

white population (I mean such as were able to emigrate) would have the territory. The condition of the South would for a time be that of Ireland and soon by the destruction of the remnants of the white population, become that of St. Domingo. There are those now living who would probably see this state of things; but it would be certain to overtake our children or grandchildren. These facts are staring us in the face as distinctly as the sun in the heavens at noon day. Northern men not only admit it but constantly in their public speeches avow it to be their purpose to produce this very state of things. If we express alarm at the prospect, they seek to amuse us with eulogies on the blessing of the Federal Union, and ask us to be still for a time. They do well, for it is true that communities have usually been destroyed by movements which in the beginning, inflicted no immediate injury, and which were therefore acquiesced in till they had progressed too far to be resisted. They have, too, constant examples in the conduct of brute animals, that do not struggle against evils until they begin to feel pain. They are doubtless, too, encouraged to hope for our submission on account of our acquiescence under their former wrongs. They know that the evils already inflicted on us, to which I have referred, greatly exceed in amount any injury that Great Britain attempted when she drove the colonies into resistance. Besides, sir, their aggressions have infinitely less show of constitutional right, or color of natural justice. But what they now propose is too palpable even for our southern generosity. If after having been free for seventy years, the southern States were to consent to be thus degraded and enslaved, instead of the pity they would meet the scorn and contempt of the universe. The men of this generation, who would be responsible, ought to be whipped through their fields by their own negroes. I thank God that there is no one in my district that I think so meanly of, as to believe that he would not readily come into whatever movement might be necessary for the protection of our rights and liberty. I tell northern gentlemen, who are in hopes that the South will be dived, that we shall not have half as many traitors to hang as we did Tories in the Revolution.

If gentlemen mean that the Union upon the principles of the Constitution, is desirable, I will not controvert that opinion. But the Union never could have been formed without the written Constitution. So, if you now, by your action, practically destroy the Constitution, those injured, if able to resist, will not submit that instrument was ordained in its own language, to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity and secure the blessings of liberty" to all parties to it—namely, the freemen of the Union. If, therefore, under its form, gross injustice is done, insurrections excited, and the citizens of part of the States politically enslaved, then the Union ought not to stand, as an instrument of wrong and oppression.

There is throughout the South a strong attachment to the Union of the States. This sentiment rests not so much upon any calculations of interest as on historic associations and the recollections of common ancestral struggles and triumphs. Our people take a pride in the name of the United States, and in being members of a great republic that furnishes a cheering example to the friends of liberty throughout the world. But the events of the last few years are rapidly weakening this feeling. Seeing that there appeared to be a settled purpose in the North to put them to the wall, many of our people regarding a dissolution of the Union as the inevitable result of this aggression have looked forward to the consequences of such a state of things.

I will tell northern gentlemen, in the hope that many of them are not yet past the point of reason, what is the view presented in prospect to many of the highest intellects in the South. It is well known that the existing revenue system operates hardly on the South and the West. The Government raises upwards of thirty millions annually by a duty or tax upon imports. But this system acts very unequally on the different sections of the country. For illustration of the mode of operation, I will take a single article. Railroad iron is produced in England at so cheap a rate, that it can be brought to this country and sold, we may say, for \$40 per ton. This is much cheaper than our people can afford to make it at. They therefore ask the Government to require the payment of \$20 per ton by way of duty. The importer therefore instead of selling for \$40 per ton must ask \$60, to reimburse himself for what he has paid out abroad, and to the Government. Every person, therefore, in the United States, who purchases rail road iron, has to pay \$20 more for each ton. There are however, some advantages to counterbalance this loss. In the first place, some of our people finding that they can make a profit by selling rail road iron at \$60 per ton, engage in the manufacture, and thus find employment. While so engaged, these persons consume the produce of the farmers and others thus make a home market for agricultural productions. We see, however, that the loss of \$20 per ton falls on all those in any part of the United States who may consume the iron. But the benefit is confined to those persons who are engaged in making iron and those who live so near them that they can conveniently get their produce to the factories. In fact, this sort of manufacturing is confined to the State of Pennsylvania and perhaps a few other localities. But my constituents can no more pay the manufacturers of Pennsylvania for iron in the production of their farms than they could the British iron masters. It is therefore to our advantage, as we must pay for it in cash, to get the iron at the lowest rate. This is true of the southern and western people generally. This illustrates the effect of our revenue and protective system. The burden is diffused over the whole country but the benefit is limited

to the manufacturers and to those persons who reside so near as to have thereby a better market; very little more than one third of the Union gets the benefit of the system in exclusion mainly of the South and West.

