

Democrat and Sentinel.

THE BLESSINGS OF GOVERNMENT, LIKE THE DEWS OF HEAVEN, SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED ALIKE, UPON THE HIGH AND THE LOW, THE RICH AND THE POOR.

NEW SERIES.

EBENSBURG, PA. WEDNESDAY, MARCH, 26, 1862.

VOL. 9--NO. 16

SPEECH OF Hon. D. W. VOORHEES, of Ind., IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 20, 1862.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—
Mr. Voorhees.

The first duty, perhaps, of those who attempt to address a deliberative body, is a clear and candid definition of his own position on the subject under discussion. I am willing and ready to meet that requirement on this occasion. I propose to discuss the duty of the Federal Government in its relation to the unhappy war which now afflicts our nation, and the objects for which that war should be prosecuted. And standing here, a loyal and faithful citizen, according to the fullest extent of the bond of allegiance, I declare my purpose to sustain the Government with all my energies in all its constitutional efforts to maintain the Union of these States as our permanent and only basis.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

lized world to look at and admire, to bequeath it unimpaired in its beneficent grandeur to our children, is a cause in which every sacrifice, save that of eternal truth, becomes cheap and easy. For that cause I desire, in my humble capacity, to speak today. For that cause I can say, with the eye of Omniscience for my witness, no life between the two oceans that bound this continent would be more willingly offered than mine.

But a greater evil, a more fatal calamity to us and our posterity than even a hostile line of division across the heart of the nation is, in my judgment, here threatened on this floor. The fall of this Republic can never be complete until the Constitution is overthrown. A portion of its territory may be torn away, treason may rob it of much of its treasure, the lightning may descend and scatter some of its beautiful branches, and soom and soot its stately trunk; but if the immortal principles of the Constitution are left, the sap of life will rise again, and the leaves will come in the spring. Destroy them, and the tree of liberty, like a girdled tree of the western forests, will hasten to decay, and fall to the earth, to be removed as rubbish by the hand of some tyrant and usurper.

Mr. Voorhees. What is it that constitutes the value of American citizenship? Is it vast possessions and extensive boundaries? What is it that we prize, the possession of the fertile lands of the globe, and all the islands of the sea, if we have not as our shield, our banner, and our defence, the Constitution of our fathers? Within its sacred folds are preserved the great crown-jewels of human freedom. First, and above all, at every hazard, and in the face of all consequences, permit not the citizen to be robbed of these jewels. They constitute life; they render the citizen free; they make his roof protect him as if he were within a wall of iron; they enable him to walk abroad to breathe with us the weight that the Roman of old, that he is an American citizen; they open his prison doors in time of trouble; they place him before his accusers; they give him a trial by his peers; they protect him in the enjoyment of the hard earned labor of his hands; they tell him, in tones of angelic sweetness, to eat in peace the bread which he has earned in the sweat of his face. They are all, all, all that render American citizenship so precious, so valuable, so significant of free men, upright, glorious, manhood of thought and deed. For me, let me wear and enjoy them, though my possessions should be no broader than the narrow limits to which we all hasten, and where the weary heart finds rest.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

Mr. Voorhees. I am conducting this war as I shall not be waged in the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the powers or institutions of the States but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union of the people, equality, and rights of every citizen, in all its essential elements.

A few moments afterwards the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Stevens]—who I think may justly be considered as the leader of his party—not only stood up and to assert his right to be looked upon as the head of the abolition church, not even respecting the claims of the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. Lovejoy,] introduced the following as his plan for the restoration of the Government of our fathers:

"Whereas slavery has caused the present rebellion in the United States; and whereas there can be no solid and permanent peace and union in this Republic so long as that institution exists within it; and whereas slaves are now used by the rebels as an essential means of supporting and protecting the war; and whereas by the law of nations it is right to liberate the slaves of an enemy to weaken his power: Therefore,

"Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President be requested to declare free, and to direct all of our generals and officers in command to order freedom to all slaves who shall leave their masters, or who shall aid in quelling this rebellion.

