in the United States. I will give the scheme as applicable to my own State, and if its practicability be demonstrated, the demonstration can easily be applied to every other State. Let a future day be fixed, after which every slave child born shall be the property of the State, for the purpose of colonization. Place the children when weaned in the hands of those who will raise them—females till they are eighteen years of age, and males until they are twenty-four or twenty-five, and upon their reaching these ages send them to Africa. There, in a few words, is the whole scheme. Now as to its practical operation. By sending off the females as they reached eighteen, the race would become extinct in less than fifty years, with the exception of a few old slaves past the prime of life. The departure of the females as they reached womanhood would put an end to the birth of slaves among us. The extirpation of slavery under such a rule is therefore just as certain as the laws of nature. But it would be slowly accomplished. So much the better on that account, as Africa is not fitted for the reception of all at once, and by doing the thing gradually we should accommodate ourselves, in our labor and habits, to the new state of things slowly yet certainly taking place. Where is the money to come from to defray the expense, and who is to furnish it? The Colonization Society can charter ships and transport adult colonists and take care of them in Africa, until they are acclimated and capable of providing for themselves, for $60 a head. In their own packet they do it for $50 a head. This information is given to me by Mr. McLain, the Secretary of the Society. Now, I believe that those to whom the children are bound would, in consideration of their services, readily stipulate to furnish the required outfit. Poor white children are bound out by our laws, and the master or mistress is required to teach them a trade, to educate them, &c. Boys are bound until they arrive at twenty-one years of age, and girls till they reach sixteen. They are to be furnished with three pounds ten shillings in money and a new suit of clothes when their time of service expires. I would lengthen the apprenticeship of male colonists so as to raise the funds necessary. Females being apprenticed until eighteen, would serve two years longer than the period required for white apprenticed girls, and therefore their services would be much more valuable. If the apprentice lived and emigrated to Africa, I would make just compensation to the owner; but if the slave died during the apprenticeship, and before his labor had paid for his raising, then nothing would be due.

Under the foregoing plan how many slaves would it be necessary to transport annually from Kentucky? By the census of 1840 there were 30,818 female slaves in the State between the age of 10 and 24 years. Divide by 14, and it gives 2,201 in their 18th year. Now, the slave children at this time in Kentucky would for the next eighteen years supply annually, in growing up, 2,201 females for transportation. But, just as soon as the system goes into operation, there will be fewer children born. After the end of thirty years from its commencement, it may be safely affirmed, there would not be a slave born in Kentucky; after twenty years there would be but few births among the mothers remaining in the country. In the nineteenth or twentieth year of the operation of the system there would be fewer females to transport than in the preceding year, and from that time their numbers would rapidly diminish, until not one in her 18th year could be found for transportation. Now, multiply 2,201 by $50, the sum it costs the Colonization Society in its own packet, and we have $110,050 only as the sum necessary to be expended annually for the certain and gradual extirpation of slavery in Kentucky. But it may be said it would be cruel in the extreme to send off females without sending males with them. Admit it, and double the expenditure in order to send off an equal number of males, and it only makes $220,100. Under such a state of apprenticeship, and by lengthening the periods of service of the males until they arrived to 24 or 25 years, or even longer if necessary, and requiring them to labor the last four or five years in aid of colonization, I entertain no doubt but our slave population can, by their own labor, without costing our white population one cent, transport, settle, and provide for themselves in Africa. But it must be systematically undertaken and persevered in to do it. Now, sir, the entire female slave population of the United States in 1840, between the ages of 10 and 24, amounted to 390,117 only. By the same rule of calculation we have 27,865 in their 18th year, and of the proper age for colonization. This number multiplied by $50 gives $1,393,250, as the annual expenditure necessary to remove, upon my plan, the whole female slave population of the United States as they reach their 18th year. But, under the idea that humanity requires us to send out an equal number of males, let the expenditure be doubled, and it makes $2,786,500. I said half the expenses of the Mexican war, invested in a six per cent. stock, would accomplish the object. A capital of $50,000,000 would produce annually the sum required, and an excess of more than $200,000 for contingencies. I have thus, sir, only sketched the outline of a plan by which united systematic effort can extirpate slavery. I have no time to go into minute details, and obviate every conceivable objection. Only look at the thousands and hundreds of thousands of foreigners annually landing upon our shores from the old world, and then, sir, reflect that it only requires the removal of 27,865 female slaves annually, at a cost of $1,393,250, and no sane mind can doubt the practicability of the scheme. I have made the calculations upon the census of 1840. The increase of population since then would increase the numbers and expense; but I possess no data upon which to give the increased expenditure required with accuracy. In our unbounded schemes of annexation and dominion, we have nothing to do but to annex Liberia, govern her as a colony until we have located the negro race there, and then separate, leaving her an independent republic. Such a scheme, in its execution, would lead to commercial results magnificent in their development; and, while it would be just as constitutional as other schemes of annexation, would be infinitely wiser, because its motive would be peace and good will to man, instead of war, conquest, and national aggrandizement.

