The Cass County Republican.

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The Republican,

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At Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan.
By W. H. CAMPBELL.

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Business Directory.

PROFESSIONAL

GEO. W. FOSDICK, M. D.
Office over Mr. Bates' Provision Store, Front Street, Dowagiac. nov22-31y1

M. PORTER, M. D.
PHYSICIAN & SURGEON.
Office at Alward's Book Store, Denison Block, Front Street. Residence first door below the Methodist Church, Commercial St., Dowagiac, Mich.

W. E. CLARKE, M. D.
Physician & Surgeon. Office at his residence, on Division Street, directly north of the Methodist Church, Dowagiac, Mich.

W. H. CAMPBELL,
Notary Public. Will attend to all kinds of Conveyancing—Republican Office, Dowagiac, Mich.

JUSTUS GAGE,
Notary Public and general Agent for the exchange and transfer of Village Lots, and sale of real Estate. Agent for the Manhattan and Irving Insurance Companies, of New York. Office with James Sullivan, front room, second floor, Jones' Brick Block.

CLARKE & SPENCER,
Attorneys and Counsellors at Law, and Solicitors in Chancery. Office in G. C. Jones & Co.'s Block, Dowagiac, Michigan. Especial attention given to collections throughout the North-west.
JOSEPH B. CLARKE. JAMES M. SPENCER.

JAMES SULLIVAN,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law, and Solicitor in Chancery, Dowagiac, Mich. Office on Front Street.

GEORGE MILLER,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law, and Solicitor in Chancery. Will give strict attention to all business entrusted to his care.

D. H. WAGNER,
Justice of the Peace and Collecting Agent, Dowagiac, Mich. Office on Front Street.

CLIFFORD SHANAHAN,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law, and Solicitor in Chancery, Cassapolis, Cass county, Mich.

CHARLES W. CLISBEE,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law, Solicitor in Chancery, and Notary Public, Cassopolis, Cass Co., Mich. Collections made, and the proceeds promptly remitted.

MERCHANTS.

C. D. DAVIS,
Watchmaker and Engraver,
Dowagiac, Mich. Particular attention paid to all kinds of Watch, Clock and Jewelry repairing, and Letter Engraving.
N. B.—All work warranted. nov8-29tf

H. B. MACKIN,
Tailor, Dowagiac, Mich. Shop second door east of Alward's Bookstore. Cutting and making done on short notice. All work warranted.

TUTHILL & STURGIS,
Dealers in Dry Goods, Groceries, Boots and Shoes, Hats and Caps, Clothing, Crockery, &c., &c. Dowagiac, Mich.
CYRUS TUTHILL. | WM. R. STURGIS.

GEORGE SMITH,
Tailor. Shop over Brownell's Hardware Store. Cutting and Making done to order, and warranted to fit.

A. N. ALWARD,
General Dealer in Books, Stationery, Periodicals, Wall Paper, Window Shades, Wrapping Paper, Pocket Cutlery, &c. Dennison Block, Dowagiac, Mich.

G. C. JONES & CO.,
Dealers in Dry Goods, Groceries, Boots and Shoes, Crockery, Glassware, Hats and Caps. Front Street, Dowagiac, Mich.

DANIEL LARZELERE,
Dealer in Dry Goods, Groceries, Boots and Shoes, Crockery, Hats and Caps, Glassware, Paints and Oils, Hardware, &c., &c. Front Street, Dowagiac, Mich.
MAMMOTH STORE.

MISCELLANEOUS.

H. B. DENMAN,
Banking and Exchange Office, Dowagiac, Mich. Buy and sell Exchange, Gold, Bank Notes, and Land Warrants. Pay interest on School and Swamp Lands, and Taxes in all parts of the State.

DOWAGIAC NURSERY.
SEELEY & COLE, having established themselves in the Nursery Business in this village, will furnish to order Fruit and Ornamental Trees, Lawton Blackberries, Cherry Currants, Grape Vines, Evergreens, and every variety of Shrubbery.
☞ Office on the corner of Commercial st., near the Post Office.
T. P. SEELEY, M. D.
WM. P. COLE.

P. D. BECKWITH,
Machinist and Engineer. Foundry and Machine Shop at the foot of Front street, near the railroad bridge, Dowagiac, Mich.

