THE OTTAWA FREE TRADER.

DEMOCRACY IS THE LAW OF NATURE PERVADING THE LAW OF THE LAND.

BY WM. & M. OSMAN. OTTAWA, ILL., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1850. VOL. XI.—NO. 14.

THE FREE TRADER.

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OTTAWA BUSINESS DIRECTORY.

Attorneys.

John H. Murphy, *Attorney and Counsellor at Law*, Ottawa, Illinois. aug 10, 1850. Office in the court house.

J. H. McGregor, *Attorney and Counsellor at Law, Ottawa.* Office one door from corner of La Salle and Canal-sts., directly in front of the court house. Particular attention paid to agencies and collections. ap 20-6m*

Champlin & Wallace, (J. C. Champlin—W. H. L. Wallace,) *Attorneys and Counsellors at Law.* Office up stairs in the next building north of the Post office. nov 23, '49.

E. S. Leland, *Attorney and Counsellor at Law.* Has removed his office from Reddick's block, to the room formerly occupied by the *sheriff*, in the court house, now occupied in part by Lorenzo Leland. may 4 '49

Norris & Fisher, (Geo. H. Norris—Geo. S. Fisher,) *Attorneys at Law and Land Agents, Ottawa, Ill.* Will pay particular attention to the payment of taxes in any part of Illinois, purchasing and selling real estate, investigating titles, collecting demands, buying and selling military land warrants, and locating them on the *best lands* for soldiers or others, securing pensions and all claims against the government. Office in the courthouse. April 18, 1849.

M. E. Hollister, *Attorney and Counsellor at Law, and Solicitor in Chancery—Ottawa, Ill.* Office over the rear of G. Burt's store, opposite the Mansion house. Jan. 1 '49

Glover & Cook, (J. O. Glover—B. C. Cook) *Attorneys and Counsellors at Law—Ottawa.* Office in Reddick's Block, east side of the public square. jun '48-tf

Henry G. Cotton, *Attorney and Counsellor at Law and Solicitor in Chancery—Ottawa, Ills.* Office in Reddick's block, east side of the public square. jun 7 '47

S. S. Randall, *Attorney at Law—Oswego, Kendall Co., Ills.* Aug 10, 1848.-tf

G. A. Ingalls, *Attorney and Counsellor at Law.* Opposite the Sherman House, CHICAGO, Ills. Particular attention paid to Agencies and collecting. mch 23, '49

Physicians & Surgeons.

Drs. Gooding & Hard, (M. A. Gooding, M. D., C. Hard, M. D.,) having formed a partnership in the practice of medicine and surgery, will attend promptly to any business with which they may be favored, in the line of their profession. Office near the corner of La Salle and Madison streets, and one door north of Swift's Law Office, Ottawa, Illinois. aug 30, 1850-tf

Wm. W. Cavarly, *Physician & Surgeon—Reading, Livingston County, Illinois,* offers his professional services to the citizens of Livingston co., and hopes by attention to business, to merit a share of public patronage. -9-50.

H. W. Hopkins, *Physician and Surgeon—Ottawa, Ill.*, offers his professional services to the citizens of Ottawa, and vicinity. Office over the store of H. W. Cheever, next to Walker & Hickling's, where he may be found at all times except when absent on professional business. aug 6 '48

Dr. J. Pearson, *Physician, Surgeon, and Dentist—Ottawa, Ill.*, offers his professional services to the inhabitants of Ottawa and vicinity. Office at his residence on Columbus street.

P. S.—Dr. P. still continues to perform operations in all the various branches of *Dentistry*. Charges to *correspond with the times!* mar 12, '47

D. D. Thompson, M. D., offers his professional services to the citizens of Ottawa and vicinity. Office, next door to the Free Trader office, up stairs, in Reddick's block. ap 20 49

Druggists.

Walker & Hickling, *Dealers in Drugs, Medicines, Paints, Oils, Varnishes, Patent Medicines, Glass, &c.*, Ottawa, Ill.

White & Hunter, *Dealers in Drugs, Medicines, Paints, Oils, Patent Medicines, Varnishes, Dye-stuffs*, No. 2 second store north of the Mansion house, Ottawa, Ill.

G. L. Thompson, *Dealer in Drugs, Patent Medicines, Paints, Oils, Varnishes, Dye-stuffs, &c.* Between City Hotel and Reddick's block.

S. J. Smith, *Dealer in Drugs, Medicines, Paints, Oils, Dye-Stuffs, &c. &c.*, Newark, Kendall county, Illinois.

Storage & Forwarding.

Maurice Murphy,—*Storage, Forwarding and Commission Merchant*, dealer in all kinds of produce.—Warehouse east of Charrauud's warehouse, main canal, Ottawa, Ill. oct 12-6m.

