WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

ALICE.

BY MARY CLEMMER AMES.

O, my beautiful, wee Alice;
O, my dainty-footed Alice;
What with thee can I compete?
With thy wealth of shining hair,
With thy dark eyes deep and tender,
With thy lustrous, wondrous beauty,
Nought on earth can I compare.

Singing, laughing, merry Alice;
Happy, fairy, airy Alice;
Like a golden-winged sunbeam,
Glancing ever through our home!
Never more shall I be lonely,
If my fairy Alice only
Springs to greet me when I come.

Gentle, tender, loving Alice;
Quiet, musing, dreaming Alice;
Oft I see thy soft eyes lifted,
Gazing through the sapphire skies,
On the glorious Elysian,
Dawning on thy longing vision,
Where, beyond the sky, it lies.

Contrite, lowly, holy Alice;
Praying, trusting, saintly Alice;
With thy heaven-inward-lifted eye,
Human sin can never taint thee,
Human words can never paint thee,
Thou young wanderer from the sky.

O, thou much-beloved Alice;
Loveliest, purest, saintliest Alice;
Earth needs more of such as thee.
Lighting all thy path of duty,
Filling all thy life with beauty,
Perfect in thy purity!
Much, this sinning world, my Alice,
Needeth angels such as thee.

National Slavery and National Responsibility.

SPEECH OF HON. FRANCIS GILLETTE,

OF CONNECTICUT,

In Senate of the United States, Feb. 23d, 1855.

[CONCLUDED.]

In 1792, Congress passed an act to organize the militia of the United States, which provided for the enrollment of none but free, able-bodied, *white* citizens, although the fact was then fresh in the knowledge of Congress and the country, that no class of soldiers had fought more heroically, or done more, proportionally, to achieve the liberties of the country in the revolutionary conflict, than the very class thus proscribed. And it should be added, in justice to them, thus cut off from the privilege of participating in the defense of their country—a privilege denied by no other Government on earth to its subjects—that they came forward as volunteers in the second war with Great Britain, and, by their patriotic devotion and soldierly exploits, won from the lips of their commanders the highest meed of praise. Their patriotism and valor rose superior to the injustice and contumely of their persecutors.

In the year 1810, Congress again thrust at the dark-complexioned people of the country, by enacting that "no other than a free *white* person shall be employed in carrying the mails of the United States, either as a post-rider or driver of a carriage." Any other person, of whatever character, may carry the mail; but a *native* American, of unsullied character and virtuous aims, unexceptionable for probity and trustworthiness, if his complexion chances to be a little dusky, is proscribed as unfit to drive the horses which draw the mail-bags of the country.

The Federal Government has disfranchised the colored men of the District of Columbia, and left them to be plundered of their money, under the specious name of taxes, in the disbursement of which they have no voice, and no direct benefit—thus holding to their lips the same bitter chalice of oppression which our Revolutionary Fathers dashed from theirs with indignant scorn. Taxation without representation they could not endure—but this Government has inflicted the same intolerable wrong upon the colored man.

By the laws of this Government, free colored persons are precluded from the advantages of some, if not all, the Territories of the United States, they being opened to none but "free *white* persons." A dark complexion is thought incompatible with a settlement in the wilds of the West.

Thus, sir, has the Federal Government warred upon a part of the people—it has pursued them to the utmost extremity; it has legislated them down, and frowned them down, and trampled them down, with an arbitrariness and cruelty well illustrated by the Procrustean bedstead of antiquity, on which men were laid and made to fit—those too short were stretched, and those too long were cut to its length. Wherein is the difference between this barbarity, and that of cutting and graduating human rights by the hue of the skin? They are alike arbitrary, unjust, and tyrannical. Men are no more responsible for their color than for their stature, and to make their rights depend on any such accident of birth, or climate, is the baldest despotism—as absurd as impious.

And yet the friends and abettors of this inhuman policy, with an air of great self-complacency, tell us that the colored people are an "inferior and degraded race." Then why not have the justice and magnanimity to remove their civil disabilities, and let them rise, and no longer exhibit toward them the dastardliness of an overgrown bully, who pounces upon the weak and defenseless? Their alledged inferiority should entitle them to the protection of their superiors, rather than to their destruction. Ill does it become the cruel inflictors of all their wrongs to speak of their inferiority, ignorance, and debasement. Inferior, sir! Who has made them inferior? Ignorant! Who has doomed them to ignorance? Debased! Who has sunken them in debasement? They, be it understood, who have brought all the sanctions of law and custom to crush them; who have snatched from them the key of knowledge, and closed every avenue to their elevation and advancement. Put out the eyes of men, and then tell them scornfully that they are blind! Extinguish the Promethean fire in their souls, and then tell them tauntingly that they are darkened and debased! It is the crowning villany of tyrants that they visit their own crimes upon their victims, and thus seek to hide their own guilt under the wrongs which they inflict. Alledge not the depressed condition of your colored brother, whom you have sold into Egypt, as an excuse for your cold-blooded treachery. As well might the hawk taunt the dove in his talons, because he does not fly away to the azure heavens; or the wolf upbraid the lamb in his clutches, because he does not skip and play. Rather does it become you to lay your hand on your mouth, and your mouth in the dust, and cry unclean! unclean!

