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FREE SOIL VS. SLAVERY.

MR. CORWIN'S GREAT SPEECH Against the Compromise Bill.

MR. PRESIDENT: I should scarcely un-

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dertake to assign to the Senate a reason for prolonging this debate, especially after the very elaborate and lucid exposition of likely to get at our hands. She has taken they always have been the same. I know the bill now before us which has been given by the Senator from Vermont; I feel compelled, however, from various considerations, with which I will not trouble the Senate, to state, in very few words, if that be possible, what my objections are to the passage of the bill; and, it may be, to offer some few observations in reply to such propositions as have been announced at various times during this debate, by Senators on the other side of the chamber. I have listened with great eagerness, since the commencement of this discussion, to every thing that has been said, with the most sin cere and unfeigned desire to make myself acquainted with at least the primary elements and principles which enter into the composition of the bill. And, I think I may say, without exposing myself to the selves for another twelve months, and come charge of egotism, that I feel as little the here at the beginning of a new section influences which have been spoken of by the Senator from Vermont as it is desirable that any gentleman, acting in the capacity of a legislator, should feel. I do not participate, however, I may advertise gentlemen, in the belief which has been so constantly expressed during this discussion, that this is a subject which is likely to produce that terrible and momentous ex citement that is spoken of. I believe if this principle were discussed solemnly and, so to speak, abstactedly from those extraneous circumstances so frequently adverted to here, that we should be much more likely to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion to ourselves, and at more satisfactory results. I hope, to those who are to come after us. I have no belief that the passage of a law, such as is now before bonds that hold this Union together. I ate; that Texas extends to the banks of the enate, will produce a disruption of the have no belief that the passage of the law so much deprecated by some gentlemen on this side, by the name, if you please, of sibility whatever, induce the Southern por-Sir, if I entertained an opinion of this kind, the Senator from Vermont, the "Wilmot you send your Governors and other officers viso, that has been erected here and elsewhere into such a raw head and bloody-bones, to use a very expressive phrase of the nursery? What is it? Why, sir, "Wilmot Proviso," composing as it did a gould give my assent to. section of the ordinance of 1787, and that subject, which has connected his very

oblige us to forego the statement of such objections as we may entertain. Suppose you enact no law, what will happen? egon has for many years taken dare of here very did not exist there already. More self, and I believe on one or two occasions care of herself ever since she became an that they were the opinions of Washing integral portion of the Union, by the settle- ton up to the hour of his death; and they ment of the dispute between us and Great Britain. How the new provinces may ers who, in the infancy of the institution. fare, what may happen to New Mexico saw and deplored its evils, and deprecated and California in the intermediate time its continuance, and would have taxed which will elapse, if we should not be able themselves to the utmost to exterminate they have been in your custody for a year or two, and have not complained at all for the want of legal enactments; they have my own understanding, and this, after the only complained that you have made too free use of gun powder. Rather than not to give the subject. I find the institution act in the matter fully and definitively, as I of Slavery existing in several States of the would if there were no emergency, I would Union-it is a local, a State institution, ready to act upon these subjects as my judgment should dictate.

Now, Sir, in the first place, I understand we have a message from the President, although I believe it has not been adverted to by any one, calling upon us to designate the boundaries of these Territories of New Mexico and California; and another branch of the Legislature has been anxiously looking to the geography of those countries, and tracing their history, and are as yet incapable of determining where Texas ends and New Mexico begins; and they have been under the necessity of applying to the Chief Magistrate to give them a lesson in Geography. What the substance of the information they have received was I do not know, but I have been informed, upon the floor of the Sen-

If this be so, I must be permitted to look to the gentleman of the Committee for inthe "Wilmot Proviso, could, by any pos- formation as to how much is left for New so much excited on the subject, to tear to establish a Territorial Government there, themselves asunder from the constitutional if it be true that Texas extends to the Rio compact by which we are held together .- Grande! I think it will be found that there will be but a fragment of New Mex-I should scarcely think a seat on this floor | ico left, so far as population is concerned. worth possessing for a single day. I do It will be very convenient, perhaps, to atk the technical term spoken of by tach it to the Government of California. If ence upon statesmen of exalted intellect of there will be a conflict of territorial juristhe south, which has been intimated by gen- diction. Is it not expedient to settle it tlemen who have participated in this de- now, when you are founding new Govern-What is this terrible Wilmot Pro- ments, and placing side by side institutions there are about me Schators who know tion a large proportion of the population of very well to whom the paternity of the what was formerly New Mexico. Herc, was transferred to the Confederacy, Jef-"Wilmet Proviso," as it has been recently then, is my special demurrer. Under other ferson, and those of his school, who made same gentleman who drafted the Declara- from Vermont would agree with me that it Slavery should not pollute the soil of five as that. Now, then, I will give over the to the remotest time shall be doome tion of Independence, which is hung up in is indispensible to the Governments which rich and powerful new States. Such was regarded with the same reverence as our their jurisdiction should be defined, al- I cannot suppose the opinions of these Bible-for it has become a Gospel of freed- though I do not know that this would be men were so changed between 1787 and om all over the world as well as in this country—drafted that which is called the

