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LIST OF AGENTS.

to show payments for THE VERMONT PHENIX, for 1850, in the in indice.

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[7] Clused at 19 P. M.

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ent to sell Real Estate. Applications from this and rable terms. catileboro, March 1, 1959.—[9

W. GRAU, M. D., Homeopath-cipies.

C. W. HORTON, M. D., Physician and Surgeon, No. 3 Blake's Building, BRATTLEBORO, Vr.

DAVENPORT & HASKINS, Attorneys application of the measures we are about to purame.

C. N. DAVENPORT, K. HASKINS, Attorneys WILMINGTON, VI.

K. HASKINS, Attorneys application of the measures we are about to purame.

We have, it seems, Mr President, two conditions of society existing in this country—that existing

E MORRILL, M. D., HOMEOPATHIC PHY-micris & Scannon. Office at S. S. JOY'S 13 High-St. office hours from 11 to 12 A. M., and from 1 to 3 P. M.

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Upper Set, Silver, CT GUM TERTH always used. FILLING WITH GOLD, only 50 contract a cavity. EXTRACTING with CHLOROFORM and ELECTRICITY All work warranted.

Brathleboro, Dec. 16, 1859.—31

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DOST & PEARSON, DENTISTS,

pay particular attention to the preservation of the
matural Teeth. Also, insert Teeth on G.7d, Platina, Kuthar
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Tragolarities in Children's Teeth successfully.

Other and Residence rearry opposite the Congregational
Caurch—former residence of the late 5. C. Hara,

BRATTICHOM, Vr.

18. Pransor.

REV. ADDISON BROWN tractes private pupils at his House on Chase Street. S. JOY, Homeopathic Veterinary House on Walnut Street, Realthdoro, Vt.

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The Vermont Phænix.

VOL. XXVII.

BRATTLEBORO, VT.: APRIL 7, 1860.

No. 14.

SPEECH OF HON. J. COLLAMER, OF VER-MONT, ON SLAVERY IN THE TERRI-

Delivered in the Seunte of the United States, March 8, 1860.

The Senate having resumed the consideration of the following resolutions, submitted by Mr Brown on the 18th of January:

on the 18th of January:

Resolved, That the Territories are the common property of all the States, and that it is the privilege of the critzens of all the States to go into the Territories with every kimi or description of property recognized by the Constitution of the United States and held under the laws of any of the States, and that it is the constitutional daty of the law-unking power, wherever looked, and by chamassever exercised, whether by the Congress or the Territorial Legislature, to constrain laws as may be found necessary for the atequate and sufficient protection of such property.

Resolved, That the Committee on Territories be instructed to insert, in any bill they may report for the organization of the Territories, a chause declaring it to be the daty of the Territories, or the protection of all kinds of property, as above described, within the limadequate and sufficient laws for the quotection of all kinds of property, as alove described, within the lim-its of the Ferritory, and that, upon its failure or refus-al to do so, it is the admitted duty of Congress to in-terpose and pass such laws.

The question is on the amendment of Mr Wilkin-son, to strike out all after the word "resolved," where it first occurs, and insert the following:

A . and Dealer in Australia, Strate String, and the Congress has tell people of the Putter States; that Congress has tell people of the Putter States; that Congress has tell people of the Putter States; that Congress has tell power and amboring to pass nil laws necessary and intents of Panel Work, promptly accepted in a superior manager. First theoref Estey & Green's building, Bratthebero, VI.

that, in the exercise of such power, it is the daily of congress so to legislate in relation to sinvery flarent that the interests of tree informing be encouraged in protected in such. Territories.

Resulted, That the Committee on Territories be in structed to insert in any bill they may report for the organization of new Territories a clause declaring the three shall be neither slavery nor involvancy servited in such Territories, except in punishment for time whereof the party has been duly convicted.

Mr Collawer. Mr President, the resulutions

Mr COLLANER. Mr President, the resolutions DRADLEY & KELLOGG, Attorneys and Commethers at Law and Solicitors in Charcery.

J. B. Bradley.

WHEELER, Attorneys and Commethers at Law and Solicitors in Charcery.

JAMAICA, VI.

