## THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

**Substance of Col. Benton's Speeches at Kansas, Westport, and Independence.**

From The Missouri Democrat.

CITIZENS: I come to speak to you on a subject which concerns you all—which is above party and above politics—and in which I have no other interest than the rest of you: I speak of the Road to the Pacific Ocean, and especially that route for it which is marked out by the hand of Nature, and which has been described by Fremont and Leroux. I come to speak of that route, and to see a small party start to explore it. There sit the heads of the party, (pointing to Superintendent Beale and Mr. Harris Heap,) young in years, but old in experience, and well tried in all the hardships and dangers of distant and adventurous travel. The Superintendent has made above a dozen voyages by land or water to California—has been the comrade of Fremont, Carson, and other mountain men—has seen all that mountains and plains, rivers and deserts, cold and heat, savages and wild beasts, can show between the Mississippi and the Pacific; and triumphed over all. But that is only the beginning. He has navigated every sea, and traversed every land—South America as well as North America; Europe, Asia and Africa; and never encountered a difficulty or a danger that he had not a resource and a courage to meet and surmount. And yet he is only of an age (28) when the career of heroic life is still ahead. He is a grandson of Commodore Truxton, and worthy of his descent. Mr. Heap, still younger, also has been in California, and seen Europe, Asia and Africa, and has done traveling in every form in which it could be, from riding his mother's colt—you know what that is—(signs of recognition,) up by mules and donkeys to camels and dromedaries; and is very sorry that he has not a dromedary here now to skim at the rate of 150 miles a day over the prairies, carrying his master's food and finding his own. He is the nephew of Commodore Porter, and worthy to be so.

They take a small party, and all for service—three Delaware Indians, trained under Fremont, a French *voyageur*, some Mexicans, and Leroux for a guide. They expect two more friends—Mr. Elisha Riggs, of the house of Corcoran & Riggs, and Mr. H. Rodgers, son of the Commodore—both from Washington City, and *"well to do"* there, but abandoning the ease of the city for the pleasures of an exploring trip to the Pacific. It is a small party, but great in the requisite qualifications, and goes unencumbered with superfluities—no wheels—two or three mules apiece; sack pinole, pemmican and beef dodgers for their principal support. I have a copy of the inventory of their provision purchases—(table furniture and cooking utensils included)—and it contrasts awfully with some outfits that I have read of. The whole cost is $86 30; and here is the detail of particulars, the cost of each article annexed:

1 bushel pounded parch corn, (pinole,) $1 95; 10 lbs. pemmican, (pulverized dried meat,) $3; 2 cans beef dodgers, $3 90; 5 lbs. chocolate, $1 25; pilot bread, $6 70; 56 lbs ground coffee, $10 08; 5 lbs. tea, $3 25; sugar, 150 lbs. $14 70; 10 lbs salt 17c.; ground pepper, 52c; Chile pepper, 50c.; soap, $2; 25 lbs. pork, $3 14; 6 boxes sardines, $2 50; tobacco, 20 lbs., $2; 1 camp kettle, $1 62; 1 tea kettle, 62c.; 1 coffee boiler, 70c; 1 frying pan, 65c.; 1 gridiron, 55c.; 1 tin bucket, 70c.; 8 tin plates, 62c.; 8 tin cups, $1; 2 axes and helves, $3 25; 2 hatchets, $2; 12 traveling bags, $11 84; 4 gunny sacks, 50c Grand total, $86 30.

This is the list of the supplies, all told, inclusive of kitchen and table furniture, and exclusive of lodging; for which a blanket apiece, the earth and the sky, are to provide. No tents. Some rifles to keep off Indians, and to bring down game, are to supply the want of guards and the deficiencies of the larder; and some flannel and leather habiliments will dispense with the services of a laundress; the extra supply of soap being chiefly for the use of the chief of the cooking department—an office greatly subject to the imputation of being a sinecure. And this is the outfit for a fifty days' wilderness jaunt of young men who at home *"wear fine linen and fare sumptuously every day."* It is certainly suggestive of many conclusions, as to what they are not at a Government party, do not equip at public expense, did not graduate at West Point, and do not intend to break down under the transportation of what is called (in the vernacular of the West) *"belly-timber."* [Great applause.] They are not a Government party, but a private company—Superintendent Beale taking this route to return to his superintendency—looking at the country as he goes—killing two birds with one stone—and the rest going with him for the love of the thing; and all with pens and pencils to tell and show what they see—and to make up their minds about the greatest work which the world has seen since the roads made by the Romans, or the Incas of Peru, or the almost fabulous one of the Queen Semiramis. It is honorable in our young men—glorious thus to forego the pleasures of home for distant enterprise; and, disdaining the sloth and ease of an ocean steamer, and its three times a day well-spread table, betake themselves to the perils, toils, and privations of a long and eventful exploration. [Applause.]

