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### The Republican Party Vindicated—The Demands of the South Explained.

SPEECH OF HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, OF ILLINOIS, At the Cooper Institute, N. Y. City, FEBRUARY, 1860.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.—The facts with which I shall deal this evening are mainly old and familiar; nor is there anything new in the general use I shall make of them. If there shall be any novelty, it will be in the mode of presenting the facts and the inferences and observations following that presentation. In his speech, last autumn, at Columbus, Ohio, as reported in the New York Times, Senator Douglas said:—

“Our fathers, when they framed the government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now.”

I fully endorse this, and I adopt it as a text for this discourse. (Applause.) I so adopt it because it furnishes a precise and an agreed starting point for a discussion between the Republicans and that wing of the Democracy headed by Senator Douglas. It simply leaves the inquiry—What was the understanding those fathers had of the question mentioned? What is the frame of government under which we live? The answer must be—the Constitution of the United States. That constitution consists of the original, framed in 1787, (and under which the present government first went into operation,) and twelve subsequently framed amendments, the first ten of which were framed in 1789.

THE FATHERS OF THE CONSTITUTION. Who were our fathers that framed the Constitution? I suppose the “thirty-nine” who signed the original instrument may be fairly called our fathers who framed that part of the present government. It is almost exactly true to say they framed it, and it is altogether true to say they fairly represented the opinion and sentiment of the whole nation at that time.—Their names being familiar to nearly all, and accessible to quite all, need not now be repeated. I take these “thirty-nine” for the present, as being “our fathers who framed the government under which we live.” What is the question which, according to the text, those fathers understood as well and even better than we do now? It is this:—“Does the proper division of local from federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, forbid our Federal Government to control as to slavery in our Federal Territories?”

DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN. Upon this Douglas held the affirmative, and Republicans the negative. The affirmative and denial form an issue; and this issue, this question, is precisely what the text declares our fathers understood better than we. (Cheers.) Let us now inquire whether the “thirty-nine,” or any of them ever acted upon this question, and if they did, how they acted upon it—how they expressed that better understanding. In 1784, three years before the Constitution, the United States then owning the Northwestern Territory, and no other, the Congress of the confederation had before them the question of prohibiting slavery in that Territory; and four of the “thirty-nine” who afterwards framed the Constitution were in that Congress, and voted on that question. Of these Roger Sherman, Thomas Mifflin and Hugh Williamson voted for the prohibition, thus showing that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority, nor anything else, properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal Territory.

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787. This time the prohibition became a law, being a part of what is now well known as the Ordinance of 1787. The question of Federal control of slavery in the Territories seems not to have been directly before the Convention which framed the original Constitution; and hence it is not recorded that the “thirty-nine,” or any of them, while engaged on that instrument, expressed any opinion on that precise question. In 1789, by the first Congress which sat under the Constitution, an act was passed to enforce the ordinance of 1787 including the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory. The bill for this act was reported by one of the “thirty-nine,” THOMAS FITZSIMMONS, then a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania. It went through all its stages finally with a word of opposition, and finally passed both branches without yeas and nays, which is equivalent to a unanimous passage. (Cheers.) In this Congress there were sixteen of the “thirty-nine” fathers who framed the original Constitution.

They were:— John Langdon, Abraham Baldwin, Nicholas Gilman, Rufus King, Wm. S. Johnson, Wm. Patterson, Roger Sherman, Richard Bassett, Robert Morris, George Read,

George Clymer, Pierce Butler, Thos. Fitzsimmons, Daniel Carroll, William Few, James Madison.

This shows that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority nor anything in the Constitution, properly forbade Congress to prohibit slavery in the Federal Territory, else both their fidelity to correct principle, and their oath to support the Constitution would have constrained them to oppose the prohibition.

