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The

The hour of half past cleven having arrived,

STATE OF THE UNION.

Agreeably to order
The House proceeded to the consideration of
the joint resolutions presented by Mr. AHMSTRONG, on the 9th inst.

The resolutions were read, as follows:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatires, That we recognize the Constitution of the
United States as the Supreme law of the land:

are of paramount authority in every State of the United States the war of paramount authority in every State of the Union, upon all matters within the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, and that every on the motion to postpone on the United States the war of the United States attempt on the part of a State, by State laws, to annul or hinder their due execution, is in violation of both the letter and spirit of the obligations due from the people of each State to the general government, and to each other.

Resolved, That the citizens of this State, in common with the citizens of other of the Free

States, have just cause to complain that their Constitutional rights have been denied to them States, have just cause as Constitutional rights have been denied to them in some of the Slave States; that the freedom of speech and of the press have been abridged—the right of personal security has been violated—they have been on frequent occasions and punished without Douglass, Duffield, Duncan, Eilenberger; Elliott Gaskill, Gibboney, Goehring, Happer, Wine. lence, and without interference on their behalf by the constituted authorities of the State. Yet, we believe the remedy for these, and all

Resolved, That we recognize the right of every Steve Stave State to regulate and control slavery 59. within her limits each in its own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States; and that we deny the right, either of Congress or any of the States, to interfere with it, either to limit, modify, abolish or control it within such States. But, on the contrary, it is the duty of Congress, when required, to suppress insurrections and domestic violence, by military

force, if necessary. Resolved, That it is contrary to the first article of amendment to the Constitution to abridge the freedom of speech or of the press, and contrary to the genius of free government to submit either to any other control than the responsibility for its abuse; and that we cannot, in the interests of Slavery, offer so great a sacrifice even

upon the altar of peace.

Resolved, That the Territories of the United States, previous to their recognition as States, are under the exclusive control of Congress, which has the right to make all needful rules and regulations respecting them; that whilst we do not recognize the doctrine that the Control of the United States as the supreme law of the land, and that all laws enacted either by Congress, or the Legislatures of the several States, which are contrary to its provisions, are util united of the United States as the supreme law of the United States as the supreme law of the land, and that all laws enacted either by Congress, or the Legislatures of the several states, which are contrary to its provisions, are util united to the United States as the supreme law of the land, and that all laws enacted either by Congress, or the Legislatures of the several states as the supreme law of the land, and that all laws enacted either by Congress, or the Legislatures of the several states, which are contrary to its provisions, are stitution of the United States carries slavery into the Territories, or exempts it from the control of Congress, we are in favor of an adjustinto the Territories, or exempts a from the control of Congress, we are in favor of an edjustment of the whole question of slavery in the Union, upon all matters within the exchange in such manner as shall settle it forever; and to this end we recommend that a annul or hinder their due execution, is in violine not farther North than the Missouri Company with the Missouri Company with the part of a State, by State laws, to annul or hinder their due execution, is in violine not farther North than the Missouri Company with the part of a State, by State laws, to annul or hinder their due execution, is in violine not farther North than the Missouri Company with the Missouri Company with the Missouri Company with the Missouri Company with the Union, upon all matters within the exchange in the Union, upon all matters within the exchange is particular. promise line be established and sanctioned by gattons due from the people of each State to the an amendment to the Constitution, whereby, in all territory North of such line, slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime, shall be for-ever prohibited; and South of which neither Congress nor the Territorial Legislature shall

interfere with or abolish it. Constitution and the laws; and in manifestation thereof, the Judiciary Committee are hereby instructed to inquire whether there is any leven to the taking of life by lawless violence, even to the taking of life by lawless violence, by instructed to inquire whether there is any even to the taking of life by lawless violence, law in force in Pennsylvania which conflicts and without interference on their behalf by the in the Union and under the laws of the land." territory of New Mexico. It is covered to a with her constitutional obligations to the Government of the United States, or which prevents or obstructs the due execution, within grievances between the citizens of the several vents or obstructs the due execution, within her jurisdiction, of any law of the United States; and if there be any such law to report

