Territory to which our revolutionary fathers first applied it. He is a native of the "Old Dominion," and at the age of sixteen fought in the battles of Eutaw and Guilford Court-house. The North-West Territory was then a vast, unbroken wilderness, uninhabited save by the savage and the wild beast. No keel had ruffled the smooth surface of her magnificent lakes and rivers. Her shores were untraced by the foot of man. The soil of her prairies was unbroken by the agriculturist! In 1787 it was decreed that this soil should never be polluted by the foot of slavery! In '89 he left his home in Virginia, and came to the Territory, to cast his destiny there. In that year he bought a log cabin on the banks of the beautiful Ohio, the second school of the Northwestern Territory. Subsequently he aided to carry up the corner of the first log cabin, where now stands the great city of Cincinnati! In 1802 he was a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Ohio, and aided in embodying in it the clause prohibiting slavery. His home still lives, and witnesses it.

Four millions of freemen are happy there, with no fears of insurrection to trouble them in the stillness of the night—the lamentations of no slave to disturb their repose. In the single lot, surrounded by swarms of thousands of colleges, academies, churches, and school-houses, adora the land, and tens of thousands of merry children acquire in them those impressions which will make them a blessing to the world, and the glory of their souls for eternity. Sir, I relate this anecdote to challenge gentlemen to point me in the history of all the world to any country, in any age, where, in the lifetime of one man, such progress has been made in the arts, in the sciences, in the wisdom, and sagacity of those who formed the soil of the Territory, as in the Territory of Ohio.

It will be observed that North Carolina stands highest in the scale of human happiness, civilization, and refinement; and that the good people of Buncombe are particularly blessed! [Laughter.] If their distinguished and noble ancestors are not satisfied with this exhibition of his constituents, in future he may remember the old adage, that "those who live in glass houses should not throw stones!" [Laughter.]

Mr. CAMPBELL. My time is so nearly out, that I cannot, if it will comfort the gentleman in his present tribulation, tell him that North Carolina is not more civilized than North Carolina. The reason is obvious to everybody, everywhere. We wish our rivals, you allow yours to run at large! [Laughter.] At least we have seen some recent evidence of moral right, or something about crime was said by the honorable member from South Carolina [Mr. Bove] the other day, in explanation, after the member from Massachusetts [Mr. May] had closed. His purpose seemed to be to relieve Southern people from the inference of culpability, raised by the assertion that they would not hang a slave for a crime for which a