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Is Emancipation the object of the present War, or is it to sustain the Constitution as it is, and restore the Union as it was ?.

SPEECH OF HON. HIESTER CLYMEB, OF BERKS COUNTY.

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE OF PENNSYLVANIA MARCH 11, 1862.

The Senate of Pennsylvania having under consideration the resolutions asserting that it is the unquestionable right and manifest duwhich ty of Congress to abolish Slavery in the Dis-trict of Columbia ; instructing their Senators cannot have the power to do what its grantors (the States of Virginia and Maryland) and requesting their Representatives to Con-gress, to vote for its total and immediate abo-lition in said District, upon such terms as may has been obtained."

The question being on the amendment, Mr. CLYMER said :

Mr. Speaker, in this hour when the nation is struggling for existence, we should be ready and willing to devote all our energies to the furtherance of her legitimate aims and purposes, we should, too, be unwilling to do anything to retard her onward strides towards the object she has in view, which is the maintenance of the Constitution as it is, and the restoration of the Union as it was. Deeply impressed with the magnitude and importance of this object, I, as one of the this territory to the National Government-humbles members of this body, approach the and secondly, what was the object of Con consideration of this question, which so directly and sensibly affects that great object, with feelings of deep distrust as to my own ability to thoroughly investigate it, and of fear, lest I should fail properly to present it to this Senate and the people of this Common-wealth. It is a question of nature so deliente, and yet so fast in its immediate and future

mighty for some good and wise purpose, has made her the very heart and centre of the like interest interest under the Consti-public. Her western borders skirt the in-land seas, and lie upon the river which empr ties into the southern gulf. On the east she is washed by waters ebbing, from old ocean, is washed by waters ebbing from old made her the very heart and centre of the Rethe highway of commerce and the pathway to wealth. The Alleghenies traverse her centre, from north to south, forming her backbone, from which stretch out great ribs of iron. She has arteries of anthracite, and veins of limestone and marble, through which the life-blood of trade and of industry courses in quick and healthy flow. In all the elements ot necessary in order to render it a proper of mertial wealth and progress, in manufactures and in agriculture, she stands to-day the grandest Commonwealth of the grandest and suitable Seat of Government of the United States, that slavery should be abolished Confederacy that has ever existed ! Thus powerful, thus great, we stand here placed by the hand of God, between the opinasmuch as the cossion was made at the time. in a spirit of generosity, immediately after posing elements of ruin to our country-be-tween the blind, fanatical and mistaken symfraternal feeling prevailed throughout this Union, when the States of Maryland and Virpathy (at this time I will use no stronger term) of the North, and the outrageous and damnable heresy of the South. ginia in a moment of generous impulse and with feelings of high regard towards the mem-bers of this Union, chose to make this grant ; We are the natural bulwark between these contending forces, which threaten the very ex-Government, and I implore you neither party could have suspected, that at some distant and future period after the agi-Senators to act at this hour, on this question as become the representatives of such a State, with such a position, with such a destiny, and with such a destiny, and charge. You are aot acting for this State alone, but for a common country ; not for the present merely, but for all time ; not of the unsolable of the hand of govern-thirty millions of to-day, but for the unsolable of the hand of govern-thirty millions of to-day, but for the sensition of the considera-tion of the Senate, is the first resolution, which is, "*Hat* is the unguestion of the senate set this time, cannot, will an amifest duty of Congress to abolish slave." tation of this unfortunate subject, their gen-

to promote the general convenience of the this hour of national perilgovernment, ceded ten miles square to Con-gress for the seat of the national capital. They may and terror pervade the land-and when danger lurks in and around the very capitol itself, and in every square mile of territory in its vicinity—we have no right to crect within the shadow of that capitol, a powder magazine (if you place) for the detunction of the around eded one hundred miles of their territory for this purpose. Now, sir, by whom and to whom was this cession made, are the questions if you please) for the destruction of the very to be considered by this Senate. in order to State which generously granted that territo determine whether the first position of the resolution is tenable and absolutely true. To ry to the use of the nation. If we abol-whom was it made? It was made to the Con-ish slavery in the District of Columbia, whom was it made? It was made to the Con-gress of the United States. By whom we afford a place for harboring and conceal ing free negroes and runaway slaves, from which forrays on the adjoining territory will was it made? By the legislatures of the States of Virginia and Maryland. Having been made to the Congress of the United be schemed and planned, where arms can be States for the purposes of a national capital, put into the hands of slaves in the sur-it cannot be supposed that the State Legisla- rounding country, and from which tumults, rounding country, and from which tumults rebellions and insurrections may be-and tures of Virginia and Maryland could have ceded to that national legislature other, great-tor or higher powers than they themselves will be-incited in the State of Maryland. Was, it sir, for any such purpose as this that the State of Maryland ceded this territory to ossessed. Then, sir, if those legislatures had the national government? Was it to plant within her own bosom the source of her own not the right to abolish slavery within that territory—I mean if they had not the consti-tutional ability to exercise that power, not having been elected by the people for that made the grant? Had she supposed this to

