

THE BELMONT CHRONICLE.

AND FARMERS, MECHANICS, AND MANUFACTURERS' ADVOCATE.

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POETRY.

THE DEATH-BED.

BY THOMAS HOOD.

We watched her breathing thro' the night,
Her breathing soft and low,
As in her breast the wave of life
Kept heaving to and fro.

So silently we seem'd to speak,
So slowly mov'd about,
As we had lent her half our powers
To eke her living out.

Out very hopes bell'd our fears,
Our fears our hopes bell'd—
We thought her dying when she slept,
And sleeping when she died.

For when the morn came dim and sad,
And chill with early showers,
Her quiet eyelids closed—She hid
Another morn than ours.

FOURTEENTH OF FEBRUARY.

No popular receipt will I omit
To do this honor on this happy day,
When every loyal lover takes his wit
His simple truth in studious rhymes to pay,
And to his mistress reads his hopes convey,
Rather than knowest I would still out
All candelabra with Love's—whose date away
Thy bright eyes govern letter than the Sun—
For with thy favor was my life begun;
And still I reckon on from smiles to smiles,
And not by summers, for I thrive on one,
But those thy cheerful countenance compels:
Oh! if it be to choose and call me mine,
Love thou art every day my Valentine.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE CHRISTMAS BRIDE.

[CONTINUED]

It was the Monday morning before Christmas-day—a bright, clear, frosty morning—and Mr. Sellers gave his arm to his wife, for the purpose of escorting her to do what ladies call "a little shopping." He had never been used to this kind of thing, but he did not dread entering a shop with Martha. She was not in the habit of turning over the whole contents of the shelves, and worrying the young men out of all patience, for a yard of ribbon or a little tulle. Her quick eye discerned at once what would suit her purpose; and her natural consideration for the feelings of others led her to give no more trouble than what was absolutely necessary. She had been known to hurry over a purchase, and go home to buy satisfied, when she happened to find out that it was the dinner hour for the young men, and that the youth who was attending to her was very faint with a long morning's work. So we may be sure that our bride did not keep her husband very long dangling his legs from the high narrow chairs in the several shops, but despatched her business with equal ease and rapidity, varying it by affectionate appeals to his taste and judgment, which kept him a pleased spectator of her cheerful movements.

They were just leaving the large establishment where Mrs. Sellers had ordered an unusual quantity of raisins, and candied lemon, and so forth, for her Christmas preparations when they stumbled upon a woman who was entering it. Mrs. Sellers was looking another way, and did not particularly notice the person whom she thus encountered. But immediately afterwards, on asking her husband a slight question, she received no answer; and looking up into his face for the reason of his silence, she was surprised to find that it bore the traces of strong though suppressed emotion.

"What is the matter, dearest?" she inquired in alarm. "Are you ill?"

"No—nothing, love," he stammered; and she forbore further questioning, for she saw that he did not wish it. No more was said, and he soon became as cheerful as usual.

"Whom shall we have to dine with us on Christmas-day?" said Caroline, as they were sitting round the fire at dinner.

"It is almost too late to issue the invitations now," remarked Jane, discontentedly. "We have always been in the habit of inviting a few friends for that day, Mrs. Sellers."

"So I understand," quietly observed the bride. "But we are in time yet. Have you any poor relations, Mr. Sellers, who would be glad of a good dinner of roast beef and plum pudding?"

The young ladies looked at each other, and then at their papa. But he, after one glance into the candid, loving eyes of his young wife, answered composedly, though with a certain restraint, "I am almost ashamed to tell you, Martha, that I have nearly lost sight of them all. Let me see. Poor Jack Marvel, the first Mrs. Sellers's brother. An idle, dissipated sort of a fellow he was, and we really could not do with him disgracing us here; so we let him know he was not very welcome and, being as proud as he was poor, he soon made himself scarce. I have not seen him for the last six years. The last time I heard of him, he was living in one of the lowest parts of the town."

The bride had seated herself at a small writing table beside the fire. "What is his address, dear?" she said.

"Duke's Yard, Skinner Street. At least that was where he lived two years ago, when I heard a bad account of his health."

"We will inquire after him," said Martha.