Resolved, That we cherish for our brethren of the Resolved, That we cherish for our brethren of the slave State to regulate and control slavery slave-holding States the most cordial and fravelender of the slavery within her limits, each in its own way, subject could be them the enjoyment of every right not and that we deny the right of Congress, or any proposition with the preservation of our court of the slavery and the state of the slavery slavers and control slavery within her limits, each in its own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, and that we deep the right of congress, or any local slavery within her limits, each in its own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, and that we recome slavery within her limits, each in its own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, and that we recome slavery within her limits, each in its own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, and that we recome slavery within her limits, each in its own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, and that we recome slavery within her limits, each in its own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, and the slavery within her limits, each in its own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, and the slavery within her limits, each in its own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, and the slavery within her limits, each in its own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, and the slavery within her limits, each in its own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, and the slavery within her limits, each in its own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, and the slavery within her limits, each in its own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, and the slavery within her limits, each in its own way. cede to them the enjoyment of every right not inconsistent with the preservation of our own; that we hold the Union to be the only sure basis to limit, modify, abolish or control it, either that we hold the Union to be the only sure basis to limit, modify, abolish or control it, within of our continued prosperity and happiness, and the other states, to interfere with it, either that the union to be the only sure basis to limit, modify, abolish or control it, within such State. But, on the contrary, it is the duty of Congress, when required, to suppress inviolable duty of the general government, csthe enforcement of the laws an imperative and inviolable duty of the general government, casential to its preservation, and to be accomplished, if necessary, by its entire civil and military power. That secession is revolution, and its inevitable consequence; and that, in such an emergency, Ponnsylvania tendors to the President of the United States the whole resources of the State.

Mr. HOFIUS rose to a question of order, viz: The resolution from the Senate No. 1, entitled "Joint resolutions relative to the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union." having been made the special order for every day until disposed of, is it in order to consider the

question now before the House?

The SPEAKER decided, "That the House, having by a vote of two-thirds, determined that it would at a certain specified hour woon a particular than the specified hours. t a certain specified hour, upon a particular day, proceed to the consideration of a cerpostponed until the question is disposed of by the House, either by adoption, rejection or

consideration of the resolutions until after the disposal of Senate bill No. 1, entitled, "Joint resolutions for the maintenance of the Cousti-

tution and the Union.' Mr. ARMSTRONG. The resolutions now under the consideration of the House are not in

Mr. HOFIUS. My object in making this motion is simply this: the Senate resolutions have been under our consideration for a long time, and we should have decided the question long ere this. Those resolutions, sir, contain nothng of a party nature. The resolutions submit-

I trust that the motion to postpone these resolutions will not prevail.—
I do not think it possible that the resolutions of the gentleman from Lycoming (Mr. Armstrang) should cause greater discussion than we have already had upon the Senate resolutions. Besides, a great many of us are not prepared to vote on these Senate resolutions. They





## "INDEPENDENT IN ALL THINGS-NEUTRAL IN NONE"

HARRISBURG, FA. FRIDAY AFTERNOON, JANUARY 25, 1861

NO. 19.

On the motion to postpone

The yeas and nays were required by Mr. LEISENBING and Mr. BALL, and were as follows, viz:

YEAS-Messis Acker, Alexander, Barnsley Bartholomew, Bixler, Blanchard, Bliss, But-ler, (Crawford,) Cowan, Craig, Gordon, Graham, Harvey, Hood, Hofius, Lowther, M'Gonigal, Marshall, Mullin, Peirce, Reily, Robinson, Shafer, Taylor, Thomas, Williams—26.

