From the Southern Press 19th July.

FREE-SOIL TACTICS.

We have repeatedly called the attention of the Southern people to the insolent tone of the triumphant mockery assumed by the Northern Free-soilers, while joining in the chorus of "this cry of Union." They do not even take the trouble to conceal the contempt with which the supplicant attitude of the despoiled South has inspired them and taunt and twit and jeer their Southern brethren with the most malignant mockery of "moderation" and of condescending pity. As a high-caste Hindoo, if his disposition might speak to and of an humble Pariah—who "born for his will, lives but to obey him"—so do these new and self-appointed lords of the "soil" put forth their promises of protection to their Southern tenants at will, and coolly explain to them the tenure and the terms on which they are to hold their own property & the thankfulness they should feel for the enjoyment even of that poor privilege—for a time. Hate is hard to bear patiently and silently, when it exhibits itself in open acts of defiance, insult and aggression, but there is a sense of pride and power exhibited by R. But derision and scorn, at Man superiors to inferiors, if unmeditated or deserved, creates that "self-contempt, bitterer to drink than blood," and carries poison with its sting.

The strongest commentary on the "compromise" measures and their consequence, is to be drawn from this source. The trail of the serpent Abolition is over them all, and no longer winding its stealthy way with cautious crawling, it now openly hisses and stings, exhibits its spotted deformity at full length in the broad sunshine, and dare with its recent triumph, and those yet in prospective.

"Rolled in red and burning crest,
Radiant with victory."

These things should be seen and unperceived by the Southern people, that they may properly appreciate Northern sentiment and Northern tactics.—They must learn the policy and the purposes of their enemies at the North, by watching the course and observing the movements of those who lead the crusade against them—and properly to do this, they must keep an eye on the Free-soil press, and the demonstrations of the Free-soil politicians. That Southern editor is recreant to his duty, who is deterred from producing these proofs and evidences from the Abolition organs, by the cant of "circulating incendiary documents," or the cowardly dread of misrepresentation. That Southern man who heeds such hypocritical howlings from politicians whose patriotism is a matter of pettiness too ignorant, too distrustful, or too prejudiced, either to comprehend his own true interests, or properly to maintain them. Unmoved and undeterred by such clamors, come from what source they may, or prompted by whatever motives, we intend to keep the Southern people advised of the real position of the enemy and to do this, we know of no better way than to give them a fair survey of the hostile camp, and a sight of the bold orders of its generals.

One of the most striking and significant of these we copied, from the Weekly New York Tribune of — inst.—calling a special attention to the passage italicized. The article is evidently written with great care, and presents a programme which will probably indicate the course to be pursued by the Free-soilers, in the event of the continued acquiescence of the South in the operation of the compromise bills, or the delay of action on the part of "resolute and really" South Carolina. The Tribune editor has evidently prepared his article after a careful perusal of the "glorious Union" speeches of Mr. Webster and the "Whig Administration,"—to whom he plainly returns "thanks" for "serving the South on the main question"—the introduction of new slaveholding States.

He also declares the threat of dissolving the Union to be "an idle warning," even as those gentlemen, and their Southern satellites, Whig and Democratic, from Cass down the descending scale to Foote, and from Toombs lower still to the subterranean Sawyers, of Alabama, seem disposed to regard it.

This coincidence of sentiment—this holy terror of disunionists, and wholesale abuse of them by the great Abolition organ of the North, and the submission leaders of the South, is worthy of reflection, if not of comment.

It is one of the most pregnant reasons why certain Southern politicians so vehemently urge the impropriety of republishing the articles contained in Abolition papers, for therein, as in a mirror, may be seen the distorted reflection of the features of their own doctrines and policy. The fraud and folly of the submission stage thunder about making the repeal of the Fugitive slave law a test question, and an issue for resistance, are also exposed by the admission made by this chief of Abolitionists, that "that law is destined to remain on the statute book;" and the reasons given are conclusive in favor of such a policy on the part of that faction, and confirmatory of the assertions we have made so often on that subject.

Referring our reader, therefore, to the whole scope and tenor of this Free-soil manifesto, which is well worthy of their closest scrutiny and most serious reflection, we append the summing up of its conclusions at the close of its article, condensing much into a small space:

"*And now that this agitation is substantially over, for the present at least, we may express our conviction that it has been a most useful thing. It has virtually put a check to future schemes of annexing slave State, it has strengthened the Union as a storm purifies the atmosphere, and shown the full absurdity of South Carolina separatism. It has rooted deeper the natural dislike of freemen to slavery, and when that institution shall at last cease to exist on this continent, we doubt not that those who witness its extinction will look back with grateful remembrance to the crisis we have just gone through.*"

From the New York Tribune of July 11th.

