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In bringing to a close Mr. Webster's speech, there is one thing on which we wish to say a word or two, and want of space will not let us do more to day. It is this. There seems to be a disposition on the part of some Northern members of Congress to concede a great deal to the South in regard to catching and returning runaway slaves, and Mr. Webster adds his influence to the cause. We wonder the reflection does not recur to these gentlemen, that it is not in the power of Congress to pass a law to compel a great community to violate their consciences. They may make as many laws as they please on the subject, and the moral sense of the people of the free States will render them inoperative. The laws of God and the dictates of humanity compel us to sympathize with the distressed, panting, hungry fugitive from oppression; and no act of Congress can convert a community which abhors slavery, into a society of slave catchers.

But if the South insists upon stronger enactments, let our Northern members propose, as a fair compromise, that the rights of all the citizens of the free States shall be guaranteed in the South. At present, a colored citizen of a free State cannot visit the South without endangering both life and liberty. He may be a native born citizen of Massachusetts, or New York, enjoying every right of citizenship possessed by the highest dignitaries of these States—he may be an educated, intelligent, and upright man—and yet the moment he enters Maryland or Virginia, he is liable to imprisonment, and to be sold into perpetual slavery. Is there any justice, any fairness in such treatment? While the South complains of a violation of the constitutional compact, in regard to delivering up fugitives from labor, has not the North greater reason to complain of a gross breach of the constitution by the South, in its treatment of freemen and citizens of the North? "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone." While some of our Northern representatives have been very free to acknowledge the justice of the Southern complaint in relation to runaway slaves, it is strange that they have never thought of retoring upon their Southern friends their own derelictions from constitutional propriety.

Mr. Calhoun not only killed himself, but disunion also, by his late speech. It put both the traitor and the treason flat on their backs. When Southern men found, from their great leader, what a poor foundation their contemplated disunion project had to stand upon, and that it was necessary to attack the Constitution, and affirm that it needed amendment, in order to find an excuse for fathering treason, they began to desert the sinking cause. Even Foote had sense enough to see that there was no hope, and he clawed off quite handsomely in time. Poor Calhoun! he is at length reaping the reward of a mad ambition, which could not stop short of ruin, either to the country or himself.

Mr. Stanly, of North Carolina, has boldly bearded the Southern disunionists, and has stripped from them their "refuge of lies." When admitting a rebuke to Mr. Hilliard, of Alabama, who is a Methodist Preacher, on Thursday, the following scene occurred:

Mr. Hilliard—In my judgment, the passage of the Wilmot Proviso will drive the people of the South to resistance.

Mr. Stanly—Resistance!

Mr. Hilliard—Revolutionary resistance. Do you think we will hold to this?

Mr. Stanly—It is said that North Carolina would not go into that crowd. We stand solitary and alone in the Southern gentlemen.

Mr. Hilliard—How stand?

Mr. Stanly—If we fight with preachers, we will go unarmed. [Laughter.]

Mr. Hilliard—Will the southern people resist the Wilmot Proviso?

Mr. Stanly—I don't believe it will be passed.

Mr. Hilliard—Suppose it shall be passed?

Mr. Stanly—If passed, I believe the people of North Carolina will stand by the Union. Wilmot Proviso or no Wilmot Proviso.

[There was applause by members on the floor as well as persons in the crowded galleries, which was speedily suppressed.]

The Rev. Porter Clay, the only surviving brother of the Hon. Henry Clay, died recently in Arkansas, in the 71st year of his age.

M. Bois Lecompte, French Minister to the U. States, came passenger in the steamer Canada. Also Henry Wikoff, bearer of despatches to Washington.

Hon. John C. Fremont, newly appointed Senator from California, and lady, arrived at N. York, in the steamer Georgia, from Chagres. The Georgia brought 250 passengers from Chagres, besides 53 left at Havanna, and about $600,000 in gold dust on freight. The passengers had about $350,000 more.

Consul to Tangiers.—G. V. Brown, Esq., Commercial Editor of the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, has been appointed Consul to Tangiers, in place of T. H. Hyatt.

For the Pittsburgh Gazette.

