(MR. VENABLE'S SPEECH—concluded.)

and make the usurpation more intolerable, because unsuccessful resistance necessarily increases the power that it was intended to restrain. The Abolitionist pursues disunion as an end to be desired; the southern slaveholder looks to it as the consequence of accumulated wrongs. The Abolitionist is a mere fanatic; pursues it to gratify his conscientious scruples about other men's sins; if a hypocite, as a means of obtaining power. The southern men avoid it, until wrongs growing out of the connection become less tolerable than disunion. The Abolitionists disavow the moral obligations growing out of the Constitution; southern men stand upon the Constitution and ask no higher boon than it secures.

The Abolitionists set fire to the dwelling in which we have a common residence, and the southern man is called an incendiary because he will not continue to inhabit the burning house and perish in its flames. And yet southern men are insolently taunted with affiliation with those who do wrong for the sake of wrong, and assail the Constitution and the Union, in obedience to the avowed maxims of their political creed. In one thing, however, the Abolitionist has boasted, and with some show of propriety. His assaults are open, his purpose acknowledged. Whether sincere or not, he is undisguised. That which was a feeble faction, has become a controlling power; and there are more than one member of both Houses of this Congress who owe their seats here to their votes. We know their purpose, and in their conventions we see their numbers; we feel their power, and behold it uneasily. We feel it, because the whole strength of the Wilmot proviso party forms their vanguard, and act with them.

They unite in seizing the public domain for the inheritance of non-slaveholders. They stand by them in every assault upon domestic slavery, whenever it is pretended that Congress has a right to interfere. The Abolitionist, content to dissolve the Union, disavow the obligations of the Constitution, and take what they have in possession and set up for themselves. In doing this, he is willing to leave the South to the slaves and their sins to make the best of it; whilst they thank God that they are not as these publicans. They are at least willing to depart without plundering—to leave us without further degradation than that which they suppose attaches to our institutions. But the party advocating the proviso and equivalent measures, whether Whig or Democratic, claim to hold us to a bond (the force of which they do not feel on themselves) to bind us as the Druid bound his victim, and see us expire by the slow process of legislative torments. The Union is the ligature by which we are to be held in position to be first plundered and then degraded, and rendered insensible to both by the repetition of injury; if resistance be thought of, to be gravely cautioned as to the consequences of treason. The Pacha of Egypt sent down thousands to excavate the great canal, who perished in making that monument of his power. He claimed the right because his armies enforced his commands. That command was as just, and his right to enforce obedience as ample, as is the power of a numerical majority to enforce the proviso and its kindred measures. It is true his government was despotic, and acknowledged no limitation or restraint but his will. The principle which secured obedience was fear. The proviso and anti-slavery party urge upon the South loyalty to the Union as an incentive to submission, and the Constitution, intended to secure equal justice, tranquility and repose as the justification of their aggressions. The Abolitionists are open, the proviso party insidious and more dangerous foes. The South, with one voice, declares it and its kindred measures growing out of intervention on the subject of slavery by Congress as consummating the full measure of wrong, and declare resistance to be duty. I cannot, I will not, lower the standard which they have made.

Having then, sir, as I think, disclosed the causes of agitation and discontent, and who are the agitators and disturbers, I proceed to give my views as to the real danger of the Union, and point out the real disunionists, and the only hope of averting the calamity which is forshadowed by coming events. I have before adverted to the great truth that the overthrow of governments is not wisely referred to those causes which seem most immediately operative in the last act of the drama. Those causes are themselves but the effects of prior and powerful principles of disorganization, long in operation, producing organic and incurable evil. This is true, most painfully true, in relation to the danger which now threatens the Union of this Confederacy. The bond of union is the Constitution. The objects of the Union are most fully expressed in the preamble to the Constitution: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." The adoption of the Constitution is the evidence of that Union. The preservation of it guarantees the preservation of that Union. It was adopted to limit the power of numerical majorities. It was designed as the protection for the safety of the minorities. But, sir, the restraints have not been sufficient, and to the overwhelming influeuces of merely numerical majorities, much of the evil which we dread must be in candor referred. For years the inconvenience was not felt. Our Revolutionary fathers fought for personal liberty, and the rights of property, homogeneous in its nature and common to every State in the republic. In such a state of things the instincts of self-preservation draw men together. The same objects of pursuit and deliverance from a common evil restrain any mischievous tendencies in the power of a majority. It is after liberty is secured and revenue is raised by taxation—when the people become divided into those who receive the patronage of government and the emoluments of office, and those who pay the taxes, that the lust of power invokes the aid of majorities to sustain those who are in authority. It is only because the receivers of the public bounty have not become more powerful than the contributors by taxation, that the full weight of this evil has not been felt. Every pensioner on the Treasury, every newly created office, all projects for large expenditure of public money on national objects, add to the number and increase their power. When they shall, either by fraud or force acquire a complete ascendancy, the oppression of the tax payers will be terrific. This state of things is rapidly approaching. The Presidential election is scarcely any thing but a struggle for the spoils of victory, with either party, and the time is near at hand when a President in power may hold over after the expiration of his term, and by the force of patronage make good his position. In the necessity of the case, (for it is a part of this system), it has become a political maxim that the majority must and have a right to govern. Resistance is vain, for the majority is omnipotent—a fatal mistake lying at the foundation of things, subversive of all that is valuable, and disavowed by the Constitution. No tyrant is so inexorable as a numerical majority; none more oppressive and inconsiderate, from whose dominion despotism is an escape to be coveted and desired. As a deliverance from this thraldom Constitutions are adopted. To mitigate the horrors of such a state, majorities in original conventions have imposed restraints upon themselves by adopting constitutions for the protection of minorities. We have seen that so far as the South is concerned that protection is lost, and the reply to a demand for justice is the policy and power of the majority. It is claimed that they have a right to give an authoritative construction to the Constitution; and that this is a gross usurpation, is seen in the dexterity with which each successful instance is urged as a precedent to justify each succeeding encroachment of that power. The Constitution itself, the protection of the minority is, by the majority, perverted into an engine of oppression.

