Bedford Gazette.

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Freedom of Thought and Opinion.

lished principles of war.

ng States will follow them.

tween these seceding States by which they may

to, for themselves ? If they shall do so, and

expel the authorities of the United States from

by the civil authorities, assisted by the military

as a posse comitatus, when resisted in executing

udicial process. Who is to issue the judicial

process in a State where there is no judge, no

court, no judicial functionary ? . Who is to per-

orm the duties of marshal in executing the

process where no man will or dare accept

office ? Who are to serve on juries while every

citizen is particeps criminis with the accused ?!

establish a Federal Government, at least de fac-

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BEDFORD, PA., FRIDAY MORNING, JUNE 7, 1861.

Delivered in the U. S. Senate, Jan. 3d, 1861.

Mr Douglas having given a history of the slavery question, continued as follows :

In view of these facts, I feel authorized to reaffirm the proposition with which I commenced my remarks, that, whenever the Federal Government has attempted to control the slavery question in our newly-acquired Territories, alienation of feeling, discord, and sectional strife have ensued; and whenever Congress has refrained from such interference, peace, harmony, and good will have returned. The conclusion I draw from these premises is, that the slavery restion should be banished forever from the Halls of Congress and the arena of Federal pol-itics by an irrepealable constitutional provision. I have deemed this exposition of the origin and progress of the slavery agitation essential to a all comprehension of the difficulties with which we are surrounded, and the remedies for the evils which threaten the disruption of the Re-The immediate causes which have prepublic. ipitated the southern country into revolution, ithough inseparably connected with, and flowng from the slavery agitation, whose history I have portrayed, are to be found in the result of the recent presidential election. I hold that the election of any man, no matter who, by the American people, according to the Constitution, furnishes no cause, no justification, for the dissolution of the Union. But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the southern people have received the result of that election as furushing conclusive evidence that the dominant party of the North, which is soon to take possion of the Federal Government under that election, are determined to invade and destroy their constitutional rights. Believing that their domestic institutions, their hearthstones, and their family altars, are all to be assailed, at least by indirect means, and that the Federal Government is to be used for the inauguration of a line of policy which shall have for its object the ultimate extinction of slavery in all the States, old as well as new, South as well as North, the southern people are prepared to rush wildly, madly, as I think, into revolution, disucion, war, and defy the consequences, whatever they may be, rather than to wait for the development of events, or submit tamely to what they think s a fatal blow impending over them and over all they hold dear on earth. It matters not, so far as we and the peace of the country and the fate of the Union are concerned, whether these apprehensions of the southern people are real. or imaginary, whether they are well founded or wholly without foundation, so long as they believe them and are determined to act upon them. The Senator from Ohio, (Mr. Wade,) whose speech was received with so much favor by his political friends the other day, referred to these serious apprehensions, and acknowledged his belief that the southern people were laboring under the conviction that they were well founded. He was kind enough to add that he did not blame the southern people much for what they were doing under this fatal mis-apprehension; but cast the whole blame upon he northern Democracy ; and referred especialled and falsified the pur ses and policy of the Republican party, and for having made the southern people believe our misrepresentations! He does not blame the southern people for acting on their honest convictions in esorting to revolution to avert an impending but imaginary calamity. No; he does not blame them, because they believe in the existence of the danger; yet he will do no act to undeceive them ; will take no step to relieve their painful apprehensions ; and will furnish no guarantees, no security against the dangers which they believe to exist, and the existence of which he denies; but, on the contrary, he demands unconditional submission, threatens war, and talks about armies, navies, and military force, for the purpose of preserving the Union and enforcing the laws ! I submit whether this mode of treating the question is not calculated to confirm the worst apprehensions of the southern people, and force them into the most extreme measures of resistance I regret that the Senator from Ohio, or any other Senator, should have deemed it consistent with his duty, under present circumstances, to introduce partisan politics, and attempt to manulacture partisan capital out of a question involving the peace and safety of the country .--I repeat what I have said on another occasion, that, if I know myself, my action will be influenced by no partisan considerations, until we shall have rescued the country from the perils which environ it. But since the Senator has attempted to throw the whole responsibility of the present difficulties upon the northern Democracy, and has charged us with misrepresenting and falsifying the purposes and policy of the Republican party, and thereby deceiving the southern people, I feel called upon to repel the charge, and show that it is without a shadow of foundation. No man living would rejoice more than myself in the conviction, it I could only be convinced of the fact, that I have misunderstood, and consequently misrepresented, the policy and designs of the Republican party. Produce the evidence and convince me of my the correction and repairing the injustice than I ever have taken in denouncing what I believed to be an unjust and ruinous policy. With the view of ascertaining whether I have misapprehended or misrepresented the policy and purposes of the Republican party, I pect the house to fall-but I do expect it will will now inquire of the Senator, and yield the foor for answer : whether it is not the policy thing or all the other. Either the opponents of of his party to confine slavery within its present limits by the action of the Federal Govern-