Sir, what would be thought of the father who should depress and degrade one part of his family, and permit another portion to trample upon the victims of his unnatural cruelty and injustice? He would be pronounced a miscreant, or a lunatic. And is not this equally true of the larger family of the State? What shall be said of that kind of statesmanship which treats one class of people with scorn and contumely, thus alienating their affections from the State, and filling their bosoms with hate and revenge; forcing upon them the maddening conviction that they are despised aliens and outcasts in their own country, with nothing to dread but peace, and something to hope from revolution? It is a dangerous and infatuated policy which, at some national crisis, might bring resultant disaster and ruin. The grand aim of all just Governments and all wise legislation is, not to depress, but to elevate; not to degrade, but to ennoble; not to curse, but to bless every class and condition of people, and thus, while fulfilling their appropriate functions, conciliate the patriotic regards of all, and fortify the State with a circling rampart of true, devoted, loyal hearts. Well did Jefferson wax warm on this point, and exclaim:

"With what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half of the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies; destroys the morals of the one part, and the patriotism of the other. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God, and not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situations, is among possible events—that it may become probable by supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute that can take side with us in such a contest."

But, Mr. President, there is still another chapter in the history of the prostitution of the Federal Government to the purposes of Slavery and Slavery propagandism, to which I ask the attention of the Senate. By the act of 1807, Congress undertook to regulate the coastwise American slave-trade, and directed in what vessels, and in what manner it should be carried on; thus abetting and protecting a traffic in the people of this country, which, if prosecuted on the coast of Africa, Congress has since declared to be piracy, punishable with death. Can any political casuist tell us how it is that the Government of the United States should allow its own native-born people to be bought up and transported in vessels under its own authority and regulation, to be sold in the slave-markets of the Republic; while, at the same time, it prohibits the buying and shipping of native Africans, under penalty of death? Or why it should hang a man as a pirate for trading in one African savage, and assume to regulate the trade in thousands of American Christians, as they are sometimes represented; thus withdrawing its protection from millions of its own native people, and lavishing it on a barbarous people in a distant land? If it be piracy to steal men from Africa, and sell them in the human shambles, how shall we characterize the stealing of Africo-Virginians, and transporting them under the regulation of United States laws, to be sold in the man-markets of the South and Southwest? We even hear the African slave-trade palliated in a certain quarter, as a grand missionary enterprise, by which its poor, benighted victims are translated out of their heathenish darkness, into the marvelous light of the "Model Republic;" but no such plea can be urged in extenuation of the American slave-trade, inasmuch as its victims are snatched from under the blazing light of the slave-breeding States, and doomed to regions less blessed with the beams of the day-star. The trader's profit is the sole consideration, at the expense of the slave's interests and happiness.

In the city of New York, a man now awaits the execution of the sentence of death, pronounced by a United States court, for buying and selling Africans into Slavery. Two citizens of Wisconsin have been condemned to fine and imprisonment, by a United States court, for the alleged crime of helping one American out of Slavery. To steal a man from Africa, and sell him into Slavery, is piracy, punishable with death; to assist this stolen man to escape from the pirate, or his successors, and regain possession of himself, is a crime, to be expiated by a felon's cell, and a fine of $1,000. To traffic in the people of Africa is piracy; to trade in the people of this country, even to the selling of white women for the vilest purposes—why, sir, this is entirely innocent and right, *according to law*. Such are the fatuity and villany of human legislation, which courts, conspiring with tyrants against the authority of Heaven, attempt to baptize by the sacred name of law, and teach obedience to its murderous behests! The Government of the United States has virtually authorized and sanctioned this execrable commerce in the people of this country, by interfering to regulate the traffic which annually tears tens of thousands of persons from all that they hold dear on earth, and transports them, to be sold into a strange and weary land. Said Thomas Jefferson Randolph, in a speech to the Legislature of Virginia, in 1832:

