

NO. 12.

Whatever quibbles there may be as to legal construction, legal right, these are facts. As to the territorial legislation, and all find as rigorous a code for the protection of slave property as in any State—prescribing the capital of the master, so that if a negro slave should leave master's farm without leave, or in the time, he should be punished by so many stripes, and if he committed such an offense he should receive so many stripes on ; as rigorous a code as ever existed in any other southern State of this Union. Only that, but after the State came into Union, the State of Illinois re-enacted, and continued it up to the time slavery died out under the operation of the State constitution.

Like, sir, to have a controversy with me about historical facts. I suppose the Senate of the United States has no real interest in the early history of Illinois; but it has become obligatory on me to limit my statement to that extent:

Sir, a word about the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. I have had occasion to say that before in the Senate, and I do not now have to refer to it again.

Colleague arraigned as Chairman of Committee on Territories against my bill in the Senate in 1854, upon the Nebraska bill. He says that, as Chairman of the Committee, I reported that we did not see proper to depart from the example of 1850; that as the Mexican laws were then repealed in terms, we did not propose to repeal the Missouri restriction, but there the Senator stops, and the essence of the report begins—but, he added, this committee proposes to put the principles embodied in the

omission of 1850 in precise language, and that we go on to state what principles were; and one was, that a people of a Territory should settle the question of slavery for themselves, and we did not propose to give them that power.

Inasmuch as the power to introduce slavery, notwithstanding the Mexican laws, conferred on the Territorial Legislature under the compromise measures of 1850, the right to introduce it into Kansas, notwithstanding the Missouri restriction, so proposed to be conferred without repealing the restriction. The last was precisely the same. After some gentlemen said they would rather have the legal effect expressed in plain words.

"If you want a repealing act," he said, "it does not alter the legal effect;" so at the time, as the debates show; hence I put in the express provision that the Missouri act was thereby repealed, not change the legal effect of the bill; but variation of language has been the cause of a great many stamp speeches, a many miserable quibbles of country lawyers, a great many attempts to inconsistent by small politicians in the country. Be it so. The people understand that thing. The object I had in view, is to allow the people to do just as they please. The first bill accomplished that; amendment accomplished it. Whether it was the object of others or not, is another question. That was my object. The bills in my opinion had the same legal effect; but I said if any doubts it, I will explain. Some said "we don't know what gives the right." Then I made it clear and brought it in express terms, and as a change of language, without varying the legal effect, a change of policy.—

Colleague is welcome to make the most of that. I have had that assignment over again.

Senator has some doubt as to whether he is in good standing in my party; whether he is a good representative of northwestern men. I have nothing to say about

I will allow the people to speak in conventions on that subject. Whether the present Democracy of Illinois or not, shall not say. The people understand that.

I can only say that I have been in the Democratic party all my life, and what our Democrats mean. My colleague endorsed and approved the compromise measures of 1850. He was a Democrat few years ago. Even in 1856, he said, I believe, that he could not vote, if nominated, but he would vote for Buchanan; but, after the nomination, he did not like the platform, and he went over to the Republicans.

I have no objection to that; it is all enough. I never intended to taunt him with inconsistency; but I do not think it safe, and as authoritative an ex-

ample of the Republican party as the Senator from New York. The Senator from New York says that a State that does not allow a negro to vote on an equality with a white man is a slave State. I read his speech to-day. I suppose the Senator from New York is a pretty good Republican. I thought he spoke with some anxiety for his party. I did not suppose neophytes who had just come into the party were going to unseal and unbind and embodiment of the party so easily, and prescribe a platform that would suit the Senator from New York. I would be permitted, therefore, to take the liberty of the leaders of the party in referring to those who are kept in the ranks of the party until they have served their apprenticeship. [Laughter.]

— Senator from New York says it is my duty not to allow the negro to vote.—

sir, I told that that is political slavery. If you disfranchise a man, you make political slaves. Hence the inequality creates slavery. To that extent—

Colleague will not allow a negro to vote even too far south in Illinois for that, surely. He has to expound the creed in Egypt. They have other exposures north. The creed is pretty black north end of the State; about the center is a pretty good mixture, and it is almost white when you get down into Egypt. The pale shades as you go south.

Democrats of Illinois have one creed, and can proclaim it everywhere alike.

— Senator, my colleague, who claims to represent his party to be in favor of equality. No such thing, says he; my colleague to his teeth it is not.