P. E. Charrauud, *Storage & Commission Merchant*—Warehouse east side of the bridge, Main canal, Ottawa, Ill. nov 29

L. Hills, *Storage, Forwarding and Commission Merchant, dealer in all kinds of produce.* Prue's Warehouse, No. 2, Side-cut, Ottawa, Illinois

Hotels.

Fox River House, by L. DELANO, on the canal, near the aqua duct. Canal packets stop regularly at this house.

American House, near the confluence of the Illinois and Fox Rivers, and near the bridge.

Mansion House, Ottawa, Ill., by R THORN. Passengers carried free to and from the canal packets. Stages arrive and depart daily.

Miscellaneous.

P. A. Lantz & Co., *General Dealers in all kinds of Lumber, Lath, Shingles, Sash, Doors, Cedar Posts, &c. &c.*

N. B. A liberal discount made in filling large bills. Yard on Main Canal, formerly occupied by Walker and Hickling. jne 22-47-tf

D. W. C. Gooding, *Saddle, Harness and Trunk Maker, and Carriage Trimmer*, at the sign of "*City Harness Shop*," on Columbus st., 3 doors north of Canal st., Ottawa, Ills.

Thankful for past patronage, no pains shall be spared in the execution of work, and promptness in filling orders to merit the confidence of the public. Please call and examine our work before purchasing elsewhere. jne 1-6m*

G. Burr, *Agent for Protection Insurance Company, Hartford*—opposite the Mansion House.

George Smith, *Fashionable Tailor*, opposite Cushman's store, regularly receives the fashions from the East, and will be happy to make up clothing for all who may favor him with their patronage. A fit warranted in every case. Particular attention paid to *Cutting*. Ottawa, may 10, 1849.

Seth C. Earl, *Carriage, house, and sign Painter, Paperer and Glazier*, Ottawa, Ill. Shop on Columbus street, over Palmer and Gay's wagon and carriage maker shop.

Jacob G. Stone, *Saddle, Harness, and Trunk manufacturer, and Carriage Trimmer*, corner of Canal and Columbus streets, Ottawa. mar 2

Jos. H. Wagner, *Justice of the Peace*, office in the north-east corner of the court house up stairs, *Ottawa.* dec 7 '49

Cabinet Work and Chairs.

UPHOLSTERING & UNDERTAKING.

THE subscriber begs to return thanks for the liberal support given him thus far, and he will try and merit its continuance.

He would respectfully remind his friends and the public that his stock is full of such articles as he finds in demand here, of his own manufacture and imported. *All warranted as represented.*

Walnut Lumber taken in pay for furniture.

He has on hand and makes to order matrasses, cushions, &c., as good and as cheap as they can be bought in St. Louis or Chicago; he also keeps constantly on hand ready made coffins of all sizes. *He keeps a Hearse*, and attends funerals, and his charges will be found *LOW*. PETER RUSSEL.

La Salle st., Ottawa, Aug. 10, 1850.

Select School.

MISS MARY S. LEE designs opening a select school for lads and misses, on Monday, Aug. 25, in the school room back of the Methodist church, formerly occupied by Miss Cody.

Ottawa, Aug. 21.

Business Cards.

J. B. HAMALLE,

WHOLESALE and retail dealer in all kinds of **Confectionary,** Toys Candy, Fruit, &c., Canal-street, a few doors west of La Salle-st., Ottawa.

Wedding and other parties supplied with ornamental confectionary, cakes, ice cream, &c. &c., at short notice. ap 20-6m.

Carriage & Wagon Manufactory.

WM. PALMER returns thanks to the public for the liberal patronage heretofore bestowed on him, and having associated himself with J. G. GAY, he would state that they are prepared to carry on the **Carriage and Wagon Making Business,** in all its various branches. Our stock of lumber is well seasoned, and we are determined to make the best work that is made in the country. Two-horse wagons kept constantly on hand. All who wish to purchase are invited to call and examine for themselves before purchasing elsewhere. Shop on the corner of Columbus and Jefferson streets. Lumber taken in exchange for work. WM PALMER,

Ottawa, feb 11, '48 J. G. GAY

Boat Building and Repairing

DIXON & CHURCHILL

WOULD inform the boating community on the Illinois and Michigan Canal that they have opened a BOAT YARD, on the Fox River Feeder, 200 yards from the main canal, at OTTAWA, Ill., where they are prepared to do anything in the line of hauling out and repairing boats, at the shortest notice and in the best possible manner and on reasonable terms. May 3, 1850.-6m.

Wagon Making and Blacksmithing!