"The next poor relation, love? There is old Sarah Sisson—a kind of fiftieth cousin; and Tom Sellers another cousin. I think these are all I can mention. Only, if you are inclined to be very charitable, there is one poor friend of mine, whom my late wife never could bear. So, just for peace' sake, I was obliged to break with him. I have often repented it since. His address is John M'Farlane, Swallow Street. He is a plain sort of a man, but very sensible, though odd and abrupt in his manner. He was too candid for the first Mrs. Sellers."

"Oh, I have no doubt he and I shall suit admirably," said Martha, smiling. "Now, for the addresses of Sarah Sisson and Tom Sellers."

They were given her, and then she turned towards the three-sisters, who were all gazing at her with astonishment, though in Isabella it was mingled with admiration.

"Here is a nice Christmas party," said the bride. "One, two, three, four—with ourselves, nine. Nor will we confine our good-doings to the drawing room. Always with your permission, my dear," laying her hand upon that of her husband, who had drawn his chair near the writing-table. "Have I carte blanche?"

"Certainly," said Mr. Sellers. And his eyes, as it dwelt lovingly upon his young bride's calm, sweet face, expressed more strongly than his words, how willingly he gave way to all her kind impulses.

"Then we will invite all the poor people in the immediate neighborhood, without exception, to dine in the large upper room in the new ware-house."

"A sort of 'Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in'—hey, Patty!" said Mr. Sellers, laughing.

"In everything but the compulsion, Mr. Sellers."

That night Mr. Sellers, not being very well, went to bed early; and when his wife followed, after a chat with the girls over the fire, she found him fast asleep. She had taken off her dress, and was arranging her hair before the glass in the dressing-room, when she heard the sound of some one speaking, and, going into the next room, found her husband sitting up in bed, and talking very fast in his sleep.

"Poor Mary! poor child!" he was saying, "so your cruel father would not speak to you."

The tears were running down his face; and he was so evidently distressed by the vision his fancy had conjured up, that Martha shook him by the shoulder to awake him.

"She turned so pale," he continued—"so pale—I mean—What is it, Martha? What is the matter?"

"You have been dreaming, love. Feel, your face is bathed with tears."

"Yes, I remember," and he gave a heavy sigh, that much resembled a sob. "Sit down, Martha; I have often wished to unbend my mind to you. I am a different man since I knew you, my darling. But perhaps you would rather undress first."

"No, love, tell me now; I shall not be so sleepy. The fire is very good, and I have on my thick dressing-gown. Here, give me your hand, and tell me all about it."

"Well, then," said Mr. Sellers, covering his face with his other hand, as if ashamed, "I suppose you are aware that I have another daughter, besides those whom you have seen?"

"I have heard some rumors of the kind, but I did not know that she was still alive."

"Yes, she is alive, and living in this town. We met her this morning."

"Did we, indeed? Where, dearest?"

"When we were coming out of Dawson's shop. Don't you remember stumbling over some woman?"

"Yes, I was looking at those great Chinese mandarins that sit there nodding—a sort of catch-penny, I presume. I was aware that we knocked against somebody, but I did not see her face."

"That somebody, Martha, was my own poor dear child. She turned as pale as a lily; and she was not dressed so well as one of my servants. Ever since I knew you, and came under your pure influence, I have doubted whether I acted the part of a Christian father in forbidding her my house, and disinheriting her merely because she had followed the dictates of her heart, fulfilled an understood engagement, and married a man whose only defect, even in my eyes, was want of money. I had encouraged her intimacy in better days."

"You only did as most other fathers would have done," said Martha soothingly. "The fault lies in the generally received ideas about the thing, not in the individual instances of carrying them out. An impartial arbitrator has long been needed between parent and child, Love and Mammon."

"Very true, my dear. I wish I had spoken to her this morning; but I had not yet made up my mind to do so, and the sight of her so altered, completely unnerved me. Now I have lost all trace of her."

"We shall perhaps be able to trace her again," said Mrs. Sellers. "I dare say the grocer will know where she lives."

"A bright idea. Thank you, my sweet comforter. I shall now go to sleep with a comparatively easy conscience."

"Just one more question, dear. Are you sure that Mary's sisters never see her?"

"No, love, I forbade all intercourse from the very first."

"What a severe man thou hast been! How was it that I happened to take a fancy to you?"