Runaway Slaves.

It has latterly been said, again and again, that the South would dissolve the Union if fugitive slaves were not sent back when called for. On the other hand we have heard, rather indirectly, indeed, a great deal of a large party at the North which would dissolve the Union, or at least, do everything possible toward it if they were sent back. Neither of these assertions or implications is true. Let us look at the facts.

We presume there are a great many honest-hearted and weak-headed gentlemen in slave States who are in a condition of intense nervous excitement about slavery, who, in fact, are ready to faint when the word is pronounced with the accent of free-born lips. These gentlemen regard the end of the world as close at hand, and no doubt hurry on their ascension robes at the sound of a fish-horn with all the dispatch of a practised disciple of Father Miller. To hint in their hearing that slavery is not a divine institution and under the special patronage of heaven, is to deserve tar and feathers and a promenade upon a rail. For them our political system is already a doleful ruin, and the most glorious form of government man ever devised the object of tears and lamentations, like a friend lying dead in the house. Disunion they have grown familiar with by often threatening to perpetrate it, and hearing others threaten, till at last they only wait an occasion for it to come of itself. That occasion they assure us will be the modification of the Fugitive slave law.

Whoever dares these boots displace
Must meet Bombastes face to face!

It is true that they have announced the same catastrophe as sure to arrive on other occasions—on the admission of California, the separation of New Mexico from Texas, or the exclusion of slaves from the territories. And yet California was admitted, New Mexico was organized as an independent territory, and we have yet to hear of the transportation of any considerable number of slaves to New Mexico or Utah. But the great climax of disunion has not been performed. And now, having been driven from these positions, the same oracles of despair and destruction proclaim either in tones of menace or of tearful exhortation, that what they have not done when there was something real at issue, they will now when the point is to them not worth a farthing. If the Fugitive slave law is modified they will dissolve the Union.

And like an inoffensive pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind.

What degree of respect is to be paid to such a warning, how far we ought to regard this awful threat, we have endeavored to show on former occasions. But when we hear the menace repeated, we cannot suppress the wish that these silly boys might be gratified for a while, and allowed to quit the Union and left to take care of themselves alone. Not long would they crave such independence. Soon, like weary truants, they would return to the genial shade and security of the rooltree and the fireside they had abandoned, and, grown wise by sad experience, would never more desire to wander. But this is out of the question. They cannot be allowed to cut up such capers, nor is truth is anything further from their intention. They would feel badly if the chance were open to them. They love blister, but hate action.

Nor shall we bestow any pleasure on these gentlemen when we assure them that the contingency on which they have based the execution of their grand scheme of pyrotechnics *is not likely to occur. We look in vain for the probability of a repeal or modification of the Fugitive slave law. That law we suppose is destined to remain on the statute book.* We could wish it were otherwise. We could wish to have it modified in many particulars, especially by the introduction of a jury trial among its provisions. *But there is not the least indication that such a change will be made.* The next Congress will not make it. There is nowhere a great party demanding it. Public sentiment regards it with comparative indifference. There is no such overwhelming popular movement in favor of repealing or changing this law as there was at the North in 1843 and '49 against the extension of slavery. How then can this law be touched?

Nor in truth is the matter of so great practical consequence as has been supposed. To the South the law is of no real advantage, because the expense of getting a slave under it is, after all, more than he is worth. What is the market value of all the slaves reclaimed by virtue of its provisions who would not have been reclaimed without it? Is it $10,000? We don't believe it, but at any rate we are sure that whatever it is, the captives have not paid the expense. Certainly, compared with the *number of runaways, the number of those taken back to slavery is scarce a drop in the bucket.* The law is then *worthless* to the South, except so far as it may satisfy the susceptibilities and appease the wounded dignity of slave owners.

At the North the feeling against the law is rather one of abstract principle than of universal, ever ready interest. It is seen that the law is an improper one favoring slavery, and trampling on the time-honored guarantees of American freedom, but still this fact does not rouse the people to action. Were slaves recaptured every day it would be otherwise, but so rare are such captures, and so various and easy the means of conveying fugitives into safety under the British flag, that there is no general excitement on the subject. *It is seen that the main point at issue in the struggle of '48–'49 was won by freedom,* and though an occasional outrage on humanity may be committed under the law, still in the reaction which necessarily succeeds a warm popular movement, there is a disposition to let the law itself remain untouched and subside into its natural place as a dead letter. Sometimes, indeed, when in some rare case it is brought forth and applied, as sometimes happened with the law which preceded it, there will be local excitement, but a warm general feeling is not to be expected. As we said, we could for some reasons wish this were otherwise. But these are the facts; the people will not act, and in such a case we must acknowledge their decision even while duty may require us sometimes to oppose it.

