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Bolitical.

SPEECH OF HON: WILLIAM MUNTGOMERY. On the nomination of Hon. Henry D. Foster ; the late Reading Convention.

Alter the nomination of Hon. Henry D. estern the Convention called on the Hon. fontgomery to respond for Gen. Fos-has not present. Mr. Montgomery grd, and was greeted with rounds ad enthusiastic applause, and after

Frestored, snoke as follows: Find restored, above as follows. Servicent and Gentlemen of the Conven-Applie name of not only Westmoreland Schubin the name of all the privil galaxy of countres which cover the Western slopes o the Alleghonies to the Western boundary line Course and old Commonwealth, I thank you. Not the cold, conventional "thank here is Not the cold, conventional and it of the warm, car-by of o impon courtesy, but the warm, car-be heartfelt, kind word that comes from the involution of a grateful heart. You have indone us great honor. Unasked, unsolicand unexpected, you have conferred the highest honor in your gift in the State, on one observations distinguished fellow-eitizens, and for the Battering mark of kindness and con-fidence of the name of General Foster, and alle Western Pennsylvania, I thank you. This is a nomination "fit to be Cheers. | And I hardly know whethnude: [Cheers.] And I hardly know wheth-r is reflects most honor on the gentleman who ves it, or on the Convention by which it ade. [Cheers.] . "There is a Divinity Topes our ends, rough hew them as we [Cheers.] And who so blind that he y see, in this nomination, the mysterious of that "Divini y?" [Cheers.] Pause Shrewd, cunning, fareffect upon it. seeing politic ans we e but just now struggling for the mastery. Warm and carnest friends for the indicety. Warm and carnest friends, were weilded to their several fortunes, and callsted in promoting their success. The tri-umplicit one would have necessarily been the definition of the rest. On the part of the friends cessful candidate there would have a exultation and activity; on the

riends of the defeated candidates there would have been disappointment, cold-ness, and freart-burnings. Not so now; for Gon Foster was the candidate of every man of you. [Cheers.] The candidate of the Conmonue the hear in which the mention of his name is received and impense gathering, shows that he is Hermatherival of no man. He contested population with no man, but has had the of freely, spontaneously, and, I may say, the addy east upon him. [Cheers.] He friend of all the candidates, and will There are a friendship in return. [Cheers.] Each of the soveral candidates whose name was below its had some peculiar and promi-neme friends in a some peculiar and promi-neme friends that there is a solution of the solution predicted their hopes of success. You had the able, the clogenti, fearless and affable Witte. You had the hopes, industrious and faithful the clogentiate industrious and faithful Fry, [Cheers.] whopointed to his past official record as the evidence of his purity and abil-ity. [Cheors]. You had the gallant Hopkins, covered with the scare of the Buckshot war. [Cheers.] You had several other candidates. each distinguished for some prominent trait of character, which gave them claims on your support and confidence. But it was left for to choose a candidate who is a model of you to choose a canadants the several distinyour State Legislature, he has proven, through tyour State Legislature, he has proven, through this, long and rathful service, the master spirit dof the body of which he was a member.— b. Cheers, On the floor of Congress, when the astronomy the full strondard and took ion, ha came up to the full standard and took ank with the proudest in the land. [Cheers.] is a conjugation to has few rivals and no TE period. State such a candidate should be however, in the second standard be less hotenbind a super site it candidate should be hotenbind a super circumstances is little less han a pind a theorem. I chosen when Wes-ern Pondstyres had begun to believe you ever would come it to allow her claims to be candidate to covernor; chosen after two lastrous defents, when it requires the best is forth of allow for the ping in such as the best to fortal of us to win victory back to our unerstanant, when the leader of the Demo-aticiarmy should be the ablest general of us army should be the ablest general of us Witten to its very centre; when the is marshalling its forces; not the Union is threatened; issensions prevail in our when bold, bad men, in tional endesir willing or the attainment of powaro drivi forth and South asunder; -it such a cane should be chosen, unantestering using the short of an overaling of the store of an overaling the store of an overaling the store of an overaling and the store o ously, spon, overpolitical darsus vidence. Neverivet has there been a day al danger to our Nation-when the arm and hanger would be outstrotched for our out and protection. And why not now as and protection, And why not now as ame hand that shielded us from danger,

circumstances, that ever present Providence will not desert us. I feel that this nomination springs from promptings higher than those of man. [Cheers.] In the midst of the strife for rival candidates; in the noise and confusion of our active Convention, a name came whispering on the breze; you all heard it; all opposition ceased; and with one shout and one heart Heary D. Foster was proclaimed your standard-bearer. [Tremendous cheers.]