Mr. WADE. Mr. President -----Mr. DOUGLAS. One other question, and have restrained its expansion, and have will give way. will give way.

Mr. WADE. Very well.

opportunity of saying now whether it is not the policy of his party to exert all the powers of the Federal Government under the Constitu-We are now told that the tion, according to their interpretation of the instrument, to restrain and cripple the institution of slavery, with a view to its ultimate extinction in all the States, old as well as new, south as well as north.

Are not these the views and purposes of his party, as proclaimed by their leaders, and understood by the people, in speeches, addresses, timate extinction." sermons, newspapers, and public meetings ?-Now, I will hear his answer.

Mr. WADE. Mr. President, all these questions are most pertinently answered in the speech the Senator is professing to answer. I have nothing to add to it. If he will read my speech, he will find my sentiments upon all

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I did not expect an unequivocal answer. I know too well that the Senator will not deny that each of these interrogatories do express his individual policy and the policy of the Republican party as he understands it. 1 should not have propounded the interrogatories to him if he had not accused me and the northern Democracy of having misrepresented the policy of the Republican party, and with having deceived the southern people by such misrepresentations. The most obnoxious sentiments I ever attributed to the Republican party, and that not in the South, but in northern Illinois and in the strongholds of Abolitionism, was that they intended to exercise the powers of the Federal Government, with a view to the ultimate extinction of slavery in the southern States. I have expressed my belief, and would be glad to be corrected if I am in errror, that it is the policy of that party to exclude slavery from all the Territories we now possess or may acquire, with a view of surrounding the slave States with a cordon of abolition States, and thus confine the institution within such narrow limits that, when the number increases beyond the capacity of the soil to raise food for their subsistence, the institution must end in starvation, colonization, or servile insurrection. I have often exposed the enormities of this policy, and appealed to the people of Illinois know whether this mode of getting rid of the evils of slavery could be justified in the name of civilization, humanity, and Christianity? I have often used these arguments in the strongest abolition portions of the North ; but never be preserved, and the southern States shall rein the South. The truth is, I have always been very mild and gentle upon the Republicans when addressing a southern audience, for it seemed ungenerous to say behind their backs, and where they dare not go to reply to me, those things which I was in the habit of saying to their faces, and in the presence of their leaders, where they were in the majority.

But inasmuch as I do not get a direct answer the northern Democracy, as to the purposes of

never cease until the opponents of slavery

Mr DOUGLAS. I will give the Senator an tinction. Mark the language :

"Either the opponents of slavery will arrest We are now told that the object of the Republican party is to prevent the extension of slavery. What did Mr. Lincoln say? That the opponents of slavery must first prevent the further spread of it. But that is not all .--

What else must they do ? "And place it where the public mind can rest in the belief that it is in the course of ul-

The ultimate extinction of slavery, of which Mr. Lincoln was then speaking, related to the States of this Union. He had reference to the southern States of this confederacy ; for, in the next sentence, he says that the States must all become one thing or all the other-"old as well as new, north as well as south"-showing that he meant that the policy of the Republican par-

ty was to keep up this agitation in the Federal Government until slavery in the States was placed in the process of ultimate extinction.-Now, sir, when the Republican committee have published an edition of Mr. Lincoln's speeches containing sentiments like these, and circulated it as a campaign document, is it surprising that the people of the South should suppose that he was in earnest, and intended to carry out the policy which he had announced ?