There is something very singular in the paper in which he said it! Senator that he is a dangerous man who says to a man's teeth, and I shall be very anxious how I reply. But he says he does not by the law of God the negro and

the white man. He says he does not believe in the Declaration of Independence of the negro as well as the white man. He thinks that clause of the Declaration of Independence inscribes the negro as well as the white man. He speaks, however, that the negro and the white man were created equal, and that equality is an inalienable right, by what authority is my colleague and his party going to deprive the negro of that inalienable right which he got directly from God? He says the Republican party is not in favor of according to the negro an inalienable right that he received directly from his Maker. Oh, no; he tells me to my teeth that they are not in favor of that; they will not obey the law of God at all. They will not take away inalienable rights. Well, I have found that out before, and that is just the reason I complain of them, that they are not taking away inalienable rights.

If they still cling to the doctrine that the Declaration of Independence conferred certain inalienable rights, among which, we are told, is equality between the white man and the negro, they are bound to make the law, man laws they constitute, conform to those God-given rights which are inalienable.

They believe the first proposition, the Southern men, they are bound to carry the principle to its logical conclusion.

Let him vote in the Congress; let him vote in elections, hold office, serve on juries, make him Judge, Governor, Senator.

No, they cannot make him a Senator, because the Supreme Court has decided that he is not a citizen. The Dred Scott decision is in the way.

Perhaps that is the reason of the objection to the Dred Scott decision, that a negro cannot be a Senator. I say, if you hold that the Almighty created the negro the equal of the white man, and that equally be an inalienable right, you are bound to confer the elective franchise and every other privilege of political equality on the negro. The Senator from New York stands up to it like a man. His logic drove him there, and he had the honesty to avow the consequence of his own doctrine.

That is to say, he did it before the Harper's Ferry raid. He did not say it quite as plainly to-day; for I will do the Senator from New York the justice to say, that in his speech to-day, I think he made the most successful effort, considered as an attempt to conceal what he meant. (Laughter.)

He dealt in vague generalities; he dealt in disclaimers and general details; and he covered it all up with a verbiage that would allow anybody to infer just what he pleased, but not to commit the Senator to anything; and to let the country know that there was no danger from the success of the Republican party;

that they did not mean any harm; that if men believing in the truth of their doctrine, did go and commit invasions, murders, robberies, and treason, all they had to do was to disavow the men who were foolish enough

to believe them, and they are not responsible for the consequences of their own actions!

Now, Mr. President, I wish my colleague was equally as frank as the Senator from New York. That Senator is in favor of the equality of the negro with the white man, or else he would not say that the Almighty guaranteed to them an inalienable right of equality.

My colleague dare not say it, lest the old-line Whigs should quit him; hence he is riding double on this question.

I have no desire to conceal my opinions; and I repeat that I do not believe the negro race is any part of the governing element in this country, except as an element of representation in the manner expressly provided in the Constitution. This is a white man's Government made by white men for the benefit of white men, to be administered by white men and nobody else; and I should regret the day that we ever allowed the negro to have a hand in its administration.

Not that the negro is not entitled to any privileges at all; on the contrary, I hold that humanity requires us to allow the unfortunate negro to enjoy all the rights and privileges that he may safely exercise consistent with the good of society. We may, with safety, give them some privileges that would not be safe in Mississippi; because we have but few, while that State has many. We will take care of our negroes, if Mississippi will take care of ours. Each has a right to decide for itself what shall be the relation of the negro to the white man within its own limits, and no other State has a right to interfere with its determination.

On that principle there is no "irreconcileable conflict," there is no conflict at all. If we will just take care of our own negroes, and mind our own business, we shall get along very well; and we ask our southern friends to do the same, and they seem pretty well disposed to do it. Therefore, I am in favor of just firing a broadside into our Republican friends over there, who will keep interfering with other people's business. That is the complaint I have of them. They keep holding up the negro for us to worship, and when they get the power, they will not give him the rights they claim for him; they will not give him his inalienable rights. New York has not given the negro those inalienable rights yet. The Senator from New York represents a slave State, according to his own speech, because New York does not allow the negro to vote on an equality with a white man. It is true, in New York, they do allow a negro to vote, if he owns \$250 worth of property, but not without. They suppose \$250 just compensates for the difference between a rich negro and a poor white man. (Laughter.)

They allow the rich negro to vote, and do not allow the poor one; and the Senator from New York thinks that is a system of slavery. It may be; let New York decide that; it is her business. I do not want to interfere with its. Just let us alone. We do not want negro suffrage. We say "non-interference; hands off."

If you like the association of the negro at the polls, that is your business; if you want them for magistrates, that is your business; but you must not send them here; because we do not allow anybody, but citizens to hold seats on this floor; and, thank God, the Dred Scott case has decided that a negro is not a citizen.

Now, Mr. President, I hope I shall not be compelled to engage further in the discussion, and I apologize for the fact that I have occupied so much time.

