THE NEW YORK HERALD.

WHOLE NO. 8898. MORNING EDITION—SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1861.—TRIPLE SHEET. PRICE TWO CENTS.

OUR NATIONAL CRISIS.

The Collective Wisdom of the Politicians in Council.

WHAT HAVE THEY DONE?

Have We Statesmen Among Us?

THE QUESTION LAID BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

The Proceedings of the Committees of Thirteen and Thirty-three.

Curious Phase of the Question in the Senate Committee.

Toombs and Seward and Davis and Wade Voting on the Same Side.

Will these Two Extremes Settle the Trouble?

Majority and Minority Congressional Reports.

Interesting Report of the New York State Senate,

&c., &c., &c.

In the present exciting state of our national affairs, the following important documents will be read with particular interest by the whole American people, containing as they do a review of the troubles which are now shaking the land to its centre, as well as a reflex of the views of parties in our legislative halls.

We publish these interesting papers in their regular chronological order:—

1. The Report of the National Senatorial Committee of Thirteen.
2. The Report of the National House Committee of Thirty-three, divided thus:—

First—The Majority Report presented by the Hon. Thos. Corwin.

Second—Messrs. Washburne and Tappan's Minority Report.

Third—The Minority Report of Hon. Chas. F. Adams.

3. The Report of the Committee of the New York State Senate.

The United States Senate Committee of Thirteen was composed of the following Senators:—

Names.	Politics.	States.
Lazarus W. Powell	Democrat	Kentucky.
Robert M. T. Hunter	Democrat	Virginia.
John J. Crittenden	Union	Kentucky.
William H. Seward	Republican	New York.
Robert Toombs	Democrat	Georgia.
Stephen A. Douglas	Democrat	Illinois.
Jacob Collamer	Republican	Vermont.
Jefferson Davis	Democrat	Mississippi.
Benjamin F. Wade	Republican	Ohio.
William Bigler	Democrat	Pennsylvania.
Henry M. Rice	Democrat	Minnesota.
James R. Doolittle	Republican	Wisconsin.
James W. Grimes	Republican	Iowa.

The following members composed the special House Committee of Thirty-three, to consider questions connected with the perilous condition of the country:—

Names.	Politics.	State.
George S. Houston	Democrat	Alabama.
Albert Rust	Democrat	Arkansas.
Orris S. Ferry	Republican	Connecticut.
John C. Burch	Democrat	California.
William G. Whiteley	Democrat	Delaware.
George S. Hawkins	Democrat	Florida.
Peter E. Love	Democrat	Georgia.
Wm. N. Dunn	Republican	Indiana.
William Kellogg	Republican	Illinois.
Samuel R. Curtis	Republican	Iowa.
Francis M. Bristow	Southern opp.	Kentucky.
Miles Taylor	Democrat	Louisiana.
Chas. F. Adams	Republican	Massachusetts.
Reuben Davis	Democrat	Mississippi.
Freeman H. Morse	Republican	Maine.
William A. Howard	Republican	Michigan.
John S. Phelps	Democrat	Missouri.
H. Winter Davis	Southern opp.	Maryland.
William Windom	Republican	Minnesota.
James Humphrey	Republican	New York.
John N. L. Stratton	Republican	New Jersey.
Mason W. Tappan	Republican	N. Hampshire.
Warren Winslow	Democrat	North Carolina.
Thomas Corwin	Republican	Ohio.
Lansing Stout	Democrat	Oregon.
Jas. H. Campbell	Republican	Pennsylvania.
Chris'r Robinson	Republican	Rhode Island.
Wm. W. Boyce	Democrat	South Carolina.
Thos. A. R. Nelson	Southern opp.	Tennessee.
A. J. Hamilton	Democrat	Texas.
Justin S. Morrill	Republican	Vermont.
John S. Millson	Democrat	Virginia.
Cad. C. Washburn	Republican	Wisconsin.

The Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, acted as chairman. Messrs. Hawkins, of Florida, and Boyce, of South Carolina, refused to act with the committee.

THE SENATE REPORT.

The Journal of Proceedings of the Senate Committee of Thirteen.

On the 31st of December, 1860, Mr. Powell submitted the following report:—

The Committee of Thirteen, appointed by order of the Senate on the 20th inst., have agreed upon the following resolution, and directed me to report the same to the Senate:—

Resolved, That the committee have not been able to agree upon any general plan of adjustment, and report that fact to the Senate, together with the journal of the committee.

Journal of the proceedings of the special committee under the resolution of the Senate of the 18th of December, 1860, which resolution is in the following words:—

In the Senate of the United States, Dec. 11, 1860.

Resolved, That so much of the President's Message as relates to the present agitated and distracted condition of the country, and the grievances between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, be referred to a special committee of thirteen members; and that said committee be instructed to inquire into the present condition of the country, and report by bill or otherwise.

Ordered, That the Vice President appoint the said committee.

DECEMBER 20, 1860—The Vice President announced the appointment of the committee under the foregoing resolution, as follows:—

Messrs. Powell, Hunter, Crittenden, Seward, Toombs, Douglas, Collamer, Davis, Wade, Bigler, Rice, Doolittle, and Grimes.

On motion by Mr. Davis, that he be excused from serving as a member of the said committee,

It was determined in the affirmative.

ASBURY DICKENS, Secretary.

In the Senate of the United States, Dec. 21, 1860, on motion by Mr. Yulee,

That the Senate reconsider the vote on the motion to excuse Mr. Davis from serving as a member of the special committee appointed under the resolution of the 18th of December,

It was determined in the affirmative; and

Mr. Davis thereupon withdrew his motion to be excused from serving on the said committee.

ASBURY DICKENS, Secretary.

COMMITTEE ROOM, Dec. 21, 1860.

The committee met in pursuance of the call of the chairman.

Present—Messrs. Powell, Hunter, Crittenden, Toombs, Douglas, Collamer, Wade, Bigler, Rice, Doolittle and Grimes.

After an informal conversation,

On motion, the committee adjourned to meet on Saturday morning, at ten o'clock.

COMMITTEE ROOM, Dec. 22, 1860.