The dim vision of mortal man may not see it, but surely that Hand that has saved us so often was at that moment painted on the dark clouds of political warfare which covered the heavens. [Cheers.] Your standard-bearer will ot be defeated nor struck down; the hearts of the people will go out to him. [Cheers.] Westmoreland county, the glorious old Star of the West, whose Democracy have so long been distracted and divided will be herself again, [Cheers.] and the winds of October will bear to your ears the shout of her triumphant thousands. [Cheers.] When I was a boy, in every contest we turned to old Westmoreland with the fixed assurance that although others should falter, she at least would stand firm. Ard she never disappointed us. [Cheers.] Once again we may confidently turn to her,

a. d. listen for her response in favor of her no-blest son. [Cheers.] Led on by Foster, in Pennsylvania, and the national column headed by the "Little Giant of America," who, though small in stature, is collosal in intel-lect, the next political battle will be little else than a triumphal march. [Tremendous ap-

reliow-citizens, before I close, I invite you to a double funeral. There are two dead, and we will bury them. An aged gentleman, called "Old Lecompton," who did us much harm in his life, who had warm friends bitter enemics-has ceased to distract and di-vide, for he is dead, and we will bury him. [Tremendous applause.] Another, known by the name of "Anti-Lecompton," a son of the [Cheers.] He was a wild youth, self-willed and impetuous, he did much good and some harm, but now, his work all done, his mission fully completed, it was his time to die. He is dead, [Cheers.] and we will bury him in the bosom of his father, and in the same grave. [Cheers.] When you hear the clods fall on their coffins, I ask you to shed not the factor to factor to factor by a sk you to shed not the same factor to factor by a sk you to shed not the same factor to factor by a sk you to shed not the same factor to factor by a sk you to shed not the same factor by a sk you to shed her the same factor by a sk you to shed not the same factor by a sk you to she a sk you to she yo I ask you to shed no tears, to feel no grief, but let shouts of joy go up from glad hearts, a fit requium over those troublesome dead, who distracted us so long, yet can distract us no more. [Loud cheering.] They are dead," and old friends, who were estranged, can now be cordially reconciled. The anti-Lecompton Democrat can extend the right hand of fellowbe cordially reconciled. The anti-Lecompton Democrat can extend the right hand of fellow-ship to his Lecompton brother, and the Le-compton Democrat will open his arms and take him to his heart, [Cheers,] and, like cs-tranged lovers, they will kiss and make friends, and love each other all the better for the brother and the better for the brother and the better for the brother and the better for the bound of 1850 and the sole cause of the agita-the bound open his arms and the better for the bound open his arms and the better for the bound open his arms and the better for the bound open his arms and the better for the bound open his arms and the better for the bound open his arms and the better for the bound open his arms and the better for the bound open his arms and the better for the bound open his arms and the better for the bound open his arms and the better for the bound open his arms and the better for the bull for extending it to the pacific ocean, was the sole cause of the agita-the bound open the bound open his arms and the better for the bound open his arms and the better for the bull for extending it to the pacific ocean, was the sole cause of the agitatranged lovers, they will kiss and make their decreat of the oil for extending it to the friends, and love each other all the better for their quarrel. [Laughter and cheers.] We will creet no momment over the spot where father and son lie buried. We have dug the grave a thousand fathoms deep, and we will fill it up with earth and sod to the years size. [Son a state of the angle of the spot where father and son lie buried. We have dug the fill it up with earth and sod to the years size. [Son a state of the spot where is a state of the spot where here is a state of the spot where by Congress with slavery in the Territories. [Hence I am not willing to sit here and al-low the Senator from New York, with all the spot here is a state of the spot where low the Senator from New York, with all the face, and trainp it down so hard and solid that weight of authority he has with the powerful the hands of no political resurrection shall party of which he is the head, to arraign me drag them from their resting place. [Loud] and the party to which I belong with the re-