The REMAINDER OF JACKSON.—The Governor of Tennessee has sent a message to the Legislature of that State to have Andrew Jackson, in which he denounces the negroes against the removal of the Indians, to the Hernando to the Dipper, and to the Major J. May that it was done in a spirit of incendiary and malignant designs, and that the negro should not be removed.

FRIDAY, MARCH 22, 1861.

M. H. BENTON & CO., No. 10 State Street, and No. 115 Nassau Street, New York, are authorized Agents for "ADVERTISERS" and will receive for Advertisements at our lowest rates.

JOHN M. BREXHOFER, of Dighfield, is our Agent for that country, in receiving subscriptions to the *Vindicator*, and his address is the office.MR. GUYER'S BREAKFAST, of Milwaukee, is hereby authorized to receive and make subscriptions to the *Vindicator*, and his address is the office.CO. ADVERTISERS.—The *Vindicator* has a large and increasing circulation in this and the adjoining states, and is a valuable medium for advertisers. Circulating among business men, it affords a great advantage to those who will use its services.

LEGAL ADVERTISEMENTS.

The undersigned hereby give notice that from the 1st day of March the publication of *Chambers' Orphaned Girls* against advertisements, unless the parties interested agree to pay for them at our regular advertising rates; nor will they certify to the publication of such advertisements, or any part of them, in any paper, or in any payment to us.

WADDELL & CO., Proprietors of *Vindicator*. Sept. 8, 1860.

BOSTON LITERARY MESSENGER.

The number of this Magazine for March comes to us filled with the most interesting matter. This number of the Messenger is, we think, decidedly the most interesting which has been issued for a long time. The letter of Lord Maccus to Mr. Randall, embodying the distinguished essayist's views on our government, and for the first time given to the public, is sufficient, of itself, to invest the March number of the Messenger with peculiar interest to the American reader.

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However much we may dissent from Mr. Maccus's view of the instability of our governmental policy, and of its decided failure, yet the views of so profound a writer are entitled to the careful consideration of the American statesman. The gist of Lord Maccus's argument is contained in the following extract:

"You may think that your country enjoys an exemption from these evils. I will frankly say to you that I am of a very different opinion. Your fate I believe to be certain, though it is dictated by a physical cause. As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land, your laboring population will be far more at ease than the laboring population of the old world; and, while that is the case, the Jeffersonian policy may continue to exist without causing any fatal calamity. But the time will come when New England will be as thickly peopled as Old England. Wages will be low, and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. You will have your Manchesters and Birmingham; and, in those Manchesters and Birmingham, hundreds of thousands of artisans will assuredly be sometimes out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test. Distress everywhere makes the laborer mutinous and discontented, and inclines him to listen with eagerness to agitators who tell him that it is a monstrous iniquity that one man should have a million while another cannot get a full meal. In bad years there is plenty of grubbing here, and sometimes a rioting. But it matters little. For here the sufferers are not the rulers. The supreme power is in the hands of a class, numerous indeed, but select, of an educated class, of a class which is, and knows itself to be, deeply interested in the security of property and the maintenance of order. Accordingly, the malcontents are firmly, yet gently restrained. The bad time is got over without robbing the wealthy to relieve the indigent. The springs of national prosperity soon begin to flow again; work is plentiful; wages rise; and all is tranquility and plenitude. I have seen England pass three or four times through such critical seasons as I have described. Through

such seasons the United States will have to pass, in the course of the next century, if not of this. How will you pass through them? I heartily wish you a good deliverance. But my reason and my wishes are at war; and I cannot help foreboding the worse." It is quite plain that your government will never be able to restrain a discontented and discontented majority. For with you the majority is the government, and has the rich, who are always a minority, absolutely at its mercy. The day will come, when, in the State of New York, a multitude of people, none of whom has had more than half a breakfast, or expected to have more than half a dinner, will elect a Legislature. It is possible no doubt what sort of a Legislature will be chosen? On one side is a rabid, preaching, patient, resolute for vested rights, strict observance of public law. On the other is a rabid, preaching, ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers, and asking why anybody should be permitted to drink champagne and ride in a carriage, while thousands of honest folks are in want of necessaries. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a working man who bears his children, trying for more bread? I seriously apprehend that you will prefer the rabid, preaching party as I have described, do things which will prevent prosperity from returning; that you will be like a people who should, in a year of scarcity, devour all the seed-corn, and thus make the next year a year, not so neatly, but of absolute famine. There will be a year of speculation. The speculation will increase the distress. The distress will produce fresh speculation. There is nothing to stop you. Your constituents are all set to stop you. As I said before, when a country has entered on this downward pro-

gress, it is hard to turn back. There is no

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and as the form, with the tables
as tables of hours required all
the time the latitude and longitude
and distance run.

