Volume 11, Number 17.

Selected Poetry.

of Temperance, to the Louisville Journal. such prohibition as a measure or product from the innumerable evils resulting from

Whereas,-We would invite the attent of temperance men of Susquehanna. Count to the establishment of an association brhich the rights and privileges of community can be maintained. We have no person terest in so doing, but have a deep interh the cause; we see how intimately come ad are Intemperance and crime; how dire by both are caused by the Liquor traffic; I that if we can not rid ourselves of t ul destroying element, its power will evaluate render our civil and religious libert than a blessing. With the Mews we would call your attention to a qu on paramount to all others, and to c Fiend this question in all its aspects to y

rnest consideration.

To Re olved, That having examined the "A min League" project, and believing it to most efficient principle by which to e pate the many "Tippling Houses," that Dwe, suffered to impose upon the public, are troy the peace of community; we want to you gentlemen to co-operate with the pass bettainment of this principle.

pas attainment of this principle. eobject for the promotion of Temper ughi its legitimate interests, would earn cit the Philanthrophic citizens of action upon

ontsolved, That we usseaways not the Itliscellancous.

From Gleason's Pictorial THE WIDOW'S BEAU; Or a Hit at Gossippers.

BY MRS. CAROLINA A. SOULE.

Service had commenced in the neat little sanctuary, which the inhabitants of Fairmount had consecrated to the worship of God. The minister had read the Psalm and the Scripture lesson, and the first lines of the opening hymn. The eyes of his people were fixed intently upon him, for he was not only a lady and a gentleman, dissolved the charm. In a second every eye turned from the pulpit to the broad aisle, and watched with more than ordinary cagerness, the progress of the couple. A most searching ordeal were they subjected to, and when they were fairly seated in the front pew immediately before the pulpit, what a nudging of elbows there was, ay, and how many whispers, too, In vain tion of his hearers. They had eyes and thoughts for nobody but widow C. and widow C.'s-young and dashing atten-

How she had cheated them! Hadn't she said a hundred times or more that her beart was in the grave of her buried one; that she would never marry again? Hadn't she refused always to walk out or ride out with any of the unappropriated gentlemen of the rillage | Hadn't she said she didn't feel as tho she could ever wear anything but mourning? And in spite of these protestations, had she not come out all at once, dressed in white, and walked into church in broad daylight, leaning on the arm of a young gentle-

Yes, indeed she had She would have lead guilty to all those charges, grave ones as they were, and the last two, how many withesses might have been subposance. She finally changed my mind." was actually dressed in white. A brautiful "You have ha! But wh role of India mull, tucked to the waist, with an open corsage, displaying an claborately wrought chemisette, drapery sleeves trimmed with richest Mechlin lace, undersleeves of the same expensive material, a white crape shawl, white lace hat, with orange buds and flowers, white kid gloves and light gaiters—such was the description every lady had on her torgue's end to repeat over as soon as service was closed. And the centleman he was dressed in style. He wears, white pants of gance, and she was so determined to do it the latest patern, and a white vest and a coat too when unfortunately for her eloquent strain, of satin finish," and white kids too; and don't he sport a massive chain, and didn't he gaze robe all the time, and she had worn an old often and tenderly, and lovingly on the fair black silk. creature beside him! Ah, yes, he did so, and there was no further room to doubt .--Widow C .- had cheated them. She had won a beau, laid aside her mourning, put on a bridal attire, and was going to be married in church. But who the beau was, or whence he came, was more difficult to solve.

Service proceeded. The choir sang, and the minister prayed and preached and the people wondered when the ceremony would take place. But to their astonishment they were left to wonder. For when the benedic- as a confession. tion was pronounced, widow C.—and the strange gentleman walked with the rest of the congregation quietly out of church.
When they reached the pavement, he offered his arm very gracefully, and she placed her hand very confidingly on the beautiful

soft coat sleeve, and they paseed on. What a nooning that was in Fairmount! What a world of conjectures, surmises, inquiries and doubts rolled over and over in the annals of the village. There was something -I-" new under the sun; a hady had had a beau,

dy tried to make all the talk she could. Af- best men I ever knew."

ter ten, arm in arm, with the strange gentleman, she walked the whole length of the village, and away out into the cemetery, and never returned till the moon was high,

"A nice looking dress, I guess she had," I
drawled out old grandma W.—as she listened to the widow's wanderings. "I am
glad I hain't got to wash it, drabbled up with
dew as it must have been—but I don't 'spose
she thought or cared a word about it, she's

so carried away with him. But I will give her a piece of my mind, the first time I have chance, see if I don't. Cheat us all in But the good old dame began to fear that he would never have the desired chance.