It is not easy to measure the precise extent of this burden. It has been estimated that two thirds of all the articles which would if imported be subject to pay a duty, are produced in the United States. To return, for ready illustration, to the case of rail road iron. If two of every three tons of iron consumed in the United States were made in this country, it would follow that the person who consumed those three tons of iron, while he paid twenty dollars to the Government on the ton imported, would pay \$40 to the home manufacturer; and if he lived so far from the manufacturer that he could not pay him in produce, it would follow that, in fact, while he paid the Government but twenty dollars he would lose sixty himself on account of the duty. When, therefore, the Government gets as it is doing thirty three millions of dollars revenue, the whole burden to the consumers of this country would be \$100,000,000; of this amount, the South pays according to its population and consumption, forty millions of dollars.—This sum I think too low in fact. In the Patent Office report, made to the last session of Congress (the last one published,) it is stated by the Commissioner, Mr. Burke, a northern man, that the annual value of articles manufactured in the United States, is five hundred and fifty millions of dollars. This statement does not include iron, salt, coal, sugar, wool, the products of fisheries, and other articles on which a duty is collected; adding these, swells the amount to nearly seven hundred millions. Our imports for that year were unusually large, on account of the famine abroad. Nevertheless, all the articles imported, on which a duty is collected, including the above-mentioned in the statement of manufactures, are in value only one hundred and eleven millions one hundred and fifty-four thousand three hundred and fifteen dollars. It thus appears that the amount manufactured in the country is more than six times that imported. It is not pretended, however, that this comparison affords a proper measure of the amount of the burden which the country may sustain; and that which it pays to the Government thirty three millions, it pays two hundred to the manufacturers indirectly, thereby making the whole loss to consumers the first instance two hundred and thirty three millions.—Some few articles are manufactured here as cheaply as they can be elsewhere; and a very large number, at the places where they are made, are cheaper to the consumer than would be the foreign article when transported there. It is also true however that in a great many cases the consumer loses even more than the whole duty, because he is not only obliged to pay it to the manufacturer or refund it to the importer, but also a profit or percent on this duty to each trader through whose hands the article passes before it reaches him. In other instances the price is intermediate between what it would be without any duty and that which it would amount to by the addition of the duty. Want of accurate knowledge of all the facts renders it impossible to determine precisely the effect which our revenue system produces; but that it is most powerful and controlling, cannot be denied. The Government actually raises more than thirty millions per year by these duties. The manufacturers, who certainly are interested in selling their productions at a high rather than a low rate, and who understand their true interests, attach the greatest importance to the tariff system, and attribute to its operation effects even greater than I have stated them to be.—There has been less complaint among consumers, because the cost of most manufactured articles has been diminishing from time to time. This fall of prices, however is partly attributable to the great discoveries made during our day in chemistry, mechanism, and the arts generally by which these articles are produced with much more facility. It is also attributable to the comparative repose of the world, which has directed capital and labor, formerly consumed in wars, to industrial pursuits. Hence, though there is a gradual reduction of prices in the United States, yet it is still more striking on the other side of the Atlantic. In Great Britain particularly, as well as in certain portions of the continent such is the accumulation of capital and so great the number of laborers who are obliged to work for mere subsistence, that prices are at the lowest possible rate. We have a right to take advantage of this state of things just as the Europeans do of our cheap production of cotton. Instead of giving us half a dollar a pound as they used to do, they as well as the people of the northern States, seem glad to get it for five cents per pound in consequence of our over production of the article. We have, therefore, a natural right to purchase their productions at the lowest rate at which we can obtain them, to counterbalance the disadvantage we suffer from the accumulation of a different kind of capital and labor. To alleviate this burden, we of the South get back very little in the form of protection.—Why then, have southern men been willing to submit to a system so unequal in its operation? Because, as I have formerly had occasion to state, in the Convention which made the Federal Constitution there was a bargain made between the North and the South, that, provided they would allow our slaves to be represented, to permit importation for a time, and to deliver up fugitives, the South would on its part, agree that a majority of Congress might have power to pass navigation or tariff laws. As the gift of the power under the circumstances necessarily implied that it was to be exercised, we felt bound in honor to acquiesce in the action of the majority. Because in the second place, protection to such extent as might give our infant manufactures a fair start was calculated to advance the interest

of the nation as a whole though for the time it might bear hardly on us. And because, thirdly we hoped that the southern States would after a time get to manufacturing themselves as their interest required them to do, and thus escape the burden. It was thus that southern gentlemen, even after the North had partially failed to pay its share of the consideration, with great magnanimity continued to sustain the system.