DENTISTRY.

Dr. A. C. Jones,
WOULD respectfully inform the Ladies and Gentleman of this Village, and surrounding country, that he has permanently located himself in this place, and opened an office for the practice of DENTISTRY in all its departments, over POTTERS' GUN SHOP, on front street, where he may be found, prepared at all times to make a variety of styles of Dental Plates, to suit the various tastes, and also, to do all the various operations in Dentistry. In neatness and durability, his work is unsurpassed.—Call and examine my work. All work warranted.
A. C. JONES.
Dowagiac, July 30, 1860. aug2-15tf.

Message of Gov. Wisner.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

The Constitution of our States makes it incumbent upon the Executive, at the close of his official term, to give to the Legislature, "information by message, of the condition of the State, and recommend such measures to them as he shall deem expedient." Before entering upon this duty, allow me to congratulate you upon the prosperity and happiness that the people of our State have enjoyed since you last met in these halls. We have been blessed with health. Peace, good order, and contentment have been our lot. The earth has yielded for us her richest fruits. Our granaries are filled to overflowing, and our hearts should be as full of gratitude to the Giver of all good for the rich gifts He so kindly bestows upon us. We have steadily increased in improvement, population, and material wealth, and the complete development of our natural resources, alone is wanting, to make Michigan one of the first States in this great Confederacy. Proper and judicious legislation, followed up by the energy and perseverence of our people, will soon "make the wilderness blossom like the rose." We have now within our limits seven hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. This is but a small population in comparison to what our State is capable of sustaining. By far the greater portion of Michigan is as yet a wilderness. It is this portion that most needs your fostering care. But while I say this, I would not have you neglect the older and more popular parts of the State. You are the representatives of the whole people, and equal and exact justice to all should be your governing principle.

STATE DEBT.

The indebtedness of the State, and the payment thereof, will demand your serious consideration. In January, 1859, twenty thousand dollars of the State debt fell due and was promptly paid from the Treasury. Forty thousand dollars fell due in January, 1860, twenty-seven thousand dollars of which has been paid, and the balance, being thirteen thousand dollars, in bonds, has been deposited with the State Treasurer by the Michigan Insurance Company, under our banking law, the payment of which has not been demanded. The State debt as it now exists, with its date of maturity, as reported by the Auditor General, is as follows:

Penitentiary Bonds, payable on demand,	$ 13,000 00
Internal Improvement Warrant Bonds, payable on demand,	50 00
Full paid 5,000,000, Loan Bonds due January, 1863,	177,000 00
Adjusted bonds, due January, 1863,	1,727,185 00
Temporary Loan Bonds, due January, 1878,	50,000 00
Renewal Loan of 1858, due January, 1878,	216,000 00
Total,	$2,183,235 00
The part paid 5,000,000 Loan Bonds, ($159,000,) outstanding when funded will amount to,	91,992 63
Outstanding Internal Improvement Warrants,	3,615 16
Total,	$2,278,842 79

Canal Bonds, guaranteed by State, $100,000

The interest upon the entire amount of this debt has been promptly paid as the same fell due. It will devolve upon you to provide for the payment of that portion of the principle falling due in January, 1863, and I doubt not you will meet this responsibility with firmness and wisdom.

SAUT CANAL LOAN AND IMPROVEMENTS.