J. E. Budler.

R. H. Wheeler.

Mr. Collasten. Mr. President, the resolutions under consideration relate to the condition of slavery in the Territories, and propose to provide legislation in relation to that subject, especially legislation to protect and preserve it there. The discussion on this subject, as it was begun and has gone on in the Senate during the progress in this session, has taken a very wide range. I have no fault to find with that; but it seems to me, after all, that we might bring curselves a little nearer to some practical application of principles. When to some practical application of principles. When we consider the condition of our country—I mean the whole country—the condition of society which exists in it, and the adaptation of our measures to that condition of society, we may bring ourselves to the practical application of some important prin-

our nation, for which we legislate, the whole of which is a proper subject of our consideration, the whole of which is to be considered in measuring out our different degrees of policy, and the measures calculated to advance its interests. No legis-DANIEL KELLOGG, ATTORNEY AND lation can be valuable, unless upon the whole it is an advantage to the country for which it is made, and we must consider the actual condition of that

of society existing in this country—that existing in the slaveholding States and that existing in the non-slaveholding States, which I, for brevity, shall call, as they are usually called, the free States.— CROSBY, DEALER IN FLOUR.

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J. CARPENTER, Dealer IN Flours, Magazines and Periodicals.

J. CARPENTER, Dealer IN Subscriptions received for the Principal Newspapers and Magazines, and forwarded by Wall or otherwise.

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E. AND COUSSELLON AT LAW AND NOVAKY PUBLIC, Also, Agent for the Atlantic and Rockingham Mutual First Insurance Companies.

F. J. HIGGINSON, M. D., Physician And Formatical to perpetuate those distinctions in society, were to be done away with. In short, they proposed, and the actions which had everything that was calculated to perpetuate those distinctions in society, were to be done away with. In short, they proposed, and the actions which had everything that was calculated to perpetuate those distinctions in society, were to be done away with. In short, they proposed, and the actions which had everything that was calculated to perpetuate those distinctions in society, were to be done away with. In short, they proposed, and the action of republican government; that every man should of republican government; that every man should account and account and special and the actions which had prevailed, too, of principal the file at they entertained was, to enter upon an experiment of a free and equal system of republican government; that every man should account and account an GEORGE HOWE, Attorney & Counsellor of republican government; that every man should own the land he cultivates, and every man should own the land he county are the land be owned to serve; that every man should cultivate the land he owned to serve; that every man should cultivate the land he owned to serve; that every man should serve the land he owned to serve; that every man should serve the land he owned to serve; that every man should own the land he owned to serve; that every man should own the land he owned to serve the land none to rule and none to serve; that every man should serve himself, and then he of course would

have a faltiful servant.

That system is not merely ideal. It practically prevails through the large body of the free States H EUSTIS & BURNAP, HARNESS — not so much in the cities, not so entirely in the more densely populated regions; but such is the more densely populated regions; but such is the actual condition of the landbolding part of the Reputring articles in the above business punctually attends. the free States. I will not claborate this system any more. I do not proposed now, or at any other time in the course of my remarks, to say anything to commend it particularly to the acceptance of any one. I simply wish to state it, and briefly to describe it, and there rest in

The other condition of society, existing in the slaveholding State of this Union, I would rather cite as described by another, than undertake to do it myself. Mr Calhoun, in 1887, said:

Many in the South once believed that it players "Many in the South once believed that it is known was a most and political cell; that folly and believed are gone. We see it now in its true light, and regard it as a most safe and stable belief for free distillation in the world. * * The Southern States are in aggregate, in fact, of communities, not of individuals Every pointailor is a little community, with the mater at its lead, who consentrates in himself the unite interests of empited and labor, of which he is the resonance representative. The small communities aggregated unike the State, in all whose action, indeed the capital are sentially representative.

P. WARREN, M. D., PHYSICIAN and Surgeon. Homoved from Fayettevilled, Office at his residence; formerly occupied by the inte J. J. Murphy, No. 12 High street, Bratilelero, Vt.

and Surgeon. Hemoved from Fagettevilled, Office at his residence; formerly occupied by the inte J. G. Murphy, No. 12 High street, Brattlebero, Vt.

JOSEPH STEEN, Bookseller, Publisher and Stationer, coraer of Main and High Sts., Branichero, Vt.

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MORSE & NASH'S Livery Stable, in the court of the Brates of New York and New Hampshire, Uniform and the Parket of the State, and they never will be probably. Of course, according to his own statement, they are essentially left out of the account.