I come to speak about this Road, and find in it three questions which require solutions, and which are only to be solved by the application of facts and the comparison of opinions. First, *Is there to be any Road at all?* If yes, *where?* and, after where, *how?* The first of these questions I consider decided by public opinion—by the universal voice which thunders for the Road. I have good opportunities to know this public opinion, having been in a place and a position last winter to concentrate intelligence, and my own letter on the subject having made me a center of communications in relation to it. It is universally taken up as an object to be accomplished, and that as a *necessity* for the preservation of our Union, and the travel of our citizens—and as an enterprise to give us the command of that East India trade, the pursuit of which led to the discovery of the New World, and the enjoyment of which has in all ages constituted the wealth and strength of the greatest nations. An American Road to India is the grand idea of the day! and the American people mean to realize it! So that I consider the question of Road or no Road as decided, and decided in the affirmative, and by the tribunal from whose fiat there is no appeal.

Where shall it be? is the next question; and here difficulties enough present themselves, and all the human passions seem to come into full play—sectional, political, personal, free soil, slave soil, speculation and plunder. In the contest for routes, the Southern interest has the track, and had it from the time of the acquisition of California. The protrusion of Texas into New-Mexico, and the surrender of *El Paso* to her, was a step gained in that contest, and so noted by me at the time. But it was a step which created a difficulty as well as a facility; for Texas was a *State*, and the constitutional objection to road-making in States I felt at the time would be a barrier with many to that route. El Paso, the Gila and San Diego were for some years the southern route, and a great city projected at San Diego; it is changed; and Memphis, Albuquerque, Zuni, the Lower Colorado and the Mohahve, is the determined route, and concentrates the South upon it. It is merely a sectional route, replete with objections, and without a national consideration to recommend it. It is four degrees out of the line at the start, and five before it gets through, with swamps, sands and deserts to encounter, and great rivers to be crossed, and the constitution to be met in three different States—in Arkansas and Texas at the start, and at the California line when it arrives at the great Colorado. I despise *"loose talk"* on any subject and on any occasion, and especially on great subjects and great occasions, where the public mind is to be instructed, national legislation influenced, and great good or great evil done. I despise all such *"lunker-jawed"* talk on the subject of this Road, and shall not practice it; but have recourse to precise statements and mathematical accuracy, and speak to the intelligence of enlightened men.

I happen to have in my possession a recent map, made at the War Office, in which this route by Albuquerque is specially laid down, and described as *"the proposed wagon road from Pueblo Zuni to the Spanish Trail, first surveyed by Lieut. Simpson, U. S. T. E., in his report of a Military Reconnaissance of the Navaho Country; and compiled from data furnished by Leroux."* It is entitled, *"A Map of the Territory of New-Mexico, compiled by Brevet Second Lieut. John G. Parke, U. S. T. E., assisted by Richard H. Kern; by order of Col. John Monroe, U. S. A., commanding Ninth Military Department: Drawn by R. H. Kern: Constructed under general orders from Col. J. J. Abert, 1851."* I have this map, and it is an authority which the friends of the Albuquerque route cannot reject, and which looks as if Sonora, and not California, was the destination of the route! It actually runs down southwest within forty miles of that Mexican province, before it turns up north-west, to travel 800 miles to get to San Francisco! and all this to go far round about through a region where, Carson says, *"a wolf could not make his living."* I confine myself to this part of the map and route; for what is the use of cutting off arms and legs after running a sword through the heart! From Zuni it has to follow water-courses, and where they lead down the country toward the Gulf of California, and not up it toward the Sierra Nevada. Following first the *Colorado Chiquito*, (Little Colorado,) and afterward Williams's Fork, which it crosses twelve times according to the map, and where prodigious floods mount high in some places and spread wide in others, it gets below the 34th degree—within three quarters of a degree of the Gila boundary—before it tacks and turns north-west, to ascend full five degrees to gain the latitude of San Francisco. No sooner has it cracked than it meets new obstacles—the great Colorado of the West, and with it the State line of California, and behind that line the Constitution of the United States—two obstacles which have to be passed by different processes—the river by bridging, the Constitution by tunneling—the former to be done by civil, the latter by political engineers. Then comes the Mohahve, which it ascends and crosses ten times; a river of sand—swallowed up in sand—and percolating through a desert of sand, rolling like the waves of the ocean under the action of the wind; where neither man nor beast could lie down or stand still without being buried alive—but not to remain long alive—under a tumulus of sand. Beasts have too much sense to go there, but the *"science"* of the Topographical Bureau would put us there; and this is that *"Albert Quixote"* route, to travel which, it is proposed to drag us down five degrees below the natural route, where directness of course, freedom from rivers, swamps and State lines, fertility of soil and salubrity of climate invite it to be.

I say nothing about the Northern route—the one which is to go about as close to Canada and New-Caledonia as the Southern one does to Sonora and Old Mexico. I say nothing about it, because I have heard nothing in its favor. If it is ever brought forward in Congress while I am there, I shall speak my opinions about it.