"Sec. 2. And be it further resolved, That the United States pledge the faith of the Union to make full and fair compensation to all loyal citizens who are and shall remain active in supporting the Union for all the loss they may sustain by virtue of this act."

Not an hour was lost, sir, in the inauguration on this floor, of the schemes of universal abolitionism and their prolonged discussion. The country witnessed this evil omen with amazement and alarm. The idea that Congress cherished the remotest design of attempting to interfere with or abolish slavery in the Southern States had never entered the minds of the people. That the war in which we are engaged was to be presented for such a purpose they had no right to believe, if there is any faith to be put in the pledges of the public men now in power. But in what light are these subjects placed before the country now? The distinguished leaders of the party which has control here on this floor, have, day after day, during this session, proclaimed the power and the purpose by congressional action to strike down the domestic institutions of the States, and I fear they are supported by a majority of the House. The four millions of slaves held by the Southern States are to be declared free by the proclamation of the President or by act of Congress. And other and further atrocities are proposed in this connection which I will allude to before I close.

I wish, first, sir, to show in the simplest and most conclusive manner that this pernicious movement is an act of intolerable bad faith on the part of the party in power towards the Union men of the country. I assert here on this floor, and shall prove before I sit down, that, if universal emancipation is now to be the policy of the Government in its prosecution of this war, a foul deception has been practiced on the loyal people of the nation, and our army has been obtained and mustered into the field by false pretences more gross than were ever before perpetrated to obtain the means with which to carry out secret and unallowed purposes. By what magic cry came six hundred thousand men into the tented field? By what token and signal did they muster for the fierce arena of civil conflict? By what strong appeal were they aroused from their slumbers of peace, and induced to exchange home and its happiness for the dread alarms of war? In what name was the citizen transformed into the soldier? In what sign does he propose to conquer? Sir, these are questions pregnant with the fate of the future. The people are asking them; the soldiers of our great army are asking them; in dismay at the evil machinations of abolitionists in and out of Congress. Their answer is at hand, and embraced within the records which will not perish. A few short and eventful months ago the authorities of the Government called for an army more vast than Caesar or Napoleon ever commanded on the field of battle. Such a movement had to be sanctioned by a cause equal in its importance. The cause, as asserted, was one to which no true American could turn a deaf ear. The maintenance of the Constitution, the restoration of the Union, and the enforcement of the laws were proclaimed as the lofty purposes for which the tread of armed men shook the continent. To a people proud of their Government, and supremely blest under its benignant workings, such an appeal was irresistible. With it was mingled none of the heresies which are now the watchwords of a powerful party on this floor.

Let us turn and look back briefly on some incidents of but recent occurrence, but which seem already to be fading from the recollections of men. On the 4th day of March last

in the presence of his listening and wondering countrymen, and in the presence of his oath to support the Constitution, the President of the United States held the following language:

"I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

This position was assumed at a time when every word spoken by the new Executive was carefully weighed by an anxious country; and when in a brief space afterwards the nation was convulsed by actual conflict, this definition of his constitutional power over the subject of slavery was remembered and trusted by a patriotic people. They saw in it a solemn pledge, given in the most deliberate manner, and under circumstances the most imposing, that their energies were not to be called upon by this Administration to overthrow the laws and the guarantees of the Constitution. But the President did not stop there. He went further on that occasion, and used language on the subject of the fugitive slave law, and our duties under it, which gave hope to the friends of law and order, but which, I fear, will scarcely be considered now as the utterance of a loyal man by the zealous gentlemen on the opposite side of the Chamber. He spoke on that subject, as follows:

"There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause now read is so plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions. 'No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.' It is scarcely questionable that this provision was suggested by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the attention of the legislator is to the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution, to this provision, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause shall be delivered up their owners are unanimous."

