

involved in the subject will be found in the passages from his speech which we proceed to give: TERBITORIAL RIGHTS OF THE SOUTH.

In the opinion of by far the greater number of the most eminent jurists of the United States, the laws of Mexico prohibiting slavery at the time of costion are still in force, and must remain so the costion are still in force, and must remain so until they are expressly repealed, either by Con-gress or the local legisla ure. This is the opinion of the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Glay] himself. Such is the opinion of the scarce-ly less distinguished Serator from Michigan, [Mr. Cass;] and such is the opinion of the able

ind eminent statesman, the Senator from Massachusetts, [Mr. Webster;] three leading cham-pions of this bill. I do not forget another Senator from the South, of high rank in his profession, [Mr. Badger,] who is also a supporter of this bill. Thus. sir, slavery, if it goes into New Mexico at all, must force its way there, in despite of all the obstructions of local laws, and of the interdict imposed by this bill on the territorial legislature. Still it is contended that the South is secured in the full benefit of the doctrine held by some of the most distinguished champions of its rights, who maintain that the Constitution, proprio vigore, that the flag of the Union protects the citizen in the enjoyment of his rgihts of property of every description recognized as such, in any of the States, And this doctrine, it is said, is well founded, and if it shall be so declared by the Supreme Court, will authorize the introduction of slavery into New Mexico. The soundness of the general docstrine held upon this roint, I think, cannot well be questioned or disproved ; and if the question related to a territory situated as Oregon was, when the United States came into possession of it, property in slaves would us entitled to the otection of the laws and Constitution of the United States ; but the question is more doubtful and formidable to the interests of the South. where it is raised in reference to New Mexico, where there have been an organized society and government for two centuries, and where slavery was prohibited by the local sovereignty before and at the date of the cession to the United States; and where under that prohibition slavery had ceased to exist. The Constitution, in its application to this Territory, is expected not merely o protect property in slaves, as in case of Oregon, before there was any exercise of sovereignty upon the subject one way or the other, but to supercede the local laws in force prohibiting slavery, when the United States came into possession it. If the obstructions interposed by these laws were removed, then the principles of the Consti-tution would be left to their full and fair operation, and the South might look, with some confidence, to the protection of slave property in this territory, through the courts of the United

Mr. Bell was in favor of removing these structions," in order that the "principles of the Constitution" might be left "to their full and fair operation," and that "the South might look, with some confidence, to the protection of slave property in this territory, as will appear by his vote in favor of the following amendment to the Compromise bill offered by Mr. Davis, of Mississippi :

"And that all laws, or parts of laws, usages or the subjects of it; a blight and a curse

the cause of freedom nor a sentiment of humanity is the active principle of the non extension policy of the North. Were it proposed by the South to im-pose the chains of servitudeupon a single human be-ing now free, there is no man living to whom such proposition would be more revolting than myself. But, sir, humanity to the slave, not less than jus-tice to the master, recommends the policy of dif-fusion and extendion into any new territory adantusion and extention into any new territory adapted to his condition ; and the reasons are ton obvious to be misunderstood by the dullest intellect. No, sir, it is not a principle of humanity that dictates the anti-extension policy of New York. It

is deeply founded in the ambition of sectional as cendancy; dictated, in part, by the jealonsy of southern influence and control, and the recollection of the long line of southern chiefs who have succeeded to the executive mantle. These are the interests and policy of the North upon this subject."

INVOKES THE JUSTICE OF THE NORTH.

"But, however natural and inevitable the exisence of such passions and influences, under the circumstances of our system, let me invoke the ustice of my northern friends, if not their forbearance, by some consideration of the passions and sensibilities naturally incident to the South, under the prospect of there declining power and influence in the Confederacy. While that protracted domination of the South, which has been to long and so keenly felt at the North, was always more imaginary than real; no southern man having ever attained the Presidency except by the concurrence of oftentimes more than half, and always of a large division of the North ; yet now it cannot be disguised that the period of southern ascendancy-if it ever had any real existence-approaches itsend. Political power and ascendancy. in a sectional view, have already passed away from the South forever. And this is so manifest, that Senator, who spoke in this debate, could not forbear taunting the South with the prospect of their declining fortunes. A great change has taken place in the political vocabulary : 'It is no longer, the Southand the North; it ishe exclaims now the North and the South. The South Mr. President, needs not to be reminded by the triumphant North of her decayed power; and when the South bave, in prospect, the admission of eight or ten additional free states, in rapid succession, without the equivalent of a single slave State, the North should know how to excuse the restlessness of their southern brethren, and feel no surprise that they should be looking about for some new guarantee; some additional protection to their peculiar condition and institu-

HE HOLDS FAST TO THE CONSTITUTION.

"But sir, as to myself, I shall hold fast to the constitution until I see that it no longer interpoes a barrier to absolute aggression ; and I trust that some final adjustment of all these distracting questions will yet be devised and adopted upon a basis so just and reasonable as not only to stay the progress of disaffection, but to furnish to the world the highest evidence that no diversity of local institutions, or of sectional interests, or any other cause of cc- casional dissentions, will ever be so powerful for mischief as to sunder the which now bind us together as one people." MR. BELL ON AFRICAN SLAVERY.