Dropping these two frontier routes, I now speak to you of the Central one—the one which departs from the Missouri frontier, and traverses the center of territory connecting centrally with all the steamboat navigation of the West, and all the railroad lines of the East, and all the centers of population and business from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The people of Missouri who see the directness of this route, and know its excellence, and who see the annual myriads who come to the western and northwestern counties of our State to take their departure for California and Oregon: you who see all this, and (remote from Wassington,) suppose nothing is done there except for the public good—naturally suppose that the Great Road would be laid off where the structure of the country, the course of travel and of business, and the greatest good of the greatest number, would require it to be. Vain supposition! unfortunate and dangerous delusion, which I come here to expose and dispel. No, citizens; as things now stand, that Road is not to be built where the public good requires it. Many and powerful interests oppose it, and threaten its defeat. It was dead last winter—dead as Methuselah—and only revived by my exertions. My letter to the people of Missouri was the first sound of the resurrection trump over its lifeless body. It was not even mentioned in the two months' debate in Congress. There was no idea of including it in the national surveys which were authorized. That letter to the people, and my request to the Secretary of War—a request in which I stood solitary and alone, others having refused to consult with me either as to *"men or measures"*—that letter and that request obtained the favor of having this route—this central route where everybody travels included in the list of routes to be surveyed. No, citizens! this natural and national route is not going to be established without exertions—vigorous and persevering exertion—on the part of its friends. It has every kind of opposition to encounter, both fair and foul; and as an instance of the latter, and to show the length to which the friends of the Memphis route will go to defeat it, I will relate to you what took place at Washington in relation to this little pioneer expedition by Superintendent Beale. He had come to the seat of Government last winter on the business of his superintendency, and had early determined to return overland, in preference to the isle and sleepless route by the Isthmus, that he might verify the route of Fremont and Leroux, of which he had much personal knowledge, and wished to complete his view of it. I wished him to do so likewise; for I knew his energy, his perseverance, his adaptation to the work, and his stomach to it. He was ready to start on the 4th of March—being the instant Congress had made the appropriations for his superintendency—which was done on the 3d of March. He was then delayed six weeks—until the middle of April—by efforts made, and continually made day and night—I know what I say—to get him ordered to go by the Isthmus of Panama, just to prevent him from traveling the route which Fremont and Leroux had indicated; and establishing it by corroborating their report. The firmness of the Secretary of the Interior, (Mr. McClelland,) and of the President, prevented these orders from being given. When that scheme failed, and the Superintendent was allowed to choose his own course in returning to his own post, further efforts were made to prevent him from examining and reporting upon the ground. It was attempted to get him ordered to proceed *"expeditiously,"* and that instruction to be given at the instance of those who had delayed him six weeks! It was also attempted to prevent him from taking note of the ground as he went along, by getting him ordered to confine his *"time and attention"* to the duties of his superintendency. Mr. Gwinn, chief advocate for the Albuquerque route, was the prominent figurer in these attempts; but he was powerfully backed by others, and I know by whom—and some who had no right to interfere, and thought they were not observed. Among these was the newly appointed Collector of the port of San Francisco, Mr. Hammond, an outsider, who became a busybody and a vicarious performer in this business very covertly, but not enough to escape detection. One of your Senators (the one who dwells nearest to the setting sun) I *know* can tell something about this; and I *believe* that one of your representatives (the one that abides nearest the southern sun) can also tell something about it.

CITIZENS: I give you this account of what happened to Superintendent Beale, to let you see to what length opposition will go in defeating the Central and National Route; and that foul means will be used for that purpose. A great many interests are combined against it—enough to dishearten many advocates; but I am not disheartened. Accustomed to contend with opposition, and to vanquish it, I still feel victorious. [Applause.] The spirit of victory is still in me, and with a good cause, and an enlightened people, I still expect to succeed. At the head of the opposition stand almost the united South; but it stands upon a sectional feeling, a narrow foundation in itself—and encounters obstacles which cannot be disregarded. Very few in the South know that their favorite route runs down nearly to Sonora and falls upon the rocks and deserts of the Lower Colorado, and the sands of the Mohahve; and I rely upon the equity of the many, when they know these things, to abandon a route which goes so far out of the way to get into a region of such desolation. The South prides itself on being the friend of the Constitution and of the rights of the States, and cannot consent to see that instrument stretched wide enough to cover the invasion of three States by a federal road. Some of the ocean steamer lines, and the Tehuantepec Company, may set up opposition; but as it will be altogether in a spirit of selfishness, and to preserve the profits of their monopoly, their opposition cannot reach beyond the number of the members of Congress gained over to their interests. The Topographical Bureau, the Coast Survey, the National Observatory, and the military are against it; but facts and truth will be too hard for them all.