"Because you are an old young woman; so a young old man was not a bad match for you. Nevertheless, I am, and always shall be, grateful for your disinterested affection to a man so much older than yourself, dear girl."

The next morning Mr. and Mrs. Sellers set out on their errand of peace and goodwill. They had not said anything to the sisters of their intention to find out the offending one, and offer her the right hand of

reconciliation, because they wished to prepare a delightful surprise for them; especially for Isabella, who had from the first been thoroughly understood and appreciated by Martha, and through her was beginning to be so by Mr. Sellers. So they allowed them to suppose that they were merely carrying their own invitations to Jack Marvel and the rest.

The sky was without a cloud, the granite pavement of the streets sparkled like diamonds and the dirtiest houses looked almost gay in the winter sunshine, that penetrated every nook of the town of Brankleigh. But there was a keen north-east wind, and the bride folded her warm cloak closer about her as she passed over the open space in the neighborhood of Skinner Street. They had called at the grocer's on their way, but he knew nothing of Mary. He said that a woman answering her description, called occasionally; but she always paid ready money, and carried her small purchases away with her in a little basket, and that was all he could tell her. He thought she was a lady-looking person, something above the common; but he had never troubled his head much about her, having enough to do to attend to his customers as they came. So they were obliged to depart unsatisfied, to the bitter disappointment of Mr. Sellers.

"It would have been a good plan to have left a note at Dawson's," said Martha, as they entered Skinner Street, and stooped under a clothes-line that stretched across it, loaded with wet linen. "Only I fear that she laid in her store of Christmas groceries yesterday and will not call again for some time. It is a great pity. I should so have liked to invite her to dinner for Christmas-day. Do you not feel with me, dear Charles, that it is a peculiarly suitable time for healing family breaches?"

"You know, Martha, how perfectly I agree with you in most things, and, above all, in your exhibitions of benevolence. But I cannot feel that one day is better than another for performing good actions."

"Nor do I mean to say so. God forbid—But I think times and seasons are requisite for many people, just to remind them of the acts of kindness which they may have neglected to perform. The majority have not yet sufficiently drunk in the spirit of the gospel."

"Look! here is Duke's Yard. What a filthy entry! We shall be ankle-deep in mud."

"Never mind, dear; you need not shrink on my account. My boots are thick, and this stout merino gown will take no damage. My dress is never a hindrance to me."

"See!" said Martha again, pointing to a man who was sitting on the doorstep of a ruinous house in the corner of the yard. "How bitterly that poor fellow is weeping!"

"What is the matter with you, my friend?" inquired Mr. Sellers, going towards him, and laying a kind hand on his shoulder.

The man lifted up a lagged face, that too plainly bore the traces of recent intoxication.

"Bless my soul!" exclaimed Mr. Sellers, "Jack Marvel, is it you?"

Poor Jack recognized his brother-in-law, but the recognition appeared to give him neither surprise nor pleasure. He coldly and distantly shook hands and then relapsed into his fit of weeping.

"Can I do anything for you, Jack?" said Mr. Sellers again. "For old acquaintance' sake, for the memory of your poor sister, my late wife, confide in me."

"Much reason you rich people give one to confide in you," at length Jack replied. "You wish me to trust your friendship. Did you, six years ago, when you all but forbade me your house? You were no doubt afraid that poor, tattered, drunken Jack would disgrace his rich half-sister's funeral, and so you did not even give him notice that she had departed this life."

"No, Jack, I must deceive you there.—At that time, I had lost all trace of you; a heavy trouble had fallen upon my wife, and we seldom saw any one, or went abroad ourselves, except upon necessary business. No, Jack, there you do me wrong."

"So you condescend to justify yourself to me. It is well; times must be changed with you. Come into the house, and learn a lesson upon riches and poverty—a lesson for which you may be the better all your life."

Mr. Sellers turned towards his wife. Her soft dark eyes were brimming over with tears; but she bowed her head, as much as to say, "let us go in."

So they followed Jack, who led them into a damp, mouldy apartment, where a few embers in a rusty grate gave out but a small degree of heat, that was by no means sufficient to dry the humid walls. But there was something there worse than the scent of mould and humidity. Upon an old deal table was raised a white heap, most fearfully like a coffin covered with a ragged tablecloth; and the room was filled with a pungent scratching odor, that caused both Mr. Sellers and Martha to step backwards. They attempted to recover themselves without giving any sign of their disgust, but Jack had perceived the movement, and he laughed bitterly.

