NEW JERSEY FOR THE UNION.

BP 1 CH OF TH. HON. JAMES M. SCOVEL ON THE BILL BELOEE THE NEW JEBSEY SELATE TO IMPAISON MEN FOR ENLIST. ING COLUBED COLDIERS.

ING COLURED COIDIERS.

Mr. President—A year ago I stood in the lower House of this Lexi-lature in opposition to lower House of this Lexi-lature in opposition to the Peace Resolutions offered and advocated by a the Peace Resolutions offered and advocated by a the peace at the price resolutions sought to purchase peace at the price of national fonor.

These resolutions about which the dominant party in the Senate base observed a sinence at ouc; ominous and remarkable, united the morality of Dick Tajpin, Jonathan Wild, or Louis Napoleon with the language of Macchiavely. They trified with the conscience of the State as the rebellion has sought to trifie with the conscience of the nation; for when Chief Justice T. ney announced from the highest Court in the land thit, the everlisting surse of human bondage was the supreme law before which about, ejustice must by nd and break, then the great popular heart stirred to its depth, and conscience, with so delicate a voice that it is often stifled, spoke in so clear a voice that it is often stifled, spoke in so clear a voice that it is often stifled, spoke in so clear a voice that it is often stifled, spoke in so clear a voice that it is often stifled, spoke in so clear a voice that its accents could neither be mistaken, nor its mandates disobeyed.

Some of us came up slowly to the help of the

eint could neither be instaled, for the help of the disobeyed. Some of us came up slowly to the help of the lord against the mighty. Mental servicude had become an attribute of the Norta as much as bodily serviced was an its struction of the South, fill, with as much wit as fruth, a son of New Eugland said, replying to Baniel Webster, "Yes! there is no North; it is the South all the way up to Canada!"

Gaiada!'

Soon it permeated the minds of the people that
when a Chief Justice said, in the latitude of Washington City "that a negro had no rights which a
white man was bound to respect," the true intent white man was bound to respect," the true intent and meaning of such language in the atmosphere of Charleston was that "no Northern mudsil has any rights which a Southern gentleman is bound to respect." Then the shotted guns of Sumer opened, while manhood and moral courage took the place, in the mind and heart of the American people, of concession and pusillanimity.

"We have refused a llegiance to our principles; we have refused to pay the price of national honor and virtue, and we are sued in the courts of destiny at d the case is this day on trial." And I need not speak of the eagerness with which the eyes of Europe are turned toward America, that land of which a distinguished Englishman (John Bright) mays: "Privilege every morning, with blacat breath, begins to curse because it (America) dares to be prosperous and happy without a monarchy, without an aristociacy, and without a pries hoo, who are the licensed venders of salvation wrought

who are the licensed venders of salvation wrought

Mr. President. I confess the hesitation with which I approach the discussion of this bill which is now before the Senate. My only desire is to proclaim those sentiments of public policy which I believe are intimately connected with the future glory and grandeur of my country. And, Sir, I trust that I belong to that class who believe the greatest glory of a free-man is to be a good citizen. And a good citizen prefers liberty to luxury, and honor to profit. He helds that next to dying for one's country the greatest glory is to live for her interest and honor. I have no aspirations no ambitions, which do not go for ward in longing for that peace which shall dawn upon the end of the sterrible and righteous war, a peace which, in the language of Abraham Lincoln, "I hope may come soon, and when it does come will come to stay and will be worth the keeping for all future time." President. I confess the hesitation with

whenever I look upon that flag, Sir, with every impulse o' my heart, there rises a sentiment of affection, of honor. I know that God has given this country to men who can defend it, and to women who in its service consent to the sacrifice of their husbands, their brothers and their sons. And the man, whoever he is, and whatever place he may fill, who will not protect and defend the land that gave him birth, is a dastard and a coward.

The bill before the Senate, Mr. President, is en-

fill, who will not protect and defend the land that gave him birth, is a dastard and a coward.