The Legislature, at its bennial session in 1859, passed a law by which the Governor and State Treasurer were authorized and directed, in the name and behalf of the people of this State, to negotiate and contract for a loan, not exceeding in all one hundred thousand dollars, on the best and most favorable terms and conditions that in their judgment could be obtained, at a rate of interest not exceeding six per cent. per annum, to be expended and applied solely in making, from time to time, such repairs upon the locks, gates and walls of the "St. Mary's Falls Ship Canal" as the Board of Control having charge of that work might deem necessary for the preservation and efficient operation of the same. For the purpose of effecting the loan, the Governor and State Treasurer were empowered and directed to advertise, for thirty days, in one of the daily newspapers in Detroit, Boston, New York and Pittsburgh, and to cause to be made and issued bonds of not less than one thousand dollars each, to be signed by the Governor and countersigned by the Secretary of State and State Treasurer, and drawn in favor of, and endorsed by, the Auditor-General. The act authorizing the loan contains the following clause: "*Provided*, That said bonds be sold to the highest bidder, but shall not be sold at less than par, and the money obtained from said loan or loans shall be paid over to the State Treasurer, and shall constitute a part of the St. Mary's Falls Ship Canal fund, to be applied and used for the above named purposes, and for no other purposes whatever." On the 25th day of April, 1859, the State Treasurer and I appeared at the Artisans Bank, in the City of New York, (that being the time and place for receiving bids, as designated in the notice previously published,) and then and there received and opened the bids, from which it appeared that "E. H. Heazleton & Co." had bid a trifle over a premium of three per cent. for the whole of said loan, and were the highest bidder. Before awarding the loan to them, we required and received a bond, with sufficient sureties, conditioned to pay the State Treasurer of the State of Michigan, on the first day of July, 1859, at the said Artisans Bank, the full amount of said one hundred thousand dollars and premium, upon receiving the bonds contemplated by said act, and in default of such payment, that the obligors therein named would pay the State of Michigan, as liquidate damages the sum of five thousand dollars. Subsequently, and in the latter part of June, 1859, these bonds, to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars, were prepared and executed in the City of Detroit, and received by the State Treasurer, to be by him taken to the City of New York and delivered to E. H. Heazelton & Co., upon receiving the one hundred thousand dollars and premium, as provided for in the said bond executed by E. H. Heazelton and his sureties. I did not accompany the Treasurer to the City of New York after the bonds were delivered to him, for the reason that the contract for the loan had already been made, and the only remaining duty to be performed was to deliver the bonds on receiving the money, and by the law, no other officer but the State Treasurer was authorized to receive it.

On or about the 20th of December, 1859, I learned that the State Treasurer had deposited with said Heazelton & Co., fifty thousand dollars of the said loan. This was the first information that I had received upon the subject, (except that I heard a rumor to that effect in the latter part of November previous). On the 25th of December, 1859, I was officially informed by the Board of State Auditors (who had then just closed their annual settlement with the Treasurer) that in their settlement that officer had presented to them "a receipt or certificate of deposit made by E. H. Heazelton & Co., for fifty thousand dollars, dated July 1st, 1859, which they deemed insecure, and which they could not regard as cash in the State Treasury." Upon receiving this information, the Attorney General and I immediately went to the city of New York for the purpose of obtatning from E. H. Hazleton & Co., security for the payment of fifty thousand dollars. We obtained from them, as security, a mortgage upon their real estate situated in Michigan, describing it in general terms, as it was impracticable at the time to describe it otherwise. This mortgage as I am advised by the Attorney-General, (who has obtained an abstract from the different Register's offices in the counties where these lands are situated,) covers over ten thousand acres of land. In addition to the mortgage, we received a transfer of the notes of the Flint and Pere Marquette Railway company to the amount of fifteen thousand dollars. Also two notes executed by J. Pratt, amounting to five thousand eight hundred and eighteen dollars and sixty-nine cents. I do not consider these two last mentioned notes of much value. The foregoing are the only securities we could obtain, and I have never entertained a doubt since they were received, that they were amply sufficient to secure the State against ultimate loss. They are all due and unpaid, and I am advised by the Attorney General that he has commenced a foreclosure of the mortgage.

At the opening of navigation in the spring of 1859, the Board of Control of the St. Mary's Falls Ship Canal (composed of the Governor, State Treasurer and Auditor General) visited that work for the purpose of examining into its condition and determining the extent of the expenditures necessary to be made in order to put it beyond risk of accident. Before leaving Detroit the Board employed three competent Engineers to accompany them, each of whom was requested to examine the work and furnish a plan and specifications of the improvements necessary to be made, together with an estimate of the probable expense. We found the Canal in an unsafe condition, so much so that there was imminent danger of the works being washed away during the season, and the entire commerce of Lake Superior thereby jeopardized. The plans and specifications of Joseph B. Walton, Esq., one of the Engineers who accompanied us,) for the improvement of the Canal, met the approval of the Board and were by us adopted, and he was subsequently employed as the Engineer to take charge of the improvements.

