

Sec. 15. All acts of any inhabitant of the United States tending to incite persons held to service or labor to insurrection or acts of domestic violence, or to abscond, are hereby prohibited and declared to be a penal offense; and all the courts of the United States shall be open to suppress and punish such offenses at the suit of any citizen of the United States or the suit of any State.

Sec. 16. All conspiracies in any State to interfere with lawful rights in any other State or against the United States shall be suppressed; and no State or the people thereof shall withdraw from this Union without the consent of three-fourths of all the States, expressed by an amendment proposed and ratified in the manner provided in article five of the Constitution.

Sec. 17. Whenever any State wherein involuntary servitude is recognized or allowed shall propose to abolish such servitude, and shall apply for pecuniary assistance therein, the Congress may in its discretion grant such relief not exceeding one hundred dollars for each person liberated. But Congress shall not propose such abolition or relief to any State.

Congress may assist free persons of African descent to emigrate and colonize Africa.

Sec. 18. Duties on imports may be imposed for revenue; but shall not be excessive or prohibitory in amount.

Sec. 19. When all of the several States shall have abolished slavery, then and thereafter slavery or involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime shall never be established or tolerated in any of the States or Territories of the United States, and they shall be forever free.

Sec. 20. The provisions of this article relating to involuntary labor or servitude shall not be altered without the consent of all the States maintaining such servitude.

Mr. SAULSBURY. In offering these proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States, I wish to say that there are embodied in them some things which, as a private citizen, I would not approve; some things that do not meet my personal approbation; but considering the situation in which we are placed and the state of the country, I have been willing to meet the great questions involved in the controversy in the spirit of compromise and concession. For instance, as an original question I would not have agreed to any prohibition with reference to slavery in the District where the capital of the United States is situated; but knowing the feelings engendered and excited on that question, I have waived my personal opinions, and offer this simply as a compromise. I shall make no speech in behalf of these propositions. They were matured by men more learned in the law than myself, and submitted to me for my approval. I have consented to offer them to the Senate of the United States as a peace offering. I offer them in that spirit. Without attempting to enter into any argument to enforce them upon the consideration of Senators, I will content myself simply with their presentation and let the Senate vote upon them.

The amendment to the amendment was not agreed to; there being, on a division—ayes 2, noes not counted.

The amendment made as in Committee of the Whole was concurred in.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, and was read the third time.

Mr. POWELL. The Constitution requires us, I believe, to take the question on the passage of such a resolution as this by yeas and nays.

Mr. McDOUGALL. Before the final vote is taken I think it due to myself to make a few remarks, so that my exact position in regard to this whole question can be understood.

It may be known to at least one or two gentlemen upon this floor that for more than a quarter of a century I have been the friend of freedom and free institutions in the Republic of which I am a citizen. It does not become any man to boast; but I have the right to say that in the far West, when to favor free institutions was regarded by the populace as criminal, in the very year in which Lovejoy was killed at Alton, I, a stranger to all those consequences, entertaining the opinions I now entertain, and which opinions I have not changed, did myself march upon fifty rifles of East Tennesseans and Kentuckians, mad with wine, who were undertaking to mob a few young gentlemen from Massachusetts and New Hampshire because they had signed a petition to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and I quelled that mob. I did it alone.

I was born in the North; I early went to the West, and became acquainted with these controversies, maintaining the opinions of my youth. I maintain them now, and have done so since I came into this Senate Chamber. It is convenient for men who seek to run with the current of the stream, or to float with the tide, to espouse doc-

trines when they may become convenient to them. That has not been my course of policy or my habit of conduct from my youth upward in the various States in which I have lived. I say this much, and there are men of the Republican party high in office to-day who might not have been well in health at this time had it not been for my maintaining them in their young manhood when it happened to be my opportunity. Therefore I shall not be set down in any place by any man as a person who does not love freedom in all its forms.

I have protested, as I did a few days since, against these controversies that are not germane to the business of the Federal Congress or to the Government as it is to-day with the legitimate offices on its hands. I do not believe that from Maine, or Vermont, or New Hampshire, or Massachusetts, or Connecticut, or Rhode Island, or from any northern or eastern State there comes a man who is more attached to the establishment and maintenance of free institutions than I am myself. But I was told in my youth that it was the duty of a lad to speak the truth, and it grew into my manhood, and I dare maintain it here as I have maintained it always, as far as my best judgment and my highest conscience permitted.