This force of numerical majorities has come back with powerful impulse upon the Government here. In seeking the elevation to the Presidency, it has become a part of the tactics of some aspirants to disclaim the exercise of the veto power, to seek for success in the election. To give up that restraint upon the will of majorities, wisely provided by the Constitution to secure the attainment of numerical majorities amongst the people. The South, now the *weaker*—the *minority* in the Government—feels oppressively this power—sees here the prostration of the great conservative principle in the bond of union. This symptom discloses organic disease in the system, and one which advances with fearful rapidity. As a consequence of this doctrine, a new nomenclature became necessary. New words were introduced; and names are often the gravest indications of the decline of liberty. Our Federal Government has become a national Government, a term repudiated by the framers of the Constitution. We speak of national parties, national objects, as applicable to our institutions. The French Republic was called an empire before Napoleon ceased to be first consul. He demonstrated the propriety of the name by assuming the title and authority of emperor. This impulse of a majority has truly perverted our Federal into a National Government. This great central power overshadows the States, exercising a control far exceeding, in force and energy, the conception of its authors. They trembled, lest it should be found too weak to withstand the encroachments of the States. They supposed that they had created a trustee with communicated powers. So thought the delegates to the convention who adopted the Federal Constitution in Virginia. They reported to their Legislature that they had ratified a Constitution, which committed powers to the Federal Government, and "which could be resumed by the States when used to their injury." A Government reflecting the power of the States has been perverted into a means of prostrating State sovereignty. The creature aspires to control the creator. Those who have administered the Government, have inverted the order of things. The machinery has been employed for purposes for which it was not designed, and power, which was intended to be salutary, has become mischievous. We have by a fearful progress, departed from the simple ends for which the Union was formed, and the great distraction which now exists is the necessary consequence. Year after year has the Congress of the United States assumed new and extended jurisdiction, until the trustee has become the *cestuy que trust*, the agent the principal; and all that was secured by the Constitution to the States, is in process of absorption by the Government here. And this is called the *Union*. Held up as a subject of veneration so sacred, that the deepest denunciations are hurled at those who presume to inquire into the abuses practised under its name. When a wanton majority here rush over the barriers of the Constitution, and assail our property, and endanger our safety, and bring the white man in the South to the level with the negro, to our remonstrances for existing wrongs, our warnings concerning those in future, are answered with—Save the Union! When insult is added to injury, to every declaration that the Constitution has been violated, and the compact which unites us broken, the reply is—*Be patient—save the glorious Union!* When a galling sense of injustice from some new outrage excites southern representatives to strong expressions of indignation, they are denounced as disunionists. The atonement is a pæon to the Union, or a quotation from Washington's Farewell Address. Sir, it is time that this insidious game was ended, and that these who perpetuate it, whether holding high stations, or occupying those less elevated, should be rebuked by the stern and solemn voice of truth. It is time that justice should be heard above this idle clamor. The bidders at the auction of popularity should no longer be rewarded for cant, slang, and treachery. Southern constituencies ought to know the settled purpose, that under this great name—*the Union*—they are to be degraded by authority, plundered by statute, and disfranchised by act of Congress. It is by this abuse of the bond of union, that is really endangered; this prostitution of its influence, that it will forfeit respect. Deeply, sir, ought we deplore the policy which produces a spirit of distrust, and weakens the regards between the citizens of our country on sectional grounds. The attachment to the Constitution as a bond of union with us was once strong and pervading. No one permitted himself to calculate its value, or to speak of its destruction. Although long convinced that it was of no commercial value to the South, still, for other reasons, as well as a principle of veneration for our ancestors, the feeling was ardent, deep, controlling.

But, sir, repeated injuries have done much to change this state of things. That attachment to the Union is now but little more than a sentiment—cherished still, it is true, but rapidly yielding to another sentiment, equally congenial to a southern heart. I refer to a determination to redress our wrongs, whatever may be the consequence. Abolition missionaries, incendiary pamphlets, northern kidnappers, and all the appliances which can either annoy our peace or endanger our property, have alienated much of the regard once felt for our fellow-citizens of the non-slaveholding States. We are rapidly approaching the conviction, that in feeling and in interest we are not one people. Here, sir, is extreme danger to the Union. The South has not spared the revenue of the Government for the benefit of the North. From Lake Superior to Lake Champlain; from the Canada frontier to the mouth of the Delaware, light-houses innumerable shine in the darkness, like stars on the bosom of the wave. There are more of those beacons—and with no great necessity for them—in the State of Maine, or either of the maritime New England or Middle States, on either of the lower border lakes, than from the entrance of the Chesapeake to the mouth of the Rio Grande. Your ports are protected with fortifications; your harbours improved at great expense—rivers opened, roads constructed, lands given for the purposes of internal improvements and education—all by the acquiescence and approbation of the South. Your fishermen receive bounties and drawbacks from the public purse; and all that liberality can conceive, has been cheerfully accorded. Of this we have not yet complained. I would not have mentioned these facts, but to place in bold relief the contrast of the southern and northern policy—the just liberality of the South, and the wanton, reckless injustice of the North.

Not content with all these advantages, our institutions are assailed and the public domain monopolized, our safety and our property made the subjects of fanatical and political experiments. Nor is it deemed proper that we should be informed to what extent this spirit is operative, or who are the persons who make these assaults. If disorganizing and offensive resolutions are introduced here, thrown as a firebrand into this House, we are required to pass them by at the peril of being held up to the country as disturbers of the peace. Sir, when such incipient steps to our ruin are made in this House, I am resolved to spare no effort to show the people who are the friends of such measures. A direct vote shall be taken as long as we can find those who will aid in the work. Insincerity shall not find a dodging place, but the South shall know who are these conservative friends of whom we hear so much. Their names shall go to posterity upon the record. They shall stand up like open foes, not waylay the path with the assassin's stiletto. Are gentlemen desirous to avoid the infamy of the vote on the one hand, and yet more afraid not to vote lest their constituents should be incensed against them? Sir, if such be the state of public opinion among their constituents, great, very great, is the danger to the Union.