The manner of disbursement is also adverse to our interests. Of the forty odd millions which the Government purposes to disburse this year, I do not believe that five millions will in any way be expended in all the slaveholding States. North Carolina for example, is burdened to the extent of not less than three millions, and yet does not get back one hundred thousand dollars in any way from the Government. The clear loss in a pecuniary point of view on account of the action of the Government may be set down at three millions annually. The southern States generally are in the same situation.

What would be our condition if separated from the North? It is difficult to determine the precise amount of the exports of the slaveholding States, because it is not practicable to arrive at the exact value of that portion which is sold to the free States. But the amount of our leading staples being pretty well known—I mean cotton, rice, tobacco, sugar, &c.—we can arrive at the whole value of our exports pretty nearly. They cannot fall short of one hundred and thirty millions of dollars, and this year perhaps considerably exceed that sum. This is nearly as much as the whole of the exports of the United States to foreign countries. It must be remembered, however, that though the free States furnish part of our exports, yet that which they do afford is scarcely so much as the portion of our own products which goes to them for consumption. If therefore, we were separated from the whole exports to the North and to foreign countries generally, would be equal to that sum. Of course we should import as much, and in fact do at this time consume as much. A duty of thirty per cent on these imports (and most of the rates of the present tariff law are higher) would yield a revenue of nearly forty millions of dollars. As the prices of almost all manufactured articles are regulated by the production of the great workshops of Europe where the accumulation of capital and labor keeps down production to the lowest possible rates, I have no doubt but that sum would be raised without any material increase of the prices which our citizens now pay. We might therefore expend as much as the Government of the United States ever did in time of peace up to the beginning of General Jackson's Administration, and still have on hand twenty five millions of dollars to devote to the making rail roads, opening our harbors and rivers, and for other domestic purposes. Or by levying only a twenty per cent duty which the northern manufacturers found ruinous to them, as they said under Mr. Clay's compromise bill, we should be able to raise some twenty five millions of dollars. Half of this sum would be sufficient for the support of our army, navy and civil government. The residue might be devoted to the making of all such improvements as we are now in want of, and especially checking our country over with rail roads. Subjecting the goods of the North to a duty, with those from other foreign countries, would at once give a powerful stimulus to our own manufactures.—We have already sufficient capital for the purpose. But if needed, it would come in from abroad. English capitalists have filled Belgium with factories. Why did this occur? Simply because provisions were cheaper there and taxes lower than in England. The same motives would bring them into the southern country since both the reasons assigned are much stronger in our case. It has already been proved that we can manufacture some kinds of goods more cheaply than the North. In New England, too, owing to her deficient agriculture, everything is directed to manufacturing, and the system is strained up to a point which is attended with great social disadvantages, so as to retard population. In the South it need not be so. The climate and soil are very favorable to agricultural pursuits. Our slaves might be chiefly occupied on the farms, while the poorer class of our white population and a portion of our females, could be advantageously employed in manufacturing. We should thus have that diversity in our pursuits which is most conducive to the prosperity and happiness of a people.

Our carrying trade would probably for a time be in the hands of the English and other foreigners. This, however, would not be to our disadvantage, since northern ship owners now charge as much for freight between New York and New Orleans as they do for carrying it to Canton, on the opposite side of the Globe. The whole amount of the freight on southern productions received by the northern ship owners has on a minute calculation, been set down at forty millions one hundred eighty six thousand seven hundred and twenty eight dollars (\$40,186,728.) The whole value which the North derives from its southern connection has been estimated, by some persons most familiar with these statistics, at more than eighty eight millions of dollars. Who ever looks into the condition of the different States prior to the formation of the Union and compares it with their situation at first under low duties, up to the war and tariff of 1816, and its successors, highly protective as they have been, will find the facts fully sustaining the opinions I have expressed.—Northern writers of elementary books made for school children of course represent things differently, and describe the careless and ignorant. My opinions on these points have been settled for a long while past though I have not heretofore been in a position where I thought I could exert any controlling influence or effect any desirable object, by giving utterance to them.