She hurried through her washing on Monday and hobbled over to the widow's as soon as possible, but the door was locked, and one of the neighbors said Mrs. C.—and the sewing and knitting, by any circle of ladies, gentleman went off in a carriage, nobody it was by those composing this society for knew where, very early in the morning.—the next fifteen minutes. Not a word was

away off to the mountain, and on the next forenoon went with him in a carriage to the station house, and there not only wept as she parted from him, but actually embraced and actually kissed him. "What, in broad daylight?" exclaimed grandina W. "Well, if I ever seed or heard

he like on it." Little Nell, the old lady's youngest grand child, wondered to herself if it was any worse in broad daylight than at any other time.

We do at least. There was a very large attendance that afternoon at the weekly meeting of the sewing society. Everybody went that could possible and adoration. The heart is stirred to its ly leave home. And what a chattering there very depths, as, changing the theme, the harwas when the bustle of assembling was over. There was but one topic, but that was allsufficient, all engrossing; the widow's beau for the gentleman must be her beau, or at

least, he ought to be.

Everybody had something to tell, something to wonder about. But suddenly every magpie tongue was hushed; a universal fixed intently upon him, for he was not only agod, sound, cloquent preacher, but he was not only a good, sound, cloquent preacher, but he was not only a good, sound, cloquent preacher, but he was not only agod, sound, cloquent preacher, but he was not only the group as looking one, too, and thus enchained usually not only the attention of the true, but the false worshipper. The house was but the false worshipper. The house was very still—the clear, melodious tone of the true, the clear, melodious tone of the true, the clear, melodious tone of the mapping to group as looking up, they perceived and strike of active life, and walk with nature outset, upon great national questions, to enable our State to take a place in the Union comments and support of the strains of gal and happy music fall upon the strains of gal and happy music fall upon the strains of gal and happy music fall upon the spirits car. The rivulet as it comes from its incommand prompted to know who are to lead and who are to lea speaker were the only sounds that throbbed usual quiet way. "I am glad to see so large on the balmly golden air which the midsum and happy a gathering. It is a beautiful mer Sabbath morn had breathed into that day for our meeting;" and then she proceed-wind, as it lingers among the tree-lops, and holy place. The first syllable of the second cd to the table, helped herself to a block of line was trembling on his lips, when a rustle work, inquired for the sewing silk, which at the door, and the entrance of two persons, having received, she sat down in the only and we hush even the beating of our hearts, vacant chair, and commenced hemming a very red bird with a yellow wing, on to a very green twig, which latter had been bentmed on to a square piece of white cloth, and seemed all engrossed with the bird's bill, and spoke to no one. Everybody wondered if she had heard what they were saying when sought the good, the sound, the elequent, the she came in, but her placid countenance above and over all. Again we listen—Au-handsome preacher to seal again the atten- soon reassured the most fearful, and every tunn has come; the cheerful notes of suinone longed to commence a personal attack. Old granilma W.—was the first to ven?

delicately, and in so "roundabout a way?" "Why, it is really a beauty," said she.

"Where did you get, it?" "I bought it," was the reply.

"Here ? " No."

"Where, then?" "In New York, last spring"
"O, you did, did you. But I thought you wasn't never going to wear! anything but

black again." Every eye scrutinized the lady's face this time in search of a blush, but it continued as pale as was usual, while she answered: "I did think and say so once, but I have

"You have, ha! But what made you." "O, I had good reasons," Here the hearers and lookers-on winked expressively at each other.

"But did you not spoil your beautiful white dress Sunday night, wearing it 'way up there to the burying ground?"

'I did not wear it." Here was a damper to the old ladv. had such a long lecture to read on extrava-

After a while the old lady took a fresh start. She would find out all about that beau before she went home, "that she would." So she began by saying, "your company went away this morning, didn't they?" "They did," was the answer, a wee bit of

emphasis resting on the they. "He didn't stay very long did he?"
"Not as long as I wish he had," was the emphatic answer this time. And how the like the houry frost, was summoned from the ladies did look at each other. It was as good council chamber of the nation to "enter a

"When did he come?"

"Saturday night."

night." "Why, du tell, if you had then, and you never told on't either. Had he business in the place?"

"He had." "What was it?" This was rather more

"Old as lief you knew as not," said the the delasive vision.

would have been quite as edifying. But one "well, he's a real good looking man anywould have been quite as earlying.

subject engrossed the village mind—the wid—way."

ow's beau, that was the topic.

