

ras debatable ? The CHAIRMAN said, the Chair had not given

The CHAIRMAN then said, that, looking to the ange of debate which was allowed in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, the Chair and not feel authorized to pronounce the remarks of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Wilnot out of order. The chair, therefore, overrui-

al the point of order. Mr. WILLIAMS said, that he appealed from the decision of the Chair. Mr. WILMOT desired to be informed by the

four, whether, when the House was in Committee t the Whole on the state of the Union, the state the Union generally, as well as the immediate bil which was pending, was not under consid-

try might have never known that it held within They lean upon it forsupport, they look to it for pro-motion; they tremble and turn pale at its frowns its bosom, one of such broad, such comprehensive, such exalted patriotism. This, he (Mr, W.) con-Many fear to stand on the rock of truth.unsupported fessed, would have been a serious loss to the counity, and a great personal sacrifice to the gentleman from Illinois; but one which, he trusted, would save by a consciousness of rectitude and duty, who sensible of their weakness, lean with their whole have been cheerfully made, to avoid that aguation which so alarms and disturbs the gentleman. weight upon the strong arm of some great interest for support. Mr Chairman, (he continued) I am charged by Mr. Chairman. it has become quite common for the gentleman from Illinois with practicing the arts of the demagogue-with keeping alive a "misercertain gentlemen, distinguished alike for their pa-triotism and modesty, to claim for themselves that able excitement," to secure my own elevation to, they stand upon a broad and national platform; office. When have I been found at the footstool of and to denounce all who do not take position with them, as narrow-minded, sectional, and fanatical. Is slavery national, and freedom sectional? He

power? When have I addressed myself to propi-tiate its smiles or its favor? When have I abandoned principle, and taken refage in the arms of

repuses in the grave. He has no more favors to any great moneyed interest for succor and protec-tion? When have I proved false to my profesther A late Senator h hackirard," is elevated to the premiership, lience. its charm ; as premier, it is to be p tential. I shall expect to see his discoveries in " physical geograadopted by the faithful. We shall see, sir, what we shall see. Whatevor course gentlemen may adopt, one thing is certain, that a large maority took their seats in the present Congress pledged to the support of the proviso. This fact is mown to those who hear me, and to the whole dountry. It will stand in history, and the shamesell as to the character and positical principles of the record will also be written, that some were taith-the I represent? For his information I will tell less to those pledges—that they sacrificed princi-him, that it one of the strongest Democratic districts ple and honor. to propriate power. There are not ful record will also be written, that some were laiththree men from the free States, on the opposite side of the House, who, when elected, were not undershould by their constituents to be in favor of legislablood by their constituents to be in layor of legisla-tice action against the extension of slavery. The day-remote it may be-when the South, in its arme is true of a large majority of the Democrais. I know of some who gave their soleran pledges in writing, to stand by the principle to the fast, and against all compromises, who have publicly de-chared their purpose to abanden it. This, sir, is remaineful; yet it is by such treachery as this, that the orthogonal be its own way, and be its own voluntary action own way, and be its own voluntary action for set about the great work of emancipation, and the separation of the two faces; in which work, I hast, actions all compromises, who have publicly de-the North will compete a high of terror and of blood. slavery is to gain a triumpli. If the ordinance of freedom is to be thus deteated, it is not by the the prospects of perpetual slavery, without seeing voice of the people ; it is defeated, by the betray- the luture of my country shrouded in darkness and attof their Representatives. And is such a beinay, at of high trusts to be dignified with the name of " compromise ?" Do gentlemen expect such a set-tlement to stand ? Is this the way in which peace is to be restored to the country ? Are the people to be cheated, and then called upon to thank as public benefactors those who detraud them? A listinguished Senator-he again who "treads no of liberty, and of all that man holds dear and step backward"-in a recent speech, labored earnsacred. estly to prove that it was the duty of a representa- so long will those who have property in it, hold on tive to violate his instructions, to disregard the to slavery with a grasp that cannot be broken wishes of his constituents whenever, in his opinion, Every one will acknowledge that slavery would bethe public weal would be promoted thereby. He contended that the faithful representative-he who very ought not to be extended over the free soil of righteously observed his pledges, who faithfully this continent. They embrace this great principle and honestly, by his speech and votes, carried out it in these Halls the views of his constituents-was a charge upon us who are opposed to its extension, to the last, against all temptation, and in the face | elaye himself, and that a proviso was needed to a desire to bring about abolition, by hemming of all opposition. They will adhere to their principlic free such a one from bondage. Sir, neither great them in, and thereby making their property worthtalents, nor exalted position, can sanctify such doctrines. They strike at the toundations of our doctrines. They strike at the foundations of our system of Government. They are anti republican, anti-American. The Senator himself gave us a shameful example of their mischievous influence.