How strange all this sounds here now, and in what startling contrast with the principles daily announced by the great leaders of the party which made Mr. Lincoln President! No power to touch the institution of slavery in the States, and a faithful enforcement of the fugitive slave law! Eleven months ago such was the doctrine proclaimed on the Eastern steps of this Capitol by the President. Such the honest, confiding people believed it would continue to be when they threw aside the implements of peaceful industry, and resorted to the sword.

But these positions of the President are now repudiated, because as it is asserted, they were assumed under circumstances far different from those which exist at present. The shortest answer to this feeble excuse for a flagrant violation of the Constitution exists in the following extract from the message of the President of July 13th to the extra session of Congress:

"Let there be some uneasiness in the mind of candid men as to what is to be the course of the Government towards Southern States after the rebellion shall have been suppressed, the Executive deems it proper to say it will be his purpose then, as ever, to be guided by the Constitution and the laws; and that he probably will have no different understanding of the powers and duties of the Federal Government relatively to the rights of the States and the people under the Constitution than that expressed in the inaugural address."

Thus was the pledge which was made in the inaugural address, on the 4th of March renewed in explicit terms on the 4th of July. The fires of civil war which were smoldering and hid in March were leaping up to the very heavens in July. The rebellion which in March looked like a distant speck had spread until it had darkened half the sky by midsummer. Its boundaries were as large then as now, and its flag was floating in defiance in sight of the presidential mansion. Battles had been fought, lives lost, property destroyed, treasures robbed, forts taken, the flag torn and dishonored, and the authority of the Government driven out of eleven States of the Union with insult and scorn. Yet in the face of all this, with the full proportions of this great rebellion in clear view, the President reasserted the policy of the inaugural; and in doing so, again announced that he had neither the power nor the inclination to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists, and that the fugitive slave law must be enforced and obeyed.

Sir, where then was the indignant thunder that has shook this Hall during the

present session? In what caves were the winds then imprisoned? What enchantment chained the fiery zeal of the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Elliot?)—What prudential considerations induced the veteran leader from Pennsylvania (Mr. Stephens) to nurse his wrath, and keep it warm for a future day? Where was the able gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. Bingham) who now champions the cause of abolitionism so warmly and so gallantly? And even the voice of the gentleman from Illinois, (Mr. Lovejoy) who, like the war horse of the Scriptures, is eager for the battle, where the negro was involved, is silent. Ay, sir, they were silent then and silent all the day and the hour had not yet arrived to throw off the disguise which was assumed to hide the purposes which are now avowed. Soldiers were yet rushing to the field. The great army was not yet complete. The pride of the Union yet resounded through the land, unmarred by the discordant cry of Abolitionism. There were no speeches in favor of universal emancipation, written instructions, the destruction of State Governments, and their reduction to the condition of Territories. Far otherwise.

Mr. BINGHAM. The gentleman will pardon me; I was not altogether silent during the special session upon that subject.

Mr. VOORHEES. Certainly not; but the gentleman will hardly assert that his voice was heard as it has been during the present session.

Mr. BINGHAM. No, sir; but I did something better than speaking. I reported a bill which passed this House, and which in my judgment gives freedom to five hundred thousand slaves.

Mr. VOORHEES. But the gentleman did not extend the prohibition then to the liberation of the whole four millions of slaves of the South. Yet he has proclaimed that to be the true policy of the Government during the present session on this floor.

Mr. BINGHAM. Of course not; but it did go in my judgment, to the extent of five hundred thousand slaves.

Mr. VOORHEES. Yes, sir, his proposition at the extra session, he thinks, would liberate only about five hundred thousand slaves; but in his speech on the 15th of January, of the present session, he asserts it to be the duty of the Government to declare free the whole four millions of slaves in the South. But, sir, to proceed.

I have thus shown the faith which the highest officer in the Government pledged with the people on this subject. There I might rest, and call upon him in the name of the people to forgo upon the effects which his political partisan friends are making here to cause that faith to be broken. But there are others of eminent position, and in whom the people have their highest hopes and interests confided, who gave public assurances in the early stages of this war of the manner in which it should be conducted with regard to slavery, to which I desire to call the attention of the House and country.