"Yes," he said, "you are not deceived. It is a slowly, unhandsome corpse that stands between the wind and your nobility. You cannot breathe five minutes in the same room with it. How would you like to be compelled to eat with it, drink with it, and sleep with it."

"But," said Mr. Sellers, "if you have not funds to bury the body of your poor child—for such I suppose it to be, though I never heard that you were married—if you have not the necessary funds, why did you not apply to me?"

"To the rich brother-in-law, who looked and sneered me out of his house!" said Jack Marvel. "No, nor the poor relation, though reckoned, no doubt, the very scum of the earth, had too much pride for that. I contrived to beg and borrow from better men what would buy my poor boy a coffin, but not until he had lain dead a week. I then, got some of my neighbors to go with me, & we took him to the churchyard, where his poor mother lies—if she hasn't been dug up

to make room for others. There the man who wears a black gown asked me if the child had been baptized. I told him, 'No.' Where were the funds to come from? I should have started a moorh for the burial fees.' So he told me coolly he could not bury it there, and I had better take it away again. There's the difference between your rich and your poor. A poor man can neither get his soul saved nor his dead put out of his sight. You rich men intend to keep heaven very select to them."

Mr. Sellers saw it would be of no use attempting to reason with a desperate man, so he silently placed a couple of sovereigns upon the ragged tablecloth, and told Jack he would endeavor to make some arrangements for the interment of the dead body, which ought not any longer to be delayed. Jack frowned, and was about to refuse the money, but a glance at the little white heap appeared to shake his purpose.

"For his sake; for my boy's sake," he murmured.

Just at this moment, two little girls, who would have been pretty children but for the dirt, and rags, and emaciation that disguised their original appearance, ran in, and shrank back at the sight of the stranger.

"Come in, dears," said the bride; "come in, don't be afraid."

The youngest looked up in her kind face; and, apparently encouraged by what it saw there, came forward, and took hold of her gloved hand with its dirty little fingers.

"I want some bread," it said.

Jack drew it towards him. "Mary shall have some bread soon, and Emma also. It is for the sake of these and that poor lad who three lies dead," he added, turning to Mr. Sellers, "that I do not refuse your dirty gold."

The bride and her husband went silently away. Martha was the first to speak.

"We have now to inquire for Tom Sellers," she said. "God grant that we may not witness such another scene. Oh! my dear Charles, the knowledge that such misery exists in our wealthy manufacturing towns, side by side with the utmost luxury, is enough to make even those who can afford them forego all superfluities forever."

(CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.)

ment of newspapers, the necessity of the same knowledge.

Resolved, That this Convention, recommends the editors of Ohio the propriety of Annual Editorial Conventions.

Resolved, That this Convention appoint a committee of three to make arrangements for a Convention to be held on the 17th of January, 1855, and that said Convention to be held at Zanesville.

Resolved, That all the members of this Convention be requested to send a copy of the account they shall publish of this meeting to the Historical Society at Cincinnati in the Y. M. M. L. Association, and to the State Library at Columbus; and that we request said Societies and Library to preserve the same.

Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the publishers of Ohio, that they introduce, as far as practicable, a system of business, as the same is being more or less adopted in every other; and that for the best interest of the country, that they require pay in advance for jobbing on delivery, and for all advertising when ordered, if for strangers; and that they require pay in advance for newspapers, when sent to persons not known to be responsible.

Resolved, That an intelligent support of the principles of one's party by the editor of a political paper, does not involve the necessity of overlooking or excusing defalcations, speculations or incompetency of his party friends; and that justice, truth, and the highest interests of public morality, and political integrity require that, official delinquency, should be immediately reprehended wherever found.

Resolved, That we earnestly reprobate the practice, (too common amongst political editors,) derogatory of the dignity and well being of the Press, of personal vituperation and abuse, instead of the candid and dispassionate discussions of principles and measures, or an examination of official conduct and qualifications.

APPEAL

TO THE
People of the United States.

SHALL SLAVERY BE PERMITTED IN NEBRASKA!

