

by affirming or repealing the eighth section of the Missouri act, or by any act declaratory of the meaning of the Constitution in respect to the legal points in dispute.'

These passages are quoted to show that the issues made by Mr. Calhoun, as to the constitutionality of the two compromises of 1820 and 1850, were expressly left open for judicial decision, by the committee, who nevertheless swept away, by a clause subsequently added to their bill, not only the Missouri Compromise of 1820, but also the Compromise of 1850, which left untouched the Mexican laws, prohibiting slavery in the ceded Territories, which Webster, Clay, Benton, and all the leading lights in the Senate, (with the exception of Mr. Calhoun,) pronounced valid, and an effectual restriction.

The repeal was the adoption of Mr. Calhoun's nullifying doctrine in extenso. The power of Congress to make laws excluding slavery for ever from its Territories, as such, was denied, and all the Territories were open to slavery, on the ground of the 'inalienable right' of every citizen 'to move into any of the Territories with his property, of whatever kind and description;' and the law of squatter sovereignty was superadded, and substituted for the sovereignty of the United States over the public domain. Thus fell, at a dictation of Mr. Atchison, supported by the coalition effected between the Whigs and Democrats of the South, under the pressure and through the intrigues of the Nullifiers, Mr. Jefferson's noble principle, endeared to the country both for its moral grandeur and political wisdom. It is the first thought uttered in the Declaration of Independence; and to the denunciation of the King of Great Britain for the crime of bringing slavery to our shores, the original draft adds as the deepest aggravation, that 'he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce.'

The first legislative attempt to restrain the progress of the mischief which the King of Great Britain visited upon this country, was Mr. Jefferson's resolution excluding slavery from the Territory of the United States in 1784—the next was that introduced by Rufus King in 1785—the third that of Nathan Dane, in 1787—all receiving the votes of two-thirds of the States of the Confederacy, and the last the unanimous vote.

The fourth movement was that of the Convention, in the Constitution itself, providing against the importation of slaves after 1808, declaring the binding validity of the engagements entered by the Congress on the Government of the United States, to exclude it from the Territory, and securing to the new Government the power of making similar provision for future acquisitions of Territory. The fifth regulation to restrain the progress of slavery was that of the Compromise of 1820—the sixth, that of 1850. It is remarkable, that although these great measures, had their origin with Democratic leaders, Federal and Whig leaders of great renown united in their support. The constitutional provisions on the subject had the unanimous suffrage of all the illustrious men in the Convention who framed the Constitution of the United States; and from the silence on the subject in the State Conventions, called to ratify the Constitution, it may well be presumed that these also were unanimous in their approval of what had been done under the Confederacy and in the new Constitution to restrain the introduction and limit the extension of slavery. And may not men of all parties now unite to restore, what the patriots of all parties, during the first seventy years of our Government, contributed to establish?

The work of restoration is simple and easy, if the

men who abhor the late innovation on the long-settled policy of the nation can be induced to relinquish petty differences on transitory topics, and give their united voice in the next Presidential election, for some man, whose capacity, fidelity and courage can be relied upon to oppose the issue which the present Administration has made to control it. The contest has grown out of Presidential aspirations.—The decision of the people at the polls, in choosing a Chief Magistrate, will end it. Senators will easily comply, when the nation's demand is backed by the existing Presidential power and patronage, and hopes of the future succession, which always animates the leading members of that body.

The Administration has staked itself on the support of the party of privilege—of class interest—which makes it a unit. It confides in the success which has crowned the oligarchy everywhere in the Old World, and secured its triumphs on the maxim, 'Divide and Conquer.' The Whigs and Democrats of the South are a combination, to carry into the next Presidency some candidate absolute in maintaining the repealing clause of the Kansas Bill which nullifies the principles of the Ordinance, the provisions of the Constitution, made to give them effect, and all the Compromises which have been made in pursuance of them, with the sanctions of all sections of the Union. If the majority favorable to the policy built up with our Government will unite, accept the issue tendered by the Administration, and make the repeal of the repealing clause of the Kansas act paramount in the impending contest for the Presidency, all will be restored that has been lost to free institutions, by opening the Territories North and South, to slavery. The Compromises of 1820 and 1850 being restored, there will not be an inch of the territory of the United States, once exempted from slavery, on which it can legally intrude: and Mr. Atchison's attempt by an armed force to carry out the nullification plotted of the caucus which gave birth to the Kansas Bill, will, like the attempt of his prototype, Mr. Calhoun, to give effect to South Carolina nullification, be paralysed by the frown of an indignant nation, made potent by an honest and firm Executive.

And there will end the career of those gentlemen who arrogate to themselves the exclusive tutelage of the Democracy of the country, as ended that of Mr. Calhoun and his proselytes, who took the peculiar charge of the 'State Rights' party. They sunk under the universal conviction that their zeal for State Rights was an ardent passion to reach political power, at the hazard of extinguishing in the blood of the people the wise and free institutions it had cost so much to establish.

Our innovating Democrats, who put under foot the representative principles; who violate the known will of their constituents; who scorn their instructions to redress the wrong they have committed; who reply to the suffrages that condemn their conduct, that they are not. Democratic suffrages; who, in the plenitude of their infallibility, read out of the Democratic party, Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania. Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, because they will not submit to the will of these, their Representatives: who have set up a test which must forever exclude Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Vermont; who have bartered away the rights secured to them all by compacts—will soon learn that Democracy does not reside in the organization of intriguers, but in the mass of the people.

It is the glory of our great Republic, that its Democracy springs up from the soil and flourishes in the fresh air of our wide spread country; and its rich