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The President's Message.

Communicated to Both Houses, Dec. 8th, 1848.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Under the benignant Providence of Almighty God, the Representatives of the States and of the people are again brought together to deliberate for the public good. The gratitude of the nation to the sovereign Arbiter of all human events, should be commensurate with the boundless blessings which we enjoy. Peace, plenty, and contentment reign throughout our borders, and our beloved country presents a sublime moral spectacle to the world. The troubled and unsettled condition of some of the principal European powers has had a necessary tendency to check and embarrass trade, and to depress prices throughout all commercial nations; but notwithstanding these causes, the United States, with their abundant products, have felt their effects less severely than any other country, and all our great interests are still prosperous and successful. In reviewing the great events of the past year, and contrasting the agitated and disturbed state of other countries with our own tranquil and happy condition, we may congratulate ourselves that we are the most favored people on the face of the earth. While the people of other countries are struggling to establish free institutions, under which man may govern himself, we are in the actual enjoyment of them—a rich inheritance from our fathers. While enlightened nations of Europe are convulsed and distracted by civil war or intestine strife, we settle all our political controversies by the peaceful exercise of the rights of freemen at the ballot box. The great Republican maxim, so deeply engraven on the hearts of our people, that the will of the people, constitutionally expressed, shall prevail, is our sure safeguard against force and violence. It is a subject of just pride that our fame and character as a nation continue rapidly to advance in the estimation of the civilized world. To our wise and free institutions, it is to be attributed that while other nations have achieved glory at the price of the suffering, distress and impoverishment of their people, we have won our honorable position in the midst of an uninterrupted prosperity, and of an increasing individual comfort and happiness.

I am happy to inform you that our relations with all nations are friendly and peaceful. Advantageous treaties of commerce have been concluded within the last four years with New Granada, Peru, the two Sicilies, Belgium, Hanover, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Pursuing our example, the restrictive system of Great Britain, our principal foreign customer, has been relaxed. A more liberal commercial policy has been adopted by other enlightened nations, and our trade has been greatly enlarged and extended. Our country stands higher in the respect of the world than at any former period. To continue to occupy this proud position, it is only necessary to preserve peace, and faithfully adhere to the great fundamental principle of our foreign policy of non-interference in the domestic concerns of other nations. We recognize in other nations the rights which we enjoy ourselves, to change and reform their political institutions according to their own will and pleasure. Hence we do not look behind existing governments, capable of maintaining their own authority. We recognize all such actual governments, not only from the dictates of true policy, but from a sacred regard for the independence of nations.

While this is our settled policy, it does not follow that we can ever be indifferent spectators of the progress of liberal principles. The government and people of the United States bailed with enthusiasm and delight the establishment of the French republic, as we now hail the efforts in progress to unite the States of Germany in a confederation, similar in many respects to our own Federal Union. If the great and enlightened German States, occupying as they do a central and commanding position in Europe, shall succeed in establishing such a confederated government, securing at the same time to the citizens of each State, local governments adapted to the peculiar position of each, with unrestricted trade and intercourse with each other, it will be an important era in the history of human events. Whilst it will consolidate and strengthen the power of Germany, it must essentially promote the cause of peace, commerce, civilization and constitutional liberty throughout the world.

With all the governments on this continent, our relations, it is believed, are now on a more friendly and satisfactory footing than they have ever been at any former period. Since the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of peace with Mexico, our intercourse with the government of that republic has been of the most friendly character. The envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to Mexico, has been received and accredited; and a diplomatic representative from Mexico of a similar rank has been received and accredited by this government. The amicable relations between the two countries which had been suspended, have been happily restored, and are destined, I trust, to be long preserved. The two republics, both situated on this continent, and with common frontiers, have ever been together in sympathy and of interest to bind them together in perpetual amity.

This gratifying condition of our foreign relations renders it unnecessary for me to call your attention more specifically to them. It has been my constant aim and desire to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations. Tranquillity at home, and peaceful relations abroad, constitute the true permanent policy of our country. War, the scourge of nations, sometimes becomes inevitable, but it is always to be avoided when it can be done consistently with the rights and honor of the nation.