of circumstances our Territories should be preserv-ed from the threatened encroachments of slavery, and finally be admitted as free States, (a result which non action leaves to the hazard of chance,) still slavery will have triumplied, it we fail to as sent the rights of freedom. The policy of this Gov-erument should be setted now and forever, against the turther extension of slavery. This is rendered necessary by the startling demands of slavery, of its right to extend wherever the flag of the Union floats. But, as I was saying, our friends on the other side have undergone a change ; and I fear that an-other, and more sudden change awaits them. Gen Taylor is dead. The brave and honest old chief is subversive of those great principles which lay at millions. This immense capital is struggling for

other, and more sudden change awaits them. Gen capital in human flesh and blord. I oppose the more particularly was to address myself to the gen-Taylor is dead. The brave and honest old chief extension of slavery, because it is an element of Ueman from Imnois, [Mr McCLERNARD.] and to weakness in S ates. I speak with no teelings of repel the charge brought by him against the friends stow ; the mantle of his power has fallen noon unkinduess towards the South, but I utter my ear- of freedom, of a desire to defeat the appropriation nest convictions when I say, that the South is weak hills. They have never entertained such a thought. --weak in all the elements of strength and great. They are loyal to the Constitution and to the Governa who "treads no step nest convictions when I say, that the South is weak forth his word is to have a magical influence and ness-weak to resist a foreign toe, and only weak ment of their country,-toyal, sir, and true. They power. As Senator, and Taylor living, it had tost because of the institution of slavery. It is the ment de ire act on on California-that great question, who perform the labor of a country that must de. ( which, more than any other, engrosses the mind who perform the facor of a country that must der who in more than any other, engrosses the finne fend it in the hour of danger. The men who per- of the nation. It is a shame-a personal dishoner formed the labor of the South are slaves. You to notificut men-that California is not yet admitt-dare not place the means of defence in their hands, led into the Union. Why this protracted delay ?--You dare not give them arms, and teach them their Why this continual postpohement of a measure use, lest they turn them against yourselves. If which they all profess to tavar? Are gentlemen your young and able bodged men go to the field in afraid to act? Are we cowards, that we dare not large numbers, you leave your tamilies-your wo- perform our constitutional duty? Do we fear to men and children. exposed to a terrible enemy ht lake hold of the work which we came here to do ! home. It is an element of weakness in States, and Sir, let us have done with this timid, this cowardly policy. Let us act There is honor and safety for this reason 1 am opposed to its extension. in action-dishonor and danger in further delay --Another reason: Notwithstanding the vast in\* The gendeman from Illinois is waking the section of the Senate on the "omnibus bill." After cight crease of slavery in the last sixty years, I entertain the hope, so aidently cherished by our fathers, of months of the session is exhausted, he is for givits nlumate extinction. I look forward to some ing time for slavery to mature its plans. When slavery is in danger, the gentleman is ever ready and prompt in action. No measure of slavery was ever delayed an hour for want of the gentleman's, aid Feedom must stand back, and only cuter these Balls in the manner, and at the hour-slavery shall dict ite. I wish that the vote of to-day should arrest the Slavery cannot be eternal. I cannot contemplate attention of the country. Let it be known throughout the length and breadth of the land, that the consideration of California was postponed to make in gloom. The extension of slavery will postway for an appropriation bill for the support of the pone the day of deliverance-magnify its diffi-Military Academy at West Point,-a bill which there was no occasion for pressing upon our uttenculties, if indeed, it does not make them insurmoun able. Slavery I have before stated to be a tion, and which could have been acted upon a perumary question-a question of capital, of doffor hight or a month hence, without any detriment to the public service. This was done by the votes late and cents. This is the light in which it is viewed by the master, to the slave it is a question of the South, united with the great body of northern Whigs, and a few northern Democrats. California It will continue so long as it is valuablepostpourd af er eight months' delay, by the strong role of ninety three to visty! Yet, in the face of this vote, men will go home and try to make their . constituents believe that they were friendly to the come valueless much sooner, if confined to its present limits, than if extended over a wile space early and unconditional admission of California. This, southern gentlemen tell us, is the The AFFECTIONS -There is a famous passage in the writings of Rousseau, that great delineater of the human heart, which is as true to human nature as it is beautiful in expression : "Were, I in a desfriends en, I would find out wherewith in it to call foulmy affections. If I could do no better. I would lasten them an some sweet myrile, or some melancholy cypress to connect myself to, I would court them for their shade, and greet them kindly, for their protection. I would write my name upon them, and declare they were the sweetest trees throughout all the desert. If their leaves withcred, I would teach myself to mourn and when they rejoice I would rejoice with them." Such is the absolute necessity which exists in the human heart field of slave labor is fast filling up: that the laborers of having something to love. Unless the aflections have an object, life itself becomes joyless and insipid. The affections have this peculiarity, that they are not so much the means of happiness as their exercise is happiness itself. And not only Sir. I so, if they have no object, the happiness derived from our other nowers is cut off. Action and enterprise flag, if there be no object dear to the heart, to which those actions can be directed.