The committee met, the same members present as yesterday.

Mr. Davis attended.

On motion by Mr. DAVIS, it was

Resolved, That no proposition shall be reported as adopted, unless sustained by a majority of each of the two classes of Senators of the committee; Senators of the republican party to constitute one class, and Senators of other parties to constitute the other class.

In voting upon the various propositions, it was expressly understood that each member reserved the right to offer such amendments and other plans of adjustment as he should think better adapted to the subject.

Mr. TOOMBS submitted the following propositions:—

Resolved, That declaratory clauses to the constitution of the United States, amply securing the following propositions, be recommended for adoption:—

1. That the people of the United States shall have an equal right to emigrate to and settle in the present or any future acquired Territories, with whatever property they may possess (including slaves), and be securely protected in its peaceable enjoyment, until such Territory shall be admitted as a State in the Union, with or without slavery, as she may determine, on an equality with all existing States.

PROPERTY IN SLAVES.

2. *That property in slaves shall be entitled to the same protection from the government of the United States in all of its departments, everywhere, which the constitution confers the power upon it to extend to any other property;* provided nothing herein contained shall be construed to limit or restrain the right now belonging to every State to prohibit, abolish, or establish and protect slavery within its limits.

3. That persons committing crimes against slave property in one State and fleeing to another shall be delivered up in the same manner as persons committing other crimes, and that the laws of the State from which such persons flee shall be the test of criminality.

PUNISHMENT OF INSURRECTIONARY PERSONS.

4. *That Congress shall pass efficient laws for the punishment of all persons in any of the States who shall in any manner aid and abet invasion or insurrection in any other State,* or commit any other act against the laws of nations, tending to disturb the tranquillity of the people or government of any other State.

5. That fugitive slaves shall be surrendered under the provisions of the Fugitive Slave act of 1850, without being entitled to either a writ of habeas corpus or trial by jury, or other similar obstructions of legislation by the States to which they may flee.

6. *That no law shall ever be passed by Congress in relation to the institution of African slavery in the States or Territories, or elsewhere in the United States, without the consent of a majority of the Senators and representatives of the slaveholding States.*

7. That none of these provisions, nor any other provisions of the constitution in relation to slavery (except the African slave trade), shall ever be altered except by the consent of each and all of the States in which slavery exists.

The CHAIRMAN laid before the committee the propositions introduced in the Senate by Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee, and Mr. Crittenden, and referred to the committee.

Mr. DAVIS submitted the following proposition:—

Resolved, That it shall be declared, by amendment of the constitution, *that property in slaves, recognized as such by the local law of any of the States of the Union, shall stand on the same footing in all constitutional and federal relations as any other species of property so recognized;* and, like other property, shall not be subject to be divested or impaired by the local law of any other State, either in escape thereto or of transit or sojourn of the owner therein; and in no case whatever shall such property be subject to be divested or impaired by any legislative act of the United States, or of any of the Territories thereof.

Mr. CRITTENDEN submitted the following joint resolution, which was considered:—

MR. CRITTENDEN'S JOINT RESOLUTION.

Whereas, serious and alarming dissensions have arisen between the Northern and Southern States concerning the rights and security of the rights of the slaveholding States, and especially their rights in the common territory of the United States; and, whereas, it is eminently desirable and proper that those dissensions, which now threaten the very existence of this Union, should be permanently quieted and settled by constitutional provisions, which shall do equal justice to all sections, and thereby restore to the people that peace and good will which ought to prevail between all the citizens of the United States: therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both houses concurring, That the following articles be, and are hereby, proposed and submitted as amendments to the constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of said constitution, when ratified by conventions of three-fourths of the Several States.

SLAVE AND FREE TERRITORY.

Article 1. In all the territory of the United States now held or hereafter acquired, situate north of latitude thirty six degrees and thirty minutes, slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, is prohibited, while such territory shall remain under territorial government. *In all the territory south of said line of latitude slavery of the African race is hereby recognized as existing, and shall not be interfered with by Congress, but shall be protected as property by all the departments of the territorial government during its continuance;* and when any Territory, north or south of said line, within such boundaries as Congress may prescribe, shall contain the population requisite for a member of Congress, according to the then federal ratio of representation of the people of the United States, it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without slavery, as the constitution of such new State may provide.

Art. 2. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction, and situate within the limits of States that permit the holding of slaves.

Art. 3. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery within the District of Columbia so long as it exists in the adjoining States of Virginia and Maryland, or either, nor without the consent of the inhabitants, nor without just compensation first made to such owners of slaves as do not consent to such abolishment. Nor shall Congress at any time prohibit officers of the federal government or members of Congress, whose duties require them to be in said District, from bringing with them their slaves and holding them as such during the time their duties may require them to remain there, and afterwards taking them from the District.

THE TRANSPORTATION OF SLAVES.

Article 4. *Congress shall have no power to prohibit or hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, or to a Territory in which slaves are by law permitted to be held, whether that transportation be by land, navigable rivers or by the sea.*

Article 5. That, in addition to the provisions of the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the constitution of the United States, Congress shall have power to provide by law, and it shall be its duty so to provide, that the United States shall pay to the owner, who shall apply for it, the full value of his fugitive slave, *in all cases, when the Marshal or other officer whose duty it was to arrest said fugitive was prevented from so doing by violence or intimidation,* or when, after arrest, said fugitive was rescued by force, and the owner thereby prevented and obstructed in the pursuit of his remedy for the recovery of his fugitive slave, under the said clause of the constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof. And in all such cases, when the United States shall pay for such fugitive, they shall have the right, in their own name, to sue the county in which said violence, intimidation or rescue was committed, and to recover from it, with interest and damages, the amount paid by them for said fugitive slave. And the said county, after it has paid said amount to the United States, may, for its indemnity, sue and recover from the wrong doers or rescuers, by whom the owner was prevented from the recovery of his fugitive slave, in like manner as the owner himself might have sued and recovered.