The bill before the Senate, Mr. President, is entitled "An Act to regulate the appropriation of moneys raised by the authority of the State for war purposes." I frankly confess that I differ with my honorable friend, the senator from Union (Mr. Jenkins), in the views he entertains of the causes and of the conduct of the war. General sagacity and uprightness cannot contend against the prejudices among which a man is born, and those who advocate the passage of the bill are influenced by prejudices which have grown with their growth, as silest and yet as all pervading as the air which they breathe. As God has no attribute which sides with the oppressor, so man ennobles himself by becoming the acvocate of the oppressed. Bishop Hopkins may thunder, in a small way, to a very select audience, that slavery is a divine institution, and compel his auditors to bow down to the narrowest interpretation of individual texts. But the heart, relying on the spirit of Scripture, still whispers what every grand thinker the world has ever produced boldly proclaims—that all men every where ought to be free.

You cannot make science utter a lie in the face of the universe, and declare that the sun moves round the earth and the earth stands still. The zerrors of the Inquietion are nothing, and Gallieo whispers, 'E put si muyer.' 'It does move

the universe, and declare that the sun moves round the earth and the earth stands still. The terrors of the Inquisition are nothing, and Galileo whispers, "E put al muove." "It does move though." Ay! And New Jersey moves. Only a year ago we were threatened with revolution in the North if a single soldier who was not a white citizen should enlist and fight against "Slavery in arms"—and now a single township in the county of Warren has paid \$10,00 for bounties to colored soldiers, and not less than 3,000 black men have left New Jersey to avenge their slaughtered brothers at Wagner, at Port Hudson; and at Vicksburg. Ay! Even New Jersey moves.

Never again will an insolent majority on bended knees supplicate for peace, and herald to all the world that this war for Law, for Librity, and for Humanity is "causeless in its origin and dangerous to the liberties of the people." Never again will men offer upon the floor of this Senate to join any of the sister States of the Union to carry into practical effect a war upon the Federal Government. The utter change of front in regard to Slavery did not take place till after the year 1836. But so wide-spread and so thorough became the delusion about Slavery in the remnant of the Democratic party, that they unconsciously became the apologists and defenders of human bondage and all its villanies.

We find the present Executive of this State de-

villainies. find the present Executive of this State declaring in his inaugural address (page 14. 1863):

We are told that slavery is the cause of the war, and that the war can never case and the life of the nation be preserved until slavery be abolished. This has led to a departure from the original pur-pose of the war. This is the radical error of the Emancipationists. Slavery is no more the cause of the war than gold is the cause of robbery and murder."

Compare this with the avowal of Alexander H.
Stephens, the associate of Jefferson Davis, in a
8 eeca delivered at Savannah on the 21st of
Mirch, 1861. He says: "The new constitution
has put to rest forever all agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions. African Slavery
2s it exists among us is the proper status of the ne
gro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution."

Between such eminent advocates of Slavery as the Governor of New Jersey and the Vice Presi-dent of a moribund Confederacy, who shall de-

olde?
Onteide of this State, excepting Jeff. Dayis's majority in the city of New York, I do not know where it is seriously contended that "Abolitionism and Secesionism' were the causes of the war. Yet such was the opinion deliberately expressed by Joel Parker in his inaugural address in 1:63, and boldly avowed in his annual message of January 12, 1863.

He thinks that if the policy of Empagington had

mary 12, 1863.

He thinks that if the policy of Emancipation had not been inaugurated the mass of the people in some of the Southern States would have "supplisated their rulers and returned to their allegiance." A greater fallacy was never uttered. Let Maryland and Missouri and Arkansas answer. There you cannot find any fugitive slaves, but further wasters abound. There, where wisdom has been born of this terrible contest, they hold that Slavery, like Achan's wedge of gold, is an accurated thing, and they gladly tear down the But in Kentucky, where neutrality prevailed—sand neutrality in a struggle between freedom and parbarism is a monstrosity—where neutrality prevailed, we now find Governor Bramle to threatening to resist the enlistment of negroes as soldiers. Kentucky answers New Jersey, while South Carolina applauds.

ening to resist the enlistment of negroes as soldiers. Kentucky answers New Jersey, while South Cardina applauds.

