THE NATIONAL ERA.

SLAVERY QUESTION.

SPEECH OF HON. DAVID WILMOT,

IN THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
FRIDAY, MAY 3, 1850.

Mr. WILMOT said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: This lengthened debate, in my judgment, has been productive of at least one good result. It has disclosed, beyond all question of denial or equivocation, the policy and purpose of the South. It affords ample justification, if any were needed, where the path of duty is so clearly marked out, for firm adherence to that policy upon which I have stood from the first, and upon which I intend to stand throughout this momentous struggle.

Of the character of this struggle, if there were ever room for doubt, there can be doubt no longer. It must now be conceded that there is *substance* in this controversy—that the principle of *positive prohibition* by Congress, against slavery in the Territories of the nation, is not an abstraction, having no practical object, and leading to no practical result. Four years of earnest and often acrimonious debate in the halls of this Capitol—an agitation wide-spread as the country, reaching all classes, and stirring to their profoundest depths the passions of men attests the magnitude of the struggle, and the mighty interests dependent upon its issue. Except that protracted and bloody conflict which gave birth to the nation, none has arisen, and, in my judgment, none will arise in our subsequent history, involving interests so vast, consequences so momentous for good or evil, as the one now pressing its fearful weight upon us—reaching, as it does, to the remotest posterity, and involving, if not the existence, the character and policy of our Government, so long as we shall have a name and a place among the family of nations. The ultimate decision of the present controversy will settle the great question of the condition and destiny of the southern half of this continent. It will also settle another great question: whether this Government shall be administered in the spirit that gave it birth, or whether the sufferings and trials of the Revolution shall have been endured in vain—whether our democratic institutions are to stand, or this Government become an Aristocracy, based upon slave property and slave representation.

In the aspect of results thus lasting and momentous, has the present struggle been viewed by those interested in the extension and perpetuation of slavery. On their part, the conflict has been maintained in a spirit and temper commensurate with their estimate of the magnitude of the interests involved. In behalf of slavery, this battle has been fought with a desperation kindred to madness. Indissolubly united in the bonds of a supreme and all-controlling interest—unembarrassed by no dissensions—restrained by no ties of brotherhood, nor by the obligations of a high and holy patriotism, the champions of human bondage stand banded together, pressing on directly to the accomplishment of their object, and threatening, if thwarted in their purpose, the dismemberment of the Union, and the total destruction of the free institutions under which we live. Such, sir, is the spirit and temper of the Slave Power, as exhibited in this struggle—a power as insolent, as arrogant, as defiant of right, and justice, and law, as the most treasonable conspiracy that ever reared its head against a just and benign Government.

Sir, this spirit of threatening and defiance must be successfully resisted, or we are ourselves the veriest of slaves. What! shall the line of our conduct be prescribed to us under the pressure of treasonable threats? We have severally sworn to support the Constitution, each man for himself; and for our fidelity in this respect, we must stand individually responsible to God and the country. But we are told that we must understand that Constitution as it shall be taught us by the advocates of slavery—we must adopt their construction of that instrument; and if we presume to overstep the limits of their interpretation, that the Union shall be dissolved, and our system of government overthrown. Not only this, but the line of our action is prescribed to us, within the acknowledged limits of the Constitution. "New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union," is the explicit language of that instrument. Yet we are given to understand, if we presume to exercise this clear and admitted power in the case of California, without making certain concessions to slavery as an equivalent, that measures of a revolutionary character will be brought into requisition to arrest our action—that the ordinary Government supplies will be withheld—that the *yeas and nays* will be called, in defiance of parliamentary law and usage, upon frivolous and dilatory motions, until the end of the present Congress.

Sir, where are we? Is this a Chamber in which the representatives of freemen meet for the discussion and determination of grave and important questions, or is it a theatre upon which slaves are taught their obligations and their duties? It behooves us to examine the ground upon which we stand. We have arrived at a point from which we cannot retreat, without a surrender of our independence as representatives upon this floor. I repeat it, *we must go forward!* To step back—to cower under these threats, is base dishonor—a virtual surrender of our rights, and the rights of the freemen whose representatives we are. It is no question of feeling or personal pride, but of independent action upon this floor—of the exercise of those acknowledged powers, which belong to us as a part of the Government. Shall the acknowledged powers of this Government be exercised through its constitutional organs? Or is a band of conspirators to arrest its action and set its authority at defiance? This, sir, is the point we have reached. I am for meeting the issue here and now. I will yield nothing to treason. I will know no concessions to the threats of faction. It would be base cowardice—a flagrant dereliction of public duty—a surrender of the constitutional powers of this House into the hands of a factious minority, subversive of all rightful authority, and destructive of the very foundations of our institutions of Government.

Who is it, and what is it, that dares thus hurl defiance at the constitutional authority of this Government—that dares threaten a dismemberment of this Union? I answer, an aristocracy of slaveholders, who, not content with that share of influence and political power given them by the Constitution, demand the absolute control of this Government—the right to dictate the sphere and the modes of its action. What could be more despotic than to make the existence of the Government depend upon the acquiescence of Congress in such a construction of the Constitution as the representatives of a particular section choose to place upon it, from time to time? If we will make our action conform to the Constitution as it shall be expounded to us by the representatives from the slave States, we are assured that all shall be well—that agitation shall cease, and peace and harmony be restored to our country; but if we dare to read that instrument for ourselves, and to act upon our understanding of its true meaning, we are threatened with convulsions, and bloodshed, and civil war. If one man should assume the right to fix an authoritative construction upon the Constitution—to dictate what Congress might and what it might not do—acquiescence in this demand would be to change this Government into an absolute monarchy. To concede that right to any number less than a majority, is to convert it into an aristocracy. Yet this is what we are called upon to do at the peril of the very existence of the Government itself. Sir, I am no agitator; I am the friend and the lover of peace; but I prefer agitation, I prefer any extremity of danger, to the peace that is proffered us.

The great champion of the South, now numbered among the dead—he whose courage equalled his designs—scorning all circumlocution and indirection, marched boldly up to his object, and proposed such an amendment of the Constitution as should place this Government in the power of a minority. This bold and direct proposition startled the country. There was no disguise in it. It could be clearly seen and understood; and being seen, the People of the free States as one man revolted at the proposition; and many of the most ultra men of the South shrunk back from the ground their great leader had fearlessly taken. It was too bold. It stripped slavery of its disguise, and exposed the length and breadth of its demands. Dangerous as was this proposition, it was harmless compared with the *covert* demands made upon us by the less courageous advocates of slavery. They seek, by indirect means, more than Mr. Calhoun ever demanded by a change of the Constitution. They require that Congress and the country shall acquiesce in their construction of the Constitution, and make the overthrow of our institutions the penalty of disobedience. Sir, if the North, under the influence of threats and the seductions of patronage, can be brought to this, it is better for the aristocracy of slavery than any written constitutional amendment. It is an ever-changing amendment, adapted to all emergencies, and equal to every necessity. I prefer any change of the Constitution to this. If the great principles of our Government are to be subverted, and an aristocracy established upon its ruins, let it be done by a change in our organic law—let it be written down, so that the freemen of this country may see it. Let the powers and privileges of our masters be distinctly defined, and such rights as are vouchsafed to us have the guaranties of written law. Of all tyrannies, save me from that unlimited and undefined tyranny which acknowledges no restraint except the will or caprice of the tyrant—which demands control over my judgment and conscience, and enforces obedience by threats, if not of life, of all that makes life valuable.