The truth is that the business of slave catching would never had assumed such magnitude in the public view, but for the *great controversy on the more important question of slavery extension.* The South would never have thought much about it, had not defeat on the main issues of that controversy made her strenuous about lesser things. The South annexed Texas to extend the power of slavery, and by the help of Northern 'Democrats,' (we will not now mention names,) carried the day in that struggle. But that was not enough. The Mexican war was made and the territories acquired, all with a view to the same end of extending the Southern institution and perpetuating its power. But here the North, which had meekly acquiesced in the Texas operation, kicked out of the traces, and the Free-soil agitation begun. In the contest then set on foot, each party, of course, raked up every ground for complaint against the other, and the South made a great ado about the escape of slaves. *And while beaten on the main question—thanks to a Whig administration and the firmness of some gallant spirits among the Northern members of Congress,*—the slavery party got the present Fugitive law enacted, and—much good may it do them.

For the whole agitation the South is responsible. Had it obeyed the dictates of practical wisdom, staid at home and minded its own business—had it concentrated its population instead of dispersing, and had it let Texas and Mexico alone, the Free-soil party would not have been called into existence, nor would there have been any necessity for saving the Union. Nor yet would a new fugitive law been enacted, but on that head things would have gone on as quietly as before. Slaves would now and then have escaped from the border States and one out of fifty or so would have been recaptured.—But the grabbing or losing of them would not been a question of national importance as they have now sought to make it appear, *nor would the South have endured any humiliation.* The lesson is a good one; let us hope it may be improved and *that the South may at last profit by experience and in future avoid all insidious attempts to enlarge the area of its institutions.*

And now that this agitation is substantially over, for the present, at least, we may express our conviction that it has been a most useful thing. it has virtually put a check on future schemes of annexing slave States, it has strengthened the Union as a storm purifies the atmosphere, and shown the full absurdity of South Carolina separatism. It has rooted deeper the natural dislike of freemen to slavery, and when that institution shall at last cease to exist on this continent, we doubt not that those who witness its extinction will look back with grateful remembrance to the crisis we have just gone through.

Such is the prospect as regards this law. *There is no chance for its immediate repeal or modification.* But while we shall not attempt any new agitation for an end whose attainment we cannot anticipate, we shall not withhold any part of our convictions on the subject whenever they are called for by an antagonist or by the attempt to carry a man into slavery by virtue of its authority.

KOSSUTH.

A London correspondent of the New York Herald says:—I have heard it confidentially stated—and the source from whence it proceeds, connected with Lord Palmerston and the Foreign Departments is, I believe, to be relied upon—that Kossuth and his companions in Turkey will be very shortly shipped off, abruptly by the Turkish government to the United States. They will, in all probability, arrive in New York in the course of the month of August."

FROM OREGON.

The most important news is the election throughout the State of county and State officers. Gen. Lane has been elected delegate to Congress over Wilson. Party lines were not generally drawn, the Whigs and anti-Thurston Democrats uniting.

F. A. Chewnowith is constructing a railroad around the Cascades, on the Willamette River.

At Newport, Florida, a marriage recently took place between Mr. G., aged 83 years, and Mrs. C., not more than half that age; it is, however, to be observed that it is the seventh time she has gone through the interesting ceremony. Three days after the happy event, Mr. G. cautioned all persons from crediting his wife on his account, as she refused to live with him.

Speech of Mr. Calhoun, of South Carolina.

ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

Delivered in the Senate of the United States, March 4, 1850.

I have, Senators, believed from the first that the agitation of the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in disunion.—Entertaining this opinion, I have, on all proper occasions, endeavored to call the attention of both of the two great parties which divide the country to adopt some measure to prevent so great a disaster, but without success. The agitation has been permitted to proceed, with almost no attempt to resist it, until it has reached a period when it can no longer be disguised or denied that the Union is in danger. You have thus had forced upon you the greatest and the gravest question that can ever come under your consideration—How can the Union be preserved?

