Uarlisle facruld．
the Zower－ol
on Slavery
Mr：Beatry：－Tha groat question beforo the poppla is glavery in the tionrititries． the legielation of the National ongress here
 true consispatio doctrine of the oountry－the
reel gaieguard of the Union．The evidence reial gaieguard of the Union．The evidense
to ostandisis the constitutionaility and wisdom
 of legialating sinvery
strong and and conolusiva：
Tre Conesititution was
The Conaititution was＂．ordnined to secure posterity．＂．Io segurotho hlessings of liberty． not tie evis of alavery，was tho grent clinax in that euunieration of its objeots which con－ stitures ite preamble．This wns the n．nowed tta nduinistration．Sinvery is uot ninde nn－ tional in any way．or．form ；it iy loft todepend
entiticly on local law，exxopt the renditiōi of
 ed for：－Its provisions are not inconisisten qith its preaible．The power necossnry to
carry into force all the objects whioh the Con titution wus orduined io secure，is lodged in Congress．The Constitution then is a a pro－ Congress．
libery compaot．But why；oven if we had the Ability，atiemipt a conssitutional arg anent respeoting tho power of Congress to probilitit or rogulate siapery in the therritories？Such
argyments have litile weight now．A consti tutional warrant or objection oun always bo found to favor the desigity of politioinis．－ Suppose the power is involved in uncertainy，wit
where will we ger fur the best guidance ？with the peviw doptrine of the Democratio party， with thérpunders of the Consitiution，n The porier hins been exercised frou the begi． ning of the government down to àlmost tho
 fies usf far botter tinn un tho oaviling argat－ ments of hon－inter vention
blersof tue preseut $\operatorname{siny}$ ．
The doctrine of non iutervention－in－refer ence to shavery was first introduced into Con grese by Cnihoun in－184t，－nnd－1t－wus－ong in
1850 that Ches initugurated the Bame princi－ ple in itt fulleat sense，applying it to all sub－ jeots of territorial legislation．The incousis
tency of these great men，the authors of non－ intervention，with each other，and their incon－ sititency with themselves，will be shown here－
after．TLus it wili be geep that the Demoora－ tie dogroa of no power in Congress to legielate for the Territories，is of very recent origin． After adducing the opinicns of two great states－
meg，expressed immediately attor the atten－ tion of Congress had been called to this suk ject，we whl prove row intervention is a ngx
the governmont，that non doctrine，without the sunction of precederit Calhoun，speaking in referenco to the Tar ＂ritories having the right．of iself govornment unconstitutional，without sxample，and contrary to the entire practice of the government，from its commencement to the present time；
immortal Clay，once defaimed，but now oulo－ gized by the demoarats，said，＂I cannot con y，when a point is settled by all the elemen－ tary writers of our country，by all the depart－ ments of our government，legisiative，oxeon－ Por a petiod of fifty years，and never，was seriously disturbed till recently，that．Ithink if rio regard anything as fixed and settlo ander the administration or tais conol hion ars， tand supporied by the record in numerons instances；－but an tlie great debate has bad its respeoting slavery，oinly puoh，aots of Congress as have a appecial reference to that ingettution will be conaiderod．

## exaypreps of heablatron on ghaveax．

 In 1787 the Coatinental Congress accupt Ohio and westward of the Misitalippi，made he ordinacico of＇ 87 ，probbibiting plavery invcluantary servitude forever ercept for arime．पn the ontire territory．Mry Jefforgon to validity＂rai soleminy effrmed in the vory firfs Congreas，that assembled under the Con of thingt．－Had the oontitution divested Congrest of all power to logialato on alavery， a doad Jetter，the Constitutional Congreen coulidnot hase seted upon it，so at to glive ito mintikette powere？Did ho vory mon who framed the Conititution，and mado the frift lama nopder it，not undersand its provisoonas the men soctine now piristenty opnteo ded for，to detived from the Conatitation：1

## This mequent of the revolutionary fathers to rid thenselyes of the responsibility，and Notithern neasure．The whole South sup－ ported it with entiro unaniimity．There was