The same proportion for magnetic
tables, as the beginning, will
with almost the trouble of
the tables.

It is evident that there
are there is less attraction
independent of the needle,
of sight, enabling the men
the angle required by the
equation to easily calculate
the levelling for different
and every purpose of the
art for setting the base line
base and perpendicular of
which the area can be measured
and it also gives the bearing
line in a division of 100.
In each with either one

J. LILLEY, Surveyor.

My certificate:

Coast Survey Office,

Boston, Jan. 10th, 1859.

I do hereby certify to the
Master of the Name of a Coast
Surveyor as follows:—
That he has given his services
to the Government of the
United States; and has, several other
times, performed ordinary surveys

which it works are very ob-
taining complicated, it will be
the nature of the survey—
tion and plotting may be
be well made and correct
relative results.

Capt. H. B. Cheeseman.

Mr. J. H. Lintel, my
establishment, now provided
facilities, for the service of
Public. Mr. Wm. H. Peirce
and his associates with the
Master, Mr. Wm. Jordan, for
the Hotel, and more recently
the. The style of the new

PEYTON.

I have secured a corps of efficient
agents, who will unite with
attention to those stepping
and called upon to do
the conduct of goods
e. as follows, to equal
the State.

If also call special attention
erection of NEW BUILD-
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NATIONAL ROOMS.

It will be enabled to afford
gentleman, and to accom-
pany to spend the summer in
with the Hotel, are com-
management of Bryant & Co.,
experience and efficiency, in
the hotel, and the
Hacks, will be afforded to
the visitors judge themselves
at ease, and increase the pro-
House, and to serve an ap-

JORDAN & PEYTON.

Prop're.

All the Stage lines, is at this
of Adams & Co's St.

JORDAN & PEYTON.

Spec. Copy.

NOTICE.

Cost.

At the expiration of my lease of
store, and preferring to re-
move, I will sell

cost, Cost,

1st day of April, my entire
Cloth and other Goods
all Wool Drapery, half
Drapery, Linen, Cloth
Goods of all descriptions,
Silks, Bonnets, Thread
Linens, Billiards, Mat-
tress, Quadrat Sheets, Cot-
tins, Taffeta and Figured
Flanders, Linen, Bed
Harrises, Shirts, Sheet
Linens, Napkins, Toweling,
Curtains, Prints, Steel
Buttons, reduced from
the Int of Ministry Goods,
and from \$100 up to \$1000

ced from \$10.00 to \$6.00,
and Fancy Dine-wear Glass-
ware and Pictures Velvet
Cushions, Plain and Fanc-
y and Fancy Goods, also
various Straw Hatting, Oil
Paintings, a large quantity of Jewelry,
Adolescent, Misses' and Children's
and many other articles too numerous
to mention.
We cordially invite you to examine
our goods at leisure, I shall be happy
to have you purchase on credit,
and be charged.

S. H. BILD,

10, 1900.

MALE STABLE.

In term of years the empha-
sized Stables are closed to the
public where we intend to
and for
customers
ers has
advice
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on livery. In a few weeks
are ready to accommodate 400
attentive Oatters have been
customers solicited. Un-
der such circumstances we
will keep Hacks, Buggies and
Carriages for hire—out Vehicles
and horses, we may confidently
recommend.

J. S. BYERS & CO.
Bobbing, done by an expert.

BYERS & CO.

Oct. 1880.—T.—Spec. Copy.

HOTEL,
and Cannon Streets,
WILLISTON, Vt.
CHAS. CHAMBERLAIN, Proprietor.
A. W. DAVIS, Clerk.
Second class Hotel. Persons trav-
eling the Springfield line.

the Spring will find it a
good business always in
, 1859.—16

STAKK CUTTERS.—We
have of Companies' Bitaw and
the best quality to any Cal-
ifornia.

Send to F. J. Fisher, Wm.
Henry B. Seix and Co.,
after whom have them in
WILLIS & GILKESON.

1778.TL

Actor's Mill, just Standard,
is having a large sale of
the owner's effects. A
large quantity of which will
affect the price.

Master.

10 Tons of the best Window
Glass, brought to the
City, or Company produced
per ton. W. A. BUCK.

10, 1860—1m—S. Copy.

W. C. B. & Co.,
100 Wall Street,
New York,
N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

I have the honor to inform you that
I have sold to you the following
lot of skins:

1000 lbs. of
LAMBSKINS
1000 lbs. of
GOATSkins
1000 lbs. of
COWHIDES
1000 lbs. of
HORSESKINS
1000 lbs. of
DEERSKINS
1000 lbs. of
SWINESKINS
1000 lbs. of
PIGSKINS

Yours very truly,

W. C. B. & Co.