"Mr. President, I cannot conclude my remarks vithout taxing the indulgence of the Senate yet further in saying a few words upon the subject of that institution, against the extension of which to the new territories, some gestlemen manifest so great a horror. It has been denounced in this debate as a great moral and political evil ; as a grievous wrong and oppression to the race which ard

should will it, without destruction alike to the interests and welfare of both master and slave These are the lights by which I read and interpret

the law of nature. Now, sir, permit me to say a few words upon the effects of this institution upon the country which tclerates it. To the great fact to which I have more than once alluded, conjoined with the system of equal laws, which our ancestors brought to these shores, perfected and consolidated at the Revolution, and by the adoption of the present form of Union, we are indebted, the world is indebted, for that other great phenomenon in the history of the rise and progress of the nation; a phenomenon in all its bearings, not yet fully comprehended by the nations of the Old World, nor ven by ourselves; and which, in all future time, vill be the study and admiration of the historian and philosopher; I mean, not the founding of a republic on these shores, so recently the abode only of savage and nomadic tribes, but its amazing growth and development; its magic-like spring from small beginnings-rising, as it were, by a single effort, by one elastic bound, into all the atatributes of a first rate power; a great republican empire-sble not only to maintain its rights of sovereignty and independence, by land and sea, against a hostile world; but at the same time, by example, shaking to their foundations the despotic powers of the earth; a great incorporation of freelom, dispensing its blessings to all mankind. Sir, the fabled birth of Minerva, leaping in full panoply from the head of Jove, if a truth, and no ction, would scarcely be more wonderful or a reater mystery, without the clue which African Slavery furnishes for the solution of it.

Sir, making all due allowances for American nterprise and tho energies of free labor, with all the nspiring advantages of our favorite system of government, I doubt whether the power and reources of the country would have attained more than one-half their present extraordinary proportions, but for the so much reviled institution of slavery. Sir, your rich and valied commerce. external and internal; your navig: flor; your com-mercial marine, the nursery of the military; your, ample revenue; the public credit; your manufac-tures; your rich, populous, and splendid cities -all, all may trace to this institution as their wellspring, their present gigantic proportions; nourished and built up to their present amazing height and grandeur by the great staples of the South - the

products of slave labor. Yet slavery, in every form in which it has existed from the primitive period of organized society time, in every quarter of the globe-and in all its results-even the magnificent result of African slavery in the United States, is declared to be against the law of nature. Though contributing a hundred varied forms and modes, through a period of thousands of years, to the amelioration f the condition of mankind generally; though ometimes abused and preverted, as all human institutions, even those of religion, are-still contributing to advance the cause of civilization; though, if you please, having its origin in individual cupidity, still mysteriously working on a general good; yet slavery and all its beneficent esults are pronouced to be against the will of God. by those who claim a superior illumination upon the subject. This may be so; but I must say that this conclusion, so confidently announced, is not

by him in the Senate on that sion will suffice to place before the people of the South (where bis vote against the bill has been made the subject of bitter condemnation) the ma-tives and reasons by which he was governed.-him, fellow-citizens! AL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE-A OBEAT PRACTICAL QUESTION-ITS PROBABLE RESULTS

C INSIDERED. "If this measure shall appear to be as tant to the interest of the country as its friends ssume. I shall feel no embarrasement arising from

any of the questions to which I have just alud-ed, in giving my apport to the principle of nonintervention, embraced in the provisions of the before the Senate. I think it is a wise and expedient principle, for general application; and upon this point, it will be perceived, that there is no difference between myself and any of my southern friends. It is not a new principle. It was the principle adopted in the compromse acts of 1850, and had my full concurrence and support. But in the application of this principle to the Territories proposed to be organized by this bill, in order to give it a free and unembarvassed operation it is proposed to repeat the Missouri Compromise and thus a great practical question is directly presanted , and one which above all others, claims the dispassionate consideration and reflection of every statesman of the country. North and South. it wise, is it expedient to disturb the Missouri Com-promise? Does the repeal of the slavery restricion clause of the act of 1820 promise such important and beneficent results to the country that all objections should be yielded ?"

MISSOURI RESTRICTION UNJUST TO THE SOUTH "Sir, it is contended that applying the principle of non-intervention to the Territories, we shall harmonize the action of the government by conforming it to the principle of the compromisacts of 1850. Admitted. It is said that the slavery restriction clause of the act of 1820 was a riolation of the obligations of the treaty by which France ceded to the United States the Territory of Louisiana. I admit it. It is contended that the restriction upon slavery imposed by the Missouri Compronise was unjust to the South .-That is also true. The attempt of the North in 1820 to interdict

alavery in Missouri, as a condition of her admission into the Union, and the continued resistance fored to the application of that State for admision, until the South agreed to accept the proposition to interdict slavery in all the remaining territory ceded by France. lying North of the line of 36 deg. 30 min., was just such a proceeding that the great names envoked by the honorable Sena-tor from Massachusetts, [Mr. Sumner,] to sustain him in his course as an abolitioni-t-

Washington , Franklin, Jefferson, and Hamilton. had they been living at the time, anti-slavery in sentiment though they were, would have raised -from its earliest and patriarchal form to this their united voices against it, as conceived in a spirit the very reverse of that which controlled their own course when they gave their sanction to the Constitution; when they contributed, the full weight of their great names and characters in c-nciliating and reconciling the strongest antago-nisms of sentiment and interests between the North and the South ; and in blending all in one great organic instrument of Union, unparalelled n the wisdom of its provisions and the grandeur of its results. Jefferson did raise his voice against it, but unhappily his glorious compatriots of the revolution had passed away, and he, in his retire-ment, was no longer able to control the active passions of the day."

> HE FRARS THE CONSQUENCES OF REPEALING THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

SQUATTER SOVEREIGS TO

contest between General Taylor and the honora-ble and distinguished Senator from Michigan General Cas., it was distingly brought forward as an issue before the people of Tennessee. * * In that contest, in common with the South generally, they [the peor le of Tennessee] repudiated the idea that a handful or any number of inhabi ants, in a Territory of the United States, should have the power granted to them by Congress of regulating their domestic institutions, and at their discretion, to deny to the citizen of one section of the Union the power to enjoy his right of property in slaves. We were not prepared to reverse and set aside the previously established practice and doctrines of the Government, from 1789 to that time. We could see no peace, no quiet, no end of agitation that was to result from such a course. We thought that, if a Territorial Legislature should in one or two, years establish or abolish slavery, the agitation of the question of slavery would still go on. We, in Tennessee at that time believed we were advocating principles and doctrines on this subject approved in all the Southern States. The principle then contended for was that the people of a Territory when they came to form their State Constitution AND THEN ONLY, were qualified to establish their domestic institutions.