OPINION OF GEORGE WASHINGTON. Again, George Washington, another of the “thirty-nine,” was then President of the U. States, and as such, approved and signed the bill, thus completing its validity as a law, and thus showing that in his understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal Territory. (Loud applause.) No great while after the adoption of the original Constitution, North Carolina ceded to the Federal Government the country now constituting the State of Tennessee; and, a few years later, Georgia ceded that which now constitutes the States of Mississippi and Alabama. In both cases of cession, it was made a condition by the ceding States that the Federal Government should not prohibit slavery in the ceded country. Under these circumstances, Congress, on taking charge of those countries, did not absolutely prohibit slavery within them.

CONGRESS DID INTERFERE. But they did interfere with it—take control of it—even there, to a certain extent. In 1798 Congress organized the Territory of Mississippi. In the act of organization they prohibited the bringing of slaves into the Territory, from any place without the United States, by fine, and giving freedom to slaves so brought. This act passed both branches of Congress without yeas and nays. In that Congress were three of the “thirty-nine” who framed the original Constitution. They were John Langdon, Geo. Read and Abraham Baldwin. They all probably, voted for it. Certainly they would have placed their opposition to it upon record if, in their understanding, any line dividing local and federal authority, or anything in the Constitution properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal Territory. (Applause.)

In 1803 the Federal Government purchased the Louisiana country. Our former Territorial acquisitions came from certain of our own States, but this Louisiana country was acquired from a foreign nation. In 1804 Congress gave a Territorial organization to that part of it which now constitutes the State of Louisiana. New Orleans, lying within that part, was an old and comparatively large city. There were other considerable towns and settlements, and slavery was extensively and thoroughly intermingled with the people. Congress did not, in the Territorial act, prohibit slavery; but they did interfere with it—in a more marked and extensive way than they did in the case of Mississippi.

THE LOUISIANA PROVISION. The substance of the provision therein made in relation to slaves was—

First, That no slave should be imported into the Territory from foreign parts.

Second, That no slave should be carried into it who had been imported into the States since the first day of May, 1798.

Third, That no slave should be carried into it, except by the owner, and for his own use as a settler; the penalty in all the cases being a fine upon the violator of the law and freedom to the slave. (Prolonged cheers.) This act also was passed without yeas or nays. In the Congress which passed it, there were two of the “thirty-nine.” They were Abraham Baldwin and Jonathan Dayton. As stated in the case of Mississippi, it is probable they both voted for it. They would not have allowed it to pass without recording their opposition to it in their understanding, it violated either the line properly dividing local from federal authority or any provision of the Constitution. Many votes were taken, by yeas and nays, in both branches of Congress, upon the various phases of the general question.—Two of the “thirty-nine”—Rufus King and Charles Pinckney—were members of that Congress. Mr. King steadily voted for slavery prohibition, and Mr. Pinckney against slavery prohibition, and against all compromises.—(Cheers.) By this Mr. King showed that, in his understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority, nor anything else, properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal Territory.

THE FATHERS ON RECORD. The cases I have mentioned are the only acts of the “thirty-nine,” or any of them, upon the direct issue, which I have been able to discover. To enumerate the persons who thus acted, as being four in 1784, three in 1787, seventeen in 1789, three in 1798, two in 1804, and two in 1819—there would be thirty-one of them. But this would be counting John Langdon, Roger Sherman, William Few, Rufus King and Geo. Read, each twice, and Abraham Baldwin four times. (Applause.) He was a Georgian, too. [Renewed applause and laughter.] The true number of those of the “thirty-nine” whom I have shown to have acted upon the question, which, by the text they understood better than we, is twenty-three, leaving sixteen not to have acted upon it in any way. Here, then, we have twenty-three of our “thirty-nine” fathers who framed the government under which we live, who have, upon their official responsibility and their corporal oaths, acted upon the very question which the text affirms they “understood just as well, and even better than we do now,” and twenty-one of them—a clear majority of the whole “thirty-nine”—so acting

upon it as to make them guilty of gross political inpropriety and wilful perjury, if, in their understanding, any proper division between local and federal authority, or anything in the Constitution they had made themselves and sworn to support, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. [Cheers.] Thus the twenty-one acted; and actions speak louder than words, so actions under such responsibility speak still louder. Two of the twenty-three voted against the Congressional prohibition of slavery in the Federal Territories, in the instances in which they acted upon the question. But for what reason they so voted is not known. They may have done so because they thought a proper division of local from Federal authority, or some provision or principle of the Constitution, stood in the way; or they may, without any such question, have voted against the prohibition, on what appeared to them to be sufficient grounds of expediency.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE OATH TO SUPPORT THE CONSTITUTION.