"I think so, too, and he's not only good—
ow's beau, that was the topic.

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> "Worth a hundred thousand or so," said the lady carelessly. "Why, du tell, if he is. Why you will live like a lady, won't you? But what is his name?"

"You don't say so! But is he rich?"

"Henry Macon." "Macon! Macon! Why, wasn't that your name before you were married?"

"It was." "Thenche is a conection, is he?" "He is."

"Du tell, if he is then! Not a cousin, I hope. I never did think much of marriages etween cousins," "Henry is not my cousin." "He isn't. Not your cousin! But what onection is he then, du tell us?"

"He is my youngest brother."
If ever there was rapid progress made in knew where, very early in the morning—
"Yes, and never got home till nine o'clock in the evening." Look out, widow C.—
Your character is on the carpet.

If she knew it, apparently, she didn't care for the next day she went sailing with her beau, and the next day, rambling with her beau, and the next day on the next day of the beau, and the next day is the next day in the next day is the next day in the next day is the next day and the next day is the next day in the next day is the next day in the next day in the next day in the next day is the next day in the next day. haps, mind you, we only say perhaps, they might have guessed more correctly the name. character, standing and profession of the WIDOW'S BEAU.

> Music. God has given unto man an ear so deli sately attuned, and a soul so elevated and efined, capable of experiencing various emotions, that he is able to appreciate, and enimoney power; and when the bank was crushed joy to its fullest extent, the melodies and distributional, we embraced it as a State instituyine accents of Music. We listen with de- tion! We give it countenance until it staggered light, and hang with rapture upon the notes of songs, as the voice of some gifted and be corrupted remains. In 1847 be distute upon the notes of songs, as the voice of some gifted and be corrupted remains. loved one utters the anthem of praise, love monious numbers breathe the joyous welcome tell of hope and heaven, or whisper in plaintive strains, recollections of the loved and early lost. But the smooth and liquid 'modulations of the human voice is not the inodulations of the human voice is not the with the secondary position assigned our State in the political history of the country. There has the busy haunts of men, the bustle, turnoid not been, with us, that necessary unanimity in the and strife of active life, and walk with nature outset, upon great national questions, to enable hountain home dancing along the lowly vale dispensing and cheering many hearts, sings of contentment, purity and peace. The evening and we hush even the beating of our hearts, that we rose not a note of the fairy music.

The pattering of the rain drops, the chirp ing and twittering of merry birds, the dash the whole when completed was designed to mighty river, the rolling of heaven's artillery, form the twentieth part of a led spread. Slie and the voice of the mighty ccean as its tossing and heaving waves break upon the rocky shore,—these all unite in one prolonged, never ceasing song of praise unto Him who is mer's joys have fled; the heart is sad, and as we catch the sound of falling leaf, and wilture. She meant to " do up the matter" very ling wind, 'tis as the melancholly breathing of some distant harp, telling of departed joys the lady should not suspect her of curiosity, and blasted hopes, and calling, "sister spirit So she began by praising Mrs. Cr's—dress. come away." In communication with God, and his works, the soul is enobled, and purified, and better fitted for the high and holy duties of life, and for an entrance into that better land where we shall sing and praise as angels do; and our notes shall rival Cherubim and Scraphim unto Him who liveth and eigneth forever, even our God.

The Last Look.

A wife lay dying. \ Sufferings had wasted her beauties-but the wreck of her former charms, through the medium of her meek and faded eyes, were peering the lustre of a soul prepared to go-as through the crevices of some heary and crumbling bastion shoot the rays of an evening moon. And is the earth grew darker and the dashes of the sullen billows of death began to reach the car, she turned her face to him who was weeping beside her -the object of her first and latest love and with one long glance one beaming smile one lingering kiss-departed into another and better world. And he went forth a mournerbut that last look mingles in his duties, and

controls his visions. A youth left his early home for the active theatre of the world. Standing won the hill beyond the brook, he cast his eye backward upon the picture from which he would soon e seperated forever. There stood the cot, green with the woodbine his own hands had planted—there were his parents and his darling sister looking through misty eyes after injendment and discussion; it would have contain-their departing idol. He gazed but a model a provision on the subject of slavery, as it now ment—such scenes are too tender for the does, only of a different character; and the author stoutest hearts—and casting silent kisses towards the group of beloved ones, he dashed

down the hill and returned no more. way in which he had never walked before." The sage sank down within the walls which had so often reverberated with his fervid clo-"Was you looking for him?" quence, and looking around him murniured,
"I had been expecting him for a fort. "I am content." And his last words, even to the present, upon the bosom of all men. trysting tree of ealier hours, there went! they connection with the question in the Territories for parting. With promises strong as oaths, with kisses sweet as honey, with fears anating from it could thereafter be quoted, sanconths, with kisses sweet as honey, with tears tioning or excluding the institution of slavery in as plentiful as rain, they tore their hearts as-Utah or New Mexico. The principle of the Neunder. The look was exchanged, and the braska bill was plainly enacted as a just and wise