Mr. Editor—I shall be obliged to defer making a reply to Philanthrop, for a few days. Although I have not yet been able to give his elaborate effort an attentive examination, yet the most careless reader can easily perceive that in his last article, and in several other of his positions, no doubt unguardedly advanced in his former communication, have been abandoned. Of this, however, I will speak more at length hereafter. Justice.

FROM HARRISBURG.

Correspondence of the Pittsburgh Gazette.

Harrisburgh, March 9th, 1850.

There were fewer Senators in their places this morning, than I have seen during the session. Several members have taken advantage of the some what stormy proceedings in the House, which keeps up a temporary diversion in their favor, and the absence of any important business in the Senate, to visit their homes and families; and even those who remained, seemed but little disposed to work this morning. It was remarked by one of the Senators, that a great deal of work had been done during the past week; and he thought it would excuse the Senate for an early adjournment to day, especially as many Senators were absent from their seats, and the Senate had only a few days ago taken a resolution to meet at nine o'clock in the morning, instead of ten, as before. A good deal of business, however, was got through with in the course of the day. Several local and private bills were passed; but as none of them are of interest to your section of the State, I do not think it worth while to mention them. The Senate adjourned at 12 o'clock, on motion of, and after a few felicitous remarks fr om Mr. Mathues, without calling the previous question upon, as they did, singularly enough in the House, and in the best humor that I have seen the "reverend, grave, and potent seignors," for a long time.

In the House, the Apportionment Bill was again the bone of contention, and members amused themselves, and the outsiders with a sort of bull baiting, hear-garden exhibition, in the discussion of amendments never intended to be made, and most of which, to use the language of a great man, in regard to a very important occurrence that happened to a still greater man, "were certainly not fit to be made. The Whigs are somewhat excusable for this course, however, as the reckless Locofoco majority have shown them from the beginning, no courtesy whatever, and have exhibited a predetermination to pass the bill with all its enormities and imperfections on its head, without listening to argument or expostulation. It is probable that the House will be urged on upon this bill all next week. It will pass that body without any material amendment. But that, I am fully satisfied, will be the last of it. On the table of the Senate it will be permitted to sleep forever. The Senate will pass a bill of its own, which I have no doubt will meet the concurrence of the Executive, and the House will be compelled to take that or nothing.

The Forrest divorce case is still occupying the attention of the Judiciary Committee in the Senate; but it is understood the Committee will in a few days make a favorable report. Mr. Forrest is still here, and will no doubt await the action of the Legislature on his case. COBDEN.

FROM NEW YORK.

Correspondence of the Pittsburgh Gazette.

New York, March 9.

The speech of Mr. Webster has given the quietus to all the alarm caused by the fanaticism exhibited by the ultraists in Congress, and people think no more of the dissolution of the Union, than of any other equally probable event, such as the demonstration of the problem relative to the explosion of saltpetre, or the hissing of snakes, once important question here. For a long time nothing has been wanted to give the money market perfect buoyancy, except the settlement of the slavery question. This is now disposed of, and the result is a spirit of speculation in stocks, greater than has been seen in a long time. All sorts are in demand, and though a few reactions may occur, the inevitable tendency must be upward. The influx of gold, the remarkably prompt payment of all business paper, unite to make money cheap beyond precedent. It is sufficient to say that funds are so plenty, that the legal rate can not be had, except upon doubtful paper, while first class goes at five per cent.

The expedition in search of Sir John Franklin will sail from this port in May, and will consist of two schooners suitable for the navigation of the Arctic Seas, of 70 to 90 tons burden. The command of the expedition has been tendered to Lieut. De Haven, who was attached to the exploring expedition, who has accepted the trust. Passed Midshipman Griffin, will be second in command. A party has gone East to select the vessels for this expedition. The vessels are to be "fishing smacks," of "*Chebacco boats*," in shape, for all the world, like the body of a duck, and as hard to drown. The smacks will be made staunch, and if Sir John Franklin is to be found, these boats will do it. Obstacles before which the united navies of the world would pause, have in days gone been surmounted by the hardy fishermen of New England, who in the cause of humanity will now exceed their efforts made for gain alone.

The influx of Californians by the Georgia, which arrived last night, has given rather more reliable information than the usual correspondence. The mass of the returned have brought no gold through. The aggregate remittance reaches full a million. Most of them have seen as much as they wish of California, and express in definite terms, their opinion that, as in New York, one wants a little capital to work with.