But we have domestic opposition as well as a foreign one, to contend with:—we have enemies to the Central Route at home, and some of them in Congress, who have too well shown what lengths they would go to defeat it. To defeat me is one of their modes of defeating the Road; and for that I will give them a trial at the next general election. They are not very powerful, but very sly; and can do some mischief by attacking in the rear, while I am engaged with the open foe in front. The point at which they can do us most harm is in the organization of the territory on the Kansas and Platte. Two things are needed there: *first*, the establishment of the Territorial Government; and, *next*, the extinction of Indian titles. Both are points of difficulty, and peculiarly subject to danger from insidious opposition. The Indian treaties, even when negotiated, will have a perilous course to run through the Senate, (where the proceedings are secret;) and where a minority of one-third can defeat them—and where the pestiferous question of free or slave soil will mix itself with the decision. In view of the danger of these treaties, I have constantly proposed the extinction, upon a width of fifty or an hundred miles wide, of a belt of land from the Missouri frontier to the California line—to be wholly settled by pre-emptiers. There is some territory now subject to our settlement in the vast region west of Missouri—all that part which was once acquired, and has not been assigned to emigrant Indians. Near thirty years ago the United States made a general extinction of Indian title west of Missouri, to be assigned in parcels to emigrant tribes. Part has been assigned, part not; and this unassigned part I hole to be United States territory, now open to settlement without objection from the Indians.

Snow is the standing objection to the Central Route by those who hardly know what snow is. It is a point on which Fremont ought to know something, and he thus speaks of it on this route:

"They are dry, and there lore more readily passed through, as this is in the valleys and remain on them only during a very brief winter. The winter of my last expedition was one of unprecedentedly deep and severe snows, yet in the Valleys of the Kansas and Arkansas it was thin; in the Valley of the Huerfano, none; and in the Valley of Del Norte, at the end of November, but a few inches deep. The weather in these high mountains and deep valleys is of a character adapted to each other, extremely cold on the mountains, while temperate in the valleys. I have seen it storming for days together on the mountains, in a way to be destructive to all animal life exposed to it, while in the valley there would be pleasant sunshine, and the animals feeding on nutritious grass. Beyond the Rocky Mountains the cold is less, and the snows become a less and more transient obstacle."

And on which Leroux ought to know something, and of which he says, speaking of the Valley of San Luis at the head of the Del Norte:

"Before the Utah Indians became so bold, the stock—as many as 30,000 or 40,000 head of sheep and cattle—have been driven there to winter, which they did well, feeding on the grass during the day, and sheltering in the woods about the shepherd's camp at night. Most of the settlements are now along the foot of the mountain on the north side of this valley, being sheltered from the north and open to the sun to the south."

And again, speaking of the Pass El Puerto, at the head of the Del Norte, he says:

"There is not much snow in this Pass, and people go through all the winter; and when there is much snow in the mountains on the Abiquis route, (which is the old Spanish trail to California,) the people of Taos go round this way, and get into that trail in the forks of Grand and Green rivers."

And Hon. Augustus Dodge, in the Senate of the United States, speaks of snow thus:

"I wish to meet the latter objection of the Senator by that which I have learned from practical men, not from books. It is that dry snow is no impediment to a car, no matter how deep. It is not a new fact imported into this country, but it was first taken to Russia, at Ogdensburg, in New-York, in latitude about 44° 40', where, I am told, the cars have been seen to plow through *fifteen* feet of snow without difficulty while a few inches of wet snow—that is, snow in a soft climate, is often-time a great impediment."

5. People are fond of quoting the disaster of Fremont, without remembering that his letter, adhering to the Central Route, was written since that disaster, and that Leroux has testified to the ease with which he would have got through if his guide had not led him out of the Valley of San Luis upon the Sierra San Juan, where snow lies all the year, and the summit of which is three thousand feet above the line of perpetual congelation. Here is what Leroux says:

"Col. Fremont was looking for the Cochetopa Pass in the winter of 1848-9, and was near enough to have seen it, if it had not been hid by the lapping of the mountains; when his guide led him off into the mountains instead of keeping up the dry valley, ... which he wished to do and turn instead of keeping up the dry valley, ... which would have taken him through easy. It was the worst winter for snow, but we could travel all the time in the valleys and passes. I was below him on the waters of the Arkansas at the same time acting as guide to Col. Boyle, who was out after the Apache Indians with a detachment of Dragoons, and we heard of him at the Pueblos. He went as high as Hard Scrabble and got even before he crossed into the valley of San Luis, and we got out at the Greenhorn Pueblo, on the San Carlos Creek, and about 30 or 40 miles below him; and heard that he had passed along, and supposed that he had gone safe through, and knew no better till he had got back to Taos, when I told him how near he had been to the place he was looking for. We passed with the Dragoons through the Pass El Sangre de Christo, (Blood of Christ,) and got through easy; and that was the dead of winter, and greatest snow we ever had."

So that this stereotyped impediment of snow turns out to be no impediment at all; and so vanishes the only argument ever used against the Central Route. What are a few inches of snow in the mild latitudes of 39 and 38, compared to the Russian snows in latitude 60, where the cars run incessantly. People contend about these routes as if it were the last and only chance. Certainly, in the progress of time, there will be many; but at present one road is wanted; and in the name of justice let that be placed where the course of travel and of business now requires it to be.