No one who has sworn to support the Constitution can conscientiously vote for what he understands to be an unconstitutional measure, however expedient he may think it; but one may and ought to vote against a measure which he deems constitutional, if, at the same time, he deems it inexpedient. It, therefore, would be unsafe to set down even the two who voted against the prohibition, as having done so because, in their understanding, and proper division of local from Federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal Territory. [Laughter and prolonged applause.] The remaining sixteen of the “thirty-nine,” so far as I have discovered, have left no record of their understanding upon the direct question of federal control of slavery in the Federal Territories.

But there is much reason to believe that their understanding upon that question would have appeared different from that of their twenty-three compeers, had it been manifested at all. For the purpose of adhering rigidly to the text, I have purposely omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested, by any person, however distinguished, other than the thirty-nine fathers who framed the original Constitution; and, for the same reason, I have also omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested by any of the “thirty-nine” even, on any other phase of the general question of slavery. If we should look into their acts and declarations on those other phases, as the foreign slave trade, and the morality and policy, of slavery generally, it would appear to us that on the direct question of federal control of slavery in the Federal Territories, the sixteen, if they had acted at all, would probably have acted just as the twenty-three did.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEN OF THE LAST CENTURY.

Among that sixteen were several of the most noted anti-slavery men of those times—as Dr. Franklin, (cheers,) Alexander Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris—while there was not one now known to have been otherwise, unless it may be John Rutledge, of South Carolina. (Applause.) The sum of the whole is, that of our “thirty-nine” fathers who framed the original Constitution, twenty-one—a clear majority of the whole—certainly understood that no proper division of local from federal authority, nor any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control slavery in the Federal Territories, while all the rest, probably, had the same understanding. Such, unquestionably, was the understanding of our fathers who framed the original Constitution; and the text affirms that they understood the question better than we. (Laughter and cheers.)

But, so far I have been considering the understanding of the question manifested by the framers of the original constitution. In and by the original instrument a mode was provided for amending it; and, as I have already stated, the present frame of government under which we live consists of that original, and twelve amendatory articles framed and adopted since. Those who now insist that federal control of slavery in Federal Territories violates the Constitution, point us to the provisions which they suppose it thus violates; and, as I understand, they all fix upon provisions in these amendatory articles, and not in the original instrument.

THE SUPREME COURT AND THE DRED SCOTT CASE.

The Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case, plant themselves upon the fifth amendment, which provides that “no person shall be deprived of property without due process of law;” while Senator Douglas and his peculiar adherents plant themselves upon the tenth amendment, providing that “the powers not granted by the Constitution, are reserved to the States respectively, and to the people.” Now, it so happens that these amendments were framed by the first Congress which sat under the Constitution—the identical Congress which passed the act already mentioned, enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory. [Applause.] Not only was it the same Congress, but they were the identical, same individual men who, at the same session, at the same time within the session, had under consideration, and in progress toward maturity, these Constitutional amendments, and this act prohibiting slavery in all the Territory the nation then owned.

The constitutional amendments were introduced before and passed after the act of enforcing the ordinance of '87; so that during the whole pendency of the act to enforce the ordinance the constitutional amendments were also pending. That Congress, consisting in all of seventy-six members, including sixteen of the framers of the original Constitution, as before stated, were pre-eminently our fathers who framed that part of the government under which we live, which is now claimed as forbidding the Federal Government to control slavery

in the Federal Territories. Is it not a little presumptuous in any one at this day to affirm that the two things which that Congress deliberately framed, and carried to maturity at the same time, are absolutely inconsistent with each other?

THE ABSURDITY OF CHARGING INCONSISTENCY UPON THE FATHERS.