Article 6. No future amendment of the constitution shall affect the five preceding articles, nor the third paragraph of the second section of the first article of the constitution, nor the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of said constitution; and no amendment shall be made to the constitution which will authorize or give to Congress any power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any of the States by whose laws it is or may be allowed or permitted.

On the question to agree to the first article in the said series of the proposed amendments,

It was determined in the negative—yeas 6, nays 7.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Douglas, Hunter, Powell, Rice.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Davis, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward, Toombs, Wade.

On the question to agree to the second article in the said series of the proposed amendments,

It was determined in the negative under the rule—yeas 8, nays 5.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Douglas, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

On the question to agree to the third article in the said series of the proposed amendments,

It was determined in the negative under the rule—yeas 8, nays 5.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Douglas, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

On the question to agree to the fourth article in the said series of the proposed amendments,

It was determined in the negative under the rule—yeas 8, nays 5.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Douglas, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

On the question to agree to the fifth article in the said series of the proposed amendments,

It was determined in the negative under the rule—yeas 8, nays 5.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Douglas, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

On the question to agree to the sixth article in the said series of the proposed amendments,

It was determined in the negative under the rule—yeas 8, nays 4.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Douglas, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are, Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Seward, Wade.

ANOTHER RESOLUTION.

Mr. CRITTENDEN submitted the following joint resolution, which was considered:—

And whereas, also, besides those causes of dissention embraced in the foregoing amendments proposed to the constitution of the United States, there are others which come within the jurisdiction of Congress, and may be remedied by its legislative power; and whereas, it is the desire of Congress, as far as its power will extend, to remove all just cause for the popular discontent and agitation which now disturb the peace of the country and threaten the stability of its institutions; therefore,

LEGALITY OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

1. Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, *That the laws now in force for the recovery of fugitive slaves are in strict pursuance of the plain and mandatory provisions of the constitution, and have been sanctioned as valid and constitutional by the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States;* that the slaveholding States are entitled to the faithful observance and execution of those laws, and that they ought not to be repealed or so modified or changed as to impair their efficiency; and that laws ought to be made for the punishment of those who attempt, by rescue of the slave or other illegal means, to hinder or defeat the due execution of said laws.

ALL LAWS TO THE CONTRARY NULL AND VOID.

2. That all State laws which conflict with the Fugitive Slave acts, or any other constitutional acts of Congress, or which in their operation impede, hinder or delay the free course and due execution of any of said acts, *are null and void by the plain provisions of the constitution of the United States.* Yet those State laws, void as they are, have given color to practices and led to consequences which have obstructed the due administration and execution of acts of Congress, and especially the acts for the delivery of fugitive slaves, and have thereby contributed much to the discord and commotion now prevailing. Congress, therefore, in the present perilous juncture, does not deem it improper respectfully and earnestly to recommend the repeal of those laws to the several States which have enacted them, or such legislative corrections or explanations of them as may prevent their being used or perverted to such mischievous purposes.

3. That the act of September 18, 1850, commonly called the Fugitive Slave law, ought to be so amended as to make the fee of the Commissioner, mentioned in the eighth section of the act, equal in amount, in the cases decided by him, whether his decision be in favor of or against the claimant. And to avoid misconstruction, the last clause of the fifth section of said act, which authorizes the person holding a warrant for the arrest or detention of a fugitive slave to summon to his aid the *posse comitatus*, and which declares it to be the duty of all good citizens to assist him in its execution, ought to be so amended as to expressly limit the authority and duty to cases in which there shall be resistance, or danger of resistance or rescue.

SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

4. That the laws for the suppression of the African slave trade, and *especially those prohibiting the importation of slaves into the United States, ought to be made effectual, and ought to be thoroughly executed*, and all further enactments necessary to those ends ought to be promptly made.

On the question to agree to the first resolution, it was determined in the negative under the rule—yeas 8, nays 3.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Douglas, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Doolittle, Grimes, Wade.

On the question to agree to the second resolution it was determined in the negative under the rule—yeas 7, nays 4.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Douglas, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Seward, Wade.

On the question to agree to the third resolution it was determined in the affirmative—yeas 13, nays 0.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Collamer, Crittenden, Davis, Doolittle, Douglas, Grimes, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Seward, Toombs, Wade.

So the third resolution was unanimously agreed to.

On the question to agree to the fourth resolution, it was determined in the affirmative—yeas 13, nays 0.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Collamer, Crittenden, Davis, Doolittle, Douglas, Grimes, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Seward, Toombs, Wade.

So the fourth resolution was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Doolittle submitted the following resolution, which was considered:—

MR. DOOLITTLE'S AMENDMENT.

Resolved, That said laws should secure to the alleged fugitive slave, when he shall claim that he is not a fugitive slave, a jury trial before he shall be delivered to the claimant.

On motion by Mr. Toombs, to amend the same by adding thereto the words "in the State from which he fled," it was determined in the affirmative—yeas 7, nays 5.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Douglas, Hunter, Powell, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

On motion by Mr. Crittenden to further amend the resolution by adding the following words: "but only in those cases where he shall have been out of the possession of the claimant for more than two years," it was determined in the negative—yeas 6, nays 6.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Hunter, Powell, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Douglas, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

On the question to agree to the resolution of Mr. Doolittle, as amended by Mr. Toombs, it was determined in the negative—yeas 3, nays 9.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Grimes.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Davis, Doolittle, Douglas, Hunter, Powell, Seward, Toombs, Wade.

On motion of Mr. Collamer the committee adjourned to meet at the call of the chairman.

COMMITTEE ROOM, Dec. 24, 1860.

The committee met. Members all present, Mr. Seward having attended.

Mr. Seward stated the reasons why he was unavoidably absent from former meetings of the committee, asked and obtained leave to have his vote recorded on the several propositions voted upon at the last meeting of the committee, and Mr. Seward's vote was recorded on each proposition.

JOINT RESOLUTIONS OF JUDGE DOUGLAS.

Mr. Douglas submitted the following joint resolution:—

JOINT RESOLUTION PROPOSING CERTAIN AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of both Houses concurring), That the following articles be, and are hereby proposed and submitted as amendments to the constitution of the United States, which shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of said constitution, when ratified by conventions of three-fourths of the several States:—

LAWS FOR THE TERRITORIES.

