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Mr. President—I entertain very little respect for this species of discussion which consists in misrepresenting or perverting the personal or political position of others...

In self-defence, it may be necessary for me also to refer to the position of that Senator, at various periods, in the way of contrast to my own, as we always differed upon isolated points, with a view of illustrating my own course...

The Secretary read as follows: "It is well known to those who have been associated with me in the two Houses of Congress that from the commencement of the question, I have been the determined opponent of what is called squatter sovereignty."

"It has been more speedily exploded, and to the country with more injurious consequences than I anticipated. In the meantime, what has been its operation? Let Kansas speak—the first great field on which the trial was made."

"What right has Congress then, or what right has it now to abdicate any power conferred upon it as trustee of the States? In 1820, following the promulgation of this notion of squatter sovereignty, we had the idea of non-intervention introduced into the Senate of the United States, and it is admirable to see how that idea has expanded."

"By what species of tergiversation this doctrine of non-intervention has been construed as to paralyze the Government on the whole subject, to exclude Congress from any kind of legislation whatever, I am at a loss to conceive. Certain it is, it was not the theory at that period, and it was not contended for in any of the controversies we had then upon that question. I had no faith in it then; I considered it an evasion; I held that Congress ought to perform its duty; that the law was before us, and ought to be met, the sooner the better; that truth would prevail if presented to the people; born down to day, it would rise up to-morrow; I stood then on the same general plea which I am making now."

"In 1831, advancing in the same general line of thought, Congress, in enacting Territorial bills, left out a provision which had usually been contained in them, requiring the Legislature of the Territory to submit its laws to the Congress of the United States."

"But did this omission of the obligation to send here the laws of the Territories cede this grant of power to the Territorial Legislature? Certainly not—it could not; and that it did not is proved by the fact that at a subsequent period the organic act was revised because the legislation of the Territory of Kansas was offensive to Congress."

"Mr. Douglas—I only desire to say to the Senator, while I yield for this explanation, that I will be obliged to him, and to all others, if they will allow me to go through my remarks without interruption, as I did him—for the reason that I have a great deal of ground to travel over which may exhaust my strength and I fear your patience, and he will have an opportunity to reply when I am through."

"The fact stated in those copious extracts from the Senator's speech conclusively show that this doctrine of squatter sovereignty, or popular sovereignty, or non-intervention, as the Senator has indifferently used the terms in different parts of his speech, did not originate with me in its application to the Territories of the United States, but it was distinctly proclaimed by Gen. Cass in what is known as his Nicholas letter—that the issue was then distinctly presented; that under the Democratic party went into the contest of 1848; that Gen. Cass became the nominee of the Democratic party with this question of non-intervention; that he was supported by the party on that issue; and that the same doctrine of non-intervention was supported in the Territories of 1850 by the gentlemen from Mississippi, and in harmony with the resolutions of my party—this was restricted by the Demo-

cratic party in the Baltimore Convention of 1852; that Gen. Pierce was elected President of the United States upon the same doctrine of non-intervention; that it was again affirmed by the Congress of the United States, in the Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854, and that it did have its first fruits upon the plains of Kansas in 1855 and 1856."

"These facts are substantially and positively affirmed by the Senator from Mississippi. These facts conclusively disprove and refute the charges, so often made in this Senate chamber, within the last year, so earnestly and so unjustly made against me, that I have changed my opinion in regard to this question since 1856. The Senator from Mississippi has done me a service. He has searched the records for me with a view to my condemnation. The result of his search is the produce the most conclusive and incontrovertible evidence that this charge of having changed my opinions upon that question, and which was made a pretext for my removal from the Committee on Territories, was not true. He tells you frankly, what the world knew before, that he had always opposed this doctrine of non-intervention. He and I always differed upon that point—I always regarded it as a fallacy—I as a sound principle. He claims that after it had yielded its blighting effects upon the plains of Kansas the Supreme Court has come to the rescue, and he now is triumphantly sustained in his opposition to the doctrine in 1848, 1850 and 1851—Sir, whether he is sustained or not in the views which he then held—which I then combated—is not so material as to find out which is right in the point at issue—this and now—between the Senator from Mississippi and myself."