"It is a practice, an increasing practice, in parts of Virginia, to rear slaves for market. How can an honorable mind, a patriot, and a lover of his country, bear to see this ancient dominion, rendered illustrious by the noble devotion and patriotism of her sons in the cause of Liberty, converted into one grand menagerie, where men are reared for the market, like oxen for the shambles? Is it better, is it not worse, than the [African] slave-trade—that trade which enlisted the labor of the good and wise of every creed and every clime to abolish it? The trader receives the slave, a stranger in language, aspect, and manners, from the merchant who has brought him from the interior. The ties of father, mother, husband, and child, have all been rent in twain; before he receives him, his soul has become callous. But here, sir, individuals, whom the master has known from infancy, whom he has seen sporting in the innocent gambols of childhood, who have been accustomed to look to him for protection, he tears from the mother's arms, and sells into a strange country, among a strange people, subject to cruel taskmasters. In my opinion, it is much worse."

Said the Synod of Kentucky, in 1825:

"Brothers and sisters, parents and children, husbands and wives, are torn asunder, and permitted to see each other no more. These acts are daily occurring in the midst of us. The shrieks and the agony, often witnessed on such occasions, proclaim, with a trumpet-tongue, the iniquity of our system. There is not a neighborhood where these heart-rending scenes are not displayed. There is not a village or road that does not behold the sad procession of manacled outcasts, whose mournful countenances tell that they are exiled by force from all that their hearts hold dear."

The *Richmond Enquirer*, Virginia, in 1847, held the following language:

"It is a melancholy fact that negroes have become the only reliable staple of the tobacco-growing section of Virginia, the only reliable means of liquidating debts, foreign and domestic. They are sold here by hundreds, under the hammer of the auctioneer. The domestic cannot compete with the Southwestern demand for them, for the plain reason the tobacco-grower cannot make half of one per centum per annum on slave-labor, while the cotton and sugar planters make, perhaps, from fifteen to twenty per centum. Our negroes are going by hundreds, yea, by thousands, to the Southwest."

Although the Census is cautiously silent, and furnishes no statistics relative to this branch of American commerce in Americans, we are able, by much labor, to glean from it certain data, from which we can form some estimate of the probable amount of human exports from the slave-breeding States, and the human imports into the slave-buying States, during the last decennary. We find the average increase of the whole slave population to have been 28.87 per centum. But in Virginia the ratio of increase was but 5.21 per centum; in Maryland 0.07; in North Carolina 17.58; in Delaware, the decrease was 12.09.

What became of the slaves thus disappearing from these States? They were not swept away by pestilence or famine, but by the "soul-drivers," as they are technically called, into Georgia, where the increase was 35.85 per centum; into Missouri, where the increase was 50.10 per centum; into Florida, where it was 52.85 per centum; into Mississippi, where it was 58.74; and into Arkansas, where it was 136.26 per centum.

Mr. GEYER. Let me tell the Senator from Connecticut, that the slaves brought into Missouri are not brought there for sale; we have a law forbidding that; but they are brought by emigrants from other States.

Mr. GILLETTE. Such is the Senator's explanation in relation to his particular State, but it does not explain away the facts which I am stating. The decrease from the old slave States mentioned, goes somewhere to make up the increase in the new.

Mr. DAWSON. The increase being so great shows how well they have been taken care of, fed, and clothed.

Mr. GILLETTE. What does the honorable Senator from Georgia say in relation to the facts appertaining to the old States, which show a large decrease? What does that indicate?

Mr. DAWSON. Simply that they have been taken to the newer States, where the land is better and cheaper, and there are better opportunities for living freely and liberally.

Mr. BUTLER. My friend from Georgia ought to have answered that the process was very much like that in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other States, where, when they had no further occasion for their slaves, they sold them, and sent them to other places. In some States, years ago, when they had no further use for slaves, they sold the mothers and kept the children.

Mr. GILLETTE. I will only say, in reply to the Senator from South Carolina, that there was in Connecticut *a class* of slaveholders who sold their slaves; but another and a much more numerous class who emancipated them. As for slave mothers, he knows more about them than I do. But, sir, to return to my argument.

In several of the slave-importing States other than those which I have already mentioned, the increase is much above the average ratio; thus showing a vast domestic slave-trade which numbers many thousands annually. Supposing the natural increase, in the four slave-exporting States mentioned, to be thirty-three per cent., which cannot be too high, considering the mildness of their climate, the lightness of slave labor, and the leniency of slave treatment, compared with the climate, labor, and treatment, endured by the same class in the rice, cotton, and sugar States, in some of which the consumption is reported to exceed the domestic increase, the number of slaves in the four States named should have amounted to 1,050,699; whereas the actual enumeration was but 851,444—thus making the number exported 199,255 between the years 1840 and 1850, which, at $600 each, would amount to $119,553,000—the great consideration, after all that has been said to the contrary, for the perpetuation of Slavery in those States.