MUST DISCHARGE HIS DUTY TO THE COUNTRY AT WHATEVER BACRIFICE.

"When I informed honorable Senators that 1 did not hold myself committed to this bill, I was told, by some of my friends, that, if I opposed the bill, such a course would be utterly destructive to me; that it would lead to a disruption of the Whig party in Tennesse, and furnish a plausible ground for imputations upon my metives. And those friendly warnings were given to me up to the time of the final vote in the Senate. * * Sir, when a question is presented here involving great principles of any kind, when any great measure is proposed, and a man occupying a re-ponsible position becomes strongly impressed with the conviction that its adoption would have a deep, and permenent, and injurious effect upon the future prospects of the country, threatening the stability of the Constitution, and the Union tself, he should be willing to sacrifice hunseif, and surrender all prospects that may be held out to hould a man abandon his convictions upon such. aquestion for the sake of doubtful political chances? I consider the position of a Senator of the United States, which I now enjoy, as the

proudest and most independent that any American citizen can occupy-the noblest and most de-sirable to any man who will boldly do his duty. Sir, I acknowledge my weakness. I know that kind feelings and a deference for the opinions of others have often induced me to give my support to measures of inferior importance, which my judgment did not approve. But when a great question is presented; when I have deliberately flected upon it; when I have lights before me y which to guide my course; whatever sacrifices of political standing may be required of me, whatever obstacles and embarrassments of any kind may stand in my way, I trust I shall always have the firmness to do what, upon deliberate reflection, I consider my duty to the country. CONSERVATIVE SENTIMENT AT THE NORTH-

THE DANGER OF ALIENATING IT.

'I wish honorable Senators to understand that if I thought there was really any great principle to be established or settled by this bill, of importance or value to the South, and to "Having thus gone over all the grounds of ob. the country generally, it would be a different quesmust not be diverted from the made with me that there is no great body of conservative and national Whigs at the North, ready to stand by the South on questions affecting their rights and institutions. I deny the assertion. know that there is a large body of noble and patriotic Whigs at the North, who, though they do not approve this bill, have steadily opposed the Abolition movement at the North, from its inception, and have always deprecated all agitation or the subject of slavery. They, like all northern men, have been, from training and education, op posed to slavery; but they have been trained t to respect and revere the Constitution and its com promises; and they have shown their determina ion to respect and stand by the compromises o 1850, in their unwavering efforts to silence oppoition to the fugitive slave law, and to secure its aithful execution. And, sir, I would enquire of hose who assert that there is no sound national Whig party at the North, what has become of that noble Whig phalanx at the North, whostood by and sustained Daniel Webster in his bold adocacy of the compromises of 1850? Where the suporters of Millard Fillmore at the North Where the Union Whigs of New York ? Where the conservative spirit which prompted five hundred of the most respectable citizens of Boston said to be the very hot bed of fanaticism, to enr. Il themselves as special constables to secure the execution of the fugitive slave law ? Is there no consideration due to the position of such Whigs as those at the North in deciding upon measures a well calculated as the present to weaken their position and influence or rather, to use the forcible language of the Attorney General, "to crush then

return no more to yez the land !. As though some

great victory had crowned our erms over a public reat victory and country and country and country as at Binna Visio, or Cero Gordo heights, 11 the reversion of the cannon held scarcely ceased, when the same loyful times were carried with electric speed to every quarter of the Union. "I trust I may be permitted, without offence, to say that, in a long tract of time, no example can interference of delusion engendered in the heat of be found of delusion engendered in the heat of controversy, more complete than that which appears to have taken posession of those who press

d the Nebraska bill to its final presage through Congress. Where now do we find the realization of those pleasing dreams which doubtless inspired the author of that measure?

"Mr President, I do not wish to say anything that can be considered offensive ; but I must say I do not know any way in which I can so well i!lustrate the true character and tendency of the or-ganic law of Kansas, as by comparing it to the reliminary arrangements which usually attend the sports of the ring. Without any far-fetched analogy, that law may be said to have insugurated great national prize-fight. The ample lists were regularly marked out—they were the boundaries of Kansas. The two great sections of the Union, the North and the Bouth, were to furnish the champions and to be their backers. The prize of victory was to be a slave State on theoneside and free state on the other. But as the victory was to be decided by the number of the champions, to sucourage their enlistment and prompt attendance, the prize of a choice quarter section of land, at the minimum price, was to be awarded to the hampions oneither side.

"When we consider that the champions on both sides of this great national contest were deeply imbued for the most part, with adverse principles, sentiments and prejudices, on the subject of slavery, excited and inflamed almost to frenzy by recent and violent agitation; and that the inhabitants of the western counties of Missouri would naturally become sensitive and excited in the highest degree by the prospect of free State on their borders, it is not extravagant to assert that, had the most inventive genius of the age been called upon for a scheme of policy combining all the elements of slavery agitation, in such a manner as to insure the greatest amount of disorder, personal and neighborhood feuds, border disturbance, and bloodshed in Kansas, leading, at the same time, to personal and sectional alienation, be could no have succeeded better than by adopting the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska bill."

BE INSISTS UPON THE IMPORTANCE OF A SPREDY ADJUSTMENT.