And I venture the assertion that outside the rebel lines there is no Legislature that dares to defy the Federal Government by passing so iniquitous a measure as the one ander consideration, unless it be the Legislature of New Jersey. No man whose heart is with his country, can read this bill without condemning it. It provides: "That from and atter the passage of this act it shall not be lawful for any part of the moneys now raised, or which may be hereafter raised, for war purposes to be used for the employment of negroes as soldiers; and any one offending against the provisions of this act shall for each anti every offence, upon conviction; be lars and imprisonment for a term of not less than fave years."

lars and imprisonment for a term of not less than five years."

And I would be glad to know whether this bill when such a measure was proposed for the county of Union, I said that the policy of near points after his own fashion. I appreciate the social virging letter to a Vallandigham meeting, declares that easy political virtue, which writes a sympashing letter to a Vallandigham meeting, declares and says, in the face of a popular m-jority of nearly fwo hundred thousand, that the Proclamation of Emsneipstion is a mistake, intimates that it is unconstitutional, and ends by declaring it an "obstacle in the way of peace."

Sirl we have had too much of this style of supporting the Government. New Jersey, to-da, is full of Union men with Confederate principles.

Like the Clavaliers in the days of the Pret-inder, they hold their wine-glasses to their hips and drank.

balf-hea ted Union men):

"to of bless the King, Ged bless the faith's defender,
The devi) take the Pope and the Preten er;
But was the Pretender is and who the King,
Ged bless us all, is quite another thing."
I charge now, as I have charged before, that the
Governor of New Jersey was elected in the interest
of Slavery, and that hemocracy, as officered and
manned in New Jersey, is in sympthy with Treaon and Rebellion. If you decorate your Senate
Chamber with an American flag, a state flag must
be elevated beside it.

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Chamber with an American flag, a state flag must
be elevated beside it.

The doctrine of State rights, a political falsehood
and a delusion, is boldly proclaimed as part of the
new gorel of peace. Three weeks since the Senator from Bergen (Mr. Holsman) declared himself
in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, and
I congratulated the Senate that since he was in
favor, now of a war with white men, in the next year
he would be eloquent for carrying the war into
Africa, with Atlicans. But, Sir, the Peace Committee met at the New York Hotel on the 22d day
of February, descrating the anniversary day that
gave birth to George Washington, and since then
the Senator from Bergen, in a most the identical
language of the pronunciamento of the Rebei
Congress, declares that he is now,
and has been since the firing
upon Fort Sunter, against the war and for peace.
My accusation against the war and for peace.
My accusation against the war and for peace
in New Jersey. And when Gen. Lee was marching through the beautiful and fertile valley of the
Comberland, up to Harri-burg, the Democrato
parry was joyously assembling in the State Clapitol
of Pennsylvania to nominate George W. Woodward, who said the was a sin to think against
slavery," and that the time must come when the
South could fall back upon her natural rights, and
use all the means she possessed or could command
in d-fence of her slave pro-erry.

No wonder than Gen. Lee hastened to ratify a
nomination so opportunely made! No wonder a
single voice was not raised on benaft of an imperiled country in that Convention, which abandoned
the latitude of Harrisburg as too suggestive of shot
and shell. And it is not singular that a retired
Major General of the U. S. Army, who would
make a veal ital engineer for a 'stutionary power.'

wrote his distinguished consideratu, ns, on the eve
of a most significant election to Mr. Woodward,
who beid the bridge across the Susquehan

shelter from the Godhs and Vandals of oarbarism—sought shelter and protection on the peaceful banks of the Juniata. The recollection of these scenes will never be effaced, and till they have passed from my mind, let no man ask me to pause in my eff rts to point out to my countr men the perils which threaten the Republic. One of the finest passages in Roman history tells us that a ter the battle of Cannæ, after disaster and defeat had followed the Roman General, the Senate went beyond the walls of the imperial city to thank their General that he had not despaired of the Republic! lic!
To that man who would stop the victorious banners of the armies of the Union, by caviling at the
Proclamation of Emancipation, I would answer
that it was six months after the Head of the Nation had invoked the "considerate jurgment of man-kind and the gracious favor of Atmighty God" on that proclamation before, standing by the unnum-bered graves of our dead in the nation's cemetery, we could say: "Uf the two great efforts to easlaye the English race, in body and mind, the first met its grave at Marston Moor, the second at Gettys-burg."