In throwing out these views Mr chairman, I have not sought the utmost degree of precision, but I have no doubt but that all the facts will be found on examination not less favorable to my conclusions than I have stated them. My purpose now is simply to present to northern gentlemen such general views as are likely now to be adopted by the South. Your course of aggression is already arraying against you all the highest minds of the South—men of high intellect, and higher patriotism, whose utter indifference to all personal considerations will make them, in the language of my eloquent friend from Georgia, [Mr. Toombs,] "devote all they have and all they are to this cause."

But gentlemen speak of the difficulty of making the boundary; and the condition of the border States of Maryland and Kentucky are particularly referred to. Undoubtedly each State would have the right to determine for itself to which section of the Confederacy it would belong. If these two States were to unite with the North, then as it would not be possible for them to change their condition immediately with respect to slavery if they ever did, they would for many years, at least, form a barrier against the aggressions of the free States, until, in short, the South would have become too great and powerful to need such aid. I take it, however, that their interest would lead them to prefer an association with the South. With reference to fugitive slaves, Maryland would not be materially worse off than I have shown her to be, if she were not in fact less molested. There would however be some great countervailing advantages. She is in advance of most of the southern States in manufactures, and a duty on northern imports would give her for the time better prices on such things as now come from the North. Baltimore would, perhaps, from its considerable size and its capital, become the New York of the South. New York itself must not only lose more than half its foreign trade. Charleston and New Orleans would expand rapidly. The like might occur to the cities of Virginia. Even the little towns on the eastern coast of my own State would more than recover the trade which they had prior to the war duties and the tariff of 1816. The northern tier of counties in Kentucky would perhaps be obliged to remove their slaves to the South. But there would be to her advantages in the change similar to those of Maryland. Kentucky supplies the South with live stock to a great extent—but she has to encounter the competition of Ohio and other northwestern States. If the productions of these States were subjected to a duty, she might for a time have a monopoly in the trade. I would do injustice to these two States if I supposed that they would be governed solely or even mainly by calculations of interest. Maryland and Kentucky are filled with as courageous, as generous and, as noble-minded men and women as exist on earth; and following their bold impulses, they would make common cause with their oppressed sisters of the South, and if necessary, take their places where the blows might fall thickest in the front of the column, with the same high feelings that animated their ancestors on the battle-fields of the Revolution. Rather than that they should separate from us, I think it far more probable that some of the northwestern free States would find it to their advantage to go with the South. But we have been threatened that the North will take possession of the Lower Mississippi. The British tried that in 1815, but found Andrew Jackson and some of the south-western militiamen in the way. In the thirty five years that have since passed, those States have become populous and strong, and would doubtless be able to protect their waters from aggression. The southern States having now a free population of six millions, and producing in succession such soldiers as Washington, Jackson, Scott, and Taylor, need have no serious fears of foreign aggression.

I submit it, then, Mr Chairman, calmly to northern gentlemen, that they had better make up their minds to give us at once a fair settlement; not cheat us by a mere empty form, without reality, but give something substantial for the South. We might acquiesce in the Missouri compromise line. I should individually prefer, under all the circumstances giving up the whole of California, provided we could have all on this side of it, up to about the parallel of 40°, not far from the northern line of the State of Missouri, rather than its southern—30° 30'. We would thus, by getting the whole of New Mexico, and having the mountain chain and desert on the west, obtain a proper frontier. We might then acquire, at some future day, whether united or divided possession of the country along the Gulf of Mexico, well suited to be occupied by our slave population. I mean sir, that no restriction ought to be imposed by Congress on this territory, but that after it has been left open to all classes for a proper period, the majority may then, when they make a State constitution, determine for themselves whether they will permit slavery or not. The South will acquiesce in any reasonable settlement.

But when we ask for justice, and to be let alone, we are met by the senseless and insane cry of "Union, Union!" Sir, I am disgusted with it. When it comes from northern gentlemen who are attacking us, it falls on my ear as it would do if a band of robbers had surrounded a dwelling, and when the inmates attempted to resist, the assailants should raise the shout of "Peace—union—harmony!" If they will do us justice we do not need their lectures. As long as they refuse it, their declarations seem miserable, hypocritical cant. When these things come from southern men, I have even less respect for them. Even the most cowardly men when threatened with personal injury do not usually announce in advance that they mean to submit to all the chastisement which an adversary may choose to inflict. And those persons, who, seeing the aggressive attitude of the North, and its numerical power, declare in advance that for

their own parts they intend to submit to whatever the majority may do, are taking the best course to aid our assailants, and need not wonder if the country regards them as enemies of the South.

