

# Star & Republican

"I WISH NO OTHER HERALD, NO OTHER SPEAKER OF MY LIVING ACTIONS; TO KEEP MINE HONOR FROM CORRUPTION."—SHAKS.

BY ROBERT WHITE MIDDLETON.]

GETTYSBURGH, Pa., MONDAY, MAY 15, 1837.

[VOL. 8--NO. 7.]

## IMPORTANT PUBLIC DOCUMENT.

### Report of the Minority of the Committee appointed by the House of Representatives to investigate the affairs of the Canal Commissioners.

[CONCLUDED FROM OUR LAST.]

But after all this prying into private conversation, inviting the aid of discarded, faithless agents, and disappointed office hunters—nothing has been found to militate against the integrity, fidelity and zeal of the Canal Commissioners, or any of their agents. Not as under the late administration. No Judge Martz has been found committing forgery, to defraud the Commonwealth, and then fleeing from justice to escape the Penitentiary. No William B. Mitchell, or F. McCague have been found issuing certificates, instead of paying the cash which they had drawn from the state treasury, and then obtaining receipts in full from honest laborers and contractors, and thus cheating them out of thousands of dollars of the hard earnings of their industry. Although for a portion of the last year, while many of the old agents were retained on the Columbia Railroad, the motive power, as it had always done before, failed to maintain itself, yet it gives the undersigned pleasure to know, that since a thorough reform has taken place, under the management of the present excellent Superintendent, it not only supports itself, but yields a handsome surplus.—The State has every reason to feel proud of the integrity and energy, which pervade the whole management of our noble system of internal improvements, and to look forward with increased confidence to their future usefulness and productiveness. All the obstacles thrown in the way—all the odium attempted to be cast upon them by party operations, for party purposes—although they may retard, cannot stop their progress to complete success. We have every assurance, that the present vigilant, intelligent and efficient Board of Commissioners, aided as they are by active, industrious, and competent subordinates, will continue to facilitate the transportation of freight and passengers upon the public works, and thus not only increase their productiveness to the State, but afford general satisfaction to our own business men, and insure public confidence abroad. This ought to be the anxious desire of us all.

It is proper only to notice, in brief detail, the several objections made by the majority, to the management of the public works.

1st. Their complain of the dismissal of the officers and workmen employed under the late administration, and allege that those substituted in their place, are inexperienced.

The public offices and employments under our government, belong to the people. No set or faction of men, have an hereditary or prescriptive right to them. It is inconsistent with the genius of our institutions, to employ one set of agents during life, to the exclusion of all our other citizens.—When the people deemed that abuses had so largely accumulated under the late administration, as to render it necessary to change the appointing power, they also willed that the instruments of abuse should be removed. If their place was supplied by men of less experience, the reason is obvious—the last administration took care to give none who differed from them in politics, an opportunity to acquire experience; for none of them were appointed to office. But it is believed, experienced and apt men have been appointed; under whose management the Commonwealth has suffered no loss. It is said by the majority, that officers were removed on account of their political opinions. Even if this were true, it is no very strong evidence of error in the removal;—for those who hold bad political opinions, are not very likely to be correct in their other notions. But this objection comes with singular effrontery from those who loudly proclaim by their words and actions that "To the victors belong the spoils."

Every thing said with regard to the removal of Mr. Weisting, appears to be founded in error. He is not removed, but transferred from one office to another;—while Mr. Willis, although an excellent officer, has been left out by a new arrangement of the management of the Portage Railroad.

2nd. The reason for running the locomotive engines twice as often per day, was the great deficiency of motive power on the Columbia Railroad. The late administration had entirely neglected to supply the wants of the road, and it therefore became necessary, either to run double trips, or leave the business undone. Which course was the proper one, needs no argument to demonstrate.

