slaves into the ceded Territories, (which is the way that I have suggested, which in the establishment of these and co-operation, which ought to animate as such a population might make, they are to come here for admission as a State, will accomplish all the objects sought for the Senator want? He talks about the statu quo. The statu quo is stand them.

Now Mr. Devices the clause of to modify the clause. It is said that nothing has been done and co-operation, which ought to animate an

law of the Constitution of the United formed it, will not be preserved. States

Mr. Souls. Protection. Mr. CLAY. The paramount is constitution affords that protection. that protection.

Mr. CLAY. Will the Senator be satisfied with striking out the clause?

Mr. Souls. I will be satisfied with the

ed by my friend from Museissippi.

in. Or I would consent to its being so fere. can result from that clause, to assert eith- upon which I shall not dwell, and which premise by assuming, in the first place. or exclude slavery-

lishment or exclusion of slavery.

will agree to modify the clause so as to will arise out of the failure of Congress to sident! Is it to heal all these wounds? declare that the Territorial Legislature sojust these questions. I will say noth- No such thing. It is only to heal one of

slavery is siready abolished and unterly which I understood the other day was sa- more potent, much more efficacions than that, in a spirit of compromise, the President to do this in time of war, and it Mr. Clay. I understood the Sension to the house—an amendment declaring very into the constitution of United States.

Mr. Soble. I establish not exclude slavery by the Mexican law—that the right to carry slaves into the ceded Territories was restored by virtue of the constitution of the United States.

Mr. Clay. That, then, is what the Sensor contended fact, necessary of the United States.

Mr. Clay. That, then, is what the Sensor contended fact, very many of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Clay. That, then, is what the Sensor contended fact, very many of the constitution of the United States.

Mr. Clay. That, then, is what the Sensor contended fact, very many of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Clay. That, then, is what the Sensor contended fact, very many of the Constitution of the United States, there is a right, on the part of every slaves into the ceded Territories where the contended fact, very well, then the part of every slaves into the ceded Territories was restored by virtue of the constitution of the United States.

Mr. Clay. That, then, is what the Sensor contended fact, very well, then the contended fact, very well, then the contended fact, well a right, on the part of every slaves into the ceded Territories, which is months of carries and composed, to settle difficulties which is impoint of law that, under the constitution of the United States, there is a right, on the part of every slaves into the ceded Territories, which is country, to carry slaves there, I cannot vote for the part of every slaves into the ceded Territories, which is country, to carry slaves there, it cannot vote for the part of every slaves into the ceded Territories, which is country, to carry slaves there, it cannot vote for the part of every slaves into the constitution of the United States, there is a right, on the part of every slaves into the ceded Territories, which is country, to carry slaves there, it cannot vote for the slaves into the ceded Territories, which is country, to carry slaves there, i tisfactory to most gentlemen on that side that; you have got the interdiction of siz- deut orgat to unite with us. He recom- was cast as a represent against him. But

Mississippi prevail. That is all I want. and eloquent argument of the Senator from I am willing to abide by that section, pro- Louisiana ; but I will proceed to the othvided the amendment proposed by the er subjects which I propose to discuss. Benator from Mississippi, and which I I am not one of those who, either at the have this morning sustained, be adopted. commencement of the session or at any I will also be satisfied with other portions time during its progress, have believed of the bill, if reasonable amendments shall that there was any present actual danger to the existence of the Union. But I am Mr. CLAY. I am happy to find that one of those who believe that, if this agithere is some possibility that the Senator tation is continued for one or two years may yet vote with us. Perhaps I should longer, no man can foresee the dreadful have been less earnest if I had not des- consequences. A dissolution of the Unpaired of ever obtaining his vote. I real-ly thought that, from the course of his ar-opinion which can be all calamities in my South has triumphed; there is perfect re-to them the benefit of government, law, head-quarters to be neutral in this contest gument, and from the manner in which may not in form take place; but next to that is a dissolution of those fraternal and the treated every proposition contained in that is a dissolution of those fraternal and the world not do if she could, to African Slavery.