I believe, then, that the Central Route will be adopted; and then comes up the third and last question, *how the road shall be made?* On this point my mind has long been made up, and often expressed. I am for it as a national work, to be done by the United States on its own territory, from the western frontier of Missouri to the eastern line of California, and paid for out of the public lands on its route. But great difficulty arises at this point, owing to the speculating and jobbing schemes which now incessantly beset Congress. Hordes of speculators are there to monopolize every public work, and to clear fortunes by every operation. They want Congress to give them land to build the road, and then let them own it, and tax the people to travel upon it, carrying grats for the Government and at double price for the people; and to lay off towns where they please, and sell lots and lands at monopoly prices to settlers. I am against all this. I am for the farmer and the settler against the speculator, and for a national free road against a corporation monopoly. [Applause.] I am for making the road, and settling the country on each side of it on the preemption principle—that principle which had but few advocates when I went into Congress, and which I fought up to established popularity. I am for that principle, and for giving to every settler his preemption right in a quarter section; and so collect settlers upon both sides of the road and through its whole extent. They would populate the entire route the first season. They would raise provisions enough to support the road. They would be laborers to work upon it. They would pay for making the road with the money which they would give for their preemptions. They would guard and protect it after it was done. They would themselves become a part of the wealth, strength and glory of the country, attached to it by its soil, and converting the whole wilderness, as if by magic, into a scene of civilization and refinement, houses, fields, orchards, meadows, would adorn the land. Schools, churches, mills, would rise up. Flocks and herds, and a numerous population, would give joy and animation to the scene. The preemption principle would do all this. Look at the Platte country and see what preemptions have done there: they will do the same on the Kansas, the Upper Arkansas, the valley of San Luis and other parts of the central route; and they would complete the making of the road in a brief time.

Citizens: I come here to speak to you on this mighty theme, and which ought to unite all hearts and minds. You stand on the brink of a mighty enterprise, and every one should thank God that he lives in an age and in a country, and under a form of government which enables him to act a part in the great undertaking which is to unite two oceans and three continents, consolidate our Union, and make our America the thoroughfare of Europe and of Asia.

## PRESBYTERIAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, (N. S.)

**An Exciting Debate on Slavery.**

Reported for The New-York Tribune.

BUFFALO, Friday, May 27, 1853.

This afternoon has witnessed a very exciting session, the principal topic being the resumed discussion of the Slavery report. Rev. Mr. Monteith took the floor, and in simple, perspicuous, moderate language defined the powers of the Constitution in its relations to this subject. He attempted to show that the form of Government has provided for precisely such a case as is contemplated in the report, where there is a public rumor that an inferior judicatory does not do its duty. After proving this in a dispassionate argument, he gave it as his opinion that no course could be so unwise, so calculated to produce agitation and the most disastrous results, as not to act at all. This speech was somewhat marred in its effect by a member from the South requesting the Moderator to appoint a committee to wake up those members who were asleep, a remark which was not in good taste, considering that a Northern man was advocating a measure which was not pleasing to some of the Southerners.

Rev. Hon. Mills, of Kentucky, made the boldest speech of the session, in favor of the report. He was a member of the Committee, and in a very forcible style detailed the difficulties against which the Committee had to contend. The result was such concession on all hands as led to the report. He did not believe it would be regarded as obnoxious by the Southern Churches if a Committee should seek to gain the actual facts and lay them before the General Assembly. They had nothing in those Churches of which they had reason to be ashamed or afraid, should they be brought before this body. In fact, the very ground of complaint urged by those Churches is that public rumor has exaggerated the state of things as they exist, and they certainly would not complain should the Assembly take measures to get at the truth. He administered a good castigation to Dr. Ross for the foolish things in the amendment he offered this morning. He would not be averse to such a thing as the Doctor proposed if it were reduced into a proper form, for he had reason to believe, since he came to the North, that a great many in these Churches are deeply implicated in the system of Slavery, in fact, as a Kentuckian, he felt ashamed to hear some of the apologies and arguments in favor of Slavery offered by Northern men. As for that sort of blister, South or North, which wraps itself up in its own pride, he indignantly denounced it as unreasonable and not at all savoring of the spirit of Christ. As for the assertion that no Southern man will act on such a committee of inquiry, he declared his own readiness to act, and mentioned two other gentlemen, one in the Synod of Tennessee and the other of Missouri, who would also act.

Dr. Thompson, the Chairman of the Committee, advocated the report in a strain of rich eloquence, which commanded the undivided admiration of his hearers. He was not tenacious of this particular action, but he was sure we must do something. As for the longings of Dr. Eddy for repose, he could sympathize with him, but then he was reminded of a man on the ocean who was sea-sick. He wished for rest, he wished the ship were at the land, or that the sea would be still, or that the ship would cease to roll for one minute. His wishes could not put the sea at rest; neither will our wishes put this anti-Slavery agitation at rest. There can be no rest until the evil itself is removed. There is a *fama clamosa*, concerning the existence of this evil in our Southern Churches, and we ought to meet this cry by eliciting the facts, which he had no doubt would be far less in number and extent than is reported. If it were reported that the sin of bigamy was tolerated in the Churches of New-York, which the Church Judicatories refused to recognize, and should such a Committee of inquiry as this be proposed, and I should hesitate to give my assent, I should suspect my own integrity.