3d. The majority assert, that favoritism was shown to Mr. Leech in the rates of toll charged on his boats and passengers. This assertion does not appear to the undersigned to be warranted, but to be fully contradicted by the evidence. In the regulations of the Canal Commissioners, and the rates of tolls directed to be charged, there is no diminution in favor of any individual. Although a distinction is made as it was under the late administration, between freight and packet boats, and the passengers transported in them; yet the rates are uniform on all of the same class, no matter by whom owned. If the collectors differed as to the toll to be charged, it was because they did not agree as to which class the boat in question belonged. The packet boats were exclusively for the conveyance of passengers; fitted up in an elegant style, with two cabins, and were charged with highest rates of toll;—another kind was for the transportation of freight

only, and paid the lowest rate;—another class existed of an intermediate character, with but a single cabin—designed to convey either freight or passengers. They were more coarsely furnished, and were much less comfortable than the packets; designed to accommodate emigrants and the poorer and humbler class of travellers. The toll was less than on packets. The evidence clearly shews, that on all boats of this kind, the same toll was chargeable and charged.

If Mr. Leech's line had any advantage over others, it was because he chose to use boats of this latter description, and accommodate poor travellers, at a less rate of fare. If the committee intend to complain, because these humble passengers were not made to pay as much as the rich gentleman, who travelled in the sumptuous packets, we must entirely dissent from notions which seem to us so aristocratic.

4th. The majority find fault because earlier preparations were not made to build a new bridge at Clark's Ferry. It is true that the bridge erected, under the late administration, was a worthless fabric—and a portion of it is now fallen. But until the present session, the legislature had made no provision for erecting another; it would have been illegal for the Canal Commissioners to have made any preparations for that purpose; and as it has been their intention to be governed strictly by law, and not expend money without authority, they did not venture to prepare materials for a new bridge, as the majority seem to suppose they should have assumed the responsibility of doing.

5th. It is said that boats were stopped during a part of last season, for some time, at Duncan's Island. It was clearly proved that such has been the case every year since the construction of the canal. For a short time in the dry season of the year, the water cannot be got into the canal at that point, fast enough to pass all the boats without delay. This was owing altogether to the defective and unskillful manner of building the dam at Duncan's Island, and the excavation of the first level from the river. The dam, although its original location, after it was partially built, was abandoned with great loss to the commonwealth, never has been tight enough to keep the water. Enough escapes in dry seasons, to impede the navigation of the canal for a short time. In excavating the first level, a ridge of rocks was left, at an elevation much above the rest of the canal, and quite across its bottom—a short distance from the inlet from the river. That was the main cause of the obstruction. It has been nearly removed this winter, and no difficulty is apprehended in future. If there were error and want of skill displayed, in constructing this part of your public works, the House will have the consolation to know that it is chargeable to former administrations, and should therefore be charitably considered.

6th. The committee charge the Canal Commissioners with neglect of duty for not constructing a cut round the Baird's Town Bridge; and insinuate that it was their duty so to do under an act of the last Legislature. That act authorized them "to examine the situation of the Canal at the Bridge at Bairdstown, and if they should think it necessary and expedient to construct the cut" &c. &c. The Commissioners did examine it, and not thinking it necessary and expedient did not construct it. They have therefore not neglected but performed their duty. If the law is intended to be imperative, the "neglect of duty" is not having it so, can be sought for in no more probable quarter than among the Representatives of Westmoreland county, among whose constituents the work in question is situated.

7th. Motive power. The majority of the committee state, that Mr. Lawrence proves that the cost of the motive power exceeded the receipts for the last year the alarming sum of \$70,261 44. The undersigned can find no such statement in Mr. Lawrence's testimony. On the contrary, it is shewn by the Canal Commissioners' report that the excess is only \$15,403 56. While that of the preceding year under the late administration was 53,695 21

8th. *Script*. The undersigned cannot forbear expressing their surprise at the remarks of the majority, with regard to the practice of issuing "Script" by the Superintendents and Supervisors appointed by the present administration have been in the habit of drawing large sums of money, applying it to their own use, issuing Scripts to the workmen, and thus obtaining receipts from them for cash.

