

Mr. KERR. I assure you, Mr. Chairman, that I have not risen on this occasion for the vain purpose merely of making a display. I have not sought to excite a passion for public speaking. I have risen to do a duty which I believe to be a duty which I owe to those who sent me here—by an endeavor to vindicate their rights upon this floor, and by making known to them what my sentiments are in regard to a question which, however exciting here, had not been discussed before the public, and was not anticipated by them.

I came here, sir, with no disposition to engage in any political controversy of any character, with any party, or with any person. I have looked upon the storm which has so long raged upon our country, as in a manner, extreme, and I have longed to see it allayed, and with many others, both North and South, I rejoiced when the joint resolutions of the patriots and sages of 1850 had effected an adjustment of the agitating question upon which the storm arose, on a basis which, in my judgment, was the only one which could have been adopted, and which would have secured the obligations of republican principles.

I regarded the basis of the adjustment of 1850 as the only means whereby our national existence could be perpetuated, and the general prosperity promoted. As a southern man, I felt myself specially bound to abide that compromise. I felt that we of the South were peculiarly called upon to insist upon its sacredness. For one, whatever course others might pursue, I resolved that under no circumstances could I be induced ever to cooperate in any attempt to impair its solemnity. The spirit of the compromise is violated in the measure which is before us. If that be so, I am against it. I examined that question anxiously before I made up my opinion. I felt that however important this principle was, however sacred as a fundamental principle of free government, I would forego its assertion now, and would content myself to yield it as an offering upon the altar of peace and harmony. But for the life of me, I am unable to perceive how any man, having as just regard to the rights of others, as well as his own, could at present insist upon the passage of this measure, as proposed by the Committee on Territories.

What was the adjustment of 1850? How did it originate? As I have just stated, it grew out of a conflict of opinion in regard to this agitating question of slavery. It was the result of the conflict of the claim, upon the part of the majority in Congress, to interfere with the rights of the States in regulating and establishing their own institutions. How was that to be finally settled? In only one way, and that was by a clear, distinct, and unequivocal acknowledgment of the great principle of self-government to organize their own governments in their own way. In that sense, and that sense alone, the compromise measures of 1850 were a finality. With due respect to others, it seems to me to be absurd to call that settlement a finality in any other sense than that of an actual acknowledgment of the fundamental principle of self-government. It was an adjustment of principle, and in that sense alone it was a finality. As such it has been recognized; as such, it has been proclaimed by both the great parties of the country; and as such, I will adhere to it.

Sir, I am anxious to be deeply imbued with southern feelings; and though I do not think that I could be justly charged with a violation of good faith in voting for this bill, on account of any obligation imposed upon me by the adjustment of 1850 or the Missouri compromise, yet I should not feel that I could be justly charged with a violation of good faith in voting for this bill, on account of any obligation imposed upon me by the adjustment of 1850 or the Missouri compromise, yet I should not feel that I could be justly charged with a violation of good faith in voting for this bill, on account of any obligation imposed upon me by the adjustment of 1850 or the Missouri compromise.

I have no idea of adhering to the Union, merely to be oppressed by the Union. We are, however, getting to understand each other at last on this question of slavery, and I assure you that there is but one thing which really galls me with respect to the Missouri compromise, and that is, that I do not see how it can be maintained, and I do not see how it can be maintained, and I do not see how it can be maintained.

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I say nothing here in the spirit of idle boast. Southern pride is too great for that. We have stood up for our rights when we had no support in the North to sustain us. We have maintained this great doctrine when scarcely any northern states in which the doctrine was not willing to acknowledge its truth. We should prove recalcitrant to our trusts and the interests of the southern States, if, at this time, when the North and the South are well agreed upon it, we were disposed to back out and repudiate the principle upon which we have always insisted, and which we have always urged upon the Union.

You may say what you please for peace and quietness. You may have what geographical lines you please; but there is no other mode under heaven whereby you can have peace and quiet for the country except that now proposed in the Nebraska bill.

I had intended, before I listened to the speech of the honorable gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. Stephens], to go into the history of this Missouri compromise, but to do that now, I think, would be unnecessarily to trespass upon the time and patience of the committee. He has shown the historical fact, that if any party—if any section in this country, has again and again repudiated the Missouri compromise, it is the North which has done it. I had intended to present these facts to the committee, but perhaps I should not have done it so clearly as the gentleman from Georgia. Indeed, I had scarcely thought of saying anything so well as he says all things. Be that as it may, however, I will not again travel over the ground he has occupied. He has shown clearly, that the South has never violated any of its pledges. And he has also shown that we have carried out, in good faith, the Missouri compromise whenever the question has presented itself, although opposed to its adoption originally.