Z. BARNARD,

TAKES this method to return his thanks to his friends for the liberal patronage which they have extended to him thus far, and as he has just completed several important improvements in his already extensive establishment, he hopes to gain a still more liberal and extensive patronage from his friends and the community at large. In making

Wagons and Buggies

He flatters himself that he can not beat any establishment in the country, for neat and substantial workmanship. He employs none but the very best mechanics, and warrants the woodwork, ironing, and painting, of his wagons and buggies to be unsurpassed by anything of the kind in the state. All kinds of **Blacksmithing** Done in a superior manner and with despatch.

HORSE SHOEING,

which he had abandoned for a while, has been recommenced. Having employed an excellent shoer he invites those of his friends who have horses to shoe, to bring them along; for he knows he can give satisfaction to the hardest to please.

His Material is of the best quality. He uses no wood in his wagons but such as is thoroughly seasoned, and none but the best iron.

In all his work his prices will correspond with the times; and with his present facilities he feels confident that he can do his work handsomer, better, and stronger, and at prices as low as can be done any where in the west. Give him a call and try him for yourselves.

☞ *CASH* paid for seasoned wood for spokes and axles. Ottawa, April 27, 1850.-39-tf.

Horse Shoeing and Farriery.

THE subscriber begs leave to annouce to the public that he has opened an establishment in Columbus street, near the Catholic Church, where the business of horse shoeing and farriery will be conducted on the most scientific principles. It is generally admitted that too many of those who practice shoeing are totally ignorant of its principles, thereby producing the numerous cases of contractions and diseases of the feet daily witnessed. It really becomes the duty of every one who values a good horse, so essential to his profit as well as his pleasure, to secure the services of a good farrier for so useful an animal.

Fifteen years practical experience, it is hoped, will enable the subscriber to follow a correct system, calculated to prevent diseases consequent on unskillful shoeing; and when necessary, to remedy the errors of the past. P. FANNING.

Ottawa, Nov. 0, 848. 16

Chain Pumps.

WE would call the attention of the public generally and to farmers and stock growers in particular, to the utility and durability of the above named article. For ordinary purposes, they are superior to all other pumps as they cannot freeze or injure the water, and on account of a remarkable simplicity in construction, are not liable to get out of order or to be deranged. A child of 8 or 10 years of age can draw water from ordinary wells with ease and safety.

All orders left at John Hossack's office, Ottawa, will be promptly attended to. F. W. ROWE.

Ottawa, Sept. 14

Blacksmithing.

THE undersigned having commenced the above business in the shop formerly occupied by Richard Pembroke, will pay particular attention to shoeing horses, and having had much experience in this branch of the business, and from his success in shoeing, not only for service, but to prevent interfering, and to relieve the various diseases of the hoof, &c., he hopes to secure a share of public patronage.

May 11th, JOHN ROSY.

HACKS AGAIN!

Brunker's Rifle Manufactory.

THE subscriber having returned from the east after visiting the principal manufactories, he is now prepared to manufacture the celebrated Increase or Gaining Twist Rifle, which he warrants to be equal to any made in this state or elsewhere. He will also keep constantly on hand and for sale, a good assortment of double and single barrelled Fowling pieces, Powder Flasks, Game Bags, Shot Pouches, Percussion Caps, and a superior article of Sporting Powder.

All kinds of jobbing in the gunsmith line done with neatness and despatch.

Shop on the east side of Columbus st., one door south of the Union House. june 22-tf

CABINET Ware House, AND CHAIR MANUFACTORY.

JOHN TATHAM respectsully announces to the citizens of Ottawa that he has taken the cabinet Establishment lately occupied by W. MOORE and that he has now on hand and is manufacturing all kinds of Furniture and Chairs at his shop on La Salle st, such as card, centre, and dining Tables; bureaus; bedsteads of all kinds, cane, flag, and wood seat chairs. He also keeps on hand looking glasses, picture frames, &c.

All work sold by him is warranted well made, and cheap as can be bought any where in this country.

N. B.—Coffins kept on hand and made to order on short notice, and funerals attended with a hearse. Interment privileges in the Cemetery at $1 each.

Ottawa, July 27, 1850

Superfine Flour.

THE subscriber has on hand superfine Flour, from Leonard & Eaton's mills, put up expressly for family use. Warranted good—subject to be returned. Ottawa, mar 1. G. L. THOMPSON.

Boots and Shoes.

SPLENDID stock of boys calf, kip, seal, and coarse boots and shoes. Ladies and misses bootees, kid slips, silk and prunella gaiters, and excelsiors; some new styles just received by

May 3, 1850. L. P. SANGER & Co.

Paints, Oils, &c.

WHITE Lead, linseed and lard oils, whiting, glass, sash, door trimmings, &c., just received at [may 3] CUSHMAN'S.

Wheat or Cash

MUST pay some accounts and notes at J. G. Nattinger's *very soon.* Aug. 24.

WANTED!

ANY quantity of wheat, oats, barley, and most kinds of produce in exchange for debts, goods, or cash. july 20 L. P. SANGER & Co.