particular purpose-therefore it will follow that these legislatures, not having been that these legislatures, not having been be the ultimate result of her generosity, would clothed with those powers, could not grant any such cession have been made ? But, sir, it is a truth, sound in morals as in other or greater powers to the national legisgovernment, that that which we cannot do directly we have no right to do by indirection. lature than they themselves possessed. There fore the grantee, which was the national Now, it was one of the avowed purposes of the Senator from Allegheny, by the abolition longress, has no greater or other powers than were granted by those State legislatures and as the latter had not the power or right of slavery in the District of Columbia, to in-

to abolsh slavery-that being a power residtroduce an entering wedge for the abolishment of that institution in other portions of the ing in the *people* of these States-they never having conferred it upon the legislatures slave territory. I present to him and to this Senate, as honest men, as men representing Congres the true and loyal sentiments of Pennsylva nia, the question whether they dare abolish this institution in the district referred to, could not do ; or, in other words, the grantee Mr. IRISII. Mr. Speaker, I rise to ex-plain. The Senator from Berks has attributhas not or cannot have greater powers than

the grantor had to confer. I present this be deemed just not upon state the perition in order that Senators, after duy owners therein, Mr. CLYMER moved to amend by inserting after the word requested, the words, "after the assent of the State of Maryland and of the people of that District state of Maryland and of the people of that District of Columbia." In add not such assertion, that the adoption of Maryland and of the people of that District of Columbia." This disposes of the first proposition in the resolution. Admitting, for the sake of the bearing upon the institution of slavery elsewhere, and that in so far as it had that bear-

passed the acts of cession.

argument, that there is an unquestionable ing I was p right in Congress to abolish slavery in that quences of it. ing I was perfectly will to take the conse-Mr. CLYMER. The Senator from Alledistrict, I approach the second proposition contained in the resolution, which is "that it is the manifest duty of Congress to abolish slavery therein." In order to determine whether, it is the manifest duty of Congress gheny stated in his remarks " it is the ulterior effects which the adoption of the measure before Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District may have upon the slave system in other portions of the country." Tha-was one of the considerations offered by that to abolish slavery with said district, there are several considerations to be examined—the first of which is, what was the object of the States of Maryland and Virginia in ceding gress in accepting it ? These two points must be determined, and after their determination to every Senator-whether he represents or t will appear whether "it is the manifest duty of Congress" to abolish slavery, within the District of Columbia. First of all, it is clear

ing for emancipated slave property. It is property, recognized by law and endorsed by the President himself; and although we may not take it for a public use, yet, if, in obedi--when fear, dis ence to a public will be a demand its emancipation, why should not its owners be paid the full, ample, outside pride for the commodity? first that there is at least room for a reasona ble doubt whether it is "the inquestionable right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia." This is a question for fest duly of Congress" so to do. I have further attempted to establish that such action should be taken upon three conditions alone -first, with the assent of the State of Marythe national government? Was it to plant within her own bosom the source of her own dostruction? Had that State supposed this to the the the loyal slaveowners of that district; we here the intention, would she ever have and those two being given that then the loyal slaveowners of that district should receive just and and feir compensation for their prop-erty. I have thus essayed to present to the nate what are my views upon the question