SPEECH OF C. R. BUCKALEW, OF COLUMBIA COUNTY, Delivered in the Senate of Pennsylvania, March

20, 1854, upon Resolutions pending against the Nebraska-Kansas Bill. MR. SPEAKER :- I would have been pleased if

the Senator from Dauphin had been heard upon these resolutions, so that my remarks would assume the character of a reply. He is responsible for the introduction of the resolutions and the consequent debate; and should have furnished those who are opposed to them with the grounds those who are opposed to them with the grounds upon which they are pressed. But the Senator from Wyoming only, has spoken in their favor, and he rather in explanation of his course than as a participant in the debate.

But, I will proceed. There is enough of merit and strength in the Nebraska bill to permit a waiver of all advantages of position, however conformable to the usages of discussion.

The question raised by the resolutions is a familiar one. The same question in other forms.

miliar one. The same question, in other forms, has often been up, and been the subject of debate.

But, although this is so, great misapprehension exists in the community on the subject. I have no doubt that eventually the judgment of the people of this Commonwealth will go, with great unanimity, in favor of the bill assailed by these resolutions. But, at present, there is a necessary work to perform in the exposure of fulsehood

and correction of error.
Still, during the last thirty years public opinion in this State has been misled, in the outset, upon almost every national question that has arisen .-It is a matter of regret, but it is true. The public records of the State prove it. Upon the tariff we have more than once struck hands with Massuchusetts, and after wandering in error been obliged to retrace our steps. \ In 1846 we refused 10 per cent, duties on coal and iron, in order to continue our partnership with Lowell and Bosbeen required to convince us that we were ful-lowing the lead of selfish and blind guides. Up-on the bank question, we contributed legislative resolves, and votes in Congress, in aid of the fused the use of our jails for purposes under the national Constitution: That enectment was copied from an act of Massachusetts—the quarter where most of political heresies originate—and it was only after a patriotic struggle in 1851, that its repeal was secured. I might go on with other illustrations establising the fact of which I have spoken; a fact which has had much to do honor and influence of a State in our republican

justice which are characteristic of our people. Shall we repeat former errors in the case beore us? Shall we again take a position, which cannot, in the nature of things, be maintained? Shall we consort ourselves with political interests, whose career has been vicious and evil throughout, and whese companionship, upon this quesion, we will presently be obliged to abandon? In order to present this, I believe it is only necessary to understand, that the Nebraska bill is founded upon, and but a reapplication of, the principles settled by the Compromise acts of 1850. The people of this State on only acquiesced in by pronouncing condemnation of the principles cy contained. Sir, the sixth section of the Nebraska bill con-

tains the following provision: That the legislative power of the Territory shall ex end to all rightful subjects of legislation, consistent with the Constitution of the United States, and ed interfering with the primary disposal of the soil,

This section contains the whole doctrine assailed, and it is verbatim from the Utah and New Mexico bills of 1850. Instead of being new to legislation, it was adopted by Congress in 1850, and sanctioned by the country. How then can those who approve the measures of that year, complain of the bill! No new principle is introduced. The people of Nebraska are to enjoy simply the shifte rights of local legislation, as those of adjoining territories. This provision was necessary to define the powers of the Territorial Legislature; and from the grant of legislative power it sontains, it would have been necessary, (if the views of the abolitionists were to be consulted:)to exclude power over the suchjet of slavery. In this way only could the confrol of Congress over the subject, or the authority of the 8th section of the Missouri act of 1820, be preserved. But, if the section had been so constructed, would it not have introduced the slavery question into Congress? The bill would have been subject to of the bill could have been charged, just as absurdly as he is now charged, with the jutroduc-tion of the slavery question into Congress. Sir,