One of the most important results of the war into which we were recently forced with our neighboring nation, is the demonstration it has afforded of the military strength of our country. Before the late war with Mexico, European and other foreign Powers entertained imperfect and erroneous views of our physical strength as a nation, and of our ability to prosecute war, and

especially a war waged out of our own country. They saw that our standing army on the peace establishment did not exceed 10,000 men. Accustomed themselves to maintain in peace large standing armies for the protection of thrones against their own subjects, as well as against foreign enemies, they had not conceived that it was possible for a nation without such an army, well disciplined and of long service, to wage war successfully. They held in low repute our militia, and were far from regarding them as an effective force, unless it might be for temporary defensive operations when invaded on our own soil. The events of the late war with Mexico have not only undeceived them, but have removed erroneous impressions which prevailed to some extent even among a portion of our own countrymen. That war has demonstrated, that upon the breaking out of hostilities not anticipated, and for which no previous preparation had been made, a volunteer army of citizen soldiers equal to veteran troops, and in numbers equal to any emergency, can in a short period be brought into the field. Unlike what would have occurred in any other country, we were under no necessity of resorting to draughts or conscriptions. On the contrary, such was the number of volunteers who patriotically tendered their services, that the chief difficulty was in making selections and determining who should be disappointed and compelled to remain at home. Our citizen-soldiers are unlike those drawn from the population of any other country. They are composed indiscriminately of all professions and pursuits: of farmers, lawyers, mechanics, merchants, manufacturers, physicians and laborers; and this, not only among the officers, but the private soldiers in the ranks. Our citizen-soldiers are unlike those of any other country in other respects. They are armed, and have been accustomed from their youth up to handle and use fire-arms; and a large proportion of them, especially in the western and more newly-settled States, are expert marksmen. They are men who have a reputation to maintain at home by their good conduct in the field. They are intelligent, and there is an individuality of character which is found in the ranks of no other army. In battle, each private man, as well as every officer, fights not only for his country, but for glory and distinction among his fellow-citizens, when he shall return to civil life.

The war with Mexico has demonstrated not only the ability of the government to organize a numerous army upon a sudden call, but also to provide it with all the munitions and necessary supplies with despatch, convenience, and ease, and to direct its operations with efficiency. The strength of our institutions has not only been displayed in the valor and skill of our troops engaged in active service in the field, but in the organization of those executive branches which were charged with the general direction and conduct of the war. While too great praise cannot be bestowed upon the officers and men who fought our battles, it would be unjust to withhold from these officers necessarily stationed at home, who were charged with the duty of furnishing the army in preparation, and at proper places, with all the munitions of war and other supplies so necessary to make it efficient, the commendation to which they are entitled. The credit due to this class of our officers is the greater, when it is considered that no army in ancient or modern times was ever better appointed or provided than our army in Mexico. Operating in an enemy's country, removed 2000 miles from the seat of the federal government, its different corps spread over a vast extent of territory, hundreds and even thousands of miles apart from each other, nothing short of the untiring vigilance and extraordinary energy of these officers could have enabled them to provide the army at all points, and in proper season, with all that was required for the most efficient service.

It is but an act of justice to declare, that the officers in charge of the several executive bureaus, all under the immediate eye and supervision of the Secretary of War, performed their respective duties with ability, energy, and efficiency. They have reaped the glory of the war, not having been personally exposed to its perils in battle, than their companions in arms; but without their foresight, efficient aid, and co-operation, those in the field would not have been provided with the ample means they most possessed of achieving for themselves and their country the undying honors which they have won for both.

When all these facts are considered, it may cease to be a matter of so much amazement abroad how it happened that our noble army in Mexico, regulars and volunteers, were victorious upon every battle-field, however fearful the odds against them.

The war with Mexico has thus fully developed the capacity of republican governments to prosecute successfully a just and necessary foreign war with all the vigor usually attributed to more arbitrary forms of government. It has been usual for writers on public law to impute to republics a want of that unity, concertation of purpose, and vigor of execution, which are generally admitted to belong to the monarchial and aristocratic forms; and this feature of popular government has been supposed to display itself more particularly in the conduct of a war carried on in an enemy's territory. The war with Great Britain, in 1812, was to a great extent confined within our own limits, and shed but little light on this subject. But the war which we have just closed by an honorable peace, evinces beyond all doubt, that a popular representative government is equal to any emergency which is likely to arise in the affairs of a nation.