and the party to which I belong with the re-sponsibility for that agitation which rests sole clicers.] Let the dead rest in peace—and with them ly upon him and his associates. Sir, the Dethe influences which have too long disturbed morratio party was willing to carry out the our councils. Having now performed these funeral coremonies, we have nothing more to feated in that for the want of numbers, and with Lecompton or anti-Lecompton. They having established the principle of non-interare issues of the dead past. We have now to vention in the compromise measures of 1850. do with the living future, which we nust coin into action and successful operation. [Cheers.] Before I close, I must, however, beg your ciple of adjustment. Whatever agitation has uttention whilst I demonstrate that the ques- grown out of the question since, has been octions which arise on the Kansas and Nebras-ka Act are not subjects of political controver-which that Senator is the head, to this great sy. Those differences are on purely logal principle which has been ratified by the Ame-questions, and from the carliest ages it has principle which has been ratified by the Ame-been a text proven that "lawyers will differ." he was willing to acquiese in the solemn and [Laughter.] In 1854, Congress gave up the repeated judgment of that American people right of legislating in the Territories to the to which he appeals, there would be no agita-Territorial Legislatures. A question has tion in this country now. But, sir, the whole argument of that Senasince nrisen how far the power to legislate ex-tends. Judge Black and some Southern gon-tern contend that the Territorial Legisla-even in the Territories. His entire argument tures have not the power, under the Constitu-tion of the United States, to abolish slavery, white man were equal by Divine law, and by a direct act, nor by any unfriendly legis-hence that all laws and constitutions and golation. Judge Douglas, and many others, vernments in violation of the principle of ne-both North and South, contend that Congress gro equality are in violation of the law of God. can, by unfrictually legislation, virtually abol-ish slavory. For instance, Judge Douglas He quotes the Declaration of Independence to contends that the Territorial Legislatures have show that the fathers of the Revolution un-¹⁵ quent, able and fearless, with a character ¹⁶ quent, able and fearless, with a character ¹⁶ againer which even the to the the transformation of the longer of t law they may pass. The interpretation of provisions of the Constitution of the United the Constitution belong to the Supreme Court States which recognize slavery are in violation of the United States, and it cannot be taken from it. You see, therefere, that these per-argument against the Constitution of the Uniplexing difficulties are knotty law questions, ted States upon the ground that it is contrary which a few cunning lawyers have thrown to the law of God. The Senator from New into the political arona to puzzle and weaken. York has long held that doctrine. The Sena-us. The time for humbugging the people is tor from New York has often proclaimed to nearly past. They are too intelligent to be the world, that the Constitution of the United misled by any such delusions. They will States was in violation of the Divine law, and leave to Congress what belongs to it, and to that Senator will not contradict the statement. the Courts what belongs to them. They will I have an extract from one of his speeches now not believe that because two lawyers differ on before me, in which that proposition is disa law question, that therefore they cannot tinetly put forth. In a speech made in the both be good Democrats. [Laughter.] I am ashamed of mon who would intrude such "Slavery is the sin of not some of the States on "Slavery is the sin of not some of the States of all states and the states of all states are stated as a state of the states of all states are stated as a state of the states of all states are stated as a state of the states of all states are stated as a state of the states of all states are stated as a state of the states of all states are stated as a state of the states of all states are stated as a state of the states of all states are stated as a state of the states are stated as a state of all states are stated as a state of the state of the states are stated as a state of the state of the states are stated as a state of the sta on political conventions, as political issues, to damage the fortunes of these who have led us in the past. I have a priest poticy is the sin of not one nationality, but of all autions. It perverted and corrupted the marel sense on political conventions, as political issues to damage the fortunes of these who have led us in the past. I have a great notion to bury that question, [Cheers,] not in the grave with the two Lecomptons, but in the musty record to of the Supreme Court, and if they are as slow in their decisions as the Court of Chancery in England, we may not hear of it again during the lives of the present generation. [Cheers.] Gentlement, I cannot conclude without com-plimenting you on the spirit and enthusiasm which have been manifested in all your pro-ceedings. I cannot mistake the feeling which is abroad—it promises. flattering news from the future. All this carnest enthusiasm, all numerous class of votors. What produced that strike among the jour noymen shoemakers? Why are the mechan- minimum mass reasons promines reasons promines reasons promines of a stress of the second process of the second proces the future. All this carnest enthusiasm, all these assembled thousands, tell us plainly, ics of New England, the laborers and employ-ics, now reduced to the starvation point?— down, that the Constitution of the United States is "in violation of the Divine law," and sectional agitation, you have created a strife ics of New England, the laborers and employthat victory is certain. The people are awake, the party is united, our forces are enthusias-tic, and we are led by a candidate who has been sought by the office, and not the office by him. I regard the field as already won. Gentlemen, I thank you again for all you have done for me, and for Western Pennsyl-Mr. Montgomery took his sent amid immense applause. The taste of beauty and the relish of roused to first against American citizens in the North roused to first against American citizens what is decont, just and amiable, perfects the what is decont, just and amiable, perfects the character of the gentleman. interview with contempt, and the Constitution what is decont is character of the gentleman. interview with contempt, and the Constitution what is decont in the gentleman. "Am I not a little pale?" inquired