Article 13—Section 1. Congress shall make no law in respect to slavery or servitude in any Territory of the United States, and the *status* of each Territory in respect to servitude, as the same now exists by law, shall remain unchanged until the Territory, with such boundaries as Congress may prescribe, shall have a population of fifty thousand white inhabitants, when the white male citizens thereof over the age of twenty-one years may proceed to form a constitution and government for themselves and exercise all the rights of self-government consistent with the constitution of the United States; and when such new States shall contain the requisite population for a member of Congress, according to the then federal ratio of representation, it shall be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without slavery, as the constitution of such new States shall provide at the time of admission; and in the meantime such new States shall be entitled to one delegate in the Senate, to be chosen by the Legislature, and one delegate in the House of Representatives, to be chosen by the people having the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the Legislature; and said delegates shall have all the rights and privileges of Senators and representatives respectively, except that of voting.

Sec. 2. No more territory shall be acquired by the United States, except by treaty, or by the concurrent vote of two-thirds of each house of Congress; and when so acquired the status thereof in respect to servitude, as it existed at the time of acquisition, shall remain unchanged until it shall contain the population aforesaid for the formation of new States, when it shall be subject to the terms, conditions and privileges herein provided for the existing Territories.

Sec. 3. The area of all new States shall be as nearly uniform in size as may be practicable, having due regard to convenient boundaries and natural capacities, and shall not be less than sixty nor more than eighty thousand square miles, except in case of islands, which may contain less than that amount.

FUGITIVES FROM SERVICE AND LABOR.

Sec. 4. The second and third clauses of the second section of the fourth article of the constitution, which provides for delivering up fugitives from justice and fugitives from service or labor, *shall have the same power in the Territories and new States as in the States of the Union;* and the said clause, in respect to fugitives from justice, shall be construed to include all crimes committed within and against the laws of the State from which the fugitive fled, whether the acts charged be criminal or not in the State where the fugitive was found.

Sec. 5. The second section of the third article of the constitution, in respect to the judicial power of the United States, shall be deemed applicable to the Territories and new States, as well as to the States of the Union.

Article 14.

THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.

Sec. 1. The elective franchise and the right to hold office, whether federal, State, Territorial or municipal, *shall not be exercised by persons of the African race, in whole or in part.*

Sec. 2. The United States shall have power to acquire, from time to time, districts of country in Africa and South America, for the colonization, at the expense of the federal treasury, of such free negroes and mulattoes as the several States may wish to have removed from their limits, and from the District of Columbia, and such other places as may be under the jurisdiction of Congress.

Sec. 3. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in the places under its exclusive jurisdiction and situate within the limits of States that permit the holding of slaves.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Sec. 4. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery within the District of Columbia, so long as it exists in the adjoining States of Virginia and Maryland, or either, nor without the consent of the inhabitants, nor without just compensation first made to such owners of slaves as do not consent to such abolishment. Nor shall Congress at any time prohibit officers of the federal government, or members of Congress, whose duties require them to be in said District, *from bringing with them their slaves and holding them as such during the time their duties may require them to remain there, and afterwards taking them from the District.*

Sec. 5. Congress shall have no power to prohibit or hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, or to a Territory in which slaves are permitted by law to be held, whether such transportation be by land, navigable rivers, or by sea: but the African slave trade shall be forever suppressed; and it shall be the duty of Congress to make such laws as shall be necessary and effectual to prevent the migration or importation of slaves, or persons owing service or labor, into the United States, from any foreign country, place or jurisdiction whatever.

THE ARREST OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.

Sec. 6. In addition to the provision of the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the constitution, Congress shall have power to provide by law, and it shall be its duty so to provide, *that the United States shall pay to the owner who shall apply for it, the full value of his fugitive slave, in all cases when the Marshal or other officer whose duty it was to arrest said fugitive was prevented from so doing by violence or intimidation;* or when, after arrest, said fugitive was rescued by force, and the owner thereby prevented and obstructed in the pursuit of his remedy for the recovery of his fugitive slave, under the said clause of the constitution, and the laws made in pursuance thereof; and in all such cases, when the United States shall pay for such fugitives, they shall have the right, in their own name, to sue the county in which said violence, intimidation or rescue was committed, and to recover from it, with interest and damages, the amount paid by them for said fugitive slave. And the said county, after it had paid the said amount to the United States, may, for its indemnity, sue and recover from the wrong doers or rescuers by whom the owner was prevented from the recovery of his fugitive slave, in like manner as the owner himself might have sued and recovered.

Sec. 7. No future amendment of the constitution shall affect this and preceding article: nor the third paragraph of the second section of the first article of the constitution; nor the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of said constitution; and no amendment shall be made to the constitution which will authorize or give to Congress any power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any of the States by whose laws it is or may be allowed or sanctioned.

RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED BY MR. SEWARD.

Mr. SEWARD submitted the following resolutions, which were considered:—

Resolved, That the following article be, and the same is hereby proposed and submitted as an amendment to the constitution of the United States, to be valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of said constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States:—

1st. No amendment shall be made to the constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State.

2d. *The fugitive slave act of 1850 shall be so amended as to give to the alleged fugitive a jury trial.*

3d. The Legislatures of the several States shall be respectfully requested to review all of their legislation affecting the right of persons recently resident in other States, and to repeal or modify all such acts as may contravene the provisions of the constitution of the United States, or any laws made in pursuance thereof.

On the question to agree to the first resolution, it was determined in the affirmative—yeas 11, nays 2.

Those who voted in the affirmative are, Messrs. Bigler, Collamer, Crittenden, Davis, Doolittle, Douglas, Grimes, Hunter, Powell, Seward and Wade.

Those who voted in the negative are, Messrs. Rice and Toombs.

On the question to agree to the second resolution,

On motion by Mr. DOUGLAS to amend the same, by adding the words, in the State from which he fled.

It was determined in the affirmative—yeas 7, nays 5.

Those who voted in the affirmative are, Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Douglas, Hunter, Powell and Rice.