But to return to the political decline and fall of New Jersey. In 1849 buth Louses of this Legislature by joint resolution, declared Slavery to be an evil, and instructed our Senators and Representatives in Congress to vote against the extension of human bondage in the Territories. (Pamp. Laws, p. 334, 1849.)

But soon the leading politicians who represented the dominant nower, became by social ties, or by

Laws, p. 34, 1849.)

But soon the leading politicians who represented the dominant power, became by social ties, or by the powerful influence of interest, in favor of extending Slavery into the Territories. New Jersey became Pio Slavery in sentiment, or at least, the dominant party were for slavery with the Union, or, if need be, without the Union. In all events, they were for Slavery.

Itent Senators to Congress who defended the institution. It sent members to the lower house who worshiped the shrine of Jefferson Davis, then as now, the leading spirit of Southern aggression.

A monster monopoly, which subsidized newspapers and treated the consciences of legislators as a merchantable article; a corrupt corporation, which may yet learn that 'corruption wins not more than honesty,' aided or abetted this spirit of Pro-Slavery fanaticism. A man who was for Liberty and against the despotism of the men who called themselves the 'unistary was 'vere or solve the form who called themselves the 'unistary was 'vere or constitution of the United States was made under the recognized influence of the alarment.

Pro-Slavery fanaticism A man who was for Liberty and against the despotism of the men who called themselves the "muster race," was ostracised in private and in public life.

It was then that James Buchanan made Lecompton a test. He and his viceroys made power tyranny, and they made tyranny contemptible. I then felt, as I now feel, that obedience to such behests was a crime. I declared, in 1853, that if the creed of Buchanan on the Kanzas question became the policy for New Jersey and the country, the Democratic party would become a political and moral abomination.

cratic party would become a political and moral abomination.

The money power and the slave power triumphed, and controlled Democracy in the district in which I resided. The Kansas candidate who believed in Buchansa was nominated and defeated.

I said in the Phindelphia Press, October 19, 1859:

"The man who is chosen to bear the Democratic standard this Fail must bend to the Anti-Lecompton sentiment; the principle will not bend to him, and no shifting or trucking on that question will satisfy the people or subduct the voters of the First District, and wose to the candidate for Congressional honors who has already pledged himself against the double-dealing of a treacherous Administration and has then turned back."

From that day to this, I have been in undying hostility to that sort of democracy which hates liberty, loves slavery, and would rather c-lebrate the funeral rights of Constitutional liberty amid the incantations and orgies of Secression and Rebellion, than see the triumphant advance of civilization which strikes the senackles from the slave and tells the oppressed to go free. bellion, than see the triumphant advance of civilization which strikes the snackles from the slave and teils the oppressed to go free.

Since 1860, the history of New Jersey has been written se that all the world may read it. I yield to no Senator on this floor in regard for the honor of New Jersey—dearer to me than life itself. For her I have made sacrifices which it does not become me here to narrate, and for her future destury I shall do battle with my latest breath, hoping, ay and praying, that she may yet be fee. But, Sir, and I say it with shame, the political history of this State for three years is one of which no patriot can be proud, rave as its darker lines are made glorious and lustrous by the deathless courage of New Jersey soldiers. They have made crimson, on every battle-field from Roanoke to Geitysburg, with their blood (he ban ner of victory.

Mr. President, I may be charged with being political trather than argumentative. But, sir, this is a political question. It is a capital cause we are now trying.—The Nation is on trial for its life. The Democratic party has already been tried and condemned. Las it anything to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced against it! I pance for reply. Who are its advocates!

Is it the sage of Monticello, Thomas Jefferson, a Virginian when Virginia was the "Mother of Presidents," and not the grave of Northern patriots? No.