But suppose, Mr. President, colonization is rejected, what is to happen then? You cannot divest slavery, from the influence of certain causes which have heretofore and will continue to operate upon it, producing results beyond the control of human legislation. These have been most ably presented by a citizen of my own State of great attainments, John A. McClung, Esq., in a speech delivered before the Kentucky Colonization Society in January last. Our decennial tables of population prove that, in reference to many States in our Union, slavery has been marked by three distinct stages: the first is when the slave population increases at a greater ratio than the white; the second, when the white population increases at a greater ratio than the slave; and the third when the slave population actually decreases. It is remarkable too that these changes have progressed with great regularity, establishing beyond controversy that, when the slave population begins to decrease, it must go on until the causes which produced its decline will ultimately exterminate it. New York and New Jersey together had, in 1790, 32,747 slaves. By the census of 1800 the number of slaves in these two States had increased only eighteen; but there was a decrease in New York of 981, and an increase in New Jersey of 999. After 1800 the slaves in both States rapidly declined, until in 1840 there were but 678 left, and now in both States the institution has been abolished. In Delaware the number of slaves has decreased from 8,887 in 1790 to 2,605 in 1840. In Maryland the number of slaves increased until 1810. In 1820 they had decreased from 111,502 in 1810 to 107,398. Thus the number for a period of ten years fell about 4,000. In the next period of ten years the fall was a little more than 5,000, and by the census of 1840 the number had come down to 89,737, exhibiting a diminution in number of 12,457 in the last ten years. In the District of Columbia the number of slaves was 6,377 in 1820, had slightly declined in 1830, and came down to 4,694 in 1840. In Virginia the number of slaves continued to increase until 1830, when they reached 469,757. The census of 1840 exhibits a decline of 20,770. Thus we see that slavery has reached its height in the States on the Atlantic, including Virginia and all north and east, and commenced declining, making such progress that those farthest north and east have abolished the institution. In North Carolina in 1830 there were 245,601 slaves. In 1840 there were 245,817, showing an increase of 216 only; so that slavery for the intervening ten years was upon a stand. In Kentucky, we have passed from the first into the second stage of the institution. The census of 1840, for the first time, showed that our free population had increased by a small but greater ratio than the slave. Since 1840 our slave population has been nearly at a stand. Our lists of taxable property, in which the slaves are annually enumerated, show that in 1847 their number was 189,549; showing an increase of only 7,291, since the census of 1840, or an increase at the rate of about half of one per cent. per annum. There has been no enumeration of the whole of our free population since 1840; but from other facts there is no doubt that our free population has increased during the same period at a much greater rate. In 1839 our free white males over twenty-one years, or the voters of the State, numbered 108,500. In 1847 our voters amounted to 136,945; making an increase at the rate of more than three per cent. per annum for the last eight years. In 1847 we had 173,968 free children between the ages of five and sixteen years; showing an increase of 4,773 in one year. These facts, exhibited in the report of our Second Auditor, show that our white population in Kentucky is rapidly increasing, while the slave population is nearly at a stand; and they likewise prove that the day is not distant when the number of slaves in Kentucky will begin to decrease as in Maryland and Virginia. Our auditor's report already shows a decrease in the number of slaves in twenty-eight counties in the State, comparing the years 1846 and 1847; and our lists of taxable property prove that there are more than three-fourths of our voters who do not own a slave. These results have in part been produced by an act of the Legislature, passed in 1833, prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the State, except brought by emigrants, or when they have been acquired by inheritance. If the convention about to be called in Kentucky should, in the new constitution, provide that the further introduction of slaves should under no circumstances be allowed, such a provision, I have no doubt, would tend to the rapid diminution of the slave population.

There are causes existing in the slaveholding States, independent of human sympathies and legislation, which tend to the removal of slaves from those of them furthest north to those situated further south. I will enumerate some of them:

First, and chiefest, slave labor can be more profitably employed in the planting States to the South, in rice, sugar, and cotton fields; than it can be in the grain-growing and stock-raising regions of the middle States; and hence there is a strong motive of interest and gain to transfer slaves where they can be most profitably employed.

Second. In growing grain and raising stock the unskilful and careless management and habits of the slave, and the impracticability of furnishing him constant employment after the country is cleared, farms improved, and population become dense, renders it cheaper for the farmer to hire labor as it is wanted than to keep slaves of all ages and sexes, who are to be fed, clothed, and provided in all respects at his expense throughout the year.

Third. As our free population increases, there will be an increased competition among those seeking employment. This naturally brings down the price of labor, and enables the farmer not only to obtain free labor whenever he wants it, but at such reduced rates as to make it more profitable than slave labor. The inevitable consequence is, that the master's interest requires him to send his slaves further South into newer soils, where labor is more in demand, and commands higher wages, and produces better crops.

Fourth. The climate and mild temperature of the latitudes below thirty-six degrees are better suited to the constitution and habits of the negro race than those north of that line. I believe the negro is better fitted by nature to labor under a southern sun than the white man. All these causes, combined with others, account for the facts exhibited in our census tables, and they will continue to operate, with the same effect, until the cotton, sugar, and rice lands of the South are fully brought into cultivation and adequately supplied with slave labor. Some unlooked-for revulsion may render slave labor more profitable in corn fields and meadows. In that event, they will be retained in the grain-growing and grazing States where they now are.

But, sir, the time is rapidly advancing when a crowded population will every where reduce the price of labor, and bring about an active competition among those seeking for employment. Long before our population is as dense as that of Europe slave labor will be undermined, subdued, and expelled by free white labor, from all those States of the American Union where the white man is not physically enervated by the climate, and rendered thereby unable to enter into successful competition with the negro. When the means of subsistence are inadequate to the full supply of the wants of a redundant population, it is not difficult to foresee that then the sufferings from hunger will fall with greatest severity upon the slaves; if, indeed, they are not all liberated before that time arrives, from the utter inability of their masters to support them upon the products of an exhausted soil.

Now, sir, I hold it to be the duty of a statesman to contemplate this vast subject in all its aspects, before the time arrives when necessity will force it upon our children, if not upon ourselves. I have long looked at it, and have come to the conclusion that wisdom and philanthropy might unite upon a system of colonization, calculated in its results to bless the white man and the black, to relieve America of a class whose continuance here I regard as an evil, and whose removal to Africa would, under the providence of the Almighty, civilize and christianize that savage and pagan continent.

Now, sir, with these views, I think that scattering the slaves we have over wider territory would promote a more rapid decrease of that population in those States where it is now diminishing, and hasten the period when with safety they might imitate the examples of New York and New Jersey. We do not make another slave by spreading them over a larger surface. And, as slaveholders have contributed in the war with Mexico their quota of men and money, I hold that it is an act of justice to allow them to participate in the enjoyment of the new Territories with their slaves. If it be refused, then the slave population will be confined to the limits of the States where slavery now exists. The gentleman from New York (Mr. Dix) has declared his intention so to confine it, upon the ground that, by the laws of population, slaves would increase faster in the excitement, health, and abundance of new Territories, than they would if penned up where they are.