The Northerner and Goliah are now fitting out for California, and will soon be off. The whole fleet of sea steamers plying between New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, with southern ports, have been bought off for the trade on the western coast. California, which two years ago was only visited by 'hide droghers," has now nineteen steamers, while the Atlantic coast has not one.

Steamers have commenced their trips to Albany, and the first class boats put upon all the eastern lines—an accomplishment usual about the first of May. The season in all things is thus much in advance.

A "carnival" is to be held on the "preservation of the Union," and an "effigy of disunion" is to be burned before the City Hall, next week. A troop of carpenters are now constructing the effigy intended to represent the embodyment of disunion North and South. It is a locofoco scheme, and the canvass of the effigy will, no doubt, teem with slander and misrepresentation enough to satisfy the demagogues of the party. C.

Mr. Webster's Speech Concluded.

Mr. Webster—I have nothing, sir, to add to nor to take back from those sentiments. That, the Senate will perceive, was in 1537. The purpose of immediately annexing Texas at that time was abandoned and postponed; and it was not revived in any vigor for some years. In the mean time, it had so happened that I had become a member of the Executive Administration, and was for a short period in the Department of State. The annexation of Texas had become a subject of conversation—not confidential—with the President and heads of Departments, as well as with other public men. No serious attempt was then made to bring it about. I left the Department of State in May, 1843, and shortly after I learned, though no way connected with official information, that a design had been taken up of bringing in Texas, with her slave territory and population, into the United States. I was here in Washington at the time, and the persons are now here who will remember that we had an arranged meeting for conversation upon it. I went home to Massachusetts and proclaimed the existence of that purpose, but I could get no audience, and but little attention. Some did not believe it, and some were engaged in their own pursuits. They had gone to their farms, or to their merchandize, and it was impossible to arouse any sentiment in the North and in Massachusetts that should combine the two great political parties against this annexation; and, indeed, there was no hope of bringing the Northern Democracy into that view, for the leaning was all the other way. But, sir, even with Whigs, and leading Whigs, I am ashamed to say, there was a great indifference towards the admission of Texas with slave territory into this Union. I went on. I was then out of Congress. The annexation resolutions passed the 1st of March, 1845. Texas complied with them; the Legislature of Texas complied with the conditions and accepted the guaranties; for the phraseology of the language of the resolution is, that Texas is to come in "upon the conditions and under the guaranties herein prescribed." I happened to be returned to the Senate in March, 1845, and was here in December, 1845, when the acceptance by Texas of the conditions proposed by Congress were laid before us by the President, and we set for the consummation of the connexion was laid before the two houses. The connexion was not completed. A final law doing the deed of annexation ultimately had our concurrence passed; and when it was upon its final passage I, for one, I expressed my opposition to it and recorded my vote in the negative; and there that vote stands, with the observations that I made upon that occasion. It happened that between 1837 and this time, on various occasions and opportunities, I had expressed my entire opposition to the admission of slave States, or the acquisition of new slave Territories, to be added to the United States. I know, sir, no change in my own sentiments or my own purposes in that respect. I will now again ask my friend from Rhode Island to read another extract from a speech of mine, made at a Whig Convention in Springfield, Massachusetts, in the month of September, 1847.

Mr. Greene here read the following extract:

"We hear much just now of a *panacea* for the dangers and evils of slavery and slave annexation, which they call the '*Wilmot Proviso*.' That certainly is a just sentiment, but it is not a sentiment to found any new party upon. It is not a sentiment on which Massachusetts Whigs differ. There is not a man in this Hall who holds to it more firmly than I do, nor one who adheres to it more than another.

"I feel some little interest in this matter, sir. Did not I commit myself in 1838 to the whole doctrine, fully, entirely? And I must be permitted to say that, I cannot quite consent that more recent discoverers should claim the merit and take out a patent.

"I deny the priority of their invention. Allow me to say, sir, it is not their blunder.

"We are to use the first and last and every occasion which offers to oppose the extension of slave power.

"But I speak of it here, as in Congress, as a political question, a question for statesmen to act upon. We must so regard it. I certainly do not mean to say that it is less important in a moral point of view, that it is not more important in many other points of view; but, as a legislator, or in any official capacity, I must look at it, consider it, and decide it as a matter of political action."