"I propose, in the first place, to invite the attention of the Senate to the fact that this doctrine of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the territories of the United States, was brought distinctly before the American people, and distinctly before the democratic party of 1847, with a view to its decision by the Convention that was assembled at Baltimore in 1848. The gentleman has referred to a letter of Gen. Cass, known as the Nicholas letter, which bears date of December 24, 1847. He tells the Senate what most of us know personally and privately, who were here at that time, that that letter was in manuscript prior to its publication, and was passed around among Southern and Northwestern Democrats to receive their sanction before its publication. The letter was prepared and thus in private circulation for days and weeks before the date which it now bears as the date of its publication."

"The Senator from Mississippi says, and unquestionably with entire accuracy of recollection, that he at the time dissented from the doctrine of non-intervention as stated in the Nicholas letter. Other Senators now opposed to me, and leading and distinguished politicians, would not be able to say that when submitted to them for condemnation or approval, they condemned it as readily and frankly as the Senator from Mississippi did. During this period, while this letter was being privately circulated, and receiving the sanction of the representative men of the Democratic party, the special friend, the right-hand power of Gen. Cass in that great contest, Mr. Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, presented two resolutions to the Senate embodying the same doctrine. I will ask my friend from Ohio to read them."

"Mr. Bugh read the resolutions, which declare, first—that true policy requires the Government of the United States to strengthen its political relations on this continent by the annexation of contiguous territory, and that neither in such acquisitions nor in the organization of territory already acquired, can any conditions be imposed upon the people thereof in violation of their rights; second that in organizing a Territorial government for the Territories belonging to the United States the principles of self-government, upon which our federative system rests, will be best promoted by leaving all questions of domestic policy in Territories to a Legislature chosen by the people thereof."

"Mr. Douglas proceeded—Mr. Dickinson presented these to the Senate December 14th, 1847. It will be observed that they assert distinctly the very doctrine which the Senator from Mississippi then and now denounces, and which I then, ever since, and now affirm. I am not aware that Mr. Dickinson or General Cass ever have modified their views, much less declared the doctrine of these resolutions as of the Nicholas letter. Yet my record on this question is held up to the Senate and to the country as if I stood alone in this Democratic party—a heretic then, a heretic now—and that therefore I am not entitled to fellowship in the regular Democratic organization."

"I am aware, sir, that some people, and some States in this Union, hold different doctrines on the subject of non-intervention, squatter sovereignty, if you please, for they are distinctive terms—non-intervention being the still higher of the party, popular sovereignty, or squatter sovereignty being a term which has been distributed in various quarters; and the question upon this point is a matter of

passed by the Legislature of Florida, 29th, and by the Senate of the State on the 29th of December, 1847, and approved by the Governor on the following day. I find this resolution in the volume of the Enacted Code of Laws of Florida published by the authority of the Legislature. I am aware that Florida subsequently passed resolutions assuming a doctrine inconsistent with this, but I receive this resolution as evidence that this doctrine of non-intervention, for which I am now arraigned was not deemed a political heresy at that date."

"It may not be improper here to remark that during this session of Congress I received a letter from a State Senator of Florida, enclosing resolutions which he had introduced for the repeal of these resolutions, which will read, and denouncing them as being unconstitutional, revolutionary, unconstitutional and dangerous to the rights of the South, and denouncing me by name, as the great author of all this mischief that is to strike down Southern rights. I will ask my friend of Ohio to read the second and third resolutions only, which bear particularly on this point, the first relating only to the Wilmot proviso. I read them for the purpose of showing what the Legislature of Florida thought in 1847 upon this subject."

"[Mr. Pugh read the resolutions, which declare that a just and correct interpretation of the Constitution of the United States vests in the Territorial, as well as in the State Legislatures, exclusive jurisdiction over the persons of individuals within their respective limits, and that it would be arbitrary, unjust, and a usurpation of power on the part of Congress to impose conditions upon Territories applying for admission into the Union as States, in respect to their local institutions. The resolutions also declare that it would be an arbitrary usurpation of power on the part of Congress to legislate slavery in such Territory as may be acquired, either by way of indemnity, conquest, or otherwise; that the people of a Territory alone have the right to determine upon this subject, and it is for them, while they remain a Territory, and for the State, when they shall ask admission as a State, to say whether slavery shall exist within the limits of such Territory or State. And that they have, by a just interpretation of the Constitution, exclusive jurisdiction over the subject matter within their limits.]"