The recommendation of the second of the second of the second of the could, to African Slavery. was hopeless; that nothing could reconcile free, christian, and commercial people. him to any scheme that the committee In my opinion, the body politic cannot be sould propose. I regret, however, to perseive that the Senstor, in announcing what traction, this exasperation, which is going one hand for its introduction, or on the would satisfy him. restricts himself to this on between the two sections of the counsection. But, now, I should like to know try, shall cease. Unless it do cease, I what other law the Senator wants upon am afraid that this Union, for all the high and probably will, find her wishes ulti- ern portions of the confederacy. The what will become of the sacred obliga- of the most irritating questions, is left by the subject of slavery than the paramount and noble purposes for which our fathers mately consummated by the exclusion of recommendation proposes to leave all else tions of the treaty of Hidalgo? Of all the him, without any recommendation or any

exact words of the bill-for the commit- causes. The bill has left the field open what condition is that left by the Presiments or modifications, which will better people, when they are forming States, ment at all. Without even the blessing the measure—but unless some measure of shall so decide; or to be exclusively de- or curse, as you may choose to call it, of this kind pass, I hazard the prediction Mr. Sours. I will be satisfied with the that nothing will be done for California, clause, provided it be modified as propos- nothing will be done for the Territories, nothing upon the fugitive slave bill, noth-Mr. CLAY. But that amendment the Se-nator knows I cannot agree to, because it in this District. Unless some such measesumes a fact the existence of which I sure prevail, instead of healing and closdeny. It assumes the fact that slaves are ing the wounds of the country, instead of mean the duty of contrasting the plan prothere. I maintain that there are none stopping the effusion of blood, it will flow posed by the Executive of the United in what condition does the President's work out their own happiness and salva- tate this afflicted people—let any man there, except here and there a body ser- in still greater quantities, with still grea- States with the plan proposed by the com- message leave her? With a military govant that has been carried there by those ter danger to the republic. And I repeat, mittee of thirteen. If the Executive has vernment; a military government which. who are sojourning or travelling through that in my opinion the measure upon a friend-(I do not mean exactly that, be- administered as it is proposed to be, is no your table, with such amendments as it cause I believe and wish myself to be a government. While upon this part of thement of this boundary question, and If the Senator will be satisfied with may receive, or some tantamount mea- friend of the Executive, feeling most anx- the subject, let me call your attention to without establishing Territorial Govern- is demanded by the necessities of the case striking out the clause. I will vote to strike sure, must pass, or nothing passes upon ions to co-operate with him)—but if there what has been said by the Delegate from it out, because I voted against putting it all the subjects to which the report re- be a friend of the Executive who supports that Territory, in a feeling address which

Legislature shall neither admit nor exclude not pass this measure, there is a possibili- meet us face to face upon the question of slavery, which will leave it open to police ty, some gentlemen will say a high pro- superiority of the one measure to the oth- Clay, read the following extracts: regulations. If the Senator will be satis- bability, that the California bill will not er? Let us here, and not in the columns fiel with that, I am content. But, if the pass. I have no doubt myself but that of newspapers, have a fair, full, and manby any clause which goes beyond its pro- of Congress in favor of the admission of I shall be ready to bear my humble part fessed object, by any implication which California into the Union; but from causes in such a mental contest, Allow me to er that slavery exists now in that country, are adverted to by me not with pleasure, that every friend of his country must be or that it is lawful to carry it there under but with pain, I am afraid that that bill anxious that all our difficulties be settled; one, cannot agree to it. If the Senator sure by itself, What, then, will be the concord and harmony to this country. will agree to the modification of the clause, condition of the country? Let us supso as to declare that the Territorial Legis- pose that Congress does nothing; let us dent? I will describe it by a simile, in a lature shall pass no laws either to admit suppose that it fails to furnish a remedy manner which cannot be misunderstood. Mr. WEBSTER. Respecting the estab- the country. Suppose we separate and four, five-bleeding and threatening the go home under those mutual feelings well being, if not the existence of the bo-Mr. CLAY. Certainly. If the Senator of dissatisfaction and discontent which dy politic. What is the plan of the Pre-Mr. Soule. I wish not to misunder- are looking upon us with anxious solici- should produce death itself. I have said ble Senator from Mississippi assumes the greatest of all countries. I will say noth- is the question of the boundary of Texas existence of slavery there. I cannot con- ing of that large portion of mankind who the third; there is the fugitive slave bill our with him in that. The amendment are gazing with intense anxiety upon this the fourth; and there is the question of assumes that slaves may be there, but it great experiment in behalf of man's capa- the slave trade in the District of Columdertainly will not carry them there if they city for self-government and man's free- bia fifth. The President, instead of pro- Is it not a virtual abandonment of the governbe not already there. And if any right dom. I will say nothing of all this. Sup- posing a plan comprehending all the dis- ment?" exists under the state of things which that pose, then, that after the lapse of six or eases of the country, looks only at one. Mr. CLAY. Mr. President, with regard asserts, I cannot conceive what serious ob. seven months, during which we were His recommendation does not embrace, to Utah there is no government whatever, jections can be entertained on the part of vainly endeavoring to reconcile the dis- and he says nothing about the fugitive unless it is such as necessity has promptthe honorable Senator, to the amendment tracted and divided parts of the country, slave bill or the District bill; but he re- ed the Mormons to institute; and when proposed by the Senator from Mississip- we go home full of the feelings of rage commends that the other two subjects, of you come to New Mexico what governpi. It only protects whatever right may and animosity, one section against anoth- Territorial Government and Texas boun- ment have you? A military government. exist there. It does not give any right, er. In such a state of feeling can the re- dary, remain and be left untouched to cure by a licutenant colonel of the army! A exist there. It does not give any right, et. In such a state of feeling can the reIt only seeks to protect such rights as,
under the constitution of the United however, that you reject this bill and pass
themselves by some law of nature, by the lieutenant colonel, a mere subordinate of subjects which agitate of them.