20 Plows.

J. G. NATTINGER has a new supply of the Grand Detour plows on hand. The present stock will be found superior to the plows heretofore sold in this place. The manufacturer has added several important improvements. Persons wanting breaking plows can be supplied. Ottawa, mar 2.

380 BOXES glass, assorted sizes, from 7x9 to 12x20, also Glassware, plain and fluted, and sham bottomed Tumblers, just rec'd from the manufactures and for sale by *Walker & Hickling.*

SPEECH OF

Hon. Stephen A. Douglas,

ON THE

"MEASURES OF ADJUSTMENT,"

DELIVERED IN THE CITY HALL, CHICAGO, ON THE 23D OF OCTOBER, 1850.

The agitation on the subject of Slavery now going on through this broad Republic, presents an extraordinary spectacle.

Congress, after a session of nine months, has succeeded in passing a system of measures which are believed to be just to all parts of the country and ought to be satisfactory to the people.

In some of the southern states we find that extra sessions of the Legislature are being called for the purpose of organizing systematic and efficient measures of resistance to the execution of the laws of the Union, and for the adoption of disunion as the remedy. These votes of congress are to be forcibly resisted at the south, upon the ground that they are a base surrender to the north of all southern rights. At the north the people are called upon to resist them upon the ground that they sacrifice the rights and interests of the north, and surrender everything to the south.

At the south these measures are denounced as a disgraceful concession to Free Soilism, for the purpose of securing Abolition votes. At the north the same measures are denounced with equal violence as a total abandonment of the rights of Freemen for the purpose of conciliating the slave power.

For these contradictory reasons the people at each end of the Union are appealed to resist by violence the laws of the land and the authority of the federal government even unto death and disunion.

The southern nullifiers repudiate the authority of the highest judicial tribunal on earth, because they allledge it to be a pliant and corrupt instrument in the hands of northern Abolitionism. Here we are told that the same exalted Tribunal is a corrupt and supple instrument in the hands of the slave power.

Strange and irreconcilible positions! Both cannot be true, and, I trust in God, neither may prove to be. We have fallen on evil times, when passion and prejudice can so far blind the judgment and deaden the consciences of men that the truth cannot be seen and felt.

The people at one end of the Union or the other are acting under a fatal delusion upon this subject. Should we not pause, consider and reflect whether it is we or they that have been so grossly deceived? It is my purpose this evening to give a candid and impartial exposition of these measures, to the end that the truth may be known. It does not become a free people to rush madly and blindly into violence and bloodshed, and death, and disunion, without first satisfying our consciences upon whose souls the guilty consequences must rest.

These measures, known as the Compromise scheme, are 6 in number.

1. The admission of California with her free constitution.

2. The creation of a Territorial Government for Utah, leaving the people to regulate their own domestic institutions.

3. The creation of a Territorial Government for New Mexico, with like provisions.

4. The adjustment of the disputed Boundary with Texas.

5. The abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

6. The Fugitive Slave Bill.

The first three of these measures, California, Utah, and New Mexico, I prepared with my own hand, and reported from the committee on Territories as its chairman in the precise shape in which they now stand on the Statute Book, with one or two unimportant amendments, for which I also voted. I therefore hold myself as responsible to you as my constituents, for these measures as they passed. If there is anything wrong in them, hold me accountable—if there is anything of merit, give it to those who passed the bills. These measures are predicated on the great fundamental principle that every people ought to possess the right of forming and regulating their own internal affairs and domestic institutions, in their own way. I believe that those of our fellow citizens who have or may emigrate to California, Utah, or New Mexico, have lost none of their intelligence and patriotism by the wayside. I believe that after their arrival there and when they had become familiar with the country and identified their interests with it, they are fully as competent to judge for themselves what kind of laws and institutions are best adapted to their condition, as we are who never saw the country, and know very little about it. To question their competency to do this, is to deny their capacity for self-government. If they have the requisite intelligence and honesty to be entrusted with the enactment of laws for the government of white men, I know of no reason why they should not be deemed competent to legislate for the negroes. If they are sufficiently enlightened to make laws for the protection of life, liberty, and property, of morals and education,—to regulate the relations of husband and wife, of parent and child, I am not aware that it requires any higher degree of civilization to regulate the affairs of master and servant. These things are all confided by the Constitution to each state to decide for itself, and I know of no reason why the same principle should not be extended to the territories. My votes and actions have been in accordance with this principle in all cases, except the instance in which I voted under your instructions. That was your vote, and not mine. I do hold myself responsible for it. I believed then, and believe now, that it was better for the cause of freedom, of humanity, and of republicanism, to leave the people interested to settle all these questions for themselves. They have intellects and consciences as well as we, and have more interest in doing that which is best for themselves and their posterity than we have, as their self-constituted and officious guardians. I deem it fortunate for the country that the Congress of the United States took the same views on the subject and passed the bills in the shape in which I originally reported them. So far as the question of slavery is concerned, I am sure that any man who will take the pains to examine the history of the question, will come to the conclusion that this is the true policy, as well as the sound republican doctrine.