Mr. Chairman, this is no picture of the imagination, but a sober reality. How stand the facts? We of the non-slaveholding States believe that Congress has power under the Constitution to prohibit slavery in the national Territories. We have read that instrument for ourselves. We have carefully studied its provisions. We have called to our aid the lights of history and the experience of the past, and we find our opinions fortified by the unbroken action of this Government, throughout all its departments, for the entire period of its existence. We believe, further, that it is our bounden duty to God and the country to exercise this power, and to give to the principle of the non-extension of slavery the authority and force of positive law. How are we met? We are told that if we, being in a majority, dare to act upon this, our understanding of the Constitution—if we shall dare to carry out our deep and solemn convictions of public duty—that the Union shall be dissolved, and our country involved in anarchy and the horrors of civil war. Gentlemen representing the slave States tell us that they have a different reading of the Constitution. Disregarding all precedents—rejecting all contemporaneous construction, they arrogate to themselves infallibility as the expounders of that instrument; and if we shall dare act counter to their exposition, they notify us by the most solemn warnings, that the Government shall be overthrown, and our glorious institutions of liberty and law buried in the abyss of irretrievable ruin. Sir, no dangers threaten the Republic so imminent as the assaults made by slavery upon the Constitution and powers of this Government. Submission to its threats and demands is the most direful calamity that can befall us. What more fatal to liberty? What more subversive of our institutions than a surrender of the Constitution, and the rights of a majority under it, and the adoption, as the law of our guidance, of the arbitrary behests of slavery, enforced by threats of violence and blood?

Again, Mr. Chairman, we propose to admit California into the Union. Our *right* to do so is acknowledged. Here there is no dispute of our constitutional power; yet, here again we are warned not to proceed, at the hazard of the Union. We are told that California shall not be admitted, except upon such terms as slavery shall prescribe. That its admission must be purchased by the substantial concession of opening wide the door for the introduction of slavery into our other Territories. Yes, sir; upon the question of the unconditional admission of California, here in the plain and open highway of our duty, slavery hurls its defiance in our teeth. We are bidden to stand at our peril. Shall we here, too, purchase peace by submission? Shall we "*save the Union*" by standing, like trembling cowards, in our tracks? Those can obey the mandate who choose. I shall not. To my ear it sounds like the crack of the whip; and he who cowers under it is better fitted for the service of the plantation than for the performance of those responsible duties which belong to the representative of a free people.

Upon the question of the admission of California *as a separate and independent measure*, there is but one sentiment among the people of the free States. It is demanded by the general and unanimous voice of all parties. The most servile of the pro-slavery press of the North has never presumed so far to outrage public feeling as to advocate the connection of any other measure with the admission of California. Upon this point even the Pennsylvanian has been silent, while upon all others it has kept neck and neck with the Washington Union and Charleston Mercury in its advocacy of the most extravagant demands of the South, and is justly entitled to preëminence over both in the bitterness and malignity of its assaults upon the principles and friends of freedom. It has been forced, by the strong public sentiment at home, to conceal its opposition to the unconditional admission of California—to disguise its hostility under cover of a "general compromise."

When we assembled in this hall in December last, there could not have been found five Representatives from the free States who were not opposed to mixing up California with other subjects of controversy and strife. Here, at last, the North was to take a firm stand—one from which she was not to be seduced by promises or driven by threats. How stands this House to-day upon the question of the unconditional admission of California? God, sir, only knows; but if reliance can be placed upon the confident assertions of the friends of slavery, the friends of California are in a minority upon this floor. The great measure of her admission with a free Constitution is to be embarrassed by questions of Territorial Governments for New Mexico and Utah, and the settlement of the boundaries of Texas. California is to be *compromised* into the Union, and the price of her admission is the extension of slavery. Sir, I trust in God that this will not be. If the North prove recreant *now, and upon this question*, when and where can we hope for manful and successful resistance against the aggressions and threats of slavery? I trust that the Representatives from the North will never consent that California shall be made the make-weight for the extension of slavery—that they will save themselves and the honest constituencies they represent from this deep humiliation. California abandoned as an *independent and separate* measure, and there is no ground upon which the friends of freedom can stand and maintain this unequal struggle. This crowning act of treachery to Northern interests and Northern rights would strike a chill upon the hearts of the freemen of this land. I should myself feel as if the chains were clanking upon my own limbs. I pray Heaven that it may not be; yet I fear the arrangements and corruptions of this political mart, where principles and the highest interests of humanity are mere commodities, that are bought and sold for office—where the question of the Presidency is made to override the great issue of freedom or slavery. Would to God that the men who are at the plough and in the workshops could be here to speak and vote upon these momentous questions. They, sir, could not be seduced by flattery, nor awed by threats, nor corrupted by office. With them the love of truth is stronger than the love of gold.

Mr. Chairman, the whole history of this struggle is a history of high and haughty bearing—of proud and arrogant defiance on the part of slavery; while on the side of freedom there has been a shameful exhibition of weakness, irresolution, and a timidity bordering on cowardice. The North has been driven from one position to another, until the outposts are all abandoned, and we are now summoned to an unconditional surrender of the citadel itself. Under the influence of threats, of persuasion, of flattery, and, above all, of patronage and the promise of political preferment, our numbers have been reduced by desertion, our ranks broken, our forces divided, until there is danger of a general rout. In the commencement of this struggle, the friends of freedom were closely and thoroughly united upon the ground of *positive legislative prohibition* against the introduction of slavery into any territory which we might acquire from Mexico. The constitutionality and propriety of this position met with the general and almost universal assent of the people of the free States. Their Representatives on this floor presented the same united and unbroken front. Soon, however, the ranks of the Northern Democracy began to give way, under the pressure and patronage of a Southern Administration. Fearing to abandon, at one step, a principle which had been received with such general favor, the allies of slavery-extension in the North discovered that the agitation of the subject was "*premature*." Claiming still to occupy the same high ground, loud and zealous in their professions of fidelity to the principles and the cause of freedom, they took shelter behind the plea, that the Proviso, as an amendment to the three million bill, was inappropriate, both as to time and place; that we should *acquire* the territory before seeking to ingraft upon it the Ordinance of Freedom. Under this specious disguise—this cloak of friendship—were sounded in the North the first notes of opposition to the Proviso. Under cover of such false and hypocritical professions was the cry raised by the first deserters, "*humbug*," "*idle abstraction*," and such like epithets, believeing that if, for any cause, they could succeed in creating a prejudice against the name, it would be easy to put down the principle itself. I could quote from the speeches of various gentlemen, in support of what I have here said, as to the ground of opposition first made against the Proviso. I will, however, confine myself to reading a short extract from the speech of a former colleague. I make this selection, because he has made himself conspicuous, of late, in denouncing the principle, and all who support it. He has become a travelling missionary in the cause of slavery propagandism. His opposition knows no bounds. He denounces the Proviso as a violation of the Constitution—a damning political heresy—an old Federal delusion; and all who support it as renegades and traitors to the Democratic party. Three years ago he stood upon this floor, cloaking his opposition under professions of friendship, solemnly pledging himself, in the face of the nation, to go for ingrafting the principles of the Proviso upon the legislation of the country whenever the Territories should be acquired, and Congress called upon to establish Territorial Governments therein. I hope his Southern friends will take note of this case, as one especially deserving remembrance and reward. The appointment of *chargé d'affaires* would be but a reasonable recompense for the industrious and important services of their ally since the opening of the present session of Congress. This notice, I am certain, will insure him a safe passport through the Senate.

I read from the speech of the Hon. Richard Brodhead, delivered in this House, February 9, 1847:

"I have thus, Mr. Chairman, briefly stated my objections to my friend and colleague's [Mr. WILMOT] celebrated amendment. I will now make some observations of a general character upon the subject of slavery, in relation to which so much has been said in this debate, in order that my position and views may not be misconstrued. First, however, permit me to premise, that *if we had acquired either New Mexico or California, and a bill was before the House providing Territorial Governments therein, or a bill was before the House providing for the admission of either of those Provinces as States, (the territory being first acquired by treaty,) I would vote for a provision excluding slavery. I favor the principle contained in the amendment of my colleague, and will go for ingrafting it upon the legislation of the country*, but in the proper *form*, and at the proper *time* and *place*, when the power to do so can be rightfully exercised."