In this connection, Mr. President, and in conclusion of this topic, I will read a short extract from the speech of the Hon. T. B. Macaulay, delivered in the British Parliament, on the "Sugar Duties." The great name of its author must secure for it the attention of every Senator "who hath ears to hear:"

"Then a new distinction is set up. The United States, it is said, have Slavery; but they have no slave-trade. I deny that assertion. I say that the sugar and cotton of the United States are the fruits, not only of Slavery, but of the slave-trade. And I say, further, that if there be on the surface of this earth a country which, before God and man, is more accountable than any other for the misery and degradation of the African race, that country is not Brazil, the produce of which the right honorable baronet excludes, but the United States, the produce of which he proposes to admit on more favorable terms than ever.

"I affirm, then, that there exists in the United States a slave-trade not less odious or demoralizing, nay, I do in my conscience believe, more odious and more demoralizing than that which is carried on between Africa and Brazil. North Carolina and Virginia are to Louisiana and Alabama what Congo is to Rio Janeiro. The slave States of the Union are divided into two classes—the breeding States, where the human beasts of burden increase and multiply, and become strong for labor; and the sugar and cotton States, to which those beasts of burden are sent to be worked to death. To what an extent the traffic in man is carried on, we may learn by comparing the census of 1830 with the census of 1840. North Carolina and Virginia are, as I have said, great breeding States. During the ten years from 1830 to 1840, the slave population of North Carolina was almost stationary. The slave population of Virginia positively decreased. Yet, both in North Carolina and Virginia, propagation was, during those ten years, going on fast. The number of births among the slaves in those States exceeded by hundreds of thousands the number of the deaths. What, then, became of the surplus? Look to the returns from the Southern States, and from the States whose produce the right honorable baronet proposes to admit with reduced duty or with no duty at all, and you will see. You will find that the increase in the breeding States was barely sufficient to meet the demand of the consuming States. In Louisiana, for example, where we know that the negro population is worn down by cruel toil, and would not, if left to itself, keep up its numbers, there were, in 1830, 107,000 slaves; in 1840, 170,000. In Alabama, the slave population during those ten years much more than doubled; it rose from 117,000 to 253,000. In Mississippi it actually tripled; it rose from 65,000 to 195,000. So much for the extent of this slave-trade. And as to its nature, ask any Englishman who has ever traveled in the Southern States. Jobbers go about from plantation to plantation, looking out for proprietors who are not easy in their circumstances, and who are likely to sell cheap. A black boy is picked up here, and a black girl there. The dearest ties of nature and of marriage are torn asunder as rudely as they were ever torn asunder by any slave-captain on the coast of Guinea. A gang of three or four hundred negroes is made up; and then these wretches, handcuffed, fettered, guarded by armed men, are driven southward as you would drive, or, rather, as you would not drive, a herd of oxen to Smithfield, that they may undergo the deadly labor of the sugar mill near the mouth of the Mississippi. A very few years of that labor in that climate suffice to send the stoutest African to his grave. But he can well be spared. While he is fast sinking into premature old age, negro boys in Virginia are growing up as fast into vigorous manhood, to supply the void which cruelty is making in Louisiana. God forbid that I should extenuate the horrors of the slave-trade in any form. But I do think this its worst form. Bad enough it is, that civilized men should sail to an uncivilized quarter of the world where Slavery exists, should there buy wretched barbarians, and should carry them away to labor in a distant land; bad enough. But that a civilized man, a baptized man, a man proud of being a citizen of a free State, a man frequenting a Christian church, should breed slaves for exportation, and, if the whole horrible truth must be told, should even beget slaves for exportation; * should see children, sometimes his own children, gamboling around him from infancy; should watch their growth; should become familiar with their faces, and should then sell them for $400 or $500 a head, and send them to lead in a remote country a life which is a lingering death—a life about which the best thing that can be said is, that it is sure to be short. This does, I own, excite a horror exceeding even the horror excited by that slave-trade which is the curse of the African coast. And mark: I am not speaking of any rare case, of any instance of eccentric depravity. I am speaking of a trade as regular as the trade in pigs between Dublin and Liverpool, or as the trade in coals between the Tyne and the Thames."