If northern gentlemen will do us justice on this great question, we may consent to submit to lesser evils. We may acquiesce in a most oppressive revenue system. We may tolerate a most unequal distribution of the public expenditures. We may bear the loss of our fugitive slaves, incurred because the Legislatures of the northern States have nullified an essential provision of the Constitution, without which the Union could not have been formed, because mere pecuniary considerations are not controlling with us. We may even permit such portions of the northern people as are destitute of proper self respect, to send up here occasionally representatives whose sole business seems to be to irritate as much as possible southern feeling, and pander to the prejudices of the worst part of the community. We may allow that the northern States shall keep up and foster in their bosoms abolition societies whose main purpose is to scatter firebrands throughout the south, to incite servile insurrections, and stimulate, by licentious pictures our negroes to invade the persons of our white women. But if, in addition to all these wrongs and insults, you intend to degrade and utterly ruin the South, then we don't go it. We do not love you, people of the North, well enough to become your slaves. God has given us the power and the will to resist. Our fathers acquired our liberty by the sword, and, with it at every hazard, we will maintain it. But before resorting to that instrument, I hold that all constitutional means should be exhausted. It is, sir, a wise provision of Providence that less force is required to resist an attack than to make it. The Constitution of the United States has been well framed on these principles. While, therefore, a majority is necessary to pass a measure, one fifth of the members may demand the yeas and nays. In spite, therefore of any change of rule which the majority can make as long as this constitutional provision stands, a minority of one fifth or more, if firm and sustained by the people at home, can stop the wheels of the Government. It is ascertained that no proper settlement can be gotten of the Territorial question, it would be in the power of the southern members to defeat all the appropriation bills and bring the Government to a dead halt. Perhaps it might be well to give such a cup to northern gentlemen; for I well remember that when the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill was under consideration, with the amendment from the Senate known as Walker's, which would have settled the question of slavery in the Territories, a number of northern gentlemen resolved to defeat that bill and all other business by constantly calling for the yeas and nays, if they did not succeed in striking out that amendment. I recollect perfectly that while I was pressing Pennsylvania member to vote against striking out that amendment, which was the pending motion, a member of high standing from Massachusetts said to me, "You need not give yourself any trouble about this matter; if we do not succeed in changing it, we shall prevent its adoption by having the yeas and nays on motions to adjourn, and calls of the House, till the end of the session." From similar declarations made to me by a number of northern gentlemen, as I went through the House, I had no doubt but that as he said, enough had agreed to have enabled them to effect their purpose, if the motion to change the character of the amendment had failed. It is not long since, too, that another citizen of Massachusetts [Mr. John Davis] defeated the two million bill then pending in the Senate, by speaking till the end of the session. As northern gentlemen have therefore been accustomed to this mode of resistance to such measures as they do not like, I take it that they would hardly complain of this kind of retaliation.

I tell gentlemen that if we cannot in advance get a fair settlement of this question, I should be pleased to see the civil and diplomatic bill, the army and navy bill, and all other appropriations, fail. We should thereby make every officer and every expectant of public money directly interested in having justice done to the South. It would be far better to have this temporary inconvenience for a year or two, than that we should see a bloody revolution, or something worse. I hold it to be the duty of every southern representative to stay here and prevent, till the close of our official term, the passage of any measures that might tend to force our people to unjust submission.—In the mean time the southern States could, in convention, take such steps as might be necessary to assert their right to a share in the public territory. If this interregnum were to continue long, it might drive both sections to make provisional governments, to become permanent ones in the end.

But it is advised, in certain portions of the northern press, that the members from that section ought to expel such as interrupt their proceedings. Let them try the experiment. I tell gentlemen, that this is our slaveholding territory. We do not intend to leave it. If they think they can remove us, it is a proper case for trial. In the present temper of the public mind, it is probable that a collision of the kind here might electrify the country, as did the little skirmish at Lexington the colonies in their then excited state. Such a struggle, who ever might prove the victors in it, would not leave here a quorum to do business.—Gentlemen may call this treason—high treason—the highest treason that the world ever saw. But their words are idle. We shall defeat their movement against us.—But even if I thought otherwise, I would still resist. Sooner than submit to what they propose, I would rather see the South, like Poland, under the iron heel of the conqueror. I would rather that she should find the fate of Hungary.