Such expectation would have been foolish if induiged. What was contemplated after the struggle of 1850, by those in favor of the acts of that year, was that the basis of action then estab-lished, should be maintained. Congress then decided in favor of the principle of non-intervention on the question and passed it over to the people of the Territories concerned. The general gov-A lover had lost his idol. Beneath the erhment by that decision, was sundered from all then about being organized. No enactment embrains of not only the gossipping ladies, but direct and blunt than grandma had meant under. The look was exchanged, and the braska bill was plainly enacted as a just and wise sober, matter-of-fact gentlemen. The like to put, and she forthwith apologized by say-of such a thing had never occurred in the annals of the village. The matter occurred in the like ing, I didn't mean that I I only thought dreams there—often of his unbroken companions, the same of the village. The matter occurred in the local state of the village of th ionship. Alas, for her, when she awakes from prepared for Territorial governments, the same arrangement precisely would have been made in

had by foreign governments or our own, popular local authority was substituted for Congressional dictation. The right of those who lay prostrate the forest, and give to civilization another advance westward, to enact their local laws, was vindicated and established. Congress wisely surrendered a doubtful constitutional power into hands competent to its exercise. Wielded by the general government, it is a power productive of ceaseless and incalculable evils. Vested in the hands of the people of the Territories, it is just-ly lodged, and its exercise unattended by national convulsions. The question as to the location of this power, whether in Congress or in the Territorial legislatures elected by, and representing the people thereof, had to be met in con-structing the Nebraska bill. It was impossible to construct it otherwise than it was constructed, without an abandonment of the principles and provisions of the Territorial acts of 1850, and events, no one who approves the compromise measures of 1850, and whose mind is unclouded

There has been great misrepresentation on this subject, and many have been misled. The measis not, even yet, thoroughly understood .-We have not arrived at that point which we will attain, in the natural course of things, some menths hence. But ought we not rather to anticipate than follow far in the rear of public opinion? At any rate, we should not rashly east the weight of the Commonwealth into the scale of error, or cause her to speak, through these resolutions, language she may be disposed hereafter to retract.

by prejudice, can oppose the Nebraska bill of 1854. The principle in the two cases is identi-

cal, and its application affords no solid ground of

The appeal is made to us against the Nebraska bill, on the ground that it supercedes and annuls and repudiated compromises, and spurned the sional interference which it embodies and exem-counsels of conciliation and justice? The same plifies. disseminated, and to that patriotism and sense of pions and defenders. Can any one doubt that this is done solely for purposes of mischief?that they are no more sincere than consistent in

their conduct? It has been abundantly shown that the act of in any just sense of those terms. It was simply a legislative act, subject, like other acts, to modiication or repeal. Nor has time given it a sanction and force it did not originally possess. It had none of the elements of a compact at first, and experience has proved that the vicious prinriple of Congressional interference it contains, is sary th show that consistency and justice require not, ordinarily, bind a succeeding one; cannot tie

slavery. Louisiana which included the Missouri country, was bought of France in 1803, and slavery existed therein at that time, and afterwards. Union, and the inhabitants possessed and exercis- dits of the country, have been denounced, revited ed the ordinary rights of self government and and abused. Opprobrious terms have been heaplocal legislation, without question from any quarted upon them, and upon many occasions, they ter. The country was settled and improved with have been subjected to fierce enmittes and to untry was settled and improved with have been subjected to fierce enmittes and to untry was settled and improved with have been subjected to fierce enmittes and to untry with the provider of the States from which the new clausests. of the States, from which the new elements, at lions have been "seated in a square and constant least, of its population were derived. And when mind," who have had the courage and magnanimthe people of Missouri came to Congress, in 1821, they came not as aliens or inferiors, but as freemen and American citizens, rightfully claiming dicated. Time has tested their position and esaccommon and equal participation in the advan-tages of the federal Union. They had competent by due to courage, fidelity and patriotism. The tages of the federal Union. They may competent numbers, and a republican constitution. Upon passed away, and were succeeded by a period of every principle of equity and justice, they were entitled to admission. But they also came under entitled to admission. But they also came under the peace. The desire, among the peothe sanctions of the act of 1820, and in conformable, to act justly, was the basis upon which they the sanctions of the act was in the relied under the most unpromising circumstance. nature of a compact, the obligation to admit Missouri was imperative. But the plain right of the the honesty and suggesty which prevail, despite case, and the obligation of what is now called the ern votes in the proportion of two to one, went and courage of public men can securely rest. reason, the concluding clause declares that no act upon the journal of the House against admission. The warm, honest heart of the people, is not apprier to 1820 shall be considered revived. The unless Missouri would abolish slavery. This its introduction was unavoidable. No sensible was a direct repudiation of the arrangement of An old man whose hair was thin and white man ever supposed that the subject would not the previous year, which had left slavery untouched, except in the unsettled region west of the proposed State, and prove that the net of 1820 was not esteemed a compact or binding compromise,