And does not such affirmation become impudently absurd when coupled with the other affirmation from the same mouth, that those who did the two things alleged to be inconsistent understood whether they really were inconsistent better than we—better than he who affirms that they are inconsistent? (Applause and great merriment.) It is surely safe to assume that the “thirty-nine” framers of the original Constitution, and the seventy-six members thereto, taken altogether, do certainly include those who may be fairly called “our fathers who framed the government under which we live.” And so assuming, I defy any man to show that any one of them ever in his whole life declared that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. (Loud applause.)

I go a step further. I defy any one to show that any living man in the whole world ever did, prior to the beginning of the present century, (and I might almost say prior to the beginning of the last half of the present century,) declare that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. To those who so now declare I give, not only “our fathers who framed the Government under which we live,” but with them all other living men within the century in which it was framed among them to search, and they shall not be able to find the evidence of a single man agreeing with them. Now and here let me guard a little against being misunderstood.

MODERN DOCTRINES FALSE AND DECEPTIVE.

I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so would be to discard all the lights of current experience—to reject all progress—all improvements. What I do say is, that if we would apply the opinions and policy of our fathers, to any case, we should do so upon evidence so conclusive, and argument so clear, that even their great authority, fairly considered and weighed, cannot stand; and most surely not in a case whereof we ourselves declare they understood the question better than we. (Laughter.) If any man, at this day, sincerely believes that a proper division of local from federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories, he is right to say so, and to enforce his position by all truthful evidence and fair argument which he can. But he has no right to mislead others, who have less access to history and less leisure to study it, into the false belief “that our fathers, who framed the government under which we live,” were of the same opinion—thus substituting falsehood and deception for truthful evidence and fair argument. (Applause.) If any man at this day sincerely believes “our fathers, who framed the government under which we live,” used and applied principles, in other cases, which ought to have led them to understand that a proper division of local from federal authority, or some part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories, he is right to say so. But he should, at the same time, have the responsibility of declaring that, in his opinion, he understands their principles better than they did themselves—(great laughter)—and especially should he not shrink that responsibility by asserting that they “understood the question just as well, and even better than we do now.” (Applause.)

WHAT REPUBLICANS ASK AND DESIRE.

But enough. Let all who believe that our “fathers who framed the government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better than we do now,” speak as they spoke and act as they acted upon it. This is all Republicans ask—all Republicans desire in relation to slavery. As those fathers marked it, so let it be again marked, as an evil not to be extended, but to be tolerated, and protected only because of and so far as its actual presence among us makes that toleration and protection a necessity. (Loud applause.) Let all the guarantees those fathers gave it be, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly maintained. For this Republicans contend, and with this, so far as I know or believe, they will be content. [Applause.]

And now, if they would listen—as I suppose they will not—I would address a few words to the Southern people. [Laughter.] I would say to them: You consider yourselves a reasonable and a just people, and I consider that in the general qualities of reason and justice you are not inferior to any other people; still, when you speak of us Republicans, you do so only to denounce us as reptiles, or, at best, as no better than outlaws. You will grant a hearing to pirates or murderers, but nothing like it to “Black Republicans.” [Laughter.]

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY NOT SECTIONAL.

In all your contentions with one another, each of you deems an unconditional condemnation of “Black Republicanism” as the first thing to be attended to. [Laughter.] Indeed such condemnation of us seems to be an indispensable prerequisite—license, so to speak—among you to be admitted or permitted to speak at all. Now, can you or not be prevailed upon to pause and to consider whether this is quite just to us, or even to yourselves? Bring forward your charges and specifications, and then be patient long enough to hear us deny or justify. You say we are sectional.—

We deny it. [Loud applause.] That makes an issue, and the burden of proof is upon you. [Laughter and applause.] You produce your proof, and what is it? Why, that our party has no existence in your section—gets no votes in your section. The fact is substantially true; but does it prove the issue? It does, then, in case we should, without change of principle, begin to get votes in your section, we should thereby cease to be sectional.— [Great merriment.] You cannot escape this conclusion; and yet, are you willing to abide by it? If you are, you will probably soon find that we have ceased to be sectional, for we shall get votes in your section this very year. [Loud cheers.] You will then begin to discover, as the truth plainly is, that your proof does not touch the issue. The fact that we get no votes in your section is a fact of your making and not ours. And if there be fault in that fact, that fault is primarily yours, and remains until you show that we repel you by some wrong principle or practice. If we do repel you by any wrong principle the fault is ours, but this brings you to where you ought to have started—to a discussion of the right or wrong of our principle. [Loud applause.]