Those who voted in the negative are, Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward and Toombs.

On the question to agree to the second resolution of Mr. Seward, as amended by Mr. Douglas, it was determined in the negative—yeas 6, nays 7.

Those who voted in the affirmative are, Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Douglas, Grimes, Seward and Wade.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Hunter, Powell, Rice and Toombs.

On the question to agree to the third resolution, it was determined in the negative, under the rule—yeas 7, nays 6.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Collamer, Crittenden, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward and Wade.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Davis, Hunter, Powell, Rice and Toombs.

On motion by Mr. TOOMBS, the resolutions submitted by him at the last meeting of the committee were taken up for consideration.

On the question to agree to the first resolution, it was determined in the negative, under the rule—yeas 7, nays 5.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Hunter, Powell, Rice and Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward and Wade.

On the question to agree to the second resolution, it was determined in the negative, under the rule—yeas 7, nays 5.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Hunter, Powell, Rice and Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward and Wade.

On the question to agree to the third resolution, it was determined in the negative, under the rule—yeas 7, nays 5.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Hunter, Powell, Rice and Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward and Wade.

Mr. DOUGLAS asked and obtained leave to have the following recorded on the journal:—

In reference to the resolutions submitted by Mr. Toombs and Mr. Davis, Mr. Douglas said that he declined voting on abstract propositions not reduced to form of constitutional amendments, having submitted in due form proposed amendments covering all the points in controversy.

On motion by Mr. GRIMES the committee adjourned, to meet on Wednesday morning at ten o'clock.

COMMITTEE ROOM, Dec. 26, 1860.

Committee met. Members all present.

The consideration of the resolutions submitted by Mr. Toombs on the 22d instant was resumed.

On the question to agree to the fourth resolution,

On motion by Mr. CRITTENDEN to amend the same by striking out the words, "or commit any other act against the laws of nations," in line three, after the word "State," it was determined in the negative.

On the question to agree to the resolution, it was determined in the negative, under the rule—yeas 6, nays 4.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Davis, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Seward, Wade.

On the question to agree to the fifth resolution, it was determined in the negative, under the rule—yeas 7, nays 5.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

On the question to agree to the sixth resolution—

On motion of Mr. HUNTER, to amend the same by adding the words, "*and also a majority of the Senators and representatives of the non-slaveholding States,*" it was determined in the affirmative—yeas 9, nays 1.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Doolittle, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Seward, Wade.

Those who voted in the negative are Mr. Toombs.

On the question to agree to the resolution, as amended by Mr. Hunter, it was determined in the negative—yeas 5, nays 6.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Davis, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Crittenden, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

On the question to agree to the seventh resolution, it was determined in the negative, under the rule—yeas 6, nays 5.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Crittenden, Davis, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

Mr. SEWARD submitted the following resolution, which was considered:—

Resolved, That under the fourth section of the fourth article of the constitution Congress should pass an efficient law for the punishment of all persons engaged in the armed invasion of any State from another, by combinations of individuals, and punishing all persons in complicity therewith, on trial and conviction in the State and district where their acts of complicity were committed, in the federal courts.

On motion, by Mr. TOOMBS, to amend the same by adding the words, "*and also all attempts to excite insurrection in any State by the people of any other State,*" it was determined in the affirmative—yeas 8, nays 5.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Douglas, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are, Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

On motion by Mr. DOUGLAS, to further amend the resolution by adding the words, "*And for the suppression and punishment of conspiracies or combinations in any State or Territory, with intent to invade, assail or molest the government, inhabitants, property or institutions of any other State or Territory of the Union,*" it was determined in the affirmative.

On the question to agree to the resolution as amended by Mr. Toombs and Mr. Douglas,

Mr. SEWARD called for a division of the question, and asked that the vote be first taken on that part of the resolution originally submitted by him, which request was unanimously acceded to. And on the question to agree to the first part of said resolution, it was determined affirmative—yeas 9, nays 3.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Collamer, Crittenden, Davis, Doolittle, Douglas, Grimes, Powell, Seward.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Rice, Toombs, Wade.

On the question to agree to that part of the resolution embraced in the amendment of Mr. Toombs, it was determined in the affirmative.

On the question proposed to agree to the amendment proposed by Mr. Douglas, it was determined in the negative—yeas 6, nays 6.

Those who voted in the affirmative are, Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Douglas, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Davis, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

On the question to agree to the resolution, as amended by Mr. Toombs, it was determined in the negative, under the rule—yeas 7, nays 5.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Douglas, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

On motion, by Mr. DAVIS, the resolution submitted by him on the 26th instant was taken up for consideration.

On the question to agree to the resolution it was determined in the negative—yeas 6, nays 6.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Davis, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Crittenden, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

The CHAIRMAN laid before the committee a bill introduced in the Senate by Mr. Bigler, and referred to the committee.

Also, a joint resolution introduced in the Senate by Mr. Pugh, and referred to the committee.

On motion, by Mr. SEWARD, the committee adjourned to meet on Friday morning, at ten o'clock.

MR. CRITTENDEN'S PROPOSITION.

COMMITTEE ROOM, Dec. 28, 1860.

Committee met. Members all present except Mr. Doolittle.

Mr. Crittenden submitted the following proposition:—

Article 1. In all of the territory of the United States situate north of latitude thirty six degrees and thirty minutes, except that part of New Mexico which lies north of said line of latitude, slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, is forever prohibited. The Territory of New Mexico, so long as it remains under a temporary or Territorial government, shall retain its present *status* in respect to persons held to service or labor under the laws of said Territory made in pursuance of the act of Congress of the 9th of September, 1850, being one of the compromise acts of that year, and entitled "An act proposing to the State of Texas," &c., "and to establish a Territorial government for New Mexico." During its continuance the Territorial government of New Mexico shall have no power to legislate concerning or to interfere with the condition or *status* of the persons so held to service or labor in any way to impair the rights of the party to whom such service or labor is due, nor shall Congress have any power to legislate upon the subject.

The said Territory of New Mexico may be divided at the discretion of Congress, and, when prepared for it, admitted into the Union as provided for by the said act of the 9th of September, 1850.