Upon the 7th day of June, 1859, the Board, on behalf of the State, entered into a contract with Silas M. Holmes and Nelson W. Clark, for furnishing the materials and doing the necessary work under the direction of, and according to the plans and specifications of the said Engineer (a duplicate of the contract ent red into, with the plans and specifications, is on file in the office of the Secretary of State, to which you are respectfully referred). The contract price, as agreed upon with Holmes and Clark, was seventy-two thousand dollars, and by the terms of the contract they were to have possession of the Canal from and after the 15th of September, and if necessary during the remainder of the year.

By the law the entire responsibility of the prudent management, care and preservation of this great National work, rests entirely with the "Board of Control," and upon their fidelity and watchfulness in protecting it against accident, depend almost wholly the millions of Commerce that yearly pass through it. The Board felt the full weight of this responsibility in awarding the contract to "Holmes & Clark," and were governed more by the known reputation of these men for energy and perseverance in whatever they undertook, than in the price agreed to be paid for the work. The Engineer employed by us had estimated the expense of the improvements at seventy-five thousand dollars, and the Board were unanimous in awarding the contract to Holmes and Clark, at seventy-two thousand dollars. The contractors immediately entered upon the work, and before the first of August, had got so far progressed as to dispel all fears of any serious accident occurring so as to interrupt its navigation. As the season advanced it became apparent that the closing of the canal by the 15th of September, or in fact, at any time before winter set in, would prove disastrous to the commercial interests upon Lake Superior. An usual quantity of iron ore had accumulated at Marquette, awaiting shipment, and the fall and winter supplies of the whole mining region upon that Lake would not be ready to pass through the canal until after the 15th. Petitions signed by most of the vessel owners and masters, navigating the canal, and by the principal business men of Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo, and Chicago, and others doing business upon Lake Superior, were presented, urgently requesting us not to close the canal at all, but to make some arrangements with the contractors by which the work should be deferred until the season of navigation had closed. The board felt that these men had a right to be heard, and that their interests should be consulted, inasmuch as the entire expense of making the repairs upon the canal must, under the law, be borne by those using it,—that the additional expense of doing the work in the winter, although it might be great, was nothing in comparison to the injury commerce might receive by shutting up the canal under the circumstances, even for one month. After consulting with the Engineer, and getting his views as to the feasibility of doing the work in the winter season, in that cold latitude, the terms of the contract (by the consent of the contractors) were so changed as to require them to complete the work between the closing of navigation of 1859, and the opening thereof in the Spring of 1860, and as a compensation for changing the terms of the contract, they were to be paid the additional expense of the work by reason of the change in the time for doing it. This additional expense to be determined by the State Engineer, and a competent person selected by the contractors, and in case they could not agree, then they were to select a third person, familiar with the work, and the award of the majority was to be conclusive. It is due to the State Treasurer, that I should here remark that he did not concur in making the change in the contract, on account of the additional expense attending it, and of the supposed impracticability of doing the work in the winter season.

The improvements have all been completed to the entire satisfaction of the Board, and without at all interfering with the navigation of the canal, and in accordance with the terms of the contract and its amendments, and the canal may now be said to be finished, and that, too, in so permanent a manner as to allay all apprehensions of any serious difficulty again occurring. The contractors presented to the Board a claim of over sixteen thousand dollars on account of the extra expense occasioned by doing the work in the winter season. The Board did not feel warranted in allowing so large a sum, but preferred leaving the question to be settled in the manner agreed upon by the amendment to the contract. Subsequently, the Engineer on the part of the State, and who was present during the entire progress of the work, certified to the Board that ten thousand dollars, was, in his judgment a reasonable sum to allow the constructors, and that sum was finally agreed upon and awarded them.

The entire expenditures upon the Canal, in pursuance of the act of 1859, authorizing the loan, as determined by the Board of Control, as follows;

Original Contract price with Holmes & Clark,	$72,000 00
Amount allowed them on account of change in contract,	10,000 00
Allowed the Contractors for extra work not embracing in the contract and specifications,	4,275 00
Salary of Mr. Walton, the Engineer, at $3,000 per year, and incidental expenses, together with repairs made by the Engineer by order of the Board,	4,562 33
Paid John Burt and Joel Gray, for services as Engineers,	246 00
Total,	$91,083 33

The annual report of the Supreintendent shows the receipts from tolls to be steadily increasing. The amounts received during the past six years are as follows:

1855,	$ 4,374 66
1856,	7,575 78
1857,	9,406 74
1858,	10,848 80
1859,	16,941 84
1060,	24,460 00

There will be no necessity of increasing the rate of tolls in order to provide for the payment of the loan of 1859. On the contrary, should the business on Lake Superior continue to increase (as I have every reason to believe it will), the rate of tolls can be reduced in a few years to a mere nominal sum.