Mr. Douglas here went into an historical view of the subject, to show that slavery had never been in fact excluded from one inch of the American continent. When the Federal Constitution of '87, twelve of the thirteen states then composing the Confederation held slaves, and sustained the institution of slavery by their laws. Since that period slavery has been abolished in six of these twelve original slave states. How was this effected? By the Wilmot Proviso? Nobody had ever heard of Mr. Wilmot in those days! Was it done by an act of Congress? No! Congress had no power over the subject, and never attempted to interfere with it. Slavery was abolished in those states, by the people of each acting for themselves, and upon their own motion and responsibility. The people became convinced that it was for their interests and the interests of their posterity, pecuniarily and morally, and they did it of their own free will, and rigidly enforced their own laws. So it was in the northwest territory. By the act of Congress known as the Ordinance of '87, slavery was prohibited by LAW, but not excluded in fact.

Slavery existed in the territories of Illinois and Indiana in spite of the Ordinance, under the authority of the territorial laws. Illinois was a slaveholding territory in defiance of the act of Congress, but became a free state by the action of the people when they framed our State Constitution, preparatory to their admission into the Union. Oregon prohibited slavery by the action of the people under their provisional government before Congress established a Territorial Government. In short, wherever slavery has been excluded, and free institutions established prior to the Mexican law, it was done by the voluntary action of the people interested, and not by act of Congress. Whenever Congress attempted to interfere in opposition to the wishes of the people of the territory, its action remained a dead letter upon the Statute Book, and the people took such legislative action as comported with their wishes and supposed interests. Mr. Douglas then referred to the territories organised from Mexico and called the attention of the audience to the fact that the abolitionists and free soilers all predicated that slavery would certainly go into those territories unless Congress interfered and prohibited it by law, and condemnedd him because he was not opposed to such interference. The problem is now solved who was right and who was wrong in that controversy. Congress did not adopt the Wilmot Proviso, did not prohibit slavery in those territories by law, and yet slavery does not exist there. In California it was prohibited by the people in the Constitution with which that state was admitted into the Union. It is well known that the people of New Mexico, when they formed a Constitution with the view of asking admission into the Union, also prohibited slavery. These facts show conclusively that all the predictions of the abolitionists upon this subject have been falsified by history, and that my own have been literally fulfilled. I refer to these facts, not in the spirit of self gratulation, but to show that these men, who have alarmed the friends of freedom and for a time partially controlled the popular sentiment, were themselves mistaken and misled their followers, at the same time that their doctrine was at war with the whole spirit of our republican institutions.

The bill for the adjustment of the Texas boundary, to which I gave a cordial support, I shall pass by without comments for the reason that I have heard no complaints against it since my return home. The next in the series of measures was the bill for the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. To this I also gave my cordial support. I have heard no complaints against it, and have listened in vain for one word of approval from the advocates of abolition and nullification. While the whole series of the compromise measures are denounced in coarse and unmeasured terms by the Northern nullifiers, not one word of congratulation to the friends of freedom—not a word of approval of the act of the conduct of those who voted for it, is allowed to escape their lips. All the other measures of the scheme of adjustment are attempted to be kept in the back ground and concealed from the public view in order that more prominence and importance may be given to what they are pleased to call the "INFAMOUS FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL."

Before I proceed to the exposition of this bill, I will read the preamble and resolutions passed by the Common Council of this city, last evening. Mr. Douglas, then read the preamble and resolutions, as follows:

Whereas, The constitution of the United States provides the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended unless, when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it; and,

Whereas, The late act of congress, purporting to be for the recovery of fugitive slaves, virtually suspends the Habeas Corpus and abolishes the right of Trial by Jury, and by its provisions, not only fugitive slaves, but white men, "owing service" to another, in another state, viz: the apprentice, the mechanic, the farmer, the laborer engaged on contract or otherwise, whose terms of service are unexpired, may be captured and carried away summarily, and without legal resource of any kind; and,

Whereas, No law can be legally or morally binding on us, which violates the provisions of the Constitution; and,

Whereas, Above all, in the responsibilities of human life, and the practice and propagation of Christianity, the laws of God should be held paramount to all human compacts and statutes: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the free states, who aided and assisted in the passage of this infamous law, and those who basely sneaked away from their seats, and thereby evaded the question, richly merit the reproach of all lovers of freedom, and are fit only to be ranked with the traitors, Benedict, Arnold and Judas Iscariot, who betrayed his Lord and Master for 30 pieces of silver.