immediately before it. Now, sir, there are portions of history intimately bearing upon this setion, which I beg leave to present, so this, they may be made matters of record, as a portion of this question. On the 12th of December, 1831, Mr. John Quincy Adams, in the Congress of the United States, presented fifteen petitions from numerous inhabitants of Pennsylvania praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the abolition of the slave trade therein. "So far at the latter desire was concerned, he thought it a proper subject of legislation for Congress, and that the petitions on that account should be referr--the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia-he deemed it his duty to say that he would not support it. "He would not sup-port it! John Quincy Adays, born before the days when the Constitution was formed, reared mongst the influences that produced it, edu cated by the men who framed it, was unwilling to do what he knew he dared not do without violation of faith, of honor and of justice to

the people of that district. The next petition on this subject was presented in the Senate of the United States, in January 1836, by Mr. was one of the considerations offered by that Senator to induce this Senate to vote for the resolutions; and I hold him to his record, to tion was finally referred to a committee in his assertions given upon the record before Congress; who reported as the opinion of that his people. I ask him in the name of the House, (and it was clearly the unenimous people he represents and I put the question opinion of Congress,) "that Congress possesses no constitutional authority to interfere in do by indirection what he knows under the Constitution he dare not do directly ? when he knows that within the States he dare not interfere in any way with slavery in the Dis-

James the second, being president of the last company 1 England ?---that had the contract founders of this nation regretted that slavery enment, the preservation of to supply all the slaves to islands of the West Indies, for thirty years, and that put a hundred and forty-four thousand slaves into them! fact, and they, as practical men, who were What, England ?---whose very body and soul dealing with facts, and not in theories or sen-are covered deep, damnation deep, with the timent, treated it as a fact ; therefore, they ull, ample, outside pride for the commodity? blood of the slave! Is it to conciliate her Mr. Speaker, I have hitherto endeavored friendship, her good opinion, that we are to do moulded and adopted a constitution adapted to their exigencies. Sir, from 1790 to 1820, to confine myself most strictly to the resolutions this? Is it to propitiate England, our oldest before the Senate. I have attempted to show, and bitterest foe, from whose iron grip we esthere was no difficulty, no trouble between the elements composing the original Union ; caped by the blood of our ancestors flowing one State after another abolished slavery. I like water from '76 to '83; and that Eugland have taken some pains to examine the histor who, in our present death-struggle for nationof this matter, in order to show how rapidly al existence, when our life was ebbing from the system decreased in this northern climate evc. y man to decide for thimself. Next, I us, when we were lashed to our enemies, ap-have c deavored to show that it is not " mani- proached us from behind and would have of ours, and how, as rapidly, it increased in those regions further south. As slavery beproached us from behind and would have stabled us in the back ?—is it to propitiate came unprofitable in the New England States. hey abolished it. In the State of New York the good opinion of such a nation, that we it was abolished, commencing in 1790. My recollection is that this State commenced its are to adopt this measure? Sir, if mere passion, prejudice and hatred—instinctivi, nation-al, hereditary hatred—governed my action, and I abolition in 1780. Thus gradually it was abolished as it became unprofitable; but to show how deeply rooted was this system in the minds of the people of that day, I will merely state that although the slave trade had manifest my utter detestation and loathing of that government, and to hurl defines at her. If I had no holier, purer or higher motive, that single one would be sufficient for me. I deeply regret that the Senator assigned such on in 1788, a provision was incora reason for his action. It is no pleasant du ty for me to recount the wrongs and injuries hereafter, until 1808 and this was that this nation has received from the country he request of several of the New England which should be, if true to her religion, her

language, her literature and her destiny, our best and truest friend, but which for cotton and gold would sell herself to slavery and make herself a very harlot amongst the nations, Mr. Speaker, that was the second consider ation offered by the Senator from Allegheny, to induce our favorable action upon this meanure. The third consideration was the ulteri or effects which the adoption of the measure before Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia might have upon the slave system in other portions of the country.

I have had occasion to discuss that point in a detain or weary the Senate by recaptulating Suffice it for me to say that it is uncon stitutional, wrong in morals, wrong in poli-tics, and wrong in government to attempt to do indirectly that, which under the Constitution and the laws, we dare not do directly .-This is my answer to this, his last reason; and I will do the Senator from Allegheny the justice to say that these three reasons are the

only ones that have been adduced in all this argument why we should pass this bill. I could stop here in my remarks, and in do-ing so I would feel that I had answered every reason triumphantly and fully, but the most

