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NUMBER 46

## Speech of Senator Douglas on the Crittenden Amendment.

Mr. Douglas asked that the report of the Committee of Thirteen be taken up. Mr. D. proceeded to address the Senate. He said he had no public life ever given him so much as to vote for the resolution. The Committee could not agree. In order to see the real cause of the trouble, he must go back to the late election. He would assume that whenever Congress undertook to act on the question of slavery, discord and agitation were to follow. When Congress left the question alone there was peace. He referred to the excitement when the Missouri Compromise was enacted. The fearful agitation of 1820 was settled by the establishment of a compromise line. So long as that adjustment was carried out there was peace and quiet. Texas was adjusted quietly under that rule, though there was great controversy. But when the objection, because it extended that line. Again, California and New Mexico were acquired, and the extension of the line to the Pacific Ocean was demanded. The records show that he reported, as Chairman of the Committee, a resolution to extend the line to the Pacific. This was adopted in the Senate, but when it was sent to the House it was rejected by the Northern vote. That opened the flood gates of the agitation of 1848, which only was settled by the Missouri Compromise of 1850. Then we shall see the question in the Territories, then we shall see it entirely. The Abolitionists could never have brought the Union to the verge of dissolution, but for the question in the Territories. It was a rejection of the extension of the Missouri line of 1820. The Missouri line of 1820 was repeated. The positions of the North and the South were the same. The purest patriots in the land were alarmed, and Mr. Clay came back to the Senate to see if he could not bring back peace. He found no doubt that the Southern mind was set, but he could find no support of this line from the South. The Missouri line was abandoned because the friends said they could not carry it out in good faith. Then they turned to the next best thing, and that was to take the question out of Congress and secure the country. At last it was decided to leave the question to the people of the Territories themselves. The records show that he supported both compromises, and for the same reason. Peace followed all over the country. But in 1850 it became necessary to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The Committee in forming the bill, determined to carry out the compromise measures of 1850. The records show that he supported the Missouri Compromise as long as it could be carried out, and he was immediately raised that the Committee were violating a sacred compromise. But the bill did not mention the Missouri Compromise, but did give the people the privilege of settling the question for themselves. The records show that the Government might be divided into three parts. Before 1820, the Government admitted many territories, and all was peace. After the agitation of 1820 was settled, all was peace again till 1850. We come now to the country into this state of discord. It is for you to say not to see facts which do exist. The result of the recent election, in connection with all the circumstances with which it is surrounded, has led the people of the South to form the conviction that it is a fixed policy of the dominant party of the North to invade and destroy their constitutional rights, and they are ready to rush, rashly, I think, into all the horrors of revolution and disunion, rather than to submit to what they think the impending blow will be longer over them. The Senator from Ohio, (Mr. Wade), acknowledged the existence of this conviction in the minds of Southern people, and said he did not doubt that it had misrepresents, or misrepresents the policy of the Republican party, yet he advocates a policy which will not relieve those apprehensions, but threatens them with war and coercion, rather than to give them security. It matters not whether these dangers were real or imaginary, if the Southern people are prepared to take a position which will plunge us into disunion and discord forever. I regret that any one on this floor should have introduced party politics, and endeavored to make party capital out of any question affecting the peace and safety of the country. But since the Senator has attempted to make the Northern Democracy responsible for the resolution, I am forced to enquire whether the charge be true. There is no man living who would be better pleased to know that the bill misrepresents, or misrepresents the policy of the Republican party, than I am. I would like to know whether that Senator will now deny that the policy of that party to conduct slavery within its present limits, by the action of the Federal Government. Whether it is the policy of that party to exclude slavery from the Territories, we now possess, or whether we may hereafter acquire? Whether or not that party is in favor of returning fugitives from their masters from whom they may escape. In short, I will give him the opportunity of saying now, whether it is not the policy of that party to exclude all the powers of the Federal Government, under the Constitution, to restrain and cripple the institution of slavery; with a view to its ultimate extinction in the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. All these questions were most pertinently answered in the speech to which we now profess to make an answer. I have nothing to add to it.

