

place and manfully endorse the sentiments, just and national as they are, which have been read to the House. And let me say, for my own great State, that she is *too great* to be unjust to her sister States. Her position, I repeat it, has ever been, and ever will be, that of a Constitution-loving and law-abiding State. She knows the value of this magnificent Union of ours too well to make assaults herself upon that Union, or to permit others to do so. She holds within her borders revolutionary battle-fields, upon which her sons shed their blood to secure and perpetuate the blessings of the Union. Can she forget this? Can she be false to past renown, and present peace, security, and prosperity?

Sir, with a population of three millions, an empire in herself, she sits there among her Saxon brethren with her iron crown upon her head, unwilling to her proud revolutionary traditions upon the justice, patriotism, and wisdom of her hardy sons. Pennsylvania is the Union absolutely, without qualification, in all contingencies, through every danger, and against the world in arms. There is no such word as "disunion," or that other treasonable word "secession," in her vocabulary. No disunionist could breathe upon her glorious soil. Her people believe that the Union will look down upon the graves of traitors for a thousand years. She gave her blood and her treasure for the Union of these States, and under our wise system of government she has prospered, until she has grown to be a great and powerful Commonwealth. And under the same benign influence her sister States have prospered, new States and new Territories have formed to the shores of the Pacific, and a thousand valleys have been filled with a free, happy, and prosperous people. Under our free institutions, the commerce of the country has spread over the land and over the sea, and the evidences of civilization have bespangled a mighty continent. These are some of the blessings which have followed in the wake of our free form of Government. May it be perpetual!

Sir, let no man say that Pennsylvania will embark in any unlawful crusade against her neighbors. We believe in the equality of the States under the Constitution and laws; but we never endorsed that abominable heresy, that this Government of ours is a mere confederation of States. That idea, we abandoned with the old, cumbersome Confederation. It was the *people* of the country who formed the Government under which we live and prosper; it was the work of their hands. The General Government holds the aggregate of power conferred by the people, not by States, as such. That fact they made patent upon the face of the Constitution itself, by declaring that, "We, the *people* of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, &c.," establish this Constitution." The people made it, and the people will take care of it. I never doubted that for a moment.

Sir, I am altogether opposed to the idea that

to make to such a calumny. My people are a proud and sensitive people, and they would scorn me if I consented to put them on the defensive upon such a charge. If made, I would not answer the calumny; my people would justly hold me responsible for doing so. When gentlemen address me as their peer upon this floor, by argument, in a fair, frank, and friendly way, I will listen to them with the greatest respect and pleasure; but for menaces, for charges of complicity with treason and insurrection, I have no reply. I point to my State, to her history, to her national spirit, to her whole free, just, and fearless people, and show that she has always been opposed to lawless aggressions, at all times and at all places. With all the spirit and all the power necessary to take care of herself, she is too just to encroach upon the rights of others.

gentlemen advance here, that any one portion of this Confederacy will at any period of time make war upon any other portion. I cannot entertain the thought for a moment. I have too much confidence in the intelligence and common sense and patriotism of my countrymen to suppose it a possible contingency. And I will not draw comparisons between different sections of my country in relation to the bravery of our countrymen. It can do no good—it would be fruitful in excitement and acrimony. I believe that all Americans are equally brave. I scorn the idea that there is any difference in point of courage between the freemen of the United States residing in different portions of the country. All are of the Anglo-Saxon race. All are free and independent men, and equal in point of true manly courage. It will stultify any Representative to attempt to show that any portion of his countrymen are not as brave as any other portion. Through the veins of over thirty million of freemen residing in this land, rolls the unconquerable blood of the Anglo-Saxon race. That is my answer to the enemies of my country who may attempt to draw invidious distinctions between the courage of the people of one part of the Confederacy and of another part.

Now, Mr. Clerk, one word in regard to the vote which I gave, in connection with several of my colleagues and others, for the honorable gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. GILMER] as Speaker of this House. With my colleague, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, for over fourteen years of my life, I never hear that name mentioned without feeling those emotions of patriotism and of admiration for the memory of the great dead, which can only spring into action at the mention of immortal names. I followed the banner of Henry Clay until that flag was folded upon his breast, and laid upon his grave. Then, sir, I united my political fortunes with those of the American Republican party. In Pennsylvania, we call it the People's party—you may call it the American Republican party of the State of Pennsylvania, if you please; names signify but little—principles are every-thing. The doctrines of that party, as I understand them—I speak for myself alone—are these: We are the friends of the Union and of the Constitution and of all its compromises. We were opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise line—a repeal which has opened the floodgate of slavery agitation and aggression upon us. That repeal was the result of Southern votes, Southern agitation, and Southern counsels; it was a Democratic vote and Democratic counsels that destroyed the compromise of 1820.