I regret the necessity which has made it my dury to reproduce these dangerous and revolu-tionary opinions of the President elect. No consideration could have induced me to have done so but the attempt of his friends to denounce the policy which Mr. Lincoln has boldly advocated, as gross calumnies upon the Republican party, and as base inventions by the northern Democracy to excite rebellion in the southern country. I should like to find one Senator on that side of the Chamber, in the confidence of the President elect, who will have the hardihood to deny that Mr. Lincoln stands pledged by his public speeches, to which he now refers constantly as containing his present opinions, to carry out the policy indicated in rially suffer under the administration of Mr. Lincoln. I repeat what I have said on another occasion, that neither he nor his party will have the power to do any act prejudicial to southern rights and interests, if the Union shall tain a full delegation in both Houses of Congress. With a majority against them in this body and in the House of Representatives they can do no act, except to enforce the laws, without the consent of those to whom the South has confided her interest, and even his appointments for that purpose are subject to our advice and confirmation. Besides, I still indulge the

ly to his colleague and myself, for having misupon him he will be fully impressed with the

SPEECH OF HON. S. A. DOUGLAS, possess, or may hereafter acquire? Whether that this Union cannot permanently endure di-that this Union cannot permanently endure di-condition of Great Britain and the American Government. It must be used in all govern-their master the fugitive slaves that may escape? Vide d into free and slave states; that these colonies for seven years after the declaration of ments, no matter what their form or what their There you are told by the President elect by the laws of war. Such was the relative doctrine that coercion is not to be used in a free sition to amend the Constitution. Inasmuch.

But coercion must always be used in the ment de facto, and an army and navy to defend mode prescribed in the Constitution and laws. points where you do not intend to act aggres-it. Great Britain, regarding the complaints of I hold that the Federal Government is; and sively? You offer to amend the Constitution, the colonies unfounded, refused to yield to their ought to be, clothed with the power and duty fied that it will be in the course of ultimate ex-demands, and proceeded to reduce them to obe-tinction. Mark the language : demands, and proceeded to reduce them to obe-dience; not by the enforcement of laws, but ence to all laws made in obedience to the Con-terfere with Slavery in the States. by military force, armies and navies, according stitution. But the proposition to subvert the to the rules and laws of war. Captives taken de facto government of South Carolina, and in battle with arms in their hands, fighting to reduce the people of that State into subjection safety, why not relieve their apprehensions, by against Great Britain, were not executed as to our Federal authority, no longer involves the inserting in your own proposed amendment to traitars, but held as prisoners of war, and ex- question of enforcing the laws in a country the Constitution, such further provisions as will changed according to the usages of civilized within our possession, but it does involve the in like manner, render it impossible for you to nations. The laws of nations, the principles of question whether we will make war on a State humanity, of civilization, and Christianity, de- which has withdrawn her allegiance and exmanded that the Government de facto should pelled our authorities, with a view of subjecting be true that you have no such purpose of doing, be acknowledged and treated as such. While her to our possession for the purpose of enforc- the purpose of removing the apprehension. the right to prosecute war for the purpose of ing our laws within her limits.

We are bound, by the usages of nations, by reducing the revolted provinces to obedience still remained, yet it was a military remedy, and the laws of civilization, by the uniform praccould only be exercised according to the estab- tice of our own Government, to acknowledge gress to interfere with slavery in the States the existence of a government de facto so long It is said that, after one of the earliest en- as it maintains its undivided authority. When gagements, the British general threatened to Louis Phillippe fled from the throne of France, execute as trastors all the prisoners he had taken and Lamartine suddenly one morning found in battle; and that General Washington replied that he, too, had taken some prisoners, and would shoot two for one until the British gen-ican minister recognized the Government de Why not intert a similar provision in respect to eral should respect the laws of war and treat facto. Texas was a Government de facto, not the slave trade between the slaveholding States? is prisoners accordingly. May divine Provi- recognized by Mexico, when we annexed her; ence, in His infinite wisdom and mercy, save and Mexico was a Government de facto, not recur country from the humiliation and calami- ognized by Spain, when Texas revolted. The ies which now seem almost inevitable. South laws of nations recognize Governments de facto Carolina has already declared her independence where they exercise and maintain undivided are groundless, is it not a duty you owe to God of the United States ; has expelled the Federal sway, leaving the question of their authority de and your country to relieve their anxiety and authorities from her limits, and established a jure to be determined by the people interested and remove all causes of discontent? Is there Government de facto, with a military force to in the Government. Now, as a man who loves not quite as much reason for relieving their sustain it. The revolution is complete, there the Union and desires to see it maintained forbeing no man within her limits who denies the lever, and to see the laws enforced, and rebelauthority of her government or acknowledges liou put down, and insurrection suppressed, allegiance to that of the United States. There and order maintained, I desire to know of my is every reason to believe that seven other Union-loving friends on the other side of the States will soon follow her example ; and much Chamber how they intend to enforce the laws in the seceding States, except by making war, conquering them first, and administering the ground to apprehend that the other slavehold-How are we going to prevent an alliance belaws in them afterwards.