Mr. Douglas did not expect an unequivocal answer. I know too well that Senator will not express his individual policy, and the policy of the Republican party, as he understands it. The hardest thing I have said of the Republican party was that they intended to use the power of the Government with a view to the ultimate extinction of slavery in the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. I have said, and have believed it, and I would rejoice to be corrected, that it is the policy of that party to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States now owned or to be acquired. I have said, and have believed it, that the Slave States with a cord of Abolition States, and thus keep slavery confined till the number increases beyond the capacity of the States to feed them, and thus force them to die of starvation, as a means of getting rid of the colored slave in the name of humanity and Christianity. I have said that in Illinois, in the Abolition portions of the State, but never said it in a Slave State. I have always been exceedingly mild in speaking of that party in the Slaveholding States. But inasmuch as I did not get a direct answer from the Senator, I will refer to the sentiments of the Northern Democracy. I will refer to the sentiments of the President elect, and see what he says on

that subject. The Republicans have taken pains to publish reports of the debates between Mr. Lincoln and myself, and I may say they are unfair to me, as Mr. Lincoln had an opportunity to correct his speeches, and the printer struck out many portions of my replies. (Mr. Douglas then read from Mr. Lincoln's speech, where he speaks of the House being divided against itself, and that the crisis must come, and the States must all become one thing or the other, etc., and proceeded.) When the Republican Committee publish an edition of Mr. Lincoln's speeches containing sentiments like these, is it surprising that the people of the South think he was in earnest, and intended to carry out the policy which he then announced? I should not revive such revolutionary sentiments, but for the attempt to rest the responsibility upon the Northern Democracy, clearly intimating that Mr. Pate and myself were the chief authors of these misrepresentations. I would like to find any one man, on that side of the Chamber in the confidence of the President elect, who would deny that it is the policy to carry out the things to which I have referred. I had hoped, however, and take pleasure in saying, that I don't believe the Southern States are in any danger, or ought to have any apprehension, that Mr. Lincoln or any of his party can do any harm or render insecure their rights to persons or property anywhere in this country. I had more faith too, that Mr. Lincoln, after having emerged from the surroundings of a small county village, and assumed the high responsibilities of administering the law, and protecting the rights of a great nation, will sink the partisan in the patriot, and abandon the extreme doctrines, and step forward and avow his willingness to save the country by repudiating the extreme doctrines of his party. But he that as it may neither be nor his party will have power to invade the rights of any party in this Union. I had hoped, therefore, that the Southern people would have been content to remain in the Union, under the Constitution, instead of rushing into revolution, and preparing themselves to meet whatever consequences may follow. This apprehension has become wide-spread, and taken possession of the Southern mind, and sunk deep into the Southern heart and filled them with the convictions that their families, their property, their domestic institutions, are to be gradually destroyed through the machinery of the Federal Government. The Senator from Ohio tells us he don't blame you Southern Senators for believing these things, and yet instead of doing those acts which will relieve your apprehensions, and render it impossible for them to be perpetrated, talks about force, war, armies and navies. In the name of the Union who are the Disunionists? Those who pursue a line of policy calculated to destroy the Union, and refuse to arrest that policy, or those who disavow that purpose when they see that revolution has taken place.