States, may now or hereafter exist. For the Californis bill, and go home in that States, may now or hereafter exist. For the California bill, and go nome in that dy in the success of which I cannot be successed which is confidence. Profound peace. Stand up. Whig who proposes the admission to these reasons I shall vote for the amend- state of things; what will not the South ceive any ground of the least confidence. profound peace. Stand up. Whig who proposes the admission to the state of things; what will not level at I have seen with profound surprise and can—stand up. Democrat who can, and of California as a State in

one, that, if the Meaton is a prevails, sengration as I have suggested, and provise; you have got a clause much try in his own peculiar plan. I think had doubte about the authority of the late !

about the statu quo is precisely what I should suppose him to want. But, superadded to that, if that be with him, is the Constitution of the United States. And yet he is not satisfied. The question whether the opinions expressed by me and by othe power! Would he recommend the introduction of the Wilmot proviso into the power! Would he recommend the introduction of the Wilmot proviso into the bill, or a legislative enactment to admit slaves, because the plan of the committee is not satisfied. We provise which the committee is not satisfied. We will be decided by the Supreme Court of the tribunal. We established with this comportance is silent upon that subject! The Senator is not southfied with this comportance. Will he tell us now, in so many words, what he would put into an act of Congress provisions of the will be there nothing done for the South when there is to that subject of slaves, the question of the Wilmot proviso, on the one hand, nor sutherizing the introduction of slavery on the other; when every the power! Would he recommend the introduction of the Wilmot proviso —a proviso, which is government to admit slaves, because the plan of the committee is not sutified with this comportance. Will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the result, I trust it may not be, will be the re satisfy himself or the subject of slavery! I should be extremely happy to hear it.

Mr. Souls. I am ready to answer the honorable gentleman at once. I will be satisfied with this section of the bill if the satisfied with this section of the bill if the satisfied with this section of the bill if the satisfied with respect to the able, ingenious.

Mr. President, I will not say any thing among the more with respect to the able, ingenious.

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Mr. President, I will not say any thing among the more with the committee on the part of the Executive of the Executive of the United States.

Mr. President, I will not say any thing among the more with the attisfaction with the attisfactory to some form or other, of the Executive of the United States and first duties about to the able attisfactory to some form or other, of the Executive of the United States and first duties and minister to his subjects of the united States and first duties and minister to his subjects of the Executive to the states and first duties and minister to his subjects of the Executive to the states and first duties and minister to his subje compromise, which any man, whether at surance of his adherence exclusive to his it is said under the authority of the Secthe North or the South, who is desirous own particular scheme.