The South has lost confidence in the justice of many of the non-slaveholding States as members of this Confederacy. The loss of property in fugitive slaves is enormous, the boldness of northern kidnappers has increased beyond measure: the whole Atlantic coast is exposed to northern shipping, and even now the citizens of a portion of North Carolina are holding conventions called together to arrest this evil. A recent abduction of slaves by a Boston ship is the exciting cause. Experience has taught us that the attempt to reclaim is usually abortive, always hazardous, and sometimes fatal. People, laws, and courts are arrayed against them, and the power of the mob in advance of all forbids the reclamation. Sir, this outrageous disregard of the bond of union, has alienated our feelings, and destroyed our confidence. We may have fewer schools, less ostentatious churches—make fewer prayers in public, and less flourish about charity and benevolence; but we have no code of ethics which makes either of those commodities, or all of them together a set-off for the recognition of crime as an accomplishment, or the protection of felons a duty.

Sir, the South has kept faith with the North in all things in which the covenant bound them. They would gladly see a return on the part of their fellow-citizens of that region to a sense of obligation growing out of the constitution, but they are well high hopeless, and for this reason I repeat great is the danger to the Union. There is yet another ingredient in the cup of bitterness prepared for us, and which by high authority we are required to take without a murmur. I allude to the policy of this Administration in reference to the California and New Mexico Territories. I do not now propose to do more than make a reference to this subject. At another time, when the Executive communication shall have been printed, and the whole matter placed before us, I shall express my views in relation thereto. I fully concur in the conclusions of my able and distinguished friend from Virginia, [Mr. Seddon] and take this occasion to express my obligation to him for the strong and eloquent development of the subject in his address to the House. But I do deplore this whole transaction by the distinguished individual who occupies the Executive mansion. I speak of his connection with this measure with regret—not with bitterness. I perceived months ago that measures were in progress to exclude the slaveholding States from this territory. The King of Israel, when Absalom rose up, in agitation exclaimed: "Surely the hand of Joab is in this matter." Sir, I felt from the first that we had nothing to hope from a Prime Minister—a Secretary of State—who had voted in the Senate for the incorporation of the Wilmot proviso into the Mexican treaty. He had voted to bind our Government by treaty stipulations with Mexico, to exclude the South from this domain acquired by conquest and by purchase. Before the rains and the dews had washed the blood-drops of the fallen soldiers from the rocks and the sands to exclude his family from a legacy purchased with his life; to involve our country in an agreement with Mexico that the territories conquered and paid for should be reserved to destroy the influence, to break down the power of the southern States. The attempt to pass the Wilmot proviso is an act of open, stand-and-deliver robbery. The Wilmot proviso is a bold cruiser, with a flag which denotes the true character of the ship. The California measure and the policy in relation to New Mexico and Deseret, is a piratical craft with deceptive colors—both, however, destined to the same port, both plundering the South. This, with great dexterity, inflicts a deeper, because a remediless injury. The proviso, applied to those territories, would be a death-blow to southern hopes, an extinction of southern influence. This arrangement is severing limb by limb from the living trunk; protracting suffering aggravated by a sense of uneasy imbecility. Pilgrims, strangers, sojourners, and foreigners from every clime, having falsely assumed to be a people, have seized upon the public domain, appropriated all they desired, if not by the advice, by the connivance of the Government here. I say falsely assumed to be a people, the term presupposes the existence of social organization—a people inhabiting and residing in a territory whose right to form a government has been recognized by those possessing the sovereignty—and who consent to withdraw their sovereignty in order to the formation of a State constitution without any other condition than that it should be republican in its provisions. Not a fortuitous, accidental accumulation of persons, without fixed domicil or interest in the soil—transitory and unsettled. Here, sir, is danger to the Union. In every usurpation, every violation of the Constitution, there is danger—such a policy persevered in must destroy it.

I think I have shown the danger to the Union, and whence it proceeds. It is seen and felt, for the whole South is now moving to a convention of slaveholding States, to be held at Nashville in June next, to consider how to save the Union, but at all events to save ourselves. A sense of injustice has smitten the heart of the whole people, and the bitter waters of strife are about to be substituted for refreshing streams of patriotic affection. There is imminent danger of disunion; nor can gentlemen avoid the evidence of the fact by referring to our prosperity as a people, and the great interest which the South has in the preservation of the Union. It is the continual claim which is made for that interest which is denominated agitation by those who withhold justice from us. We do not desire to calculate in figures the value of the bond, we only ask for its conditions, and then, in weal or woe, prosperous or unfortunate, clothed with honors or sunk in poverty, covered with glory or trampled in the dust by the heel of conquering foes, we stand by you and with you;

"For our fathers were like brothers,
In the brave days of old."