It was but the other day, and under our

own eyes, that the gallant Hungarians stood their independence. Though in the midst of, and struggling against those immense empires, that could bring more than a million of armed men into the field, they were successful at first in beating down the power of Austria. It was until some of her sons became traitors, Hungary was finally overpowered, be down, and pressed to death by the long arms and gigantic strength of Russia; necessary, let such be our fate.

Were the extinguished Spartans still in their proud charnel of Thermopylae. Rather let the future traveler, as he passes over a blackened and desert waste, at least exclaim, "Here lived and died as nobly as the sun ever shone upon." If we were to wait until our measures were summated, and your coil, like that of a serpent, was completely around us, then might be crushed. Seeing the danger, have the wisdom and the courage to meet the attack now, while we have the power to resist. We must prove victors in our struggle. If we repel the wave of aggression now, we shall have peace. The Abolitionists defeated before the country on the main issue, will not have power to molest us. I have thus, sir, frankly spoken my opinion on this great question, with purpose to menace, but only to warn. Gentlemen of the North ought themselves to see that, while submission to what I propose would be ruinous to us, it would in the end be beneficial to their section. Seeing, then, the issue in all its bearings is for them to decide. They hold in their hands the destiny of the existing government. Should circumstances divide us, I wish that you may prosper. From all knowledge of the elements of your social I have doubts. That we shall, under favor of Providence, in all events, take of ourselves, I have no fears. In conclusion, I have to say, Do us justice, and continue to stand with you; attempt to trample on us, and we part company.

### CONGRESSIONAL.

Washington, Jan. 28 SENATE.

After the morning hour had expired Senate proceeded to the consideration of Senator Butler's Bill of S. C. for RECURRING FUGITIVE SLAVES.

Mr. Mason of Va. took the floor and spoke for two hours, defending and supporting the bill. He concluded his remarks demanding that constitutional protection should be given to Southern property.

When Mr. Mason had gotten through with his speech Mr. Dayton of N. J., attained the floor, when on motion, the Senate adjourned until to-morrow.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—To-day was "petition day" in the House and a large number were presented for French Spoliations.

A motion was made to refer these to Select Committee. Another motion was made that they be referred to the committee on Foreign Affairs. The latter motion was adopted, in opposition to the friends of the petitions.

Mr. Bayly, of Virginia, said he had received a petition asking for the establishment of a Monarchy. The petition was exceedingly well drawn, but believing that Congress had no power to legislate upon the subject, he declined to present the petition.

Mr. Disney, of Ohio, asked permission to offer the following important resolution. It was objected to by Mr. Daniel. Mr. Disney expressed his intention if the resolution was admitted, to offer some remarks at a future day upon it.

Resolved, That the time has arrived when a just regard for the peace and welfare of the republic demands not only a clear and accurate definition of the legislative power of the General Government over the people of any territory which either belongs to the United States, or hereafter may be acquired by them, but also that such a definition of that power shall remain as a fundamental and whereas the power of exclusive legislation over the District of Columbia as a seat of Government is necessary to the exercise of the prerogatives of Congress, and is obviously required by the dignity and necessities of the Government while the fundamental principles of our institutions demand that as the Legislature of the District of Columbia, with a just regard to the national interests, should obey the will of its people in relation to those domestic matters, and as no necessity arise which will demand the sacrifice of either power of the Government or the people's rights because they may be respected by retrocessing the District and selecting some other, where by agreement, such questions may be permanently settled, and thus the interests of the Government and the sentiments of the nation, and the rights of people be alike maintained. Therefore

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That as all just power is derived from the consent of the governed, and it is the duty of the American people to vindicate this great truth, it is hereby declared that the people of every separate community, whether they do or do not reside in a territory belonging to the United States, possess and have a native and herent right to frame their own domestic laws, to establish their own local governments, in all cases where the provisions of such laws and character of such governments do not conflict with the provisions and limitations of the constitution or the prerogative rights of the General Government.

Resolved, That in order that this acknowledgment of the people's rights may forever remain a force, the Committee on the Judiciary be and are hereby instructed to prepare and report to House, with proper limitations in regard to the territorial extent of each community, a suitable vision for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which shall engrave on that instrument an explicit declaration of the foregoing principles as an organic law.

Resolved, That the will of the people of District of Columbia of right ought at all times govern the action of Congress in relation to the existence of slavery within its limits.

The States were then called, and numerous petitions were presented, when the roll was ordered to be suspended, and a granting bounty land to the soldiers of the war of 1812 was introduced.

Twelve amendments were offered to some to include within its provisions soldiers of Gen. Wayne (better known