NAYS—Messis Abbott, Anderson, Armstrong,

liott, Gaskill, Gibboney, Goehring, Happer, Hayes, Hill, Hillman, Huhn, Irvin, Kline, Koch, Lawrence, Leisenring, Lichtenwallner M'Donough, Manifold, Moore, Morrison, My other grievances between the citizens of the several States, is in the Union, and under the land.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of every stehman, Strang, Wildey and Davis, Speaker—

So the question was determined in the nega-

The question recurring on the adoption of the resolutions.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. To avoid a number of minute amendments, which otherwise it might be necessary to offer, I will move to amend the esolutions by striking out all after the word 'Resolved,' and inserting the following resolu-lions, which are in substance the same, and for the most part in the same phraseology.

The amendments were read as follows:

Resolved, by the Senate and Mouse of Represent Acceptage of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby resolved by the authority of the same, That we recognize the Constitution of the United States as the supreme

Resolved, That the laws of the United States General Government, and to each other.

Resolved, That the citizens of this State, in common with the citizens of other of the free States, have just cause to complain that their constitutional rights have been denied to them interfere with or abolish it.

Resolved, That Pennsylvania is loyal to the Union, and faithful in her observance of the Constitution and the lays; and in manifesta. the land.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of every of the other States, to interfere with it, either force, if necessary.

Resolved, That it is contrary to the first article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and to the seventh section of the ninth article of the Constitution of Pennsylva nia, to abridge the freedom of speech, or of the press, and contrary not only to both these Constitutions, but to the genius of free government, to submit either to any other control than the responsibility for its abuse; and whilst we deprecate every abuse of such freedom, we cannot, in the interests of any section or people, offer so great a sacrifice, even upon the altar of peace, as their subjection to any other restraint.

Resolved, That the Territories of the United States, previous to their recognition as States, tain question, and the time having arrived, the House must proceed to its consideration, and any other business before the House stands and regulations respecting them; that whilst needs to the House stands and regulations respecting them; that whilst and regulations respecting them; that whilst we do not recognize the doctrine that the Constitution of the United States carries slavery ostponement."

Mr. HOFIUS moved to postpone the further justment of the whole question of slavery in the Territories in such manner as shall settle it forever; and to this end we recommend that a line, not further north than the Missouri Compromise line, be established, and sanctioned by an imandment to the Constitution, whereby, in all ter-ritory north of such line, slavery shall be forder the consideration of the House are not in expected from the conflict with the resolutions presented from the Senate, which have been under consideration for several days. I think that my resolutions covera branch of this subject which has not yet the carried the territorial legislature shall have the exclusive power to prohibit it; and the Territorial legislature shall have the exclusive power to prohibit and South of which, neither the territories. I have not thought it advisations that the exclusive power to prohibit and south of which, neither the territories. I have not thought it advisations that the exclusive power to prohibit and south of which, neither the territories. I have not thought it advisations that the territories are the territories and the territories are the territories. I have not thought it advisations that the territories are the territories are the territories. I have not thought it advisations that the territories are the territories are the territories. I have not thought it advisations that the territories are the territories are the territories. I have not thought it advisations that the territories are the territories are the territories are the territories. I have not thought it advisations the territories are th cover a branch of this subject which has not yet been under discussion, and perhaps it would be wise that the House should hear all sides of this question before they come to any final vote upon it. I hope the House will proceed to the consideration of the resolutions which are now before us.

Legislature shall have the exclusive power to regulate and control it in like manner as a State regul more than eighty thousand square miles, shall have the right, preparatory to their admission to the Union, to adopt a constitution either subject, as being the paramount cause of all admitting or prohibiting slavery, and shall, on the trouble; and if we can come to a harmoni-their application to Congress, be admitted with ous action upon this, all other questions which

from the fact that they are calculated to arouse discordant feelings, I prefer that the Senate resolutions should be disposed of first.

Mr. PATTERSON. I trust that the motion to postpone these resolutions will not prevail.—
I do not think it possible that the resolutions.