Sir, this "*premature dodge*," which we have seen invoked at the present session, by a distinguished representative from Massachusetts, is not original with him. I claim priority of discovery for the gentleman from whose speech I have just read; and I think I could find some score or more, who have at least three years advantage of the gentleman from Boston, in its use. I should not have deemed this worthy of note, but that I do not think it fair in Massachusetts to claim originality for all the inventions connected with this subject. She, I fear, will be coming in for pay, to the exclusion of earlier and more meritorious inventors. A distinguished Senator from that State claimed the Proviso by right of prior discovery, and exhibited much warmth and indignation, that humbler men should play with his "thunder." This, however, promising neither quick nor large returns of profit, the distinguished Senator has recently abandoned, and patented another invention, under the name of "*physical geography*," or the "*law of the formation of the earth*," by which he proposes to quiet the apprehensions of the North, upon the subject of the extension of slavery. Here, again, Massachusetts is infringing upon the rights of Pennsylvania. This same *panacea* was offered to the public as early as the fall of 1847, by a distinguished citizen of my own State, in a celebrated document, known as the "Berks County Letter." It did not promise at that time to become a *popular medicine*. Every Whig stomach rejected it. We shall see whether or not it will be more palatable to them, when administered by one of their own doctors. But, sir, it is not my purpose to enlarge upon this theme. I only desired to state the facts, to vindicate the "truth of history," and to notify the South, that Pennsylvania claims the first instalment of pay.

To return, Mr. Chairman, to the subject from which I have been led by this digression. It was under pledges of fidelity and support, that treachery to freedom first took shelter. This cloak was worn, until the South demanded that it should be laid aside. The Territories were acquired, and it became necessary either to stand up to these professions, or to find some new cover behind which to shelter opposition. A Presidential election was approaching. The slave power insolently proclaimed its purpose to support no man for the high office who should regard with the least favor the Ordinance of Freedom. True, a prominent candidate had given it his unequivocal endorsement—had spoken of it as a great measure of right, which ought not and must not be abandoned. But slavery was inexorable. The oracle must speak, and it must speak as commanded. Sir, the oracle did speak, and we had produced the "Nicholson letter," in which, for the first time, the ground was taken by a Northern man, that the "Proviso" was unconstitutional.

We hear much said, Mr. Chairman, of the aggressions of the North upon the South. I charge upon the South wanton and wicked aggressions upon the North. She seduces our public men. She tempts them beyond their strength. She leads them "up into an exceeding high mountain," and shows them the kingdoms of this world, and promises them dominion and power, and they "fall down and worship."

Sir, I have spoken of slavery as the basis of an aristocracy. It is so, and I give it as my mature and deliberate judgment, that the slaveholders of the South constitute one of the most formidable and powerful aristocracies upon the face of the earth. An aristocracy is, where the power is in the hands of the few, to the exclusion of the many. It is not essential to an aristocracy, that its powers and prerogatives should rest upon law; they may rest upon a strong public opinion, that has the consistency and force of law. Thus it is in the South. The public opinion of the South is entirely moulded and directed by the slaveholders. Their views, sentiments, and principles, make up Southern public opinion. The strength of this public opinion is strikingly exemplified in its influence over the press, that great lever which moves the world. The press of the South is the mere organ and advocate of the interests and prerogatives of slavery. It no more dare assail that institution, or question its rightful supremacy in the State, than dare the press of any aristocratic Government on earth assail the privileges and immunities of its aristocracy. In the one, the press is under the *surveillance* of law and a vigilant police, in the other it is under the equally watchful *surveillance* of a public opinion stronger than law. I say stronger than law, because the freedom of the press is secured by the Constitution of every slave State; yet this provision is a dead letter, so far as respects slavery. The press of the South is free to discuss every other subject, and all sides of every other subject. There is nothing in morals, in law, or religion, so sacred, that it may not undergo a full and thorough discussion at the South, save only the one subject of slavery. Why is this made an exception? I answer, because it is the *bulwark* of Southern aristocracy. Why, sir, the press is free in Russia, in Austria, in the most despotic and aristocratic Governments in Christendom, to discuss all and every subject, so that it does not trench upon the prerogatives of the privileged order.

No aristocracy ever struggled more desperately to strengthen and fortify their prerogatives than have the slaveholders of the South to extend and perpetuate that system upon which their power rests. Holding in their hands fifteen hundred millions of dollars of slave property, together with a large portion of the real estate of the South, having entire control over the public opinion, and filling near all the positions of office and power in their respective States, with ninety-one Representatives upon this floor, one half of the Senate, and the Executive branch of the Government during nearly the whole period of our national existence, thoroughly and indissolubly united in the common interests and dangers of slavery—I repeat the proposition with which I set out, that the slaveholders of the South constitute this day one of the most powerful aristocracies on the face of the earth, and are now fighting a battle of life and death for the permanent control of the Government of the Union.

Sir, one of the characteristics of an aristocracy is unrelenting and unforgiving hatred of those who question its privileges or assail its power. Slavery has exhibited this in a marked degree, during the history of our Government. When has a statesman of the North, however pure, and just, and noble—however exalted in the affections of his countrymen—when has such a man crossed the track of Southern policy, when has he planted himself in the path of slavery, and made manful resistance to its exorbitant demands, and survived its proscriptive wrath? Sir, the example cannot be found in the history of this Government. Such a man could have sooner passed in safety the ordeal of the INQUISITION in the dark ages, upon a charge of heresy, than he could pass that Senate Chamber to-day. Are these things ever to be? Must we forever bow our necks to the yoke of slavery? Shall the true men of the North be forever struck down? Are we to stand still and see our children proscribed in the land of their birth? No, sir! no! The men are born who will rescue this Government from the grasp of a heartless and ruthless aristocracy. This great work is the appropriate and appointed mission of a genuine Democracy—composed, as that Democracy in truth is, of the great free masses of the country, however now divided, or by whatever party names they may now be known.

Democracy is a principle of eternal justice. It contends for equality and right. It resists all wrong and oppression. It is the foe of all special privileges and immunities. It seeks the elevation and redemption of man from every species of bondage and tyranny. It is the friend of the downtrodden and oppressed—of earth's millions, whose destiny it is to sweat and toil from the cradle to the grave. It sympathizes with labor, and vigilantly guards its interests and rights against the insidious and heartless demands of capital. Governed by these high principles and aims, Democracy has struggled against the increasing power and unjust exactions of the great moneyed interests of the North.

Until now, we have never had interests of a purely sectional character, pushed upon the country as the main issue in national politics; but now, sir, the South insists upon making the support and extension of slavery the all-controlling issue and test in our national politics. Democracy, true to its principles, faithful to its high mission, is called upon to resist the progress of slavery upon this continent, and upon this issue it is met by the aristocracy of the South in deadly strife. Southern aristocracy and Southern capital seek to save themselves from the application of those great principles of justice and right, under which they were willing to fight the battles of Democracy, against the capital and aristocracy of the North. Long accustomed to lead in our party conflicts, the aristocracy of the South still holds the machinery of the party, and by a bold and unscrupulous use of its organization seeks to lead Democracy on to self-destruction—to the breaking down of those great principles of justice and right which have given it vitality and power as a party, and which alone entitle it to the support of a generous and free people. I am the friend and have ever been the consistent supporter of party organization; but the organization I follow must be one based upon principle, and having for its object the attainment of legitimate ends. I will not organize to steal, nor to murder, nor to extend into territory now free the institution of African slavery.