"Sir, months ago, when authority was first given by the President to Governor Shannon to call to his aid the military force of the United States then at Fort Leavenworth, we were told that there would be no further disturbances; but we have been disapointed. The disorders have rather increased than diminished since that time. It may be that there will be no more unsuthorized military arrays on either side; but will that cure the evil? Every settler in Kansas now goes armed, and prepared for sudden conflict; does any one suppose that any future emigrant to that Ter

that there will be no more secret associations-no longer any system of intimidation kept up, no longer any use for the bowie-knife,' revolver, or Sharpe's rifles? Again, I ask, where is all this to end? Can quiet ever be established unless one party or the other is driven out by force, or shall voluntarily abandon the contest, or until Congress shall adopt some measure to end the controversy? "And, sir, what forbids that we should now adopt some measure, with provisions so frir and

apuarent repose, but it was just such repose foreboded increased disorder and comm It is time to terminate it.

The question is, what is that promises the speediest and most lermaner remedy for these difficulities. Divine that to m whoever can, and I will follow his lead. Hor shall we cut this Gordian knot of Kansas politic Shall we cut it by the sword ? Shall we hrets, due the rebellious faction, said to exist in Kan. by force of arms, or shall we endeavor to unray. this tangled skein by some more peaceful mean, FRAUDS AND IRREGULARITIES OF THE LECOM

TON CONSTITUTION.

"My friend from Florida [Mr. Mallory] said his able speech the other day, that it would tifficult to persuade the people of South that if this Constitution be rejected Congress, it will not be upon the ground that recognizes slavery. That is also the opinion the honorable Senator from Georgia and othe Unless it be that these honorable Senators w some immediate pretext for a movement South, I advise them to investigate this more fully than they seem to have done fore they conclude to make the rejudent of this measure, should it be rejected casus disjunctionis [a case for disunion.] are told that it will be difficult to persuade people of the South that any other objection ists in this Constitution except that it recognize slavery, and these opinions are avowed in face of accumulated frauds and irregularities cos. nected with its bistory, and though it is clear the four-fifths of the people of Kansas are opposed

"It will not do for these gentlemen to sa there is no record or other satisfactory proof show the frauds and irregularities alleged agains the Lecompton Constitution, or any other state. ments made by the opponents of this measure in relation to the state of things existing in Kansa-The supporters of this measure in the Senste at in the House of Representatives, have obstinate persisted in voting down every proposition to vestigate and take proof upon the contested que tions of fact; and I take it for granted that in course would not have been persisted in unless was understood that the facts would turn outs they have been marged. If I have not wholy misconceived and misstated the material point in the history of Kansas affairs which preceded the formation of the Lecompton Constitution; i have not misrepresented the facts connects with its formation; if I am not wholly mistake in the views 1 have presented of the existing stay of public sentiment in Kansas in relation to the Constitution, is it becoming the character of national Legislature to acept this instrument the organic law of the new State which is prove ed to be admitted into the Union ?

"Is it fit, is it becoming the Senate of the United States, to stamp this Constitution with, its attendant circumstances, with their approx and send it to Kansas to be aided by or rusistle blood by the people there? Surely, sir, the ought to be some great and overruling poling necessity existing in the condition of affairs ; justify such a proceeding."

ritory will fail to equip himself fully with the means of self-defence? Does any one suppose STRENGTHEN REPUBLICANISM.

"I now ask the attention of the Senate to: effect of the experiment localizing slavery sgin. tion ip the Territories made in 1854, in change the complexion of parties both in Congress and in the country. In the Congress which passed the Kansas-Nebraska bill, we have seen that then was, at the con mencement of the session in h cember, 1853, a Democratic majority of eight four in the House of Representatives and four Free Soiters; and in the Senate, a like m ber [of the latter]-so small, yet so distinct their principles, that neither of the two greates ties then known to the country knew well how !! arrange them on committees. * * * * * Now, let us see what was the effect of the Katss-Nebraska act on the elections which ensued in th fall of 1854, just on the heels of the adoption that measure. One hundred and seven Fr-Soilers were returned to the House of Representatives; and the Democratic party, instead of having a majority of eight-four in that House, found itself in a minority of seventy-six; and in the Ser ate the number of Free Soilers was increased by thirteen. Such was the complexion of the two Houses of Congress in the Thirty-third Corgress, which assembled in December 1855. Now, we find in the Senate twenty Free Soilers. How many more they may have in the next Congress will depend upon the disposition we make of the question now before the Senate. I call upon the Senator from Georgia to say whether he will have that number limited or not. Does he want a suffcient number to prevent the ratification of an further treaty of acquisition? How long will be before we have that number, if the Souther Democracy persist in their present course? The would seem to be deeply interested in adding : the power of the Republican party. I consider the most fearful and portentous of all the result of the Kansas Nebraska act was to create to build up, a great sectional party. * * I consider that no more ominous and threatening cloud est can darken the political horizon at any time-How formidable this party has already become may be well illustrated by the fact that its representative candidate, Mr. Fremont, was only beater in the Presidential election by the most desperse efforts; and I feel warranted in saying, that but for the eminent prospect of his success which shote

the United States from Mexico, and which in said territories restrict, abridge or obstruct the full enjoyment of any right of person or property of a citizen of the United States, as recognized or guarant ed by the Constitution or laws of the United States, are hereby declared and shall be beld as repealed.

The yeas and nays on the adoption of this proposition to repeal or abolish the Mexican laws prohibitory of slavery were as follows:

YEAS-Messrs. Atchison, BELL, Berrien, Clemens, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Foote, Houston, Hunter, King, Muson, Morton, Pearce, Rusk, Sebastian, Soule and Yulee-18.

NAYS-Messrs. Badger, Baldwin, Benton Bright, Cass, Chase, Clarke, Clay, Cooper, Corwin, Davis, of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dodge, of Iowa, Felch, Greene, Hamlin, Jones, Miller, Norris. Phelps, Pratt, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Sturgeon, Underwood, Upham, Walker and Whitcomb-30. [See Congressional Globe, vol. 21, part 2-page 1254]

Mr. Bell also voted against an amendment of fered to the bill by Mr. Baldwin, declaring that the Mexican laws prohibiting slavery should be and remain in said territory until they should be altered or repealed by Congress." [See page 1146 of same volume.]