CARLISLE, PA., THURSDAY, MARCH 22, 1860.

Admission of Kansas under the Wyandott Constitution. SPEECH N OF

HON. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, In Reply to Mr. Seward and Mr. Trumbull-Delivered in the Senate of the United States, February 29, 1860.

Mr. PRESIDENT: I trust I shall be pardoned for a few remarks upon so much of the Senathat they have been accused of being in favor tor's speech as consists in an assault on the Democratic party, and especially with regard to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, of which I was He introduces the objection, and fails to an-He introduces the oppetion, and this to an swer it. He states the proposition and dodg-es it, to leave the inference that he does not endorse it. Sir, I desire to see these gentlethe responsible author. It has become fashionable now-a-days for each gentleman ma-king a speech against the Democratic party to refer to the Kansas-Nebraska act as the cause of all the disturbances that have since ensued. They talk about the repeal of a sacred compact that had been undisturbed for who complained of violated faith had been it out in their legislation by conferring on the paid in the factories than now, and when their who complained of violuted tautn nau normaling of the measure in egroes all the rights of ortigensnip the same intermediate in the measure intermediate in the measure intermediate interme refused to carry out the Missouri compromise in good faith? I stood willing to extend it to the Pacific ocean, and abide by it forever, and the data and had no reference to the negro race the manufactured article; and then the pacific ocean, and abide by it forever, and the manufactured article in good faith? in good faith? I stood willing to extend it to the Pacific occan, and abide by it forever, and the entire South, without one exception in this at all, when it declared that all men were demand, except the "irrepressible conflict" body, was willing thus to abide by it; but the created equal. free-soil element of the northern States was so

Sir, if the signers of that declaration had unfrom New York now construct it, were they not bound on that day, at that very hour, to emancipate all their slaves? If Mr. Jefferson had meant that his negro slaves were created by the Almighty his equals, was he not bound to emancipate the slaves on the very day that he signed his name to the Declaration of In-ufacturing towns. Sir, it was the defeat in the House of Representatives of the enactment of the bill to ex tend the Missouri compromise to the Pacific dependence? Yet no one of the signers of ocean, after it had passed the Senate on my that declaration emancipated his slaves. No one of the States on whose behalf the declaration was signed, emancipated its slaves until We carried those compromise measures over

the head of the Senator from New York and original States, sanctioned and legalized sla-very until after the Revolution was closed.— These facts show conclusively that the Declahis present associates. We, in those measures, established a great principle, rebuking his doctrine of intervention by the Congress of the United States to prchibit slavery in the ration of Independence was never intended to bear the construction placed upon it by the Senator from New York, and by that enor-Territories. Both parties, in 1552, pledged themselves to abide by that principle, and thus stood pledged not to prohibit slavery in the Territories by not of Congress. The Whig party affirmed that pledge, and so did the Do-mocracy. In 1854 we only carried out in the ists, in order to teach the children that the Almighty had put his seal of condemnation upon any inequality between the white man and the negro. Mr. President, I am free to say here—what

I have said over and over again at homethat, in my opinion, this Government was that, in my opinion, this tovernment was made by white men for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever, and should be administered by white men, and by none oth-or whatsoever.