I think with regard to these movements that we are by them doing our country a great wrong. I say it not because I please to say it, for I say it with a sense of pain. We are doing our country and our people a great wrong, and then we are doing to another people a great wrong. The evening after we passed the bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, I went to my lodgings, quite late in the evening. A colored man who was the dining-room servant, and a very polite man, waited upon me alone at the dinner table. He was evidently enjoying what he seemed to regard a triumph for his people. I said to him, "Frederick, do not be rejoiced; it may happen as a consequence of this act and other things that will follow this present action that they might as well take you to the Potomac and drown you." I look upon this policy as being a policy for sacrificing the whole of the colored people now occupying parts of this Republic. It has fallen within my own experience to see a beautiful valley, I think the most beautiful in the world, the valley of Napa. It is from ten to three miles in width; it is about thirty miles long. In the valley of Napa grow up the tallest oaks that I have ever seen or witnessed in my time, beautiful groves, a country such as is not in my judgment (and I am so told by men who have traveled throughout the world, which I have not done) paralleled in Spain, or Italy, or France. About the time that I first found myself on the western shores of this continent, there were twenty-five thousand native population; they may be called in one sense free American citizens. When I left my home to come here into the Federal Senate, there were not two hundred of them. They had been destroyed by our own people, by our vices, our luxuries, and our violence.

I have no doubt the Senator from Indiana was correct when he stated yesterday that two hundred and fifty thousand of the people of African descent in this country had been prematurely destroyed. This policy will engulf them. It is as simple a truth as has ever been taught by any history. The slaves of ancient time were not the slaves of a different race. The Romans compelled the Gaul and the Celt, brought them to their own country, and some of them became great poets, and some eloquent orators, and some accomplished wits, and they became citizens of the republic of Greece, and of the republic of Rome, and of the empire. This is not the condition of these persons with whom we are now associated and about whose affairs we undertake to establish administration. They can never commingle with us. It may not be within the reading of some learned Senators, and yet it belongs to demonstrated science, that the African race and the Europeans are different, and I here now say it as a fact established by science that the eighth generation of the mixed race formed by the union of the African and European cannot continue their species. Quadrupons have few children; with octoroons reproduction is impossible. It establishes as a law of nature that the African has no proper relation to the European, Caucasian blood. I would have them kindly treated. In the expe-

rience of my life and in my practices, I will not allow any person to say that he has been more kind to the people of that race than have I been myself, and I have seen much of them.

But we are undertaking now here to antagonize them, and with what? To antagonize them with immediately the ascendant white race of the South where they belong; and what must be the result? We hear what is said now with regard to their present position. It comes from those persons who go as missionaries and who go as agents by the employment of the Government into the South for the purpose of taking care of these people. Along the shores of the Mississippi they are wanderers without a roof under which to rest, without food to support their animal system, lost people, men, women, and infants. These are facts that have thrust themselves upon the country, and with which every man in the Senate is conversant. It may be within our pleasure to make these evils more complete. It may be within the pleasure of our ignorance to say these things are true and just and right; but nature revolts at the affirmation; truth gives it a firm denial. I will not admit that I am less the friend of the people of the African race than any other gentleman on this floor, even the champion from Massachusetts. I would be their friend, I would protect and preserve them, as I would the men who occupied our groves and fields and hills before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock; but it must be done by just and wise policy, and not by any of these extravagant measures not asked for or demanded by the day, but sought for by a greedy appetite which, maddened with a present sense of power, seeks to accomplish to-day what they fear may not be within their grasp to-morrow. Against all such policy and all such conduct I shall protest as a man, in the name of humanity and of law and of truth and of religion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution, upon which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HENDRICKS, (when Mr. BUCKALEW's name was called.) I desire to say that Mr. BUCKALEW is not able to be in his seat to-day, and he expressed a wish that I should say that if he were present he would vote against the proposition.

The call of the roll having concluded, the result was announced—yeas 38, noes 6; as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Anthony, Brown, Chandler, Clark, Col-lamer, Conness, Cowan, Dixon, Doollittle, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Grimes, Hale, Harding, Harlan, Harris, Henderson, Howard, Howe, Johnson, Lane of Indiana, Lane of Kansas, Morgan, Morrill, Nesmith, Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sherman, Sprague, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Trumbull, Van Winkle, Wade, Wilkinson, Willey, and Wilson—38.

NAYS—Messrs. Davis, Hendricks, McDougall, Powell, Riddle, and Saulsbury—6.

The VICE PRESIDENT announced that the joint resolution, having received the concurrence of two thirds of the Senators present, was passed. Its title was amended to read: A joint resolution submitting to the Legislatures of the several States a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I rise simply to say that I now bid farewell to any hope of the reconstruction of the American Union.

Mr. McDOUGALL. I desire to ask a question for the purpose of understanding a ruling of the Chair. The ruling, I understand, is that the vote as it stands now has no relation to the States not represented on the floor. I think our vote now being a final vote should have relation to all the States as recognized under the Constitution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair rules that a majority of all the Senators is a quorum, and two thirds of the number voting, provided a quorum votes, is sufficient to pass any resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. McDOUGALL. I only desire the privilege of saying that such is not the opinion I entertain.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

On motion of Mr. GRIMES, it was Ordered, That when the Senate adjourns to-day, it be to meet on Monday next.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. LLOYD, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House of Representatives had passed the fol-