by northern members. An objection urged against the admission was. that by a clause in the Missouri constitution, its legislature was authorized to pass laws prohibiting the immigration of free negroes into the State, Missouri, induced by an objection, the unreason-ableness of which may be judged of by the fact, that Massachusetts then had an act in full force

ple of the Nebraska bill, but applied that principle in exactly the same way—that is, to territory from which Congress had previously enacted an exclusion of the institution of slavery. The plain fact is, that Congress decided to withdraw all interference with the question in the Territories concerned, without distinguishing between regions acquired from France, Spain, Texas and Indian tribles. No matter whence title was derived, or what legislation had theretofore been ladd by foreign governments or our own, nounter when the design and recalled when New the record. Pennsylvania, for good reasons, founded in policy and principle, abolished, in an oextension, now practically existing, but the record. Pennsylvania, for good reasons, founded in policy and principle, abolished, in an oextension, now practically existing but the structure of fact, it has been voted down when New the record. Pennsylvania, for good reasons, founded in policy and principle, abolished, in an oextension, now practically existing but the record. Pennsylvania, for good reasons, founded in policy and principle, abolished, in 1780, the institution of slavery within her tor-ders; and she did this in a manner as just as it was beneficent and salutary. Not prompted by the blind, incalculating spirit of modern abolition-ism, she accomplished the work gradually and under conditions as little oppressive as possible in policy and principle, abolished, in 1780, the institution of slavery within her tor-ders; and she did this in a manner as just as it was been removed, as already shown, from a point policy and principle, abolished, in 1780, the institution of slavery within her tor-ders; and she did this in a manner as just as it was beneficent and salutary. Not prompted by the blind, incalculating spirit of modern abolition-ism, she accomplished the was beneficent and salutary. Not prompted by the blind, in calculating ism, she accomplished the was been very decided to be applied to the territory of the foreign and principle, abolished in policy and was voted down when the Oregon bill was pending in 1848. It was again rejected when proposed to be applied to the territories acquired from Mexico. It has been voted down over and over again in Congress; and it became evident in 1850 that it could not be maintained. It became necessary to adopt other and better ground-more consistent with correct principles and the experience of the country. Cordially approved he chapter.

The doctrine of the Missouri act, is certainly The dectrine of the Missouri act, is certainly overthrown as a matter of national policy. It is but special pleading to say, that it has not been, heretofore, technically, formally and totally repealed. The point of debate lies deeper than the reach of a legal quibble. It strikes behind the legal question upon a statute, to those foundations of right and expediency, upon which legislation must repose. No party can be really satisfied with the act of 1820, and the struggle must eised, to protect and preserve southern institu-tions, when carried by emigration into the terri-tories. The Wilmot proviso, with equal disregard of the Missouri line of 36 deg. 30 min., is to

build up a wall upon the line of the territories, to prevent the entrance of southern institutions. Conservatism and impovation have arrayed against each other, and their struggles have shaken the dissouri line between the combatants, is to proose what is acceptable to neither, cannot be deended upon principle, and can never secure a sol-l peace. The mistake lies in permitting Con-ress to act at all; and hence the Compromiso ts of 1850 are right and deserving of support. Let Congress withhold its hand and leave the whole subject where it properly belongs-to the

people of the territories concerned.
What I have said will show, in some degree,
the true character of the Missouri act of 1820; how ineflicient it has been to prevent agitation;

In supporting sound doctrines we have but one ground spon which to stand. We can make appear in but one our just and reserved rights. And why should be the public one of the federal government upon our just and reserved rights. And why should be the reference of the federal government upon our just and reserved rights. peals in but one direction: We can appeal only to those principles of justice and right which but do not always regulate the conduct of nations 1820 was not a compact, agreement, or bargain, and States. The principles of comity among the with him, to his new home in the west, the same States of the Union, and the right of equal participation, by all the States, in the advantages to be derived from the common property, however clear and just, do not strike the superficial observor.— No apparent self interest exists to urge us forward in a proper line of conduct, or constrains us to adopt correct opinions. And as the multitude. The people of this State not only acquiesced in the occasion of continual disagreement, difficulty the mass of mankind, cannot easily be brought to legislation of the year, but approved of the principles then established. In order to their approved of the principles then established. In order to their approved of the Slighlest right to bind the Congress of the absence of present motive, we are continually proved of the Nebraska bill, it will only be necessingly the show that consistency and justice require the province of the province of the province of the slightest right to bind any acquire cannot be provinced in the mass of mankind, cannot easily be brought to regard what is distant, however important, in the absence of present motive, we are continually liable to be plunged into difficulty, and to assure that the mass of mankind, cannot easily be brought to regard what is distant, however important, in the absence of present motive, we are continually liable to be plunged into difficulty. some positions which will not endure the fest of or grossly mistaken, who would oppose its adopits endorsement. Every one will having require why the State should assume a position in 1850, and with-duticause, abandon it in 1854. And we may inquire why this body, which approved, by resolution, the acts of 1850, should now stultify itself.