The war with Mexico has developed most strikingly and conspicuously another feature in our institutions. It is, that without cost to the government or dangers to our liberties, we have in the bosom of our society of freemen, available in a just and necessary war, a virtually standing army of 2,000,000 of armed citizen-soldiers, such as fought the battles of Mexico. But our military strength does not consist alone in our capacity for extended and successful operations on land. The navy is an important arm of the national defence. If the services of the navy were not to be limited as those

of the army in the late war with Mexico, it was because they had no enemy to meet on their own element. While the army had opportunities of performing more conspicuous service, the navy largely participated in the conduct of the war. Both branches of the service performed their whole duty to the country. For the able and gallant services of the officers and men of the navy—acting independently as well as in cooperation with our troops—in the conquest of the California, the capture of Vera Cruz, and the seizure and occupation of other important positions on the Gulf and Pacific coasts, the highest praise is due. Their vigilance, energy, and skill rendered the most effective service in excluding munitions of war and other supplies from the enemy, while they secured a safe entrance for abundant supplies for our own army. Our extended commerce was nowhere interrupted; and for this immunity from the evils of war, the country is indebted to the navy. [High praise is due to the officers of the several executive bureaus, navy yards, and stations connected with the service, all under the immediate direction of the Secretary of the Navy, for the industry, foresight, and energy, with which everything was directed and furnished to give efficiency to that branch of the service. The same vigilance existed in directing the operations of the navy, as of the army. There was concert of action and of purpose between the heads of the two arms of the service. By the orders which were from time to time issued, our vessels of war on the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico were stationed in proper time and in proper positions to co-operate efficiently with the army. By this means their combined power was brought to bear successfully on the enemy.]

The great results which have been developed and brought to light by this war, will be of immeasurable importance in the future progress of our country. They will tend powerfully to preserve us from foreign collisions, and to enable us to pursue uninterrupted our cherished policy of peace with all nations, entangling alliances with none.

Occupying, as we do, a more commanding position among nations than at any former period, our duties and our responsibilities to ourselves and to posterity are correspondingly increased. This will be the more obvious when we consider the vast additions which have been recently made to our territorial possessions, and their great importance and value. Within less than four years the annexation of Texas to the Union has been consummated; and conflicting title to the Oregon Territory, south of the 49th degree of north latitude, being all that was insisted on by any of our predecessors, has been adjusted; and New Mexico and Upper California have been acquired by treaty. The area of these several Territories, according to a report carefully prepared by the Commissioner of the General Land Office from the most authentic information in his possession, and which is herewith transmitted, contains 1,193,001 square miles, or 703,550,040 acres; while the area of the remaining twenty-nine States, east of the Rocky Mountains, contains 2,659,513 square miles, or 1,318,120,058 acres. These estimates show that the territories recently acquired, and over which our exclusive jurisdiction and dominion have been extended, constitute a country more than half as large as all that which was held by the United States before their acquisition. If Oregon be excluded from the estimate, there will still remain within the limits of Texas, New Mexico, and California, 511,598 square miles, or 545,012,720 acres; being an addition equal to more than one-third of all the territory owned by the United States before their acquisition; and including Oregon, nearly as great an extent of territory as the whole of Europe, Russia only excepted. The Mississippi, so lately the frontier of our country, is now only its centre. With the addition of the late acquisitions, the United States are now estimated to be nearly as large as the whole of Europe. It is estimated by the superintendent of the coast survey, in the accompanying report, that the extent of the sea-coast of Texas on the Gulf of Mexico is upwards of 400 miles; of the coast of Upper California, on the Pacific, is 970 miles; and of Oregon, including the Straits of Fuca, of 650 miles; making the whole extent of sea-coast on the Pacific 1,620 miles, and the whole extent on both the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico 2,020 miles. The length of the coast on the Atlantic from the northern limits of the United States, around the Capes of Florida to the Sabine, on the eastern boundary of Texas, is estimated to be 3,100 miles; so that the addition of sea-coast, including Oregon, is very nearly two-thirds as great as all we possessed before; and excluding Oregon, is an addition of 1,370 miles; being nearly equal to one-half of the extent of coast which we possessed before these acquisitions. We have now three great maritime fronts—on the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific—making in the whole an extent of sea-coast exceeding 5,000 miles. This is the extent of the sea-coast of the United States, not including bays, sounds, and of the sea islands. If these be included, the length of the shore line of coast, as estimated by the superintendent of the coast survey, in his report, would be 33,063 miles.