Sir, the great elements by which slavery seeks to extend and perpetuate its power, to bear down freedom in this conflict, are, the organization of the Democratic party, the patronage of the Federal Government, and abundant and prolific promises of future political preferment. It seduces by its promises, corrupts by its patronage, and *drives* by its use of party organization. The two first are employed upon the leaders—the latter upon the rank and file. This driving business has been tried upon me pretty thoroughly, but with a success, or rather want of success, which I trust is not very satisfactory to the operators. I shall support no organization wielded by men who openly declare their purpose to extend slavery, and who proclaim in advance, that they will support no candidate unless he avows principles favorable to their policy. I shall go into no caucus with men who tell me upon the threshold, that opposition to the extension of slavery disqualifies a man for their support—that "*under no political necessity whatever*," will they vote for a man whose principles harmonize with my own; and yet demand of me, that I vote for one of opposing views. This is a kind of party organization to which I have not been accustomed, and into which I cannot be driven. Sir, I know of but one way to put a stop to such a system of wrong upon my rights and the rights of my constituents—such an outrageous perversion of the ends and purposes of party organization. My only remedy for such injustice is firm and unbending resistance. If, however, I could be driven to "pull in the traces," under an organization thus constituted and thus perverted, I would still oppose the man who had bartered away my principles for office. I would do this, if for no higher reason, as evidence that all self-respect and manhood had not been extinguished in me. No, sir! the man who sells my principles must not draw on me for the pay. I shall offer no such premium for treachery. The South must reward her own vassals. She cannot hold up the offices and high places of this Government as a reward to Northern men for their treachery to the cause of freedom, and then call on me, by my vote, to consummate the bargain.

I repeat, sir, I am the friend of party organization. I have ever been one of its most steadfast supporters. I value it too highly to consent, without a struggle, that an aristocracy shall wield it for the advancement of its local and sectional objects, and to the utter prostration of those principles which it was designed to uphold and maintain. As a Democrat, and one of the "most straightest of the sect," I have resisted, and shall continue to resist, with all my feeble powers, any and every attempt on the part of the slaveholders of the South to wield the organization of the Democratic party, against its principles, and for the purpose of the propagation of human slavery. I will battle while I have strength against this effort to lead Democracy to self-destruction, by an unscrupulous and unjustifiable use of its organization. What are the legitimate objects of party organization? What are its uses? As I understand, to bring together those entertaining common opinions and sentiments upon political subjects, and uniting them in concentrated action. The maintenance of *principle* is the end to which all legitimate organization points. Its object is not to bring together those holding incongruous and conflicting opinions. It may, and indeed often does, serve to reconcile differences of opinion upon minor points, but it never can and never ought to unite in harmonious action those holding opposite principles which are deemed vital and fundamental. No one would think of uniting permanently in the same party organization the republican and the monarchist. They might for a time stand together, fighting a common enemy which threatened to overpower both; but the danger once passed, they would immediately separate, and commence a warfare upon each other. This alliance of antagonist interests and principles is not unfrequent. It always takes place when threatened by a common danger. Even absolute despotism not unfrequently finds its interest and safety in an alliance with the downtrodden masses, and earnestly seeks to remove, in some degree, the crushing tyranny which overwhelms them. It is so to-day in Russia, and has been so for centuries. The Autocrat of that Empire has a formidable rival, and at times a deadly enemy, in a powerful aristocracy, which holds in serfdom the great mass of his subjects. If, by relieving the serfs from some portion of the tyranny which oppresses them, he could cripple the power of this aristocracy, he would feel more secure in his prerogatives, and more safe upon his throne. Should he, however, succeed in weakening that aristocracy (which now is the only check upon his power) by a partial enfranchisement of the serfs, things would be changed; and there would be a corresponding change in his sympathies and policy.

The masses, relieved in part from the crushing tyranny which had kept them down, would demand an enlargement of their rights, and the imperial power would ally itself with an enfeebled aristocracy to resist those demands. Governed by the same great principles of human action, but under circumstances widely different, we have seen an aristocratic interest at the South drawn into temporary connection with the democracy of the country. Democracy, as a principle, can have no sympathy or natural alliance with slavery. Light and darkness are not more opposed. They occupy the extreme points of political antagonism. The one, the friend of the largest liberty; the other, the enemy of every human right. While thus opposed to each other from the nature and constitution of things, yet Democracy, as an active and practical element in the workings of our system of Government, pays profound respect and loyal obedience to the Constitution, and refrains, as in duty bound, from any interference with slavery in the several States where it exists. As a local, domestic, State institution, whatever may be its evils and its wrongs, it is entitled under the Constitution to peace and security. But when slavery steps beyond State boundaries, and invokes the power of the General Government to extend and perpetuate the system—to strengthen and uphold the aristocracy which it nourishes and sustains, Democracy must either be false in its principles, or it must resist demands so extraordinary and dangerous. It is only as a State institution that slavery can claim forbearance and toleration. When it voluntarily lays aside its local and domestic character, and enters upon the theatre of national politics—when it assumes an attitude towards the Federal Government such as that in which it now stands, dictating law under the threats of disunion—resistance becomes a duty of the highest obligation. Silence and submission under such circumstances would be moral treason to our free institutions.

Mr. Chairman, we hear much anxiety expressed in certain quarters for a speedy and final settlement of all the controverted questions growing out of the subject of slavery. Some Northern gentlemen are nervously alarmed for the safety of the Union. So distressing are their fears, that they cannot speak except in terms of the most gloomy forebodings. A solicitude so deep and anxious presses its weight upon them so as to destroy sleep and appetite, and physical comfort. The sweets of a long-coveted retirement cannot hold within its sanctuary the anxious throbbings of a patriot heart. The rest of a quiet retreat is abandoned for a pilgrimage to the Capitol, to teach the North submission, and aid the South in the work of "preserving the Union." Surely such patriotism deserves its reward. Oh, sir, how ungrateful in a wicked and uncharitable world, to breathe its suspicions that selfishness or ambition for Presidential honors had aught to do in this labor of love. Sir, there has been an industrious and labored effort to create alarm for the safety of the Union—to get up a panic in the country; and in this work Northern men and Northern presses have contributed their full share. The North is to be frightened from its principles and propriety; and, under the plea of "danger to the Union," Northern men on this floor hope to justify themselves to their constituents for the abandonment of the cause of freedom. I desire most earnestly a settlement upon a just and truly national basis of the present controversy growing out of the demand of slavery to overrun and occupy our free Territories. I will support any proposition which shall give effectual guaranties against the extension of slavery, come from what quarter it may. I will support no scheme which does not give such guarantees, with whatever plausibility it may be concocted, or however imposing the circumstances which may attend its introduction into these halls. I have no such veneration for large committees, however distinguished the individuals of which they are composed, as to reconcile me to the extension of slavery. The committee of thirteen recently raised in the Senate, composed as it is of eleven members who are known to favor the policy of the South, will submit no plan of adjustment that is not wholly one-sided and sectional. Nothing can be hoped for from that quarter in the least favorable to freedom. The committee was raised against the votes of those who represented two-thirds of the freemen of this country; its members elected themselves and each other, and I cannot view it in any other light than as a scheme to force upon the country a measure of Southern policy, under the name of "*compromise*." Yet it is hoped by some such process to quiet the North, and calm the agitation growing out of the dangerous and unwarrantable demands of slavery. Sir, no palliative which may be offered us by this committee of thirteen will reach the disease or give quiet to the country. This struggle will go on increasing in force and intensity until limits are fixed to the possessions of slavery—until the aristocracy of the South shall abandon its alarming pretensions, and rest content with that share of political influence to which it is justly entitled under the Constitution. Agitation will continue until there is freedom upon this floor, and the rights of a majority acknowledged and respected. Sir, these threats of disunion—this bold defiance of the rightful and constitutional authority of this Government—must cease before peace and fraternal concord will be restored to the country. A stop must be put to this proscription of Northern men who do not acknowledge the divine character and inestimable blessings of slavery. In short, this struggle between the opposing principles of freedom and slavery will go on until that day shall arise when the child that is nursed by a white mother shall stand an equal chance in this Government with one nursed in the lap of a slave. We claim for the men of the North an equality in this Government. It is ours by right of inheritance; and, with the blessing of God, we mean to have it. We wage no warfare upon the South. Their system of slavery is their own, as is the aristocracy it sustains. Their rights under the Constitution we pledge ourselves to respect as sacred and inviolate; but it is the Constitution as it shall be interpreted by the high powers of this Government, and not as it shall be construed by their imperial fiat, by which we agree to abide.