These two condition. I simply desire briefly to elaborate as little what Mr Calhoun bearing of it.—From these remarks, two things are quite obtaines, in the tirst place, it is obvious that is an aristocracy. He master to accommunities, that is an aristocracy of the State, and the owner is the representative of these separate communities. That meets tay like a framework and the work "aristocracy" in any bad sense. I say it is simply that. Another thing, which is perhaps but an ingredient of the first, is, that the mass of the communities, which is perhaps but an ingredient of the first, is, which is perhaps but an ingredient of the first, is, and the mass of the communities, make the State, and, as the representatives of the labor and property of

ranged in some way. What can we do with it:

How can we get along with it, quietly and peaceablet, It was regarded as a subject in which the whole obly? I think we, like any other people, might be combled, if we were so inclined, to draw some lessons of advantage from our own experience, and

To illustrate this, I will not go on with the hisconsider, if we were so inclined; to draw some lessons of advantage from our own experience, and from the history of our own country. We are apt to forget, in the hurry of new and untried experiments, that after all, experience is the safest guide for to-day and the safest guide for truth. We speak of our fathers—they who established this Government. How did they manage it? Is it not well enough for us occasionally to look at the old way, and ascertain how it was? The further we get into difficulty, the more troubles we experience in trying new modes and new experiments, the more we ought to be inclined to see how this matter was managed originally, and how that management and they looked upon slavery as a great evil. So admits Mr Cathean himself, undoubtedly it was free. No man disputes that now. How did they propose to manage it? It was in this way: the ol. Congress made different territorial act was passed, in 1728, it was gress of the Confederation was sitting at the time for combined to an interest, and therefore improper for local legislation.

To illustrate this, I will not go on with the history of governmental action from time to time, as to campus different territorial governments in the cuntry northwest of the Ohio. I need not seen the object of the country northwest of the Ohio. I need not were again the utter prohibition of slavery; but I will not for to-day and the safest guide for truth. We speak of our fathers—they who established this Governmental action from time to time, as to compress and different territorial governments in the clinical form of the country northwest of the Ohio. I need not seen the Ohio. I n to manage it? It was in this way: the old. Congress of the Confederation was sitting at the time the convention was sitting in Philadelphia. In that Confederation Congress they acted in relation to the then known and then owned territory of the United States, lying out of and beyond the limits of the separate States; and, in providing a Government for it, enacted that alaxery or involuntary servitude, except for crime, should not there exist; it was entirely forbidden. That provision was handed over and duly notified to the convention that was sitting to ferm the Constitution; sitting cotumporaneously. They understood that, and it was in no way disapproved by them. They provided in the Constitution that Congress should have power "to make all needful rules and regulations" for the disposition of the territory and other property of the United States; thus bestowing on the new proposed Government the power of control.

What does that show? The Schatur from Geor-

difficult of solution, practically in our hands; but it is nevertheless the problem put into our hands. It is to that we must address ourselves. It is that we must perform as far as we can, and as much as in us lies.

The first thing that occurs to my mind is this question; is it at all probable that we can, either of us, induce the other to adopt our system of society? Argue it as long as we please, spend as much of our time and breath about it as we may, in commendation of the respective systems which we represent, and to which we belong, after all, I believe there is very little reason to suppose that in this Hall one party will be able to induce the other to adopt its system. It is not very likely, it is not very probable. Whenever the system of either party is attacked, and its weaknesses attempted to be exposed, each may stand on the defensive, and that is well enough, if so be that it is conducted in an appropriate spirit, and with that courtesy and urbanity which should become the places that we occupy in this, which ought to be regarded as an angust body.

It will hardly do to say that these two conditions of society carniot exist in the same nation. There is an other kind of co-existence in the same mation. There is an other kind of co-existence in the same mation. There is an other kind of co-existence in the same mation. There is an other kind of co-existence in the same mation. There is an other kind of co-existence in the same mation. There is an other kind of co-existence in the same mation. There is an other kind of co-existence in the same mation. There is an other kind of co-existence in the same mation. The leason of our own experiment of eighty years or more, we may at least say that they cone exist, and prosperously, too, in the same nation. The leason of our own experiment of eighty years or more, we may at least say that they cone exist, and prosperously, too, in the same nation, and the internal and municipal regulations to which the condition of society, in one more years and the proper

show us what power they understood themselves to possess; and not only so, but the manner in which ing State at the same time; and I may say, I may add with equal truth, that I think our experience shows us that, under a territorial government, a Territory cannot be at the same time a slaveholding and a free Territory. I believe that experiment has been attempted, and it is a failure; the thing cannot be. It would seem to be very obvious on the mere statement. It would involve a paradox.