As additional proofs of the action of the Federal Government in behalf of Slavery, I might speak further of its tolerance of Slavery in the Territories where, by the Constitution, its jurisdiction is exclusive; of its unconstitutional and barbarous enactments for the rendition of fugitive slaves; of its persevering negotiations with foreign nations for the surrender of, or compensation for, fugitive slaves; of its invasion of Florida to capture absconding slaves; of its interference to prevent emancipation in Cuba; of its duplicity in its insincere attempts to suppress the African slave-trade; of its refusing to acknowledge the independence of Hayti, or receive an embassador from that Government; of its annexing Texas to extend and strengthen Slavery, as avowed by the leading Southern advocates of that measure; of its invasion of the right of petition; the liberty of the press, and the freedom of speech, on the subject of Slavery; of its admission into the Union of nine new slave States; of its wars of conquest for the acquisition of a vast area of Territory, to be devoted to Slavery; of its recent abrogation of the Missouri compromise; of its admitting the principle of property in man, by granting claims for lost slaves, as was done but two or three days since; and worse, and more revolting even, allowing claims for children of female slaves, that never were born, as was done in 1834 to certain citizens of Georgia, for depredations by Creek Indians, on the principle set forth in the Report of the Committee thereon, to wit, that "a much higher value is set on a female slave in consequence of an anticipation of increase—a property in expectancy in the issue of such female slave." [Reports of Committees, first session, Twenty-Third Congress, No. 140.] Thus, sir, the people of the free States were taxed many thousand dollars, by the Government, to pay for slave children which, happily for them, were never created, and lived only in the prolific imagination of the slave-holder engendered there by his cupidity.

"To such base uses" has this Government come at last—thus has it been perverted, debauched, prostituted, by a domineering negro-oracracy, now numbering three hundred and fifty thousand members, and bound together by a monopoly of at least $1,500,000,000 in human flesh. By this slaveholding oligarchy, this Government has always been controlled and wielded, for the support and extension of Slavery which, the late John Q. Adams truly said, in a speech to his constituents, shortly before his death, "constitutes the very axle around which the administration of your National Government revolves. All its measures of foreign and domestic policy are but radiations from that center.

Mr. President: the Constitution under which we are legislating knows no man by his color, creed, or clime. Based on the great principle of natural law, as enunciated in the national declaration—the exact equality of all men in natural rights—it reads: "We the *people*, do ordain and establish this Constitution," thus emanating from all, and embracing all within its ample scope. The illustrious men who formed it, had not made the profound discovery that human rights depend on complexion, or any other physical peculiarity. They embarked in the revolutionary struggle with the motto emblazoned on their banner—all men are equal in rights; under its inspiration, they conquered, and came out of the contest declaring it to be "the boast and pride of America, that the rights for which she had contended are the rights of human nature." Deeply imbued with these noble sentiments, they formed the Constitution; and, so far from admitting therein the possibility that man can be made property, they not only discarded the odious term, slave, but went so far as to substitute the term service instead of servitude, it being understood that the former implied the state of Freedom, and the latter the condition of Slavery.

No matter what physical differences may exist among men; no matter whether an African, an Asiatic, a European, or an American sun may have shone upon them; no matter whether the human soul be enshrined in ebony, bronze or ivory, "a man's a man for a' that," equal in rights before God and the Constitution of the country. To deny this is to contradict the spontaneous utterance of human nature herself, and strike at the center column of the temple of Liberty. For how can any man's liberties be secure, after this fundamental principle is overthrown? That moment we are all at the mercy of the strongest, and might usurps the place of right. Perfect equality of rights, and equal liberty to exercise those rights—such is the organic law of the land; and though rejected and trampled now, it must and will prevail.

"Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again;
The eternal years of God are hers;
But error, wounded, writhes in pain,
And dies amid her worshipers."

In conclusion, Mr. President, I can only deprecate the measure before the Senate, urged as necessary for the enforcement of the Fugitive Act, and designed to complete its supremacy over State authority. No effectual resistance can be made to its passage. The arm of the slave power is again uplifted, and another blow is about to fall upon the liberties of the States, to crush them into Federal absolutism. I bow to what is inevitable by the fiat of a power that knows no forbearance, looking hopefully to a higher Power, to whom our Fathers looked in the day of their calamity, and were signally delivered. I have no threats to fulminate, and but a word of admonition. I caution you not to drive the North to intenser exasperation. Her grievances are already greater than she can bear; do not throw another combustible upon the flame. Desist from your reckless crusade upon her rights; your aggressive war upon her liberties. Having crossed the Rubicon, I warn you to stop and count the cost before pushing on to capture the last citadel of Freedom.