During the year 1859, property to the valne of nine millions, eight hundred and eighty-seven thousand, four hundred and four dollars passed through the Canel, as appears by an inventory and apprisal of the Superintendent.

THE UNION.

I should feel as if I were neglecting my duty and unfaithful to the high trust reposed in me, were I to remain silent when the whole country is excited, and the cry of disunion is ringing in our ears. We cannot shut our eyes to the painful truth that one portion of our common country is fast arraying itself against another—that already one of the sovereign States of this Republic has declared by a solemn ordinance of her people that she no longer forms an integral part of this Union, and that other States are expected soon to follow her example.

Michigan cannot remain an indifferent spectator when she sees a sister State thus attempting to subvert the happiest government on earth, and dismember and break in fragments the union of the States. We love the Union. Our fidelity and loyalty never have been, and will not now be questioned. It is but natural then that we should wish to know what good cause, if any, really exists for this most unnatural estrangement of our southern sister. It is claimed that the non-slaveholding States are trampling upon the constitutional rights of the slaveholding, and that the Republican party was organized and has elected the President of the United States for the purpose of aggression upon the institution of slavery in the States where it legally exists. We deny the charge. We say distinctly, that although we loathe and detest the institution of slavery, yet we have no intention of interfering with it in the States where it is now tolerated by law. Neither have we any desire or disposition to interfere with the constitutional rights of any one of our sister States. The constitution under which we have lived for more than seventy years was passed by slaveholders, and ratified by a slaveholding people. It is made up of concessions and compromises, without which it could never have been adopted, and we believe it to be the most perfect form of government that human wisdom could devise. It is not a pro-slavery instrument; on the contrary, its declared object is to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. It recognizes the existence of slavery as a State and not as a national institution, and provides for the rendition of the fugitive. It is a form of government created by the people and not by the States, and none but the people can abrogate it. Each and every part of that instrument is equally binding upon all, and no one part is more sacred than another. So careful were our fathers in guarding against the extension of slavery into the Territories—the common property of the United States—that two months before the adoption of the constitution, Congress passed an ordinance forever prohibiting slavery upon every foot of the Territories then owned by the United States. The institution of slavery was considered as local in its character, and of temporary duration. Gradually, however, has it increased both in magnitude and power until it now threatens our peace and demands nationality at the hands of the government, or in default thereof the compact entered into by our fathers shall be broken, and this proud temple of liberty desecrated to unholy purposes. For more than thirty years portions of our common country have shown a restlessness of spirit not at all compatible with our peace and harmony, and now, as if emboldened by the successes of the past, the startling doctrine is advanced that no real union has ever existed between us—that it was all a myth—that the government which our fathers intended to be as lasting as the hills, is really limited in duration by the will of any particular State—that Cuba, after we shall have purchased her for three hundred millions of dollars, may go back to Spain and again offer herself for sale in the market. Another doctrine, still more startling, if possible, than the former, is also advanced. It is that this mighty nation whose flag has floated in every sea, and in every clime, is now powerless in the hands of any State that may see fit to secede and treat her laws with contempt; as if the right of self preservation and protection were not inherent in every government! Are the army and navy of the United States "useless institutions," and only to be employed for the protection of slavery in the territories? Is there no virtue in that part of the Constitution which declares it to be the duty of the President "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed?" Is the oath which he takes "to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution," an idle mockery of words? The recent election of a Republican President is made one of the grounds of complaint against the North. The Constitution and the laws of the land point out the manner of electing the President. I believe the late election was conducted strictly in accordance with law. I have heard of no instance of alleged fraud in any one of the States casting its vote for the Republican candidate. No riot at the polls—no "stuffing" of ballot boxes—no fraudulent returns—no driving of free citizens from the polls at the point of the bayonet. On the contrary, all was peace and quiet, and the friends of the numerous candidates for that high office had a fair opportunity of being heard. It is true, that from all parts of our country the cry of secession and disunion was sounded, and the weak and timid were thereby sought to be influenced in the casting of their votes.