He voted, also, against the following amendment offered by Mr. Seward :

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, otherwise than by conviction for crime, shall ever be allowed in either of said territories of Utah and New Mexico ' [See page 1134, same volume.] He voted also in favor of an amendment offered by Mr. Berrien, of Georgia, providing against the

passage of any territorial law "establishing or prohibiting slavery," [See same volume and page.]

THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM WRAPPED UP I THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION-" WRETCH WHO DOES NOT DESERVE TO LIVE."

"The gentlemen from Ohio, [Mr. Chase,] New York, [Mr. Seward,] and New Hampshire, [Wr. Hale] talk about the cause of freedom .wish, sir, I had the strength to speak about the cause of freedom. Paradoxical it may appear, this question is one that concerns the cause of freedom in the South as well as in the North. It is not a question whether you will permit a few slaves of the South to go and toil in California and New Mexico, but it is a question of freedom everywhere. The cause of freedom is wrapped up in the Constitution and the Union. These are the great bulwarks-the Chinese wall of freedom. These once broken down, anarchy and military despotism become our inheritance. This is the stake to some extent at issue now. If we allow faction-fanatical or politcal-preconceived opinions-prejudice or partiality for particular plans or modes of adjustment to sway our course, we strike a blow at the common liberty. No man can be justified before the country, under such circumstances in taking the position that he will accede to nothing but what his own judgment/prescribes. * * * * *

gress in the pending difficulties, I would say let adjustment be made in the real spirit of concession, compromise and conciliation. Let us have some assurance that the promised harmony shall be permanent. Stay this agitation; allay this burning fever that threatens to consume the system. Terminate this suspense, which is more intolerable than an open runture. If we of the South have made up our minds to yield nothing ; endure nothing ; or if a better spirit actuates us and we are prepared both to yield something and to endure something; and yet cannot bring our Northern brethren to any terms of just and equitable arrangement, and they will continue to ver and harrass us, now and forever, let us resolve. and let them suffer us, to manage our own affairs in our way. I trust it will never come to this issup. Sir. to suppose that there is one member of this body who is not ready to sacrifice, to concede cometting of his individual sentiments to secure an adjustment of these questions-were he untrammeled by pledges, to which he may owe his posi-tion here, and which he may not violate without disbonor-to suppose there is one man here from the North or the South, who upon a cold nd selfwho does not deserve to live."

protest against extension of this controversy into the next ensuing contect for constitution recognizing slavery, I would insist the purple. I protest against that, as equally unupon its admission as at Slave State. If the North should not agree to this, it would then be time enough to consider of the proper remedy. Bul I would make no issue with the North now, and benecessary and perilous. PRACTICAL WORKINGS OF SQUATTER SOVEREIGN-TT. fore any occasion for it has arisen ; and I regret "This principle of popular soversignty, connec-ted as it was in this case with the repeal of the mostsincerely to hear any Senator from the North uphold the same institution, under various modi-fications, adapted to the changing condition of both slave and matter, and still under an advan-cing civilization, until a comparatively recent period. I see the same institution tolerated and sectional jealousies, the interests of party and per-sonal ambition. * * * I am not to be deludsuggesting that such an issue will ever be ten lered en immediate disunion, yet that, perhaps, no more Missouri Compromise, was thought by its friends from that quarter." fugitive slaves may be captured and returned from the North, and that the swelling tide of faraticiam, and the more intense sentiment of hostility to the institutions of the South, crea-ted by this bill, may lead to such excess that irri-tation and resentment will be, in turn, excited and kindled into flame at the South; and that *then* we shall find all the fears and apprehensions of civil war and disunion renewed, which spread consternation throughout the land in 1850." fugitive slaves may be captured and returned ed, Mr. President, by the appeals from the North, to be of such transcendant importance, that when WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE. upon the subject of human wrongs and the viola-tion of human rights. I am not to be misled as tion of human rights. I sim not to be misled as to the real and true grounds of the an i-slavery-extension policy of the North, by the fine senti-ments so often expressed on the subject of free-than and the claims of humanity. I know, sir, that however sincers and considentious the anti-clavery subject of the North may be, neither "With regard to the present question, I lay

pon the country which tolerates it, and a sin upon the consciences of the masters generally am identified with this so much abused institution, by my representative position in this Chain ber, in association, in character and in responsibility to the tribunal of public sentiment. It is therefore, natural that I should make a brief reply to the accustory charges of my northern counry men.

"For the purpose of my argument, the origin and progress of slavery in United States, may be briefly told. Without pretending to accuracy of detail, it may be stated with sufficient conformity to historical fact, that some century and a hal ign, or a little more, a few thousand natives of Africa, in form and mind stamped only with the coarsest rudiments of the Caucassian race ; scarce ly bearing the impress of the human race divine savage in their babits, both of war and of peace ferocious as the wild beasts of their own native haunts, were caught up and transported to these shores, reduced to a state of bondage, and they and their descendants held in slavery until this day. What do we now behold ? These few thousand savages have become a great people numbering three millions of souls; civilized. christianized; each new generation developing some improved feature, mental and physicial, and indicating some further approximation to the rac of their masters Search the annals of all history and where do you find a fact so striking and s wonderful one so worthy of the contemplation of the philosopher, the statesman, the Christian and the philanthropist? This great fact stands out bo'dly before the world ; and in the impressive language of the Senator from Miscouri, (Mr. Benton.) stands for an answer; and it must ever stand for an answer. Sir, it can never be successfully answered. Has humanity any cause to drop a tearover the record of this great fact? Has Africa

any cause to mourn? "But there are some other and subordinate facts fairly deducible from the greater and more prouvinent one, which may likewise defy conradiction or answer. The rapid multiplication and improved lineaments of this people attest the fact, that the voke of bondage Las pressed lightly upon them; and that they have shared freely, with their masters, of the fat of the land. Go, I repeat, and search the pages of history, and where will you find a fact comparable to this? The his-tory of the Hebrew bondage presents no parrallel —nothing so wonderful. The family of Jacob (the germ of the Hebrew nation) were of a superior race and civilized There is one single analagy, however, besides that of bondage, which may traced in the history of these two peoples While the religious institutions of the one forbade any amalgamation, social or political, with their masters and surounding nations, nature, by laws more stringent and inexorable, forbids to the other any equality, social or political with the race that holds them in bondage.