But it is no reply to our just complaints to say that we have become a prosperous and a great people under the Union. It is true our Constitution would make any people great if its priciples are regarded in the administration of the Government. Imperfectly as its guarantees have been preserved, the elements of greatness in climate, in soil, in natural advantages, with the energy and enterprise of the people, have produced results which have no parallel in history. This is true; but it is also true that our progress has been greatly impeded, and the ends for which the Constitution was adopted much obstructed by a disregard of the wholesome restraints which it imposes. We have been prosperous notwithstanding these impediments, and made rapid advances in spite of these drawbacks. It is not, however, an evidence of prolonged existence in prospect, that external indications of prosperity are exhibited by a people. The very means employed to acquire wealth and power, often contain the elements of destruction. The policy which accumulates the one and concentrates the other, may be fatal to the continuance of the system. This is strikingly true in reference to our Confederacy. We are compelled to own the agency of our State sovereignties in holding together and sustaining our institutions. Their salutary check has given all the stability which belongs to our Government, and has delayed the disruption which unconstitutional legislation must finally produce. The concurrent majorities of two Houses, representing different constituencies, have in some measure restrained the desolating impulse of mere numerical majorities upon the machinery of our Federal Government. Circumstances already referred to, have however arisen, which impaired the force of this restraint, and we look with apprehension to the future. All tends to the vortex of merely numerical majorities. Other causes are also active to produce similar results, and in proportion as they are efficient, the stability of our institutions is endangered. Our apparent prosperity as a people affords no ground to calculate on the protracted continuance of the Government. The tree clothed with verdure and flourishing with apparent vigor, falls before a blast which seemed not to have no power to overthrow it. But a heart-decay unsuspected by a casual observer is revealed by its prostration. Organic disease both in men and Governments does often exist without indications of the fatal termination which must and will come. In our Government, sir, I fear the disease is organic. This age of progress seems to be little else than progress in evil, so far as the cause of human rights is concerned. The great error of the day, one most serious in its consequences is assuming that it is the office of Government to change social relations. Nothing is more mischievously false. The only legitimate end of political organization is to preserve not to change or create those relations—to preserve not to create property. All valuable alterations such as do not disturb the harmony of society, are the result of time operating on relations already existing; suggested by necessity and adopted gradually. Sir, whilst there is nothing that we should value more than a good government, there is nothing which deserves a lower estimate than a bad one. And the best form of government may be made the worst by abusing its powers and perverting its objects. A good government properly administered will transform the most unpromising materials into a virtuous community, whilst one that is corrupt and vicious will debauch public sentiment and bring ruin on its institutions. Nothing is so powerful in its influence on society, because nothing is so universally present in all its relations. The rights of persons and of property are subjected to the unintermitted action of its authority, and it colors all the currents of social feeling. It is a power to restrain vice and punish crime, or to foster corruption and discountenance virtue; a refreshing fountain to enliven and purify all the channels of human intercourse, or a polluting stream sending forth bitter waters to poison and to destroy. Patriotism, with all its elevated purposes, sustains and defends a good Government, whilst rapacity and corruption are brought into requisition to give energy and effect to a bad one. Hence the high duty to maintain a Constitution, which, having the principles of justice for its foundation, gives security, tranquility, and repose; all good men desire it, and none but wicked men pervert its powers to evil ends. He is a patriotic statesman who adhers to the Constitution and its benevolent purposes, whilst he is guilty of scarcely less than treachery, who defeats those designs. The best government, ignorantly or corruptly administered, becomes the worst; good citizens regard the fundamental laws with veneration, whilst those who administer them make their loyalty to that law the instrument of oppression. It is for this reason, sir, that party organization exerts such influence, and is so often invoked to quiet the distractions of public feeling. Claiming to control the minds as well as the actions of men, and settle authoritatively the opinions of the masses, we are not surprised that we are admonished of the high necessity of preserving organization of national parties,—of adhering to that organization as a means of preserving the Union. Sir, in order to the formation of any party upon an honest basis, the members of that party must have many opinions in common, and direct their action by those opinions. Any other state of things precludes the idea of an honest organization, and fixes the fact that its only object is the division of the spoils after a party victory. Such party obligations may exist with reference to this object, and at the same time another common purpose and sympathy may unite a large portion of each party in effecting most important results.

There are such things as open questions, independent of old party issues. This is true at the present moment. A large majority—nearly all of both Whigs and Democrats in the non-slaveholding States in this House and elsewhere—concur in the policy of restricting the institution of slavery to its present territorial limits, and whenever the Wilmot proviso, or an equivalent measure, or even an abolition movement is made, are found voting for such a line of policy. This open question amongst them closes the door against the South, and our party divisions but increase our inability to defend ourselves against a majority here. It increases their power and reduces ours. There are gentlemen on this floor claiming to be throrough and excellent Democrats, who adopt the proviso as to the Territories, admit the power of Congress over slavery in this District and wherever it has exclusive legislation, and vote for the exercise of that power when occasion requires, who have made no effort to reform State legislation on the subject of fugitive slaves, who believe in the constitutionality of internal improvements by the Federal Government, advocate specific duties, in a tariff with the avowed purpose of protection, and yet say they are good and true Democrats.

Now the Democratic party, where I have known its creed, repudiate these doctrines; and I find myself here agreeing with the gentlemen referred to only on the Sub-treasury, and a suitable disregard for the ashes and memory of a defunct United States Bank. With such elements as these to constitute a party, we are gravely told that such an organization ought to be preserved as one of the most approved methods of saving the Union. This open question concerning slavery unites Northern Whigs and Democrats against the South, and produces the very measures which the whole South by governors, conventions, and legislatures, declare must cause a dissolution of the tie which binds the States together; and yet fealty to party authority demands our allegiance to consummate degradation and enforce submission. To advise such a concentration of party power must, if from Northern sources, be arrogance of supposed conquest over us—if from Southern men, or a Southern press, it means nothing less than submission to dishonorable inequality, and the Union it preserves owes its existence to the calmness of despair. To inculcate reverence for such an Union, to make pledges to advocate "it under all circumstances, regarding its dissolution as the greatest of all possible evils that can befall the country," if coming from those who make it the instrument of our oppression, is *insolence:* if from a Southern man or a Southern press, is treason to their section,—*dark, deadly treason.*

Sir, I own no party affiliations, with those who vote for a policy which is forever to fix upon me and mine a condition of political inequality. I recognize no party ties uniting me to those whose system of aggression has for its result the equalization of the black and white races—which looks even remotely to the possession of civil or social equality of those races at the South at least (amongst themseves it may be a matter of taste with which it does not become us to interfere.) Neither will I acknowledge party allegiance to those who vote or approve the Wilmot proviso, or any equivalent measure, the abolition of slavery in this District or elsewhere by Congress, or the obstruction of the recapture of fugitive slaves by State authority. My constituents have declared disunion preferable to any of these results, and so instructed me at the polls. It was the issue upon which I was elected; and I frankly asked all who had not made up their minds to approve of that conclusion not to vote for me. I cannot, then, by the recognition of any party arrangement, give strength to such as pursue those objects with unremitting zeal. I claim no party affiliation with the advocates of those measures, however strongly party lines may be drawn.