 sxtetision of human Slavers：Sixty－three this eminently wise measure as a＂＂Narthern Agression：The ordiannoe of 87 consecrated all the difree－institutions to free men，free Inbor ready formed out of it，which for wealith， enterprise，intolligence nud progress，stand ountry．，＇their preseut groitnese nown atesta， and their future glory will still more siganlly he．Territoriep．Sbonld Kavisne beoome lave stute，it would ever be a datis stain on with the eulightitened wisdom of hoose who poved by their ncls；that the canse of humg
glits was the cause of their country．
Faid the Government bien administered ation，this would liave boen the of the Consti－ f h ，probibitory power，as the whole territory nd the nrgument based upan the right of Suth to c．rrry Slaves into the public domnin ould never bave heen invented，for they were all the territary then belonging to the Genera Goyerument，nid that too by their ootn act． Congressional prolibibition，it will be imporiant observo the unvij）ingness of Congrese mpair the force of che ordinance of＇g7． Shivery bad entan 4 hed itself in tho Terri－
ories of Indinanand 1 llinuis prior to the time hen prohibition look effect．It wns vers antural for slave holders to．desire its perpet
autious，Accordingly＇we find that they pe－ itioned Gongress for $a$ suspension of the anti－ Congress answereal by a peremprory refusal to letlid to the petition of toe people of Indinna was highty dangerous nnd inexpedient－ was higlhy dangerous nid inexpedient to at satisfied with one refusal．Four times pplicution for a tear yeura suspension，bu隹 five times did Congress，without uny dis． inction botween：Ndrthern and Southern ers，refused to impair tho ordinuince prohibi－ ng slavery in that Territury．This was a
positive denial of the wishes of the sovercign eople of Indiana．Where was squanttor son－ reignty then？Where was the Demooratic principle of no power th legislate for the ter－
ritories？Thie fact is，the South and the Dom－ cratio purty did not understand the Const can only repronch us for being faithful and barge，lhem with incousistenoy to prinoiplo and with apostacy from liberty．
At chis timo there was wo doubt about the erritories，so well was it understood that the power did exiet，and that it mould be exer－
ised，that the slave States，in sabsequanty iolding their domain，for the formation of hould not be probibited．
The next assertion of pawer by the General of 1820 ，which exeludelt slavery from all the erritory agquired in the Louisiand purchase， ntire territory vas subject to local law，which recognizet olave labor，it was the highast pos．
ible exeroieg of logislative nuthority over the ubjeot of mlavery in a Territory．It was an butil legalls It abolished slavery whero i legiolated alavery out of a million yquaro iles；made Iorra s free state，and saved till tha folly and madiness of a proalavery Con－

The Miseouri Compromies was proposed by Illinoia，who bad uititormily voted with the Slave Btates agaliat all restriction on the Stato of Miseouri，and it mae adopted by 84,
yés againot 10 noen．Fourtoen Senatorn from the alave Statieg and thanty from the Shic

 vere from oldep itatoí and five：Srom tho freo． It will be segh that e mijority of members Congre⿻丷木，voted for this rentriction．
Mr．Sonroe，tho President，folt the respon Ibility of the canco，and，bofore giving the bill member of hin Cabinot the following interrigge－ ories：＂O Has Congresa a right，nador the 4 rigulotion prohibiting sivery in a Tarrito
TI If the oighth ection of the aot whith pabised both Hoaite
tant for the admission or Ariseori into the
Jinon consigtent with the Constitution ？＂ The Cabinct mas unanumoug salo the con－ Territories，Cultoun being a meniber of this possessed the power which had just been ex rcised，or surely be would，at once，as one of Ho President＇s constitutional ndvisers，have challenged the mensure as unconstitutional． －This，＂snys Benton，＂＂was the highest，the cost solem，the mosl momentuns，the mod ver Shiterision a Territory which bad ever been mide or contuld bo concocived．It not onls abo．ighed Slavery where it legnally existed，but
Porever prohibitell it where it had long existed， and that over an extent of territory larger han the aren of all the Allantio slave States fut together；und this yiolding to the free States the absolute predominance in the During the sestion of 1837，Mr．Cathouniin－ rriduced a reoolution，udmilting tha power－of Territories，but deprecating．its nhulition where existed on grounds of expediency，which Clay，passed the Seunte by a vote of $3 \overline{\mathrm{o}}$ ，eng or nays．Messrs．Calloun，Buchanana，and Pierce，gll voted in the a afirmative．Those Senators who voted in the negntive did 80 for
ensois wholly unconnected with the merits． The principlo of the resolution was approved
the whole Senase；not so nuth ns jne ob by the whole Senase；not so mucu ns one ob－
jection was raiked，during the discusbion－on is adoption，to ite Cunstitutional power of
Cungress tu regulate Slavery in the lerrito－ ies．
The resolution admitting Tesis as a Stato of the Union，nlso rëengnizes the power of
Cungress tọ legislite on Sluvery．$\wedge$ Mr．Mittoun ita for nanexation oontuing ormed out of that portion of the said territory ying south of thirty－xix degrees thiris min－ dissouri cumpro，commonly known as the dissouri coumpromise line，stinll be admitted
Dothe Uuion，with or mithout Slavery，as he people of ench State askiug ndmivion mng proposition by alding thereto the fulloming： And in such Stute or－States as－ $\mathrm{sbanll}-\mathrm{b}$ souri oompromise line，Sluvery ofr involuntary rvitudg（except for crime）－slinll be prohibit－ Brown＇s propositiou passed 110 in the affruma－
ve，and 93 in the pegative．Au the affirna cive vetc was nearíy exclusivoly composed of
 nein States out of Ita Territory．

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