If such be not your policy, why not say so? If you never intend to do what the South think is your purpose, and which you do not blame them for thinking, what harm is there in making such amendments to the Constitution as will render it impossible for you to do so? But we are told that the Union must be preserved, and the law must be enforced. I agree to that. I am in favor of doing all these things, according to the Constitution and the laws. No man will go further than I to maintain the Union and enforce the laws, to put down rebellion and insurrection, and to use all the power conferred by the Constitution for that purpose. But we must look the facts in the face. We must take notice of those things whose existence cannot be denied. History teaches us that rebellion often becomes successful; revolution and the greatest republics and proudest monarchies have found it necessary to recognize the existence of a Government de facto in the rebellion of States and provinces. Such was the condition of the American colonies for seven years after the Declaration of Independence. At first it was rebellion, and rebellion was treason. A few months afterward, it was revolution and a Government de facto at Philadelphia, Mr. Hancock President, and Washington Commander of the armies. Rebellion had ceased, and revolution taken its place. The American colonies were in revolt, had Governments de facto, and Great Britain, proud as she was, was compelled to recognize the existing state of facts. The laws of nations and all the laws of civilization demanded that the Government de facto be acknowledged. But the laws must be enforced. In our system of Government the laws are to be enforced by civil authority, assisted by the Militia and posse comitatus, when the Marshal is resisted. If the colonies, or a State, revolt, the revolution is complete when the Federal authorities are expelled, and no one man left to acknowledge allegiance to the United States. How are you going to enforce the laws then? How are you going to do it in South Carolina? She has passed an ordinance of secession. I deny her right to secede, but she has done it. The revolution is complete. She has no human being in her borders to acknowledge our authority. This is all wrong, but how are you going to help it? You tell us we must enforce the laws. I am in favor of that. Laws must be enforced, according to the Constitution and the laws. Under our Constitution, laws can only be enforced against criminals, and those of us who are in favor of the Constitution and the Union must be careful which we do not perpetrate the very things which we denounce as criminal in these seceding States. And South Carolina does not stand alone. We are told that seven other States will follow her, and we have reasons to apprehend that seven more States may follow them. The answer is, we must enforce the laws. My reply is, you cannot enforce the laws in countries not in your possession. I deny that we have the right to make war in order to regain possession, in order to enforce the laws. Are we prepared for war? I do not mean prepared in the sense of

having soldiers, arms, and ammunition; but are we prepared in our hearts for war with our brethren? While I affirm that the Constitution was intended to form a perpetual Union—while I affirm the right to use all lawful means to enforce the laws, yet I will not meditate war, nor tolerate the idea, until after every effort at adjustment has been tried and failed, and all hope of the Union is gone. Then, and not till then, will I deliberate and determine what course my duty will require of me. I am for peace, to save the Union. War is disunion, certain, inevitable, final, and irreversible. Our own existence forbids war. We have referred to the purchase of Louisiana, and said it was purchased for the benefit of the whole Union, and for the safety of the Upper Mississippi in particular. The possession of that river is more necessary now than it was then. We cannot expect the people of the interior to admit the right of a foreign State taking possession of that river. He also referred to the purchase of Florida and the amounts paid, and asked if she could go on now. The President, in his message, first said we could not coerce a State to remain in the Union, but in a few sentences he advised the acquisition of Cuba. As if we should pay \$300,000,000 for Cuba, and then the next day she might secede and reappear herself to Spain, and Spain sell her again. He had admitted that Texas cost us a war with Mexico, and 1,000,000 lives. In the name of 7,000 gallant men from Illinois, who fought those battles against the right of that State to secede—

Mr. HEMPHILL asked if the protection of Texas was the only reason of the war, and if the United States paid anything to Texas for the land, and if we did not acquire California from that war?