in regard to acts, some strange confusion -who does not desire that every subject itative expounder of free principles to the of Slavery; and if that which is designacase, when a part of the ordinance of 1787 ate should be settled harmoniously, and, if as "Democratic." has come to bear the appellation of the it might be so, with the unanimous concur-"Wilmot Proviso." Sir, much as I rest rence of every Senator. But, sir, in my pect that gentleman for his position on this judgment, with this subject as it stands be name with the Ordinance of 1787, I deny to undertake to vote upon this bill, with a required, for the sake of some imaginary that there is any danger that Southern country. How is this? Is it not a new years, and after the founding of a young of policy is proposed, and the constitution-satisfied that Slavery cannot be extended Slavery to whice empire in the west, by virtue of that Ordial propriety of that policy is questoned, to these territories. I believe, if his con- are subjected. nance, will so desecrate the memory of pass an act for the purpose of getting a Jefferson and spit on his grave, because we case before the Supreme Court, that that merely re-esset that Ordinance over a Ter- Court may instruct the Seuale of the U. not possibly go into these Territories, proritory which has subsequently come into States as to Constitutional duty in the matour possession. I have no idea that such ter? Sir, if we know certainly what that and the facts. I ask every member of the consequences will follow from the passage law will be, need there be any hesitancy of such a law, as gentleman have predicted. how we shall vote vpon this bill? Can There must have been attrange revolution any one suppose that the Senator from wrought in the minds of Southern gentle- Georgia, or the Senator from South Caromen between 1787 and 1847 if such con- lina, if they believed that the litigation sequences are to follow. And I could not that is proposed by this bill to be brought help observing, while the Senator from into the Judicial tribunals of the country Vermont was expressing these noble would result contrary to their determinasentiments, which every body, even tion of what the law should be, that they those who to not feel them, must ad- would be in favor of such a bill as this mire, telling us we should act here inde- Does any one believe that if the Senator pendently of the excitement without these from Vermont could anticipate than the Suwalls, and that we should scorn those preme Court of the United States might newspaper paragraphs in which we are decide that Congress being silent upon gillified, written by those who know little the subject, had allowed Slavery to pass, of the motives by which we are influenced, at its pleasure, into these newly acquired and who careless; I could not help ob- territories, and to become parts of the muserving that at last the Senator admonish- nicipal institutions of those territories, and ed us that there was an excitement abroad to decide, also, that if Congress had enactwhich we must allay; and to do that, he ed a prohibitory law, it could not have agreed to this bill, although it was some gone there, he would vote for this bill?—what different from that which he desired Certainly he would not. Is there any ne--to that the lion-hearted Senator from cossity that there should be a prohibitory Vermont has agreed to this Compromise, law passed, in order that the question of as it is called, because there is an excite- Slavery should be presented with the aid ment which he wishes to allay by it. Sir, of Congressional legislation to the Supremo I desire to see gentlemen act and vote here Court of the United States? I will not unas if there were no excitement on the sub- dertake to say that I differ with the Senator Ject. I should be very sorry, at least, to from Vermont in a single legal proposition llow any influences to operate upon my that he has laid down. I regard Slavery deliberate judgement, except those which as a local institution. I believe it rests upbelong to the relation of representative and on that basis, as the only one that can give constituent. It is the farthest from my it a mothent's security. I believe it can-upon the subject, but the statement just intention of any thing that can be conceiv- not be carried, by the power of the master made agrees with that of many gentlemen ed of to say any thing in regard to this bill over his servant, one inch beyond the ter- who profess to know something on the which may wound the feelings of gentle- ritorial limits of the power that makes the subject, and therefore I am inclined to think man who have labored so hard to produce law. I believe that a slave carried by his that it is so, and that these people are the something that would satisfy us all. The master into the territory about which we subjects of that infernal law. The Senator

is supposed not to be able to work, I would Or- not allow you to take slaves there, if Slathan that: I would abolish it if I could, if were the opinions of Jefferson and of oth-