WASHINGTON, January 19, 1854.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: As Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States, it is our duty to warn our constituents whenever imminent danger menaces the freedom of our institutions; or the permanency of our Union.

Such danger, as we firmly believe, now impends, and we earnestly solicit your prompt attention to it.

At the last session of Congress, a bill for the organization of the Territory of Nebraska passed the House of Representatives with an overwhelming majority. That bill was based on the principle of excluding slavery from the new Territory. It was not taken up for consideration in the Senate, and consequently failed to become a law.

At the present session a new Nebraska bill has been reported by the Senate Committee on Territories, which, should it unhappily receive the sanction of Congress, will open all the unorganized territory of the Union to the ingress of slavery.

We arraign this bill as a gross violation of a sacred pledge; as a criminal betrayal of precious rights; as part and parcel of an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast unoccupied region, immigrants from the Old World and free laborers from our own States, and convert it into a dreary region of despotism inhabited by masters and slaves.

Take your maps, fellow-citizens, we entreat you, and see what country it is which this bill, gratuitously and recklessly, proposes to open to slavery.

From the southwestern corner of Missouri pursue the parallel of 36 deg. 30 min. north latitude, westerly across the Arkansas, across the north fork of Canadian, to the northeastern angle of Texas; then following the northern boundary of Texas to the western limit of New Mexico; then proceed along that western line to its northern termination; then again turn westwardly and follow the northern line of New Mexico to the crest of the Rocky Mountains; then ascend northwardly along the crest of that mountain range to the line which separates the United States from the British possessions in North America, on the 49th parallel of north latitude; then pursue your course eastwardly along that line to the White Earth river, which falls into the Missouri from the north; descend that river to its confluence with the Missouri; descend the Missouri, along the western border of Minnesota, of Iowa, of Missouri, to the point where it ceases to be a boundary line; and enter the State to which it gives its name; then continue your southward course along the western limit of that State to the point from which you set out. You have now made the circuit of the proposed Territory of Nebraska. You have traversed the vast distance of more than three thousand miles. You have traced the outline of an area of four hundred and eighty-five thousand square miles; more than twelve times as great as that of Ohio.

This immense region, occupying the very heart of the North American continent, and larger, by thirty-three thousand square miles, than all the existing free States, excluding California—this immense region, well watered and fertile, through which the middle and northern routes from the Atlantic to the Pacific must pass—this immense region, embracing all the unorganized territory of the nation, except the comparatively insignificant district of Indian Territory north of Red river and between Arkansas and Texas, and now for more than thirty years regarded by the common consent of the American people as consecrated to freedom, by statute and by compact—this immense region, the bill now before the Senate, without reason and without excuse, but in flagrant disregard of sound policy and sacred faith, proposes to open to slavery.

EDITORIAL RESOLUTIONS.

The business resolves of the Ohio Editorial Convention, held at Cincinnati last week, are as follows.

Resolved, That this convention recommends the publication of a volume comprising a history of the periodical press of Ohio.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to superintend the publication, and to engage an editor to arrange the materials which may be furnished by contributors.

Resolved, That we solicit from each editor of the States a history of the Press with which he is connected, together with an account of printing in each town and country.

Resolved, That this convention recommends to all persons learning or who design to learn the printing business, a thorough practical knowledge of photography, and that it urge upon all young men who are fitting themselves to become reporters, or to become otherwise engaged in the Editorial depart-

We beg your attention, fellow-citizens to a few historical facts.

The original settled policy of the United States, clearly indicated by the Jefferson proviso of 1784, and by the ordinance of 1787, was non-extension of slavery.

In 1805, Louisiana was acquired by purchase from France. At that time there were some twenty-five or thirty thousand slaves in this Territory, most of them within what is now the State of Louisiana; a few, only, further north, on the west bank of the Mississippi. Congress, instead of providing for the abolition of slavery in this new Territory, permitted its continuance. In 1812 the State of Louisiana was organized and admitted into the Union with slavery.

In 1818, six years later, the inhabitants of the Territory of Missouri applied to Congress for authority to form a State constitution, and for admission into the Union. There were, at that time, in the whole territory acquired from France, outside of the State of Louisiana, not three thousand slaves.

There was no apology in the circumstances of the country for the continuance of slavery. The original national policy was against it, and, not less, the plain language of the treaty under which the territory had been acquired from France.