Well, new, sir, what shall we do with this country, having these two conditions of society spread over it and existing in it? What is our duty in relation to the matter? We have no quarrel or difficulty in relation to slavery, so far as it exists within the separate States. It exists under the operation and protection of the governments of those separate States, peaceably and quietly. But the question arises, what shall we do in relation to it when we come to the territory which lies out of and beyond the juriseliction of the several States? We must, keep the peace about it; it must be arranged in some way. What can we do with it?—
How can we get along with it, onietly and peaces.

It was wearried who might settle in the Territories, to be there an excripting one of contention as long as the territorial government existed. It was recarded the manner in which they executed that power, so as clearly to show us they executed that power, so as clearly to show us they executed that power, so as clearly to show us they executed that power, so as clearly to show us they executed that power, so as clearly to show us they executed that power, so as clearly to show us they executed that power, so as clearly to show us they executed that power, so as clearly to show us they executed that power, so as clearly to show us they executed that power, so as clearly to show us that they described they described they executed that power, so as clearly to show us that they described they described they described they described they described they

that territory. They made their grant on that every of the United States; thus bestowing on the new proposed Government the power of control over the Territories, and they immediately exercised it in the First Congress, by legitimating and adapting the provisions of the ordinance of 1787 to the then existing form of government.

There was another thing. They did not leak upon shavery then as a mere local matter—a matter of mere local interest. The action provided for the Northwest Territory; but that was not all It was then undoubtedly the general prevailing opinion that if they cut off the supply of shaves by probability the African shave trade, and limited the extent of territory in which shavery should exist, by confining it to its then existing limits, it would finally die out. There is no doubt that they entered upon that experiment. They vested in Congress the power, after 1808, to which time the extreme Southern States then desired to continue the trade, to cut off that foreign supply—to cut off the African shave trade; and they had in the ordinance of 1787, the continuance of which the new Constitution contemplated, a provision for limiting the extent of territory in which is should prevail.

I have been charged over and over—I can remember at least three times, by three different gentlemen with having said, which was true, that I believed the more limited the extent of territory in which is should come to an end. The honorable Senator from Alabama, (Mr Clay.) the honorable Senator from Louite or the provision of the constitution challed the review of the constitution which gave them the power, unless it offered the more than the power and to think that in a ment of the constituti

special management and the special control of the special control of

M. Persident, a power to regulate is a power to the policy. An include is more fully setting, for the states, than that the power to regulate commerces of the power possible commerce adoptives as we produced. If the compromoson especifies, the power of the power of the control of the power of the control of the power of the control of the gentlemen who now compose the Republican party to agree to just what that Senator says is what they now want?

Mr. Collamer. You mean to extend it to the Pacific?

Mr. Benjamin. Yes: to leave that line, not only as a sacred line, as established in 1829, but to extend it to the Pacific; and the proposition now is to put it back, after you have extended the free States south of that line.

Mr. Collamer. What do you mean by that? California?

Mr. Benjamin. You took possession of a Territory south of the line; and after you have get that, now you say, restore the line back again.

Mr. Collamer. If the gentleman will be a little patient, he will find that I shall not blink that point at all; but I do not understand it as he does. I have, however, no desire to avoid it. I expect to call attention to it. I said that, in my opinion, that line should not have been obliterated. I cannot bere but remark, in the first place, as to the making of it. The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Hunter) in the course of this session spoke of that as being a northern aggression; and he made a discovery new to ne, when he sunosed the North.

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hould become States.

Mr. Wigfall. That was the principle?

Mr. Collamer. That was the provision in re-

Mr. Wigfall. That the Territories should settle it for themselves; and that Congress should not, in the mean time, interpose to prohibit the introduction of slavery?

Mr. Collamer. No, sir. When the gentleman says the Territories should settle it for themselves, he includes more than I understand it.

man.
Mr. Collamer. That is a point you have got in that was not put in. It was put in in relation to Nebraska and Kansas; but it was not put in in re-

lation to the others.

Mr. Wigfall. Did they not have the right to regulate their own affairs, without any interposition of Congress as to slavery?

Mr. Collamer. There was nothing said about

Mr. Collamer. There was nothing and noote that,
Mr. Wigfall. Was there any interposition on the part of Congress, either to establish or prohibit slavery there?
Mr. Collamer. There was none.
Mr. Wigfall. Then the principle, if there was any principle, involved in the Utah and New Mexico bills, was, that Congress should not legislate either to establish or protect.

either to establish or protect

Mr. Collamer. You are drawing a conclusion.