The true ground of the present controversy is not that slavery is assailed, or even threatened, within its lawful limits, the States where it exists, but that resistance is offered to its extension into the free Territories of the nation. This is the true and real ground of the present controversy. The slaveholders are alarmed lest the sceptre of political power shall be taken from their hands, and they demand an enlargement of the area of slavery, as a means of increasing the value of slave property, and of securing to them the permanent control over the Government of the Union. True to the instincts and passions of an aristocracy, they threaten to ruin when they can no longer rule. If the slaveholders of the South would rest satisfied with their aristocratic position and dominion in the slave States, and be content to share with the freemen of the North the political power of this Government upon the terms and conditions prescribed in the Constitution, we should have no agitation, no strife, connected with the subject of slavery. We claim no right to interfere with slavery or any of the prerogatives it confers, in the Southern States of this Union. It may stand there for centuries to come, if it can so stand, as it has stood for centuries that have passed, without let, or hindrance, or molestation, on the part of this Government. But when it attempts to pass beyond State limits, and plant itself upon our national Territories, and puts forth demands subversive of our institutions of Government, then slavery loses its local and domestic character, and becomes a subject of vital concern to the people of the whole Union.

Mr. Chairman, some gentlemen, apparently with a view to excuse their conduct, and to lull the free States into a fatal sense of security, confidently assume that slavery can never exist in any part of the territory acquired from Mexico. This assumption, it is worthy of note, comes exclusively from Northern men, and from that class of Northern men who reconcile it with their duty to act upon all occasions in harmony with the interest and policy of slavery. It is directly and flatly contradicted, by almost every Southern man who has spoken upon the subject, and is in the face of every fact connected with the history and progress of slavery upon this continent. Of all our vast possessions, owned at the time of the organization of the Government, together with those acquired from France and Spain, and by the annexation of Texas, not one foot can be found to-day, free from the institution of slavery, that was not secured to freedom by the positive law of this Government. The *existence or non-existence* of slavery in a country does not depend upon soil, or climate, or production. It is regulated by pecuniary considerations and the demand for labor. The *number* of slaves that can be profitably employed upon a given extent of territory will depend much upon the character of its productions; but wherever labor is in demand, wherever there is work to do, there the slave is valuable, and there he will be taken, unless legal barriers are interposed to prevent it. This is proved by the whole history of the settlement of this continent. There is no branch of labor in which slaves can be more profitably employed than in mining the precious metals. It was for this purpose that slaves were first employed in America.

It is a mockery, Mr. Chairman, to pretend that slavery cannot exist in the territories acquired from Mexico. It can and it surely will go there, unless prevented by the action of this Government, or the early organization of those territories as States, before slavery has time to diffuse itself over them. Let our action in these halls be controlled by the threats and policy of a slave-holding aristocracy—organize Territorial Governments without any prohibition of slavery—break down all barriers against its introduction by a submission on our part to the constitutional dogmas of the South, and slavery will as certainly overrun those Territories as that it has spread from the Potomac, south and west, to the Gulf of Mexico and the banks of the Rio Grande. This result is not only admitted by the South, but it is openly and boldly proclaimed as her settled and fixed policy—a policy necessary, as she avers, to her own safety, and from which, sooner than depart, she is willing to dissolve the Union. Yet, in the face of all this, we are mocked with the idle assurances of Northern men, that there is no danger that slavery will be extended. Sir, what is this controversy about? For what is this protracted and exciting struggle? It has but one foundation. It grows out of the declared, undisguised policy of the South to extend and perpetuate the system of human slavery. The issue is upon us. It cannot be evaded. Its responsibilities are ours—let us meet them like men. The judgment of posterity and the tribunal of a just God will hold us accountable for the issues of this great question of FREEDOM OR SLAVERY.

The hammer fell.

CALIFORNIA.

CALIFORNIA Passenger Office, removed from 11 Park Row, New York, is permanently established at 179 Broadway, up stairs, for the accommodation of all persons preparing to go to the golden land.

Through tickets in first class steamers, via of Isthmus, cabin $400, steerage $200, should be secured four to six weeks in advance.

All necessary California outfits of the first class, and at the lowest prices, including quicksilver gold separators, California blankets—red, blue, green, and brown; California hats, &c.

Information always furnished free. Address
April 18—3mi ARNOLD BUFFUM.

NEWSPAPER AGENCIES.

V. B. PALMER, the American Newspaper Agent, is agent for the *National Era*, and authorized to take Advertisements and subscriptions at the same rates as required by us. His offices are at Boston, 8 Congress street; New York, Tribune Building; Philadelphia, northwest corner of Third and Chestnut streets; Baltimore, southwest corner of North and Fayette streets.

☞ S. M. PETTENGILL, Newspaper Advertising, Subscription, and Collecting Agent, No. 10 State street, Boston, (Journal Building,) is also agent for the *National Era*.

THE BROWNSVILLE WATER CURE ESTABLISHMENT,
Under the care of Dr. C. Baelz,

CONTINUES to be open for the reception of invalids. Many improvements have been added, for the comfort and accommodation of patients. This, together with the success during six years of experience, enables Dr. Baelz to give the assurance to the public that his establishment shall still continue to merit the patronage of those who may place themselves under his care.

The location is retired and pleasant, a mile and a half east of Brownsville. The daily intercourse between Pittsburgh and Brownsville, with boats, affords easy access from the South and West.

Six towels, two cotton sheets, three comforts, and linen for bandages, are necessary to undergo the treatment.

Terms, six dollars per week, payable weekly.
Feb. 21—4m

BOSTON "NATIONAL ERA" AGENCY,
No. 25 Cornhill.

THE *National Era* comes from Washington to this office by Express, and is delivered by carriers in any part of the city proper, at $2.75 a year, *free of postage*; single copies, six and a quarter cents.

Now is the time to secure this national advocate of the Liberty Movement, during the first session of Congress under the new Administration, when questions of the most thrilling importance must be decided.

Subscriptions and renewals respectfully solicited by
Nov. 25. GEO. W. LIGHT, 25 Cornhill.

SHAWLS AND SILK GOODS.
JEWETT & PRESCOTT'S NEW STOCK,
At No. 2, Milk street, Boston,

IS *SURPASSINGLY RICH AND EXTENSIVE*, and claims the early attention of all purchasers, at wholesale or retail.

This assortment comprises all kinds of
SILKS FOR DRESSES,
In black and fancy colors, superior qualities and styles, fresh and new.
LONG AND SQUARE SHAWLS
Of every known variety and quality, from the highest to the lowest cost.
FRENCH SACKS, VISITES, MANTILLAS,
And all articles that are worn as substitutes for shawls. Also, *SILKS* in the proper widths, for those who prefer to make these garments for themselves.
ALL KINDS OF CANTON AND INDIA SHAWLS AND SILKS;
In particular, an immense variety of *CRAPE SHAWLS*, embroidered, plain, and damask figured, in a full assortment of colors.
BLACK INDIA SATINS and SILKS, all qualities.
CASHMERE SCARFS and MANTLES.
BLACK SILKS and BLACK SILK SHAWLS.
BAY STATE LONG and SQUARE SHAWLS.
CAMELEON SATINS and SATIN DE CHINES.
FRENCH SATINS, all colors.
BOMBASINES and ALPACCAS, finest qualities.
WIDE SILK VELVETS, for Mantillas and Shawls.
In brief, we would say to purchasers of the above Goods, *in any quantity, small or large*, that we can and will supply their wants at the *lowest possible prices*, and with such qualities and styles of goods as cannot be found at other stores.
JEWETT & PRESCOTT,
March 14—3m No. 2, Milk street, Boston.