To do so is to betray my trust, to dishonor my constituents, to acknowledge the plunder and monopoly of our territory a just distribution, kidnapping and the abduction of our slaves a virtue, and perjury against the Constitution in protecting runaway slaves by statute, an accomplishment to be admired. It is an insult to ask a southern man to own party obligations which promote the ruin of the South. I hail every man, whether Whig or Democrat, from the North or from the South, who, standing by the guarantees of the Constitution, preserves the rights of the South on this absorbing question as belonging to the party organization to which I acknowledge fealty and allegiance. I pledge myself to cooperate with such, and such alone, as thus resolve. Neither will I be diverted from my purpose by questions raised concerning the spoils of victory or the emoluments of office, the exercise of power either in appointments or removals, sympathy with foreign and suffering patriots and reprobation of foreign despotism, or any minor questions which do and have divided statesmen in their opinions. As well might we pause when the envenomed serpent in his coil is about to strike a fatal blow, to kill the insect which could only rob me of a drop of blood. No, sir, I stand by those of all parties who stand by the Constitution. I recognise no political association with those who violate and pervert it. We will know no political friends but those who abide by its provisions, and regard all as political enemies who deny us its protection. I cannot recognize a political association with those whose policy is directed to the destruction of eighteen hundred millions of dollars' worth of property—the value of our southern slaves. Ours by the Constitution, ours by rights, ours in a great measure by purchase from those who now threaten to destoy it. Whatever may be the consequence of resistance, it is a struggle for our property, our homes, our firesides, and our posterity, and our position as men, our equality in this republic.

In showing, sir, the danger to the Union, I think I have designated the disunionists. Not southern men, who are determined to save their homes and their property, and their superiority as a free race, to demand and to have his chartered rights, but the invader of his rights, the destroyer of his repose. Doubtless the emperors of Russia and of Austria do thus excuse all their cruelties by denouncing the patriotism of the Hungarians treason, and the demand of their rights the suggestion of hot-headed ultra-politicians. I say in all candor and with all courtesey to the Abolitionists, *you are disunionists*, for you are continually endeavoring to destroy the value of property, to secure which was the chief object of the Constitution and the Union. I say to the Free Soilers of every shade of opinion and of every political party, *you are disunionists*, for you assert a claim to the whole public domain for yourselves, irrespective of the rights of a large portion of your fellow citizens, equally entitled to its occupation under the Constitution. I say to all who either here or elsewhere approve of, or encourage legislative or other action to prevent the recapture of fugitive slaves—or who here deny the legislation necessary to make that article in the Constitution which requires their delivery operative and efficient—*you—you are disunionists*, for you pull out the corner-stone of the Union, as one of your judges most truly and solemnly declared. It is the assailant and not the man who resists assault who breaks the peace. It is the wrong-doer, and not he who only contends lawfully for his rights, that is responsible for the violence of the struggle.

What then, sir, must be the end of this state of things? What can save the country from discord and the Federal Government from overthrow? What, in the language of politicians, will satisfy the South? The time was, sir, when all that was demanded was forbearance on the part of the non-slaveholding States as our equals in the Confederacy. We simply asked, let us and our institutions alone. But that time has past. Mississippi has cast her banner to the breeze, and all the southern States will wheel into line with this gallant young sovereignty. In convention they will speak one voice, but in tones which will remove the incredulity of those who suppose that we are not in earnest. In the bold, manly, and truthful manifestos of those States I see the resolve that all this difficulty must be settled now and forever. All causes of alienation must be removed. The policy which under any form of Federal legislation or Executive intervention seizes for the non-slaveholding States the public domain, must be given up; the South will never be satisfied with an abandonment of the name whilst the reality of the wrong is still enforced—to be cheated and then laughed at—ruined by indirection and consoled that the proviso was not passed in name, but forever fixed upon them in effect. Abolition in this District, the dock-yards, forts and arsenals must be no longer urged, and State laws preventing or impeding the capture and recovery of fugitives from labor must be repealed. If the will of your constituents, the state of public opinion at home, your own consciences, or a sense of duty require you to refuse these acts of justice, the evil is incurable. Separation will become inevitable. Our wrongs are insupportable and can be tolerated no longer. But *remember*, we cannot be turned aside from a demand for redress by the cry of *disunion*; should it really ensue, on your heads be the guilt, for we strove to avert the calamity. "Equality or Independence," is our motto and our watchword. This we demand, and this we will have. Political empirics endeavor to palilate without removing the disease in vain. Party ties are a rope of sand when not strengthened by a common interest and the sanctions of justice. They fall asunder at the first touch without these elements of cohesion. Hosannas to the Union afford no remedy, they only awaken the recollection of what the Union was in the better days of our early glory—

"When none were for a party,
When all were for the State;
The lands were fairly portioned,
The spoils were fairly sold,
Before we warm'd in faction
Or in virtue had grown cold."