Who is it, then, who cometh with dyed gar-

Presidents, 'and not the grave of Northern pa-tricts? No.

Who is it, then, who cometh with dyed gar-ments to defend "Democracy as it 1s?" Ah! Now I behold the melancholy procession. At its head I do not find the sage of Monticello, or the "War Horse of the Hermitage," but I behold (hauncey Burr, the Senator from Bergen (Mr. Holsman), and David Narr!

and David Narri
And now, Sir, a few words upon this measure,
which I understand has the sanction of the Demo-

Cratic caucus, and I have done.

I oppose the bill because cratic caucus, and I have done.
I oppose the bill because
First—It contravenes the laws of Congress.
Second—Becsuse it is against public policy and against the rights of mankind.
The laws of Congress passed in and since the year 1862 authorize the President to enroll, arm, equip and receive into the land and naval service of the United States such number of volunteers of African descent as he may deem useful to suppress the prescribe receiving, for such term of service as he may prescribe.

may prescribe.

Under and by virtue of these several acts of Congress, as I am informed by the Chairman of the Military Committee of the United States, 80, 609. the Military Committee of the United States, 80, 600 colored men, many of whom were once slaves, and are now freedmen, are enlisted in the armies of the Union. At least 30,600 more of these despised Africans, about whom the majority of the Senate talk so much and care so little, are employed by the Government, though they do not wear a soldier's uniform. These black men carry a fing which is the symbol of nationality, of power, and of liberty, and they have never disgraced it. It is, then, the settled policy of the United States Government to employ black soldiers. The experiment has been made according to law. It has succeeded.

And now I suppose the Legislature of Nay Tar-

and we will end it by subduing the rebelli in and by sub ugating the "fagitive missers" in the South the worton as is necessarily and justly in the interest of Freedom, for slavery is the lion in the way. God buds up the anou's wounds with Emancipation The Constitution was meant to "secure liberty," not to project Slavery.

No principle of law is plainer than the one which decies to a Siase the power to pass laws in conflict with the laws of the United states. And this bill practically raises the banner of resistance because it resists the law of the Federal Government, and I am glad that the Senator from Union (Mr. Jenkins) abjures the political heresy of state Rights. Perhaps we can meet on triendly ground (as I learn he was once a Whigh when I quote the language of heary clay: "If Kentucy unfur to morrow the banner of resistance, I will not fight under that flag. I owe alligance to the United States Government."

11 if were required, Sir. I could produce volumes of testimony to the bravery and efficiency of our colored soldies. Gen. Hunter, in speaking of the 1st regiment of South Carolina Voluateers, saio:

"I am glad to be in the mid tof von—glad to

of the ist regiment of South Carolina Volunteers, said:

'I am glad to be in the mid tof you—glad to have seen so fine an exhibition of prificiency as you have shown this day. I only wish I had a hundred thousand of you to fight for the freedom of the Union.')

Commodore Dupont wrote from Port Royal his gratitude to the contrabands who had rallied a ound him, and his declaration is: 'They serve us with zeal, make no bargains for their remineration, go un oer fire without the slightest hesitation, and, indeed, in our cause are as insensible to fear as Governor Pickens. Some of them are very in elligent.'

At Wagner, when the gallant Shaw, of the 54th Massachuseus fell with his feet to the foe and his back to the field, a black is regant, wounded and bleeding, dragged himself forward when the colorbears riell, and wrapping the flag about his body, crawled back amid a ueally rain of artill-ry, and when he whipered to the white soldiers in the hospital 'I saved the flag,' three cheers went up for the black srepant of the 54th.

Let me assure the other side of the chamber that the reign of force is ended, and even Chivalry begins to understand that ideas rule the world—Civilization wrestles with prejudices, as the angel of old wir-stled with the patriarch, and prejudices will be smitten to the death

I oppose this bill because it is against the rights of mankind. The nation has outgrown the Dred

of old wristled with the patriarch, and prejudices will be smitten to the death

I oppose this bill because it is against the rights of mankind. The nation has outgrown the Dred. Scott decision, and the conscience of the nation at last is ratisfied that God's lesson for America is that absolute justice to the African is mental and moral emanicipation to the white man.