Rev. Mr. McLane, of Mississippi, marched up to the mark and "faced the music" without winking. Such a committee as this which the report contemplates we will not receive. But if you ask how many of our church members are slaveholders, I answer, all who are able to be. If you ask how many slaves they own, I answer, just as many as their means will permit. Mr. McL's remarks were outspoken against the agitation, and in substance threatened the secession of the Synod of Mississippi in case this action is taken by the body.

Dr. Cox, of Brooklyn, delivered a most entertaining and eloquent speech, full of brilliant passages and witty sayings, but which was not regarded as bearing very directly on the question of indefinite postponement which was before the Assembly.

The hour of adjournment having arrived, it was resolved to protract the meeting another half hour, and at this point A. D. Eddy, D. D., Chairman of the Church Policy Committee had permission to report on a question which bore on this subject, as to whether the Constitution and form of Government had distinct rules by which discipline can be administered in cases of sinful slaveholding. The answer was in substance that the powers are all sufficient and distinct. The adoption was moved and seconded.

At this point, Rev. Chauncey Eddy suddenly and unexpectedly moved the previous question on the indefinite postponement. The effect of this is to stop debate, and came like a peal of thunder from a clear sky on the Western members, who as yet had not been able to speak. The Moderator, as in duty bound, put the question according to the rules of the body—"Shall the main question now be "put?" This was carried in the affirmative. The main question on the indefinite postponement of the whole subject was then put, and also carried in the affirmative.

This sudden termination of the discussion seemed to petrify a large portion of the Assembly, nor did this astonishment find vent until the question on Dr. Eddy's report came up, when Rev. S. G. Spees, of Illinois, denounced the course of the Assembly as a most suicidal act, and one which would drive a plow share through the Church. Several other members uttered their feelings in the same strain of indignation, when it became so apparent on all hands that a mistake and a wrong had been done to free discussion, intentionally or not; that Dr. Eddy had leave to withdraw his report, and a reconsideration of the obnoxious vote was moved and carried, but only a few voices dissenting.

So that on Monday next the discussion will be resumed.

## PRESBYTERIAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY (O. S.)

PHILADELPHIA, May 29, 1853.

The Presbyterian General Assembly, Old School, met again in this city yesterday morning.

After prayer by Dr. Steele, the minutes of the preceding session were read and approved.

Dr. Lord, Chairman of the Committee on Bills and Overtures, read a report. Several memorials from different Synods and Presbyteries had been considered and acted upon by the Committee—one from the Synod of Northern Indiana, proposing an amendment in the Book of Discipline, at chapter 6, section 13, respecting the taking of testimony. The consideration of this question was laid over until the next Assembly.

The Committee recommended the passage of a Minute requiring Presbyteries to send for future Assemblies a statement of facts concerning salaries and the number of Supernumeraries, with their bounds. The report was adopted.

Memorials from the Presbytery of Tuscumbia, relative to the validity of Campbellite baptisms—from Flint River Presbytery, respecting the right to vote, and one from the Presbytery of Albany, concerning baptism. The three last named memorials were, on motion, placed upon the docket.

Dr. Wm. L. Breckinridge moved that the regular order of the day be postponed, so as to enable the Assembly to proceed with the discussion upon the location of the proposed Western Seminary.

It was urged that an exception should be made in favor of the election of a Professor for Allegheny Seminary. After considerable discussion, Dr. Breckinridge withdrew his motion, and a motion to proceed with the nomination prevailed.

Mr S. M. McClung, from the Presbytery of Blairsville, nominated Dr. Lewis W. Green, President of the Hampden and Sydney College, Virginia.

Dr. R. J. Breckinridge nominated Dr. A. G. Fairchild, of the Presbytery of Keokuk. A discussion arose on the propriety of removing Dr. Green from the institution in which he is at present stationed.

Mr. Vanzant warmly opposed the proposition, as tending to the injury of Hampden and Sydney College.

Dr. Murray moved that the whole matter be laid upon the table. The motion prevailed.

The unfinished business, being the discussion of a site for the new Western Seminary, was then, on motion, taken up.

Dr. Wm. L. Breckinridge addressed the Assembly upon the subject. He regretted the circumstances under which he was compelled to address the house. He would, however, be as brief as possible, and endeavor not to weary the patience of the delegates.

He admitted that Peoria was a most delightful spot, but there were circumstances which would preclude the practicability of locating the Seminary at that point. He considered that any claim on the part of Peoria was a dead letter. St. Louis had stronger claims by far, but he only echoed the views and policy of the Church when he said he was opposed to erecting a Theological Seminary in a large city. He had no doubt that at a future period a seminary would be required on the banks of the Mississippi, but for the present time the valley of the Ohio is, in his opinion, the proper location for the Seminary. He did not believe that the Synod of Missouri desired that the institution should be located there—he thought its establishment would tend to burden and embarrass the Church in that State. Rev. John A Cowan, of the Synod of Missouri, was unwilling to admit that his Synod was divided upon the subject.