Mr. DOOLITTLE i will not the honorable Senator, then, why not give the Territories to white men.? Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I am in favor of throwing the Territories open to all the white men, and all the negroes, too, that

nogro and the white man is a slave State, lea-tirely free to do just as it pleases, have slavery ving but a very few States in the Union that are free from his objection. Yet, notwithstan-wishes, there would be no conflict; the nor-in the Territories of the Union.

ding the Senator is committed to these doe-trines, notwithstanding the leading men of his party are committed to them, he argues your shoemakers would not strike for higher grad constitutional obligations in these words:

Mr. CLARK. Will the Senator pardon me for interrupting him a montent? Mr. DOUGLAS. I will not give way for a

speech ; I will for a suggestion. Mr. CLARK: I desire simply to make one endorse it. Sir, I desire to see these gentle-men carry out their principles to their logical tor from Illinois said in reference to the conconclusion. If they will persist in the decla-ration that the negro is made the equal of the I come from a city where there are three thouwhite man, and that any inequality is in vio- sand operatives, and there never was a time not violate the Constitution except so far as the Constitution violates the law of God—that is all-and they are to be the judges of how far the Constitution does violate the law of God. They say that every clause of the Conthat has turned the southern trade away from northern cities into southern towns and southstitution that recognizes properly in slaves, is in violation of the Divine law, and hence derstood the instrument then as the Senator ern cities? Sir, the feeling among the masses of the South we find typified in the dress of the Senator from Virginia, (Mr. M_{ASON} ;) they are determined to wear the homespun should not be obeyed; and with that interpre-

tation of the Constitution, they turn to the South and say, "We will give you all your rights under the Constitution as we explain of their own productions rather than Trade with the North. That is the feeling which Then the Senator devoted about a third of ufacturing towns. The Senator from New York has also rehis speech to a very beautiful homily on the glories of our Union. All that he has said, all that any other man has ever said, all that

ferred to the recent action of the people of New Mexico, in establishing a code for the protection of property in slaves, and he conafter the Revelution was over. Every one of gratulates the country upon the final success the original colonies, everyone of the thirteen of the advocates of free institutions in Kansas. He could not fail, however, to say, in order to preserve what he thought was a striking an-tithesis, that popular sovereignty in Kansas meant State sovereignty in Missouri. No, sir; popular sovereignty in Kansas was stricken down by unholy combination in New Engmous tribe of lecturers that go through the land to ship men to Kansas-rowdies and vahouses and basement of churches to Abolition-biouses and basement of churches to Abolition-fination of the state of the Sharpe's rifle in the other, to shoot down the friends of self-government. Popular sovereignty in Kansas was stricken down by the combination in the northern States to carry elections under pretence of emigrant aid societics. In retaliation, Missouri formed aid societies, too; and she, following your example, sent men into Kansas, and then occurred the conflict. Now, you throw the blame upon Missouri merely because she followed your example, and attempted to resist its conseuences. I condemn both; but I condemn a thousand fold more those that sot the example and struck the first blow, than those who how the struck the first blow, than those who how the struck the first blow, than those who how the struck the structure blow is a structure of the structure blow is a structure blow i thought they would act upon the principle of fighting the devil with his own weapons, and resorted to the same means that you had em-

the white men, and all the negroes, too, that choose to go, and then allow the white men to govern the Territory. I would not let one of the negroes, free or slave, either vote for or hold office anywhere, where I had the right, ployed.

that she has a slave within her limits, but be- This new coinage of works will not save them They could abolish it no where else. Every wire slaves held by the French before the orcaute the constitution of New York does not an equality with a abandoned the doctrine of the "irrepres- everywhere, and they would not be able to re- zon might go to Kentucky, or any other State Work is still a slave State; for that reason eve-ry other State that discriminates between the negro and the white man is a slave State, lea-ving but a very few States in the Union that as long us it chooses, and abolish it when it is block the state is on-the state is on-ving but a very few States in the Union that is a long us it chooses, and abolish it when it is block the index in the state is on-ving but a very few States in the Union that is a long us it chooses, and abolish it when it is block the index index is a slave state, lea-the bound is a slave state is on-the Union that is a long us it chooses, and abolish it when it is the block is the block is a shore state is on-the bound is a slave is the block is the bring slaves into the Territory, if is long us it chooses, and abolish it when it is the block is the block is a shore slave is the is slave is the block is the block is a shore slave is the is slave is the block is a shore slave is the is block is the block is the block is a shore slave is the is block is the block is a shore slave is the is block is the block is the block is a shore slave is the is block is the block is the block is the block is the is block is the block is the block is the block is the is block is the is block is the is block is the is block is the block is the block is the block is the is block is the block is the block is the block is the is block is the block is the block is the block is the is block is the block is his posterity were to serve him for ninety-nine