To give a satisfactory answer to this mighty question, it is indispensable to have an accurate and thorough knowledge of the nature and the character of the cause by which the Union is endangered. Without such knowledge it is impossible to pronounce, with any certainty, by what measure it can be saved; just as it would be impossible for a physician to pronounce in the case of some dangerous disease, with any certainty, by what remedy the patient could be saved, without similar knowledge of the nature and character of the cause of the disease. The first question, then, presented for consideration, in the investigation I propose to make, in order to obtain such knowledge, is—What is it that has endangered the Union?

To this question there can be but one answer; that the immediate cause is the almost universal discontent which pervades all the States composing the Southern section of the Union. This widely extended discontent is not of recent origin. It commenced with the agitation of the slavery question, and has been increasing ever since. The next question, going one step further back, is—What has caused this widely diffused and almost universal discontent?

It is a great mistake to suppose, as is by some, that it originated with demagogues, who excited the discontent with the intention of aiding their personal advancement, or with the disappointed ambition of certain politicians, who resorted to it as the means of retrieving their fortunes. On the contrary, all the great political influences of the section were arrayed against excitement, and exerted to the utmost to keep the people quiet. The great mass of the people of the South were divided, as in the other section, into Whigs and Democrats. The leaders and the presses of both parties in the South were very solicitous to prevent excitement and to preserve quiet; because it was seen that the effects of the former would necessarily tend to weaken, if not destroy, the political ties which united them with their respective parties in the other section. Those who know the strength of party ties will readily appreciate the immense force which this cause exerted against agitation and in favor of preserving quiet. But, as great as it was, it was not sufficient to prevent the wide-spread discontent which now pervades the section. No; some cause, far deeper and more powerful than the one supposed, must exist, to account for discontent so wide and deep. The question, then, recurs—What is the cause of this discontent? It will be found in the belief of the people of the Southern States, as prevalent as the discontent itself, that they cannot remain, as things now are, consistently with honor and safety, in the Union. The next question to be considered is—What has caused this belief?

One of the causes is, undoubtedly, to be traced to the long continued agitation of the slave question on the part of the North, and the many aggressions which they have made on the rights of the South during the time. I will not enumerate them at present, as it will be done hereafter in its proper place.

There is another lying back of it, with which this is intimately connected, that may be regarded as the great and primary cause. That is to be found in the fact that the equilibrium between the two sections in the Government, as it stood when the Constitution was ratified and the Government put in action, has been destroyed.—At that time there was nearly a perfect equilibrium between the two, which afforded ample means to each to protect itself against the aggression of the other; but, as it now stands, one section has the exclusive power of controlling the Government, which leaves the other without any adequate means of protecting itself against its encroachment and oppression. To place this subject distinctly before you, I have, Senators, prepared a brief statistical statement, showing the relative weight of the two sections in the Government under the first census of 1790 and the last census of 1840.

According to the former, the population of the United States, including Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee, which then were in their incipient condition of becoming States, but were not actually admitted, amounted to 3,929,827. Of this number the Northern States had 1,877,289, and the Southern 1,952,072, making a difference of only 25,327 in favor of the former States. The number of States, including Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee, were sixteen; of which eight, including Vermont, belonged to the Northern section, and eight, including Kentucky and Tennessee, to the Southern, making an equal division of the States between the two sections under the first census. There was a small preponderance in the House of Representatives, and in the electoral college, in favor of the Northern, owing to the fact that, according to the provisions of the Constitution, in estimating federal numbers, five slaves count but three; but it was too small to affect sensibly the perfect equilibrium, which, with that exception, existed at the time. Such was the equality of the two sections when the States composing them agreed to enter into a Federal Union.—Since then the equilibrium between them has been greatly disturbed.

According to the last census the aggregate population of the United States amounted to 17,063,357, of which the Northern section contained 9,728,920, and the Southern 7,334,437, making a difference, in round numbers of 2,400,000. The number of States had increased from sixteen to twenty-six, making an addition of ten States. In the mean time the position of Delaware had become doubtful as to which section she properly belongs. Considering her as neutral, the Northern States will have thirteen and the Southern States twelve, making a difference in the Senate of two Senators in favor of the former. According to the apportionment under the census of 1840, there were 223 members of the House of Representatives, of which the Northern States had 135, and the Southern States (considering Delaware as neutral) 87, making a difference in favor of the former in the House of Representatives of 48. The difference in the Senate of two members added to this, gives to the North in the electoral college, a majority of 50.—Since the census of 1840, four States have been added to the Union; Iowa, Wisconsin, Florida, and Texas. They leave the difference in the Senate as it stood when the census was taken; but add two to the side of the North in the House, making the present majority in the House in its favor of 50, and in the electoral college of 52.