Mr. DOUGLAS said the only cause of complaint of Mexico was the annexation of Texas, and we had paid Texas \$10,000,000 for some barren land she did not own. [Laughter.] He said the Constitution was intended to be perpetual, and he denied the right of secession under the Constitution, as against the Constitution, and against justice and good faith. He said there could be no Government without coercion, but coercion must be used in the mode prescribed by law. This is not a question of coercion in a State. Where no authority of Federal Government remains, we are bound to recognize a Government de facto, when the State maintains individual way. The man who loves the Union, who loves to see the laws enforced, will love to see rebellion put down. How does he intend to enforce the law in a seceding State, except by making war? In his opinion, we had reached the point when disunion was inevitable unless a compromise, founded on concession, can be made. He preferred compromise to war, and concession to disunion. No compromise would be available which does not carry the question beyond Congress. He said he had voted for the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky, (Mr. Crittenden's), and was ready to vote for it again. Why cannot the Republicans unite on the Missouri Compromise line? They had heaped curses, enough on his head for repeating it, to be glad now to re-establish it. He had helped to support that measure until he was compelled to abandon it. He was willing to meet on terms of mutual concession. He had offered another proposition to leave the Territories in statu quo till they have 50,000 inhabitants, and then settle the question themselves; and also provided for the removal of the negroes, if the Territory chose, to certain provinces. If the Republicans do not intend to interfere with slavery in the States, why not put in an amendment to the Constitution, so that they cannot do it. There must be a settlement of some sort now. It cannot be postponed. We are in a state of revolution. It is compromise or war. He preferred compromise. He said it seemed as though the Senators on the other side determined to act as a party. Let the people decide the question. No doubt the people of Massachusetts are opposed to slavery extension, but he thought if the question were submitted to-day of the resolutions of the Senator from Kentucky they would ratify them. There is no other way or recourse left, to enforce the law in a seceding State, except to make war and bring the State within your possession first, and then enforce the law afterward. A war between eighteen States on the one side, and fifteen seceding States on the other, is to me a revolting thing. For what purpose is this war to be waged? Certainly not for the purpose of preserving the Union. I have too much respect for the gentlemen on the other side of the chamber, collectively and individually, to believe there is one among them who does not know that war is disunion. You cannot expect to exterminate ten millions of people, whose passions are excited with the belief that you intend to invade their homes and light the flames of insurrection in their midst. You must expect to exterminate them, or subjugate them, or, when you have got tired of war, to make a treaty with them. No matter whether the war lasts one year, or several years, or thirty years it must have an end at some time. Sooner or later, both parties will become tired and exhausted, and when rendered incapable of fighting any longer, they will make a treaty of peace,

and that treaty will be one of separation. The history of this world does not furnish an example of a war of sections, or between States of the same nation, where the war ended in reconciliation. Such a war always ends in a treaty of peace, and a final separation. I don't understand, then, how a man can claim to be a friend of the Union, and yet be in favor of war upon ten millions of people in the Union. You cannot cover it up much longer under the pretext of love for the Union. Now, the question must be met, and whatever concession I am called upon to make, I choose to make voluntarily, before blood is shed, and not afterward. No man has more pride of country than I. It humbles more pride of country than I. I humbles more pride to see the authority of the Government questioned, but we are not the first nation whose pride has been humbled. Republics, empires, and kingdoms, alike in all ages, have become subject to the same humiliating fact. But where there is a deep-seated discontent pervading ten millions of people, penetrating every man, woman and child, and involving everything dear to them, it is time for inquiring whether there is not some cause for this feeling. If there be just cause for it, in God's name let us remove it. Are we not criminal, in the sight of Heaven and posterity, if we do not remove the just cause? If there is no cause, and yet they believe there is, so much the greater necessity for removing the misconception. Are you so satisfied with the pride of your recent triumph, or pride of opinion, that you cannot remove an unfounded apprehension, when it is rushing ten millions of people into disunion and breaking up the Government of our fathers, and leaving us, hitherto a proud Republic on earth, to become a byword among the nations? I still entertain the hope that this question may be adjusted, although the indications are that blood will be shed and war will rage before gentlemen fully appreciate the crisis through which we are passing. I don't think my

nerves are any weaker than ordinary, nor do I think there is much courage in shutting the eyes in the face of danger, and then saying you do not see it. Every man must see it, and feel it, and breathe it. The atmosphere is full of it. I have determined that I will do all that is in my power to rescue the country from such a dreadful fate. But I will not consider this question of war till all hope of peaceable adjustment fails. Better, a thousand times better, that all political parties be disbanded and dissolved. Better that every public man now in existence be consigned to retirement and political martyrdom, than that this Government should be dissolved, and this country plunged in civil war. I trust we are to have no war for a platform. I can fight for my country, but there never was a political platform that I would go to war for. I fear, if this country is to be wrecked, it is to be done by those who prefer party to their country. Party platforms, and pride of opinion, and personal consistency, are the only causes in the way of a satisfactory adjustment of this difficulty. I repeat that, notwithstanding the gloom and the dark clouds which overhang everything, I do not despair of the Republic, and I will not despair till every effort shall be found to be of no avail.