> most careful investigation I have been able stitution. I find that, as a legislator of ted States may be transferred to that counthis National Government, I am forbidden try. by the Constitution to act upon this or any other merely State institution. I cannot, therefore, interfere with Slavery in the States as I can in a Territory, where as And here, sir, I ask, what has been your

> influence, the Ordinance of 1787 made five subjected to the iron rule of this abominafree States in the Northwest, and I doubt ble institution there. not Louisiana would have been also freed

fidence in the judicial tribunals of the country were well founded, that Slavery could vided the Senate is right both as to law Senate-perhaps I may be less informed California?

xist: Peon Slavery exists there.

Slavery exists in California and New Mex- up the prostrate Peon of that country-and ico, as it does throughout the Republic of now what follows? As soon as your arms Mexico, and is termed Peon Slavery have subdued the country, the gentle note Slavery for debt, by which the creditor of the dove is changed to the lion's roar. has a right to hold the debter through all Instead of the proper blessing of peace to time in a far more absolute hondage than your conquered subjects, you propose to his slaves here.

Mr. Corwin. So it has been described to me. I have not seen the Mexican laws

to speak of the one, a shall be done on my part to prevent the admission supposing the proposition to be submitted saults of your gallant army, and still you theless fesolutely—deliverance from the gentleman has called a "special demurrer;" of slaves, for I am free to declare, that if to the Supreme Court of the United States gentleman has called a "special demurrer; of slaves, for 1 am free to declare, that it is for I do not think there is such pressing you were to acquire the country that lies necessity for the passage of the bill, as to under the lines, the hottest country to be oblige us to forego the statement of such found on the globe, where the white man blood of our common country. You made better laws for herself than she is it did exist. These are my opinions, and that it was still Slavery, though there might unburied corposes of her some who have fall which will elapse, if we should not be able immensures to any properties, it then. I possess no opinion on the subsion, is not a matter of much concern or
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sion or matter or muc I have only to say, that these opinions lasting and inexorable as in the State of have always received the concurrence of allow those provinces to take care of them- existing under the guaranties of the Con- fore the whole slave population of the Uni- among men-"Honesty among thie ves"-

Mr. PHELPS. The gentleman will excuse me. I spoke of African Slavery. Mr. Conwin. Of that I am aware. speak new of the general proposition .- have slaughtered fifty thousand of God's den, and where my power might extend. pausing at this point, and reflecting upon fitting finale to all this to rivel yet closer the events of the last few years. On look- the chain of your personal slavery upon the practice as a Government on this subject? ing back at what has happened to that pe- Mexican peon, and people your posses. If at any time in your progress since 1789, riod, I am sure that the magnanimous spir-tions thus acquired by Slaves. I repeat, you have acquired territory where Slavery it of the Senator from South Carolina him that this right of conquest applied to terriexisted in such form and consistency as to, self will be obliged to concede to the North- tory, is the same no other and no better been permitted, only permitted, to remain slight degree of excitement on this subject. where by law it did exist: as in the North-His hypothesis is, that to every portion the right, if right it may be called, of the western Territory before 1789, but had of this newly acquired territory—Califorstrongest—the law in both cases is simply western Territory before 1789, but had not taken deep root, it was expelled; and not excepted—every slaveholder in the law of force. You march over a sin the Missouri compromise, excluding it in all territory north of latitude 36 deg. 30 min. after 1789.