Constituted as the Senate now is, there can be no reasonable hope of resisting any decree registered here by the dominant power. That power, strongly backed as it is by its Northern minions, is absolute for evil. But, sir, as said the elder Adams, on a memorable occasion, "Great is Truth; great is Liberty; great is Humanity; and they must and will prevail." They who resist their march, whether Senators, Presidents, or Judges, will be scattered like chaff by the breath of the tempest. All the high and holy attributes of Omnipotence are pledged to "break the oppressor in pieces," and pluck the human spoils out of his teeth.

Great changes in public sentiment have occurred within the last twenty years, and greater changes are to come within the next ten years. The booming cannon which celebrated the fall of the Missouri compromise, just north of the Capitol, on the memorable, the "melancholy night" of my induction into this body, also heralded the resurrection of Liberty from her inglorious sleep, and the overthrow of that colossal power that has so long darkened and cursed the land. In the lurid flashes of those cannon it might have read the handwriting of its doom upon these walls, and heard in their roar its echoing dirge. I thank God, the dark night of servility and shame is passing away, and the day-dawn of a regenerated freedom and manliness is shining upon our mountains and hills. Animated, quickened, transported by its cheering rays, I catch and echo the words of one of Freedom's own poets:

"Through all the long dark night of years,
The people's cry ascendeth,
And earth is wet with blood and tears,
But our meek sufferance endeth;
The few shall not forever sway,
The many moil in sorrow;
The powers of hell are strong to-day,
But Christ shall rise to-morrow.

Though hearts brood o'er the past, our eyes
With smiling futures glisten!
For lo! our day bursts up the skies;
Lean out your souls and listen!
The world rolls freedom's radiant way,
And ripens with her sorrow;
Keep heart! who bear the cross to-day,
Shall wear the crown to morrow."

On the conclusion of the foregoing speech, Mr. JONES, of Tennessee, arose, and denounced all the anti-slavery men of the Senate as a "band of traitors;" then, turning to Mr. GILLETTE, said: "Sir, look upon that picture, [pointing to the portrait of Washington, suspended above the President's chair.] I fear you dare not look upon it."

Mr. GILLETTE. Sir, I look that picture fearlessly in the face, and I tell the Senator that the honored man whom it portrays uttered sentiments as hostile to Slavery, as any that I have spoken this night upon the floor of this chamber. He deprecated it with all his heart, and declared, over and over again, that his vote should not be wanting to abolish it. That face, I see, darkly frowns upon the Senator himself for the atrocious sentiments which he is uttering. I am not so unmindful of the place where I am, nor so lost to self-respect, as to bandy opprobrious epithets with the Senator from Tennessee. He would certainly outdo me in such a rivalry. But I leave it to the country and posterity to say, who are the "traitors"—we who vindicate the principles of Washington and his compatriots, as set forth in the National Declaration and Constitution; or they who denounce them, as "unmeaning abstractions," "sickly sentimentalities," "rhetorical flourishes," "specious lies," and declare human Slavery to be both a Divine and Democratic institution—"the corner stone of Republicanism."

Mr. JONES. Now, I ask that Senator, whether he is sincere in his declaration, that the black man is entitled to equality with the white man, socially or politically? I put that question to the Senator.

Mr. GILLETTE. The Senator from Tennessee, unintentionally, I trust, quotes me but in part, and thus misrepresents me entirely. I did not say the black man is equal to the white man, but endeavored to show, as the reason of his inequality, that the legislation of this Government, and of many of the States, has been wielded to crush him. I did say, that, under God and the Constitution of the United States, all men are equal in natural rights, and have the same indisputable title to the enjoyment of those rights. Such was the purport of what I said, and not, as the Senator quotes me as saying, "that all men in this country are equal."

Mr. JONES. I did not say that; but I mean that this issue shall be fairly met. I put the question now to the Senator: Does he believe that a black man is entitled to an equality of rights, socially and politically, with a white man? That is a plain issue.

Mr. GILLETTE. I thought that I before expressed myself so plainly that every Senator could understand me; I certainly meant to do so. But I will repeat the answer, and say, I do believe, and have the highest authority for the belief, both from Nature and Revelation, that all men are equal in natural rights, of every kind and degree; and have the same equal title to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, irrespective of color, or any other physical peculiarity. I claim for myself no more and no less than I concede to others.

Mr. JONES. This is not answering the question. Natural rights are one thing, and social and political rights are another. But, sir, I will vary the question, and put it in this form: Are you willing that the black man shall participate, equally with the white man, in all the social and political benefits of this country?