"It will be observed, Mr. President, that in these resolutions the State of Florida declares that, by a strict and fair construction of the Constitution of the United States, the Territorial Legislature, while in a Territorial condition, has the exclusive right to determine for itself whether slavery shall or shall not exist within the limits of such Territory. As I have already remarked, Florida subsequently changed her policy upon that subject. But if she solemnly proclaimed that doctrine to the world, in the name of a sovereign State of the Union, telling the Northern Democracy on what terms and conditions Florida would hold fellowship with them, and we adopt her doctrines, I would think that she could forgive us for remaining faithful to her creed, if we can forgive her for abandoning it. I, sir, arraign no man; I arraign much less a sovereign State. She had the right to proclaim her opinions, and, if she believed they were wrong, she ought to have changed them. But, sir, having proclaimed them and then changed them, it seems to me a little indulgence—even a 'quarter'—should be granted by Florida to those who stand by Florida's original position."

"Florida, sir, was not the only Southern State whose Democracy held these doctrines in 1847, prior to the nomination of Gen. Cass for President. I find here some resolutions adopted by the Democratic Convention of Georgia, at Milledgeville, in December, 1847. I have not the entire proceedings, but these resolutions have been recently published in several Georgia papers, with statements of gentlemen concerned in their passage, and a further statement that they were copied and adopted by several State Conventions in Southern States at that period. On that newspaper authority alone I read them as bearing upon this question. It is proper to state that in this proceeding it appears that certain gentlemen, eminent for ability, eminent for their devotion to Southern rights, eminent for their position in the Democratic party, were present and concurred in these resolutions:

"Resolved, That Congress possesses no power under the Constitution to legislate in any way or manner in relation to the institution of slavery; and that it is the Constitutional right of every citizen of the United States to remove and settle with his property in any of the Territories of the United States."

Territories. That, I would think, was pretty strict non-intervention! Gen's legislation against it—can't legislate for it—can't legislate to establish it—can't legislate to reject it—can't legislate to protect it—can't touch the subject in the Territories at all. Now, sir, it may be, and unquestionably is true, that some of the eminent men who participated in that State Convention of Georgia have since changed their opinions upon this subject, and now believe just as conscientiously that it is both within the power and duty of Congress to legislate for the protection of slavery in the Territories as they then believed that it was unconstitutional for Congress to do so. All that I have to say to these eminent gentlemen, for whose talents I have great respect, is, that if I can forgive them for having abandoned the very doctrine that they levited us of the North to rally in support of, I think they will pardon us for remaining faithful to that doctrine which they then and we agreed to establish."

"I feel it my duty, at the risk of becoming tedious, to present such evidence upon this point as shall show that the Democratic party, from 1848 to this day, has stood pledged, as a cardinal article in their creed, to this doctrine of non-intervention. I have shown on high authority—on Southern Convention records—that when the Baltimore Convention assembled in May, 1848, to nominate a Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and to lay down their platform for the party, the attention of the Democratic party, of the Southern States as well as of the Northern, had been especially called to this doctrine of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the Territories. Hence the nomination of Gen. Cass, with his opinions as expressed in the Nicholas letter, was not the result of accident or inadvertence, but he was chosen because his sentiments spoke the sentiments of a vast majority of the Democratic party. I have looked into the proceedings of the Convention at Baltimore in May, 1848, when Gen. Cass was nominated, and I find that in the slaveholding States Gen. Cass received, on the first ballot, for the nomination, sixty-six votes; Mr. Buchanan, sixteen; Mr. Woodbury, fifteen; Mr. Calhoun, nine; Gen. Worth, six; Mr. Dallas, three."

"The following are the Southern States that voted for Gen. Cass on the first ballot:—Delaware 8 votes; Maryland 6; Virginia 17; Mississippi 6; Louisiana 6; Texas 4; Arkansas 3; Tennessee 7; Missouri 7. These States did not then think that non-intervention, or squatter sovereignty, as it is now called, was such a fatal heresy as to furnish sufficient cause for disrupting the Democratic party, much less dissolving the American Union. They voted for Gen. Cass with a knowledge of his opinions on this question, and he was their first choice. Old Virginia did not take him then as a choice of evils; she had the opportunity to vote for a Southern man, holding the same views that are now expressed by the minority of the Democratic party, as shown by repeated votes to vote at that time for Mr. Calhoun, of South Carolina, on his platform, but Old Virginia believed then that intervention on the subject of slavery meant dissolution; hence she rejected intervention and interventionists, and gave her vote first, last, and all the time, for Gen. Cass, the expounder, the embodiment of non-intervention. The same remark is true of Mississippi, represented now so ably by the Senator, (Mr. Davis), who arraigned me the other day. He tells us that he always fought this doctrine of non-intervention. He has always fought it, but at that time he had not the same power in the State of Mississippi. He had not made the same impression upon the people, by his eloquent tongue and great public services, as he has since. Hence he was unable then to reduce Mississippi from the doctrine of non-intervention."