9th. That such was the practice extensively under the late Administration is matter of public notoriety. Applications are annually before the Legislature to indemnify those who were thus dismissed by William B. Mitchell and others. It is understood that contractors and laborers lost by such means from \$20,000 to \$100,000 of their hard earnings. But the undersigned are ignorant of any such practice under the present administration. To guard against such reprehensible acts, the Canal Commissioners in March 1836 issued instructions to their agents,

containing the following clause, viz: "That you adopt no mode of settlement by which laborers may suffer loss, or ultimately be deprived of their dues." And 8th of March 1837, passed the following more explicit resolution:

Canal Room, March 8th, 1837. It was Resolved, That no Superintendent, Superintendent of Transportation or Motive Power, or Supervisor shall be allowed to commute with any person to whom the State may become indebted; nor shall he be allowed to issue Scrip or other evidence of debt; or take receipts for money that has not been paid. And any Superintendent, Superintendent of Transportation or Motive Power, or Supervisor, offending against this regulation, shall forthwith be removed from office.

Extract from Min. Board, E. F. PENNYPACKER, Sec. In vain have we searched Mr. Lawrence's evidence to whom the majority refer, to discover the foundation of the charge thus made against the agents at present employed. We are therefore constrained to believe that it was a mistake in the committee as to time and persons. If not, it is the duty of the majority to name the individuals guilty of such practices, that they may be forthwith removed from office.

Although it was deemed advisable to increase the number of agents in proportion to the increase of business, yet in all instances have their salaries been reduced. Indeed it is believed that most of them are too poorly paid.

The undersigned view with great pleasure the present condition and prospect of our public works, conducted by agents of great industry and fidelity, they promise a rich return for the great expenditure they have occasioned, and promise to realize the most sanguine hopes of their friends, if they should continue to be managed by honest men, and not become the plunder and the engines of political aspirants.

In conclusion it may not be improper for the undersigned to express their deep regret that our noble system of Internal Improvement, which is calculated to confer upon us so many and great advantages and to elevate the Commonwealth to a high rank among her sister states, and the family of nations, should be selected as the battle ground by political gladiators. If politicians deem it their duty, in obedience to party, to make perpetual, vindictive and expensive war upon their opponents let them select as the object of attack some less delicate and important subject than our great Internal commerce. Pennsylvania will find enough to contend with in the rival interests and efforts of her sister states, in their surrounding Canals, and Rail Roads, and their jealous warfare against her financial ascendancy, and in the malignant foreign attacks upon her domestic institutions, without being compelled to guard against, and mourn over the suicidal policy of her own children.

One of the undersigned J. W. Tyson, perceiving that the testimony of Mr. Penn conflicts with that of Mr. Ayres, and not being familiar with the other circumstances stated in the report, declines expressing an acquiescence on this point, but very cordially concurs in all the rest.

Very cordially submitted,  
H. M. WATTS,  
J. WASHINGTON TYSON.  
Monday, 27th March, 1837.

## Anti-Abolition Convention.

### Convention of the "Friends of the Integrity of the Union."

This Convention assembled in the Court House, in this place, at 10 o'clock, on Monday, May 1st. The number present as delegates at the organization of the Convention, was about sixty, which was afterwards increased by the arrival of other members, and by gentlemen admitted to seats by vote, to above one hundred members. It is to be regretted that the busy season of the year prevented the attendance of many farmers and mechanics from the country, and that so few of them should have been in attendance.

Mr. BENJ. PARKE, Editor of the Key-stone, called the Convention to order, and nominated THOMAS M'GUFFIN, Esq., of Washington county, to the Chair. After some preliminaries the Convention adjourned to meet at 4 o'clock of the same day. At 4 o'clock the Convention was fully organized by electing the Hon. JUDGE BAIRD, of Washington county, President, and a large number of Vice Presidents.