That Union, once our idol, is now a sword to assault, not a shield to protect us. The distribution of Washington's Farewell Address will give no relief from the pressure of wrongs inflicted and rights withheld. He was in life our own, and Washington, a slaveholder and a friend of our institutions, "dwelt amongst his people," and died surrounded by his domestics. His memory is too dear to the South for her to bring on it reproach; his example proclaimed to the world that wrong and oppression are not the less galling because enforced by authority. He once owed his allegiance to the king, held commission in his name, and fought battles to extend his empire. When that king wronged his section of the royal dominions, he led victorious armies against him, and dissolved the union betwen the crown and the colonies. Resistance to wrong has not sent him to posterity as a disunionist or a traitor, but as a patriot and statesman. We deeply resent the abuse of his great name to sanction such an unmanly course as submission to wanton usurpation. The perversion of his sentiments to give respectability to such a policy is the deepest conspiracy against his fame and his glory. Compromises such as are offered can never restore confidence. The South knows that every previous compromise has been but an anti-slavery victory, kept by them in good faith, and violated by the North; made for no consideration but the hope of peace, but in the event deepening the sense of injury by a disregard of the conditions on which they were adopted. It is in vain that we are urged to further concessions, to adjust this difficulty, to quiet the agitation We had no part in creating the trouble, and are unjustly called on to make sacrifices to allay it. We cannot offer additional inducements to rapacity by rewarding its clamors in hope of satisfying its cravings. The compromise recently offered by the venerable and distinguished Senator from Kentucky is but another gilded pill containing the deadly poison—saying to the generous South, give, give.

He had long before the introduction of his resolutions of compromise left the South, without doubt, as to his views of their rights in the territory acquired from Mexico. In a letter addressed to the freesoil convention at Cleveland in June last, he fully disclosed his opposition to the introduction of slaves into that territory, either by private enterprise or the authority of Congress. Thus giving the weight of his name and influence to close forever all that rich domain against his fellow-citizens of the South. His resolutions ostensibly for compromise demand a gratuitous concession altogether by the South of *all, all, once more.* Once before, the South gave up all that was asked, and now with a scheme of pacification presented by a statesman who identifies himself with the proviso party in fact if not in name, we are again required to give up all that is demanded for an empty declaration about the District and fugitive slaves, and the migration of slaves from State to State—rights already secured by the Constitution, but ruthlessly invaded. We must give up the territory for the consideration of the North in acknowledging rights which are plainly guarantied by the bond of Union.

Sir, none of these expedients will answer—the South must and will have her rights without diminution. She can protect herself having all the elements of prosperity; eight millions of people have nothing to fear. No power on earth can conquer us, none dare invade us. Climate, soil, and position make us independent, and we will be independent or equals in the Confederacy. We demand our rights, and our whole rights under the Constitution; we will have nothing less. As a people none under Heaven have more to expect or less to fear.

At one time in the history of the Republic, the Gauls pushed their conquests to the gates of Rome. Time after time they were bought off by the public treasures. Those bribes expended, induced a return to renew their demand. On the last occasion the impoverished Commonwealth again compounded for their deliverance—frequent exactions, however, had brought them to an exhausted treasury. To obtain safety they surrendered even religious scruples to preserve the city from the horrors of being sacked and plundered, and their houses and their families from the brutality of a barbarous soldiery—the treasures of the temple were brought forth by the priests. The sacred scales told the balance to be exact: and the demand of the fierce Gaul was justly paid. But arrogant in his power, he threw in his sword, and demanded that gold should be heaped up and the balance restored. This last outrage roused the young husbandman Camillus, who, drawing his sword, declared that in better times the Romans redeemed their country with steel and not with gold. He rallied his countrymen and expelled the invader. Learn, sir, the moral. Let the people of the non-slaveholding States learn the moral. I conjure those who invade our rights, by all the ties which bind a kindred people together, to do justice. Throw not the weight of political inequality, the desire of degradation in the scale. Presume not on any sentiment of loyalty to the Union which will cause us to give up the rights of our children. Drive not an exasperated people to extremities. If you do on your heads be the guilt. I have warned you.

GARDEN SEEDS,

COMPRISING the most popular varieties, warranted *fresh and genuine*, just received, and for sale at the

DRUG STORE OF
WILLIAMS, HAYWOOD, & Co.

Artichoke, Green Globe,	do. Pine Apple,
Asparagus, Giant,	do. Yellow Cantalope,
Beans, Early China, Dwarf,	do. Green Citron,
do. White Kidney, "	do. Nutmeg,
do. Refugee or 1000 to 1 "	Mustard, White,
do. Red Speckled French "	do. Brown,
do. White Cranberry, Run,	Nasturtium.
do. Large White Lima,	Onion, White Portugal,
Beet, Early Blood Turnip,	do. Early Silver Skin,
do. Long do.	do. Large Red,
do. Early Yellow Sugar,	do. Yellow Dutch,
do. French do.	do. Buttons and Setts,
Cabbage, Early May,	Okra.
do. do. York,	Parsley, Doubled Curled,
do. do. Battersea or Drum Head,	Parsnip, Large Dutch,
	do. Sugar or Cup Crown,
do. do Sugar loaf,	Peas, Early Cedo Nulli,
do. Large Late Drum Head,	(Dwarf
(Winter,	do. Washington or May do.
do. Large Bergen do.	do. Bishop, Prolific do.
do. Green Globe Savoy do.	do. Marrowfat do.
do. Flat Dutch do.	do. Sugar (Edible Pods) do.
do. Red do. do.	do. Marrowfat (Tall.)
Carrot, Long Orange,	Pepper, Long Cayenne,
do. Altringham,	do. Bull or Oxheart,
do. Early Horn,	do. Sweet Spanish (a salad)
Cauliflower, Large Early	Radish, Long Scarlet,
do. Late Dutch,	do. Early Short Top,
Celery, White Solid,	do. Cherry Turnip,
do. Rose Coloured,	do. White do.
Cress, Curled (or Pepper-grass,)	Rhubarb, (For Tarts)
Cucumber, Early Frame,	Salsify, or Vegetable Oyster.
do. Cluster,	Spinage, Summer and winter.
do. Long Green,	
do. White Turkey,	Squash, Early Bush,
do. Small Gherkin (for Pickling.)	do. Crook Neck,
	Tomato, Large Red.
Corn, Adams' Early,	do. Yellow,
do. Sweet or Sugar,	Turnip, Large English. Norfolk,
do. Philad. White,	
do. Tuskarora,	do. Yellow Ruta Baga,
Egg Plant, Purple,	do. Large White Flat,
Lettuce, White Cabbage,	do. Early Red Top,
do. Ice Coss,	do. Flat Dutch.
do. White Butter,	HERB SEED.
do. Early Silescia,	Thyme, Winter Savory,
Melon, Long Island Water,	Rosemary, Sage,
do. Carolina do.	Fennel, Lavender.