The resolutions were read, as follows:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives. That we recognize the Constitution of the United States as the Supreme law of the land:

In the Legislatures of the several States, which are contrary to its provisions, are null and void.

Resolved, That the laws of the United States are of paramount autherity in every State of the several states of the several states of the several states of paramount autherity in every State of the several states of the se

Mr. ARMSTRONG. I rise, sir, to address myself to the consideration of these resolutions, under a deep impression that we are about to consider the most important question which will engage our attention during this session of the legislature. Pennsylvania, at this time, stands in a very peculiar relation to the Union. Her influence will be felt; and it is right that she should speak upon the questions which now agitate the country in a manner which shall be incapable of being misunderstood, and that her proper influence should be exerted to allay the national strife and lead us, if it be possible, back to that safe and sure ground upon which the government has stood since its organization. In regard to the resolutions from the Senate, which have been under consideration, I have only to say in brief, that they meet my hearty concurrence. I believe that they express the sentiments which ought to be acceptable to every member upon this floor.

But whilst I say this, I believe that their ut-terance is uncertain. They do not express the sentiment of this House, or of Pennsylvania, in that unmistakeable manner which will carry the weight that is due to the influential position of this State. The resolutions which I have the honor to submit speak, I think, with greater certainty, and therein I conceive to be the essential difference which constitutes the ground on which I prefer them.

I do not propose, sir, to discuss all these resolutions at length. The first and second resolutions may be considered as truisms, for they assert only the supremacy of the Constitution and of all laws made in accordance with its provisions. I do not know that any objection will be that we can take in assuming that it is not their decision. This resolution is carefully worded, raised to them, and shall waive any discussion of them for the present. The third resolution touches upon a subject on which I think a proper manliness requires that the State should united the state of the state should united the state of mistakably express her sentiment. My resolu-

"That the citizens of this State, in common with the citizens of other of the free States, have just cause to complain that their consti-tutional rights have been denied to them in some of the slave States; that the freedom of the press and of speech has been abridged—the rights of personal security have been violated they have been, on frequent occasions, arrested, imprisoned and punished without trial, even to the taking of life by lawless violence, and without interference on their behalf by the constituted authorities of the State."

This resolution, thus asserting the gross and outrageous violence which has been done to the Constitutional rights of the people of Pennsylvania and others of the free States should, I

This applies to every State and all forms of grievance. Certainly there are no grievances of grievances between the citizens of the several the South that exceed these in violence, or in States, is in the Union, and under the laws of the tendency to provoke retaliation. When we, therefore, express to the South our willingness and determination to submit these grievances, which are greater than theirs, to the arhitrament of the laws, it is putting ourselves in the strongest position which it is possible to assume in respect to this question.

> The fourth resolution recognizes the right of every slave State to regulate and control slavery in its own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. Upon this, all parties in the North are entirely agreed; and I shall not further discuss it.

> The fifth resolution declares, that it is contrary to the Constitution, both of Pennsylvania and the United States, to abridge the freedom and the United States, to abringe the nection of the press or of speech. This is a sentiment which it is peculiarly proper that this Legislature should express at this time. It can hardly have escaped the observation of any one, that a large part of the com-plaint made by the South is not directed to the special enactments of Northern laws, but upon the freedom of the press. It is right that that we should declare to the people of the South that we are not prepared, even though the refusal should result in all the horrors of an armed conflict, to yield those rights which are essential to the preservation of our freedom, Our position should be unmistakably expressed in order that the South may understand distinctly how far we will go, and how far we will not.

But, without further comment, I proceed to consider the sixth resolution, upon which I am well aware there is some, perhaps much, diversity of opinion in this House.

It is the resolution in respect to slavery in or without slavery, as such Constitution may are of comparatively minor importance and determine.