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President: I certainly am willing, yea, desirous, that all men, irrespective of color, stature, height, circumference, or any other of the accidents of being, should have the same rights and the enjoyment of the same privileges, to work out the great problem of their existence, and to "participate equally" in that social and political equality to which the Senator alludes. I do not know, however, why he questions me so pertinaciously; but I will reiterate the answer to oblige the Senator, by saying, that I think "*all* men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and I am more than willing that they should enjoy all the privileges, immunities, and benefits of society, everywhere, in every department, that I have, or the Senator from Tennessee has. I spurn all aristocracies, and especially a skinny or cutaneous aristocracy—the meanest of them all; and recognize no title of nobility but that which emanates from the soul, and truly ennobles man by clothing him with the symbols of divinity. With me, socially, politically, morally, character is everything—color, nothing. The negro is no less a man, because he is black; the Anglo-American is no more a man, because he is white.

* Soon after resuming my seat, upon this statement being called in question, I received a note from a stranger in the gallery, stating that "fourteen instances" of fathers selling their own children had fallen under his observation, several of which are known to members of Congress, and in two of which he himself was the purchaser. On subsequent inquiry, I have learned that the gentleman, who made the communication, was formerly a citizen of a slave State, where he held high judicial position; but is now a resident of a free State, and an advocate of free principles.

INDIANA BANKS.

The Indiana Legislature has passed the bills amending the free bank law and the bill chartering the State Bank and branches, notwithstanding the Governor's veto, and both bills are now laws.

The free bank bill increases the amount of security to be deposited to one dollar and ten cents to every dollar issued. The State bank bill creates a new State Bank, with branches. The charter of the old one expires in two years. The new bank will be organized in July, and the branches in September; but they will be merely organized, and a small instalment paid on the stock, when the machine will remain in *statu quo* until the charter of the old bank expires. The *Indianapolis Journal* speaks as follows of the law:

"We have now a free bank system as tightly tied up, we think, as one can be made, and give the bankers room to breathe. If properly enforced, we do not think it possible for the bill-holder to be injured to any considerable extent by a bank suspension. The State Bank bill was amended in the House by striking out all that transferred to the new organization the State's interest in the old bank, so that those acting under it will not get the benefit of the State's funds, even by way of a loan. Whether the want of that provision will interfere with the organization under the bill, is a matter about which there appears to be different opinions. At all events, we have now banks enough provided for; and as much time and labor were spent upon these measures in the committee before they went to the two Houses, and both were thoroughly discussed before their passage, we have some assurance that they will lack nothing that attention and industry can bestow."

In addition to the increased deposites of securities required from the free banks, they are also required, within six months, to establish a clearing house in Indianapolis, and to redeem the bills of all the banks at a discount of not over one per cent., and receive each other's notes, whether they have failed or not, in payment of debts."

DIRECT MAIL ROUTE BETWEEN ST. LOUIS AND SAN FRANCISCO ESTABLISHED.

From the St. Louis Democrat of March 12.

We have received as follows from Col. Benton, dated 11 o'clock Friday night, March 2d:

"I got a clause inserted in the general post *road* bill, for a direct route between St. Louis and San Francisco, by the mouth of the Huerfano and the Little Salt Lake, to Stockton, on the San Joaquin river, in the valley of San Joaquin, where it will connect with the permanent steamboat navigation of the bay of San Francisco, and also of the Sacramento river, and where it will also connect with the telegraphic system and the whole post road system of California, the starting point on this side being Independence, where it will also connect with the steamboat navigation of the great West and the telegraphic and mail communications of the whole Union. The details of service on this route will be arranged by the Postmaster General, who will doubtless be liberal, as this route will be an economy to the Department, as well as an accommodation to the public. The economy will be in this: that at present there are several independent routes which will be absorbed by it, and their places supplied by short cross routes. Thus the Sante Fe mail can branch off at some point on the upper Arkansas: the Great Salt Lake mail can branch from the Little Salt Lake, only two hundred and sixty miles over a level country and a well-made Mormon road, now in use; and the present mail to Los Angelos and Southern California can branch off at Las Vegas de Santa Clara. Thus this new route will be an economy as well as a public accommodation.

"Auxiliary to this route, and to all others, either existing or to be established in the Territories, is another provision which I procured to be passed in another bill—to wit, the post office *appropriation*—granting pre-emption in stations to all the mail contractors in these Territories. It is the same provision which was a part of the proposed amendment for mounted *Rangers*, and which was rejected to make provision for four new regiments of regulars, and allows a pre-emptive right in stations to the extent of six hundred and forty acres, at the rate of one for every twenty miles. This is a most important provision, under many aspects. First, it enables this important mail route to go into operation, and to be maintained and carried on; secondly, it will make a chain of stations across the continent, which will quickly become a line of settlements; thirdly, it legally recognises the existence of the central route to the Pacific, and, in my opinion, virtually establishes it for the railway; for it will give it a development, notoriety, and prominence, which will protect its character and bear down opposition. This was a consideration with me from the beginning, but kept to myself, lest the enemies of the central route should get wind of it, and defeat the whole provision, in order to prevent its incidental effect in favor of the central route. I now consider this route virtually established—a great triumph, after all the combinations against it, and the foul and unparalleled means to defeat it by side-blows, and bury it in an inimical committee, after it had triumphed in every direct vote on three different successive days. The post route and the branches are the skeleton of the future railroad and its branches, both going upon the idea of a central route on the shortest and best route between two great points, with branch routes, like ribs from the back-bone, to the right and left."