On the 26th day of May, at Cincinnati, General George B. McClellan, then a name comparatively unknown, now filling the civilized world wherever the story of our great calamity has penetrated, issued his proclamation to the Union men of Western Virginia. With it as his banner, he crossed the Ohio river with two thousand men of the great West, and pitched his banner on the soil of a slave State. Was his mission to proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof? according to the stereotyped war cry now on this floor? Did his soldiers, brave and honest men, feel according to the speech of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, (Mr. Stephens) that the cause in which they had shouldered their muskets would not end, if they were to successfully contend with the Rebel forces unless their march became a crusade for the freedom of the slave? No, sir, nothing of this. The general commanding held the following language on the manner in which his campaign was to be conducted:

"Notwithstanding all that has been said by the traitors to induce you to believe that our advent among you will be signalized by interference with your slaves, understand one thing clearly: not only will we abstain from all such interference with your slaves, but we will on the contrary, with an iron hand, crush any attempt at insurrection on their part."

I remember well how this proclamation of the young Western General rang through the country. Its terms suited the law-abiding people of the mighty Northwest.

It filled them with bright anticipations of his future, which I hope may be fulfilled.—They took this proclamation as a pledge, sanctioned, too, by the Executive, that the arms of the Government were to be used to maintain all the laws, State and Federal throughout the nation. It was worth, in the preceding service, a hundred thousand men in the valley of the Mississippi.

I know not how it was received away up the cold latitude of New England, where the abolition of slavery is an object of far dearer and higher import than the reconstruction of the Union on the basis of the constitution. But at least no cry of horror arose from that western region then, no explosive protest came from their Puritan lips. Their hour had not been reached, the fallow of time had not come, the ranks of the army were not full, and they waited—yes, sir, they waited! But is the pledge which was given to the true friends of the Constitution and the Union by the commanding general of the armies of the United States on the banks of the Ohio, to be broken on the banks of the Potomac? He has since then drawn his sword in a newer and a higher field; he has stepped upon a theatre, with the world for his audience; he walks upon the dizzy heights of human greatness, so far as official station can bestow it; the field of fame lies open before him, in which to win a name that will never perish, to become one of the mortal few who can never die; but no change of fortune or of circumstance can release him, in the minds of an honest and confiding people, from the obligations which he assumed when he opened his career by the invasion of Western Virginia. They call upon him now, as he promised them, to abstain from all interference with the institution of slavery, and with an iron hand to crush any attempt at insurrection.

But, sir, I shall go on with the recollection. The record of the first ninety days of his career is full with it. No sound was heard above the roar of the conflict, save the Union, the Constitution and the entire spirit of all the laws. The air of the new merit drank in its sweet odors as he left his home to join in that magnificent struggle! The plenary malaria of abolitionism had not then, as now, tainted every gate which swept from this point.—Even Massachusetts furnished a high offering of evidence to the country that this war was to be conducted within the limits of the Constitution, and that the States of the South were to be protected in the enjoyment of their domestic institutions.

On the 9th day of May, from his headquarters at Annapolis, in the slave State of Maryland, General Benjamin F. Butler issued a following, in a letter to Governor A. Dix, of Massachusetts, on the subject of his duty in his military capacity towards the institution of slavery. I announced it to the country; the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Elliot) who introduced the resolution now under discussion, said on the morning following my reading, "I was informed that the city of Annapolis and environs were in danger from an insurrection of the slave population, in defiance of the laws of the State. What was I to do? I had promised to put down a white man, and to preserve and enforce the laws against that. Ought I to allow a black one to prefer a man in a breach of the law? I considered that I was bound against all intentions of the laws, whether by edicts or laws, and upon that understanding I acted certainly with propriety and efficiency."