THE PARKEVILLE HYDROPATHIC INSTITUTE,

ACCESSIBLE from all parts of the United States—situated two miles south of Woodbury, in the county town of Gloucester County, New Jersey, and five miles from Red Bank—having been opened under favorable auspices, is now in *successful operation*, for the cure of Gout, Rheumatism, Bronchitis, Consumption, Dyspepsia, Constipation, Diarrhea, Paralysis, Neuralgia, Nervous, Febrile, and Cutaneous diseases, under the superintendence of Dr. Dexter, formerly of Morristown, N. J., and recently of the Round Hill Retreat, Massachusetts.

This Institution was built expressly for a Water Cure Establishment, is capable of accommodating fifty patients, and abundantly supplied with *water of the purest quality*.

The treatment of disease by water is no longer matter of experiment; but a few years have elapsed since the first Water Cure Institution was opened in the U. S., and the result of its administration, in both acute and chronic diseases, has convinced the most incredulous of its efficacy.

The Managers deem it unnecessary to refer to the numerous and astonishing cures which have been effected at this institution, (notwithstanding they have permission from many patients to do so.) Should any applicant desire information of this kind, they will be referred to the patients themselves, who will certify to the benefit which they received while at the Parkeville Institute.

The winter is the best season for Hydropathic treatment. "Diseases gallop on towards a cure in the cold season, while the instinctive tendencies of the system are more manifest," re-action being then more easily produced.

In the experience and skill of the Superintendent, who was one of the earliest practitioners of Hydropathy in this country, the utmost confidence may be placed.

The location of the Institution has been selected for the peculiar salubrity of its atmosphere, the inexhaustible supply of water, its proximity to the city, and the advantages which it offers for fully carrying out the principles and practices of the *Water Cure*.

THE BATHING DEPARTMENT

Has been constructed after the European plan; every room being provided with a plunge, foot, and sitz bath. The douch has a fall of about thirty feet, while the main plunge is supplied from an exclusive spring of cold water.

The servants and bath attendants have been selected with the greatest care, and all accustomed to the economy of an Hydropathic establishment.

Parkeville is about nine miles from Philadelphia, surrounded by a flourishing neighbourhood of industrious and enterprising farmers. Communication may be had with the City, either by water or otherwise, several times daily. There are churches and schools in its immediate vicinity.

The Managers, while they offer the advantages of their Institution to the diseased, would also tender them the comforts and conveniences of a home.

TERMS—for the first four weeks, Ten Dollars per week, after that, Eight Dollars per week, which includes board, treatment, and all other charges, except washing. Those requiring extra accommodation, will be charged accordingly.

The water treatment is not a panacea that will cure *all* diseases; it is therefore necessary that each applicant should have the benefit of a careful examination: In every instance the doctor will candidly state his opinion, and then applicants will be at liberty to become patients or not, as they think proper. This examination can be made in Philadelphia, or at the Institute, for which a fee of five dollars is to be paid at the time of making the examination.

Persons at a distance can obtain an opinion as to the probable effect of the water treatment, by enclosing ten dollars, accompanied by a written statement of their case.

Application to be made to SAMUEL WEBB, Secretary, 58 South Fourth St., Philadelphia, or to DR. DEXTER, on the premises.

Patients will be expected to bring with them two linen sheets, two large woollen blankets, four comfortables, and half a dozen crash towels, or these can be purchased at the Institute.

At the Livery Stable, they can procure carriages or saddle horses, (for Ladies or Gentlemen,) and such as wish to keep their own horses at Parkeville can have them well taken care of, at livery stable prices.

A stage runs daily from the Institute to Red Bank.
Oct. 25—tf

LARD FOR OIL.

LARD WANTED.—Cash paid for corn, mast, and slop-fed Lard. Apply to
THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil Manufacturer,
Jan. 20. 33 Water street, near Walnut, Cincinnati, O.

SANDS' SARSAPARILLA,
In Quart Bottles.

FOR purifying the blood, and for the cure of *Scrofula, Rheumatism, Stubborn Ulcers, Dyspepsia, Salt Rheum, Fever Sores, Erysipelas, Pimples, Biles, Mercurial Diseases, Cutaneous Eruptions, Liver Complaint, Bronchitis, Consumption, Female Complaints, Loss of Appetite, General Debility, &c.*

THE RECORDS OF MEDICAL SCIENCE,
abounding as they do with ample testimonials to the value and efficacy of different medicinal agents, scarcely furnish a parallel with the results recorded from a multitude of living witnesses to the great worth of *SANDS' SARSAPARILLA*. The remarkable cures of a great variety of diseases, effected by its timely administration, furnish conclusive evidence of this fact, and the experience of fourteen years has won for it a deserved popularity that no other preparation ever attained. Its extensive use throughout the world, and the numerous unsolicited testimonials received by the proprietors, stand as beacons and landmarks to the suffering and diseased, holding forth the inviting language of encouragement—do not despair. Thousands and tens of thousands who suffered without hope, groaning day and night under pain and anguish, beyond the power of language to convey, have not only been relieved, but permanently cured. It has been approved by the medical faculty, introduced and extensively used in hospitals, under the watchful eye of physicians, with the happiest results. The preparation being entirely vegetable, renders its administration safe to the most enfeebled frame.

The following testimonials are selected from among the multitude of those we are daily receiving; and for further confirmation, the reader is referred to the Family Recipe and Medical Almanac, furnished gratuitously by all our agents:

New York, July 27, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: Words can but feebly express my feeling in conveying the pleasing intelligence that my wife is restored to perfect health by the use of your invaluable Sarsaparilla. She was afflicted with a severe cutaneous disease, that covered the whole surface of the body, so that it would have been impossible to touch any part that was free from the humor; the head, face, and hands, were covered with scales like those of a fish; the hair fell out in large quantities; and walking caused the most excruciating agonies, as it affected the joints more than any other part. She suffered also a long time from an affection of the liver, connected with general debility, and a prostration of the nervous system. Physicians, both in Europe and America, had exhausted the usual remedies, without effecting a cure, or scarcely affording relief; and the best medical skill was unavailing, until she happily used your Sarsaparilla. The disease was pronounced salt rheum, but her whole system, internally and externally, was altogether deranged; but so complete has been the cure, after using the Sarsaparilla for six weeks, and taking in all less than one dozen bottles, that she now enjoys better health than for years previous to taking the Sarsaparilla.

My object in making this communication is, that all who have suffered as she has may know where and to whom to apply for relief, (and that not in vain,) as a complete cure will be the result.

My wife unites with me in heartfelt thanks; and believe me, gentlemen, yours, sincerely,
FERRIER NAZER, 92 Nassau st.
Messrs. A. B. & D. Sands.