Orders from the surrounding Country thankfully received and punctually attended to.

Raleigh, Feb. 11, 1850. 798—

Warrenton Female Seminary.

THE Exercises of this Institution closed for the present year with a Public Examination, held on the 30th and 31st ultimo, and will be resumed on Tuesday, the 15th of January. The Principal is assisted in the various duties of the School by the most able Teachers.

Terms as follows, per session of five months:

Board,	$50,00	Music,	$20,00
English Tuition,	12,50	Use of Instrument,	3,00
French,	10,00	Drawing & Painting	10,00

Useful and ornamental needle work free of charge. No extra charges will be made.

Circulars containing more minute information can be obtained on application to the Principal.

DANIEL TURNER.

Warrenton, N. C. Nov. 12, 1849. 785—tf.

NOTICE.

$25 REWARD will be given for the apprehension and delivery to the Sheriff or Jailor of Johnston County, of a man who broke Johnston County Jail, on the night of the 9th of August, 1849, who was arrested as Calvin Griffin, but who had passed in said County for some time by the name of Henry Griffin. He was taken on a Capias, charged with Assault and Battery with intent to commit a Rape.

Said Griffin, I suppose, is between Twenty-five and Thirty years of age, five feet seven or eight inches high, fair skin, and weighs about one hundred and fifty pounds.

J. H. DANIEL, *Sheriff.*

Smithfield, September 13th, 1849. 776–tf.

$50 REWARD.

RANAWAY from Matthew N. Strickland sometime in November 1847, Negro Man Calvin, aged about Thirty years. He is a very black negro, and about five feet ten or eleven inches high. He has fine white teeth. He had been hired about Raleigh some two years before he ran away. Said boy, I believe, is lurking about Raleigh as he has a wife at Mr. Towle's. I will give the above reward for his apprehension and delivery to me or for his confinement in Raleigh Jail. BRYAN GREEN,

For M. N. STRICKLAND.

August 20, 1849 772—tf.

A Teacher Wanted.

A Teacher is wanted to take charge of the Common School in District No. 35, Wake County. The applicant for this situation must be a sober man—not necessarily a "Son," but not inclined to imbibe—and come well recommended as to qualifications and capacity. Apply to

W. G. STRICKLAND,
ROBT. TRAWICK,
JAS. G. JEFFREYS.

March 6th, 1850. 800—tf.

Register copy till forbid.

The Heirs of Wm. Owen Dec'd

ARE entitled to an interest in the estate of Ralph Sullivant, deceased. William Owen moved from Halifax County, Virginia, some thirty years since, and died, it is said, somewhere in North Carolina. Any information of the said heirs would be thankfully received. Address the Administrator of Wm. Owen, dec'd., Mount Laurel, Halifax County, Virginia.

CLEMENT M. ADKISSON,
Admr. of Wm. Owen, deceased.

February 8, 1850. 797—6t.

The Southern and western papers will please copy.

FRANCIS H. ROBERTSON,

Successor to Messrs. Spotswood & Robertson,

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALER IN

Foreign & Domestic Drugs, Medicines,

Paints, Oils, Dye Stuffs, Perfumery, Brushes, Soaps, Fancy Articles, Window Glass, and of D. Brandreth's Garden Seeds.

Agents for Floor Oil Cloths,

Genuine Imported Havana, Regalia and Principe Segars.

Orders executed with accuracy, neatness and despatch.

S. E. Corner of Bollingbrook and Sycamore St.

PETERSBURG, Va.

February 1, 1850. 796—4m.

GEO. WORTHAM,

ATTORNEY AT LAW, Oxford, N. C.

WILL attend to all claims entrusted to him in the Counties of Granville, Warren, Franklin, and Person.

January 2, 1850. 792—6m.

John M. Sheppard, Jr.

COMMISSION MERCHANT, RICHMOND, Va.

Office in Front Shockoe Warehouse,

OFFERS his services to sell Tobacco, Wheat, Flous and Corn; and respectfully solicits consignmenment

Pichmond, January 1st, 1850. 792—6m.

HORSE BILLS,

AND JOB PRINTING GENERALLY,

Executed at the Standard Office,

Promptly, in the best manner, and on reasonable terms.

Raleigh, March 4, 1850. 800—tf.

ROBINSON & ELDRED'S

GRAND NEW YORK CIRCUS.

THIS Splendid Establishment, acknowledged by all, when it last passed through this country, to be far superior to any other, has since that period received the addenda of such an amount and variety of talent as to render all competition vain and fruitless. The Company, as now constituted, is with the exception of *Master James*, and *Miss Henrietta*, and the Proprietors, entirely new; presenting a host of novel, surprising, entertaining feats, which must be seen to be appreciated and believed.

THE PAVILION

Is indeed the Temple of Momus, the laughter loving God presiding over every Joke, Quirk, Quiddity, and Corruscation of wit and genius, manufactured by his two favorite

CLOWNS, ROCKWELL & PETERSON.

And while they fling about with liberal humor abundance of fun and fancy, they pledge themselves to the public never to utter a syllable that can in any way shock the delicacy of the most refined lady.

Considerable fuss has been made by other travelling Circus Companies about their Bands; but their music can no more compare with ours, than can their wretched half-starved Horses, "above which the crows are flying, greedy for their lean inheritance," compare with the symmetrical, fat, powerful steeds attached to the

NEW YORK CIRCUS.

You have seen others; on the 11th of March see ours, and judge for yourselves.