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years ; and in the event that the slave refused to enter into the indenture. the master should gard constitutional obligations in these words: "But we must begin deeper and lower than the composition and combination of factions or parties, wherein the strongth and security of slavery lie-You answer that it lies in the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the invoked in the strongth and security of slavery lie-diverse is not an under the parenal roof; see to it that they are taught in the schools and in the schurches; reform your one code; cattend a cordial welcome to the fugitive tho lays his weary limbs at your door, and defend him as you would your pater-nal goal; correct your over enror, that slavery is natively, and defend him as you would your pater-nal goal; correct your over enror, that slavery is native to be relinguished." I know they tell us that all this is to be done according to the Constitution; they would not violate the Constitution; they so fur as the constitution of the constitution; they would not violate the constitution except so fur as the constitution of the constitution; they would not violate the constitution the problem to the constitution of the slavery entirely. The fuet the the constitation of the slavery is the the the constitution of the slavery have a certain time to take him out of the

The fact is, that the people of the Territory of Illinois, when it was a Territory, were almost all from the southern States, particular ly from Kentucky and Tennessee. The soliffi ern end of the State was the only part at first ern end of the State was the only part at first settled—that part called Egypt—because it is the land of letters and of plenty. Civilization and learning all originated in Egypt. The northern part of the State, where the joilticill friends of my colleague now prependerate, was then in the possession of the Indians, and so were northern Indiana and northern Ohio, and a Yankee could not get to Illinois at all, unless he possed down through Virginia and

unless he passed down through Virginia and over into Tennessee and through Kentucky. The consequence was, that ninety-nine out of the most éloquent tongue can eyer utter, in behalf of the blessings and the advantage, of this glorious Union, I fully endorse. But a hundred of the settlers were from the slave States. They carried the old family servants with them, and kept them. They were told "Here is an ordinance of Congress passed against your holding them." They said, "What has Congress to do with our domestic individual data and the state of the second s still, sir, I am prepared to say, that the Union is glorious only when the Constitution is pre-served inviolate. He culogized the Union. I, too, am for the Union ; I endorse the culogies; but still, what is the Union worth, unless the institutions; Congress had better mind its own business, and let us alone; we know what Constitution is preserved and maintained inwe want better than Congress;" and hence violate in all its provisions? Sir, I have no faith in the Union-loving senthey passed this law to bring them in and make them indentured: Under that, they esiments of those who will not carry out the tablished slavery and held slaves as long as they wanted them. When they assembled to Constitution in good faith, as our fathers made it. Professions of fidelity to the Union will be taken for nurght, unless they are accom-panied by obedience to the Constitution upon which the Union rests. I have a right to inmake the constitution of Illinoi, in 1818, for admission into the Union, nearly every dele-gate to the convention brought his negro as faite to the convention brought his negro at long with him to black his boots, play the fiddle, wait upon him, and take care of his room. They had a jolly time there; they were dancing people, frolicsome people, peo-ple who enjoyed life; they had the old French habits. Slaves were just as thick there as blackbowies eist that the Constitution shall be maintained inviolate in all its parts, not only that which uits the temper of the North, but every clause of that Constitution, whether you like it or dislike it. Your oath to support the Constitu-

blackborries.