Mr. Webster—On other occasions, in debates here, I have expressed my determination to vote for no acquisition, or cession or annexation, North or South, East or West. My opinion has been that we have territory enough, and that we should follow the Spartan maxim, "improve, adorn what you have, seek no further." I think that it was in my observations that I made here on the three million loan bill that I avowed that sentiment—in short, sir, the sentiment has been avowed quite as often, in as many places, and before as many assemblies, as many of the humble sentiments of mine ought to be avowed.

But now, that, under certain conditions, Texas is in with all her territories, as a slave State, with a solemn pledge that if she is divided into four States, three States may come in as slave States south of 36 deg. 30 min., how are we to deal with it? I know no way of honorable legislation but, when the proper time comes for the enactment, to carry into effect that we have stipulate to do. I do not entirely agree with my honorable friend from Tennessee, Mr. Bell, that, so soon as the time comes when she is entitled to another Representative, we should create a new State. The rule in regard to it I take to be, that, when we have created new States out of Territories, we have generally gone upon the idea that when there is population enough to form a State, sixty thousand or some such thing, we would create a State; but it may be thought quite a different thing when a State is divided, and two or more States made out of it. It does not follow, in such a case, that the rule of apportionments should be applied. That, however, is a matter for the consideration of Congress when the proper time arrives.

I may not be here. I may have no vote to give on the occasion, but I wish it to be distinctly understood to day, that, according to my view of the matter, this Government is solemnly pledged by law to create new States out of Texas, with her consent, when her population shall justify such a proceeding, and so far as such States are formed out of Texan territory lying south of 36 deg. 30 min., to let them come up as slave States. That is the meaning of the resolution which our friends, the Northern Democracy, have left us to fulfil; and I, for one mean to fulfil it, because I will not violate the faith of the Government.

Now, as to California and New Mexico, I hold slavery to be excluded from these territories by a law even superior to that which admits and sanctions it in Texas. I mean the law of nature—of physical geography—the law of the formation of the earth. The law settles forever, with a strength beyond all terms of human enactment, that slavery cannot exist in California or New Mexico.—Understand me, sir; I mean slavery as we regard it; slaves in the gross, of the colored race, transferable by sale and delivery like other property.—I shall not discuss that point. I leave it to the learned gentlemen who have undertaken to discuss it; but I suppose there is no slave of that description in California now. I understand that *peonism*, a sort of penal servitude, exists there, or rather a sort of voluntary sale of a man and his offspring for debt, as it is arranged and exists in some parts of California and New Mexico. Not what I mean to say is, that African slavery, as we set it among us, is a utterly impossible to find itself, or to be found in Mexico, as any other natural impossibility. California and New Mexico are Asiatic in their formation and scenery. They are composed of vast ridges of mountains of enormous height, with sometimes broken ridges of deep valleys. The sides of these mountains are barren, entirely barren, their tops capped by perennial snow. There may be in California, now made free by its constitution, and no doubt there is, some tracts of valuable land. But it is not so in New Mexico. Pray, what is the evidence which any gentleman has obtained on the subject, from information sought by himself or communicated by others. I have inquired and read all I could in order to obtain information on this subject. What is there in New Mexico that could by any possibility induce any body to go there with slaves? There are some narrow strips of tillable land on the borders of the rivers; but the rivers themselves dry up before midsummer is gone.—All that the people can do is to raise some little articles, some little wheat for their tortillas, and all that by irrigation. And who expects to see a hundred black men cultivating tobacco, corn, cotton, rice, or any thing else, on lands in New Mexico made fertile only by irrigation? I look upon it, therefore, as a fixed fact, to use an expression current to the day, that both California and New Mexico are destined to be free, so far as they are settled at all which I believe especially in regard to New Mexico, will be very little for a great length of time; free by the arrangement of things by the Power above us. I have therefore to say, in this respect also, that this country is fixed for freedom, to as many persons as shall ever live there, by as irrepealable and more impeachable a law than the law that attaches to the right of holding slaves in Texas; and I will say further, that if a resolution or a law were now before us to provide a Territorial Government for New Mexico, I would not vote, to put any prohibition into it whatever. The use of such a prohibition would be idle, as it respects any effect it would have upon the Territory; and I would not take pains to reform an ordinance of Nature, nor to reenact the will of God. And I would put in no Wilmot proviso for the purpose of a taunt or a reproach. I would put into it no evidence of the votes of superior power, to wound the pride, even whether a just pride, a rational pride, or an irrational pride, to wound the pride of the gentlemen who peopled the Southern States. I have no such object, no such purpose. They would think it a taunt, an indignity; they would think it an act taking away from them what they regard a proper equality of privilege; and whether they expect to realize any benefit from it or not, they would think it a theoretic wrong; that something more or less derogatory to their character and their rights had taken place. I propose to inflict no such wound upon any body, unless something essentially important to the country, and efficient to the preservation of liberty and freedom is to be effected. Therefore, I repeat, sir, and I repeat it because I wish it to be understood, that I do not propose to address the Senate often on this subject. I desire to pour out all my heart in as plain a manner as possible, and I say, again, that it is a proposition were now here for a Government for New Mexico, and it was moved to insert a provision for a prohibition of slavery, I would not vote for it.