PROPOSITION OF MR. BIGLER.

Mr. Bigler submitted the following proposition, which was read and laid on the table:—

That amendments to the constitution be submitted, embracing the following propositions, to wit:—

First—That the Territory now owned by the United States shall be divided by a line from east to west on the parallel of 36 degrees 30 minutes.

Second.—That the territory south of said line, with the view to the formation of States, shall be divided into four Territories, of as near equal size as Congress may deem best, considering the formation of the country, and having due regard to the convenience of the inhabitants of the Territories now organized; that the territory north of said line shall in like manner be divided into eight Territories.

Third.—That when the inhabitants of such Territories, or either of them, shall become sufficiently numerous, Congress shall provide governments for the same; and when the bona fide inhabitants in any Territory shall be equal to the then ratio of representation in Congress, the fact to be ascertained by a census taken under the direction of Congress, it shall be the duty of the President of the United States, by proclamation, to announce the admission of such State into the Union.

Fourth.—That in all the Territories south of said line of 36 degrees 30 minutes, *involuntary servitude, as it now exists in the States south of Mason and Dixon's line, shall be recognized and protected by all the departments of the Territorial governments;* and in all the Territories north of said line, involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime shall be prohibited.

Fifth—That Congress shall be denied the power to abolish slavery in places now under its jurisdiction situate within the limits of slaveholding States, as also within the District of Columbia, so long as slavery may exist in either of the States of Virginia or Maryland.

Sixth—That in addition to the present provision for the rendition of fugitives from labor, it shall be made the duty of the non slaveholding States to provide efficient laws for the delivery of fugitives from labor to the persons to whom such service or labor may be due.

Seventh—That neither these proposed amendments nor the third paragraph of the second section of the first article of the constitution, nor the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the constitution, shall be liable to future amendment.

The committee proceeded to consider the proposition submitted by Mr. Crittenden, and on the question to agree thereto, it was determined in the negative—yeas 2, nays 11.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Crittenden, Douglas.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Bigler, Collamer, Davis, Doolittle, Grimes, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Seward, Toombs, Wade.

On motion by Mr. DOUGLAS, the propositions submitted by him on the 24th instant were taken up for consideration.

On the question to agree to section 1, article 13, it was determined in the negative—yeas 2, nays 11.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Crittenden, Douglas.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Bigler, Collamer, Davis, Doolittle, Grimes, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Seward, Toombs, Wade.

On the question to agree to section 2, article 13, it was determined in the negative—yeas 1, nays 10.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Mr. Douglas.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Davis, Doolittle, Grimes, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Seward, Toombs, Wade.

On the question to agree to section 3, article 13, it was determined in the negative—yeas 2, nays 11.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Crittenden, Douglas.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Bigler, Collamer, Davis, Doolittle, Grimes, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Seward, Toombs, Wade.

On the question to agree to section 4, article 13, it was determined in the negative, under the rule—yeas 8, nays 5.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Douglas, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

On the question to agree to section 5, article 13, it was determined in the negative.

On the question to agree to section 1, article 14, it was determined in the negative, under the rule—yeas 8, nays 5.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Douglas, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

On the question to agree to section 2, article 14, it was determined in the affirmative—yeas 10, nays 3.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Collamer, Crittenden, Doolittle, Douglas, Grimes, Powell, Rice, Seward, Wade.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Davis, Hunter, Toombs.

On the question to agree to section 3, article 14, it was determined in the negative.

On the question to agree to section 4, article 14, it was determined in the negative.

On the question to agree to section 5, article 14.

On motion by Mr. TOOMBS, to amend the same by inserting the words, "inter-State slave trade," in line one, after the word "prohibit;" and also in the same line, after the word "or," insert the word "to."

On the question to agree to the proposed amendments, it was determined in the affirmative.

On the question to agree to said section 2, article 14, as amended by Mr. Toombs, it was determined in the negative, under the rule—yeas 8, nays 5.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Crittenden, Davis, Douglas, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

On the question to agree to section six, article fourteen, it was determined in the negative.

On the question to agree to section seven, article fourteen, it was determined in the negative.

The vote on sections three, four, six and seven, of Mr. Douglas' propositions, was the same as on the corresponding propositions proposed by Mr. Crittenden.

On motion by Mr. BIGLER, the proposition submitted by him was taken up for consideration; and, on the question to agree thereto, it was determined in the negative.

RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY MR. RICE.

Mr. RICE submitted the following resolution, which was considered:—

Whereas the Territories of the United States, and the question of the admission of new States into the Union have caused most, if not all, the agitation of the question of slavery; and whereas it is desirable that that question should be forever abolished from the halls of Congress, and that it should cease to be a political element among the people: therefore,

Resolved, That all the territory lying north of 36 degrees 30 minutes should be at once admitted into the Union as a State, upon an equal footing with the original States, and be called the "State of Washington;" and that all the territory south of 36 degrees 30 minutes should be also admitted as a State upon an equal footing with the original States, and be called the "State of Jefferson;" and in each case provision should be made that whenever any portion of said States shall contain, within an area of not less than sixty thousand square miles, one hundred and thirty thousand inhabitants, a new State may be formed and admitted into the Union, with such boundaries as Congress may prescribe. And to carry the provisions of this resolution into effect, all acts organizing Territorial governments should be repealed, to take effect on the ———, and also that an appropriation should be made by Congress to defray the expenses of the Conventions to form constitutions for the said States.

On motion by Mr. SEWARD, to amend the same by inserting the words: "*except so much of the Territory of Kansas as is contained in the proposed boundary of the Wyandot constitution,*" to come in after the words "thirty-six thirty," in the first line.

It was determined in the negative—yeas 6, nays 6.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Douglas, Grimes, Seward, Wade.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Crittenden, Davis, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs.

On the question to agree to the resolution, it was determined in the negative—yeas 3, nays 10.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Davis, Rice.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Collamer, Crittenden, Doolittle, Douglas, Grimes, Hunter, Powell, Seward, Toombs, Wade.