The gentleman forgets that the laws of population which operate upon free men do not affect slaves. Free men and women are restrained, and will not readily contract marriage until they have before them reasonable prospects of comfortably providing for a family. Hence difficulty in supporting a family is a great restraint upon marriage, and a check to the increase of free population. But no such considerations as these operate upon the slave; he has no care in providing for wife or children. That is the business of the master, and consequently nothing will check the natural increase of the slave but the existence of such deprivation of physical comforts as to produce disease and death. Happily for the slave population of the South, there is not and has not been any thing like physical suffering, for want of food and raiment, so as to produce a general state of disease, and to prevent their increase. It will require a long time yet, I trust, before the Southern States are incapable of supporting in comfort their whole population; but the day may, and probably will, come when a superabundant population in the South may feel the pinchings of cold and hunger as they have been felt in starving Ireland. My philanthropy teaches me to look ahead, and legislate with a view to postpone those days of pestilence and famine as far as possible. Hence, I desire to reduce the wilds of Africa to cultivated fields, and by scattering slavery to alleviate its pressure. But the gentleman from New York adopts a contrary policy. He is for damming up and confining it to its present limits, and bringing it to the starvation point as soon as possible. Such is the inevitable effect of his policy: and all this is to be done in the name of liberty and philanthropy, under the sanctimonious pretence that free soil is not to be polluted by the feet of slaves! Sir, I believe the true motive is to obtain political power, and to secure the whole of our new territory to the use of the redundant population of the nonslaveholding States, and those who entertain strong prejudices, if not antipathies, against slaveholders. Seeing this, I do not wonder that gentlemen representing Southern States suffer their indignation to threaten the dissolution of our Union sooner than submit. Now, sir, for myself I shall make no such threat. I will bear almost any thing sooner than dissolve the federal ties which bind the States together as one nation. I do not believe that the idea of preserving the institution of slavery by dissolving our Union has the least soundness in it. On the contrary, the dissolution of the Union would instantly emancipate all the intelligent active slaves in the border slaveholding States. From Kentucky they would cross the Ohio river in droves, and on reaching the northern bank would be as safe as they are when they reach Canada. We should be left with the old and helpless to take care of and the young to raise. The same thing would occur in all the border States. Every one must see that slavery cannot exist, after the dissolution of the Union, in those States binding upon dismembered States which would not deliver up fugitive slaves.

The Union will never be dissolved under the idea of better securing slave property. There is no danger to the Union from that source; but the danger lies in this, that Northern members of Congress, Northern ministers and members of churches, and the whole Northern people, will so accustom themselves to speak and inveigh against Southern men, Southern institutions, and the entire people of the South as to engender sectional feelings and parties; to create sectional jealousies and animosities; and to establish a public sentiment in favor of separation and non-intercourse, in order to avoid the bitterness and hatred which spring from an association between parties, when on the one side arrogant assumptions of superiority are perpetually manifesting their scorn for the principles and practices of the other. Sir, it is just as impossible, in the nature of things, for confederated States to remain united, as it is for individuals to continue their friendly intercourse after every feeling of mutual respect has been supplanted by mutual contempt and abhorrence. Nor can the citizens of a consolidated Government, born and raised under such free institutions as ours, with the most perfect enjoyment of the liberty of speech and of the press, adhere to a common Government, when they are divided into sectional factions and feel towards each other nothing but rivalry and hatred. Such a state of affairs will be broken up by revolutions and separation. The conduct of Northern abolitionists towards the South; the feeling of the North which has burst forth in the formation of a *free-soil* party, with Ex-President Van Buren at its head; the refusal of this Congress to allow slaveholders to emigrate with their slaves to any part of New Mexico or California; and the obstructions by mobs and otherwise to prevent the recovery of fugitive slaves, are powerful agencies in alienating the citizens of the South from those of the North, and generating those sectional feelings which may lead to separation. Your last tables of commerce and navigation show that Southern ports sent abroad upwards of twenty millions of dollars in value of domestic products more than were sent from the ports of the non-slaveholding States. The South knows her mercantile importance in the trade of the world; she knows that, in point of interest, she can do as well, if not better, without the labor and shipping of the North than the North can do without the rich products of Southern soil and labor. I feel and believe that both sections will flourish best by reciprocal kindness, fraternal toleration, and wise forbearance towards the peculiar institutions, opinions, and laws of each other. Sir, it would promote the pecuniary and commercial interest of the North to allow slaveholders to take their slaves wherever they can be most profitably employed. Such a course would swell the already vast aggregate of the great Southern staples, and furnish increased employment for Northern ships and sailors, factors and merchants. But this good is to be surrendered, and we are to be influenced by a vague, undefined notion that somebody would be benefited by confining our slaves to their present limits, and the idea that by expansion they would more rapidly fulfil the great command to "multiply and replenish the earth."

But our Southern *Democracy* affects to believe that the institution of slavery is only safe under the protection of the veto power of the Executive, and that it is only necessary to elevate Gen. Cass to the Presidency to secure all they desire. Sir, I am opposed to that reliance. I will not consent to the exercise of the veto power on the part of the President for any purpose, except to save the constitution from violation, or to produce the reconsideration of some act manifestly passed without deliberation. I will not sustain or create any despotic power in one man, to nullify the deliberate will of a majority of the American people; and before I would become a monarchist, asking protection from the Throne, I would sooner dissolve all connexion with those who by their numbers had the power, and who by their votes manifested the disposition, to oppress me. Sir, I shall despair of the republic when the Representatives of the American people in Congress assembled can no longer be trusted, and when we are to look to the President alone for safety.