It was look at the condition of these proach of an invasion? While commisaccept without dishonor or disgrace, and go home with the smiles which the learned Senator regretted he could not carry with him to Louisiana. They may go home and say that these vast Persitories very, and non-action us it respects the go- ry of Texas, what does this military gohome and say that these vast Territories very, and non-action as it respects the goare left open. If slavery exists there, there it is. If it does not exist there, it is pensations of Providence, and the course those people and repel livasion, and to maining territory; whilst not there. Neither the North nor the of events, have come to our hands to be protect the domain? He says he means the other party, provoked not there. Neither the North nor the of events, have come to our hands to be protect the domain? He says he means the other per South has triumphed; there is perfect re- taken care of. To refrain from extending to be neutral, and has instructions from taken care of. umphed. The South has not triumph- order, and protection, is widely different between the people of Santa Fe or New because she maintains (although it is The recommendation of the President, distion of Texas, says he means to take ed. not my own individual opinion) that as I have already said, proposed the sim- no part with those whom he governs, but | Whilst the President's plan is confined Mr. President, I will go so far as to but if she does, that ought not to be an oc- an abandonment, what will be the condi- man in his social and aggregate, or his country. renture to express this opinion, that un- carion of complaint with the South, be- tion of things? The first approximate individual character, that of good faith, of He fails to recommend any plan for the less this measure of compromise, not the cause it will be the result of inevitable. Territory to California is High, and in the honorable fulfilment of obligations. voted to freedom, if, as is probable, they a military government. There is no goshall so determine.

nate to a very painful duty, which I am mons to erect for themselves. Until the constrained to perform, and which I shall common parent shall have spread its powpretation it may, here or elsewhere. I no adequate government. modified as to declare that the Territorial Let us look at the subject. If you do the committee, will be stand up here, and of New Mexico.

Now, what is the plan of the Presi-

tion or non-intervention in regard to ala. der the authority of Texas as the territofrom silence or non-intervention in regard Mexico and Texas! The governor of

vernment there, unless such as the neces-Now let me call the attention of the Se. sitles of the case have required the Morperform let it subject me to what misinter. er and its authority over them, they have

his measure to the exclusion of that of he has recently published to the people

Mr. Underwood, at the request of Mr.

"Why have our rights, which are certainly indisputable, been so long withheld! Why have Secutor desires, by any indirect means, there are large majorities in both Houses ly interchange of argument and opinion. we been compelled to live under a military domination, so repugnant to freemen, and so oping the existence of her laws, and ready,
posed to the acknowledged spirit of and foundaif they had the power to do it, to resist her
tion of this Government? Why, our condition, claim of jurisdiction to the last extremety. instead of being improved by the transfer of alegiance, as was promised to us, has been continually getting worse. Why has this Government the constitution of the United States, I for never will pass the two Houses as a mea- and that we should once more restore so long neglected giving you that protection against Indian depredations which was so often Mr. President, that is not my concep-promised, both before and since the treaty cestion of duty as an American legislator. sion? Why, the connection with this Govern- My duty tells me to perform what we ment, which you have been encouraged to look have promised to perform; my duty tells suppose that it fails to furnish a remedy manner which cannot be misunderstood. forward to as the beginning of your prosperity for any one of the evils which now afflict. Here are five wounds—one, two, three, and improvement, has had its opening with three years of depredation, miserable misrule, and mili-

that you have no other than a military govern- part of the republic of Mexico; but which, ment to administer the civil laws with which you came into the Union, (and under which you and shall pass no laws respecting the establing of the reproach and opprobrium that the five, and to leave the other four to your ancestors have lived for two centuries.) extend to them from Washington, on our lishment of exclusion of slavery, I will go would be brought upon us by all christen bleed more profusely than ever, by the What other Executive have you but the compart. That is my conception of duty, sole admission of California, even if it mander of the troops in New Mexico! Does he and I will undertake to perform it, if I not absolutely control all the civil establishments can. If I cannot do it on account of the Mr. Soule. I wish not to misunderstand the honorable Senator, but if I understand the honorable Senator is the amendment proposed by the honora- tinies which appertain to one among the nia; there are the Territories second; there not indeed assumed to order the courts whom to commands him not to interfere, or prevent the offi- be irreproachable as to any deliberate negcers from Texas to exercise their commissions in your Territory, can that be called neutrality?

Senator for interrupting him.

Senator for interrupting him.

Mr. CLAY. Well, sir, if the honorable say to the North, "You got all you wantsenator will be satisfied with such an ed; you got the substitute for the Wilmot well
Senator will be satisfied with such an ed; you got the substitute for the Wilmot well
Senator for interrupting him.