"Louisiana, too, was then true to Democratic creed; true to the doctrine of non-intervention: true to the maintenance of the Union; hostile to intervention, because intervention led directly to dissolution, and she rallied around General Cass as her standard-bearer in 1848—first, last, all the time. And so of the other States which I have named."

opinion party. The Northern States voted on the fourth ballot as follows: Mr. Cass 68, Mr. Woodbury 28, and Mr. Buchanan 26. Gen. Cass received only 59 out of 133 Northern votes. New York not voting in consequence of her double designation—while from the slaveholding States he received on the same ballot 68 out of 118 votes, being a majority of the whole number. These facts show that Gen. Cass was not the choice of a majority of the Northern Democracy at that time, but was the choice of a majority of the Southern Democracy."

"Now, Mr. President, I will proceed to show that those votes were cast with reference to the distinct question of non-intervention as now supported by myself and affirmed by the Democratic party at Charleston, and as resisted by the Senator from Mississippi and those who succeeded from that Convention. On the fourth ballot the whole number of votes cast was 257; necessary to a choice, 170. Thereupon the record says: Lewis Cass, of Michigan, having received two-thirds of the votes cast, an interruption took place to allow those States which desired to change, in order to make the nomination unanimous. They were proceeding to declare him nominated on the vote of two-thirds of the persons present, but not upon two-thirds of the votes of the whole electoral college. Here you will find an express declaration; two-thirds of those present and voting, and not two-thirds of the whole electoral college was the rule—New York not voting because she had a double delegation, and whether she would consent that the other should sit with them. Then speeches were made in favor of making the nomination unanimous. In behalf of several States both Northern and Southern members pledged their united support and the vote of their States for the nominee. Those gentlemen who had thus far opposed Gen. Cass, because they preferred other men, felt it their duty to give him their support. Thereupon Mr. Yancy, of Alabama, stated that he desired to have the platform erected on which they intended to place the candidate before he pledged his support. Mr. Winston, of Alabama, then pledged the people of Alabama to support the nominee; and Messrs. Kirk, of Alabama, J. E. Moore, Sydneyham Moore, Scott, and others aided in the pledge. Some eminent names are those men, who did not think this doctrine of non-intervention was such a fatal heresy as to form sufficient justification for disrupting the Democratic party, even at the hazard of a dissolution of the Union."

"Governor Winston, I believe, is well known in Alabama, and an eminent citizen. He pledged Alabama for Gen. Cass on this doctrine of non-intervention, carrying the Nicholas letter in his hand as the compass by which his political action was to be guided. Sydneyham Moore's is not a name unknown to fame—a most worthy man—eminent in ability and standing in Alabama—it would be a cause of regret if he should fall in a resolution to the House of Representatives. He did not then regard this doctrine of non-intervention as such a fatal blow at Southern rights but that he could pledge Alabama to the support of Gen. Cass. Tennessee was also pledged by an eminent citizen, and Mr. Huggins, of Kentucky, also spoke eloquently in favor of the nominee. The next day the platform was adopted, in which this doctrine of non-intervention was affirmed in the serath resolution, which is so familiar that it is not necessary to recite it—declaring that Congress has no power to interfere with and control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that each State is the sole and proper judge of everything pertaining to its own affairs; that all efforts by Abolitionists, or others, to induce Congress to interfere with slavery, or to take ineffectual steps thereto, are calculated to lead to alarming and dangerous consequences, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of the Union."