We should greatly misinterpret the action of

do not mean anything. The resolutions of the gentleman from Lycoming mean something; there is something in them. I do not care if the Slaveholding States the most cordial and fraternal regard; and whilst we claim and insist upon the recognition and protection of all our cantilutional rights, we cheerfully admit in them an equal and inviolable right to the same constitutional privileges, and to the equal and impartial protection of the government. That the last election, if we supposed the Slaveholding States the most cordial and in the people against the fraud committed in the repeal of the Missouri constitutional rights, we cheerfully admit in them an equal and inviolable right to the same constitutional privileges, and to the equal and impartial protection of the government. That we hold the Unjon to be the only sure basis of the last election, if we supposed the sample to produce the verdict of the people against the fraud committed in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and against the frauds perpetrated in Kansas. Sir, how many of all the thousands who veted with the Republican party at the last election, induced in the last election, if we supposed the Slaveholding States the most cordial and involved in the application of the people at the last election, if we supposed the Slaveholding States the most cordial and in the recognition and protection of all our constitutional rights, we cheerfully admit in them a equal and involable right to the same constitutional privileges, and to the equal and impartial protection of the government. That the last election, if we supposed the Slaveholding States the most cordial and in the recipient of the Missouri Compromise and against the fraud committed in the recipient constitutional rights, we cheerfully admit in them a equal and involable right to the same constitutional rights, we cheerfully admit in them and equal and involable right to the same constitutional rights, we cheerfully admit in them and constitutional rights, we cheerfully admit in them and equal a

But, sir, we are not standing in a position to examine party platforms with critical nicety. We are now in an emergency which rises above all party considerations. Sewwhich rises above all party considerations. Sew-ard, and the great leaders of the party every-where, have boldly, and with a patriotism which does credit to their understandings and their hearts, avowed that this Union is superior

what is the present condition of the territories of the United States? At the present time they are covered by the Dred Scott decision.—We, as Republicans representing a very large class of the citizens of the North, hold that that decision is extra-judicial and that we are not decision is extra-judicial, and that we are not bound to recognize it as the final and conclusive decision of the Court. But we cannot doubt that the Court, as at present organized, would re-affirm that decision; and if it is to stand, Slavery is carried into every foot of all the terri-tories by force of the laws of the United States, as declared by the Supreme Court; and any one, North or South, who would attempt to nullify that law becomes as much a nullifier as any man in South Carolina.

Let us understand our position in this respect I wish it to be understood that I do not hold that that decision, as now made, being an extra judicial opinion, is the expressed opinion of the Court. But if that opinion were re-affirmed, as under the present constitution of the Court it unquestionably would be, then I say there would be a law of the United States covering every foot of territory that we possess, and carrying slavery into it all. Now, it is idle to deny that this is the force of that decision. It is just as much the decision of that Court as any decision. This resolution is carrilly worned, and it declares that we do not recognize the doctrine that the Constitution of the United States carries slavery into the territories. Yet it is a fact which we cannot disregard. Neither can we shut our eyes to the present constitution of the United States Supreme Court, and its present unmistakable proclivities; and unless the constitution of that Court should be changed, the principles announced in the Dred Scott decision will, in all probability, be re-affirmed, and would stand as the decision of the Court.

Now let me call the attention of the House to another consideration; the location of the line and the character of the territories it designates. It runs westward from the southern line of the State of Missouri, till it reaches the eastern boundary of California. The territory south of it is comprised in New Mexico and Arizona. California, through which its extension the Constitutional rights of the people of Pennsylvania and others of the free States should, I think, be adopted by this Legislature. It is not only our right and privilege, but a duty which we owe to the people of the State. The resolution further declares that: solution further declares that:

of that line, is the territory I have named, of

"The remedy for these and all other grievanNew Mexico and Arizona. Sir, God and nature very large extent with high mountains crowned with perpetual snow, and whose sides are barren; its rivers run dry insummer. The only fertile ground in the great body of the territory consists of the narrow valleys which line the rivers, and upon a great part of which vegeta-tion cannot be supported except by artificial ir-

rigation. Is it possible that slavery can go into that territory? Sir, nature itself has there set bounds to it, stronger than any constitutional restric-tions which the people of the United States could by any possibility devise. Then, so far as the question affects this territory, it is not an open question, because slavery cannot, by any possibility, go there. Nature has provided against it, and it is impossible that slave-labor

should there be remunerative.