But they said "Experience proves that it is not going to be profitable in this climate." There were no scruples about it. Every one of them was nursed by it. His mother and his father held slaves. They had no scruples about its being right but they said "W observe it. The man who disobeys any one clause, on the pretext that it violates the Di-vine law, or on any other pretext, violates his

pen assailed by foreign nations, will surely, by desart us when a party of bad men, mad-the the the last for power, sock the realiza-

A^{MP}: of their presence of the second secon

them brethen comes up to us to aid them riving the bits marshalled array of fan-i; surely, at such a time, and under such

Illinois tried slavery while we were a Territory, and found it was not profitable ; and hence we turned philanthropists and abolished it, just as our British friends across the ocean did. They established slavery in all their colonies, and when they found they could not ever New Mexico gets tired of her code, she make any more money out of it, abolished it.

must repeal it for herself; I will not repeal it for her. Non intervention by Congress with slavery in the Territories is the platform on ty, is this: we stand by the Constitution as the Republican party and the Democratic par-ty, is this: we stand by the Constitution as All persons of time, word to be I hold that the question of slavery is one of political economy, governed by the laws of climate, soil, productions, and self-interest, and not by mere statutory provision. I repu-But I want to know why will not the Senadiate the doctrine, that because free institutor from New York carry out his principles

tions may be best in one climate, they are, necessarily, the best everywhere; or that be cause slavery may be indispensable in one lo-the House of Representatives, bold enough to cause slavery may be indispensable in one lo-cality, therefore it is desirable everywhere.— it hold that a wise statesman will always adapt his legislation to the wants, interests, condition, and necessities of the poople to be governed by it. One people will bear differ-ent institutions from another. The dot matches in the territories for their repeat, then, what I have often had occasion to say, that I do not this back with the constitution as the provision as the tributories and the territories of the poople will be another. I repeat, then, what I have often had occasion to say, that I do not this back with the constitution of the poople will be another. I repeat, then what I have often had occasion to say, that I do not this back with the constitution of the poople will be another. I repeat the poople will be another. I repeat that to say the tributories for the matches another. I repeat that to say the tributories for the matches another. I constitution as the poople will be another. I repeat the tributories for the matches another. I repeat that to not this back of the constitution as the poople will be another. I repeat that to not this back with the constant will always and the consus of 1840, show, and the consustion of this constitue to with the consustion of the consustion to the consustion t to say, that I do not think uniformity is eith- es? Why do you not introduce your bill? r possible or desirable. I wish to see no two States precisely alike in their domestic insti-utions in this Union. Our system rests on the supposition that each State has something in her condition of the ach State has something the supposition that each State has something in her condition of the supposition of the ach of the supposition that each State has something the supposition that each State has something in her condition of the supposition of the ach of the supposition that each State has something the supposition that each State has something in her condition of the supposition that each State has something in her condition of the supposition that each State has something the supposition that each State has something in her condition of the supposition that each State has something the supposition that each State has something in her condition of the supposition that each State has something the supposition that each state has been the supposition the er possible or desirable. I wish to see no two The Senator from New York says they have in her condition or climate, or her circumstan-

In the condition or eliminate, or her circumstan-ces, requiring laws and institutions different from every other State of the Union. Hence I answer the question of the Senator from Wisconsin, that I am willing that a Territory settled by white men shall have negroes, free rest of the Union. Hence into effect by acts of Congress. You are settled by white men shall have negroes, free rest of the unit of the very other state of the Union. Hence into effect by acts of Congress. You are settled by white men shall have negroes, free rest of the unit of the or slave, just as the white men shall deter-mine, but not as the negroes shall prescribe. your bill to repeal the slave code of New Mex-to remain silent and seem to sanction it even should be punished by so many stripes, and The Senator from New York has coined a ico ; afraid of driving off the conservative men ; new definition of the States of the Union- you think it is wise to wait until after the elec-Labor States and Capital States. The capital tion. I should be glad to have confidence DOUGLAS, he responded as follows: States, I believe, are the slaveholding States; enough in the sincerity of the other side of the I have but a few Words to say, in reply to of this Union. Not only that, but after the the labor States are the non-slaveholding Chamber to suppose that they had sufficient my colleague; and first on the question, States. It has taken that Senator a good courage to bring forward a law to carry out whether Illinois was a slave Territory or not; many years to coin that phrase and bring it into use. I have heard him discuss these fa-into use. I have heard him discuss these fa- I find nothing of that. They wish to agitato, I dislike technical denials, conveying an idea eration of the State constitution. vorite theories of his for the last ten years, I to excite the people of the North against the contrary to the fact. My colleague well knows I dislike, sir, to have a controver