arduous and to me the most disagreeable and question of the admission of the State of Miss-unwelcome duty still remains. I am now our into the Union. Then there was trouble obliged to leave "this ten mile square," where the resolutions would legitimately locate us. and travel off into that unbounded space through which the Senators from Bradford and Erie wandered, in order to reach the un-

to this Senate and the people of this Common-werlth. It is a question of nature so delicate, and yets to fast in its immediate and future senator with the same feeling of distrust and fear, and could invoke the solemn aspirations for the common welfs are form. try, which that feeling should inspire, I would feel righly, umply gowarded for the labor I am about to perform. Look, sir, at the position of the great Com-monwealth which whee merges and to be used, occupied or that general should and the position of the great of the territory the sent of the Maximu and main feel this branch of my argument, try, which that feeling should inspire, I would feel righly, umply gowarded for the labor I am about to perform. Look, sir, at the position of the great of the sone of the of the constitution and again agitated in Gongress. This interfere in any way with the same feeling of distrust and fear of the common wells were the solemn aspirations for the common wells are out to perform. Look, sir, at the position of the great of the sone of the s derlying minimple presented by the resolutions ject. Prior to that year all was peace and immediately before the Senate. The Senator from Bradford, who has wind-and the people were again satisfied ; we were

ties interested, at the time the grant was made. authority of the President of the United States; ized to import slaves into the West Indies- God and under the Constitution as no nation the re-establishment of this government. If I say that we have no right at this time-in who has called upon Congress to assist in pay- James the second, being president of the last ever prospered before. It is true that the he means by the re-establishment of this government, of this government. ernment, the preservation of the Constituti existed ; it is true that they would have abol-ished it if they could ; but it was an existing him ; and, with him, I would spread fire and brimstone not only over rebel soil in the South, but over soil, North or South, wherever secret trenson or open rebellion exists. And believing that it exists here in the North, by this war made upon the Constitution, upon the President, upon the leader of our armies, for unconstitutional purposes, I would spread

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; for unconstitutional purposes, I would spread I it thick and fast right here. Sir, if I know anything of the political party to which I have the hange to belong, and with which I act from convictions of du-ty, I have stated, truly, emphatically and fearlessly their views upon this question. They are not for slavery or against it. They are for it only as the Constitution finds it. They are neither for or available any nirticu-They are neither for or against any particu-lar government, but they are for the government under the Constitution as it is, and for the Union as it was. They are for this Con-stitution and Union intact; and if I under stand them they will strike down North and South, whatever stands between them and been abolished by the Continental Congress this infact Union and intact Constitution,-in 1776, yet in the convention that formed the That is their proposition undisguised ; and it is well to be known here and now that such porated into that instrument that the slave is the determination of that great party,-trade should not be abolished for twenty years While disregarding all mere desires based upon sympathy with traitors and all ideas based upon a design to acquire power from one at States conjoined with Georgia and the Onro-linians. If I am wrong in historical data, it strike down both alike, for they are both as is not intentional, as I am endeavoring to re-leursed under the Constitution; and being so, late facts without referring to notes. During this interval of time, Pennsylvania having been true and loyal to this government in r, adopted a system of time, Pennsylvania having been true and loyal to this government in the institution of slavery soon expired in this this Constitution remains unchanged and un-State. In the year 1780, I believe, the first a bolition society in the country was formed in the city of Philadelphia. In 1790, that abo-lition society presented a memorial to Con-gress praying for the abolition of the slave tred out the country devices of the slave trade and the general amelioration of the are enshrined in the hearts of their country detain or weary the Senate by recaptulating after respectful consideration there was adopted that first resolution which has been the basis of overy resolution on the subject of of liberty.

But, says the Senator from Bradford, if slavery since that day—"that Congross has no power to interfere with slavery within the this country could be restored to peace, and could go on from age to age prosperously, with this institution intact, he would be in-States." That was in 1790, immediately after the formation of the Constitution. That clincd

Mr. LANDON. The Senator is not right opinion of Congress was based upon the opinsir. I wish to be rightly represented. I want the whole of the quotation. ons of men who formed that Constitution, and upon the universal sentiment of the men