Now, Mr. President, I have established, so far, as I proposed to go into any line of observation to establish, the proposition with which I set out, and upon which I propose to stand or fall; and that the whole territory of the States in the United States, or in the newly acquired territory of the United States, has a fixed and settled character now fixed and settled by law, which cannot be repealed in the case of Texas without a violation of public faith, and cannot be repealed by any human power in regard to California or New Mexico; that, under one or other of these laws, every foot of territory in the States or in the Territories has now received a fixed and decided character.

Sir, if we were now making a Government for New Mexico, and any body should propose a Wilmot proviso, I should treat it exactly as Mr. Polk treated that provision for excluding slavery from Oregon. Mr. Polk was known to be in opinion decidedly averse to the Wilmot proviso; but he felt the necessity of establishing a Government for the Territory of Oregon, and, though the proviso was there, he knew it would be entirely nugatory; and, since it must be nugatory, since it took away, for nothing, no desirable, no attainable, no weighable or tangible right of the South, he said he would sign the bill for the sake of enacting a law to form a Government in that territory, and let that entirely useless, and in that connection entirely senseless, proviso remain. For myself, I will say that we hear much of the annexation of Canada; and it there be any man, any of the Northern Democracy, or any one of the Free Soil party, who supposes it necessary to insert a Wilmot proviso in a Territorial Government for New Mexico, that man will of course be of opinion that it is necessary to protect the everlasting snows of Canada from the foot of slavery! by the same overpowering wing of an act of Congress. Sir, wherever there is a particular good to be done; wherever there is a foot of land to be staid back from becoming slave territory, I am ready to assert the principle of the exclusion of slavery. I am pledged to it from the year 1837; I have been pledged to it again and again, and I will perform those pledges; but I will not do a thing unnecessary, that wounds the feelings of others, or that does disgrace to my own understanding.

Mr. President, in the excited times in which we live there is found to exist a state of crimination and recrimination between the North and South. There are lists of grievances produced by each; and I confess I cannot but wish, on both sides, that the minds of one portion of the country from the other, exasperate the feelings, subdue the sense of fraternal connexion, and patriotic love, and mutual regard. I shall bestow a little attention, at this time, upon those grievances produced on the one side and on the other. I begin with the complaints of the South. I will not answer, further than I have, the general statements of the honorable Senator from South Carolina, that the North has grown upon the South in consequence of the manner of administering this Government, in the collection of its revenues, and so forth.—They are disputed topics, and I have no disposition to enter into them. But I will state these complaints, especially one complaint of the South, which has, in my opinion, just foundation; and that is, that there has been found at the North, among individuals and among the legislatures of the North, a disinclination to perform fully their constitutional duties in regard to the return of persons bound to service who have escaped into the free States. In that respect, it is my judgment that the South is right and the North is wrong. Every member of every Northern Legislature is bound by oath to support the constitution of the United States; and this article of the constitution, which some of them call the '*Wilmot Proviso*.' That certainly is a just sentiment, but it is not a sentiment to found any new party upon. It is not a sentiment on which Massachusetts Whigs differ. There is not a man in this Hall who holds to it more firmly than I do, nor one who adheres to it more than another.