MAINE ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

Proposed Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

On the 12th instant, the following resolves relating to Slavery were adopted by the Senate of Maine. They were warmly debated, and many amendments were offered and rejected. We copy the concluding ones from the Augusta *Age*, of the 17th:

"*Resolved*, 1. That Human Slavery is, in all its aspects, an unqualified evil and wrong, and, as such, merits the reprehension of mankind.

"2. That, in the early periods of our National history, both the opinions of the people and the policy of the Government were adverse to the institution.

"3. That the Constitution of the United States is, and was designed to be, a charter of Liberty; and hence, that all acts of the National Government, by which Slavery maintains a legal existence in territory subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, are in direct conflict with the whole spirit and with the clear provisions of that instrument.

"4. That the act of the thirty-third session of Congress, repealing the law of 1820, known as the Missouri Compromise, by which Slavery was forever prohibited in the territory north of the parallel of 36° 30′, was an unjustifiable violation of a solemn compact, and a flagrant breach of faith on the part of the South.

"5. That Maine will never consent to the admission into the Federal Union of any more States, with Constitutions authorizing Slavery.

"6. That the act of 1850, call'd the Fugitive Slave Law, is unconstitutional, and odious to the whole North; Maine, therefore, demands its immediate and unconditional repeal.

"7. That it is the duty of the General Government, without delay, to abolish Slavery wherever it has exclusive jurisdiction; and to exert its influence whenever and wherever it legitimately may on the side of universal Liberty.

"8. That the third paragraph in the second section of the first article of the Constitution of the United States should be amended, by striking out the words, 'which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and including Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons,' and adding, in place thereof, the words, 'excepting Indians not taxed, and all persons deemed and held as chattels personal:' therefore,

"*Resolved*, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use all practicable means to secure the passage of the following enactments:

"First. An act repealing all laws of the United States authorizing Slavery in the District of Columbia.

"Second. An act repealing the statute of 1850, known as the Fugitive Slave Law.

"Third. An act forever prohibiting Slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime, within the Territories of the United States.

"*Resolved, further*, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, at all times hereafter, most strenuously to oppose, in every justifiable way, the admission of any new State into the Union, except upon the condition, to be embraced in the act of admission, that Slavery or involuntary servitude, excepting that for crime, of which the accused shall have been duly proved guilty, shall be forever prohibited therein.

"*Resolved*, That the Governor be requested to forward a copy of these resolves to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress."

In the House, on the 16th inst., Mr. Cushman introduced a bill further to protect personal liberty, [forbidding officers of this State, under penalty, from aiding in the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law.] He advocated the bill in a long speech.

Mr. York, of Temple, said he had been an Anti-Slavery laborer for ten years. He had not opened his mouth here before, but he could not hold out no longer. He should vote for the bill. He was elected by an Anti-Slavery majority of 366 over the Pro-Slavery, Wildcat, and Rum candidate.

He hoped the bill would pass, so as to drive Slavery from the State of Maine, and likewise every slave-hunter.

Mr. Lincoln, of Hallowell, said he was in favor of the provisions of the bill, and, for the purpose of maturing the same, he moved it be referred to a joint select committee.

The motion prevailed.

TO THE POINT.—Dan Russel was once a candidate for the Auditorship of Mississippi. Having been called on for a speech, he delivered the following, which, though brief, will be admitted was to the point:

"Fellow-citizens, you have called on me for a few remarks. I have none to make. I have no prepared speech. Indeed, I am no speaker. I do not desire to be a speaker. I only want to be an Auditor."

WHERE HE HAD HIM.—A well-known penurious character invited a friend to dinner, and provided two mutton chops. On removing the cover, he said, "My friend, you see your dinner;" which his friend immediately with his knife and fork took to himself, remarking, "I only wish I could see yours."

AN EARNEST APPEAL.—It is related that one evening, when the House of Commons were going to adjourn, John Wilkes begged permission to make a speech—"for," said he "I have sent a copy to the *Public Advertiser*, and how ridiculous should I appear if it were published without being delivered."

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