While the committee for drafting an Address and Resolutions were out, a member from Monroe county rose and spoke in substance as follows:

Mr. President, the time having arrived when it is proper for members to express their views as to the object and design to be accomplished by this Convention, I shall offer a few remarks. Sir, the object of this Convention is to take measures for preserving the integrity of this great and happy Union, by assuring the South that Pennsylvania as a State abhors the motives, repudiates the doctrines, and condemns the measures of the immediate Abolitionists. We come not here to examine the merits or demerits of Slavery. History sacred and profane, establishes the antiquity of its origin, if not affords sanction for its continuance.—We come here, sir, to oppose the scheme of the immediate Abolitionists, which, if carried into effect, must produce the dissolution of this Union, bring on the horrors of a servile war, and deluge the land with blood. Nature, herself, clearly shows that the negro is unfit for social intercourse with the white man. Look at the free blacks amongst us. Industry and economy form up part of the negro character. With free ac-

cess to the privileges of education, they are still ignorant. With the benefits of the gospel within their reach, they are still deprived. With—

Chair. Is the gentleman from Monroe about to make any motion?

Member. Not any in particular, Chair. Then your remarks are not in order. It is necessary that there should be some motion before the Convention.

The Member, (looking toward the Convention.) If any one has any objection to my expressing my views of the object and design of this Convention, I shall sit down.

Chair. The Chair decides that the gentleman's remarks are out of order, unless he intends to offer a motion.

(Several votes were here passed, when, by leave of the Convention, the speaker was permitted to proceed with his observations, which he did for a few minutes to similar effect with the above.)

Rev. Mr. HAYNES, from Allegheny, then moved that the proceedings of the meeting at Washington county, inviting other counties to co-operate in calling this Convention, be read at a convenient time.—Passed. Adjourned till ten o'clock of the next day.

TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 2d, 1837.

Rev. Mr. HAYNES called for the reading of the Washington Resolutions, and the Clerk accordingly read them, omitting that resolution challenging the Abolitionists to a public debate in that county; as also the one calling a county meeting.

Rev. Mr. HAYNES then moved the following:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention, it is inconsistent for any person who believes in the doctrine of immediate Abolition, to hold a seat in this Convention.

He did not mean, he said, to point out any individuals by this resolution, which was based on the original call to the Convention. He could not believe that any man would be so lost to all sense of honor, as to come there under a mask, while he knew himself to hold to the mad schemes of the Abolitionists, which were threatening the Union with dissolution; yet he thought it well some such resolution should be passed, lest any thing might occur to prove it was necessary.

Mr. STEVENS, of Adams county, here rose and attempted to speak. The Chair had hastily inquired if the Convention were ready for the question,—had taken the affirmative, and was just calling for the contrary minds, when Mr. Stevens said—

Mr. President—(some confusion among the members,) have I not the floor?

Chair. The vote was carried, I think. Two members at once. The negative was not called. The vote had been taken.

Chair. Then I suppose you will proceed.

Mr. Stevens. I do not wish to proceed unless I am in order. Will the Chair inform me whether I am?

Chair. Go on, go on; you are on the floor?

Mr. Stevens. Am I in order?

Chair. Go on.

Mr. STEVENS then said: Sir, I wish to know what is the precise object of the mover in presenting this resolution. There was a time, I know, sir, when the opinions of men were crimes before certain tribunals, even though they had never been expressed. I know there were tribunals which held men responsible for their unuttered thoughts!—And I am anxious to know, sir, whether that state of things is gone by, or whether the gentlemen intend by this resolution, that, here in Pennsylvania, it shall still exist.

In this Convention, called for the highest and most sacred purpose which can grow out of our political relations, to preserve the Integrity of these United States, it is hardly to be presumed, before hand, that any gentleman can be found so hardy as to venture to assert, that a man whose skin is black, has any right to be free! In proposing this religious test, as a condition of membership in this Convention, the Rev. Gentleman cannot possibly suppose, prior to all fact, that any one duly elected to this Convention, can be so reckless as to adopt the views of those daring men, who prate about the abolition of Slavery. His object must rather be to establish some precedent which shall have a bearing favorable to some ulterior design.