The CHAIRMAN asserted, remarking that it was pon that ground that he had overruled the point

The question was then taken, "Shall the decinon of the Chair stand as the judgment of the committee !" and decided in the affirmative, without a division.

ic the decision of the Chair was affirmed by the commutize

Mr. WILMOT proceeded. Not until to day ad from the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. MctERNAND.] had he heard this charge of a desire deleat the appropriation bills, made upon the tends of freedom. He had riser, to repel any such charge, and to brand as false, all such rumors. indeed it was astonishing to him how such ru-mora could have obtained currency. He suspected that they existed only in the imagination of the seuleman from Illinois, and that he is the rar os to which the gentleman refers, there was a word said which could be tortured into such construction. It is true that the friends of Caliomia desire action : it is true, they begin to apprethat thisse who came here professedly her heads, are not so in good faith, but are prepared gre her the go-by. He desired to give to Cal-alcoarse now ; & the reason is this : the history of e session ; and he felt satisfied that when those is were passed, that the day of adjournment will the armived. The same men who now seek to bare of the admission of California—to put the ornideration of that great measure behind other Dense the set of states laws. This question of slavery extension is a great pesucces, after a shameful delay of eight months, the cuntary question-a question of eapital-of money. ame men, sir, will vote for and carry an adjourn-ami, so soon as the appropriation bills shall have a passed. It is to insure action on this measto make it certain-to place it beyond doubt ingency, that we desire to give it priority allomia is the great measure of public interest, mght to be first and foremost in our regards. It is appermost in the minds & affections of the penses its vast patronage; it proscribes its enemies The and should not by us be made subordinate and exaits its friends. So far as legislation, and all anything else. Judging from the declarations of the machinery of Government is concerned, it in Indemen when we met here in December last, troth and fact, constitutes the Republic itself. Well then the voices of our constituencies were yet informed southern men in this, and in the other Wilke, he (Mr. W.) had supposed that there was branch of Congress, have estimated the amount of man on this floor who was not in money invested in slaves at sizten hundred milor of the speedy and unconditional admission of dibmia. Now we have the declaration by the one, but, that the sum is large almost beyond comies to drive bargains in behalf of slavery. " wishes to make California purchase her way the Union by large and important concession the slave interests. He is in favor of clogging with measures for the government of the Terto the catching of ransway slaves-in short, anything and everything which the advocates davery may demand. He would make Califora pack-horse, to be loaded down with whatburden his allies may choose to place upon back. He would make her pay dearly for hav-Sucorporated info her constitution, that thing so full to him the Proviso of Freedom. He (Mr. ) was for California, separate from all other bions. He believed it due to that State, due unselves, and above all, required by the voice rast majority of the freemen for whom we to speak and act.

What, Mr. Chairman, is the speciacle presented Atter having acquired all the slave territory he continent-after having annexed Texas hat haste, and at the hazard of the war which ed that act; now, sir, the free State of Calitia, with a voting population larger than that of the half of the slave States-larger than Arkansas, ian Texas, larger, in my judgment, than hisirsippi or Louisiana-this tree State is her Missiesippi or Louisiana-1 where navery within her borders. Those who be given to the holders of human stock. What you would have expressed the voice of the coun-

tinue to straggle, with all the feeble powers God had given him." This great doctrine of the universality of freedom, as one of the inalienable rights of man, and of the local character of slavery, as a State and sectional institution, constituted in the early days of the Republic, an established article

(W.) had been taught by the tathers of the republi-can school, that freedom was broad & national, and

slavery local and sectional. For this great doctrine

in the republican creed. Hence, the efforts of Jelferson to circumscribe the limits of slavery-efforts gloriously successful in the establishment of the ordinance of 1787-by which freedom was secured to the State which the gentleman from Illincis [Mr. McC.] in part represents But for this ordinance, which the gentleman now denounces as infamous, the curse of slavery would have rested like an incubus upon his own State. It whald have gone there in defiance of the ordinance, had Illinois, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, been blessed, or carsed (her people will judge which) with a superabundance of that broad and comprehensive patriotism of which the gentle. man boasts. Instead of that free labor, which is fast giving to Illinois prosperity and greamess, the negro slave would have lonered in idleness upon her fertile fields, or been driven by the lash to his thriftless and unwilling toil.