Mr. DOOLITTLE, having stated that he was absent during the proceedings of the committee on the several propositions which had been acted upon in his absence, asked and obtained leave to have his vote recorded upon the same, and his vote was thereupon recorded.

SENATOR TOOMBS' RESOLUTION.

Mr. TOOMBS submitted the following resolution, which was considered:—

Resolved, That this committee have not been able to agree upon any general plan of adjustment, and report that fact to the Senate, together with the journal of the committee, and ask to be discharged.

On the question to agree to the resolution,

On motion by Mr. SEWARD, to amend the same by striking out the words, "and ask to be discharged," it was determined in the affirmative. Yeas 7, nays 6.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Collamer, Crittenden, Doolittle, Douglas, Grimes, and Seward.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Davis, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs, and Wade.

On the question to agree to the resolution as amended by Mr. Seward, it was determined in the affirmative.

On motion by Mr. TOOMBS that the committee adjourn *sine die.*

On motion by Mr. SEWARD to amend the motion of Mr. Toombs by striking out the words "*sine die.*" It was determined in the affirmative—yeas 7, nays 6.

Those who voted in the affirmative are Messrs. Bigler, Collamer, Crittenden, Doolittle, Douglas, Grimes and Seward.

Those who voted in the negative are Messrs. Davis, Hunter, Powell, Rice, Toombs and Wade.

On motion by Mr. DOUGLAS to amend the motion of Mr. Toombs, further, by adding the words, subject to the call of the Chairman.

It was determined in the affirmative.

On the question to agree to the motion as amended by Mr. Seward and Mr. Douglas, it was determined in the affirmative.

So it was ordered that the committee adjourn to the call of the chairman.

And then the committee adjourned.

COMMITTEE ROOM, Dec. 31, 1860.

The committee met in pursuance to the call of the chairman for the purpose of hearing the journal read.

Present—Messrs. Powell, Wade, Douglas, Bigler, Rice and Doolittle.

The journal was read and approved.

The committee thereupon adjourned to meet at the call of the chairman.

L. W. POWELL, Chairman.

THE HOUSE REPORTS.

Majority Report of the House Committee of Thirty-three.

The select committee to whom was referred so much of the President's Message as relates to the present perilous condition of the country, have instructed their chairman to report the bills and resolutions adopted by them with such comments as he may deem proper.—

REPORT.

The terms of the resolution of references were such as to advise the committee of the magnitude of the subjects referred to them, and were regarded as an earnest appeal for their prompt action. By adverting to that portion of the President's Message referred to the committee, it will be seen that, in his opinion, the causes of the present discontents are to be found in the history of our public affairs, dating back to the year 1835, comprehending the legislative enactments of several States—the agitations of the public mind on the subject of slavery—the improper circulation of papers tending to produce apprehension of domestic insurrection in the slaveholding States, and the forcible opposition to the peaceful execution of the laws of Congress for the recovery of fugitive slaves.

The matters here alleged as having given rise to the present disturbed condition of the public mind of the South, are of a character which could only be ascertained by a knowledge of the current history of our politics as exhibited in the newspaper press, in the grounds assumed by the various political parties, and manifested by the votes of the people in electing State and federal officers.

INCENDIARY PUBLICATIONS.

Publications emanating from the newspaper or periodical press having a tendency to promote domestic insurrection in any of the States, and circulated with that intent, are, *in the judgment of the committee, highly criminal, and should be so treated by the laws of the several States.* The right of free discussion, while it is regarded as absolutely necessary to the maintenance of free government, may be expected, in times of great excitement, to run into occasional licentiousness. The corrective for this evil remains with the State governments, and the committee do not doubt that the desired corrective will be promptly applied in all cases when the evil shall have assumed a formidable aspect, while the just and rational freedom of speech and of the press will be carefully preserved.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

The enactment of laws, by some of the States, tending to oppose or embarrass the execution of the acts of Congress for the recovery of fugitives from labor, has been alleged as a prominent complaint on the part of those States of the Union in which slavery exists. The committee had been impressed with the belief that this was one of those grievances referred to in the President's Message, to which the Southern States attached great importance. The resolves of popular assemblies in Southern States—the addresses of speakers to Southern audiences—the frequent and earnest references to it by the newspaper press of the South, as a great and flagrant violation of the constitution, and of the fraternal relation of the free to the slave States—the denunciation of those laws by Southern members of Congress, in both branches of the national Legislature, for the last three or four years—have, together, given to this subject great and, in the judgment of the committee, undue importance. With whatever intent or design such laws may have been enacted, in any State, they cannot be regarded as having had any effect in preventing or obstructing the recapture of fugitives from labor. The laws of the United States for the recovery of fugitive slaves are executed exclusively by the United States Courts, and Commissioners appointed by them. As a necessary consequence, it follows that any State law which offers any obstacle to the full and perfect execution of the laws of the United States would be void and of no effect whatever, and would be so declared by the United States Courts and Commissioners. Such laws, if any there be, are therefore incompetent to do any mischief whatever to any one concerned in the recapture of fugitive slaves, and at most can be considered only as an exhibition of opposition to a law which some of the States regard as containing provisions dangerous to the right of free persons residing within their limits. While, therefore, the committee have not been able to perceive that the State laws complained of can really affect the rights or interests of Southern people, or States, yet from an anxious desire to conciliate the feelings, as well as to protect the interests of our fellow citizens of the South, the committee have respectfully requested all non-slaveholding States carefully to revise their legislative acts, and repeal all laws which come in conflict with the constitution of the United States, or with the laws enacted by Congress for the recapture of fugitives from labor, and have submitted a resolution by the House.

We have seen with satisfaction that the Governors of several States, within the last week, have brought the subject to the notice of their respective Legislatures, and recommended legislative action, in accordance with the views of the committee, and we entertain no doubt that the feelings as well as the interests of all the non-slaveholding States will combine to effect the great object so much desired—the restoration of mutual respect and confidence between all the States of the Union.

The committee deemed it incumbent on them, in connection with the foregoing subject, to revise to some extent the laws now in force for the recovery of fugitives from labor. After the most careful examination of the subject, the committee have framed an amendment to the existing laws, which, it is believed, will much improve them.