However much this Convention may depreciate the "mad schemes" of the abolitionists, I trust it will not take the ground implied in that resolution, that all modifications of thought about the abolition of slavery, are inconsistent with the "Integrity of the Union." I do trust that the Convention is not to become a school to send forth to the world, new doctrines, adverse to the freedom of human kind. If so, I assure gentlemen, we shall want some foreign aid to preserve the Integrity of the Union of this Convention.

I think the mover, on reflection, will think it better to withdraw his resolution, and wait till objectionable doctrines are advanced here, before they are condemned. Certainly, he will do this if he is in favor of the "Integrity of our Union here."

Rev. T. W. HAYNES spoke substantially as follows.

Mr. President, I will say, but few words in support of this resolution. I meant no personalities. But sir, I wish the Convention to take the ground, that if any person comes in here secretly holding the doctrines of those vile incendiaries, who would see the whole South waltering in blood, rather than fail of accomplishing their purposes, he ought not to be tolerated here. Born, sir, in Tennessee—educated in Ken-

tucky, I am an exile from my native State on account of my hatred of Slavery. And I come here to the Capitol of this State, the Keystone of the whole world, and I am ready to devote my exertions, my prayers, and if need be my blood, to the preservation of the Integrity of this great and glorious Union!

(The Speaker here became rapid in his enunciation. He spoke some minutes more, chiefly illustrating and enforcing ideas advanced in the above sketch.)

Mr. STEVENS said, Mr. President, I deeply sympathize with my respectable friend across the way, in all he has done and suffered in the noble cause we are now first met to consider. His appeals are by no means without their influence upon my understanding; nor are his pathetic touches wholly lost upon my heart.

So moved am I, at beholding him, "an exile from his native State," on account of what he has suffered from Slavery, that I am ready to join this Convention in a vote which shall fix indelible infamy upon that horrid spirit, which makes slaves of white men, or drives them from their homes, to wander as exiles in other lands.

But, sir, the gentleman has mistaken the import of the resolution from Washington county, as well as the true tendency of his own.

That resolution summons the friends of the Integrity of the Union, to meet in Convention, for the purpose of opposing, not the abolition of Slavery, but the mad schemes of the abolitionists. This, we are all, I trust, prepared to do; and some of our efforts, I have ever thought, were exceedingly ill judged. But, sir, when the gentleman tells us, that the wish for universal emancipation ought to disqualify members duly elected, to occupy seats in this Convention, he advances doctrines little suited to the pure atmosphere of Pennsylvania.—This, his resolution means, and its tendency must be to produce any result sooner than to allay any feelings hostile to union at home or abroad. Sir, a resolution so tyrannical in its principles and tendency—so at war with freedom of thought as well as discussion, as the one before you, will make abolitionists, faster than the muck breeds maggots.

After some interruption by members coming in, it was announced that the committee on resolutions were prepared to report; and Mr. STEVENS gave way for the chairman, J. K. KANE, Esq., to report the following preamble and resolutions:

The sacred writ which distinguished the framers of the Constitution of the U. States, is strikingly manifested in the reserve with which instrument alludes to the existence of domestic servitude among the members of the Union. The migration of their view, and exerted an important influence upon the articles of the compact, the term slave or slavery no where occurs.

The apportionment of representatives and direct taxes, is required to be made according to the population of the States respectively, by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and including Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States should think proper to admit, is not to be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808. No person held labor or service in one State, according to the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such labor or service, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such labor or service may be due.

By this carefully varied but clear phraseology, it was sought to protect the interests of the slave-holding States, and to secure the right of the master to the services of his slave. Congress was vested with power to prohibit the introduction of slaves after the year 1808; but in all other respects, the subject of slavery was included in the general reservation of powers not delegated, and was left to the unrestricted action of the States within its own limits.