And *Resolved*, That the citizens, officers, and police of the city be, and they are hereby requested to abstain from any and all interference in the capture and delivering up of the fugitive from unrighteous oppression, of whatever nation, name, or color.

Resolved, That the fugitive slave law lately passed by Congress is a cruel and unjust law and ought not to be respected by any intelligent community, and that this Council will not require the city Police to render any assistance for the arrest of fugitive slaves.

Ayes—Aldermen Milliken, Loyd, Sherwood, Foss, Throop, Sherman, Richards, Brady and Dodge.

Nays—Ald. Page and Williams.

But for the passage of these resolutions, said Mr. D., I should not have addressed you this evening, nor, indeed, at any time, before my return to the seat of Government. I have no desire to conceal or withhold my opinions,—no wish to avoid the responsibility of a full and frank expression of them upon this and all other subjects, which were embraced in the action in the last session of Congress. My reasons for wishing to avoid public discussion at this time, were to be found in the state of my health, and the short period allowed me to remain among you. Now for the resolutions. I make no criticism upon the language in which they are expressed. That is a matter of taste, and in everything of that kind I defer, to the superior refinement of our City Fathers. But it cannot be disguised, that the polite epithets of "traitors, Benedict, Arnold and Judas Iscariot who betrayed his Lord and Master for thirty pieces," will be understood abroad as having a direct and personal application to my esteemed colleague, General Shields and myself, whatever may have been the intention of those who voted for the resolutions. I will do the members of the Council the justice to say that I do not—cannot believe that they intended to make such an application. But their secret intentions are of little consequence, when they give their official sanction to a charge of infamy clothed in such language that every man who reads it must give it a personal application. But the affair looks strange and even ludicrous, when contrasted with the cordial reception and public demonstrations of kindness and confidence, and even gratitude for supposed services, extended to my colleague and myself, upon our arrival in this city one week ago. Then we were welcomed home as public benefactors and invited to partake of a public dinner, by an invitation numerously signed, by men of all parties and shades of opinion. The invitation had no sooner been declined, for reasons which were supposed to be satisfactory, and my colleague started for his home, than the Common Council, who are presumed to speak officially for the whole population of the city, attempted to brand their honored guests with infamy and denounce them as Benedict Arnolds and Judas Iscariots! I have read somewhere that it was a polite custom, in other countries and a different age, to invite their friends to a feast, in order to secure a convenient opportunity to admin ister the Hemlock! I acquit the Council of any design of introducing that custom into our hospitable city. But I have done with this subject, so far as it has a personal application.

It is a far more important and serious matter when viewed with reference to the principles involved, and the consequences which may result.

The Common Council of the city of Chicago, have assumed themselves the right, and actually exercised the power of determining the validity and constitutionality of an act of Congress, and have declared it void upon the ground that it violates the constitution of the United States! They have gone further. They have declared by a solemn official act that an act of the American Congress, "ought not to be respected by an intelligent community," and have called upon the police of the city to abstain from rendering any aid or assistance in its execution! What is this, but naked, unmittigated nullification? An act of Congress nullified by the Common Council of the city of Chicago! Whence did the Council derive their authority? I have been able to find no such provision in the city charter, nor am I aware that the Legislature of Illinois, is vested with any rightful power to confer such authority. I have yet to learn that a subordinate municipal corporation is licensed to raise the standard of rebellion and throw off the authority of the Federal Government at pleasure! This is a wonderful improvement upon South Carolinian nullification. It dispenses with trouble, delay, and expense of convening legislatures and assembling conventions of the people, for the purpose of resolving themselves back into their original elements preparato to the contemplated revolution. It has the high merit of marching directly to its object, and by a simple resolution, written and adopted on the same night, relieving the people from their oath and allegiance, and of putting the nation and its laws at defience! It has therefore been supposed by men of antiquated notions, who have not kept up with the progress of the age, that the Supreme Court of the United States was invested with the power of determining the validity of an act of Congress passed in pursuance of the forms of the Constitution. This was the doctrine of the entire north, and of the whole Union, when it became necessary to exert the whole power of the government to put down South Carolina nullification. But the spirit of the age is progressive, and is by no means confined to a advancement in the arts and physical sciences. The science of politics and government is also rapidly advancing to maturity and perfection. It is not long since, that I heard a distinguished lawyer of this city, propose an important reform in the admirable judicial system of the state, which he thought would render it perfect. It was so simple and eminently practicable, that it could not fail to excite the admiration of even the casual inquirer. His proposition was, that our judicial system should be so improved as to allow an appeal on all constitutional questions from the Supreme Court of this state, to 2 Justices of the Peace.—When that shall have been effected but one other reform will be necessary to render our national system perfect, and that is to change the Federal Constitution, so as to authorize an appeal on all questions touching the validity of all acts of Congress, from the Supreme Court of the United States to the Common Council of the City of Chicago!