In my opinion we have reached a point where disunion is inevitable, unless some compromise, founded upon mutual concessions, can be made. with slavery and the slave trade everywhere I prefer compromise to war. I prefer concestheir limits, as South Carolina has done, and others are about to do, so that there shall be no avow myself in favor of compromise, I do not Mr. Lincoln, with the view of its "ultimate ex uman being within their limits who acknowl- mean that one side should give up all that Tes allegianoc to the United Orates, now are it has claimed, nor that the other side should we going to enforce the laws? Armies and na-vies can make war, but cannot enforce laws in this country. The laws can be enforced only but I simply say that I will meet every man Nor do I ask any man to come to my standard; but I simply say that I will meet every man half way who is willing to preserve the peace of the country, and save the Union from dimension who is willing of preserve the preserve the preserve the country and save the Union from disruption upon principles of compromise and none could have been contrived better calcuconcession.

In my judgment, no system of compromise can be effectual and permanent which does not rejecting all others which are infinitely more banish the slavery question from the Halls of important to the safety and domestic tranquill-Congress and the arena of Federal politics, by irrepealable constitutional provision. We have In my opinion, we have How are you going to comply with the Con-stitution in respect to a jury trial, where there are no men qualified to serve on the jury ? I small business of crimination and recrimination ed by constitutional amendments, or civil war and confirmation. Besides, I still indulge the agree that the laws should be enforced. I hold as to who is responsible for not having lived up and the disruption of the Union are inevitable. high responsibilities which will soon devolve that our Government is clothed with the power to them in good faith, and for having broken My friend from Oregon, (Mr. BAKER,) who has

therefore, as you are willing to amend the in strument, and to entertain propositions of ad justment, why not go further, and relieve the

apprehensions of the southern people on all by declaring that no future amendments shall be made which shall empower Congress to in-

Now, if you do not intend to do any other act prejudicial to their constitutional rights and and which you have no purpose of doing, if it the purpose of removing the apprehensions of the southern people, and for no other purpose, you propose to amend the Constitution, so as to

render it impossible, in all future time, for Conwhere it may exist under the laws thereof .-Why not insert a similar amendment in respect to slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the navy-yards, forts, arsenals, and other places The Southern people have more serious apprehensions on these points than they have of your direct interference with slavery in the States.

It their apprehensions on these several points apprehensions upon these points, in regard to which they are much more sensitive, as in respect to your direct interference in the States, where they know and you acknowledge, that you have no power to interfere as the Consti-tution now stands? The fact that you propose to give the assurance on the one point and peremptorily refuse to give it on the others, seems

to authorize the presumption that you do in-tend to use the powers of the General Government for the purpose of direct interference else, with the view to its indirect effects upon tinction in all the States, old as well as new, north as well as south,"

If you had exhausted your ingenuity in delated to accomplish the object than the offering of that one amendment to the Constitution, and

In my opinion, we have now reached a

and dity of using all the means necessary to the enforcement of the laws, according to the to placed beyond the reach of party politics will fail in his avowed purpose to "evade" the question. He claims to be liberal and conservliberal of any gentleman on that side of the Chamber, always excepting the noble and patriotic speech of the Senator from Connecticut, (Mr. Dixon;) and the utmost extent to which peace restored, the rights of the States main- the Senator from Oregon would consent to tained, and the Union rendered secure. One go, was to devise a scheme by which the real question at issue could be evaded.