But how is the veto power to save the South? Suppose (what is hardly supposable) that Gen. Cass should be elected by Southern votes, and that Congress should thereafter pass a bill prohibiting slavery in the new territories, and he should place his veto upon such bill, how then shall we stand in respect to New Mexico and California? If anti-slavery members of Congress are sufficiently numerous to pass such a bill, it is utterly hopeless to expect that they will, by the application of the Missouri compromise line, allow the introduction of slavery into these territories south of 36° 30′ north latitude. The consequence is inevitable, that if the veto power of Gen. Cass as President should strike dead the positive action of Congress in prohibiting slavery, then we are to be left without any law upon the subject in those territories, except such as may now exist. The only good the veto power can accomplish, therefore, is to keep these new territories without law upon the subject of slavery, and in that respect to give us precisely the *blessings* which we can derive from this bill; for by it the power to make laws "respecting slavery" in New Mexico and California is interdicted, and on that subject there is to be no change. Well, sir, what have we been told in the argument and speech of that profound lawyer from Vermont, (Mr. Phelps,) who warmly advocates the passage of this bill, notwithstanding his open and avowed hostility to the further extension of slavery? He says, and I believe truly, that it is only necessary to prohibit further legislation on the subject of slavery in California and New Mexico, to exclude slavery from their borders forever. The decrees of Mexico abolishing slavery in these States or Provinces, and all other parts of her empire, have been read at our Clerk's table. Now, sir, if things are to remain as they are forever, through the application of Executive vetoes or by the passage of this bill, how is it possible that a slave can be held as such in our newly-acquired territories? If it be our "manifest destiny," in our progress of enlarging the "area of freedom," to annex Canada and Ireland, as soon as the deed is done can Kentuckians or Carolinians emigrate and settle with their slaves, and hold them as such, in either of those countries? As a Kentuckian, I should be content and pleased to secure to them the privilege of doing so, upon the ground that, if slavery is a blessing, I was conferring it, and making our new fellow-citizens the happier thereby; and if a curse, that I was only dividing it, and throwing part of the burden from my own shoulders upon those who, as conquered or purchased subjects, might rightfully be compelled to aid their new associates. In the latter case, however, I think it would be but an act of liberality to give our new brethren a voice in the matter. I offered to do so, but the proposition was rejected.

The position taken by Senators from the South who advocate the passage of this bill is, that, in virtue of the constitution of the United States, as soon as a new territory is annexed, any slaveholder may emigrate to it with his slave, and there hold him just as he might do in the State whence he emigrated, although there is no law in the Territory annexed tolerating the existence of slavery, and even if the law up to the instant of annexation positively prohibited it. The bill under consideration proposes to submit the truth of that proposition, as a question of law, to the decision of the Supreme Court. The gentleman from Vermont (Mr. Phelps) says it is so utterly untenable, so manifestly violative of the plainest principles of national law as laid down by Vattel, and in the decisions of the Supreme Court heretofore pronounced, that he will not hesitate to submit the question to that Court. I have my opinion, but if this bill is to pass, I see no propriety, regarding my position, in sustaining that opinion by advancing arguments adverse to a decision in favor of the Southern side of the question. It is enough for me to say, that I coincide with the gentleman from Vermont. I believe that slavery cannot exist without law, founded on custom, or usage, or statute. I therefore perceive no advantage to the section I represent from the passage of the bill. On the contrary, I apprehend it surrenders every thing to the North. I therefore wash my hands of it.

But, Mr. President, let us look at facts, and consider for a moment longer how vain a thing it is to hope for the extension or perpetuation of negro slavery by relying upon the veto power. Look at the preponderance of representatives from the non-slaveholding States in the other branch of Congress. Look at the fact, that the State of Delaware, from her diminished slave population, is just at the point of abolishing slavery, and must in a year or two more imitate her neighbors, New Jersey and Pennsylvania; look at the fact, that even if my proposition to apply the line of 36° 30′ had been accepted, the North, after conceding all the territory south of that line to the use of slaveholders, would have an excess of more than half a million of square miles of territory. Look at all these facts, and it is impossible to obscure and hide from our vision the superior political strength of the non-slaveholding States now and forever. They can vote us down, if they will. They can elect a President, if it be their pleasure, who will not veto "Wilmot provisoes." Now, sir, in view of these things, I ask if is not madness on the part of the South to stake their interests and their peculiar institutions upon an Executive veto, and to be hunting "Northern men with Southern principles," or with the profession of such principles before the election, as their candidate for the Presidency? Does not every one perceive that such a course on the part of the South is calculated to aggravate the anti slavery feeling of the North, and to bring upon us those insults, reproaches, and arrogant assumptions which will, unless checked, divide us into sectional parties and ultimately sever the Union?

For myself, I never will adopt such a line of policy. I shall attempt to reason with my fellow-citizens of the North and their representatives, and when I find reason is vain, that ambition and selfishness are covered under mock philanthropy, and that the condemned institution of slavery, for which the people of my State are no more responsible than those of Massachusetts, has effectually alienated the hearts of Northern men and women from the people of the South, I shall look to other reliances than Executive vetoes. I shall refuse to associate in these halls with any set of men who are unwilling to recognise me and those whom I represent as their equals because we hold slaves. Sir, this may be strong language, when I have just acknowledged that the South can never hope to equal the North in political power. Strong as it is, I adhere to it. I will continue no connexion when I am to be dishonored by it.

We are urged to pass the bill reported by the committee as a compromise, and as the only thing which can be agreed upon. We are told that its passage will quiet agitation and give repose. As a compromise, I regard it as conceding nothing whatever to the South. It provides for a lawsuit between master and slave, and gives the right to bring it by appeal or writ of error to the Supreme Court. I am unwilling, when I return home and am asked by my constituents whether they can emigrate with and hold their slaves in New Mexico or California, to answer "you may do so at your peril and at the risk of having your slaves manumitted by the decisions of the courts." Who will take slaves there under such discouraging circumstances? Who will incur the costs of the litigation, when the opinions expressed here by the lawyers from the North are unanimous against the master and in favor of the slave; and when, to say the least, the lawyers from the South are divided in opinion? What master so unwise as to risk his slave property under such circumstances, and to incur the certain expense and trouble of litigating with his slaves, as provided for by this bill?

But we are promised peace and quiet, in regard to the question of slavery, after this bill passes. If this bill contains one soporific quality, my alchymistic skill does not enable me to detect it. Sir, it will throw a new, a stimulating ingredient into the effervescing political caldron. What have we already heard in debate? The gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Corwin) speculates upon the workings of that strangely constructed and curious organ, the human intellect, and wonders how it is that in this Senate all the members north of Mason and Dixon's line think one way, and nearly all South the other way, upon the questions which this bill proposes to submit to the decision of the Supreme Court. And then, sir, we have it gravely counted up and ascertained that five of the nine Judges of the Supreme Court live south of Mason and Dixon's line. What is all this for, but to suggest to the American people that the Supreme Court will decide, not according to the law of the case, but according to the feelings and wishes of the neighbors of the respective Judges, and that they will be influenced by the slaveholding communities in which they live. Well, suppose the Judges should decide that the constitution, *per se*, establishes slavery in California and New Mexico, what then? The gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Corwin) will be ready to exclaim, "I told you so; I knew they could not be trusted; I foresaw the wonderful influence which geographical lines possess and exercise over the human intellect!" And what will the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. Phelps) say? He has already told us that the question was too plain to admit of doubt, and if the Court should decide against his view, will he not exclaim, "Stupidity, stupidity! corruption, corruption!" And what will the great Northern public say and do? Sir, they will denounce the Supreme Court and clamor for Congressional interference to avert the consequences of a corrupt decision. In all these steps I foresee the deepest and bitterest agitations and criminations, and the danger is that they will progress and increase until their intensity melts the bands of union and dissolves society into its original elements. If we have power to refer the question to the decision of the Supreme Court, have we not the power to settle it ourselves? In my judgment there is no peace to be had until the American people shall deliberately settle down upon some policy which all parts of the country can adhere to; and it is idle to suppose that a judicial decision, based upon the laws as they now exist in New Mexico and California, will settle what shall be the law in regard to slavery in those Territories for all time to come.