It would be difficult to calculate the value of these immense additions to our territorial possessions. Texas, lying contiguous to the western boundary of Louisiana, embracing within its limits a part of the navigable tributary waters of the Mississippi, and an extensive sea-coast, could not long have remained in the hands of a foreign power without endangering the peace of our south-western frontier. Her products in the vicinity of the tributaries of the Mississippi must have sought a market through these streams, running into and through our territory; and the danger of irritation and collision of interests between Texas as a foreign State, and ourselves, would have been imminent; while the embarrassments in the commercial intercourse between them must have been constant and unavoidable. Had Texas fallen into the hands, or under the influence and control of a strong nation, or military force, power, as she might have done, these dangers would have been still greater. They have been avoided by her voluntary and peaceful annexation to the United States. Texas, from her position, was a natural and almost indispensable part of our territories. Fortunately, she has been restored to our country, and now constitutes one of the States of our confederacy, "upon an equal footing with the original States." The salubrity of climate, the fertility of soil, peculiarly adapted to the production of some of our most valuable staple commodities, and her commercial advantages, must soon make her one of our most populous States.

New Mexico, though situated in the interior, and without a sea-coast, is known to contain much fertile land, to abound in rich mines of the precious metals, and to be capable of sustaining a large population. From its position, it is the intermediate and connecting territory between our settlements and our possessions in Texas, and those on the Pacific coast. Upper California, irrespective of the vast mineral wealth recently developed there, holds at this day, in point of value and importance to the rest of the Union, the same relation that Louisiana did, when that fertile territory was acquired from France 45 years ago. Extending nearly 10 degrees of latitude along the Pacific, and embracing the only safe and commodious harbors on that coast for many hundred miles, with a temperate climate, and an extensive inventory of fertile lands, it is scarcely possible to estimate its wealth until it shall be brought under the government of our laws, and its resources fully developed. From its position, it must command the rich commerce of China, of Asia, of the islands of the Pacific, of Western Mexico, of Central America, the South American States, and of the Russian possessions bordering on that ocean. A great emporium will, doubtless speedily arise in the California coast, which may be destined to rival in importance New Orleans itself. The depot of the vast commerce which must exist on the Pacific will probably be at some point on the bay of San Francisco, and will occupy the same relation to the whole western coast of that ocean, as New Orleans does to the valley of the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico. To this depot our numerous whale ships will resort with their cargoes; to trade, refit, and obtain supplies. This itself will largely contribute to build up a city, which would soon become the centre of a great and rapidly increasing commerce. Situated on a safe harbor, sufficiently capacious for all the navies as well as the marine of the world, and convenient to excellent timber for ship building, owned by the United States, it must become our great western naval depot.

It was known that mines of the precious metals existed to a considerable extent in California at the time of its discovery. Recent discoveries render it probable that these mines are more extensive and valuable than was anticipated. The accounts of the abundance of gold in that territory are of such an extraordinary character as would scarcely command belief were they not corroborated by the authentic reports of officers in the public service, who have visited the mineral district, and derived the facts which they detail from personal observation. Reluctant to credit the reports in general circulation as to the quantity of gold, the officer commanding our forces in California visited the mineral district in July last, for the purpose of obtaining accurate information on the subject. His report to the War Department of the result of his examination, and the facts obtained on the spot, is herewith laid before Congress. When he visited the country, there were about 4,000 persons engaged in collecting gold. There is every reason to believe that the number of persons so employed has since been augmented. The explorations already made warrant the belief that the supply is very large, and that gold is found at various places in an extensive district of country. Information received from officers of the navy and other sources, though not so full and minute, confirm the accounts of the commander of our military force in California. It appears, also, from these reports, that mines of quicksilver are found in the vicinity of the gold region. One of them is now being worked, and is believed to be among the most productive in the world.

The effects produced by the discovery of these rich minerals, and the success which has attended the labors of those who have resorted to them, have produced a surprising change in the state of affairs in California. Labor commands a most exorbitant price, and all other pursuits but that of searching for the precious metals are abandoned. Nearly the whole of the male population of the country have gone to the gold district. Ships arriving on the coast are deserted by their crews, and their voyages are suspended for want of sailors. Our commanding officer there entertains apprehensions that soldiers cannot be kept in the public service without a large increase of pay. Desertions in his command have become frequent, and he recommends that those who shall withstand the strong temptation, and remain faithful, should be rewarded.