So much for the general principles involved in the acts of the Council.

I will now examine briefly, the specific grounds of objection urged by the Council against the Fugitive Slave Bill, as reasons why it should not be obeyed.

The objections are 2 in number.

First—That it suspends the writ of Habeas Corpus in time of Peace, in violation of the Constitution.

Secondly—That it abolishes the right of Trial by Jury.

How the Council obtained the information that these 2 odious provisions were contained in that law, I am unable to divine. One thing is certain, that the members of the Council who voted for these resolutions, had never read the law, or they would have discovered their mistake. There is not one word in the law in respect to the writ of Habeas Corpus, or the right of Trial by Jury. Neither of these subjects are mentioned or referred to. The law is entirely silent on these points. Is it to be said that an act of Congress, which is silent upon the subject, ought to be construed to repeal a great constitutional right by implication? Besides, this act is amendatory—amendatory only of the old law—the act of 1793,—but does not repeal it. The terms of the 2 laws in this respect are precisely the same. Both are silent in respect to the writ of Habeas Corpus, and the right of Trial by Jury. If to be silent is to suspend the one and abolish the other, then the mischief was done by the old law 57 years ago. If this construction be true, then the writ of Habeas Corpus was suspended or abolished for 57 years without any body ever discovering the fact, or if knowing it, without making a murmur or complaint.

Mr. Douglas then read the whole of the act of 93. We copy that part which relates to Fugitive Slaves:

§ 3. That when a person held to labor in any of the United States, or in any of the territories on the north-west or south of the river Ohio, under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other of the said states or territory, the person to whom such labor or service may be due, his agent, or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labor, and to take him or her before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing or being within the state, or before any magistrate of a county, city or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made, and upon proof to the satisfaction of such judge or magistrate, either by oral testimony or affidavit, taken before and certified by a magistrate of any such state or territory, that the person so seized or arrested doth, under the laws of the state or territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge or magistrate to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his agent, or attorney, which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labor, to the state or territory from which he or she fled.

§ 4. That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct or hinder such claimant, his agent, or attorney, in so seizing or arresting such fugitive from labor, or shall rescue such fugitive from such claimant, his agent, or attorney, when so arrested, pursuant to the authority herein given or declared; or shall harbor or conceal such person, after notice that he or she was a fugitive from labor, as aforesaid, shall for either of the said offences, forfeit and pay the sum of $500. Which penalty may be recovered by and for the benefit of such claimant, by action of debt, in any court proper to try the same; saving, moreover, to the person claiming such labor or service, his right of action for or on account of, the said injuries, or either of them. [*Approved February* 12, 1793.]

The charge in reference to the Habeas Corpus and Trial by Jury is untrue, whatever construction you give to the new law. If to be silent was to repeal, then it was done by the old law, and not by the amendment or new law as it is called. If it does not suspend or abolish either, there is no cause for complaint. But I maintain that the writ of Habeas Corpus is applicable to the case of the arrest of a fugitive under this law, in the same sense in which the Constitution intended to confer it, and to the fullest extent for which that writ is ever rightfully issued in any case. In this I am fully sustained by the opinion of Mr. Crittenden, the Attorney General of the United States. As soon as this bill passed the two Houses of Congress an abolition paper raised the alarm that the Habeas Corpus had been suspended. The cry was eagerly caught up and transmitted by lightning upon the wires to every part of the Union by those whose avocation is agitation. The President of the United States, previous to signing the bill, referred it to the Attorney General for his opinion, upon the point whether any portion of it violated any of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and especially whether it could possibly be construed to suspend the writ of Habeas Corpus.

I have the opinion of the attorney General before me in which he gives it at his decided opinion that every part of the law is entirely consistent with the Constitution and that it does not sustend the writ of Habeas Corpus. I would commend the entire argument of the Attorney General to the careful perusal of those who have doubts upon this subject.—Upon the presentation of this opinion and with full confidence in its soundness, President Fillmore signed the bill.

Here Mr. Douglas was interrupted by a person present who called his atention to the last clause of the seventh Section of the bill as follows, and asked him what construction he put upon it if it did not suspend the writ of Habeas Corpus:

"And the certificates in this and the first section mentioned shall be conclusive of the right of the persons in whose favor granted to remove such fugitive to the State or Territory from which he escaped, *and shall prevent* all molestation of said person or persons by any process issued by any court, judge, magistrate, or any person whomsoever."