When Louisiana was acquired, such when there forever, subject of my when the territory before a curse; that as the universal liberty is a curse; that as universal liberty is a curse; t was the tone of public opinion then against | Territories shall be made into States, and Slavery, that I am sure the men of that come into the Union. What, then, would formation as to how much is left for New day would have abolished it there, but for be those few chapters in our history t We bat part of his family, bound the supposed evil of displacing a system find ourselves now in the possession of chains, brought them here, and solid them. tion of the Union, which, we are told, is amount of population? Is it worth while long established, on which, and by which Territories with a population of one hun- It is simply power, and not right, in both the social and political systems of the dred and fifty thousand souls, if I am corcountry were necessarily formed. Per- rectly informed, in California and New haps, also, the terms of the treaty were Mexico. The best authenticated history with some an obstacle. The same men of the social institutions of that population who directed public opinion in 1787 in a informs us that there exists there at this great measure controlled it in 1804. Jef- moment a species of slavery as absolute ferson, who was the author of the Ordi- and inexorable as exists anywhere on the nance of 1787, was President in 1804, face of the earth; and that about five in

him always his debtor. Do you intend

than any-whether Slavery does not ex- or something like this, would be the result ist by some Mexican law, at this hour, in of your Mexican war. I always believed, notwithstanding your denials here, that pose and with the intention of conquest. Mr. Conwin. I would thank the Sena- I ventured to predict just what we now or from Indiana if he will inform me what see, that acquisition of territory would fol-Peon Slavery is; and really I ask the low the war as its consequence, and its obquestion for the purpose of obtaining in- ject was that, and nothing else; and that ormation. I desire to know its condi- this very question would arise, and arise ions. Is it transmissable by inheritance! here, to distract your councils, disunite Does the marvellous doctrine of which the your people, and threaten, as we are now Hon. Senator from Virginia spoke as be- told it does, that peace which you thought ing part and parcel of the law adopted in of so lightly when war was so wantonly virginia-partus sequitur ventrem-pre- waged against Mexico. It now secuns vail! Is that holy ordinance, that the off- your presentions were all hypocritical spring of the womb of her who is a slave from the beginning. You said your armed must necessarily be slaves also, there re- men went forth to her in the spirit of love. You pretended their mission was not con-Mr. HANNEGAN. As I understand, quest, but to set free the captive, to raise that by which any Southern planter holds leave the chains of the Peon untouched and now gravely contend that negro slavery shall be superadded to slavery for debt. This is your improvement, your progress

to speak of the bill, I shall be under she so act that there should be nothing left un- Now, supposing that to be the case, and night. City after city fell beneath the as- blindly and madly, it may be but neverresponse, he would reply in the affirma- trace back the consideration which you pire who holds sway in Tunis; one of the tive; he would say that the institution of have paid for this country to the blood and old slave markets of the world, whose Slavery was there—that to be sure it had the bones of the gallant men that you sent prisons formally received those of our its modifications and its peculiarities, but there to be sacrificed; and pointing to the people taken upon the high seas and made glorious principle of free Government spo- these constitute my title to carry my slaves ken of by the Senator from Virginia—parto that land 1 It was purchased by the this magic line which the Senator from two sequitur ventrems. If, sir, these three blood of my sons. The aged parent, be-Latin words can condemn to everlasting reft of his children, and the wide w with slavery the posterity of a woman who is a the family that remains, desire to go there slave, may not that municipal regulation of to better their fortunes, if it may be, and ry -36 deg: 30 min .- brings this very which we are now speaking in California pointing to the graves of husband and child. Tunis into that region in which some supand New Mexico, with equal propriety, ren, exclaim, "There, there was the price posed, by ordinance of nature, men are to degree, and to all practical purposes as you dare to put that upon your record—if made free. What does it all mean? It you can assert that you hold the country lasting and inexorable as in the State of you can assert that you have a right virginia; and therefore the whole of the by the strong hand, then you have a right political servitude; and in God's name I mer of Fairfax. Whathe did after that meeting, political servitude; and in God's name I mer of Fairfax. Whathe did after that meeting, political servitude; and in God's name I mer of Fairfax. Whathe did after that meeting, political servitude; and in God's name I mer of Fairfax. Whathe did after that meeting, shall be known, remembered, and revered, by a shall be known, remembered, and revered, by a world, thousands of years to come, long after you from political servitude, must it not be acmont falls to the ground as a matter of fact, the North have united with you of the from political servitude, must it not be actinasmuch as the Supreme Court will decide South in an expedition of piracy, and robinasmuch as the Supreme Court will decide South in an expedition of piracy, and robthat Slavery existed there, and that therebery, and murder, that oldest law known they have been relieved from personal serrequires us to divide it with you equally.

[Laughter.] If, indeed, Mr. President, we have no other right than that which force gives us .I to these new possessione; if, indeed, we claim to hold another in Slavery. It is but riginally the slave dealer seized the negro his African home, slaughtered by comcases, that make the claim. I repeat, it seems indeed fitting in character, that the two should accompany each other.