Mr. President, when I was a member of the House I voted against all rules which restricted debate upon the subject of slavery. My votes at the commencement of this session show that I have been unwilling to silence any Northern Senator or to prevent the presentation of petitions. I hold that the attempt is preposterous to *stifle* inquiry or to keep down agitation by restrictions on debate or petitions. Such a course only incenses the public mind. Knowing, as I do, that no moral guilt can attach to the South for the institution of slavery, I have always thought that it was our best policy to say to the North, "Talk as much as you please; we are not afraid to hear you, and we are very desirous to understand your designs and plans, so far as they are calculated to affect us." Sir, the discussions upon this bill have demonstrated the designs and plans of the North in reference to slavery. They loom upon our vision like the water-spout of a stormy sea, threatening to burst upon us and sink the ship.

Mr. President, if I know my own heart, I feel for the distresses and calamities of all men, and I am not only willing but consider it a duty to do all I can, in private and in public, to alleviate wretchedness and better the condition of my whole race. But, sir, I have, I trust, no morbid sympathies or antipathies. I feel for the voluntary slave as intensely as I do for the involuntary. What is the man or the woman but an involuntary slave, who, under the grinding poverty of a dense and crowded population, is compelled from necessity to work according to the will of his employer for coarse bread? Nakedness and hunger are as potent stimulants to the starving laborer of the old world as the overseer's lash to the involuntary negro slave, and they secure just as abject service. The soldier and the sailor, by their enlistment, subject themselves to the will of their commanders, and may be shot and hung for mutiny or disobedience of orders. It is well that the honors which they acquire in time of war reconcile and compensate them for the hard servitude they contract to perform. In our mercantile marine, the sailor, after his engagement, cannot release himself from the contract, except by personal service; and if he deserts, he may be arrested, confined in jail until the vessel sails, and then delivered up to the master and compelled to serve during the voyage. The cat-'o-nine-tails secures order and obedience on board the ship. Sir, the world is full of *voluntary* servitude, forced upon the subjects of it by the inexorable circumstances which surround them, and presenting to the true philanthropist as strong claims for sympathy and legislation as the condition of the involuntary slave from birth. It is the business of a benevolent statesman to regard the actual state of things, and, by his legislation, so to regulate the affairs of society which fall within the scope of his legitimate powers, as shall secure to each class and every individual of each class, all the privileges and enjoyments suited to their condition, and which may not be dangerous or incompatible with the safety, welfare, and happiness of the great whole. This is the rule which no one questions when applied to voluntary servitude in the army and navy, and domestic service in families or the avocations of life. We apply the same rule, without objection, to involuntary servitude as it exists in penitentiaries and asylums, and to the relations between parent and child, master and apprentice. Why shall it not be applied to the case of African slavery, as it exists in the United States?

I have indicated my line of policy. I have shown wherein this bill is mischievous, and why it will accomplish nothing. It can do very little harm to postpone action on the subject of territorial governments for New Mexico and California for three or four months, when we shall meet again, after conferring with our constituents, and when we shall be better informed. I have presented a scheme by which, whenever it is the pleasure of the Southern States, they can rid themselves of the institution of slavery without feeling the change; and whenever they indicate that purpose, aid from the North in accomplishing the plan adopted by the South will be thankfully received. But all obtrusive interference will be indignantly rejected. Having thus fully explained the position I wish to occupy, I am prepared to vote.

THE POLICY OF RUSSIA.

Since the outbreak of the spirit of revolution in Europe, (says the Boston Daily Advertiser,) much curiosity has been manifested to discover what would be the policy of Russia. Although the Emperor of Russia may have felt safe against the inroads of liberalism into his dominions, he may not have felt so fully guarded against conspiracy, at a time when insurrection and revolt was common to every part of Europe, and it was natural that he should feel some solicitude for the maintenance of order in his own dominions. It was also but the part of prudence to be prepared for any change in his relations with the neighboring Powers which might grow out of the changes likely to take place in the character and policy of the Governments of those countries, and also to protect the frontiers of his empire against the effects of insurrection in the neighboring provinces of the Prussian and Austrian dominions. Orders for placing his immense armies on the footing of activity and efficiency were of course issued, and movements of troops were heard of, which gave rise to speculations in the German and other papers. It was repeatedly announced that the Russian army was on the point of invading the Prussian or Austrian territories. The Russian Government has at length thought it expedient to make a public declaration of its policy, for the information of the Governments of Europe, and has addressed the following circular to its diplomatic agents at the several courts in Germany, [and probably to our own Government, and all the European Governments,] under the signature of the experienced minister, Count Nesselrode. Without attributing to the Russian Emperor and his Cabinet any undue share of moderation and prudence, it must be manifest that its most obvious policy would be a defensive one, in the present agitated state of Europe, and we do not see any good reason to doubt that the views developed in this document are the true index of the policy of that Government.

THE DECLARATION OF RUSSIA.

"The German press, whose animosity against Russia appeared to have relaxed for a moment, has lately recommenced busying itself about us; and those measures which prudence for our own security has forced us to adopt on our frontiers have given rise to the most unwarranted supposition and commentaries.

"The language held on this subject in the Assemblies of Germany, though less immoderate and less positive, nevertheless bears the stamp of the same surmises.

"My preceding communications on the subject of the political and military position of the Emperor have made you sufficiently acquainted with the actual intention of his Majesty to render it unnecessary for me to give you fresh details on this head.