Dr. Breckinridge was satisfied from circumstances that there was a division upon the subject. The high cost of living at St. Louis was dwelt upon. The speaker did not think a man could live respectably in that city upon less than $2,000 a year.

The claims of Cincinnati were next considered. The principal ground upon which the claim of Cincinnati is urged, is the fact that Lane Seminary is located there, and that the Old School Presbyterian Church has a legal right to the property. This, the speaker thought, was too remote and uncertain a contingency to be thought of.

The speaker had long been a friend of New-Albany; he was still its friend. He does not regret anything he has done in its support. He considered the men who had been instrumental in the management of the institution had done a great and good work. But he was reluctantly compelled to say that it had come to a "dead stand." The finances of the Seminary were in a deplorable condition, and there was no use striving to disguise the fact.

Dr. Breckinridge, in alluding to the claims of Danville, and in reference to the argument that it would be inexpedient to locate it in a slave State, declared himself no advocate of the institution of Slavery, he considered it a calamity for both slave and master. He thought as Henry Clay thought, and as George Washington and Patrick Henry thought, and as George Washington and Patrick Henry thought, he was unwilling to be deprived of any of his rights in the church because he lived in a slave State. The church in the South will not submit to being told that institutions will not be placed on their soil because they are residents of slave States.

The delegate from Kentucky, after descanting upon the advantages to be derived from locating the Seminary at Danville, concluded his remarks with an earnest and eloquent appeal in favor of that point.

After Dr. Breckinridge had concluded, Judge Fine obtained the floor. He said the Assembly were growing weary of the subject, although it was important and interesting. He would move that the further consideration of the subject be postponed until the next Assembly. If those who are interested would agree that the question be taken forthwith, he would withdraw his motion. The motion to postpone was withdrawn, and Judge Fine moved that the previous question be taken. The question being taken, the main question was ordered and directed to be taken by calling the roll.

Peoria, Cincinnati, and Nashville, were withdrawn from the list of nomination. The vote being taken upon the site for the proposed Seminary, it resulted as follows: For Danville, 122; St. Louis, 78; and for New Albany, 33. Danville was accordingly declared to be the choice of the Assembly.

The balance of the resolutions pertaining to the establishment of the Western Seminary were then taken up and adopted.

Dr R. J. Breckinridge moved that the Moderator be requested to ask the blessing of God upon this enterprise. The motion prevailed and the Moderator offered a fervent prayer for the Divine blessing upon the undertaking.

Dr R. J. Breckinridge asked to be excused from serving upon an appeal against the Synod of Georgia, which is to come up for consideration on Monday morning.

Dr. Junkin was, on motion, appointed in his stead.

The nominations to fill vacancies in the Board of Foreign Missions were, upon motion of Hon. Walter Lowrie, confirmed by acclamation.

The nominations for members of the Board of Publication were read by Dr Murray, who moved they take the same course as those named by Mr Lowrie. The motion prevailed, and the nominees were elected by acclamation.

The Committee on Mileage made a report. The amount claimed by Commissioners for Mileage is $1,050 42. The claims were ordered to be paid.

The Report of the Standing Committee on Missions was ordered to be put upon the docket.

Nominations to fill the vacant Professorship at the Princeton Seminary, Drs. Gardiner Spring and Wm. S. Plumer were nominated. The Assembly then adjourned until Monday morning.

MONDAY MORNING SESSION.

The Assembly met on Monday morning at the regular hour. After prayer by the Moderator, the minutes of the session of Saturday were read and approved, after a slight amendment.

The Committee on Leave of Absence reported the names of several delegates who had obtained leave.

Mr Mitchell moved that the subject of the election of Professors for Princeton and Allegheny be taken up.

Dr. R. J. Breckinridge wished the matter to remain undisturbed until the Committee on Education make its final report.

Chancellor John was opposed to delay; he thought there was no substantial reason why the election should not proceed, and intimated that the West had monopolized the time of the House. He thought, too, the practice of discussing the merits or claims of candidates was improper and not in order. It was calculated to consume much valuable time.

The motion of Mr Mitchell prevailed. That gentleman then moved that the election be made the order of the day this afternoon, at 5 o'clock.

Mr Young, of the Synod of Illinois, was not willing to admit that the West had taken up an undue portion of the time of the House. A minority of the West, he admitted, had taken up a large share of time, but, under the operation of the previous question, the majority had been deprived of the opportunity of expressing their views. The gentleman referred to the call of Judge Fine, on Saturday, in the debate in the location of the Western Seminary.

After several motions had been made and withdrawn, or laid upon the table, the election of Professors for Princeton Seminary was made the order of the day for this afternoon at 5 o'clock.