that party to use the power of the ultimate extinction of slavery in the States, 1 will turn to the record of their President elect, and see what he says on that subject. The Republicans have gone to the trouble to collect and publish in pamphlet form, under the sanction of Mr. Lincoln, the debates which took place between him and myself in the senatorial canvass of 1858 .-It may not be improper here to remark that this publication is unfair towards me, for the reason that Mr. Lincoln personally revised and corrected his own speeches, without giving me an opportunity to correct the numerous errors in mine. Inasmuch as the publication is made, under the sanction of Mr. Lincoln himself, accompanied by a letter from him that he has revised the speeches by verbal corrections, and thereby approved them, it becomes important to show what his views are, since he is in the daily habit of referring to those speeches for his

present opinions. Mr. Lincoln was nominated for United States Senator by a Republican State convention at Springfield, in the year 1858. Anticipating the nomination, he had carefully prepared a written speech, which he delivered on the occasion, and which, by order of the convention, was published among the proceedings as containing the platform of principles upon which the canvass was to be conducted. More importance is due to this speech than to those delivered under the excitement of debate in joint discussions by the exigencies of the contest .-The first few paragraphs which I will now read, may be taken as a fair statement of his opinion and feelings upon the slavery question. Mr. Lincoln said :

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention, if we could first know where we are and whither we are tending we could better judge what to do and how to do it. We are now far into the fitth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly error, and I will take more pleasure in making augmented. It is my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. A house divided against itself cannot stand I believel this Government cannot endure

permanently balf slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved-I do not excease to be divided. It will become all one slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and provinces, when rebellion had ripened into sucplace it where the public mind shall rest in the and prohibit slavery by act of Congress, not-withstanding the decision of the Supreme Court is shall alike become lawful in all the States, to the contrary, in all the Territories we now old as well as new, North as well as South."

necessity of sinking the politician in the Statesman, the partisan in the patriot, and regard the obligations which he owes to his country as paramount to those of his party. In view of these considerations, I had incluged the fond hope that the people of the southern States would have been content to remain in the Union and defend their rights under the Constitution, instead of rushing madly into revolution and disunion, as a retuge from apprehended dangers which may not exist.

But this apprehension has become wide-spread and deep-scated in the southern people. It has taken possession of the southern mind, sunk deep in the southern heart, and filled them with the conviction that their firesides, their family altars, and their domestic institutions, are to be ruthlessly assailed through the machinery of the Federal Government. The Senator from Ohio says he does not blame you, Southern

Senators, nor the southern people for believing these things ; and yet, instead of doing those acts which will relieve your apprehensions, and render it impossible that your rights should be invaded by Federal power under any Administration, he threatens you with war, armies, military force, under pretext of enforcing the laws and preserving the Union. We are told that the authority of the Government must be vindicated ; that the Union must be preserved ; that rebellion must be put down; that insurrections must be suppressed, and the laws must be enforced. I agree to all this. I am in favor of doing all these things according to the Constitution and laws. No man will go further than

I to maintain the just authority of the Government, to preserve the Union, to put down rebellion, to suppress insurrection, and to enforce the laws. I would use all the powers conferred by the Constitution for this purpose. But, in the performance of these important and delicate duties, it must be borne in mind that those powers only must be used, and such measures creion. We are told that inasmuch as our Govemployed, as are authorized by the Constitution and laws. Things should be called by the right names; and facts, whose existence can no longer be denied, should be acknowledged. Insurrections and rebellions, although unlaw-

ful and criminal, frequently become successful revolutions. The strongest Governments and proudest monarchs on earth have often been re- ercion, and you dissolve your Government. If duced to the humiliating necessity of recognizing the existence of Governments de facto, although not de jure, in their revolted States and

and with what fidelity, the President has per- port it. formed that duty. His conduct and duty, in omission, while the rebellion was in its incipient stages, and when confined to a few individuals, present a very different question from that of them - one to which I can cordially assert which we are now discussing-after the revo- has been presented by the venerable Senator

local and national.

the right and duty of the Federal Government to use all legitimate means to enforce the laws, put down rebellion, and suppress insurrection, will not meditate war, nor tolerate the idea

shall have deserted the patriot's heart. Then, and not till then, will I consider and determine what course my duty to my country may require me to pursue in such an emergency. AM FOR PEACE TO SAVE THE UNION. Nor do I sympathize at all in the apprehen-

ions and misgivings I hear expressed about coernment is founded upon the will of the people, or the consent of the governed therefore coercion is incompatible with republicanism .--Sir, the word government means coercion .--There can be no Government without coercion. Coercion is the vital principle upon which all Governments rest. Withdraw the right of coevery man would perform his duty and respect the rights of his neighbors voluntarily, there

would be no necessity for any Government on to consist in the fact that some men will not do and that you would make no amendment to it. obedience to the laws remains; but the exer-cise of that right is war, and must be governed form it. Hence I do not subscribe at all to this brought into the committee of thirteen a propo-