As to Arizona—a small territory lying North of Texas—a territory not equal in size to the single State of Pennsylvania. I am not particu larly informed as to its physical characteristics, because I have not been able to get information upon the subject. But admit that it is adapted by nature to the introduction of slavery, what is it? It is a territory of size only sufficient for the erection of one State not larger than Pennsylvania; and it is the only part of the entire territory of the United States which is now in the slightest danger of any permanent admission of slavery. I care not what are the Constitutional provisions; I care not what are the laws respecting it; it is the only territory south of the Missouri line into which slavery can, by any possibility, be carried.

I have brought here a map to show more dis tinctly the position of our territory with respect to this question, and how the line proposed will affect it. I beg to call the attention of the House to this map. By it we see upon what a mere phantasy, on what an empty abstraction we are contending. Here [holding up the map] ends the Missouri Compromise line. All this territory painted in green is given over to freedom by the proposition contained in this reso-lution. How much of the territory of the United States is given up to slavery? Not unconditionally given up; we are not carrying slavery into this territory by positive enactment. I never— no, never, so help me God—would give my vote anywhere to carry slavery into any terri-

tory by positive enactment.

This is a different question and a totally different proposal. Let us return again to the map. Here you see all the territory which, by any possibility, would by this compromise line be thrown open to slavery. In all this territory [pointing to the map] it is forbidden by the laws of nature; and by these laws alone will be forever exempt from the footstep of the slave. How much is left? This little green patch, not so large as the State of Pennsylvania, is the only territory covered by this com-promise, in which slavery becomes possible un-

der any circumstances.

Now what are we contending for? Do gentlemen say we are contending for a principle? What principle? That slavery shall not be carried into the national territories? We do not propose to carry slavery into any territory. by any direct and positive enactments of law. We suffer the territories, by this compromise, to

Act of Congress of 1789, which was merely a re-enactment of the ordinance of 1787. At that Is this humiliation? Admit it, if you please, to There was no other territory with regard to which disputes could arise to disturb the peace and harmony of the Union. The Constitution never applied to territories; it had no relation to them. Whatever may be the force of the Dred Scott decision, it is contravy to the earlied of the compromises is never past, in a deliberative aspects. and harmony of the Union. The Constitution never applied to territories; it had no relation to them. Whatever may be the force of the Dred Scott decision, it is contrary to the settled practice of the government from its foundation. Let us recur to some facts in regard to the subject. The territory of Louisiana was acquired in 1803, by purchase from Napoleon Bonaparte. When Congress was convened in special session for the purpose of ratifying that treaty, an Act of Congress was passed vesting in the President of the United States the right to control and govern that territory by the laws which were then in force in the territory. Those laws were the Spanish laws. They constituted the Intendant General under Spain, at that time the virtual king of the country. He was intrusted with powers utterly at va He was intrusted with powers utterly at variance with the Constitution of the United States, and with the genius of the government. Yet, by act of Congress, the powers of that In tendant-General of Spain were for a time vested in the President of the United States. Had