"You are aware, sir, that, since the origin of the events which have shaken the centre of Europe, the Emperor laid down for himself a line of conduct from which he has not deviated in a single instance—that of not interfering in any manner whatever in the internal affairs of the countries which desire to modify their organization; of leaving the nations perfectly free to give themselves up, without interference on his part, to the adoption of political and social experiments; not to attack any Power which shall not in the first instance have attacked him; but at the same time resolutely to repel every attempt upon his own internal security, so that if the present territorial equilibrium shall be broken or modified in any part, our just interests at least shall not be the sufferers.

"Such has been for six months the system adopted by the Emperor—such is the system to which he still adheres. But, while his Majesty confines himself to this passive and expectant system, he cannot voluntarily close his eyes to all those eventualities which may be in embryo in the numerous and sudden mutations introduced into the order of things which has hitherto obtained in Europe; nor, more especially, to that spirit of hostility which, in the delirium of change, has recently manifested itself against us throughout the whole of Germany.

"In fact, that great country had scarcely stated the terms of the problem of its unity, when its first thought was an extension of the limits of the Confederation—its first note, the note of war.

"In the preparatory meetings of the National German Parliament at Frankfort, in the clubs, in pamphlets, and public journals, war against Russia has been proclaimed as one of the inevitable necessities of the epoch.

"To make an alliance offensive and defensive with France has been publicly propounded. We have even been menaced that our Baltic provinces shall be engulphed in the German nationality.

"That the ancient kingdom of Poland shall be re-established in its limits of 1772, in order to serve as the eternal barrier of Europe against what it called the common enemy.

"To all these provocations, and many others which I shall pass over in silence, have been added direct acts of hostility. I need only refer to the welcome given to the Polish refugees, and the gratuitous passage given on the railways, at the expense of the German Governments themselves, to those bands which arrived from France with the avowed design of carrying devastation and insurrection into our territories.

"If it had been our object effectively to seek for a pretext for aggression, would not this single fact have formed a most favorable one? A war, deeply to be regretted, has been made upon a northern monarchy whose integrity we have guarantied, and the maintenance of which is indispensable to the equilibrium of Europe, which, by the complications to which it may easily give rise, and by ideas of maritime ambition with which popular opinion invests it, menaces an attack upon the general peace and interests of the lateral Powers of the Baltic. At the same time, the insurrection in the Grand Duchy of Posen, and the state of Galicia, may seriously endanger the internal tranquillity of our own provinces. Under present contingencies, and especially under such circumstances, the most common prudence calls for preparation. We have, therefore, concentrated our army on the frontier, in order to ward off those damages which may arise suddenly from the present and at all times precarious state of Europe.

"Our system, however, has been purely one of defence and precaution. We apprehend that it never had, and that it has not at this moment, any other character.

"Instead of regarding it in this point of view, and of acknowledging that, if we have been obliged to arm, the principal cause was owing to the repeated provocation which had been offered to us, the democratic opinion loves to prefer the charge of ideas of aggression. The German press daily teems with the most absurd rumors, and the most odious calumnies have been laid to our charge. More than once these journals have stated that our troops have passed the frontiers, although they have not left their cantonments. There is no insidious design but what is attributed to us—no *emeute*, no sedition, either in Germany or Sclavonia, which we have not favored underhand, either by our money or our agents.

"The hostility which we are supposed to entertain against Germany is precisely on a level with what is *felt*, or rather what it is attempted to create, against us in Germany.

"If, instead of attributing to us sentiments of hatred which we do not cherish, and of forming conjectures on our pretended designs which are without foundation, men would form a more just and true idea of the present, they would see that the enemy which they so gratuitously conjure, which they delight in holding up as a phantom, and against which a national war is said to be indispensable, has ever been, and is at this moment, if Germany only wishes, animated with sentiments of benevolence and disinterestedness towards her. When, indeed, has Germany had cause to complain of us? When have we formed projects against her independence? When have we even menaced an invasion? What part of her territory have we taken, or even coveted? During the whole time that the continent was groaning under the domination of an oppressive conqueror, Russia shed her blood to assist Germany in the maintenance of her integrity and her independence. The Russian territory had been free for a long time when she continued to follow and to sustain her German allies on all the battle-fields of Europe. More recently, in 1840, when war appeared for a moment on the eve of breaking out on the Rhine, we placed our naval and military at their disposal.

"During the long peace of thirty-three years, the benefits of which are so lightly set aside by the volatile spirit of the present generation, we have never ceased to recommend and to maintain in Germany concord and unity—not, indeed, that material unity which is now the day-dream of a democratic spirit of levelling and aggrandizement, and which, if it were possible to realize it, as conceived by ambitious theorists, would infallibly, sooner or later, plunge Germany into a war with all her neighbors—but that moral unity, that sincere accord of views and intentions in all political questions which the German Confederation formerly treated of.

"It is the maintenance of this union, it is the consolidation of the bonds which unite the German Governments together, which has ever been our sole aim, because we desire the peace of Europe, and in our opinion the surest guaranty of this peace has ever been lodged in the intimate union of all the Governments which constitute the Germanic Confederation.

"What we desired all this time we desire at the present day.

"Notwithstanding all the defiance and the outrage we have received, it has been impossible to change our disposition. Amid these mad declamations we know how to distinguish between deliberate and hot-headed men, between simple credulity and perfidious malice. We are sensible of the intoxication and momentary excitement brought on by events so unexpected, so sudden, so far beyond all expectations or surmise.

"At this time, as hitherto, far from desiring trouble, far from seeking to sow divisions, we desire nothing less for Germany than harmony between the Governments and the people—harmony so essential to preserve her amid the complications which may arise from abroad, as well as the imminent danger which may proceed from her internal position.

"We may have our doubts and our apprehensions as to the results of the great experiments which she attempts at this moment for gaining her nationality by a greater force and cohesion; but these doubts and these apprehensions have never transpired beyond the limits of our internal and private opinions.

"We desire nothing more than to be speedily reassured; and if in truth Germany succeeds in solving the problem of its organization without prejudice to its internal tranquillity, without causing the new forms impressed upon her nationality to be of such a nature as to disturb the repose of other kingdoms, we shall sincerely congratulate ourselves on the same motives which made us desire to see her powerful and united under her ancient political forms.