Mr. CLYMER. [Reading from the speech of Mr. Landon in the Record.] "God has of that day. Afterwards, there were other "God has The first great difficulty in regard to this made certain men with their faces a little darker than mine; but if they are capable of enjoying freedom, liberty and the pursuit of huppiness, it is your duty to give it to them; and woe to the government, sooner or later, that refuses to do it, and throws itself question of slavery, arose in 1820, upon the question of the admission of the State of Missand difficulty in the country, happily settled, however, through a compromise of the friends athwart their pathway of progress. I am no infidel; but if we, as a nation, can hold up of Mr. Chy and other leading and distin-guished patriots. From that time up to 1831, there was little or nothing said upon this sub-ject. Prior to that year all was peace and and perpetuate slavery, age after age, sanc-tion it legally and christen it ecclesiastically, and at the same time prosper ourselves, be free, liuppy and great, escaping all the consequences divinely threatened against injustica

and oppressions and oppression—" Mr. LANDON. That is correct. Mr. CLYMER. [Reading further.] "Then this, if anything, would constrain me nor only to question the bible, but to doubt the very existence of the Deity himself." Mr. LANDON. I endorse that. Mr. CLYMER. Sin, it is an admitted fact

province of the Roman Empire, in which sla-

very existed in its worst forms and in fright-

ful numbers, there being sixty millions of them, it is to say the least remarkable that

nowhere in all his teachings do we find the

institution directly or indirectly condemned.

Every other sin, every other vice he denounc-

ed and reproved. It was His mission to re

buke vice wherever he found it. He was not

and manifest duty of Congress to abolish slave-ry in the District of Columbia." The SPEAKER. The Senator will per-

mit the Chair to remind him that the question is on the amendment offered by himself, tion of those obligations, not in my opinion, to insert after the word "requested" the less sacred or less binding, and if they had words "after the assent of the State of Mary-land, and of the people of said district has ment itself." been odtained.

Mr. CLYMER. I am well aware, sir. what question is immediately before the Senate; and if the Speaker and the Senate choose to confine me to the amendment offer ed by myself, I shall submit to the decision. But. after the amendment which was previously offered to the original resolution, the discussion took so wide a scope that I feel constrained to ask the privilege accorded to those who have preceded me, that I may, in addressing the Senate at this time, embrace within my remarks, all I have to say, both upon the main proposition, and upon the amend-

ment offered by myself. If that privilege is extended to me I shall proceed, or else wait until I have heard the sense of the Senate upon the proposition offered by myself. The SPEAKER. Does the Senate so give its consent?

government, that ought to be the leading to repel invasions and suppress insurrections? and controlling idea with Congress in the ex-ercise of this power; and inasmuch as it is by their own avowal, will produce the very results that among others your Constitution was formed to prevent ? I put the question to Senators around me whether as constitutiwithin the limits of the ten miles square ; and onal and law loving men-as men who un-

within that territory-uncontrolled, unrestrained by an earthly power-its condition is that of the most abject and hopeless slavery have the power or will to de respect as much as if they were found literally sion I in so many words in the bond i'self, interfere with slavery in this District, without a violat-gard to a question which affects, first their

rights of property, next their happiness and their social relations in life ? Isit possible the people of that District, without their consent. without their petition and without their will, The distribution of the provided the point of the provided the point of the provided the provide this nation to preserve that purpose in the tation? Is it manly?—is it just in the same of other gentioned in the mandered answer these questions, Senators. Tell me the same of other gentioned in the wandered done by that noble Senator—one of those real-whether it is on you who are not affected by this the pole to the equator. But what were from the pole to the equator. But what were from the pole to the senator from Alle and whose God-like teachings, since their strip this people of property, of comfort and of voices are no longer heard, are sainted and enshrined in the heart of every man who is not openly or secretly a traitor to his coun-worst, most terrible and most unheard of tyand whose God-like teachings, since their

ranny that this world has ever scen. I next come to consider the substantial protry. I have now discussed the resolution in its two-fold aspect. as it is before the Senate. I position submitted in the resolution as amendhave examined, first, the assertion that it is the unquestionable right, and next endeavor-that this abolition of slavery should not take ed to ascertain whether it is the manifest du-ty of Congress to ablolish slavery within the of loyal slaveholders. I have no objection to ed to ascertain whether it is the manifest du-