think, and I never heard of capital States and labor States before. It strikes me that some-tion; but they shrink from carrying out their thing has recontly occurred up in New Eng-land that makes it politic to get up a question between capital and labor, and take the side tic party; servative voters who do not like the Democra

of the numbers against the few. We have But, sir, if the Senator from New York, in scen some accounts in the nowspapers of com-binations and strikes among the journeymen the event that he is made President, intends to carry out his principles to their logical conshoemakers in the towns there-labor against clusions, let us see where they will lead him. capital. The Senator has a new word ready In the same speech that I read from a few coined to suit their case, and make the labor- minutes ago, I find the following. Addressing

become as familiar as household words; and your pretouded Free-Soil allies chain peculiar morit for maintaining these miscalled guarantees of slavery, which they find in the national compact. Does not

hold office anywhere, where I had the right, under the Constitution, to prevent it. I am in favor of each State and each Territory of this Union taking care of its own negroes, free or slave. If they want slavery, let them have it; if they desire to prohibit slavery, let them have it; if they desire to prohibit slavery, let them have it; it is their business, not mine. We in monter the norther provide the provi it in on her. Let each do a it pleases. When two slaves is a violation of the Divine law, ca, and I doubt whether sity one will ever ar-Kansas comes to the conclusion that slavery how dare he, as an honest man, take an oath rogate to itself the right to divest project alwill suit her, and promote her interest better than the prohibition, let her pass her owa slave code; I will not pass it for her. When-the prohibition is an interest better the instrument? Did he under-slave code; I will not pass it for her. When-the very stand that he was defying the authority of the analysis of life; the very stand that her out the support that the aven when he took the oath to support that the support the instrument? Did her under-the authority of the authority of the instrument is a support the support that that all indentured persons should fulfil the the support the support that the support the support that the support instrument? terms of their indentures. Nine-nine years Thus. we see, the radical difference between | was about long enough, I reckon, for grown

tion binds you to every line, word, and sylla-ble of the instrument. You have no right to

All persons of slave parents; after a certain our fathers made it, and by the decisions of time, were to be free at a certain age, and all the constituted authorities as they are pro- bornafter a certain other period, were to be free nounced in obedience to the Constitution .- at their birth. It was a gradual system of is there They repudiate the instrument, substitute emancipation. Hence, I now repeat, that so time in the discussion of this question to-night. until the new constitution of 1847, when near-I did not intend to utter a word; and I should ly all those old slaves had died out, and prob-

Then what confidence shall the American peo-ple repose in your faith and sincerity, when, the party for which I was most immediately these are the facts: Look into the territorial legislation, and you the party for be and the party for which I was most immediately these are the facts: should be punished by so many stripes, and if he committed such an offence he should reby tacit acquiescence. Mr. TRUMBULL having replied to Mr. ceive so many stripes, and so on; as rigorous State came into the Union, the State of Illinwhether Illinois was a slave Territory or not; and whether we ever had slavery in the State. to the time that slavery died out under the op-

I dislike, sir, to have a controversy with my South to get votes for the Presidential elec-tion; but they shrink from carrying out their measures lest they might throw off some con-a State. I have seen him dance to the music ticular interest in the carly history of Illinois, of a negro slave in Illinois many a time, and but it has become obligatory on me to vindi-I have danced to the same music mys.If .- | cate my statement to that extent.

(Laughter.) We have both had the same ne-gro servants to black our boots and wait upon us, and they were held as slaves. We know, to refer to that before in the Senate, and I am us, and they were held as slaves. We know, brief to the for refer to it again. therefore, that slavery did exist in the State sorry to have to refer to it again.

in fact, and slavery did exist in the Territory My colleagues arraigns me as chairman of in fact; and his denial relates exclusively to the Committee on Territories against myself ers believe that he is on the side of the most the people of Ohio, he said : "You blush not at these things, because they have Whether legal or not, it existed in fact. The Whether legal or not, it existed in fact. The Whether legal or not, it existed in fact. Whether legal or not, it existed in net. The profession of the says that, as chairman of master exercised his dominion over the slave, the committee, I reported that we did not see and those negroes were held as slaves until 1847, whon we established the new constitu-tion. There are gentlemen around me here, pealed in terms, we did not propose in terms who know the fact—gentlemen who were to repeal the Missouri restriction, but—there