The theory of our government is that the majority shall rule, and that each voter may exercise the right of suffrage according to the dictates of his own conscience, and if we have erred because we exercised that right, it is an error that freemen will always commit. A Republican has been elected by the people to the highest office within their gift, and for four years from and after the fourth of March next he will be the President of the United States, unless the Almighty in His wisdom, shall direct otherwise. We have confidence in his integrity and ability, and believe he will administer the government with wisdom, firmness and moderation, and in strict accordance with all the requirements of the Constitution. It is claimed that the "platform" upon which he was elected is sectional in its character, and in conflict with the Compromises of the Constitution, and at war with the rights of the slave-holding States. I deny the charge. I do not deem it proper, on this occasion, to examine in detail the resolutions of the Republican party. They have been published throughout the length and breadth of the Union. Their merits and demerits have been thoroughly canvassed by an enlightened people, and a solemn verdict has been rendered in their favor, and now, after the battle has been fought and the victory won, the vanquished and discomfitted opponents of this great party coolly ask us—under a threat of tearing and mutilating the "last will and testament of our fathers"—to give up and relinquish the principles of our party, and abandon all the flushed fruits of victory, even before we have plucked them from the tree. They go further, and ask us to cut down and cast into the fire the very tree which bore these fruits. We cannot consent. We are asked to surrender our manhood—to abandon principles which commend themselves to our consciences and to the civilized world—to forget the early teachings of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and of all the patriots of the revolution—to neglect our rivers and harbors—to forego a free homestead law—to re-open the slave trade, and to devote all the mighty energies of this great nation towards the extension and perpetuation of human bondage. Again I repeat, we cannot consent.

The President of the United States, in his recent message has seen fit to arraign the twenty-two millions of free people of the North, at the bar of public opinion, and to hold them up to the execration and scorn of the civilized world, as the inciters of servile insurrtion—as the disturbers of the public peace and constant agitators of the Slavery question; and we are told by him, that "the long continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States, has at length produced its natural effects;" and its "malign influence on the slaves and inspired them with vague notions of freedom," and that a "sense of security no longer exists around the family altar." Born as I was in the North, and loving and cherishing her free institutions; and called, as I have been, to preside over one of the free States thus directly pointed at by the President, I cannot pass by with indifference the libel thus heaped upon us. My own self respect, and that duty which I owe to the people of my State—their honor and good name—will not allow me to remain silent under this calumny, lest the civilized world should deem that silence a confession of guilt. The charges thus preferred by the President, are general in their character, "without time, place or attendant circumstances." I deny that the North has ever sought to interfere with the question of slavery in the States. The right of the slaveholding States, "to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way," never has been questioned by the people of the North. It is true, we have discussed the question of slavery in all its bearings, and particularly with reference to the introduction of that institution into the Territories of the West. If this be a crime, then indeed are we guilty. We have discussed it at our firesides, in our primary meetings, in our Conventions and in the halls of Legislation; but always with temperance and moderation, fully recognizing and respecting the rights of the slaveholding States. When we cease to discuss that, or any other subject, at the dictation of any man or set of men, it will be when our Constitution no longer guarantees "freedom of speech or of the press;" when Bunker Hill is no longer remembered—when our ancestry and their glorious deeds, are alike forgotten. The free discussion of this subject, and of Republican principles by Republicans of the North, never finds its way into the South.

There is a portion of the northern press which for base, cowardly and selfish purposes, has constantly, for the past six years, instilled into the minds of our southern brothers the vile libel that the Republican party is a party of aggression—a systematic organization, having solely in view the liberation of the slaves, and the inciting of them to insurrection—that the Republicans in the North are "fanatical abolitionists," and ever ready to welcome the slave with open arms, though he come with bloody hands from the charred threshhold of his master. This press has always found free circulation in the South. Southern papers have copied largely from it, and it is not surprising if at last the people of the slaveholding States have been made to believe these vile libels, and "hence a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar." Such publications, if made known to the slave, would be likely to produce a "malign influence upon his mind, and inspire him with vague notions of freedom." This servile party press merits, and will yet receive, the execrations of all good men. If there has been intemperate interference of the people of the North with the question of slavery, are our Southern brothers wholly blameless?