Again in the same letter, and speaking in the same subject, the following sentiments occur:

"I appreciate fully your excellency's suggestion as to the inherent weakness of the law, arising from the preponderance of their servile population. The question then is, in what manner shall we take advantage of that weakness? By allowing, and of course, that population to be upon the defenceless women and children of the country, carrying rapine, arson and murder—all the horrors of San Domingo a million times magnified—among those whose hope to recruit with us as brethren, many of whom are already so, and all who are worth preserving will be when this horrible mania shall have passed away or be thrashed out of them? Would your excellency advise the troops under my command to make war in person upon the defenceless women and children of any part of the Union, accompanied with brutalities too horrible to be named? You will say, God forbid! If we may not do so in person, shall we arm others so to do, over whom we have no restraint, exercise no control; and who, when once they have tasted blood, may turn the very arms we have put into their hands against ourselves, as a part of the opposing white race."

"The reading of history, so familiar to your excellency, will tell you the bitterest of our nation's wrongs."

It filled them with bright anticipations of his future, which I hope may be fulfilled.—They took this proclamation as a pledge, sanctioned, too, by the Executive, that the arms of the Government were to be used to maintain all the laws, State and Federal throughout the nation. It was worth, in the preceding service, a hundred thousand men in the valley of the Mississippi.

I know not how it was received away up the cold latitude of New England, where the abolition of slavery is an object of far dearer and higher import than the reconstruction of the Union on the basis of the constitution. But at least no cry of horror arose from that western region then, no explosive protest came from their Puritan lips. Their hour had not been reached, the fallow of time had not come, the ranks of the army were not full, and they waited—yes, sir, they waited! But is the pledge which was given to the true friends of the Constitution and the Union by the commanding general of the armies of the United States on the banks of the Ohio, to be broken on the banks of the Potomac? He has since then drawn his sword in a newer and a higher field; he has stepped upon a theatre, with the world for his audience; he walks upon the dizzy heights of human greatness, so far as official station can bestow it; the field of fame lies open before him, in which to win a name that will never perish, to become one of the mortal few who can never die; but no change of fortune or of circumstance can release him, in the minds of an honest and confiding people, from the obligations which he assumed when he opened his career by the invasion of Western Virginia. They call upon him now, as he promised them, to abstain from all interference with the institution of slavery, and with an iron hand to crush any attempt at insurrection on their part."

I remember well how this proclamation of the young Western General rang through the country. Its terms suited the law-abiding people of the mighty Northwest.

It filled them with bright anticipations of his future, which I hope may be fulfilled.—They took this proclamation as a pledge, sanctioned, too, by the Executive, that the arms of the Government were to be used to maintain all the laws, State and Federal throughout the nation. It was worth, in the preceding service, a hundred thousand men in the valley of the Mississippi.

It filled them with bright anticipations of his future, which I hope may be fulfilled.—They took this proclamation as a pledge, sanctioned, too, by the Executive, that the arms of the Government were to be used to maintain all the laws, State and Federal throughout the nation. It was worth, in the preceding service, a hundred thousand men in the valley of the Mississippi.

I know not how it was received away up the cold latitude of New England, where the abolition of slavery is an object of far dearer and higher import than the reconstruction of the Union on the basis of the constitution. But at least no cry of horror arose from that western region then, no explosive protest came from their Puritan lips. Their hour had not been reached, the fallow of time had not come, the ranks of the army were not full, and they waited—yes, sir, they waited! But is the pledge which was given to the true friends of the Constitution and the Union by the commanding general of the armies of the United States on the banks of the Ohio, to be broken on the banks of the Potomac? He has since then drawn his sword in a newer and a higher field; he has stepped upon a theatre, with the world for his audience; he walks upon the dizzy heights of human greatness, so far as official station can bestow it; the field of fame lies open before him, in which to win a name that will never perish, to become one of the mortal few who can never die; but no change of fortune or of circumstance can release him, in the minds of an honest and confiding people, from the obligations which he assumed when he opened his career by the invasion of Western Virginia. They call upon him now, as he promised them, to abstain from all interference with the institution of slavery, and with an iron hand to crush any attempt at insurrection.