"As to the lawfulness or sinfulness of the institation of slavery-whatever phrensied or fanatic priests, or more learned and rational divines may preach, whatever they may affirm of Christian precepts or moral and religious responsibilities; whatever interpretation of the law of nature or of Almighty God they may announce, whatever doctrines or theories of the equalities of human rights, and of the different races of mankind, diversified as they are by complexion, by physical formation and mental development, infidel philanthropists or the disciples of a transcendental creed of any kind, may hold or teach; however they may dogmatize upon this hypothesis, and declare it to be a violation of the law of nature, for any race, with whatever superiority of mental or physi cal faculties they may be endued to subjugate those of an inferior grade, and make them the instrument of improvement and amelioration in their own condition, as well as in that of masters or conquerers, in carrying forward the great work of civilization; until we shall be enlightened by a revelation from a higher source than themselves. I must claim the privilege of interpreting the law of nature by what I see revealed in the history of mankind from the earliest period of recorded time, uncontradicted by Divine authority.] must interpret the law according to the prominent facts connected with the subject, as they have stood out in the past, and as they stand out before us at this day. Looking through the eyes of history, I have seen slavery or involuntary servitude.

ish, Greek and Roman civilization. I have seen application comes, on the other hand, from the people of a Territory who have fairly formed a jority of the freemen of the North? HUMANITY AND JUSTICE OF THE DIFFUSSION ANG the institution recognized by the theocratic governamine diligently the speeches of the most distin- see that it must and will have a bad effect in the sas hydra at once; but, as that is impos-RUMANITY AND JUSTICE OF THE DIFFUSSION AND EXTENSIVE OF SLAVERY. The fanatics and sentimentalists of the North, with all the countenance they receive from the institution of slavery, would not have been able to conjure up this storm, but for their alliance with other auxiliary and exciting elements of agitation-sectional jealousies, the interests of party and per-

d of reasoning, by which we are taught that from a great many particular and well established facts in the physical economy, we may safely de-duce a general law of physical nature; and so of moral government. It seems to my weak faculties, that it is rather an arrogant and presumptuous arraignment of the ways of Providence, mysterious as we know them to be, for feeble man to decl tre, that that which has been permitted to exist from the begining, among men and nations, is ontrary to its will.

But whoever has studied the history of civilization, the progress of society-of laws and government-must have perceived that certain abstract or theoretic truths, whether in civil or eligious policy, have been, and can only with safe-

ty to the ultimate ends of all societies and governments, be unfolded by degrees, and adjusted at every step, according to the advance of society from its infancy to a higher civilization and a more enlightened comprehension-such as the equality of natural rights of self government. and freedom of speech and opinion. These general truths, though they cannot be successfully controverted at this day, yet as they have been seldom admitted, in their length and breadth, in the practical operations of government, with success, some law-givers have been led to deny that they are founded in reason ; and when they have, at any time, been suldenly embraced by the controlling minds among the people, the misfortune has been that they were applied in excess, and without due regard to the actual condition of the people who were to be affected ; and hence they have, so far, failed of success in some of the most highly civilized nations of Europe. But it is more to the point to refer to the emancipation of the slaves of St. Domingo; one of the first explosive effects of the sudden recognition of the rights of man by the French people. It would be difficult to dem onstrate, at this day, that the cause of humanity or of human progress has been in the slightest degree, promoted by the abolition of slav in that fertile and beautiful island .-It is, I believe, now, pretty well under-stood that British statesmen committed an error in the policy of West India emancipation, for ced upon them by fanatical reformers. They were driven to adopt a sentiment, instead of a practical truth, as the foundation of a radical change in the social condition of a people, who were not prepared either to appreciate or profit by it. Even the reformation in religion and church govern-ment, commanced some three centuries ago, in the opinion of many of the most profound inquirers, has failed of that complete success which ought to have attended it, for the reason that the eneral truths and principles upon which it was ounded were applied in excess. The zealous champions of reform, in throwing seide all ceremonies and observances which affect the senses. and in spiritualizing too much, there is reason to believe, have stayed the progress of substantial reform, and checked the spread of religious restraints upon the evil passion of men. But this is a deli ate subject and I must forbear.

These examples may show that there are certain abstract truths and principles which, however incontrovertible in themselves, like every other good thing, may be, and often are, misconceived and abused in their application. Is is the business of statesmen. in every country, to apply them with safety, and to give them the utmost practical influence and effect consistent with the existing state of society. The interesting illustration of this sentiment, and most striking example of the superiority of practical truth over theoretic azioms, n the formation of government, to be found in all history-and one which claims the special attention of the people of this country at this moment-was exhibited by our ancestors, when, with their own recognition of the abstract truth of the equality of natural rights still vibrating on their tongues, they yet fearlessly set their seals to a covenant of union between these States, containing an express recognition of slavery. I say express recognition, because, whatever the jesuntical doc-trines of the North may say, the clauses in the Constitution relating to the importation of persons under certain limitations, and fixing the basis of direct taxes and representation in Congress, I affirm, do amount to an express recognition of

kindled by the abolitionists of the North, by reer, by my voice, I would paralyze-I would the bandmaid of Hindoo, Egyptian, Assyrian, Jewsubject from 1790 down to the present time-ex- pealing the Missouri Compromise. They will slavery, I would admit it promptly; and when an crush this many-headed monster-this Kan-

arrived at in accordance with the Baconian methsouri Compromise, I trust it will be seen that I am not disposed to controver them either as to fact or doctrine, with such exceptions only as upon more deliberate consideration, by those who asserted them, will be allowed to be well taken. But sir, admitting them, with the exceptions I have stated to be incontrovertibly true, still the main question remains to be considered and decided: Do these facts and doctrines demonstrate the expediency f disturbing the Missouri Compromise undea exting circumstances? and in coming to an affirmative conclusion upon this point, I hesitate, I

> PROBABLE CONSQUENCIES OF THE REPEAL FUR THER CONSIDERED.