He (Mr. W.) had followed in the footsteps Jefferson; he had traveled in the beaten track of the fathers of the republican party. His efforts had been to circumscribe slavery within State lim-Government, for twenty years, proves that the its-not to interfere with it there, but to resist its popriation bills are not passed until the last days spread over the free Territories of the nation-to relieve the Germal Government from all responsibility for its existence or support, leaving it to rest

The immense canital invested in slaves, as effect ually controls this Government as does the capital invested in the funded debt of Great Britian control that.' The old proverb that "money rules the world," is as true in political as in social affairs .appropriation bills. The admission of The money invested in slaves, wields the destinies of this boasted free Republic. It shapes its policy to its own ends, it elects its Presidents, and dislions of dollars He thought the estimate a large deman from Illinois, [Mr.. McCLERNAND,] that putation, is certain. This vast money power, ex-is opposed to her unconditional admission. He, buding over half of the Confederacy, and binding tending over half of the Confederacy, and binding together in the bonds ot a common permiary in-terest half the States, dictates law to this Republic, and rules with a despotism unrelenting as death As a Democrat, he had ever been opposed to great monied interests. The instincts of money are the same the world over-the same here as in the

most grinding despotism of Europe. Money is cold, selfish, heartiess. It has no pulse of humanity, no feelings of pity or of love. Interest, gain, accumulation, are the sole instincts of its nature and it is the same, whether invested in manufac turing stock, bank stock, or the black stock of the South. Intent on its own interest, it is utterly regardless of the rights of humanity. It would coin dividends out of the destruction of sonts. Here, then, sir, we have sizteen hundred millions of capial-heartless, unfeeling capital, intent on its own It is here, sir, in these pecuniary advancement. Halls, in desperate conflict with the rights of hu-manity and of free labor. It is straggling to clutch

should belong to him who labors upon upon it — those upon which all great political questions sixteen bundred millions of dollars, demands the should be settled in a government like our ownsoil of our territories in perpetuity for its human chattles-to drive back the free laborer from his rightful field of enterprise-from his lawful and voice of our respective constituencies. Let every God-given inheritance. Slavery must have a wider field, or the money value of flesh and blood will as it was understood he would vote when a candi-Yes, sir, her only offence is, that she has deteriorate. Additional security and strength must date for an election to a seat in this Hall : then, sir

and for this he should consir, no : I have kept the faith : I have redcemed the solemn pledges given to a generous constitutency-a constitutency, sir, that have stood around me, and sustained me, with a devotion and constancy of which any man, the greatest in this nation might well be proud; and, sir, I would sooner stand against the assaults of a thousand such as the gentleman from Illinois, than disappoint the just expectations of the humblest man ho gave me his confidence and support. Does the gentle-man from Illinois know anything about the district, from which I come ? Has he ever informed himin the State of Pennsylvania. If by Abolitionia he means a class of persons who assail the Constitution, and seek the overthrow of slavery by violent or unlawful means, then, sir, there are no Ab-olitionists in my district. If by Abolitionists the gentleman intends to be understood all such as are opposed to the extension of slavery, then, sir, we are all Abolitionists together. It is the most radical, thorough, inflexible Democratic district in the State : and has ever been true to the maintenance of the great cardinal principles of the Republicar

-opposed to a high protective tarill, to a napartytional bank, to extravagant schemes of internal improvement by the General Government, to a distri bution of the proceeds of the public lands; and in favor of the independent treasury; and of every other measure with which the Republican purty has been indentified for the last twenty years. Nay, more, ; it took the lead in Pennsylvania in upport of many of these great questions. The Democracy of my district, advocated the indepenlent treasury, and a more liberal revenue policy. pefore either of those great measures had commended themselves to popular favor with the party ir. that State. I was with them then, I am with them now. It is a part of their faith, and a part which will not be compromised or surrendered, that slathis continent. They embrace this great pruiciple as a part of their creed ; and they will stand by ples; they will make them the guide of their action, the rule of their conduct. They will follow no organization that has for its object the prostration of their principles. The gentleman from Illi nois would read them out of the party. When they are excluded from the Democratic party, it will be when he turned his back upon the unanimous in past hope in Pennsylvania. That state will then structions of his own State. I subscribe to no suc have taken its position permanently in the ranks of the opposition. But I do not believe that they will allow the gentleman from Illinois to excommunicate them from the Democratic party; nor will the denunciations of the entire South move them one jot or tittle from their principles.