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Sir, if we were now making a Government for New Mexico, and any body should propose a Wilmot proviso, I should treat it exactly as Mr. Polk treated that provision for excluding slavery from Oregon. Mr. Polk was known to be in opinion decidedly averse to the Wilmot proviso; but he felt the necessity of establishing a Government for the Territory of Oregon, and, though the proviso was there, he knew it would be entirely nugatory; and, since it must be nugatory, since it took away, for nothing, no desirable, no attainable, no weighable or tangible right of the South, he said he would sign the bill for the sake of enacting a law to form a Government in that territory, and let that entirely useless, and in that connection entirely senseless, proviso remain. For myself, I will say that we hear much of the annexation of Canada; and if there be any man, any of the Northern Democracy, or any one of the Free Soil party, who supposes it necessary to insert a Wilmot proviso in a Territorial Government for New Mexico, that man will of course be of opinion that it is necessary to protect the everlasting snows of Canada from the foot of slavery! by the same overpowering wing of an act of Congress. Sir, wherever there is a particular good to be done; wherever there is a foot of land to be staid back from becoming slave territory, I am ready to assert the principle of the exclusion of slavery. I am pledged to it from the year 1837; I have been pledged to it again and again, and I will perform those pledges; but I will not do a thing unnecessary, that wounds the feelings of others, or that does disgrace to my own understanding.

Mr. President, in the excited times in which we live there is found to exist a state of crimination and recrimination between the North and South. There are lists of grievances produced by each; and I confess I cannot but wish, on both sides, that the minds of one portion of the country from the other, exasperate the feelings, subdue the sense of fraternal connexion, and patriotic love, and mutual regard. I shall bestow a little attention, at this time, upon those grievances produced on the one side and on the other. I begin with the complaints of the South. I will not answer, further than I have, the general statements of the honorable Senator from South Carolina, that the North has grown upon the South in consequence of the manner of administering this Government, in the collection of its revenues, and so forth.—They are disputed topics, and I have no disposition to enter into them. But I will state these complaints, especially one complaint of the South, which has, in my opinion, just foundation; and that is, that there has been found at the North, among individuals and among the legislatures of the North, a disinclination to perform fully their constitutional duties in regard to the return of persons bound to service who have escaped into the free States. In that respect, it is my judgment that the South is right and the North is wrong. Every member of every Northern Legislature is bound by oath to support the constitution of the United States; and this article of the constitution, which some of them call the '*Wilmot Proviso*.' That certainly is a just sentiment, but it is not a sentiment to found any new party upon. It is not a sentiment on which Massachusetts Whigs differ. There is not a man in this Hall who holds to it more firmly than I do, nor one who adheres to it more than another.

"I feel some little interest in this matter, sir. Did not I commit myself in 1838 to the whole doctrine, fully, entirely? And I must be permitted to say that, I cannot quite consent that more recent discoverers should claim the merit and take out a patent.

"I deny the priority of their invention. Allow me to say, sir, it is not their blunder.

"We are to use the first and last and every occasion which offers to oppose the extension of slave power.

"But I speak of it here, as in Congress, as a political question, a question for statesmen to act upon. We must so regard it. I certainly do not mean to say that it is less important in a moral point of view, that it is not more important in many other points of view; but, as a legislator, or in any official capacity, I must look at it, consider it, and decide it as a matter of political action."

Mr. Webster—On other occasions, in debates here, I have expressed my determination to vote for no acquisition, or cession or annexation, North or South, East or West. My opinion has been that we have territory enough, and that we should follow the Spartan maxim, "improve, adorn what you have, seek no further." I think that it was in my observations that I made here on the three million loan bill that I avowed that sentiment—in short, sir, the sentiment has been avowed quite as often, in as many places, and before as many assemblies, as many of the humble sentiments of mine ought to be avowed.

But now, that, under certain conditions, Texas is in with all her territories, as a slave State, with a solemn pledge that if she is divided into four States, three States may come in as slave States south of 36 deg. 30 min., how are we to deal with it? I know no way of honorable legislation but, when the proper time comes for the enactment, to carry into effect that we have stipulate to do. I do not entirely agree with my honorable friend from Tennessee, Mr. Bell, that, so soon as the time comes when she is entitled to another Representative, we should create a new State. The rule in regard to it I take to be, that, when we have created new States out of Territories, we have generally gone upon the idea that when there is population enough to form a State, sixty thousand or some such thing, we would create a State; but it may be thought quite a different thing when a State is divided, and two or more States made out of it. It does not follow, in such a case, that the rule of apportionments should be applied. That, however, is a matter for the consideration of Congress when the proper time arrives.