Mr. Wigfall. I am asking for information.

Mr. Collamer. The bills are very plain.

Mr. Wigfall. These are historical facts; only

philosophers can give reasons. I was asking for a reason, possibly; but I want the Senator, before he gues on, to answer that. You see I am a new Senator yet, and do not understand these questions

he goes on, to answer that. You see I am a new Scantor yet, and do not understand these questions. Now, I understand—at least before I got here I had supposed that the Utah and New Mexico bills left this question beyond all doubt—that Congress did not, in those bills, either interpose for or against slavery. Is that true, or is it not?

Mr. Collamer. I have stated about that. There had been a difficulty in forming those territorial governments, because a part of the country insisted on putting in the ordinance of 1787.

Mr. Wigfall. Yes, sir.

Mr. Collamer. Congress could not agree to it; but when they had the making of the compromise of 1850, as part and parcel of it, these two Territories had territorial acts passed for them, which will speak for themselves, but they were passed without the prohibition of the ordinance of 1787.

Mr. Wigfall. Precisely. Then I want to ask the Senator, when you come to form a new territorial bill as to Kansas and Nebraska, if you are not following out the precedent? I do not talk about the principle spoken of in the great speeches that were circulated in thousands and hundreds of thousands, but if the precedent was not followed when the Missouri restriction was repealed and the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed, as the Utah and New Mexico bills were passed, without any provision either favoring or disfavoring slavery?—That is the question.

Mr. Collamer. The gentleman has made his own

That is the question.

Mr. Collamer. The gentleman has made his own speech, taking his own premises, and drawing his own conclusions. I can present very different views. I think that that whole compromise must

own conclusions. I can present very different views. I think that that whole compromise must be taken together.

Mr. Wigfall. The omnibus was turned over, and they were passed as separate bills.

Mr. Collamer. They were passed as separate bills, but they all constituted a compromise, and are so spoken of in the Nebraska act. It was a compromise consisting of three or four acts passed here. That compromise put together made a whole, and I insist that it was a disintegration and destruction of the principle on which they went when you repealed the compromise line which settled the condition of a large part of the territory, and which cathanent entered into and constituted part of the very compromise or 1950.

Mr. Wigfall. With the permission of the Senator, I will again draw his attention to the fact that the Utah and New Mexico bills were passed without any provision either establishing or prohibiting shavery, and that the Kunsas-Nebrasha bill, in order to be passed in accordance with that precedent, must necessarily have repealed the Missouri restriction, or it would have recognized the right of Congress to interpose. Therefore, what the Senator would call non-interposition, I call interposition. What he would call non-intervention, I call intervention. As there had previously passed a bill in 18.5.

Mr. Collamer. The gentleman is making a speech of his own; he has not asked me a question. He is making up his own logic, stating his premises, and drawing his conclusions in his own way.

I say all the parts of that compromise constitute a whole. They should be left to stand together, and

I say all the parts of that compromise constitute a whole. They should be left to stand together, and I have already said what I considered entered into and constituted a part of it. Now gentlemen say, that when they came to pass a law making a territorial government for Kansas and Nebraska, they had to pass it like these for which they had a precodent. How was there any obligation to do that? Not the least in the world. If a man has sold land for ten dollars an acre, a large tract, and should afterwards sell a similar amount to the should afterwards self a similar, amount to the same purchaser for twenty dellars, could be then say, "now you must give me twenty dellars for the first?" They had made arrangements all about that line before: the compromise was made on that basis; and now, when they came to make a terri-torial government, were they obliged to make it on

torial government, were they obliged to make it on the Utah act, passed since the line was arranged? I was stating the reasons which were attempted to be given for that repeal. The first, mentioned here by the Senator from Virginia, was that the North made it, and that it was an aggression; the second was that it was not extended over other Territories, but a new bargain made for them; the third was, that it was inconsistent with the compromise of 1850; and the fourth is, that it was unconstitutional all the while. To my mind, this last is like Jack Fallstaff's, "I knew you all the while." It is an after-thought, a new discovery. Is it possible that these gentlemen can give that as an excuse for doing the thing when they did not explain it or state it at the time they did it?

Again, is it becoming in these people to say, "We agreed to this proposition; we made this arrangement with you in 1820; we have had our States admitted south of the line, according to it; we have liad the consideration on our part, and now we turn around on you, and tell you we never