Such are the articles of the Constitution, which relate to slavery within the U. States, fully recognizing its existence, and guarding against any legislation which might interfere with its subsistence. When it is remembered how many conflicting interests, and how many various habits of thought and life were reconciled by the spirit of mutual concession which is embodied in this compact, no argument is necessary to enforce its provisions, and to rescue its principles from violation. Nor can it be necessary to demonstrate to the candid and honorable, that the spirit of this compact is opposed to measures which it recognizes as disturbed in their exercise, or impaired in their security. Principles cannot sanction an indirect interference with relations which are thus formally vindicated & established.

Slavery existed in the District of Columbia at the time of its concession to the U. States, and the rights growing out of this circumstance have recently been made the subject of highly excited discussion. It is not, however, necessary, in the judgment of this Convention, to inquire how far those rights are protected by the terms of the Constitution. It is enough that whether so protected or not, they ought, in no wise, to be affected by an act of legislation. Were even the power of Congress unquestionable, its action on this subject is forbidden by considerations of the highest policy.

Such it is believed are now the views and opinions of the people of Pennsylvania, a state which, acting for itself, has within its own borders treated slavery as an evil both in the abstract and in practice; and it is for the single purpose of expressing their views that this convention has been assembled. Its members have been chosen at meetings held without distinction of party in the several counties of the state, and most of them have been specially charged by the language of their commission to "assure our brethren of the Southern States, that we, as a State, are opposed to the schemes of the immediate abolitionists, and that we will to the utmost of our ability defend and sustain the constitution of the U. States, and that compact by which we are united as one people."

Scarcely of the importance of declaring frankly, and accurately, the general sentiment of Pennsylvania on this subject, the convention, after full consideration, has adopted, in the name of its constituents, the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the government of the U. States has no constitutional power whatever over the relation of master and slave in any of the states of the Union.

Resolved, That whether Congress does or does not possess the right of legislating on the subject of the abolition of slavery within the district of Columbia, it would be unwise and impolitic in the extreme to assert or exercise such right, as any attempt to do so would impair the harmony and mutual confidence of the States, if not pervert the integrity of the Union.

Resolved, That each State has the exclusive right under the constitution, to judge of, establish, and maintain within its own borders, its own system of domestic relations and domestic policy, and that every attempt by the citizens of one State to denounce or invalidate the established institutions of another, is unwarranted by the constitution, and hostile to the peace and harmony of the Union.

Resolved, That no State could be justly required to recognize a valid and constitutional compact of another State, a measure which should violate its internal security and peace, or abrogate the rights of property of its citizens; and that we pledge ourselves to unite with the people of the other States, in opposing such infractions of the constitution, and in maintaining the domestic peace of every member of this confederation.

Resolved, That the prospect of colonizing, on the coast of Africa, free persons of color, and manumitted slaves, carried thither with their own consent, does hold out to the patriots and philanthropists, the

hope of the ultimate abolition of slavery, the elevation of the African race to a state of equality with the rest of the human family, the extension of the blessings of civilization and self-government, and the diffusion of the principles of the sacred gospel of peace, within that benighted region; and that the praise-worthy efforts of the colonization societies, to bring about these most desirable results, are entitled to the best wishes and the hearty co-operation of all the friends of the peace, order, harmony and integrity of the Union of these States.

Resolved, That a copy of these proceedings be forwarded to the President of the U. States, the Governors of the several States, and the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the U. States.

After some random talk, and several motions as to the disposition of the resolutions, Mr. Stevens moved that the resolutions be considered separately.

Many No, no. Question on the adoption of the whole. We had hoped to have them passed without debate.

Chair. A member has a right to divide the question on the resolutions, if he choose. The first resolution was then read and passed. When the second resolution was read, many amendments were offered, and much discussion arose.