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

If our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section for the benefit of ours, or for any other object, then our principle, and we with it, are sectional, and are justly opposed and denounced as such. Meet us, then, on the question of whether our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section; and so meet it as if it were possible that something may be said on our side. [Laughter.] Do you accept the challenge? No. Then do you really believe that the principle which our fathers, who framed the government under which we live, thought so clearly right as to adopt it, and endorse it again and again, upon their official oaths, is in fact, so clearly wrong as to demand your condemnation without a moment's consideration. [Applause.]

Some of you delight to flaunt in our faces the warning against sectional parties given by Washington in his Farewell Address. Less than eight years before Washington gave that warning, he had, as President of the United States, approved and signed an act of Congress, enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory, which act embodied the policy of the Government upon that subject, upon that subject, up to and at the very moment he penned that warning; and about one year after he penned it he wrote to Lafayette that he considered that prohibition a wise measure, expressing in the same connection his hope that we should some time have a confederacy of Free States. [Applause.] Bearing this in mind, and seeing that sectionalism has since arisen upon this same subject, is that warning a weapon in your hands against us, or in our hands against you? Could Washington himself speak, would he cast the blame of that sectionalism upon us, who sustain his policy, or upon you who repudiate it? [Applause.] We respect that warning of Washington, and we commend it to you together with his example pointing to the right application of it. [Applause.] But you say you are conservative—eminently conservative—while we are revolutionary, destructive, or something of the sort.

POLITICAL CONSERVATISM DEFINED.

What is conservatism? Is it not adherence to the old and tried, against the new and untried? We stick to, contend for, the identical old policy on the point in controversy which was adopted by our fathers who framed the government under which we live; while you, with one accord reject, and scout, and spit upon the old policy and insist upon substituting something new. True, you disagree among yourselves as to what that substitute shall be. You have considerable variety of new propositions and plans, but you are unanimous in rejecting and denouncing the old policy of the fathers. Some of you are for reviving the foreign slave trade, some for a Congressional slave code for the Territories, some for Congress forbidding the Territories to prohibit slavery within their limits; some for maintaining slavery in the Territories through the Judiciary; some for the “one-man would enslave another, no third man should object, fantastically called “popular sovereignty.”—[renewed laughter and applause]—but never a man among you in favor of federal prohibition of slavery in Federal Territories, according to the practice of our fathers who framed the government under which we live.

Not one of your various plans can show a precedent or an advocate in the century within which our government originated. Consider, then, whether your claim of conservatism for yourselves, and your charge of destructiveness against us, are based on the most clear and stable foundations. Again you say we have made the slavery question more prominent than it formerly was. We deny it. We admit that it is more prominent, but we deny that we made it so. It was not us, but you, who discarded the old policy of the fathers.—We resisted, and still resist, your innovation—your want of conservatism; and thence comes the greater prominence of the question. Would you have that question reduced to its former proportions? Go back to that old policy. What has been will be again under the same conditions. If you would have the peace of the old times, readopt the precepts and policy of the old times. [Applause.]

JOHN BROWN AND HARPER'S FERRY.

You charge that we stir up insurrections among your slaves. We deny it; and where is your proof? Harper's Ferry. [Great laughter.] John Brown. [Renewed laughter.] John Brown was no Republican, and you have failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise. [Loud applause.] If any member of our party is guilty in that matter, you know it or you do not know it. If you do know it, you are inexcusable to not designate the man and prove

the fact. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable to assert it, and especially to persist in the assertion after you have tried and failed to make the proof. [Great applause.] You need not be told that persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true, is simply a malicious slander. [Applause.] Some of you generously admit that no Republican designedly aided or encouraged the Harper's Ferry affair; but still insist that our doctrines and declarations necessarily lead to such results. We know we hold no doctrines and make no declarations which were not held to and made by our fathers who framed the government under which we live.— [Applause.] You never dealt fairly by us in relation to this affair.