Mr. Douglas in reply, expressed his thanks to the gentleman who propounded the inquiry. His object was to meet every point and remove every doubt that could possibly be raised, and he expressed the hope that every gentleman present would exercise the privilege of asking him questions upon any point upon which he was not entirely satisfied. He then proceeded to answer the question propounded in regard to the sixth section. That section provides for the arrest of the fugitive and a trial before the Commissioner, and if the facts of servitude, ownership, and escape, be established by competent testimony, the Commissioner shall grant a certificate to that effect, which certificate shall be conclusive of the person in whose favor it is issued, to remove the fugitive to the State from which he fled. Then comes the clause which is supposed to suspend the Habeas Corpus: "And shall prevent all molestation of said person or persons by any process issued by any court, judge, magistrate, or other person whomsoever." The question is asked whether the writ of Habeas Corpus is not a "process" within the meaning of this law. I answer that it undoubtedly is such a "process," and that it may be issued by any court or judge having competent authority not for the purpose of "molesting" a claimant having a servant in his possession *with such a certificate* from the United States Commissioner, but for the purpose of ascertaining the fact whether he has such a certificate or not; and if so, whether it be in due form of law; and if not, by what authority he holds the servant in custody.—Upon the return of the writ of Habeas Corpus the claimant will be required to exhibit to the judge his authority for convicting that servant back, and if he produces a certificate from the U. S. Commissioner in due form of law, the court will decide that it has no power to molest the claimant in the exercise of his rights under the law. But if the claimant is unable to produce such a certificate, or produce such a certificate, or produce one which is not in conformity with law, the court will set the servant at liberty, for the very reason that the law has not been complied with. The sole object of the writ of the writ of the writ of Habeas Corpus is to ascertain by what authority a person is held in custody—to release him if no such authority be shown, and to refrain from any "molestation" of the claimant if legal authority be produced. The Habeas Corpus is necessary therefore to carry the fugitive law into effect, and at the same time to prevent a violation of the rights of freedom under it. It is essential to the security of the claimant as well as the protection of the rights of those liable to be arrested under it. The reason that the writ of Habeas Corpus was not mentioned in the Bill, was not suspended on the one hand, nor expressely provided for on the other, must be obvious. The object of the new law seems to have been to amend the old one in those particulars where experience had proven amendments to be necessary, and in all other respects to leave it precisely as it had stood for fifty-seven years. The provisions of the old law had been submitted to the test of long experience, and subjected to the scrutiny of the Bar and the judgment of the courts. The writ of Habeas Corpus was considered to exist, and was always resorted to when a proper case arose.

In amending the law, there was no necessity for any new provision upon this subject, because no body desired to change it in this respect. But why this extraordinary effort on the part of the professed friends of the black man to force such a construction upon the law as to deprive him of the writ of Habeas Corpus? The law does not do so in terms. If it is ever accomplished it must be done by construction.

One would naturally suppose that if there was any doubt as to what is the true construction, that those who claim to be the especial and exclusive friends of the negro, would contend for that constitution which is most favorable to liberty, justice, and humanity. But not so—Directly the reverse is the fact. They exhaust their learning and exert all their ingenuity and skill to deprive the negro of all rights under the law. And all this is done to make the law odious, and of exciting prejudice and odium against all who voted for it, or were unavoidably absent when it was passed.

Now a word or two in regard to the right of trial by jury. The city Council in their resolutions say that this law abolishes the right. I have already shown you that the Council are mistaken—that the law is silent upon the subject, and stands now precisely as it has stood for half a century. If there is any error in the law as it now stands upon that point, the error was committed by our fathers in 1793. The new act neither takes away or confers the right of trial by jury. It leaves that right just where our fathers and the Constitution left it under the old law. That the right of trial by jury exists in this country for all men, black or white, free or bond, guilty or innocent, no man will deny, who knows anything upon the subject. The right is of universal application, and exists alike in all the States of this Union—always has existed and always will exist, in spite of the fugitive slave law, so long as the Constitution of the United States shall be respected and maintained. The only question is, *where* shall this jury trial take place? Shall the jury trial take place in the State where the arrest is made, or the State from which the person escaped?—Upon this point the new law says nothing, and of course leaves the matter as it stood under the old law. The old law was silent also upon this point, and therefore left the courts to decide it under the constitution. The courts held that the jury trial must take place in the State under whose requisition the question arose, and whose laws were alledged to have been violated. The same construction has always been given to the law for surrendering fugitives from justice. It provides for sending back the fugitive, but says nothing about the jury trial, or where it shall take place—Whoever supposed that the act abolished the right of trial by jury? Every day's practice teaches us otherwise. The jury trial is always had in the state from which the fugitive fled. So it is with a fugitive from labor. When he returns or is surrendered under the law, he is entitled to a trial by jury of his right of freedom, and always has it if he demands it. There is great uniformity in the modes of proceeding in the southern states in this respect. When the supposed slave sets up his claim to the judge or other officer, that he is free, and claims his freedom, it becomes the duty of the court to issue its summons to the master to appear in court with the alledged slave, and there to direct an issue