THE LAW OF 1850.

The law of 1850 was supposed to contain a provision which positively required any citizen, who might be called on for this purpose, to aid the owner of a fugitive, or his agent, or the Marshal of the United States, in searching for and capturing such fugitive, whether forcible resistance were apprehended or not. This idea, whether well or ill-founded, has to a very great extent become the popular belief in many of the States, and, in the opinion of the committee, has had the effect to render the law distasteful and offensive. It is obvious that such belief would operate to cripple the efficiency of the law, and, to some extent, prevent its prompt and peaceful execution where that belief prevailed. *It is reasonable to suppose that this odious provision, believed to be part of the law, has given rise to much of that opposition to it so much complained of by the South.* The second section of the bill presented by the committee, it is believed, will relieve the law from all objection of that kind, and tend materially to its easy and speedy execution, thus improving its efficiency as a remedy by making it more acceptable to the people among whom it is to be enforced, and by whose aid, in case of forcible resistance, it is to be made effectual.

THE REPUBLICAN AND ABOLITION PLATFORM.

The provisions of the first section of the bill, it is hoped, will secure the fugitive (if he alleges he is free) a fair and impartial trial, more certainly than the law as it now stands. The committee believe that this uncertainty as to the fact of one arrested as a fugitive has given rise to the few instances known to us of forcible resistance to the law. The same objection to the present law has undoubtedly stimulated the passage, in most instances, of what are called "Personal Liberty bills" in some of the States. It should be borne in mind, that the objections urged by the Northern people are not to a law for the recovery of fugitives who really owe labor, but they are founded in the belief that the present law may and does permit the seizure of persons who are free, and subjects them to servitude contrary to both law and right. The committee believe it to be unjust to the free States to assert that any considerable number of persons in those States are opposed to the reclamation of persons who, by the laws of any State, owe labor or service to another. If any such class exists, it is that known as abolitionists. This class asserts its opposition to the constitution because it does authorize the pursuit and recapture of fugitive slaves. In whatever light the persons composing this class may be regarded, it is certain their numbers are so small, compared with the entire voting population of the free States, that no danger can result to the constitutional rights of any portion of the Union from their peculiar opinions, or their modes of commending them to the general public. It is certainly true that this class does not act with any of the great political parties of the day, and that its chief leaders and most talented orators were most strenuously opposed to the republican party in the late Presidential contest, and denounced it and their doctrines in bitter and unsparing terms. *The great mistake, which is now urging on the public mind to the wildest excesses, consists in confounding the class of men known by the name of abolitionists with the great mass of the republican party of the North and West.* Similar to this, and growing out of it, is a belief, which seems to have obtained very generally in the South, that the people of the non slaveholding States, having succeeded in electing a President, entertain a secret design to accumulate political power in both branches of Congress, until, through Congressional action, *it will abolish slavery in the States where it may then exist.* How this purpose will be accomplished we are not informed. This prediction has been poured into the ears of excited multitudes from the mouths of popular orators, and placed before their eyes in the pages of partisan presses, until in the Southern mind it seems to have assumed the form of a plausible fact. The party charged with this purpose, when it met in convention at Chicago to nominate its candidate, previous to the last Presidential election, declared its doctrine on this point in the following words:—"That the maintainance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each to order and control its domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes." Notwithstanding the preposterous character of this idea, the committee have deemed the belief in it, in some portions of the South, sufficiently important to demand a notice at this time.

That nothing possible should be left unattempted, in order to efface those false impressions, by the committee, they have prepared, and submit, an amendment to the constitution, whereby any power to interfere with slavery in the States is forever denied to Congress till every State in the Union, by its individual State action, shall consent to its exercise. They entertain a confident belief that this amendment will be approved by the number of States required by the constitution to secure its adoption. If this shall not secure slavery in the States against the possibility of interference by federal power, we are wholly incapable of conceiving any form of constitutional guarantee which will, or which will satisfy those who demand further security for their rights.

ILL RESULTS OF THE SLAVERY DISCUSSION.

The committee are well aware that the frequent agitation of the subject of slavery, in political contests, has given rise, in the minds of many, to fearful forebodings of disunion. *It has undoubtedly contributed to the present alienation of feeling between the northern and western and southern and southwestern sections of the republic.* Investigations into the rightfulness or policy of what is properly called forced labor, when conducted by thoughtful and discreet minds, in calm temper, guided by the laws of sound morals and political philosophy, could scarcely be attended with danger to the peace of society, and might be productive of much good. It is equally true that discussion touching the constitutional powers of the federal government and the powers of the States over the subject of slavery, when properly conducted, would have the effect to elicit truth rather than to endanger public tranquillity. *But when this subject is brought into the arena of party politics our experience has shown that it too frequently fails to attain the desired end, without disturbing, to a dangerous extent, the harmony and good will so much to be desired between all sections of the republic.* The truth of this remark will be fully shown by a brief reference to our history. In 1821 Missouri was admitted as a slave State, and slavery was, at the same time, prohibited in all the territory lying north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude. At that time so great was the agitation that men not at all prone to regard imaginary in the light of real danger, entertained great fears for the stability of the government. The public mind, however, became calm, and yielding to the suggestions of true patriotism, harmony was restored and public prosperity advanced with rapid strides. The next event which brought the subject of slavery into public consideration was the annexation of Texas. The Presidential election of 1844 was made to turn almost entirely upon this single question. The great majority of the people of the free States were much dissatisfied with the result; but, with their views of duty as citizens of a free republic, they submitted with regret, but with no disposition to make improper opposition to the will of the people expressed in accordance with all the forms of law. Between this period and that of 1821, the public mind had not been agitated nor the public peace at all endangered by discussion nor federal legislation touching the subject of slavery.

THE ACQUISITION OF MEXICAN TERRITORY.

The late war with Mexico resulted in the acquisition of territory. From the moment of this acquisition, the question of the occupation of the territory ceded by the treaty of peace with slave or free labor again called into action all the conflicting opinions