As in the case of lands thus acquired, ong possession and continued acquiescence (in the judgemen of men) ripen the claim into legal right, so in the case of legal blavery, the captive originally held only by Proviso," can of itself exercise that influ-there without establishing the boundaries, when Louisiana was acquired. By his six of the population of that country are force, in time, by the law of men, and by the judgment of men, becomes property!! ble institution there.

And we are told by the Senator from VirNow, I do not expect that any man will ginia [Mr. Mason] that the posterity of from Slavery too, but for the reasons I have assigned. Such were the views of men who directed public opinion then; shall have his own person sold into Slave-would to God they, or such as they, had more to do with public opinion now.

I rise up and say, that because an individual such become property only through the magical influence of these word, koman words: "Partus seguitur ventrem" to rule." They (the men of 1776) did not believe that one man was borne "boot-cqon, New Mexico, and California? We have seen that the drafted the clause against Slavery in mother." Admirable—philosophical—ra-When the ample patrimony of Virginia brew, not to the third and fourth genera- Honel-Christian maxim!!! If the mothtion, but to the remotest posterity of that er be captured in war, it secems then the unfortunate man. Nobody will pretend will of a just God, "whose tender mereles baptized, belonged. They know that the er circumstances, I am sure the Senator this noble donation, at once declared that to rise up in defence of such a proposition are over all his works," that her offspring criticism. Suppose there is a law in New Slavery. What sublime morality ! What our halls and placed in our libraries, and we are about to establish, that the limits of Virginia, such was American opinion then. Maxico. which obliges a man to work all lovely justice combine to sanctify this arthe days of his life for another, because he ticle in that new decalogue of freedom happens to owe.him five dollars, by some which we say, it is our destiny to give to means contrived by the creditor to keep the world "Partus sequitur ventrem!" Why, it said to be "common law." Alas, ould give my assent to.

Treasons I have assigned already. Liberty, that that law shall exist there for an hour? Mr. President, it is but to "common," as And now I intend, in few words, to state perfect freedom to all men, of all colors. Well, you have made a law here, that your we see, This right of conquest over land the hand that drafted both was Jefferson's. why I object to this Compromise bill. - and nations, was the doctrine of Jefferson law-makers who are to go to New Mexico is the same as that by which a man may There have been some strange misnomers Sir, there is no one-there can be no one then, and I am told he is now the author- and California, shall not touch the subject hold another in bondage. You may make it into a law if you please; you may onof nomenclature in this country, as in this of legislation which comes before the Sen-school calling itself "Virginian" as well led in the popular language of that country act that it may be so f it may be convertient Shoot catting user "virginian" as well feel in the popular ranguage or indeed, send to do so; after perpetrating the original Why, there is scarcely a Virginian who abroad, as you promised to do, your miss sin, it may be well to do so. But the case ventures to have an opinion contrary to sionary of liberty! You went there with is not altered; the source of the right rejudgment, with this subject as it stands be—the lightest thought that he ever express-the sword, and made it red in the blood of mains inchanged. What is the meaning fore us, it would be arrogant presumption ed. And is it so, that we are now to be these people! What did you tell them? of the Roman word Service? I profess We come to give you freedom !" In- no skill in philological learning, but I can to him the honor of originating it. It is a question before us which we undertake to balance of power, to carry Slavery into a stead of that, you chast your code here—very well conceive how somebody, lock-piracy of the copy-right. I do not see transfer to the Judiciary department of the country where it does not now exist?—bloody as that of Draco—that there shall ing into this thing, might understand what That, sir, is the question propounded by, be judges and law-givers over them, but was the law in those days. The man's gentlemen, after the lapse of so many thing in your legislation, when a system this bill. The Senator from Vermont is that they shall make no law touching that life was saved when his enemy conquered satisfied that Slavery cannot be extended Slavery to which five out of six of them him in battle. He became servus—the man preserved by his magnanimous foe; Mr. President, this chapter in your his and perpetual Slavery was then thought to ry furnishes instructive matter for your be a boon preferable to death. That was consideration. It is a strange act in the the way in which Slavery began. Has great drams of what we call progress. I anybody found on the face of the earth a have looked upon it with some concern, man fool enough to give himself up to all was one of those who predicted that this, nother, and beg him to make him his slave! I do not know of one such instance under Heaven. Yet it may be so. Still I think that not one man of our complexion Mr. HANNEGAN (in his seat.) It does you made war upon Mexico forthe pur- of the Caucasion race could be found