This abundance of gold, and the all-engrossing pursuit of it, have already caused in California an unprecedented rise in the price of the necessities of life. That we may the more speedily and fully avail ourselves of the undeveloped wealth of these mines, it is deemed of vast importance that a branch of the mint of the United States be authorized to be established, at your present session, in California. Among other signal advantages which would result from such an establishment would be that of raising the gold to its par value in that Territory. A branch mint of the U. States at the great commercial depot on the west coast, would convert into our own coin not only the gold derived from our own rich mines, but also the bullion and specie which our commerce may bring from the whole west coast of Central and South America. The west coast of America and the adjacent interior embrace the richest and best mines of Mexico, New Granada, Central America, Chili and Peru. The bullion and specie drawn from these countries, and especially from those of Western Mexico and Peru, in an amount in value of

many millions of dollars, are now annually diverted and carried by the ships of Great Britain to her own ports to be received of us to sustain her National Bank, and thus contribute to increase her ability to command so much of the commerce of the world. If a branch mint be established at the great commercial point on that coast, a vast amount of bullion and specie would flow thither to be re-coined, and pass thence to New Orleans, New York, and other Atlantic cities. The amount of our constitutional currency at home would be greatly increased, while its circulation abroad would be promoted. It is well known to our merchants trading in China and the west coast of America, that great inconvenience and loss are experienced from the fact that our coins are not current at their par value in those countries.

The powers of Europe, far removed from the west coast of America by the Atlantic ocean, which intervenes, and by a tedious and dangerous navigation around the southern cape of the continent of America, can never successfully compete with the United States in their rich and extensive commerce which is opened to us as to much less cost by the acquisition of California. The vast importance and commercial advantages of California have heretofore remained undeveloped by the government of the country, of which it constituted a part. Now that this fine province is a part of our country, all the States of the Union, some more immediately and directly than others, are deeply interested in the speedy development of its wealth and resources. No section of our country is more interested, or will be more benefited than the commercial, navigating, and manufacturing interests of the Eastern States. Our planting and farming interests in every part of the Union will be greatly benefited by it. As our commerce and navigation are enlarged and extended, our exports of agricultural products and manufactures will be increased; and in the vast markets thus opened, they cannot fail to command remunerating and profitable prices.

The acquisition of California and New Mexico, the settlement of the Oregon boundary, and the annexation of Texas, extending to the Rio Grande, are results which, combined, are of greater consequence and will add more to the strength and wealth of the nation, than any which have preceded them since the adoption of the constitution.

But to effect these great results, not only California, but New Mexico, must be brought under the control of regular organized governments. The existing condition of California, and of a part of New Mexico lying west of the Rio Grande, and within the limits of Texas, imperiously demand that Congress should at its present session, organize territorial governments in those Territories.

Upon the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of peace with Mexico on the thirtieth of May last, the temporary governments which had been established over New Mexico and California by our military and naval commanders, by virtue of the rights of war, ceased to derive any obligatory force from that source of authority; and having been ceded to the United States, all government and control over them under the authority of Mexico had ceased to exist. Impressed with the necessity of establishing territorial governments over them, I recommended the subject to the favorable consideration of Congress in my message communicating the ratified treaty of peace, on the 6th of July last, and invoked their action at that session. Congress adjourned without making any provision for their government. The inhabitants, by the transfer of their country, had become entitled to the benefits of our laws and constitution, and yet were left without any regularly organized government. Since that time the very limited power possessed by the Executive has been exercised to preserve and protect them from the inevitable consequences of a state of anarchy. The only government which remained was that established by the military authority during the war. Regarding this to be a *de facto* government, and that by the presumed consent of the inhabitants it might be continued temporarily, they were advised to conform and submit to it for the short intervening period before Congress would again assemble and would legislate on the subject. The views entertained by the Executive on this point are contained in a communication of the Secretary of State, dated the 7th of October last, which was forwarded for publication to California and New Mexico, a copy of which is herewith transmitted.

The small military force of the regular army which were serving within the limits of the acquired territories at the close of the war, was retained in them, and additional forces have been ordered there for the protection of the inhabitants, and to preserve and secure the rights and interests of the United States.

No revenue has been or could be collected at the ports in California, because Congress failed to authorize the establishment of custom-houses, or the appointment of officers for that purpose.

The Secretary of the Treasury, by a circular letter addressed to collectors of the custom, on the seventh day of October last, a copy of which is herewith transmitted, exercised all the power with which he was invested by law. In pursuance of the act of the 14th of August last, extending the benefit of our post office laws to the people of California, the Postmaster General has appointed two agents, who have proceeded, the one to California and the other to Oregon, with authority to make the necessary arrangements for carrying its provisions into effect.

The monthly line of mail steamers from Panama to Astoria, has been required to stop and deliver and take mails at San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco. These mail steamers on the Atlantic between New York and Chagres, will establish a regular mail communication with California.