"Such being our dispositions of peace and conciliation, we cannot but deplore that they are responded to by sentiments so adverse.

"Had we merely to repel the imputations of the demagogue faction we should not trouble ourselves about them, nor should we attach more importance to them than they merit.

"The ascertained intention of this faction is to refuse *a priori* to see any good intention whatever on our part—at all hazards to embroil the country with us, in order by war to excite a confusion from which it hopes to reap advantages for its own anarchical designs.

"As this party is determined to refuse us justice, and as it is useless to attempt to convince those who will not be convinced, had we no other adversaries than those, we should content ourselves with meeting them in silence, leaving it to time to show the fallacy of all the false reports and all the calumnies which they spread. But side by side with these demagogues are men of good faith, who, from ignorance or credulity, retain without mistrust or examination all the false impressions which are given them, and that without intending to act the part of revolutionists. By acting upon their imaginations, by nourishing their suspicions, by raising their fears, it has hoped to plunge them into a war which, in regard to their own interests, is, to say the truth, a monstrosity, and would precipitate them, as happens but too frequently, into an abyss of real war, in order to escape an imaginary evil. This is the desire of the ultra democratic party, and to this point it will, if it be possible, persevere. It is therefore indispensable that the Governments, in their diplomatic relations with us, should be made acquainted with our true intentions. It has become the duty of the enlightened members of assemblies and legislative chambers—of all those, in fact, who combine with the doctrines of reform the desire of preserving to their country the blessings of public order and monarchical principles, to use all their legitimate influence in endeavoring to redress respecting Russia the character of public opinion, and to prevent it from going aside into a path which, sooner or later, must lead to incalculable evils.

"The Emperor charges you expressly, sir, to make them sensible of this necessity in working upon their conviction the preceding considerations and reflections. Tell them, and make known to all men of sense with whom you may come into contact, either on business or social intercourse, that the intentions of the Emperor in regard to Germany are, and will remain, purely pacific; that our armaments have hitherto had a strictly defensive destination, that of being prepared to meet one of the thousand unlooked-for cases which it is impossible for any one to foresee in the provisional state into which the recent events have suddenly plunged the world; that in regard to Germany in particular—whilst she does not attack us, whilst the Confederation, whatever new form it may please to take, shall respect the neighboring kingdoms, and not attempt forcibly to extend its territorial limits, or its legitimate competency beyond the boundaries assigned to it by existing treaties—the Emperor will also respect her internal independence, and will not deviate from the position which he has maintained to this day.

"In complying with these directions, you will do well to give a copy of the present despatch to the Cabinet where you are accredited. NESSELRODE."

Discovery of a Counterfeiter's Den.—The Boston Traveller states that a strange discovery was accidentally made on Wednesday last, at an ancient house in the town of Brighton, in the vicinity of Worcester Railroad, at the "Cambridge Crossing," so called. As a Mr. Howard, the present occupant of the house, was at work in his cellar, the earth partially gave way, and brought to light a room of some twelve feet in depth, with plank sides and top. The roof of this underground den was about four feet below the surface, and was entered by a trap-door and a pair of steps. This much of the general appearance of things was ascertained, and a removal of the earth is expected to bring to light more particulars of this curious affair.

Mr. Howard was enabled, by a partial breaking way of the planking, to hook out several kegs from the room, one of which was about half full of counterfeit American half dollars, all of the date of 1833. Attached to the keg was what is supposed to have been a machine for polishing the coin. A sack, in which to deposite tools, was also got out.

The house, nearly a century old, has long had the reputation (no doubt purposely produced by the counterfeiters) of being haunted.

The "Yankees."—Some thirty or forty of the Dry Goods Merchants of the city of Boston have contributed several hundred dollars for the purpose of bestowing upon the persons who, at the imminent hazard of their lives, rescued Mr. Carlos Pierce from the perilous situation in which he was placed by the falling of "Dearborn Block" in June last. A portion of the money has been expended in the purchase of an elegant Silver Pitcher and two elegant Gold Watches. The pitcher, which bears the following inscription, has been presented to the City Marshal: "Presented by the Dry Goods Merchants of Boston to Francis Tukey, Esq., City Marshal, for his noble and humane assistance in rescuing Carlos Pierce from the ruins of 'Dearborn Block,' in Federal street, June 24, 1848." One of the watches was presented to Capt. Caleb Page, and the other to Mr. Isaac Brooks—both bearing inscriptions similar to that upon the pitcher.

The remainder of the money (about $500) is to be distributed among some twenty others who rendered valuable assistance.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM GEN. TAYLOR.

We find the following in the Martinsburg (Va.) Republican of Wednesday last:

Baton Rouge, (La.) July 15, 1848.

Sir: Your polite communication of the 10th ultimo, desiring to know whether I deem the administration of the General Government by Messrs. Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Van Buren, Tyler, and Polk "to have been conducted upon the principles of the Jeffersonian school," has been duly received. In reply, I have to inform you that I hardly deem it proper for me, in my present position before the American people, thus to comment upon the public career of our former Presidents; and that, touching this subject, my opinions, as far as I deem it proper or necessary to express them at present, are embraced in the accompanying letter to my friend Captain Allison.

With my best wishes for your health and happiness, I remain, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR.

Mr. John Churchill Hedges,
Bedington, Berkeley county, Va.

WHIG DEMONSTRATION IN NEW YORK.

FROM THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE OF WEDNESDAY.

Pursuant to the public notice, the Young Whigs of the city held a mass meeting last night in Washington parade ground to respond to the nominations of the Philadelphia Convention. Large numbers of our citizens began to assemble at an early hour around the stand, which was erected at the western extremity of the square, brilliantly lighted and canopied with a large canvass bearing the names of Taylor and Fillmore. It was very substantially constructed, and the accommodations for reporters were of the most convenient character. A very fine band was in attendance, and enlivened the crowd with stirring national airs until the hour for organization. A hearty enthusiasm appeared to prevail among all assembled, manifesting itself in cheers and the firing of pistols around the skirts of the meeting.

At eight o'clock, several thousands having collected, John J. R. De Puy called the meeting to order, and nominated Jonathan W. Allen, Esq. for Chairman.