I will read from the speech of Henry Clay, he has already avowed is not the real object gressional decisions in regard to the matter,) forced upon me. delivered in the Senate of the United States, to be accomplished by his party associates ? until the question was raised, and as the cour-on of no particular until the question was raised, and as the coun-try believed, settled finally by the compromise tution. I come here to defend that instruthe District of Columbia the Seat of Govern-ment of the United States. That was the great, paramount, substantial object of the grant; and in exercising all the powers with which we are invested, complete and full as which we are invested, complete and full as gress to suppress insurrections, do that which they may be, yet the great purpose of the ces-sion having been to create a suitable seat of tion and rebellion ? Is not Congress required the people of the District, and without just compensation to the owners within the dis-trict." I have endeavored, in the argument I have offered upon the original resolution, re-it made? The Constitution matching and by whom was have offered upon the original resolution, re-ported from the Committee on Federal Rela-people of these United States. (the then thirtions, to embody, if not the exact words, yet teen colonies,) for them and for their descend- of law, long before that great city has grown. der similar circu stances would ask to have justice, the land Constitution administered to was peace, harmony and concord, and when gress to do that which the Constitution is in- gument headvanced to the National Senate of thirteen original States, with a full ander-

and not with me, should be the blame. But what are the inducements held out to this Sonate to secure their affirmative action other he must be and is. I have stated that upon these resolutions? I will do the Senator from Allogheny, (Mr. IRISH.) the justice tion of our ancestors of the thirteen original tor from Allogheny, (Mr. 18781,) the justice States. It was the result of compromise-to say that, in arguing this subject, he en-deavored to adhere strictly to the question immediately before the Senate, or, in the words of the Senator from Bradford, (Mr. you take away that life-giving, substantial nourishment, the man will sieken and die.— he confined himself within "the limits of the ten miles square." I cannot say the same of other gentlemen who have dis-

a century, and who, when they were among whether the grievance in this matter is so the reasons given by the Senator from Alle so the republic, great that, as the only remedy, you must gheny? The first one was the effect it would sheny? The first one was the effect it would have upon the two or three thousand individgheny? The first one was the ended in divid-have upon the two or three thousand individ-uals who are to be directly affected by the adoption of the measure now before Congress —the two or three thousand islaves and the

The question was unanimously answered in the strain of the

Union must be dissolved. His efforts were and not mere theory, that abolitionism leads persistent and constant, and the paper origi-nated and aroused a spirit within this people which being founded upon fanat cal sympathy shining lights of that faith; and if the Sonator from Bradford proves the rule by being the exception, he will be most fortunate. In grew and increased until it resulted in the order, sir, to save him the most argumete. In order, sir, to save him them the dire conse-quences of such a result. I would point him to the life and teachings of Him whose mis-sion was "peace on earth and good will to-wards men." Born and reared in Judea, a

formation of a mighty party. This brings me to the assertion of the Senator from Bradford, that "slavery and slavery alone is the cause of all our trouble," that without it there would be no war-all would have been peace, concord and happingss. Suppose, sir. by way of illustration, that in a and necessities of men ;) suppose further, that this magazine has been located by authority a gress to do that which the Constitution is in-tended to suppress and prevent? The next condition I propose by my amend ment is that this action shall not be taken vithout the consent of the people of the District of Columbia themselves. Why so, ir? If Congress has unlimited jurisdiction within that territory—uncontrolled, mureup around and about it, that the law by which a dying patriot, feeling that without its pas-sage the measure would be (as is intended here,) an entering wedge for the dissolution of the Union—could I have any portion of his eloquence, I concive that I could influence this Senate as he influenced the Senate of the United States, and persuade these member.

abolition societics formed.

onward in that mission for which she was surely destined by God himself, and from which, as I believe in that God, she cannot Mr. LANDON. I did not answer the Senator. Mr. CLYMER. The Senator from Lancas-ter answered "both." I agree with him that it was both, that it was those miserable, des-perate tricksters and politicians of the South, now be turned. Again, sir, in order to save the Senator

using the institution of slavery, planted in their midst by their ancestors for benevolent purposes, as a means to excite the feelings of world by the struggle of 1776. Did not God you have away that me giving, substantial nourishment, the man will sicken at.d die.— Now, sir, there were adverse interests and opinions entertained by our forefathers rep-resenting these States when they formed the federal compact; but in spirit of amity, of concession and fratemal feeling, those adverse elements were settled and received expression elements were settled and received expression in the writen law. And I say to-day, that I here desire to say that if there is a