But this is not all. The act of 1850, should now stultify itself.

But this is not all. The act of 1850, should now stultify itself. Congress, as well as by the interests now clam-orous in its support.

It has been called the Missonri compromise, a subject; to reject what is irrevelant and trivial, and an impression has prevailed that it, and it and accept what is essential and true. It is the alone, secured the admission of Missouri into the mission of wise and good men to renlarge the Union. History is otherwise. In 1821, Missouri vision of the multitude and cause them to percame to the doors of Congress claiming to be ceive their real interests; to disabuse their minds the provisions of this act; but no law shall be pass- admitted as a State. She had a right to such of error and prejudice; to cause them to reject admission, and without cavil on the question of what is fallacious, though plausible, and plant themselves upon principles of immutable truth. Men in the north—men saguetous, just and wise—who have heretofore stood by the true

was open to settlement from all parts of the principles of the constitution and the real interity to stand up for the right, against temporary delusions-have eventually and surely been vines, and their expectations were not disappointed tion, are a solid basis upon which the integrity pealed to in vain by the man of single purpose propriety of this section lies in the fact, that it

gacious spirit among the masses of the people tory. It does not permit it. It leaves the Terrifor the vindication and support of the great national measure assailed by these resolutions. It vot. This is the meaning of the sixth section, and it was upon that point that an adjustment was a solly necessary that our people should compresend indisputable by the clear terms of the bad-a compromise effected. It was provided that a compromise effected. It was provided that tle, beyond the Mississippi river the "father of those who vote for it endorse a falsehood. stitution should be construed to effect the rights of citizens of other States, under the national constitution. This was the Missouri compromise, by virtue of which the State was admitted, rather than the previous act of 1820, the obligation of the matter of the unquestioned right of establishing or prohibution act of 1820, the obligation of the matter of the matter of the matter of the matter of the same rights of self-government which they can invasion of northern rights. He repeats the matter of the abolition vocabulary which they previous act of 1820, the obligation of the matter of the matter of the same rights of self-government which they can invasion of northern rights. He repeats the same rights of self-government which they can invasion of northern rights. He repeats the same rights of self-government which they can invasion of northern rights. He repeats the same rights of self-government which they can invasion of northern rights. He repeats the same rights of self-government which they can invasion of northern rights. He repeats the same rights of self-government which they can invasion of northern rights. He repeats the same rights of self-government which they can invasion of northern rights. He repeats the same rights of self-government which they can invasion of northern rights. He repeats the same rights of self-government which they can invasion of northern rights. He repeats the same rights of self-government which they can invasion of northern rights. He repeats the same rights of self-government which they can invasion of northern rights. He repeats the same rights of self-government which they can invasion of northern rights. The people of can part of the same rights of self-government which they can invasion of northern rights. The people of can part of the same rights of self-government which they can invasion of northern rights. which had been repudiated. It was a compact liting among themselves the institution of slavery. I had supposed that the States were equal, and between the general government and the State of They permitted and legalized it so long as they had equal rights in the common property. I know thought proper, and when the time arrived that it was expedient and right to eradicate it, they did so without dictation from any foreign author-

Is there any solid objection against extending to the people of Nebraska the same rights which we have enjoyed and exercised? Are republican principles to be varied by location and geography, so that what is right along the waters of the Sus-quebanna shall be considered criminal upon the it necessarily yielded before the pressure of agitation and assault. Then it was that we had substituted for it in legislation, the principles of territorial rights and Congressional non-intervention, which I trust may endure—to the and its constant to the chapter. prairies of the far west, and at the base of the