But, sir, we endorsed the compromise measures of 1850, in the State of Pennsylvania, with out distinction of party. We did so for peace, and in the hope that no further compromise would be required at our hands. Have the

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THE SPEAKERSHIP.

SPEECHES,

HON. GEORGE W. SCRANTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
HON. JAMES H. CAMPBELL,
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Delivered in the House of Representatives, January 11, 1860.

THE POLITICAL QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
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active politician, never having been a candidate for office until my acceptance of the nomination for the position I now have the honor to hold, I have not been indifferent to the great questions that have of late been submitted to the country. In 1856, my vote was given to Mr. Fillmore, which was by many considered an indirect vote for Mr. Buchanan; and I frankly acknowledge that I then preferred Buchanan to Fremont. Besides, on several occasions, I have voted for Democrats in our State elections, when I considered the candidates of that party the better men. These facts I merely adduce to prove that I am conservative, and not so wedded to party as to be deterred from making concessions, when, in my judgment, the public good requires it.

My position, therefore, in this body, is an independent one. The one hundred and fifty thousand people I have the honor to represent have demanded no pledges to particular measures. They have confidence in my fidelity to their interests, and I have confidence in their national and conservative sentiments; and no motive can influence me but the desire and determination to represent them faithfully, and to serve my State and my country.

Now, from the first it has been apparent to me, as it must have been to every gentleman here, that an election cannot be effected without some concessions of party preference; hence, sensible that the position I occupied would warrant me in joining such a compromise, I accepted the first opportunity that presented itself.

On the day that the honorable gentleman

the Clerk stated, as the business first in order, the question of the admissibility of the resolution proposed by Mr. Edwards yesterday, upon which the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCRANTON] was entitled to the floor.

Mr. SCRANTON. Mr. Clerk, indisposition has prevented me from constant attendance in the House for the past few days, and I am still unable to give attention to the preparation of my remarks at this time.

Mr. Clerk, frequent allusion having been made to the vote for Mr. Gilmer for Speaker, by certain members of the Opposition party, accompanied with charges of bad faith in the casting of that vote, I desire, as one of those who contributed thereto, to explain my connection with the movement, and state briefly the motives which prompted it.

But, first, allow me to say that I am one of those Representatives from Pennsylvania who were elected by the *People's party*. I received the support of the Republican party entire, and, in addition thereto, the suffrages of a very large part of the Democratic party of my district.

Individually, I have been a Whig—was born in the faith—gave my first vote, in 1832, for Mr. Clay—and adhered to the tenets of that party, through all its vicissitudes, till the organization became practically defunct. I was proud of the party, both in respect of its doctrines and its principles, and I cherish those still. For the great leader, I felt an attachment so intense, that I know of no other name that would so appropriately express the emotion as *love*. I entertain the deepest veneration for his memory. Although I have never been an

Finally, Mr. Clerk, I am one of those who have faith in the perpetuity of the Union, and confidence in the wisdom and good sense of the people both at the North and at the South. Beyond that, I believe that the benign Ruler of mankind, who watched over and led our fathers, when darkness and adversity surrounded them, by a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire at night, to final triumph and victory, will not desert us now. But, sir, I deplore the bitter words, the caustic animadversions and severe criticisms uttered here from day to day; here, sir, in the halls of the Capitol, is the place to begin the blessed work of reconciliation. Let us set a glorious fraternal example to the people of our country by abstaining, in our debates on this floor, from what serves to irritate without convincing.

Mr. CAMPBELL. With the permission of my colleague from the Luzerne district, I rise for the purpose of giving a cordial endorsement to the just and patriotic sentiments contained in the resolutions which have been read at the Clerk's desk. The time has arrived when it becomes proper for those who, like my colleague and myself, represent portions of the State of Pennsylvania, to say upon this floor, for her and for her people, that Pennsylvania cannot be suspected of entertaining any hostile sentiments, or of cherishing an aggressive policy, against her sister States. In the exciting, useless, and inflammatory debate which has been progressing within this Hall for the last five weeks, her honor has not been called in question, her character as a law-and-order-abiding State has not, and cannot be, successfully assailed.

Sir, Pennsylvania always has been true, and always will be true, to the Constitution and the laws of the land. No man who will consult her history, or refer to the past and present conduct of her people, will for a moment doubt the one or the other. I rejoice that my colleague has had the good sense, firmness, and patriotism, at a time like this, to rise in his

re- quired ploughs it, it is, that he has taken pains, upon more than one occasion, to affirm the orthodoxy of his Democracy, and attempts to impede it.

My fervent hope is, that our noble people will be reserved without regard to fratricidal strife, and be united with the section in advancing those aims of civilization by which the Union will be made prosperous and happy and great. I heartily endorse the honorable gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. GILMER] that on the State or Southern side of this Confederacy can be forced into subjection by the others without a virtual dissolution of the Union. Such a supposition as the gentleman has so aptly remarked, is totally at variance with the quality of our common Saxon nature.

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