But, sir, I do not stand here to-day to utter reproaches against any one. It will become an American representative to take any reproaches upon any portion of his fellow-citizens. Personal grievances are not to be indulged, and surely they cannot be properly expressed, upon his floor. I cast no imputation upon any man or upon any class of men. I do not call in question the intelligence or the patriotism of a people of the North of my people. My personal interest is, I have had the honor of a seat upon this floor, with gentlemen from that section of the country, has served but to augment my respect I was disposed to feel for them here I came here. I confide in their intelligence; confide in their patriotism; and I have great confidence that they will support or later cooperate with us in carrying out this great principle which we are now insisting upon, and that we shall again be a harmonious, and we are, unquestionably, now, a great and prosperous people.

But, sir, if any man thinks that while defending the institutions under which I live, I am a slavery propagandist, he mistakes my character. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Campbell] has declared that he is opposed to the policy of making conquests for the purpose of pro-

part of saying, that to me the remark seemed to have little application to the question in hand. Who on earth is the advocate of making conquests for the sake of propagating slavery? Why there did the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Stephens], I have no serious apprehensions as to the consequences of the passage of this measure. There can be no greater danger in the future than there has been in the past. The patriotism of the country is equal to every emergency which the hour comes which demands it, you will find our people ready and willing to make personal sacrifices, forgetting every other consideration for the sake of maintaining the union of the States.

I have no disturbing apprehensions, therefore, in regard to the future. I know it has been proclaimed to us, from certain quarters, that agitation will take place. The pulpit has been invoked to forsake its sacred altars, and agitate the political elements. Let them agitate; let them proclaim whatever war and crusade they please against the South; it is able to defend itself; but the South does not despair of support from the North. "Truth," as the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Skilton] remarked, "is mighty, and, though crushed to earth, will rise again." I am spiced the reputation of that well-known gentleman and I believe it is familiar to all gentlemen with this political tribune to truth, that he will not fail, sooner or later, to feel its influence, especially when the question is fairly presented in regard to the legal rights of the two sections of the country. I trust that he will perceive and admit that the people of the North are the best patriots of their own government, and that they ought to have the right to establish such as they may deem proper. That is truth—truth is the most sacred character.

The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Skilton] must, sooner or later, cease to agitate, and with a large portion of his northern brethren, he will be content to let the matter rest. Mr. Skilton, [interrupting.] I have not commenced. Mr. Kerr. The gentleman says that he has not commenced agitation. But then he told us the other day, if this Missouri compromise is not maintained, he will not stand up for it; and if this Nebraska bill should pass, he did not know what we should stand upon. These were his sentiments, and the sentiments of his friends; or, at least, the substance of what he said, as far as I could gather from his speech, and the speech of his friends. He told us that they were to be sacrificed, and that they could not stand the tide of popular indignation.

Mr. Skilton, [interrupting.] Will the gentleman from North Carolina allow me to say one word in this connection? I do not think that I distinctly stated the other day that I intended to make no speech; that I intended what I believed to be right, and if defeated, I should quietly submit. I hope no agitation will result from this question. I would be much gratified, if the gentleman from New Jersey would state to me, if he does not desire, and I wholly disclaim the desire of seeing any ill will spring up in regard to the settlement of this question.

Mr. Kerr. I am very glad to hear the statement of the gentleman. All I have to say is, that I wish others would agree with him in the course which he has pursued, as I do. I do not desire, and I wholly disclaim the desire of seeing any ill will spring up in regard to the settlement of this question.

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Now, I take it, in this vast Territory of Nebraska, slave labor will never be made very profitable. It will never be profitable, and I do not think that it will be profitable, and I do not think that it will be profitable, and I do not think that it will be profitable.

Then why not permit the South to enjoy this privilege? I do not think that it will be profitable, and I do not think that it will be profitable, and I do not think that it will be profitable, and I do not think that it will be profitable.

Sir, I appeal to the sense of justice of the North; I appeal to their sense of honor; I appeal to their sense of honor; I appeal to their sense of honor; I appeal to their sense of honor; I appeal to their sense of honor.

Now, sir, I beg to state that while I have the utmost respect even for a fanatic, who is a southern man; I care not whether he is a fanatic or not, I care not whether he is a fanatic or not, I care not whether he is a fanatic or not, I care not whether he is a fanatic or not.