What Winter Davis Thinks.

BALTIMORE, Jan. 9.—A private letter from Hon. Winter Davis, gives positive assurance that the Crisis Committee will present a unanimous report, embracing an enabling act for New Mexico, providing that no new State be admitted into the Confederacy without the consent of all the other States, and pledging the repeal of all the personal liberty bills.

Some people's idea of contentment is to sit in the house and see others stuck in the mud.

For Coughs, Colds &c. use Ayres Cherry Pectoral.

TOWNSHIP SCHOOL FUNDS Cr.	
By Treasurer's per cent. and printers fees on duplicate of 1859	427 33
By taxes refunded by county	678 00
By John Alexander, Treasurer of Adams township	100 00
By Charles Algeo, Treasurer of Benton township	100 00
By Jesse Bell, Treasurer of Bethel township	100 00
By Joseph Connor, Treasurer of Center township	100 00
By Daniel O'Connor, Treasurer of Perry township	100 00
By Samuel Grishaw, Treasurer of Green township	100 00
By J. H. Bridgeman, Treasurer of Jackson township	100 00
By Peter Dorr, Treasurer of Malaga township	100 00
By John A. Lankard, Treasurer of Ohio township	100 00
By Thomas West, Treasurer of Perry township	100 00
By J. R. Smith, Treasurer of Salem township	100 00
By James Messerly, Treasurer of Seneca township	100 00
By Richard Clegg, Treasurer of Summit township	100 00
By Philip Weber, Treasurer of Sunbury township	100 00
By David Rable, Treasurer of Switzerland township	100 00
By Abraham Mann, Treasurer of Washington township	100 00
By Joseph Moore, Treasurer of Wayne township	100 00
By Simon Drum, Treasurer of Wayne township	100 00
By L. F. Elsworth, Treasurer of Seneca township	100 00
By Daniel O'Connor, Treasurer of Woodfield	100 00
Total expenditures	2,105 23
Unapportioned section 16 funds in treasury	497 60
To amount collected on duplicate at February settlement 1860	1,108 00
To amount collected on duplicate August settlement 1860	1,110 16
Unapportioned school funds	30 00
State and township school funds due Ohio and Benton townships	1,110 16
Total	2,852 66

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SPECIAL SCHOOL FUNDS Cr.	
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By taxes refunded by county	678 00
By John Alexander, Treasurer of Adams township	100 00
By Charles Algeo, Treasurer of Benton township	100 00
By Jesse Bell, Treasurer of Bethel township	100 00
By Joseph Connor, Treasurer of Center township	100 00
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CORPORATION FUNDS Cr.	
By Treasurer's per cent. and printers fees on duplicate of 1859	427 33
By taxes refunded by county	678 00
By John Alexander, Treasurer of Adams township	100 00
By Charles Algeo, Treasurer of Benton township	100 00
By Jesse Bell, Treasurer of Bethel township	100 00
By Joseph Connor, Treasurer of Center township	100 00
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TOWNSHIP EXPENSE FUNDS Cr.	
By Treasurer's per cent. and printers fees on duplicate of 1859	427 33
By taxes refunded by county	678 00
By John Alexander, Treasurer of Adams township	100 00
By Charles Algeo, Treasurer of Benton township	100 00
By Jesse Bell, Treasurer of Bethel township	100 00
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TOWNSHIP DEBT FUND Cr.	
By Treasurer's per cent. and printers fees on duplicate of 1859	427 33
By taxes refunded by county	678 00
By John Alexander, Treasurer of Adams township	100 00
By Charles Algeo, Treasurer of Benton township	100 00
By Jesse Bell, Treasurer of Bethel township	100 00
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