In eighteen hundred and fifty, the giant intellects of the nation, in Congress assembled, "compromised this exciting question," and passed a series of laws for the purpose of putting it ferever at rest. The North and the South acquiesced, and the whole country became quiet. Excitement died away, and a fraternal feeling was fast springing up throughout the country.

In eighteen hundred and fifty-two, each of the great political parties passed resolutions depreciatng all further agitation upon the subject of slavery, and declared that it was forever compromised and put at rest. The election passed off calmly. We had got rid of the exciting subject, and the patriot breathed more freely. It was a calmness, however, that precedes the storm, and that storm soon burst upon the country in all its fury. The Missouri Compromise, that our fathers made thirty-three years before, was abrogated at the dictation of the South, that human bondage might be introduced into Territories which had been forever dedicated to freedom. As the stunning news of its abrogation passed over the country, we gazed upon each other in astonishment, and again the slavery question was opened with tenfold excitement. The patriot bowed his head in grief as he heard the news, and the whole civilized world looked on in amazement, and wondered at the meaning of our boasted bill of rights: "All men are created equal." Again I ask, are our southern brothers wholly blameless?

You are asked to repeal certain laws upon our statute books, known as "Personal liberty bills," which are claimed to be in conflict with the Constitution, and defeat the execution of the "Fugitive Slave Law," and deprive our Southern brothers of the right of temporary sojournment in our State with their slaves. If these laws are unconstitutional, and in conflict with the provisions of the fugitive slave law, then most certainly they should be repealed. The Constitution, and the laws of the United States, made in pursuance thereof, are the Supreme law of the land, and as such, are entitled to our highest consideration and respect. Congress, in 1850, passed an act amending the act of 1793, providing for the rendition of the fugitive slave. This act is abhorrent to our nature, and degrades the free man of the North into a mere "slave catcher." It authorizes the claimant to cause the alleged fugitive to be apprehended, with, or without process, and to be taken before a Commissioner of the Federal Government, who is required to hear and determine the "*case of such claimant in a summary manner*," and upon being presented with exparte affidavits, taken before some justice of the peace in a distant State, showing the identity of the alleged fugitive, and that he does, in fact, owe service to the claimant, to make a certificate authorizing his removal back to the State, whence he may have escaped. These exparte affidavits are by the act, made conclusive evidence of the right of the claimant to remove the alleged fugitive to the State whence he escaped, and by the terms of the act, the officer conducting these "summary proceedings" is to be paid a bounty for deciding against the fugitive. It denies him the right of compulsory process to obtain his witnesses. It denies him the writ of Habæs Corpus, and a trial by jury. In short, it puts him completely in the power of the "slave driver," and these exparte affidavits, gotten up in the dark, more than a thousand miles from his place of arrest, are made conclusive against his rights, and forever consign him to a hopeless bondage. Every provision of this "amendatory act" is at war with justice and humanity, and more befitting the dark ages than the middle of the nineteenth century, and yet this act is a part and parcel of the "Supreme law of the land," and as such must be obeyed.

The Legislature of 1855, passed two laws which met the approval of my immediate predecessor. The first is entitled "An Act to protect the rights and liberties of the people of this State." At the time of its passage, Michigan contained more than five thousand free colored citizens, each of whom was liable to be seized and forcibly taken into some distant slave State and there sold into captivity. These citizens were as orderly and law abiding, (so far as my observation has extended,) as an equal number of our white people in the same station in life, and it was the duty of the State to protect them in the free enjoyment of all rights. This law was designed for their protection and not for the purpose of violating the Constitution or preventing the execution of the fugitive slave law. It never has interfered with its execution. The President, in his message, tells us that the fugitive slave law has been carried into execution in every contested case since the commencement of his administration. The fugitive slave law is to be executed exclusively by the Federal Courts and its commissioners and marshals, and not by the State authorities. There is no part of the statute of our State that contemplates interfering with the judicial proceedings of the Federal Courts in the execution of the fugitive slave law. It provides that "every person who shall falsely declare, represent or pretend that any free person entitled to freedom, is a slave or owes service or labor to any person or persons, with intent to procure, or aid, or assist in