Constitution and laws. The President is sworn and partisan policy, by being made irrevocable to the faithful performance of this duty. I do in the Constitution itself, so that every man that ative, and I must confess, that he seems the most not propose to inquire, at this time, how far, holds office will be bound by his oath to sup-

There are several modes in which this irritathis regard, including acts of commission and ting question may be withdrawn from Congress,

lution has become complete, and the Federal from, Kentucky (Mr. CRITTENDEN.) The jourauthorities have been expelled, and the Govern- nal of the committee of thirteen shows that I make no adjustment, entertain no propositions, ment de facto put into practical operation, and voted for it in committee. I am prepared to and listen to no compromise of the matters in in the unrestrained and unresisted exercise of vote for it again. I shall not occupy time now contoversy.

make a partition between the two sections, in- disposed to treat the matter as a party question, Are we prepared for war? I do not mean stead of referring the question to the people, to be determined in caucus with reference to that kind of preparation which consists of ar-mies and navies, and supplies and munitions of not. The country has no very great interest in rather than upon the peace of the country and war; but are we prepared IN OUR HEARTS for my consistency. The preservation of the U- the safety of the Union. I invoke their delibwar with our own brethren and kindred? I nion, the integrity of this Republic, is of more erate judgment whither it is not a dangerous confess I am not. While I affirm that the Con- importance than party platforms or individual experiment, for any political party to demonstitution 13, and was intended to be, a bond of records. Hence I have no hesitation in saving perpetual Union; while 1 can do no act and utter no word that will acknowledge or coun-tenance the right of secession; while I affirm if I had never given a vote, or uttered a word, in a majority of the States must be maintained or had an opinion upon the subject.

re-establishment and extension of the Missouri in the fact when they assert that this question until every effort at peaceful adjustment shall compromise line? You have sung peans enough was decided by the American people in the have been exhausted, and the last ray of hope- in its preise, and uttered imprecations and cur- late election. The American people have not ses enough on my head for its repeal, one would decided that they preferred the disruption of think, to justify you now in claiming a triumph by its re-establishment. If you are willing to IN give up your party feelings-to sink the parti-MY OPINION WAR IS DISUNION, CER- san in the patriot-and help me to re-establish the people are with you on this issue, let the TAIN, INEVITABLE, IRREVOCABLE. I and extend that line, as a perpetual bond of question be submitted to the people on the propeace between the North and the South, I will promise you never to remind you in the future of your denunciations of the Missouri compromise so long as I was supporting it, and of your praises of the same measure when we removed it from the statute-book, after you had caused it to be abandoned, by rendering it impossible for us to carry it out. I seek no partisan advantage ; 1 desire no personal triumph. I am willing to let by-gones be by-gones with every man who, in this exigency, will show by his vote that he loves his country more than his party.

At first, I thought your reason for declining to adjust this question amicably, was that the Constitution, as it stands, was good enough, have been expelled from their limits. In such right unless coerced to do so. The object of all That position has already been waived. The

I regret the determination, to which I apprehend the Republican Senators have come, to

all the powers and functions of Government, in discussing the question whether my vote the I fear, from all the indications, that they are strate to the American people that the unity of at all hazards, no matter what the consequence

Why cannot you Republicans accede to the to the country. I insist that they are mistaken this Government, and civil war with all its horrors and miseries, to surrendering one iota of the Chicago platform. If you believe that position offered by the Senator from Kentucky or mine, or any other fair compromise, and I will venture the prediction that your own people will ratify the proposed amendments to the Constitution, in order to take this slavery agitation out of Congress, and restore peace to the country, and insure the perpetuity of the Union.

Why not give the people a chance ? It is an important crisis. There is now a different issue presented from that in the presidential election. I have no doubt that the people of Massachusetts, by an overwhelming marjority are in favor of a prohibition of slavery in the territories by an act of Congress. An overwhelming majority of the same people were in favor of the instant prohibition of the African slave trade, on moral and religious grounds, when the Constitution was made. When they found that the Constitution could not be adopted and the Union preserved, without surrendering their