I may not be here. I may have no vote to give on the occasion, but I wish it to be distinctly understood to day, that, according to my view of the matter, this Government is solemnly pledged by law to create new States out of Texas, with her consent, when her population shall justify such a proceeding, and so far as such States are formed out of Texan territory lying south of 36 deg. 30 min., to let them come up as slave States. That is the meaning of the resolution which our friends, the Northern Democracy, have left us to fulfil; and I, for one mean to fulfil it, because I will not violate the faith of the Government.

Now, as to California and New Mexico, I hold slavery to be excluded from these territories by a law even superior to that which admits and sanctions it in Texas. I mean the law of nature—of physical geography—the law of the formation of the earth. The law settles forever, with a strength beyond all terms of human enactment, that slavery cannot exist in California or New Mexico.—Understand me, sir; I mean slavery as we regard it; slaves in the gross, of the colored race, transferable by sale and delivery like other property.—I shall not discuss that point. I leave it to the learned gentlemen who have undertaken to discuss it; but I suppose there is no slave of that description in California now. I understand that *peonism*, a sort of penal servitude, exists there, or rather a sort of voluntary sale of a man and his offspring for debt, as it is arranged and exists in some parts of California and New Mexico. Not what I mean to say is, that African slavery, as we set it among us, is a utterly impossible to find itself, or to be found in Mexico, as any other natural impossibility. California and New Mexico are Asiatic in their formation and scenery. They are composed of vast ridges of mountains of enormous height, with sometimes broken ridges of deep valleys. The sides of these mountains are barren, entirely barren, their tops capped by perennial snow. There may be in California, now made free by its constitution, and no doubt there is, some tracts of valuable land. But it is not so in New Mexico. Pray, what is the evidence which any gentleman has obtained on this subject, from information sought by himself or communicated by others. I have inquired and read all I could in order to obtain information on this subject. What is there in New Mexico that could by any possibility induce any body to go there with slaves. There are some narrow strips of tillable land on the borders of the rivers; but the rivers themselves dry up before midsummer is gone.—All that the people can do is to raise some little articles, some little wheat for their tortillas, and all that by irrigation. And who expects to see a hundred black men cultivating tobacco, corn, cotton, rice, or any thing else, on lands in New Mexico made fertile only by irrigation? I look upon it, therefore, as a fixed fact, to use an expression current to the day, that both California and New Mexico are destined to be free, so far as they are settled at all which I believe especially in regard to New Mexico, will be very little for a great length of time; free by the arrangement of things by the Power above us. I have therefore to say, in this respect also, that this country is fixed for freedom, to as many persons as shall ever live there, by as irrepealable and more impeachable a law than the law that attaches to the right of holding slaves in Texas; and I will say further, that if a resolution or a law were now before us to provide a Territorial Government for New Mexico, I would not vote, to put any prohibition into it whatever. The use of such a prohibition would be idle, as it respects any effect it would have upon the Territory; and I would not take pains to reform an ordinance of Nature, nor to reenact the will of God. And I would put in no Wilmot proviso for the purpose of a taunt or a reproach. I would put into it no evidence of the votes of superior power, to wound the pride, even whether a just pride, a rational pride, or an irrational pride, to wound the pride of the gentlemen who peopled the Southern States. I have no such object, no such purpose. They would think it a taunt, an indignity; they would think it an act taking away from them what they regard a proper equality of privilege; and whether they expect to realize any benefit from it or not, they would think it a theoretic wrong; that something more or less derogatory to their character and their rights had taken place. I propose to inflict no such wound upon any body, unless something essentially important to the country, and efficient to the preservation of liberty and freedom is to be effected. Therefore, I repeat, sir, and I repeat it because I wish it to be understood, that I do not propose to address the Senate often on this subject. I desire to pour out all my heart in as plain a manner as possible, and I say, again, that it is a proposition were now here for a Government for New Mexico, and it was moved to insert a provision for a prohibition of slavery, I would not vote for it.

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