N. B. For a corroboration of these facts, apply to Mr. H. McCune, at Messrs. Bowen & McNamee's store, 16 William street.

City and County of New York, ss.
Ferrier Nazer, being duly sworn, doth depose and say that the foregoing statement, to which he has subscribed his name, is true and accurate, to the best of his knowledge and belief.
Sworn and subscribed, this 27th day of July, 1849, before me, C. S. WOODHULL, *Mayor.*

New Durham, N. J., June 30, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: My wife suffered with a distress and burning in her chest for many years, and my daughter was afflicted from her birth with a humor in her blood. We consulted various physicians and tried numerous remedies without much benefit, until we heard, through Rev. Thomas Davis, of the great medicinal value of Sands' Sarsaparilla. On his recommendation, my wife and daughter decided on trying it, and soon experienced permanent benefit. My daughter's skin assumed a new appearance entirely; from being rough, hard, and scaly, it became smooth and soft. My wife's sufferings are almost gone, and its use a short time longer, it is my firm belief, will produce a perfect cure.
Yours, with respect, G. S. HENDRICKSON,
Pastor of the Baptist Church at the English Neighborhood.
Messrs. SANDS

Bardstown, Ky., July 10, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: It is my duty to communicate facts in relation to the beneficial effects of your Sarsaparilla. My wife was afflicted with inflammation and soreness of the stomach of the worst character; her limbs and chest were much swollen; she had constant headache, and last spring was attacked severely with inflammatory rheumatism. The best medical aid we could obtain afforded only momentary relief; and while in this situation, she heard of the many remarkable cures effected by the use of Sands' Sarsaparilla, and commenced its use, which produced instant relief, and less than six bottles entirely removed all the dropsical swelling and other inflammatory symptoms, restoring her to perfect health.

I send this statement as an act of justice, believing it to be my duty to encourage the suffering portion of the human family to use Sands' Sarsaparilla, which I believe has no parallel in the catalogue of medicine.

With feelings of lasting gratitude, I remain your friend,
SAMUEL P. HARGER.
Messrs. Sands.

Boston, Mass., August 31, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: Last spring I was attacked with rheumatism in the lower part of my body, extending down to my feet; and so severely was I affected, that I could not stand or move myself. I tried all the different medicines advertised for this disease, among which were several kinds of Sarsaparilla, but none of them did me any good, and I gave up all hope of being cured, when a friend advised me to try Sands' Sarsaparilla. I consented, not expecting it would cure me; but after using twelve bottles I have the happiness of stating to you that the pain has left me. I can walk without any assistance, and I am gaining in strength every day, which I have no doubt is owing entirely to the use of your Sarsaparilla. I send you this voluntary certificate, that the afflicted may know what medicine to use to alleviate their sufferings and effect a cure.
Yours, very truly, JOHN BANVARD,
31 *Chambers st.*
Messrs. A. B. & D. Sands.

Maracaibo, Venezuela, April 12, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: I consider it a duty due the public to make known the great benefit I have received from using your valuable Sarsaparilla. About three years since I was attacked with rheumatism in my shoulders, and also in my legs; and so severe was the pain, that I was unable to sleep. I tried all of the best medicines I could hear of, without receiving any benefit, until through the advice of a friend I procured some of your Sarsaparilla; and after using four bottles, in the course of fifteen days, I found myself entirely well. I have no hesitation in saying your Sarsaparilla is the best medicine I ever took, and can confidently recommend it to my friends and the public.
Your obedient servant, J. M. JESURUN.
Messrs. Sands.

Prepared and sold, wholesale and retail, by *A. B. & D. SANDS*, Druggists and Chemists, 100 Fulton street, corner of William, New York. Sold also by—
Charles Stott & Co. and R. S. Patterson, Washington, D. C.
Canby & Bartlett, Baltimore. F. Brown, Philadelphia.
George Dexter, Albany. Chs. Hienstreet, Troy.
Seth W. Fowle, Boston. E. B. Hinman, Cincinnati.
J. B. Wilder & Co., Louisville. May 2—eo3m

SPRINGDALE BOARDING SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

THIS Institution is agreeably situated in a healthy part of Loudoun county, Virginia, eight miles west of Leesburg, and two miles south of the stage road leading from Washington to Winchester.

The summer term will commence on the 18th of Fifth month, (May.) The winter term will commence on the 15th of Eleventh month, (November.)

The branches taught are—Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Grammar, Composition, Book-keeping, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Chemistry, Botany, Algebra, Rhetoric, the French Language, Drawing, Painting, and Needlework.

Lectures are delivered on Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, and Chemistry, illustrated by pleasing experiments.

A library, a cabinet of minerals, and philosophical apparatus, are provided for the use of the school. The discipline is strictly parental; and every effort is made to induce in the minds of the pupils a love of knowledge and desire of excellence as the proper stimulants to exertion.

The terms, for tuition, board, and washing, are $100 per annum, or $50 per term of 23 weeks. The only extra charges are 50 cents per quarter for lights, pens, and pencils; $3 per quarter for French lessons; and the same for drawing and painting. Books and stationery furnished at the usual prices, when required.

Scholars sent to the Point of Rocks will be conveyed to the school free of charge, by giving timely notice, directed to Purcel's Store.
Dec. 6. SAMUEL M. JANNEY, Principal.

TO INVENTORS.

THE subscribers offer their services to persons wishing to obtain patents in the United States or in foreign countries, and will prepare specifications and drawings, and take all necessary steps to secure a patent.

From their long experience as practical mechanics, added to a thorough knowledge of the Patent Laws, and acquaintance with the details connected with the business of the Patent Office, they trust they will be able to give satisfaction to their employers, both in the clearness and precision of their specifications, and in the promptness and ability with which they transact all business intrusted to them.

Persons residing at a distance may procure all necessary information, have their business transacted, and obtain a patent, by writing to the subscribers, without incurring the expense of a personal attendance at Washington.

Models can be sent with perfect safety by the Expresses.
Rough sketches and descriptions can be sent by mail.
For evidence of their competence and integrity, they would respectfully refer to all those for whom they have transacted business.
Letters must be post paid.
Office on F street, opposite the Patent Office.
P. H. WATSON.
June 7. E. S. RENWICK.

BENNETT'S DAGUERREAN GALLERY,
Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington City, one door west of Gilman's Drug Store.

THE citizens of Washington and strangers visiting the city are respectfully informed that the subscriber has just opened a gallery as above, which he has fitted up in elegant style, with all the latest improvements, including
AN EXTENSIVE SKYLIGHT,
and is now prepared to take pictures of all sizes, single or in groups, which his long experience and great success embolden him to say will be pronounced by competent judges fully equal to any specimens of the phonographic art ever produced in the United States.

Cabinet pictures, measuring eleven by fourteen inches, taken at short notice; also, crayon and enamelled Daguerreotypes.
Pictures taken equally well in cloudy as in fair weather.
Perfect satisfaction warranted in all cases.
The public are respectfully invited to call and examine specimens. N. S. BENNETT.
Jan. 31—1y

LAW OFFICE, COLUMBUS, O.

WILLIAM B. JARVIS, Jun., *Attorney and Counsellor at Law*, Columbus, Ohio. Office in Platt's new building, State street, opposite south door of State House.
Business connected with the profession, of all kinds punctually attended to. Jan. 29

GLEN HAVEN WATER CURE.

THIS Establishment, having been completely refitted this winter, is now ready for the reception of visiters. It is beautifully situated among the hills at the head of Skaneateles lake, is supplied with the purest of water, and ample in quantity.

It is easy of access. Persons from New York, Boston, Albany, or Buffalo, can be brought by railroad, and steamboat on Skaneateles lake, to the *CURE*, and from the southern part of the State can reach it by the Binghamton and Glen Haven stage. Persons wishing to bring horses and carriages can have them kept in our stables, which are new and commodious, and the guests in our Cure will receive every attention. JACKSON, GLEASON, & CO.
Glen Haven, Scott, Cortland Co., N. Y., April, 1850.
April 25—3m

BRATTLEBOROUGH WATER CURE ESTABLISHMENT.

THIS Establishment, having been put in complete order, is now commencing its sixth season. It has abundance of the purest water, and ample accommodations for 140 patients. It is accessible all the way by railroad from Albany, New York, and Boston. A detailed report of upwards of 300 cases treated there, during the year 1848, will be sent by mail, on application to William Rodde, 322 Broadway, New York. For further information, apply to the subscriber.
R. WESSELHOEFT, M. D.
Brattleborough, Vt., March, 1850. March 21—3m

EXCHANGE BANK OF R. W. LATHAM & CO.,
Washington, D. C.,

DEALS in checks, drafts, acceptances, promissory notes bank notes, and coin.