The result of the whole is to give the Northern section a predominance in every department of the Government, and thereby concentrate in it the two elements which constitute the Federal Government; majority of States, and a majority of their population, estimated in federal numbers.—Whatever section concentrates the two in itself possesses the control of the entire Government.

But we are just at the close of the sixth decade, and the commencement of the seventh. The census is to be taken this year, which must add greatly to the decided preponderance of the North in the House of Representatives and in the electoral college. The prospect is, also, that a great increase will be added to its present preponderance in the Senate during the period of the decade by the addition of new States. Two Territories, Oregon and Minesota, are already in progress, and strenuous efforts are making to bring in three additional States from the territory recently conquered from Mexico; which, if successful, will add three other States in a short time to the Northern section, making five States; and increasing the present number of its States from fifteen to twenty, and of its Senators from thirty to forty. On the contrary, there is not a single Territory in progress in the Southern section, and no certainty that any additional State will be added to it during the decade. The prospect then is, that the two sections in the Senate, should the efforts now made to exclude the South from the newly acquired Territories succeed, will stand, before the end of the decade, twenty Northern States to fourteen Southern, (considering Delaware as neutral,) and forty Northern Senators to twenty-eight Southern. This great increase of Senators, added to the great increase of members of the House of Representatives and electoral college on the part of the North, which must take place under the next decade, will effectually and irretrievably destroy the equilibrium which existed when the Government commenced.

Had this destruction been the operation of time, without the interference of Government, the South would have had no reason to complain; but such was not the fact. It was caused by the legislation of this Government, which was appointed, as the common agent of all, and charged with the protection of the interests and security of all. The legislation by which it has been effected, may be classed under three heads. The first is, that series of acts by which the South has been excluded from the common territory belonging to all of the States, as the members of the Federal Union, and which have had the effect of extending vastly the portion allotted to the Northern section, and restricting within narrow limits, the portion left the South. The next consists in adopting a system of revenue and disbursements, by which an undue proportion of the burden of taxation has been imposed upon the South, and an undue proportion of its proceeds appropriated to the North; and the last is a system of political measures, by which the original character of the Government has been radically changed. I propose to bestow upon each of these, in the order they stand, a few remarks, with the view of showing that it is owing to the action of this Government that the equilibrium between the two sections has been destroyed, and the whole powers of the system centered in a sectional majority.

The first of the series of acts by which the South was deprived of its due share of the Territories, originated with the Confederacy, which preceded the existence of this Government. It is to be found in the provision of the ordinance of 1787. Its effect was to exclude the South entirely from that vast and fertile region which lies between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, now embracing five States and one Territory.—The next of the series is the Missouri compromise, which excluded the South from that large portion of Louisiana which lies north of 36 deg. 30 min., excepting what is included in the State of Missouri. The last of the series excluded the South from the whole of the Oregon Territory. All these, in the slang of the day, were what are called slave territories, and not free soil; that is, territories belonging to slaveholding powers and open to the emigration of masters with their slaves. By these several acts the South was excluded from 1,238,025 square miles, an extent of country considerably exceeding the entire valley of the Mississippi. To the South was left the portion of the territory of Louisiana lying south of 36 deg. 30 min., and the portion north of it included in the State of Missouri. The portion lying south of 36 deg. 30 min., including the States of Louisiana and Arkansas, and the territory lying west of the latter and south of 36 deg. 30 min., called the Indian country. These, with the Territory of Florida, now the State, makes in the whole, 283,503 square miles. To this must be added the territory acquired with Texas. If the whole should be added to the Southern section, it would make the whole left to the South, 609,023. But a large part of Texas is still in contest between the two sections, which leaves it uncertain what will be the real extent of the portion of territory that may be left to the South.

I have not included the territory recently acquired by the treaty with Mexico. The North is making the most strenuous efforts to appropriate the whole to herself, by excluding the South from every foot of it.—If she should succeed, it will add to that from which the South has already been excluded, 526,078 square miles, and would increase the whole which the North has appropriated to herself to 1,764,023, not including the portion that she may succeed in excluding us from in Texas. To sum up the whole, the United States since they declared their independence, have acquired 2,373,046 square miles of territory, from which the North will have excluded the South, if she should succeed in monopolizing the newly acquired territories, about three-fourths of the whole, leaving to the South but about one-fourth.

Such is the first and great cause that has destroyed the equilibrium between the two sections in the Government.