quite willing to do that !... Thus far we have been brought after having fought for this country and conquer-The solemn appeal is made to us -"Have we not mingled our blood with yours in acquiring this country?" But did we mingle our blood with yours for the purpose of wresting this country; by force from this people ? That is the question. You did not say so six months ago. You dare not say so now! You may say that it was purchased, as Louisiana or is Florida was, with the common treasure of the country; and then we come to the discussion of another proposition: What right do you acquire to establish Slavery there But I was about to ask of some gentleman, the Senator from South Carolina, for instance—whose eye at a glance has comprehended the history of the world, what he supposes will be the impression abroad

assumed nonce, in the Court reduce of the progression of the supposes to the Supreme Judge of the World." When I am asked to extend to preserve the rights and liberties of America:

That the important supposes will be the impression abroad.

That the important supposes and constitutions of the world. When I am asked to extend to preserve the rights and liberties of America:

That the important supposes the total suppose of the world. That the important suppose of the world. That the important suppose of the world is not supposed to the suppose of the world. That the important suppose of the world is not supposed to the suppose of the world. That the important suppose of the world is not supposed to the suppose of the world. The suppose of the world is not supposed to the suppose of the world. The suppose of the world is not suppose of the world is not suppose of the world. That the important suppose of the world is not suppose of the world in the world is not suppose of the world is not he supposes will be the impression abroad of our Mexican war, and these, our Mexican acquisitions, if we should give to them the direction which he desires? I do not speak of the propriety, of slave labor heing such slave or convict servant hereafter to be into the propriety, of slave labor heing such slave or convict servant hereafter to be into the such slave or convict servant hereafter to be into the such slave or convict servant hereafter to be into the propriety, of slave labor heing such slave or convict servant hereafter to be into the propriety of slave labor heing such slave or convict servant hereafter to be into the propriety of slave labor heing such slave or convict servant hereafter to be into the propriety of slave labor heing such slave or convict servant hereafter to be into the propriety of slave labor heing such slave or convict servant hereafter to be into the confinence in the discount of the propriety of slave labor heing such slave or convict servant hereafter to be into the confinence in the confin This is your improvement, your progress in Mexico. To exalt the miserable Peons of the freeholders and you give him the enslaved negro for association and example. Sir, this is indeed a spectacle worth noting, in this bright a spectacle worth noting, in this bright our history read by the how will our history read by the oon of the nincteenth century.

We proclaimed to the world we would ake nothing by conquest. This was our oleing hypotritical declaration for two something that would satisfy us all. The master into the territory about which we subjects of that infernal law. The Senator from Vermont has acted as he should have acted, has acted nobly in reshould have acted as he continue, respectively. A manifer active with acted as he continue, and it is not rence coorges to take nothing by conquest. This was our take nothing by co sature to this matter, and I know very well territory, and any attempt to exercise power people of Camorina and New Med by blood, while the march of your sidings that the captives of the Old World to this Colony, &c.; and therefore, that the purpose rule of section, the same independence. That is my judgment. But I would guard public of exercising it—because a large porchate the property of the colony of hat he has used; an I four, which I come against any doubt on this subject. I would dono of them were of the colored races,...., clouds of smoke in the day, and fire by teeking, through blood and slaughter... against,"—(Do., p. 541)

slaves to their captors-announced to the if I am not mistaken, it will be found that posed, by ordinance of nature, men are to means that they have been redeemed from vitude—absolute subjection to the arbitra-fy power of others? What do we say Ann, in July of the same year. I extract from fy power of others? What do we say of them ? I am not speaking of the propriety of this thing; it may be all wrong, and these poor fellows in Paris, who have

At a very full meeting of delegates from the
stout hands and willing hearts, anxious to different counties in the Colony and Dominion of and these poor fellows in Paris, who have earn their bread, may be very unreasonable in fighting for it. It may be all wrong August, 1771, the following association was a yet no State sovereignty exists, and as I Now, this is a very ourious spectable prewill there, and would everywhere else on the face of the earth, where I am not forbidAmerican Congress, and one cannot lielp sleved, and barbarous people, it is but a proper and foolish in Austria to send aproper and foolish in Austria to send away Metternich, and say, "We will look way Metternich, and say, "We will look any slave or slaves imported by any other into this business ourselves." According after the first day of November next, eith to the doctrine preached in these Hallsin free America-instead of sending shouts of gratulation across the water to these make it now difficult to overthrow it, it has ern States at least some apology for the than that by which originally one man could people, we should send to them groans and