It was proposed, therefore, to incorporate in the bill authorizing the formation of a State Government, a provision requiring that the constitution of the new State should contain an article providing for the abolition of existing slavery, and prohibiting the further introduction of slaves.

This provision was vehemently and pertinaciously opposed; but finally prevailed in the House of Representatives by a decided vote. In the Senate it was rejected, and, in consequence of the disagreement between the two Houses, the bill was lost.

At the next session of Congress the controversy was renewed with increased violence. It was terminated, at length, by a compromise. Missouri was allowed to come into the Union with slavery, but a section was inserted in the act authorizing her admission, excluding slavery forever, from all the territory acquired from France, not included in the new State, lying north of 36 deg. 30 min.

We quote the prohibitory section:

Sec. 8. Be it further enacted, That in all territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty six degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than as the punishment of crimes, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited.

The question of the constitutionality of this prohibition was submitted by President Monroe to his cabinet. John Quincy Adams was then Secretary of State; John C. Calhoun was Secretary of war; William H. Crawford was Secretary of the Treasury; and William Wirt was Attorney General. Each of these eminent men, three of them being from slave States, gave a written opinion, affirming its constitutionality, and thereupon the act received the sanction of the President, himself, also, from a slave State.

Nothing is more certain in history than the fact, that Missouri could not have been admitted as a slave State, had not certain members from the free States been in favor of the incorporation of this prohibition into the act of admission. Nothing is more certain than that this prohibition has been regarded and accepted by the whole country as a solemn compact against the extension of slavery into any part of the territory acquired from France, lying north of 36 deg. 30 min., and not included in the new State of Missouri. The same act—let it be ever remembered—which authorized the formation of a constitution for the State, without a clause forbidding slavery, consecrated, beyond recall, the whole remainder of the territory to freedom and free institutions forever. For more than thirty years—during more than half the period of our national existence under our present constitution—this compact has been universally regarded and acted upon as an inviolable American law. In conformity with it, Iowa was admitted as a free State, and Minnesota has been organized as a free Territory.

It is a strange and ominous fact, well calculated to awaken the worst apprehensions, and the most fearful forebodings of future calamities, that it is now deliberately purposed to repeal this prohibition, by implication of directly—the latter, certainly, the manlier way—and thus to subvert this compact, and allow slavery in all the yet unorganized territories.

We cannot, in this address, review the various pretences under which it is attempted to cloak this monstrous wrong; but we must not altogether omit to notice one.

It is said that the Territory of Nebraska sustains the same relations to slavery as did the territory acquired from Mexico prior to 1850, and that the proslavery clauses of the bill are necessary to carry into effect the compromises of that year.

No assertion could be more groundless.

Three acquisitions of territory have been made by treaty. The first was from France. Out of this territory have been created the three slave States of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri, and the single free State of Iowa. The controversy which arose in relation to the then unorganized portion of this territory was closed in 1820, by the Missouri act, containing the slavery prohibition, as has been already stated. This controversy related only to territory acquired from France.

The act, by which it was terminated, was confined, by its own express terms, to the same territory, and had no relation to any other.

The second acquisition was from Spain. Florida, the territory thus acquired, was yielded to slavery without a struggle, and almost without a murmur.

The third was from Mexico. The controversy which arose from this acquisition is fresh in the remembrance of the American people. Out of it sprung the acts of Congress, commonly known as the compromise measures of 1850, by one of which California was admitted as a free State; while two others, organizing the Territories of New Mexico

and Utah, exposed all the residue of the recently acquired territory to the invasion of slavery.

These acts were never supposed to abrogate or touch the existing exclusion of slavery from what is now called Nebraska. They applied to the territory acquired from Mexico, and to that only. They were intended as a settlement of the controversy growing out of that acquisition, and that controversy only. They must stand or fall by their own merits.

The statesmen whose powerful support carried the Utah and New Mexico acts, never dreamed that their provisions would ever be applied to Nebraska. Even at the last session of Congress, Mr. Atchison, of Missouri, in a speech in favor of taking up the former Nebraska bill, on the morning of the 4th of March, 1853, said: "It is evident that the Missouri Compromise cannot be repealed. So far as that question is concerned, we might as well agree to the admission of this Territory now, as next year, or five or ten years hence." These words could not have fallen from this watchful guardian of slavery, had he supposed that this territory was embraced by the pro-slavery provisions of the compromise acts. This pretension had not then been set up. It is a palpable after-thought.