BANK NOTES.
Notes on all solvent banks in the United States bought and sold at the best prices.

DRAFTS, NOTES, AND BILLS,
In Washington and Georgetown, collected, and remittances promptly made, in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, or Boston funds, at a charge of one-quarter per cent.

COLLECTIONS
Made in all the principal cities of the Union, on the most favorable terms.

EXCHANGE.
Bills of exchange and bank checks on most of the principal cities of the Union bought and sold at the best rates.
☞ Office hours, from eight o'clock A. M. to five P. M.
Nov. 15—tf

E. B. CROCKER,

COUNSELLOR AT LAW, *Solicitor in Chancery, &c.* South Bend, Indiana. Collections in northern Indiana and southwestern Michigan will receive prompt attention.
April 18—6m

MONEY! MONEY!! MONEY!!!

W. B. JARVIS, Attorney at Law, Columbus, Ohio, will give particular attention to the collection, in Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, Iowa, and Wisconsin, of that class of claims long since marked as "Loss," "Gone West," and "Not Collectable," by merchants, newspaper publishers, manufacturers, and others. Five years' experience has given him confidence; hence there will be no charge, but so far as collections are made, except postage. Cards, giving references, terms, and instructions, will be sent in answer to *post paid* letters.
Dec. 20.

LARD OIL.

IMPROVED LARD OIL.—Lard Oil of the finest quality, equal to sperm for combustion, also for machinery and woollens, being manufactured without acids, can always be purchased and shipped in strong barrels, prepared expressly to prevent leakage. Orders received and executed for the Lake, Atlantic, and Southern cities, also for the West Indies and Canadas. Apply to
THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil Manufacturer,
Jan. 20. 33 Water street, near Walnut, Cincinnati, O.

OLD DOCTOR JACOB TOWNSEND,
THE ORIGINAL DISCOVERER OF
THE GENUINE TOWNSEND SARSAPARILLA.

OLD Dr. Townsend is now about seventy years of age, and has long been known as the Author and Discoverer of the genuine original "*Townsend Sarsaparilla*." Being poor, he was compelled to limit its manufacture, by which means it has been kept out of market, and the sales circumscribed to those only who had proved its worth and known its value. It had reached the ears of many, nevertheless, as those persons who had been healed of sore diseases, and saved from death, proclaimed its excellence and wonderful healing power. This

Grand and Unequalled Preparation

is manufactured on the largest scale, and is called for throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Unlike young S. P. Townsend's, it improves with age, and never changes, but for the better; because it is prepared on scientific principles, by a scientific man. The highest knowledge of Chemistry, and the latest discoveries of the Art, have all been brought into requisition in the manufacture of the *Old Doctor's Sarsaparilla*. The Sarsaparilla root, it is well known to medical men, contains many medicinal properties, and some properties which are inert or useless; and others, which, if retained in preparing it for use, produce fermentation and *acid*, which is injurious to the system. Some of the properties of Sarsaparilla are so volatile, that they entirely evaporate and are lost in the preparation, if they are not preserved by a scientific process, known only to those experienced in its manufacture. Moreover, these volatile principles, which fly off in vapor, or as an exhalation, under heat, are the very essential medical properties of the root, which give to it all its value. The

Genuine Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's Sarsaparilla

is so prepared, that all the inert properties of the Sarsaparilla root are first removed, everything capable of becoming acid or of fermentation is extracted and rejected; then every particle of medical virtue is secured in a pure and concentrated form, and thus it is rendered incapable of losing any of its valuable and healing properties. Prepared in this way, it is made the most powerful agent in the

Cure of Innumerable Diseases.

Hence the reason why we hear commendations on every side, in its favor, by men, women, and children. We find it doing wonders in the cure of *Consumption, Dyspepsia, and Liver Complaint*, and in *Rheumatism, Scrofula, and Piles, Costiveness*, all *Cutaneous Eruptions, Pimples, Blotches*, and all affections arising from

Impurity of the Blood.

It possesses a marvellous efficacy in all complaints arising from indigestion, from acidity of the stomach, from unequal circulation, determination of blood to the head, palpitation of the heart, cold feet and cold hands, cold chills and hot flashes over the body. It has not had its equal in coughs and colds, and promotes easy expectoration and gentle perspiration, relaxing stricture of the lungs, throat, and every other part.

But in nothing is its excellence more manifestly seen and acknowledged than in all kinds and stages of

Female Complaints.

It works wonders in cases of *fluor albus* or whites, falling of the womb, obstructed, suppressed, or painful menses, irregularity of the menstrual periods, and the like; and is effectual in curing all forms of the kidney disease.

By removing obstructions, and regulating the general system, it gives tone and strength to the whole body, and cures all forms of

Nervous Diseases and Debility,

and thus prevents or relieves a great variety of other diseases, as spinal irritation, neuralgia, St. Vitus dance, swooning, epileptic fits, convulsions, &c.

Is not this, then,

The Medicine you Pre-eminently Need?

But can any of these things be said of S. P. Townsend's inferior article? This young man's liquid is not to be

Compared with the Old Dr.'s,

because of one *Grand Fact*, that the one is *Incapable of Deterioration* and

Never Spoils,

while the other does; it sours, ferments, and blows the bottles containing it into fragments; the sour, acid liquid exploding and damaging other goods! Must not this horrible compound be poisonous to the system? What! put acid into a system already diseased with acid! What causes Dyspepsia but acid? Do we not all know, that when food sours in our stomachs, what mischief it produces!—flatulence, heartburn, palpitation of the heart, liver complaint, diarrhœa, dysentery, colic, and corruption of the blood? What is scrofula but an acid humor in the body? What produces all the humors which bring on eruptions of the skin, scald head, salt rheum, erysipelas, white swelling, fever-sores, and all ulcerations, internal and external? It is nothing under heaven but an acid substance, which sours and thus spoils all the fluids of the body, more or less. What causes rheumatism, but a sour, acid fluid, which insinuates itself between the joints and elsewhere, irritating and inflaming the tender and delicate tissues upon which it acts? So of nervous diseases, of impurity of the blood, of deranged circulations, and nearly all the ailments which afflict human nature.

Now, is it not horrible to make and sell, and infinitely worse to use, this

Souring, Fermenting, Acid "Compound" of S. P. Townsend!

and yet he would fain have it understood that Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's *Genuine Original Sarsaparilla* is an *Imitation* of his inferior preparation!!

Heaven forbid that we should deal in an article which would bear the most distant resemblance to S. P. Townsend's article! and which should bring down upon the Old Dr. such a mountain load of complaints and criminations from Agents who have sold, and purchasers who have used S. P. Townsend's *Fermenting Compound*.

We wish it understood, because it is the *absolute truth*, that S. P. Townsend's article and Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's Sarsaparilla are heaven wide apart, and infinitely dissimilar; that they are unlike in every particular, having not one single thing in common.

As S. P. Townsend is no doctor, and never was, is no chemist, no pharmaceutist—knows no more of medicine or disease than any other common, unscientific, unprofessional man—what guarantee can the public have that they are receiving a genuine scientific medicine, containing all the virtues of the articles used in preparing it, and which are incapable of changes which might render them the *agents of disease*, instead of health?

It is to arrest frauds upon the unfortunate, to pour balm into wounded humanity, to kindle hope in the despairing bosom, to restore health and bloom and vigor into the crushed and broken, and to banish infirmity—that OLD DR. JACOB TOWNSEND has *sought* and *found* the opportunity and means to bring his

Grand, Universal, Concentrated Remedy,

within the reach, and to the knowledge, of all who need it, that they may learn and know, by joyful experience, its

Transcendent Power to Heal!

☞ For sale in Washington City by—
J. F. Callan Z. D. & W. H. Gilman
S. Butt M. Delany
May 9. Ridgely & Co.