I have listened with attention to all the lum inous expositions and theories of constitution al construction, and of popular sovereignty: to the ingenious application of doctrinal points to questions of compacts and compromises by the friends of this measure. The question has been fruitful of themes for diaectic display; for the exhibition of great powers of analysis and logical acumen ; but the whole argument has been singularly defective and unsatisfac tory upon the main quastion : What practical advantage or benefit to the country generally, or to the South in particular, will the repeal of the Missouri Compromise secure ?

"It is asserted with great confidence that the application of the principle of non-intervention to these Territories, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, will have the effect to transfer to the local legislatures, the Territories and States, and to relieve Congress for the future from the most dangerous and distracting subject of controversy which ever has or ever can disturb its deliberations; that the source of those sectional conflicts and agitations upon the subject of slavery, which have more than once threatened the peace of the country, will be removed ; that justice will be done to the South; that the Constitution will be restored and vindicated; and a new guarantee provided for the stability of the Union. I need not say that if one half the many beneficent results predicted of this measure can be shown to follow as a probable conrequence of its adoption, I would no longer hesi tae to give it my support, but unfortuately the argument has proceeded no further than the affirmation, without showing how these results must or will follow."

WISDOM OF THE REPEAL DOUBTED Sir, I believe there is a better feeling prevailing at the North towards the South than formerly but would it not be wise on the part of the South to do nothing to reverse the current of that better feeling, unless unged by some great necessity in vindication of its rights ?"

WHAT HAS THE SOUTH TO GAIN BY IT? "What has the South to gain by the measure * * * * * * Will slavery be established in the Kansas Territory proposed to be organized under its provisions? Does any one, who has fully considered the subject, believe that this Territory will become a riave State ?"

HE DIFFERS WITH HIS SOUTHERN FRIENDS ONLY AS TO THE RESULTS OF THE MEASURE.

"I have said already, and I repeat that if I could take the view of the importance of this measure to the country which my Southern friends do -cutting off the source of all future, controver sy between both sections upon thesubject of slavery; would feel justified in waiving all my objections to this bill, and in uniting heartily with them in its support. We differ only as to the results of the casure."

The foregoing extracts are from the first speech ot Mr. Bell on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, delivered in the Senate on the 3d of March, 1854. [See Appendix to Gongressional Globe, vol. 29, page

407.] From his second speech on the bill, delivered on the 24th and 25th of May, 1854, we make the subjoined extracts, for which see Congressional Globe, vol. 29, pages, 947-958.

PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES OF THE REPEAL FUR THER CONSIDERED.

"The people of Tennessee will doubt the proslavery." I'd Trive of f ish estculation of personal advancement, would There is no remedy for that evil.-Had I the pow priety and wisdom of adding fuel to the flame Search the debates of Congress on this exciting insist upon extreme issues, is to suppose him a wretch formed, with the assent of the people excluding

"But, sir there is a conservative sentiment i the North, outside the ranks of those Whigh known as the supporters of Mr. Webster and Mr Fillmore, or the opponents of the extension of slave territory, belonging to the Whig and Democratic parties-I allude to those who acquicsced in the compromises of 1850-those who are uppos ed to the plans of the abolition organization, and entertain no purpose of pressing their anti-slavery feelings and doctrines to the point of disunion :-Is there any wisdom or sound policy in adopting measure not called for by any public necessity or interest, but so well calculated to incite that large class of northern citizens to form combinations which may lead to permanent alignation beween the North and the South.

RISE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY PREDICTED. AS THE CONSEQUENCE OF THE REPEAL

Sir, the tendency of this bill is to stimulate the ormation of a sectional party organization. And, as I said in my speech on the passage of the Senby any deliberate act, deprive the South of any are bill, I regard that as the last and most fatal evil which can befall this country, except the dissolution of the Union ; and that last and greatest calamity to the country, the success of such a movement would infallibly bring about I trust, sir, that my fears on this subject will prove to be groundless, and that no such results as I have indicated will ever be realized.

MR. BELL IN 1856-ADMISSION OF AR-KANSAS.

The following are extracts from a speach made by Mr. Bell in the Senate, on the 2d of July, 1856 on the bil to authorize the people of Kansas to form a Constitution and State Govergment preparatory to their admission into the Union +

HE ADVOCATES ITS EABLY ADMISSION. "Whoever has looked closely into this subject and comprehends all its bearings, must be satisfied, though we may remove some of the more fruitful sources of the existing disturbances in Kinsas, dissension and discord will still continue, not only in Kansas, but throughout the country, until Kansas shall become a State.