I have said, Mr. Chairman, in my judgment this oosed in him. whole controversy would have been settled without agitation, and without this protracted struggle, which some gentlemen profess to think endangers he stability of the Union, had the Representatives from the North faithfully carried out the will of their constituents.' I do not intend this remark as a reflection upon the gentleman from Illinois. His district for aught I know, may be as pro-slavery as himself. It is not my purpose, Mr. Chairman, to reflect upon the motives or conduct of any gentle-man in this House. It would be out of order for ne to do do; yet I cannot but feel, that the true way to settle existing controversies is not by patchthat, by-and-by, will reach the constituents ed up compromises, which ought to have, and can manity and of free labor. It is strangling to clutch have, no force, if made against the public senti-in its iron grasp the soil of the country—that soil ment of the country. The principles upon which which is man's inheritance, and which of right this controvesy should be settled, are the same as gentleman from Illinois, and the like of him. by an honest and faithful representation on this floor, and in the other branch of Congress, of the Jod-live larever. man vote as his constituents desire him to vote-

. .

why they are determined to extend it; and they them in, and thereby making their property worth-less. We do no wrong to our southern friends in opposing the extension of slavery, although the policy of non-extension will hasten the day when slaves will be without value, and slavery shall cease to exist. God has established certain great laws, by the silent and sure operation of which, slavery must ultimately be extinguished .structions of his own State. I subscribe to no such sentiments. I tolerate no such doctrines, in politics It cannot long stand against the law of population, or in morals. 1 can respect, nay more, applaud the vithout constant expansion. If the laws of nature man who votes for slavery, when I believe that he and population necessarily tend to diminish the value of slave property, why should we be called is fairly reflecting the principles and feelings of upon to retard their operation-o save the institution of slavery from their influences by an extingion of its area ! Gentlemen of the South see that the those he represents; but I have only loathing and contempt for him who, by false professions, obtains a high place, and then betrays the confidence re

Mr. Chairman, I do not desire agitation; but I are increasing, and that, unless the field is enlarged, labor will cheapen, and the laborer himself becannot consent to avoid it, by a tame and ellent submission to wrong. I will not see, without a come workliess as an element of property. They struggte to avert it, this Government. established see clearly that at no distant day they will be comsee clearly that at no distant day they will be com-pelled, by the force of natural laws, to commence by the price of blood, upon the great foundations of Freedom, subverted to the accursed porpose of the work of emancipation, unless that day is put of the extension of slavery. Its power shall never be by the opening of fields for slave labor. wielded to such ends, if hy any humble efforts of would not obstruct the operation of God's laws --mine I can prevent it. So long as there can be I certainly would not interfere to save slavery from found such men. in the North, as the gentleman their influence. Looking, as I do, to the day of our ulfimate redemption from this curse, I wish it to come before the evil shall have grown to such giant from Illinois, to stand here and do the work of slavery, so long there will be agitation --- an agitation of the proportions as to defy our efforts for a peaceful degentleman, and light up the fires of Troth and Freedom in his district. When that day comes, iverance. I do not wish the evil to grow beyond our control. We might, by a mighty effort, solve peacefully, and without blood, the problem of sla as it sprely will come, we shall hear no more of the very with ten millions of blacks. No human ower can solve it with fifty or a hundred antilioner church and didn't know the steps

A great trath cannot be trampled in the dust-a It would break in fragments the strongest Governreat principle of right cannot be broken down,ment on earth; it would produce scenes of commo-Freedom will live-truth and justice will liveive in the hearts of men-live in the attributes of tion, strife, and blood, such as the world never

Mrs. Partington says her niece was so rained nnon the other night, that she has had the ferered duger over since, and she supposes would have gone into St. Anthony's dance, only she belonged to the

SWEET GIRLS .- A man travelling at the west, declares that the wind came to him so laden with fra-This Government is not a government of slavery, spirad ruin opon, the country ? . It is the spirit of grance that he thought he was near a garden, of but of freedom. We hold that slavery is not a na- selfishness that invokes this destruction apose our proses. He discovered that it was only a bay of tional institution—that it should be kept within the bland—the selfishness of great interests, the selfish-fairle going through the woods.