The report of the Committee on the Minutes of the last Assembly was, on motion, placed on the docket, without having been read.

The Committee on Bills and Overtures reported its action on several memorials. The report was, on motion, placed upon the docket.

The Moderator read a letter from Dr. Boardman, declining the nomination of Professor of Princeton Seminary.

The memorial from the Presbytery of Redstone was, on motion, taken from the docket, and placed in the hands of a Special Committee.

The Committee on Education made a report on the subject of the new Western Seminary. The Committee proposed a plan of organization, the principal features of which are the establishment of a Board of Directors, consisting of twenty-seven Ministers and twenty-seven Ruling Elders. The Professors are to receive $1,500 each per year, and house rent free when the funds will justify the expenditure. A committee to procure and take charge of the funds is to be appointed. The plan of Princeton Seminary was proposed until a new plan be formed.

The report was, on motion, received. The report was subsequently adopted after several blanks were filled.

The title of the new Seminary is to be the "Danville Presbyterian Seminary."

On motion of Dr. R. J. Breckenridge, the election of Professors was made the order of the day for to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Dr. Junkins stated he wished to give notice that he desired to place upon the minutes his dissent to the proceedings of the Assembly in the matter of the new Seminary.

The Committee on Seminaries was, on motion, authorized to reply to the dissent of Dr. Junkins so soon as it should be filed.

Dr Murray, on behalf of the Committee on the Bible Society, made a report, the gist of which was an expression of approbation of the American Bible Society.

Mr M Neill, Secretary of the American Bible Society, was introduced to the Assembly, and made some remarks relative to the resources and operations of the Society. The issue of the Bible during the past year has amounted to 800,000 copies. The number of copies of the sacred volume which were got up during the same period was 700,000, 100,000 less than were circulated. The Society has since gone into more extensive quarters, in which it now enjoys facilities for producing millions of copies annually.

The report of the Committee was received, and the accompanying resolutions were, on motion, adopted.

The Assembly then took a recess of ten minutes. Upon resuming,

The Judicial Committee asked for leave to receive certain papers relative to the Synod of New-Jersey. The case of that Synod was on motion recommitted to the Judicial Committee.

The order of the day, being the consideration of the Complaint and Appeal of James Russell against the action of the Presbytery of Flint River and the Synod of Georgia, in the case of Rev. J. Y. Alexander, was then taken up.

The balance of the session was occupied with the preliminaries of this case.

At the usual hour the Assembly adjourned until 4 o'clock P.M.

**American Black Men and Africa.**

*To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.*

PROVIDENCE, R. I., Tuesday, May 24, 1853.

SIR: Being a constant reader of your paper and aware of its wide circulation and influence wherever read, I [illegible] not well be insensible or ungrateful to you for its able efforts in behalf of human freedom, though I differ with you upon the propriety of sending to Africa "the best of American black men." This communication is suggested by the candid and friendly article in your paper of the 23d, in reply to *The Detroit Free Press*.

I am guilty of "the poor negro's confusion of mind," if it be a confusion of mind to believe that the American Colonization scheme is pitted against Emancipation. To sustain my belief, I submit, whether it is not a disregard of the rights, feelings, and best interests of those held in Slavery, that opposes the emancipation of said Slaves? I take it that your sentiments, oft repeated upon this point, together with the fourth note submitted in the article above alluded to, answer the query affirmatively; then if it can be shown that the American Colonization scheme, in its principles and tendencies, virtually sustains the same position, will it be said that there is the confusion of mind intimated?

It is very common for an individual or body of persons desirous of forwarding any particular scheme or interest, to call to its aid, in its progress or struggles, every possible agency or inducement that they may, though they were no part of the original conception, nor a legitimate result of the first intent; thus, now-a-days, we have it oft repeated that Africa should be civilized and Christianized, and connect therewith the American Colonization scheme. Africa should be regenerated: this is most true; it is an end most desirable; one in which Christendom should be co-laborers; but, Sir, it can scarcely be claimed that the civilizing and Christianizing of Africa is the exciting cause, the main spring of action of a body of men, the burden of whose songs have been and are: that we are a debased, an indolent, ignorant, unambitious and hopeless class in the community; that our country must be rid of us, that it is vain in us to hope for political, ecclesiastical, or any other equality in the country. This has been harped and sung by Colonizationists the length and breadth of the land; it is thrust into our very teachers, into our pulpits, our schools, to deject and discourage us. We are called upon to leave the bones of our fathers, to leave our enslaved brethren, our country in shame, to hopeless, irreparable sin—our land which abounds in churches and schools, whose currents to wealth and respectability flow as do its tens of thousands of streams, churches, schools and influences leading to wealth and respectability, though long closed against the colored man, now being opened by the irresistible force of truth and justice applied, by the opponents of Colonization Society, together with the very perceptible increase of intelligence, and the growing, manly bearing of the colored man. Yes, they bid us leave all and go to pestilential, inhospitable, benighted Africa—far, far from our home. Sir