The next is the system of revenue and disbursements which has been adopted by the Government. It is well known that the Government has derived its revenue mainly from duties on imports. I shall not undertake to show that such duties must necessarily fall mainly on the exporting States, and that the South, as the great exporting portion of the Union has in reality paid vastly more than her due proportion of the revenue; because I deem it unnecessary, as the subject has on so many occasions been fully discussed. For shall I, for the same reason, undertake to show that a far greater portion of the revenue has been disbursed at the North, than its due share; and that the joint effect of these causes has been to transfer a vast amount from South to North, which, under an equal system of revenue and disbursements, would not have been lost to her. If, to this be added, that many of the duties were imposed, not for revenue, but for protection—that is, intended to put money, not in the treasury, but directly into the pocket of the manufacturers, some conception may be formed of the immense amount which, in the long course of sixty years, have been transferred from South to North. There are no data by which it can be estimated with any certainty; but it is safe to say, that it amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars. Under the most moderate estimate, it would be sufficient to add greatly to the wealth of the North, and thus greatly increase her population by attracting emigration from all quarters to that section.

This, combined with the great and primary cause, amply explains why the North has acquired a preponderance over every department of the Government by its disproportionate increase of population and States. The former, as has been shown, has increased in fifty years, 2,400,000 over that of the South. This increase of population, during so long a period, is satisfactorily accounted for, by the number of emigrants, and the increase of their descendants, which have been attracted to the Northern section from Europe and the South, in consequence of the advantages derived from the causes assigned. If they had no existed—if the South had retained all the capital which has been extracted from her by the fiscal action of the Government; and, if it had not been excluded by the ordinance of '87 and the Missouri compromise, from the region lying between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, and between the Mississippi and the Rocky mountains north of 36 deg. 30 min.—it scarcely admits of a doubt, that it would have divided the emigration with the North, and by retaining her own people, would have at least equalled the North in population under the census of 1840, and probably under that about to be taken. She would also, if she had retained her equal rights in those territories, have maintained an equality in the number of States with the North, and have preserved the equilibrum between the two sections that existed at the commencement of the Government. The loss then of the equilibrium, is to be attributed to the action of this Government.

But while these measures were destroying the equilibrium between the two sections, the action of Government was leading to a radical change in its character, by concentrating all the power of the system in itself. The occasion will not permit me to trace the measures by which this great change has been consummated. If it did, it would not be difficult to show that the process commenced at an early period of the Government; that it proceeded almost without interruption, step by step, until it absorbed virtually its entire powers, but without going through the whole process to establish the fact, it may be done satisfactorily by a very short statement.

That the Government claims, and practically maintains, the right to decide in the last resort, as to the extent of its powers, will scarcely be denied by any one conversant with the political history of the country. That it also claims the right to resort to force to maintain whatever power she claims, against all opposition, is equally certain. Indeed it is apparent, from what we daily hear, that this has become the prevailing and fixed opinion of a great majority of the community. Now, I ask, what limitation can possibly be placed upon the powers of a government claiming and exercising such rights? And, if none can be, how can the separate governments of the States maintain and protect the powers reserved to them by the Constitution, or the people of the several States maintain those, which are reserved to them, and among others, the sovereign powers by which they ordained and established, not only their separate State Constitutions and Governments but also the Constitution and Government of the United States? But, if they have no constitutional means of maintaining them against the right claimed by this Government, it necessarily follows, that they hold them at its pleasure and discretion, and that all the powers of the system are in reality concentrated in it. It also follows, that the character of the Government has been changed in consequence, from a federal Republic, as it originally came from the hands of its framers, into a great national consolidated Democracy.—It has indeed, at present, all the characteristics of the latter and not one of the former, although it still retains its outward form.

The result of the whole of these causes combined is, that the North has acquired a decided ascendancy over every department of this Government, and through it a control over all the powers of the system. A single section governed by the will of the numerical majority, has now, in fact, the control of the Government and the entire powers of the system. What was once a constitutional federal Republic, is now converted, in reality, into one as absolute as that of the Autocrat of Russia, and as despotic in its tendency, as any absolute government that ever existed.

As then, the North has the absolute control over the Government, it is manifest, that on all questions between it and the South, where there is a diversity of interests, the interest of the latter will be sacrificed to the former, however oppressive the effects may be, as the South possesses no means by which it can resist, through the action of the Government. But if there was no question of vital importance to the South, in reference to which there was a diversity of views between the two sections, this state of things might be endured, without the hazard of destruction to the South.

TO BE CONTINUED.