> father! Under your law, the chain follows the mother ! that Kings had a right to rule us, did rule us. by George III said then "partus sequiture erto been defeated by his Majesty's negative, thus patrem;" my son inherits my crown, "he preferring the immediate advantage of a few Afrifollows the condition of the tather," "he is can consairs to the lasting in erest of the American born to be you ruler; your fathers said:
>
> States, and to the rights of human nature, deeply
> this not true, this shall be law no longer:
>
> The we have proofs trideniable, that Mr. Jeffer Let us look for a moment at the doings of that good old time. 1777. Then, sir, our not the continuance and further extension of Slathers, being oppressed, lifted up their very, but its abolition; and, in order to the speedy hands and appealed to the God of Justice, very nut to appeal of the slaves then in Virginia, the common Father of all men to deliver he desires to prevent their augmentation, by prothem and their posterity from that law, hibling their importation. He complains that as they said, no man was born to ritle aboth er, did it not follow, that no man could be unchanged till his death. er, and it not tollow, that no man could be rightfully borne to serve another. Sir, in those days. Virginia and Virginia's sons, washington and Jefferson, had as little respect for that maxim negative sequiler were spect far that maxim, partus sequiter ventures, as for that other cognite dogma, "Kings are borne to rule." I infer from the firm, as for that other cognite dogma, "Kings are borne to rule." I infer from the day our history, significant the men of that day the following is the following in the colony of Georgia, living now assembled in Congress, by authority and free choice of the imbilitation of the colony of the colony of Georgia, living now assembled in Congress, by authority and free choice of the imbilitation of the colony of the colony of Georgia and Congress, by authority and free choice of the imbilitation of the colony of Georgia and Congress, by authority and free choice of the imbilitation of the colony of Georgia and Congress, by authority and free choice of the imbilitation of the colony of Georgia and Congress, by authority and free choice of the imbilitation of the colony of Georgia and Congress, by authority and free choice of the imbilitation of the colony of Georgia and Congress, by authority and free choice of the imbilitation of the colony of Georgia and Congress, by authority and free choice of the imbilitation of the colony of Georgia and Congress, by authority and free choice of the imbilitation of the colony of Georgia and Congress, by authority and free choice of the imbilitation of the colony of Georgia and Congress, by authority and free choice of the imbilitation of the colony of the colony of the colony of the colony of Georgia and Congress and Co

that they meant what they said. From their declaration "all men are born equally "5. To show the world that we are not influ

Yorktown on a certain day you may remember: I think that when the lion of England crawled in the dust, beneath the talous of your eagles, and Cornwallis surrendered to George Washington, that maxchives, vol. 1, n. 1126.) rendered to George Washington, that max- chives, vol. 1, p. 1136.) and I think that nurlus sequiter ventrem,

Mr. President, it is worth while to in-Mr. President, it is worth while to inquire what were the publicly expressed opinions of the leading men and States, as to the policy of Negro Slavery, from the year 1787, and from the condition of the year 1787, and from the condition of the Control of the condition of the Control of the public of Negro Slavery and from the personal men were equal before God, in which alone they could trust for sid in that dark hour, and that therefore all men were conditions and analysis.

in the old Commonwealth-Virginia: June, 1774.—At a general meeting of the free-holders and inhabitants of Prince Occuge's county, and hopefully to the Heavens and declare.

carried anywhere. I will waive the question entirely. What is it of which the p. 543)

July 16, 1779, at a meether of Surfy count Virginia -- "5th. Resolved, That, as the population of this Colony with freemen and useful manufacturers is greatly obstructed by the importation of slaves such slaves or servants, hereafter to be imported -American Archives, 4th series, vol. 1, p. 593.)
"At a general meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Fairfax, Virgin-ia, at the Court House in the town of Alexandria, on Monday, the 18th day of July 1774, George

Washington, Esq., in the clisfr...

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that, during our present difficulties and distress, no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British Colonies on this confinent; and we take this opportunity of declaring our most extract wishes to see an entire stop forever put to such a wicked, critel, and unnatural trade.

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that a softenn covenant and association should be entered into by all the Colonies," &c., &c., American Archives, vol. 1, p. 600.)