To say that the territories of the United States have been governed by virtue of the Constitution, is totally at variance with the whole history of the government. And, sir, we are at this moment, in some particulars governing the territories of the United States indirect violation (Carolina. The moment a State seceeds, the of the Constitution of the United States. It never of the Constitution of the United States. It never did apply, it never was intended to apply, to the declared act, she is in rebellion; and in the territories. Why, sir, the Constitution of the language of my friend from Aliegheny (afr. United States provides that the judicial power with the dignity of this States to treat with her whilst raise of the United States shall be vested in Courts of this State to treat with her whilst raise of the Papullio. I were no pleased to the provider of the States of the Papullio.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Certainly they did.—
Congress might pass any such act, not by virtue of powers conferred by the Constitution of the United States, but in virtue of the sovereignty of the United States. The Constitution never applied to a territory. The territories have been governed, not in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, but by virtue of the sovereignty of the United States as vested than the source of the sovereignty of the United States as vested than the source of the united States as vested than the source of the sourc provisions of the Constitution, but by virtue of the sovereignty of the United States, as vested them. in her by right of purchase. And that right is absolute, uncontrollable, except at the discre-aspect. If South Carolina and Alabama, and tion of Congress. It is not a right obtained by virtue of the Constitution, nor exercised in according to the Constitution of the Constitution cordance with it. It is a right that rises even superior to it in some respects—not in all.— This right of sovereignty vests in the Congress of the United States a right to control the territories in whatever way they may think best, because the United States is the owner of the territory, and any right of proprietorship and ownership is vested in them. But, Mr. Speaker, I have shown how small

is the territory that now lies open to the introduction of slavery. Is it worth a quarrel?— Here we stand admittedly upon the very verge of a civil war. Pennsylvania to-day holds the or a civil war. Pennsylvania to-day holds the keys of this Union in her hands; and if Pennsylvania speaks to Marvland, to Virginia, to Kentucky, with a voice of kindness, such as sylvania speaks to Maryland, to Virginia, to Kentucky, with a voice of kindness, such as will persuade them of our fraternal regard and bring them over to a reasonable view of our bors, and thus we totally and entirely obviate mutual interests, the revolution now threatmutual interests, the revolution now threatened is divested of most of its importance, and becomes inconsiderable in its extent and con-

sequences.

But gentlemen say "this would be concession; it would be giving up our position."

We are not conceding anything which it is essential we should adhere to. We are not giving up any of our positions which involve a giving up any or our positions which involve a sacrifice of principle. What was the origin of all this trouble? From what causes did it arise? Can any man shut his eyes to the fact that this question has arisen almost exclusively from the substitution of the Missouri Compromise? Had the repeal of the Missouri Compromise? Had that Compromise line remained till this time as the law of the land, there would now be no Republican party of any considerable strength.

"we will carry Slavery into the territory north of that line—we will do so by virtue of a declsion of the Supreme Court, and under the sanction of the Constitution." The Republican party stood up to say, "you shall not do so," and the people have endorsed their position.— They have said, "we consent that you shall have the privilege of taking slavery below that line, but you shall not carry it into one acre of the territory north of it." That is the question which this election decided. To say that this election was a nice, halr-splitting, wire-drawn discrimination with regard to the doc-

trines of the Chicago platform, is totally to misrepresent the people of the State.

The South then repealed this compromise. If now, by a Constitutional amendment, we remark it unalterably, what do we do? We force the Carth book at the control was the South back to their former position; we the south back to their former position; we put the Tarritories in the condition in which they were before that line was repealed. Is this an undue concession of the North to our brethren of the South? The advocates for the by any direct and positive enactments of law. We suffer the territories, by this compromise, to lie open; and while they remain territories to be, so far as this question is concerned, under the exclusive regulation and control of the territories to the constitution has, by the

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or each insertion.

Assumption and Deaths to be charged as registerities means.

ritorial Legislature, depriving it only of the power, during the territorial condition, to prohibit or abolish it. But when a constitution is prepared for the admission of the territory as a State, the people may make it a free State if they please. I would not place any trammels upon the people which would prevent them from throwing off the institution of slavery, if they do not wish to have it among them.