I beg knye to refer to George Bancroft's views upon the effort to betray the rights of man at the commend of passion and prejudice. He says "That ill starred disquisition is the starting point of this rebellion, which for a quarter of a century had been vainly preparing to raise its head. When counts of justice tail, war begins. The so-called opinion of Tan y who I trust did not intend to hang out the flag of disunton, that rash offence to the conscious memory of the millions, upheaved our country with the excitement which swept over those of us who vainly hoped to preserve a strong and sufficient though narriw istimus that might stand between the conflicting floods. No nation can adopt that judgment as its rule and live; the judgment has in it no element of political vitabity. I will not say it is an invocation of the dead past; there never was a past hat accepted such opinions. If we want the opinions received in the day- when our Constitution was framed, we will not take them second-hand from our Chief Justice. We will let the men of that day speak for themselves. How will our American magistrate sink when arraigned as he will be the verdict against him when he is put in comparison with Washington's political

will be before the tribunal of humanity! How terrible will be the verdict against him when he is put in comparison with Washington's political teacher, the great Montesquieu, the enlichtened magist ate of France, in what are esteemed the worst days of her Monarchy!

11 he argument/rom the difference of race which Taney thrusts forward with pas-lonate confidence as a proof of complete disqualification, is brought forward by Montesquieu as a scathing satire on all the brood of despots who were supposed to uphold

"The Constitution of the United States was made under the recognized influence of the eternal rule of order and right, so that, as far as its jurisdiction extends, it raised at once the numerous class who had been chattels into the condition of

ersons; it neither originates nor perpetuates requality."

If the Constitution does not perpetuate in-If the Constitution does not perpetuate inequality, shall we! The mas Jefferson said: "The opinion that they (the colored race) are inferior in the faculties of reason and imagination must be hazarded with great difficence." (Jefferson's Works, vol. 8p. 356.) He said afterwards: "I express these views therefore with great hesitation; but, whatever be their degree of talent, it is no measure of their right. Because Sir Isaac Newton was superior to others in understanding, he was not therefore

right. Because Sir Isaac Newton was superior to others in understanding, he was not therefore lord of the person and property of others."

We are now paying the price of our National vices as well as virtues. If this Nation had been without virtues, we would, possibly, have been at peace, but it would have been the peace which follows dissolution and death.

The movument at Bunker Hill stands for Prescott and Putnam and Warren, and it also stands for Salem, the colored man who shot the gallant Pittairu, as he mounted the parapet.

Red Bank, in the Revolution, and Bladensburg, at a later day, attest the valor of the colored soldiers.

Our unfriendly legislation will not stay the eternal laws of order and right. Let us rather hasten the accence of that day when we may 'realize truth withoutsuffering, and follow the triumphant truth with out-thiering, and follow the triumphant road of justice without watering it with tears."

The revolution through which we are passing is a necessary one, and if we are true to ourselves, it will be one fortunate for all the world. Let men-deavor to elevate a race which, for centuries, has been despised, and in doing this we elevate our-

The struggle will soon be over. The right never fails in the eternal years of God. And this country will become what Guibald; and Cavour dreamed will become what Guibaidi and Cavour dreamed that Italy might be. Privilege will no longer stalk in our streets while justice speaks with "bated breath and whispering humbleness." And as we look over this continent we will say of our native land in the next four years that, "Under such an Administration as that of Abraham Lincoln this nation will become what it ought to be, and what I believe its Divine Author intended it to be—not a vast plantation for the bleeding of human beings for the purposes of lust and bondage, but a new villey of Jickoshaphat, in which the nations of the earth, acknowledging and worshiping a common God, will a semble and celebrate the resurrection of him man freedom." of he man freedom."

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T. KIMBER, Jr.

Ic24. w&sa-st*

T. KIMBER, Jr.

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Loan of State of Pennsylvania, for the sum of \$210,
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