The compromise acts themselves refute this pretension. In the third article of the second section of the joint resolution for annexing Texas to the United States, it is expressly declared that "in such State or States as shall be formed out of said territory north of said Missouri compromise line, slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime, shall be prohibited;" and in the act for organizing New Mexico and settling the boundary of Texas, a proviso was incorporated, on the motion of Mr. Mason, of Virginia, which distinctly preserves this prohibition, and flouts the barefaced pretension that all the territory of the United States, whether south or north of the Missouri compromise line, is to be open to slavery. It is as follows:

"Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to impair or qualify anything contained in the third article of the second section of the joint resolution for annexing Texas to the United States, approved March 1, 1850, either as regards the number of States that may hereafter be formed out of the State of Texas, or otherwise."

Here is proof, beyond controversy, that the principle of the Missouri act prohibiting slavery north of 36 min., far from being abrogated by the compromise acts, is expressly affirmed; and that the proposed repeal of this prohibition, instead of being an affirmation of the compromise acts, is a repeal of a very prominent provision of the most important act of the series. It is solemnly declared in the very compromise acts "that nothing herein contained shall be construed to impair or qualify" the prohibition of slavery north of 36 deg. 30 min., and yet, in the face of this declaration, that sacred prohibition is said to be overthrown. Can presumption further go! To all who, in any way, lean upon these compromises, we commend this exposition.

The pretences, therefore, that the territory covered by the positive prohibition of 1820, sustains a similar relation to slavery with that acquired from Mexico, covered by no prohibition except that of disputed constitutional or Mexican law, and that the compromises of 1850 require the incorporation of the proslavery clauses of the Utah and New Mexico bill in the Nebraska act, are mere inventions, designed to cover up from public reprobation meditated bad faith. Were he living now, no one would be more forward, more eloquent, or more indignant, in his denunciation of that bad faith, than Henry Clay, the foremost champion of both compromises.

In 1820 the slave States said to the free States, "Admit Missouri with slavery and refrain from positive exclusion south of 36 deg. 30 min., and we will join you in perpetual prohibition north of that line. The free States consented. In 1854 the slave States say to the free States, "Missouri is admitted; no prohibition of slavery south of 36 deg. 30 min. has been attempted; we have received the full consideration of our agreement; no more is to be gained by adherence to our part; we, therefore, propose to cancel the compact. If this neg our agnic faith, what is it! Not without the deepest dishonor and crime can the free States acquiesce in this demand.

We confess our total inability properly to delineate the character or describe the consequences of this measure. Language fails to express the sentiments of indignation and abhorrence which it inspires; and no vision, less penetrating and comprehensive than that of the All-Seeing, can reach its evil issues.

To some of its more immediate and inevitable consequences, however, we must attempt to direct your attention.

What will be the effect of this measure, should it unhappily become a law, upon the proposed Pacific railroad? We have already said that two of the principal routes, the central and the northern, traverse this territory. If slavery be allowed there, the settlement and cultivation of the country must be greatly retarded. Inducements to the immigration of free laborers will be almost destroyed. The enhanced cost of construction, and the diminished expectation of profitable returns will present almost insuperable obstacles to building the road at all; while, even if made, the difficulty and expense of keeping it up, in a country from which the energetic and intelligent masses will be virtually excluded, will greatly impair its usefulness and value.

From the rich lands of this large Territory, also, patriotic statesmen have anticipated that a free, industrious, and enlightened population will extract abundant treasures of individual and public wealth. There, it has been expected, freedom-loving emigrants from Europe, and energetic and intelligent laborers from our own land, will find homes of comfort and fields of useful enterprise. If this bill should become a law, all such expectation will turn to grievous disappointment. The blight of slavery will cover the land. The homestead law, should Congress enact one, will be worthless there. Freemen, unless pressed by a hard and cruel necessity, will

*Act of March 1, 1848—U. S. Statutes at Large, 147.
*Congressional Globe, 1849-50, p. 1842; act September 9, 1850—U. S. Statutes at Large, 448.