But, sir, I shall go on with the recollection. The record of the first ninety days of his career is full with it. No sound was heard above the roar of the conflict, save the Union, the Constitution and the entire spirit of all the laws. The air of the new merit drank in its sweet odors as he left his home to join in that magnificent struggle! The plenary malaria of abolitionism had not then, as now, tainted every gate which swept from this point.—Even Massachusetts furnished a high offering of evidence to the country that this war was to be conducted within the limits of the Constitution, and that the States of the South were to be protected in the enjoyment of their domestic institutions.

On the 9th day of May, from his headquarters at Annapolis, in the slave State of Maryland, General Benjamin F. Butler issued a following, in a letter to Governor A. Dix, of Massachusetts, on the subject of his duty in his military capacity towards the institution of slavery. I announced it to the country; the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Elliot) who introduced the resolution now under discussion, said on the morning following my reading, "I was informed that the city of Annapolis and environs were in danger from an insurrection of the slave population, in defiance of the laws of the State. What was I to do? I had promised to put down a white man, and to preserve and enforce the laws against that. Ought I to allow a black one to prefer a man in a breach of the law? I considered that I was bound against all intentions of the laws, whether by edicts or laws, and upon that understanding I acted certainly with propriety and efficiency."

Again in the same letter, and speaking in the same subject, the following sentiments occur:

"I appreciate fully your excellency's suggestion as to the inherent weakness of the law, arising from the preponderance of their servile population. The question then is, in what manner shall we take advantage of that weakness? By allowing, and of course, that population to be upon the defenceless women and children of the country, carrying rapine, arson and murder—all the horrors of San Domingo a million times magnified—among those whose hope to recruit with us as brethren, many of whom are already so, and all who are worth preserving will be when this horrible mania shall have passed away or be thrashed out of them? Would your excellency advise the troops under my command to make war in person upon the defenceless women and children of any part of the Union, accompanied with brutalities too horrible to be named? You will say, God forbid! If we may not do so in person, shall we arm others so to do, over whom we have no restraint, exercise no control; and who, when once they have tasted blood, may turn the very arms we have put into their hands against ourselves, as a part of the opposing white race."

"The reading of history, so familiar to your excellency, will tell you the bitterest of our nation's wrongs."

It filled them with bright anticipations of his future, which I hope may be fulfilled.—They took this proclamation as a pledge, sanctioned, too, by the Executive, that the arms of the Government were to be used to maintain all the laws, State and Federal throughout the nation. It was worth, in the preceding service, a hundred thousand men in the valley of the Mississippi.

I know not how it was received away up the cold latitude of New England, where the abolition of slavery is an object of far dearer and higher import than the reconstruction of the Union on the basis of the constitution. But at least no cry of horror arose from that western region then, no explosive protest came from their Puritan lips. Their hour had not been reached, the fallow of time had not come, the ranks of the army were not full, and they waited—yes, sir, they waited! But is the pledge which was given to the true friends of the Constitution and the Union by the commanding general of the armies of the United States on the banks of the Ohio, to be broken on the banks of the Potomac? He has since then drawn his sword in a newer and a higher field; he has stepped upon a theatre, with the world for his audience; he walks upon the dizzy heights of human greatness, so far as official station can bestow it; the field of fame lies open before him, in which to win a name that will never perish, to become one of the mortal few who can never die; but no change of fortune or of circumstance can release him, in the minds of an honest and confiding people, from the obligations which he assumed when he opened his career by the invasion of Western Virginia. They call upon him now, as he promised them, to abstain from all interference with the institution of slavery, and with an iron hand to crush any attempt at insurrection on their part."

I remember well how this proclamation of the young Western General rang through the country. Its terms suited the law-abiding people of the mighty Northwest.

It filled them with bright anticipations of his future, which I hope may be fulfilled.—They took this proclamation as a pledge, sanctioned, too, by the Executive, that the arms of the Government were to be used to maintain all the laws, State and Federal throughout the nation. It was worth, in the preceding service, a hundred thousand men in the valley of the Mississippi.