Mr. De Puy also nominated a number of gentlemen for Vice-Chairman.

Samuel H. De Mott nominated gentlemen for Secretaries.

The Chairman then introduced to the meeting Hon. F. A. Tallmadge, of the Eighth Ward, who was greeted with loud cheering. He commenced by stating that it was right and proper to examine the principles of the political candidates, and express approbation or disapprobation with regard to them. What, then, said he, are the principles of the present party in power? Those who are attached to the administration of Polk are in favor of the principles which Lewis Cass, who is recommended by the Democratic party as his successor, will carry out. Mr. T. then gave a sketch of the character of those principles. [The Eighth Ward Club here made their appearance with music and their banners, and were received with three cheers.] He entered into an explanation of Cass's opinions with regard to the Oregon question, not forgetting the easy slide which Mr. Polk made from 54° 40′ to 49°. The Mexican war was then commented on, with the debt which its prosecution had imposed upon our country, equal, Mr. T. said, to an additional tax of five dollars on every inhabitant of the United States. The ascendency of the South, however, was a greater evil than this. He asked, as a free man from a free State, where this system of slave extension shall end? He called the serious attention of the audience to this question. It had been said, he remarked, that the Whigs had no platform. He desired those persons to understand that the Whig party possessed great and cardinal principles, which they would never surrender. [Cheers.]

Mr. T. then entered into a discussion of the river and harbor question as connected with the commercial prosperity of the country, alluding to the fact that of the $890,000,000 of revenue received since the adoption of the constitution, $489,000,000 was paid by New York, and yet the policy of Cass and Polk would prohibit any improvement of New York harbor. It had been recommended to impose a tonnage duty on vessels, and apply the money to the improvement of harbors and rivers. This had been tried in Baltimore for the last ten years, and the consequence was that the amount thus received had decreased from $1,000,000 in 1838 to $483,000 in 1847. Gen. Taylor, it was known, would accede to the wishes of Congress in this respect, and his election would therefore secure the passage of proper laws on the subject. Need I speak (said Mr. T.) of the character of Gen. Taylor? [Loud cheers.] You have witnessed his acts, read his letters, and heard his character described. [Cheers.] He is acknowledged to be a man of great discretion, sound judgment, and undaunted courage. [Cheers.] If elected, he would frame a Cabinet of the best and ablest Whigs. [Great applause.] Many of you have looked to that star of the East; in a few weeks his voice will unite with mine for Gen. Taylor. [Immense cheering.] What could I say of that bright star of the West, [loud cheers,] that man whom we have delighted to honor and love? He, too, will give his voice for Taylor. [Great applause.] The speaker then concluded by asking what more was wanted than a man who would carry out the designs of the Representatives of the People, and advising the Whigs to cast out all malcontents who advocate Van Buren as if it was the devil himself.

James Brooks, Esq., of the *Express*, was next introduced to the meeting. He remarked that he came forward only as an echo, since the greater names which had been expected were not present among them. Shall we be told, said he, that the Whig party has disbanded—that party which has stood so many years; that its banner has been trailed in the dust? If adversity overtakes it, the waves will roll back and leave it standing firm as ever. Its principles had long been fixed and established, while those who held the Convention at Buffalo had but a ricketty, variegated, mysterious, white, black, mingled, and mosaic platform. [Laughter and applause.] The Speaker then entered at length into the discussion of Whig principles, and stated that the Allison letter of Gen. Taylor decided him to be in favor of a restriction of the veto power, and of the tariff and internal improvements, if they should be decreed by the voice of the people. He described in glowing terms the military exploits of Gen. Taylor, and asserted that it was impossible for a man to be a great military commander without possessing some qualifications for government. The concluding part of his address was occupied with a review of the political career and character of Van Buren, showing that little dependence was to be placed on his present professions. All Whigs, he said, would let the would-be one-idea, one-eyed Polyphemus party will do themselves discredit and dishonor.

H. J. Raymond, Esq. appeared next on the stand, and was received with three cheers. Under the circumstances which exist at the present time, he said, on the election of November depend principles whose importance no mind and no tongue can exaggerate. The newly-acquired Territories must have a government, and that government must come from Washington. Its character would therefore depend greatly on the result of the election. Van Buren, he said, is put forward as the representative of the single principle of free soil; he respected the opinions of the large and intelligent class of citizens who advocated it, but distrusted the wisdom of the measure, which he considered best adapted to defeat the object in view. The election of 1844 was a proof of the injury which men may do by opposing candidates who do not agree with them in *all* things, when the issue lies between two alone. The Senate now consists of fifteen Northern and fifteen Southern members. The question of the balance of power might be forever decided by that of the admission of new territory, and on which side could the North place its dependence to give the casting vote—Butler or Fillmore? [Cries of "Fillmore!"]

Mr. R. also reviewed the course of Van Buren; he considered that it must sometimes require all his ingenuity to solve the question of his personal identity. [Laughter and cheers.] How could he make up his mind that the Free Soil Van Buren of 1848 was the same as the Pro-slavery Van Buren of 1825? It reminded him of a woman whose dress was made shorter by some wags as she was asleep in her market-wagon, and who on waking doubted her own identity so far that she was obliged to adopt the following test:

"If I be I, as I hope I be,
I've a little dog at home, and he knows me!"

[Loud laughter and cheers.] The speaker concluded by describing the character of Gen. Taylor, as developed in his military history, and called upon the Whigs to unite and elect him, believing that the interests of the country will thereby be secured. [Prolonged applause.]

Mr. Blakely then read a number of resolutions favorable to the Whig nominees, which were unanimously adopted.

Naval.—The sloop of war *Portsmouth*, now lying off the Navy Yard, Charlestown, (Mass.) is ready for sea, and will sail with the first fair wind. She will proceed direct to Porto Praya, and, after passing one season on the coast of Africa, will finish her cruise in the Mediterranean.

The workmen at the same navy yard are proceeding rapidly in taking down the ship-house near the gate. Little of it, except the frame, now remains standing. The 14th of September has been fixed upon for launching the ship of the line *Vermont*.

By the premature discharge of a cannon, in honor of the returned Volunteers of Pontiac, Michigan, Luther Jones and Horace Budington were killed, and Peter Burke wounded. Burke was one of the returned volunteers.