It is our solemn duty to provide, with the least practicable delay, for New Mexico and California, regularly organized territorial governments. The causes of the failure to do this at the late session of Congress are well known, and deeply to be regretted. With the prospects of increased prosperity and national greatness which the acquisition of these rich and extensive territorial possessions afford, how irrational it would be to forego or to reject these advantages, by the agitation of a domestic question which is equal with the existence of our government itself, and to endanger by internal strife, geographical divisions, and heated contests for political power, or for any other cause, the harmony of the glorious Union of our confederated States; that Union which binds us together as one people, and which for 60 years has been our shield and protection against every danger. In the eyes of the world and of posterity, how trivial and insignificant will be all our internal divisions and struggles compared with the preservation of this Union of the States in all its vigor and with all its countless blessings. No patriot would foment and excite geographical and sectional divisions. No lover of his country would deliberately calculate the value of the Union. Future generations would look in amazement upon the folly of such a course. Other nations at the present day would look upon it with astonishment; and such of them as desire to maintain and perpetuate thrones and monarchial or aristocratical principles, will view it with exultation and delight, because in it they will see the elements of faction, which they hope may ultimately overturn our system. Ours is the great example of a prosperous and free self-governed republic, commanding the admiration and the imitation of all the lovers of freedom throughout the world. [How solemn, therefore, is the duty, how impressive the call upon us, and upon all parts of the country, to cultivate a patriotic spirit of harmony, of good fellowship, of compromise and mutual concession, in the administration of the incomparable system of government formed by our fathers in the midst of almost insuperable difficulties, and transmitted to us, with the injunction that we should enjoy its blessings and hand it down unimpaired to those who may come after us.]

In view of the high and responsible duties which we owe to ourselves and to mankind, I trust you may be able, at your present session, to approve the adjustment of the only domestic question which seriously threatens, or probably ever can threaten, to disturb the harmony and successful operation of our system.

The immensely valuable possessions of New Mexico and California, are already inhabited by a considerable population. Attracted by their great fertility, their mineral wealth, their commercial advantages, and the salubrity of the climate, emigrants from other States, in great numbers, are already preparing to seek new homes in these inviting regions. Shall the dissimilarity of the domestic institutions in the different States prevent us from providing for them suitable governments? These institutions existed at the adoption of the Constitution; but the obstacles which they interposed were overcome by that spirit of compromise which is now invoked. In a conflict of opinions and of interests, real or imaginary, between different sections of our country, neither can justly demand all they might desire to obtain. Each, in the true spirit of our institutions, should concede something to the other.

Our gallant forces in the Mexican war, by whose patriotism and unparalleled deeds of arms we obtained these possessions as an indemnity for our just demands against Mexico, were composed of citizens who belonged to no one state or section of our Union. They were men from slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, from the North and the South, from the East and the West. They were all companions in arms and fellow-citizens of the same common country, engaged in the same common cause. When prosecuting that war, they were brethren and friends, and shared alike with each other common toils, dangers, and sufferings. Now when their work is ended, when peace is restored, and they return again to their homes, put off the habiliments of war, take their places in society, and resume their pursuits in civil life, surely a spirit of harmony and concession, and an equal regard for the rights of all and of all sections of the Union ought to prevail in providing governments for the acquired territories—the fruits of their common service. The whole people of the United States and of every State contributed to defray the expenses of that war; and it would not be just for any one section to exclude another from all participation in the acquired territory. This would not be in consonance with the just system of government which the framers of the constitution adopted.

The question is believed to be rather abstract than practical, whether slavery ever can or would exist in any portion of the acquired territory, even if it were left to the option of the slaveholding States themselves. From the nature of the climate and productions, in much the larger portion of it, it is certain it could never exist; and in the remainder, the probabilities are it would not. But, however this may be, the question involving, as it does, a principle of equality of rights of the separate and several States, as equal co-partners in the confederacy, should not be disregarded.

In organizing governments over these territories, no duties imposed on Congress by the constitution requires that they should legislate on the subject of slavery, while their power to do so is not only seriously questioned, but denied by many of the soundest exponents of that instrument. Whether Congress shall legislate or not, the people of the acquired territories when assembled in convention to form State constitutions, shall possess the sole and exclusive power to determine for themselves whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits. If Congress shall abstain from interfering with the question, the people of these Territories will be left free to adjust it as they may think proper when they apply for admission as States into the Union. The enactment of Congress could restrain the people of any of the sovereign States of the Union, old or new, north or south, slaveholding or non-slaveholding, from determining the character of their own domestic institutions, or the manner in which they will regulate all the

of their own domestic institutions, or the manner in which they will regulate all the