EFFECTS OF THE INVASION ON LATE ELECTIONS.

When it occurred, some important State elections were near at hand, and you were in evident grief with the belief that, by charging the blame upon us you could get an advantage of us in those elections. The elections came, and your expectations were not quite fulfilled.— [Laughter.] You did not sweep New York, and New Jersey, and Wisconsin, and Minnesota, precisely like fire sweeps over the prairie in high wind. [Laughter.] You are still drumming at this idea. Go on with it. If you think you can, by slandering a woman, make her vote for you, by vilifying a man make him vote with you, go on and try it. [Boisterous laughter and prolonged applause.] Every Republican man knew that, as to himself, at least, your charge was a slander, and he was not much inclined by it to cast his vote in your favor.

Republican doctrines and declarations are accompanied with a continual protest against any interference whatever with your slaves, or with you about your slaves. Sorely this does not encourage them to revolt. True, we do, in common with our fathers, who framed the government under which we live, declare our belief that slavery is very wrong.—[applause]—but the slaves do not hear us declare even this; for anything we say or do, the slaves would scarcely know there is a Republican party. I believe they would not, in fact, generally know it, but for your misrepresentations of us, in their hearing. In your political contests among yourselves, each faction charged the other with sympathy for the Black Republicans; and then to give point to the charge, define Black Republicanism to simply be insurrection, blood and thunder among the slaves. [Boisterous laughter and applause.]

SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.

Slave insurrections are no more common than they were before the Republican party was organized. What induced the Southampton insurrection, twenty years ago, in which at least three times as many lives were lost as at Harper's Ferry? You can scarcely stretch your very elastic fancy to the “conclusion that Southampton was got up by Black Republicanism. [Laughter.]—In the present state of things in the United States, I do not think a general or even a very extensive slave insurrection, is possible. The indispensable concert of action cannot be attained. The slaves have no means of rapid communication; nor can incendiary free men, black or white, supply it. The explosive materials are everywhere in parcels, but there neither are, nor can be supplied, the indispensable connecting trains.

Much is said by Southern people about the affection of slaves for their masters and mistresses, and a part of it, at least, is true. A plot for an uprising could scarcely be devised and communicated to twenty individuals before some one of them, to save the life of a favorite master or mistress, would divulge it. This is the rule; and the slave revolution in Hayti was not an exception to it, but a case occurring under peculiar circumstances. The gun powder plot of British history, though not connected with slaves, was more in point. In this case only about twenty were admitted to the secret, and yet one of them, in his anxiety to save a friend, betrayed the plot to that friend and by consequence averted the calamity. Occasional poisonings from the kitchen, and open or stealthy assassinations in the field, and local revolts extending to a score or so, will continue to occur as the natural results of slavery; but no general insurrection of slaves, as I think, can happen in this country for a long time. Whoever much fears, or much hopes, for such an event, will be alike disappointed.

VIEWS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

In the language of Mr. Jefferson, uttered many years ago, “It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation, peaceably, and in such slow degrees, as that evil will wear off insensibly; and their places be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. (Loud applause.) If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself, of human nature must shudder at the prospect held up.” Mr. Jefferson did not mean to say, nor do I, that the power of emancipation is in the Federal Government. He spoke of Virginia; and, as to the power of emancipation, I speak of the slaveholding States only. The Federal Government, however, as we insist, has the power of restraining the extension of the institution—the power to insure that a slave insurrection shall never occur on any American soil which is now free from slavery. (Applause.) John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough that it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry were, in their philosophy, precisely the same.—The eagerness to cast blame on old England in the one case, and on New England in the other, does not approve the sameness of the two things. [Applause.] And how much would it avail you, if you could, by the use of John Brown, Helper's book, and the like, to break up the Republican organization? Human action can be modified to some extent, but human nature cannot be changed.