The exciteme it and agitation at the North may be expected to continue, even with increased in tensity, so long as there remains any prospect o the success of the pro-slavery party, in order to unite and onsolidate public sentiment in opposition to the admission of Kansas as a slave State. Can the country-can the Union, stand five years of unmitigated agitation upon this distracting subject i It seems inevitable that agitation nust continue through the present canvass for the Presidency.

st in all respects, that it cannot fail to mitigate if it cannot remove altogether, existing evils, and n the shortest period consistent with this spirit of fairness and justice, bring the whole "matter in controversy to a close, by admitting Kansas into the Union as a State? Do this, and we may leave the issues in the hands of a higher power. * *

"Settle this slavery controversy when we may now or at any other time, or in any way, the bes that can be devised, whatever section may have a triumph, there will remain, on the side of the vanquished, a deep and rankling feeling of discontent and alienation ; and a whole generation must pass away before they will cease to mar, to ome extent, the general harmony. On the question whether Kansas shall be a free or a slave state, as a representative of Southern interests, my prefer ence, of course, is for a slave State. But, sir, i in a fair competition it must be so, let it be a free State; let it be retroceded to the Indians, the aboriginal occupants of the soil; let it become another Dead Sea, rather than continue the pestilent scource of mortal disease to our system.

MR. BELL IN 1858-THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION.

In the speech made by Mr. Bell in the Senate on the 18th of March, 1858, on the Lecompton Constitution bill, there occur the following passages :

ISSUES BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH ESTIMATING THE VALUE OF THE UNION.

"It is more than indicated, it is boldly assumed by some gentlemen, that the rejection of this measure will be regarded as a devision that no more slave States are to be admitted into the Union, and the consequences which may follow such a decision are pointed to in no equivocal language. There is no gentleman here with whom differ as to the value of the Union of these States. to whom I do not accord honesty and patriotism of purpose. There is simply between us a difference in judgment as to the true interest of this great country ; the true interest of the South as ing more certain to disturb the composure of the well as the North, connected with the Union .- | two Senators on the opposite side of the chamber When my attention is invited to the consideration the one from Massachusetts, [Mr. Summer. of the advantages and blessings that may follow | and the other from Ohio, [Mr. Chase.] than is disanion to the South, I shan the subject as one that is speculative only, and prematurely brought forward. That is a field of inquiry into which I do not propose now to enter. When an issue is made, when a question does arise demanding such an inquiry as that, I shall be ready to anter upon it, and to estimate the value of the Union; but I will not anticipate the occurrence of any such contingency. When the North shall

fair, and just, and equal participation in the bene-fits of the Union-if, for example, the Territory now proposed to be admitted into the Union as a State had not been subject to an interdict of slavery for thirty years-if it were a Territory such as that lying west of Arkansas, by climate adapted to slave labor, and by population already a slave Territory; and if, on application of such Territo-ry for admission into the Union as a slave State, the nowerful North, without any of the feelings and resentments naturally growing out of the receal of the Missouri Compromise in regard t Kansas, should deliberately annonuce to the South. " you shall have no more slave States," that would

afford a pretext with which the South might with some reason and with some assurance of the approval : of the civilized world and of posterity seek to dissolve the Union. I know that it is sup posed by some, that the day will come when the North, in the arrogance of its power, will furnish just such a pretext as I have indicated ; and the Senator from Georgia and others have argued this question on the ground that it will come; but I must ee it come before I will calculate the value of the Union. I trust that day may never come. I can-not believe it will come, if the South is wise and true to itself. I would nat have them truckle or surrender any of the rights. I would not have them t yield one jot or tittle of their rights; but I would have them make no questionable issue in advance, stir up no strife upon unnecessary abstract questions having no practical value; but to do al-ways what is just and right upon all questions .--When a people of a Territory applies for admis-sion into the Union under a Constitution fairly

would not have attained his present high pastion. " In the closing debate on the Kansas Nebraski bill, I told his supporters that they could do not reject that bill. Its passage was the only thirs in the range of possible events by which their plitical fortune could be resascitated, so complete had the Free-Soil movement at the North best paralyzed by the Compromise measure of 1850-I say now to the advocates of this [the Lecompton] measure, if they want to strengthen the Republican party, and give the reins of Government into their hands, pass this bill. If they desire w weaken the power of that party, and arrest the progress of slavery agitation, reject it. And, it is their policy to put an end to the agitation connected with Kansas affairs at the earliest day practicable, as they say it is, then let them remit this constitution back to the people of Kansas lot their ratification or rejection. In that wey the whole difficulty will be settled before the adjourn ment of the present session of Congress, without the violation of any sound principle, or the sacrifice of the rights of either section of the Union. MR. BELL REPLIES TO THE COMPLAINTS OF THE

out near the close of the canvass, Mr. Buchanat

NOBTH AGAINST THE SOUTH, CALLS UPON THE FOLLOWERS OF MR. SEWARD TO "ABBEST BIV IN HIS MAD CAREER."

"The honorable Senator from New York father announced to us, in exultant tones, that at last there was a north side of this Chamber, s north side of the Chamber of the House of Representatives, and a north side of the Union, si well as a south side of all these ;" and he simon. ished us that the time was at hand when freedom would assert its due influence in the regulation of the domestic and foreign policy of the country

When was there a time in the history of the Government that there was no north side of the Chamber and of the other? When was there a time that there was not a proud array of northern men in both Chambers, distinguished by their genius and ability, devoted to the interests of the North, and successfu in maintaining them. Though it may be true that southern men have

alled the executive chair for much the largest per tion of the time that has elapsed since the organ. ization of the Government, yet when, in what itstance was it, that a southerner has been elected to that high station without the support of a man

Do you of the North complain that the pelicy of the Government, under the long contin fluence of southern Presidents, has been injurious or tatal to your interests? Has it paralyzed your industry? Has it crippled your resources? Has it impaired your energies? Has it checked your progress in any one department of human effort Let your powerful mercantile marine-your ships whitening every sea- the fruit of wise commercial regulations and navigation laws; let your fourishing agriculture, your astonishing pro-gress in manufacturing skill, your thousands of miles of railroads, your vast trade, internal and down as the basis of my conclusion as to what ought to be done, that the solution of it which promises the speediest termination of this danger-dus slavery agitation is the true one. This dan-gerous agitation has continued long enough.— There has been no mitigation of it in the last four years. There have been intervals of external, you r proud cities, and your accumulated