George Washington, Mr. President, was the presiding officer at one of these meetings. Certain young men here may have HEARD something of this George Washington! He was then a farand I, and all of us, have been food for worms Similar meetings were held, and similar resolu-tions passed, in the following counties in Virginia: the same volume of American Archives the following, which, from Mr. Jefferson's connection with it, becomes important:

Virginia, begun "in Williamsburg, the 1st day of August, 1771, the following association was mem-prously agreed to." I omit, Mr. President, all not bearing upon the subject of Slavery, and quow only the following:

"We will not ourselves import, nor purchase

Africa, the West Indies, or any other place" I secrets Mr. Jefferson was a delegate to this Con vention, but was prevented by sickness from atteriding. He however addressed a letter to the peeple, we should send to them grouns and commission for their folly, calling on them to beware how they take this business into their own hands—informing them.

The however addressed a letter to the commission for their to the special attention of gentlemen from the South, who object so strongly to the expression of opinions as to Slavery here. Mr. Jefferson, in the paragraph in case it is not exactly partus sequitur ven-trem, but partus sequitur patrem—that is all the difference. The Crown follows the to the infant colonies of Oregon, New Mexico and California! But Mr. Jefferson goes on to say, "But pravious to the enfranchisement of the slave Sir. we may we ought to rontember, we have, it is necessary to excuse our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions, and by imposing durant to role us, ded rule

were sincere men, earnest, honest men, said district, now freed from their fetters, do re-

free, I infer that, in their judgements, no enced by any other law to be born to be a slave. I think this maxim of Kings being born to the uncultivated state of our country, or other special in the country of the uncultivated state of our country, or other special in the country of the uncultivated state of our country, or other special in the country of the uncultivated state of our country, or other special in the country of the uncultivated state of our country, or other special in the country of the uncultivated state of our country, or other special in their judgements, no enced by any contracted or interested motives, but on case of the country of the uncultivated or interested motives, but on the country of the uncultivated or interested motives, but on the country of the uncultivated or interested motives, but on the country of the country o rule, and others being horn only to serve, clous arguments may plead to it.) a practice age both of the same family, and ought to founded in injustice and crocky, and highly dan have gone down to the same place whence gerous to our liberties, (as well as lives,) debasing I imagine they came, long ago, together:
I do not think that your partus sequitur
venirum had much quarter shown it at

in that a man is born to rule, went down.

From these papers, as well as the general hismost to be seen among us again forever;
tory of the times, we can see what the Subers
and I think that puritus acquirer pentrem. and I think that puritie sequiner ventrem, in the estimation of all sensible men, should and 1775, explain to us the meaning of the Dehave disappeared along with it. So the men of that day thought. And we are surely the men who voted the foregoing resolutions brought to the proper interpretation the language of those men which has declare as they did—"We hold these traths to be been criticised by the Senator from South they are endowed by their Creening with containing the content of the language of those men which has declare as they did—"We hold these traths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creening with containing stitution, in 1789. And, first, how was it able only to the Creator for the manufacture of themselves, and answering the able only to the Creator for the manufacture. make of that liberty-well might those brave good Virginia, the following resolves were unanimously for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliagreed to, (among others:)

are on the protections of Divine Providence, we Virginia, the following resolves were unanimously agreed to, (among others:)

"Resolved, That the African trade is injurious mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fotto this Colony, obstructs the population of it by freemen, prevents manufacturers and other useful

Mr. President, these men, when they spoke of

from Europt from settling amongst us, Slavery and its extension, did not get some hybrid congruents from Lurope from setting amongst us; and its extension, did not get some hybrid and occasions an annual increase of the bulance of compromise," and consult some supreme trade against this Colony."—(Seo American Archives, 4th series, vol. 1, p. 493.)

At a meeting of the freeholders and other in-bulinest of the colonics, a social mischief, and a political evil; and if these were genied, they rehabitants of the county of Culpeper, in Virginia, plied, "These truths are self-evident." And from assembled on due notice, in the Court House of the judgments of men they appealed to no earthly

men are to be considered as anthority -- ask Bouthpurious ernogentlemen what they mean, when they ack as pur-me to extend filavery to the distant shores of the principle of the distant shores of the principle of the distant shores of the principle of the distant shores of the purious of the distance of the distance of the purious of the distance of and Virginia and that almost suknown country.