NOSHER'S NEW YORK BRASS BAND,

challenge the Union in the sum *of one thousand dollars*, to discourse sweet music from any of the favorite Operas of the day.

MASTER JAMES,

Whose unrivalled horsemanship, when he last appeared before you, was productive of the most thrilling admiration, has since that period arrived at *perfection* in his noble art, and wins golden opinions from all. At Savannah he was lately presented with a *Gold Watch*, as a testimonial of his skill; while at every performance Bouquets and Wreaths are showered by the Ladies at the feet of the little hero of the Arena.

MISS HENRIETTA,

The Enchantress of the Circle, is the cynosure of every eye, and has drawn crowds of critics from all parts of the Union to witness her wonderful performances.

MRS. ROBINSON, MRS. ROCKWELL,

And the other Ladies connected with the Establishment, will appear.

All the Riders and Performers, the Great Baldwin, in his Juggling Acts, Foster, the Great Cannon Ball Hurler. For names and other particulars, see small and large bills.

EXTRA NOTICE.

We do not drive 20 starved and poverty stricken horses in our Band Carriage, hitched together like Falstaff's ragged Regiment, with rags, but we do drive 12 splendidly matched Creams, the harness being plated with the richest silver plating.

☞ *We will Exhibit at Raleigh, on Monday, the 11th instant, and for a few days.*

Doors open at 6½ o'clock. Performance to commence at 7 o'clock.

Admission 50 cents—Children and servants half price.

Raleigh, March 6, 1850. 800—

TRUTH STRANGER THAN FICTION.

ANOTHER LUCKY STRIKE.

PYFER, & CO.

Those world renowned Prize sellers had the happy gratification of paying over to a gentleman from South Carolina, the Gold for the Magnificent Prize of $50,000. For this handsome prize he only paid $118—taking a whole package. This is another proof of the immense luck of the old established and far-famed prize office of

PYFER & Co's.

No 1 Light Street, Baltimore, Md.

Read still farther and behold the splendid Success.

$25,000, sent to Ohio.
$20,000, sent to Georgia.
$20,000, sent to Virginia.
$15,000, sent to North Carolina.
$10,000, sent to Pennsylvania.
$6,000, sent to Alabama.
$5,000, sent to Tennessee.
$5,000, sent to Massachusetts.

All promptly paid by Pyfer & Co., and the tickets now on file at their truly fortunate office.

This luck is unprecedented.

Orders Confidential.

Brilliant Lotteries for March, 1850.

Sen on your orders early for a prize.

Date March.	Capital Prizes.	No. of Ballots.		Price of Tickets.	Price of Packages.
13	30,000	78 Nos	14 drawn	10	35 00
14	24,000	75 Nos	13 drawn	5	17 50
15	13,500	78 Nos	15 drawn	4	13 25
16	50,000	75 Nos	11 drawn	16	60 00
18	25,000	78 Nos	13 drawn	8	30 00
19	20,000	75 Nos	15 drawn	5	15 50
20	35,000	75 Nos	14 drawn	10	33 50
21	18,000	78 Nos	13 drawn	5	18 50
22	20,000	78 Nos	14 drawn	5	17 50
23	30,000	66 Nos	10 drawn	10	34 00
25	25,000	72 Nos	13 drawn	8	26 00
26	20,000	75 Nos	13 drawn	5	17 50
27	35,000	78 Nos	16 drawn	10	30 00
28	20,000	75 Nos	12 drawn	5	18 50
29	15,000	78 Nos	14 drawn	4	14 00
30	80,000	78 Nos	10 drawn	25	100 00

The price of Packages of Quarter Tickets only, is published in this paper.

Please mail orders a few days before the Lotteries draw.

Letters always strongly enveloped and carefully sealed.

None but the Managers' printed Drawings sent from Pyfer & Co's.

Every order to Pyfer & Co. is answered by return mail.

Bank Drafts or Certificates of Deposit payable in Gold at sight, and promptly remitted to any part of the Country for Prizes sold at this Agency.

One Package of Tickets may draw Four Capitals!

Money in any sums however large, can be confidently mailed to the address of Pyfer & Co.

For a splendid Prize, prompt payment in Gold or Silver, and faithful attention to the Orders of a correspondent, early remittances should be made of Cash, Drafts, of Prize Tickets, to the truly fortunate, old-established and far-famed Lotterry firm of

PYFER & CO.
No. 1, Light Street, Baltimore, Md.
Or Box 524, Baltimore Post Office.

March 6th, 1850. 790—

E. N. PETERSON,

GENERAL AGENT AND COLLECTOR,
WELDON, NORTH CAROLINA,

OFFERS his services to the public as an agent for the settlement and collection of claims in North Carolina. He will attend strictly and promptly to all business intrusted to him.

Refer to Col. L. M. Long, John Campbell, Esq., John Simmons, Col. A. Joyner, J. F. Simmons, Esq., Weldon; Hon. J. R. J. Daniel, M. Ferrall, Esq. Halifax; Hon. F. E. Rives, Patterson, Cooper, & Co. Pitman & Cuthbert, Wills & Lea, Petersburg, Va.; Thos. Bragg, Jr. Esq. Jackson; Col. S. Whitaker, Enfield.

Weldon, March 1, 1850. 800—

City Tax List.

NOTICE is hereby given that I will attend at the Court House on Thursday the 28th day of March instant—from 10 o'clock A. M., to 5 o'clock P. M. to take the City Tax List for the current year according to law. W. DALLAS HAYWOOD, *Intendant.*

Raleigh, March 6th, 1850. 800—td.

FOR SALE.

FOUR No. 1 *YOUNG NEGROES* for sale—three men and one girl. Apply to

J. J. CHRISTOPHERS.

Raleigh, Feb. 26, 1850. 800—

WANTED A good Nurse. Apply at this Office.

Raleigh, Feb. 1, 1850. 796—tf.