What spirit of evil is this which rises up in our midst, and invokes us to a work of outrage and wrong? Have the republican citizens of the Territories no right to complain that the general government should attempt to dictate their institutions, and deprive them of a jurisdiction over their own concerns which has been enjoyed by the older States of the Union? They have rescued, and are useding the region in which they have settled, from its desert condition, and have make, and are making it fit for the habitation of civiling endorsing again the dangerous doctrine of gressional intervention. The committee having the subject in charge, met the question and decided it rightly and wisely. Holding that the acts of 1850 were a just decision, "in principle and substance," of the question of slavery in the Territories—a settlement and "finality" in our national policy upon that exciting and dangerous subject—they stood by the principles and prosicions of those acts, and gave a corresponding which above all men of his generation legislation, was the doctrine of Mr. Calloun, fortified and enforced by powers of reasons lightly have an inguity after by seven the Calloun doctrine of Mr. Calloun, fortified and enforced by powers of reasons lightly have an inguity after by seven the calloun doctrine of Mr. Calloun, fortified and enforced by powers of reasons lightly have no rights except such as are doled out to them from a government lightly have no proposed upon them by representatives of Hartford, Boston, and Baltimore?—

This doctrine reaches to all the territories—after the calloun doctrine of Mr. Calloun, fortified and enforced by powers of reasons lightly have no rights except such as are doled out to them from a government leave to first ford, Boston, and Baltimore?—

This doctrine reaches to all the territories—after the calloun doctrine of Mr. Calloun do have no voice in election—shape their own insti-tutions and the laws under which they are to live? However others may not, whether alone or sup-ported; I stand up to-day in vindication of their right to the same powers of local legislation which we enjoy; and I trust that the decision of the question pending in Congress may be in strict accordance with this principle. If so, we may expret a peaceful and just solution of all difficulties upon the question of slavery in Congress. The general government, stripped of all control over the subject, will be left to perform its appropriate constitutional duties, and will no longer be a med-dier with matters that do not justly pertain to it. This principle of congressional non-action is powerfully recommended by the fact that it is strictly accordant with the character of our fedcral government. No idea is more firmly rooted in our national system, or more useful in its results, than that which leaves to the States the ex-

clusive regulation of their internal affairs. Without this salutary principle it would be impossible that the general government could long continue, without a change—a radical change—in our whole system of administration. The term "State Rights" is not a more political watch-word, but contains in it a meaning of the highest signifi-cance. It means limitation and restraint to the Union.

Why, sir, even in those stormy debates, extending through years, and terminated by the passage of the Compromise measures of 1850, our State was in an uncertain if not false attitude. Resolves were passed by the Legislature hostile in cliaracter to the measures hostile in afterward prevailed. That we eventually came affected the solves affected that we eventually came affected to the force of furth, gradually right was owing to the force of furth, gradually restricted to the measures of the country as its cham.

The same men who have always destricted that they would not regard it, or be blound by it! They not require the solves are affected by its decision; and from whose always are affected by its decision; and from the affect

interference into the Tetritories of the Union. The humble emigrant who goes out from amongst us, our relative, neighbor or friend-should carry republican principles, which prevail in the locality from which he emigrates. There is no reason why he should forfeit any of his rights as an American citizen, by a removal into the territories—The common property of the United States.
Sir, when this principle of local power squares exactly with the national interests, in removing the question of slavery from the field of Congressional debate, and secures the peace and barmony of the States in their relation to each other, that man must have bad motives, or must be greatly

My argument has been upon the sixth section of the Nebraska bill, already read, establishing the power of territorial legislation. It is the vital section, and the debate hinges upon it.

I now read from the 14th section. (1) "That the constitution and all laws of the United States, which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said territory of Nebraska as elsewhere within the United States: (2.)/Except the 8th section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March sixth, eighteen hundred and twenty, which being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention, by Conrics, as recognized by the legislation of eighteen fundred and fifty (commonly called the compromise measures,) is hereby declared inoperative and void; (3.) It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, not to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States: (4.) Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to revive con hundred and twenty, either protecting, estab lishing, prohiblting or abolishing slavery.

t regard this section as declaratory in its character. The first clause asserts the extension of the constitution and laws to the Territory. The second declares but the legal effect of the sixth section, already rend, with the reason therefor.

The third, to avoid misconception, declares the general intention of the act; and for the same peated to in vain by the man of single purpose and solid courage. Against enmity and persecution they will sustain him, and carry him forward in his career of usefulness, triumphant and unscathed. From the most dangerous trials, they will bring him forth, without so much as the smell of fire upon his garments."

Mr. Speaker, I rely upon the patrioticiand satisfactory in the Territory is not in the massive of the pagents.

no such thing as northern rights or southern rights. They are terms unknown to the consti-tution. But the equal rights of the States is a

have been crisp and crimson.

In a least the l