My resolution provides that this arrangement in regard to the territories shall be sanctioned in regard to the territories shall be sanctioned by a Constitutional amendment. There is reationed son for this. When the Constitution was formed, all the territory which we then possessed had its condition fixed with regard to slavery, of this line." We compel them to go back and first by the ordinance of 1787, and then by the Act of Congress of 1789, which was merely a re-

am a Republican now, and will be till this question is settled. When I return to my constituents, they recognize me as a Republican; they know that I am a Republican; and from vested a recent visit among them, I know that the sen-Had timents which I now express are endorsed by the Constitution of the United States. Had the Constitution of the United States been then considered as controlling territorial legislation, the act could by no possibility have passed, for its was a plain and direct violation of its provisions. And again in 1819, a precisely similar law was passed on the admission of Florida.

The service of the Constitution of the United States are independently which surprised myself. I was met repeatedly which surprised myself. I was met repeatedly with very great unanimity—a un resolutions pass? Why do you not do something? Why do you not utter the voice of Penusylvania in a manner which shall be felt and understood—with no uncertain utterance? Why not hold up the hands of those patriots of

moment she is outside of this Union by her own of the United States shall be vested in Courts to be appointed by Congress, whose judges shall hold their offices during good behavior; Yet in the territories Congress establishes Courts whose judges hold their offices for a limited period. In ight give other illustrations, but I do not propose to go extensively into that argument. The question is not one of immediate and pressing consequence, and I have no disposition to pursue the discussion farther.

The advantage of making the proposed settlement of this question by an amendment to the Constitution is, that otherwise the subject will be always liable to be re-opened with angry, vindictive and injurious debate. But when we will be always liable to be re-opened with angry, vindictive and injurious debate. But when we have disposed of it by a Constitutional provision, as here proposed, it is removed entirely from the discussions of Congress.

Mr. BYRNE: Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Certainly.

Mr. BYRNE. Did not Congress, in 1850, as part of the compromise measures of that were part of the compromise measures of that year, obstacles which we can barely, if at all, appropass an act providing for the capture of fugitive slaves in the territories of the United and in this hour of their trial? For myself I state. States?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Certainly they did.—

shall answer no. By the modestic which pose, we give up nothing of value; we yield pose, we give up nothing of value; we yield

siderable rebellion—inconsiderable in its num bers, in its force and in its moral influence. It is utterly impossible that the cotton States alone should form any confederacy, by consist or otherwise, which could attain to any respectble position among the nations of the earth. But, sir, if you add Virginia and Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina, not to say Missouri and Delaware, the aspect of the question is most materially changed. The seat of the National Government is now at Wash ington, in the very midst of Virginia and Maryland; and just as sure as those States selion can be confined to the cotton States, can be shut in by vessels of war, in their har the land. But when Virginia and Maryland, and the States I have named, join this confederacy of disunion, then it shall become necessary to fortify the frontier; and all along the barders of our own State, we shall have forays and predatory expeditions from our own State into Virginia and Maryland, and from them into Pennsylvania, bearing fire and sword, destructions Republican party of any considerable strength.

The South repealed that line. They said, mercy prevent it. mercy prevent it.

And, Sir, have we nothing to gain? Are we now rashly to rush into a condition of things such as this? And for what? In the name o Heaven for what? To prevent one little terri-tory from deciding for itself whether they will or will not have Slavery! For, as to New Mes-ico, the question is already settled. I know too, the question is already settled. I know that learned gentleman here, familiar with those topics, will say, "why, Slavery is already in New Mexico." I grant that Slavery is there by an act of the territorial legislature of New Mexico; and that that legislative act, not be-Mexico; and that that legislative act, not oping annulled or controlled by any act of Congress, it remains upon the statute-books. The history of its passage is perhaps familiar to all. A fraud, conceived in Washington, was perpetrated for the purpose of adding a Slave Staty to our confederacy. But Slavery is not carried integrable territory as that by mere paper mainto such a territory as that by mere paper ma-chinery. I repoat, sir, that so far as New Mexico is concerned, the territory is virtually free. Why, how was it with reference to Oregon—a territory which, like this, is made free by nature. When Oregon territory was organized, the Wil-mot proviso was inserted in the act, and Presi-

[Continued on Fourth Page.]