A MEMBER of the committee (that settled the resolutions said, I consented to the resolution in that form, but the more I reflect, the more I feel the impropriety of the Convention sending it out in that shape. That resolution leaves the opinion of the convention as dubious, on the question whether Congress possesses the power over slavery in the District or not. Now, the truth is, Pennsylvania has no doubt on the question of the power of Congress over slavery there, and I think it would be wrong for us to take any other ground than that we have always occupied. I am willing to concede any thing to the North, or to the South, for the sake of peace, except great and fundamental principles. These I am unwilling to give up.

Much random conversation ensued. The chairman said, that there were men in Pennsylvania, and even in that Convention, who doubted the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District. The only way to secure peace and harmony in the Convention, was to waive all discussion, and say nothing about the power of Congress there. (Cries of a question, question on the resolution.) A member got the floor, and said: I am as much opposed to abolitionists as any man, yet I am decidedly opposed to the resolution as it stands. A single illustration must settle the question of the power of Congress over the District slavery. Suppose all the Southern States, Maryland and Virginia included, should abolish their own slavery as I trust they will, and that before long. There is then one isolated spot, the heart of this free republic, where no power on earth can abolish Slavery if Congress cannot do it. If we send that resolution out in its present form, it will do more hurt than good. It will make abolitionists, faster than any thing else.

Here other amendments were offered.—Mr. EWING of Fayette county offered several in succession, which were rejected. He could not, he said, vote for the resolution as it stood. His amendments proposed to make the resolution read, that "it would be unwise and impolitic in the extreme, to exercise such right, when such attempt would pervert the Integrity of the Union." Another was, that it would be impolitic to exercise such right now. Another would have it read, at present.

The Chair explained the amendment so as to reconcile the different opinions. He said, the resolution as amended, declared the inexpediency of abolishing slavery in the District only when such abolition would be hostile to the harmony, if not pervert the Integrity of the Union. It did not say Congress had, or had not the power requisite to abolish, &c. &c.

Mr. STEVENS said, Mr. President, I rejoice to perceive by the explanation of our learned moderator, the question is become one of grammar, and that its political bearings are to be merged in the mazes of its Philology. It is long since I read Logic or Rhetoric, and knew but too little of them when I left them. But, sir, the danger is, that in spite of our learned chairman's explanation, these abolitionists will take this resolution, if we send it out in this form, and persuade the people that it means just what most of those here present believe it to mean, viz: That Congress has no power to abolish Slavery in the District. Sir, these abolitionists are dangerous men. The one half of them have been fooling away their time in studying Divinity, diving into the Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and even the English Grammar; and the danger is, that they will get up a flame against this Convention, as being in favor of the Integrity of the chains of the Slave, instead of the "Integrity of the Union." Sir, little as I remember of my school tasks, I recollect there is such a thing as a pregnant negative; and I think this resolution to be a negative, on the power of Congress which is very pregnant.—(Great laughter among the members and spectators.) One gentleman is taken with our Presidents interpretation of the conjunction "when." He is content that the resolution should only affirm the impolicy of Congress abolishing Slavery "at present," if gentlemen will so vary their reading, as to let it stand that Congress should not abolish Slavery in the District, during the sitting of this Convention, I will go with them with all my heart.—(Laughter—Applause—one or two hisses.)

But, sir, I am not disposed to throw away Pennsylvania principles, or to bury them with "whethers," and "whens," and "buts." Are we come here to retract principles long since settled. Have gentlemen ever read the preamble of the abolition act of 1780? If not, I would commend it to their respectful attention, (a smile) for it is the title of Pennsylvania Freedom.

Have they well considered the preamble of 1820, when the States agreed

to hold out to the patriots and philanthropists, the

hope of the ultimate abolition of slavery, the elevation of the African race to a state of equality with the rest of the human family, the extension of the blessings of civilization and self-government, and the diffusion of the principles of the sacred gospel of peace, within that benighted region; and that the praise-worthy efforts of the colonization societies, to bring about these most desirable results, are entitled to the best wishes and the hearty co-operation of all the friends of the peace, order, harmony and integrity of the Union of these States.

Resolved, That a copy of these proceedings be forwarded to the President of the U. States, the Governors of the several States, and the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the U. States.