For one, sir, I disdain to hold anything upon my floor, as a well of such men. But we are told that if we support the Missouri compromise measure, the Whig party is broken down. We are also told, that if we pass this bill, we break down the only barrier which the South has against the aggression of the Free Soilers and Abolitionists of the North; that we destroy the barrier which has stood up for the southern institutions, in defiance of the abolition influence. Let me do justice to the honorable man, who, in the North, has stood firmly by the rights of the South, and who has defended us when we were wronged. I honor those men, and I shall speak of them with as kindly and respectfully of them, as I can. I do not see how they can be justly charged with any injury to their usefulness. I certainly would not do so, unless thoroughly persuaded that it was required of me by a sense of duty I had no right to disregard.

But, after all, what our northern friends tell us, that our only security is in their own favor. Will they insist upon telling southern men that their rights exist only by the grace and favor of Northern gentlemen? If that is so, we sooner we must improve the better. Grace, sir, is of the most important to mankind—the basis of his highest hope, his eternal happiness. But if I, and the people of the South, are to retain our liberty, it must be by the grace of God, and not by the grace of man. I will not, for one, consent to have it said that our rights are secured, not by the strong power of the Constitution, not by the force of reason, not by the impregnable force of truth, but by the grace and favor of the northern people.

No, sir, whether South or North, whether Whigs or Democrats, or by whatever term you designate parties, when you stand up to the principles upon which our Government is based, I will recognize you as brothers of the same national family. I do not see how you establish that, under the Constitution, the South is not to enjoy an equality of privilege with the North; and while you exercise in your own section of country the attributes of sovereignty,

Such is the man whom the people want. Such a man they will have in the person of the Hon. Alfred Dockery, of Richmond County, Georgia. [Goldsmith's Telegraph.]

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At the age of twenty-one, he found himself in possession of that capital which the wealthy and the indolent scarcely deem of sufficient importance to bring into requisition, however honorably and profitably in the management of the individual economy. By a strong, robust constitution and a brawny hand, injured to hard labor. By perseverance, industry and prudence in the management of his capital, his interest furnished him food and raiment. Truly he has eaten his bread "through the sweat of his brow." Proudly husbanding his small resources at first, he gradually increased his property, and in the course of time he became possessed of a substantial property of his own, which he has used to the benefit of his family and himself. Preferring rural pursuits to the uncertain chances of speculation, he has become one of the substantial Farmers of Kentucky. Having no other occupation, his only business was to cultivate the soil, and to improve his property. He has been the great benefactor of his country, and he has been the great benefactor of his country, and he has been the great benefactor of his country.

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Such is the man whom the people want. Such a man they will have in the person of the Hon. Alfred Dockery, of Richmond County, Georgia. [Goldsmith's Telegraph.]

THE NOMINEE. We have not seen an account of the proceedings of the Whig Convention which assembled at Raleigh, on Tuesday, the 21st inst., to nominate the candidates of the Whig party for Governor, but we learn from our exchanges that the body nominated the Hon. Alfred Dockery of Richmond County, the former able Representative in Congress from this district. At this announcement, the Democracy do not doubt what would be the exultation to express, when the hunter, whose dogs had "tread" him, came up and announced himself as David Crockett: "I have no chance! Might as well come down and give up at once!" and sitting the action to the right let go his hold and rolling over, he was seen to come tumbling down in the midst of the dogs and the feet of the hunter. General Dockery is a plain farmer, self educated, and possessing great strength and vigor of mind. He is a bold, clear and forcible speaker, and is one upon whom nature has lavished some of her choicest favors. Possessing a clear, discriminating and practical intellect, his great energy and determination of purpose enable him always to keep pace with the current of success. His moral worth is upright and above reproach, being a consistent member of the Baptist Church, and the cooperator of the Legislature and 50 years judge his age to be serving his country, the Whig party is certain to perch upon our standard.—Charlotte Whig.

THE WHIG PARTY. Let every true Whig in the land listen to what J. J. Crittenden said, at the dinner given to him at Frankfort. A toast was given in his honor. "After the applause subsided, Mr. Crittenden rose and spoke with his accustomed force and eloquence for about twenty minutes, and then he had again to the United States Senate, being the sixth time he had received that distinguished honor. He was a Whig of the Henry Clay and Webster School. They were his teachers, and if he understood their teachings, if he had rightly understood Whig principles, he thought that when he served his country, he would be the best of his party. He repeated of no opinion he had ever expressed, of no act, as a public man, he had ever committed; with him, politics and parties change, and asperities pass away with the occasion which gave them birth. The National Democracy of New York had come so high to us that we can see them by the light of the sun. He said that he would unite with every man to support the Union and the Constitution.

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