"Thus, in 1848, the Democratic National Convention had the opinion that countenancing any interference with slavery by Congress was dangerous to the peace and harmony of the country, and tended to the dissolution of the Union; and that they would not permit this interference by Abolitionists or others. 'O'er others!' They did not regard an interventionist then as any better than an Abolitionist. Congress must not interfere at all, nor permit any interference by Abolitionists 'or others.' What 'others?' These men who wanted a slave code for the Territories—Southern interventionists and Northern interventionists—by the fair intendment of that platform, were put upon an equality."

"After that platform was adopted, Mr. Yancy, of Alabama, felt it his duty to re-organize a party of Territorial Legislature pending the slavery question. He came into the Convention the next day, May 26th, with an elaborate report against this doctrine—this heresy promulgated by Gen. Cass in his Nicholas letter, signed by Mr. Yancy, General Commander of South Carolina, and a delegate from Florida. I shall ask the Senate to listen patiently to the entire report of Mr. Yancy on that occasion, for it embraces every thought, every idea, every principle, every point assigned to Congress for withholding from that Convention. I mean no particular disrespect to Mr. Yancy. We are old personal friends. We met as members of Congress seven years ago. Congressional relations were plain, kind and uninterfered. I have no much objection on any point to Mr. Yancy's bill, and I have no objection to his report, and I have no objection to his platform, and I have no objection to his address. (Continued on next page.)"

Catherine Griffin was shot in New Orleans last week, under peculiar circumstances. The pistol was fired by an unknown man, who had disappeared. A victim of the wounded woman, Biddy Hannon by name related the course of the affair from which it appears that the course of the tragedy in New Orleans is a 'Change upon Change' having been out of work for some time, waiting for a job, and being fatigued, set down upon a wheelbarrow to rest. In the mean time, a beautiful-looking man, with a gold watch around his neck, to give her own description, came up and taking hold of the handle of the wheelbarrow, commenced rolling her about, and Biddy turned her over into the dirty gutter. At this stage of the proceeding, her sister, Catharine, and another woman, became somewhat excited, and picking up some lamps of mud or earth, threw them at the man who had picked her into the gutter. That the man no sooner saw the mud spatter over his coat than he pulled his hand around, and drawing a pistol, fired at her sister, the shot striking her in the chest, and the man darted into a side house, and disappeared.

If a man is bitten by a dog he is most likely whether the animal has the hydrophobic or not to get mad.

A young girl will be an old one; and a young man will only be a younger brother to be grown older.

Why is a young lady just from a boarding school like a building committee? Because she is ready to receive proposals.

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PHILADELPHIA 1907

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An appetizing and stomachic preparation of IRON, pure and of the highest quality. It is a valuable remedy for all cases of weakness, anemia, and general debility. The pills are easy to take and produce no unpleasant effects.

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Would respectfully inform his friends and the public generally that he has removed to his new and commodious premises, located in the heart of the city. He is now prepared to receive orders for all kinds of goods and services.

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DISSOLUTION - The firm of Mathews & Co. is dissolved. All debts of the firm are to be paid by the partners.

THE PRODUCE COMMISSION

Established for the purpose of regulating the market for agricultural products. The commission is composed of representatives from the various farming communities in the region.

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The Franklin Hotel is a first-class establishment, offering the most comfortable and desirable accommodations for the public. The hotel is located in the heart of the city and is easily accessible by public transportation.

CHAMBERSBURG HOTEL

CHAMBERSBURG, PA.

The Chambersburg Hotel is a first-class establishment, offering the most comfortable and desirable accommodations for the public. The hotel is located in the heart of the city and is easily accessible by public transportation.

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For sale and repair of all kinds of musical instruments. The shop is located in the heart of the city and is easily accessible by public transportation.

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TO TEACHERS - Just received a large stock of new books and materials for the classroom. The books are of the highest quality and are suitable for use in all schools.

BOOK BINDERY - M. Kiefer & Co. are now receiving orders for the binding of all kinds of books. The binding is done in the most durable and attractive manner.

REMOVAL - Miss Sadie Fletcher, formerly of the firm of Mathews & Co., has removed to her new premises in the heart of the city. She is now prepared to receive orders for all kinds of goods and services.

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Established for the purpose of forwarding and commissioning goods for all parts of the country. The house is located in the heart of the city and is easily accessible by public transportation.

W. M. SEIBERT RETURNS HIS INDEBTEDNESS

W. M. Seibert, of the firm of Mathews & Co., has returned to the city after a long absence. He is now prepared to receive orders for all kinds of goods and services.

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