They will regret, the persistance—for so I am painfully compelled to regard the facts around vernment in this free and glorious Repubsenator will be satisfied with such an ed; you got the substitute for the Wilmot well
Senator for interrupting him.

this people, who are opposed to the juris- have been yet me tion in such way as they can!

In what circumstances will this country be if Congress adjourns without a set- and show that the plan which is proposed what condition would the people of New Mexico he east of the Rio del Norte in their conflict with Texas? Sir. I need not remind you of what every body knows of the settled dislike, the insuperable antipathy existing on the part of the people of New Mexico towards Texas, denouncing and denying her authority, contravenif they had the power to do it, to resist her And yet they are to be left to take care of themselves! They have got a govern-

ment good enough for them! me to extend to this people in Utah and New Mexico the benefits of that supreme authority residing in the city of Mexico Again: "It is useless for me to remind you which they had when they constituted a when they came to us, we promised to way, I cannot accomplish what I deem my lect, even if I fail in the attempt to perform my duty.

I will close this part of what I have to say by grouping, comparing, and contrasting the features of the respective plans of the Executive and the Committee, which I shall be glad if the Reporters will publish in parrallel columns:

The President's plan |- The Committee'splan

They also propor

public mind, I feer, more than ever.

other for its exclusion. Nor has the ing by itself, has excited the strongest American can say that, under the circum for, and the boundary between Texas and North been victorious. She may, indeed, symptoms of dissatisfaction in the South- stances, this course is justifiable; and New Mexico unsettled, another, and one slavery from our territorial acquisitions; untouched and unprovided for. In such honorable distinctions which characterize provision, to harass and exasperate the

and the observance of contracts in private subject of fugitive slaves. He proposes Mr. Sours. I think it does not afford tee, I am sure, will agree to any amend- for both, to be occupied by slavery, if the dent's message? Without any governwhich commends itself most to be appro- tions which arise out of this subject. bation of enlightened mankind. Here we will repeat, let him who can, stand up have a provision in this treaty staring us here and tell the country, and satisfy his in the face, requiring us to extend the own conscience—when the whole counprotection of government to the people of try is calling out for peace, peace; Utah and New Mexica. We are told we when it is imploring its rulers above and may safely—it is not said, I admit, in its rulers below to bring once more to this terms, but it is in effect—we may with- agit sted and distracted people some broad draw from the fulfilment of our obligations, and comprehensive scheme of healing, and leave this people to themselves, to and settle all these questions which agiwho can, not in the public press, but in the Senate of the United States, stand up by Executive authority is such a one as ments for Utah and New Mexico? In and the condition of the country. I should be glad to hear that man. Ay, Mr. President, I wish I had the mental power commensurate with my fervent wishes for the adjustment of these unhappy questions, commensurate to urge upon you and upon the country forbearance, conciliation, the surrender of extreme opinions, the avoidance of attempting impossibilities.

Sir, I know there is a floating idea in the Southern mind, such as we have heard before, of the necessity of an equilibrium of power between the two sections of the Union-of a balancing authority. Howe ever desirable such a state of political arrangement might be, we all know it is utterly impracticable. We all know that the rapid growth and unparalleled progress of the Northern portion of this country is such that it is impossible for the South to keep pace with it; and unless the order of all republics shall be reversed, and the majority chall be governed by the minority, the equilibrium is unattainable. extend to them from Washington, on our be, and in the nature of things it is inpossible that there should be, this equilibrium of power between the two sections of this country, does it therefore follow that the Southern portion is in any danger with respect to that great institution bring to trial, and in every way prescribe their duty. I shall stand acquitted in the sight so much solicitude? I think not. I believe not. All apprehensions of danger are founded on flagrant abuses of power; and the possibility of such abuses would prevent'all investment of power, since no human power is free from the danger of abuse. But what are the securities for the maintenance of Southern rights connected with that peculiar institution? In the first place, there is that sense of truth, that sense of justice which appertains to enlightened man, to christian man. In the next place, there is the constitution of the United States, with the oath which all take to abide by that constitution. Next. there is a necessity for the concurrence of both branches of Congress before any act of legislation, inflicting a wrong upon that Southern portion of the country, could favery. the President of the United States, appli-