

BY E. P. WALTON, JR.

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James Moore.

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No Change of Cars.

From New York to Burlington and Montpelier. Through Tickets to Burlington and Montpelier.

Political.

Anti-Nebraska Address.

WASHINGTON, June 21. At a meeting of the members of Congress who opposed the passage of the bill to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, held pursuant to previous notice in the city of Washington, on the 20th of June instant, the Hon. Solomon Foot, of Vermont, was elected Chairman, and Hon. Daniel MacG, of Indiana, and Hon. Reuben E. Fenton, of New York, were appointed Secretaries.

tion when we assembled here six months ago. Nor did you expect it.

It seems a duty we owe to the country to state the grounds upon which we have steadfastly, though ineffectually, opposed this alarming and dangerous act.

You need not be told that the slavery question lies at the bottom of it. As it was the slaveholding power that demanded the enactment of the Missouri Compromise, so it is the same power that now demanded its abrogation.

African slavery was regarded and denounced as a great evil, by the American Colonies, even before the Revolution—and those colonies which are now slaveholding States, were equally earnest in such remonstrances with those that are now free States.

The foreign slave trade was regarded as the source of American slavery, which it was believed would be eradicated, when that fountain should be closed.

Such after another National Convention assembled to the same effect, and assuming the right to declare the sentiments of the Whig party, said "We deplore all further agitation of the questions thus settled as dangerous to the peace, and will discontinue all effort to continue or renew such agitation whenever, wherever, and however made."

The present administration was elected on the principle of adherence to this compromise, and the President, referring to it in his inaugural speech, declared that the harmony which had been secured by it should not be disturbed during his term of office.

Under these circumstances the proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise was suddenly and unexpectedly made by the same Committee on Territories which only ten days before had approved the sanctity of the Missouri Compromise, and declared the end of agitation in the following explicit and unmistakable language: "Your Committee do not feel themselves called upon to enter into a discussion of those controverted questions—they involve the same great issues which produced the agitation, the sectional strife and the fearful struggle of 1850. As Congress deemed it wise and prudent to refrain from deciding the matters in controversy then, either by affirming or repealing the Missouri law, or by an act declaratory of its to the slave property in the Territories, so your Committee are not prepared now to recommend a departure from the course pursued upon that remarkable occasion, either by affirming or repealing the eighth section of the Missouri Act, or by any act declaratory of the meaning of the Constitution in respect to the legal points in dispute." The abrogation has been effected in pursuance of the demands of the Administration itself, and by means of its influence on Congress.

that ten millions of dollars of the people's money should be given to Texas to induce her to relinquish a very doubtful claim upon an incalculable part of New Mexico; that New Mexico and Utah should be organized without an inhibition of slavery, and that they should afterwards be admitted as slave or free states, as the people, when forming constitutions, should determine; that the public slave trade in the District of Columbia should be abolished, without affecting the existence of slavery in the District, and that new and rigorous provisions for the recapture of fugitive slaves, of disputed constitutionality, should be adopted, and that on these conditions California should be admitted as a free state.—Repugnant as this compromise was to the people of the free states, acquiescence nevertheless was practically obtained, by means of solemn assurances made on behalf of the slaveholding states, that the compromise was, and should be forever, regarded as a final adjustment of the slavery question, and all the issues which could possibly arise out of it.

A new Congress convened in December 1851; representatives from the slave states demanded a renewed pledge of fidelity to this adjustment, and it was granted by the House of Representatives, in the following terms: "That we recognize the binding efficacy of the compromises of the Constitution, and believe it to be the intention of the people generally, as we hereby declare it to be ours individually, to abide by such compromises, and to sustain the laws necessary to carry them out, the provisions for the delivery of fugitive slaves, and the act of the last Congress far that purpose, included; and that we deprecate all further agitation of questions embraced in the acts of the last Congress, known as the Compromise, and of questions generally connected with the institution of slavery, as unnecessary, useless and dangerous."

A few months subsequently the Democratic National Convention met at Baltimore, and assuming to speak the sentiments of the Democratic party, set forth in its platform: "That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made."

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ENGLISH CHARTERS.

To go to the foundation of our national policy respecting the extension of slavery, we must revert back to the origin of civilization in the United States. This policy was connected with the old English charters, and originally based on proceedings which arose out of them, especially out of the Virginia charter. A brief statement of those charters is a part of the history of this policy. The first charter of lands in the United States was given to a London company by Queen Elizabeth, bearing date April 10, 1605. It included all the lands on the seaboard between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and all the islands within one hundred miles of the said coast. The country was called Virginia in honor of the Virgin Queen. The same company obtained a subsequent charter from James I, confirming and greatly enlarging this in its western extension, dated May 23, 1609. Carolina had a similar charter, given by Charles II, in 1667, including all the land between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of north latitude, overlapping two degrees of the Virginia charter, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Such was the style of giving charters in those days. James I. subsequently dissolved the London company, but never formally revoked the Virginia charter, and the inhabitants of the colony claimed its validity. Other charters, however, were granted, covering parts of the same territory.—One was given to Lord Baltimore, by Charles I, dated June 3, 1632, covering Maryland and Delaware. In 1664, Charles II. gave a charter to the Duke of York, including New York and New Jersey. He also

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CONFEDERATION OF THE STATES.

On the prospect of a war with France, England requested the American Colonies to form a union for efficient action. Accordingly, delegates from each of the New England States, from New York, Delaware and Pennsylvania, met at Albany in 1754. On the 4th of July, Dr. Franklin drew up "Articles of Confederation," which were debated and adopted. The Convention discussed "the right of the British Government to lay contributions on the Colonies without their consent." The Madison Papers state that the convention was called to discuss this subject, which is not historically accurate. The discussion was incidental, not the object of the meeting. There was no discussion on slavery. The convention formed a precedent for the future action of the colonies. In 1771, an open, formal meeting of delegates from all the States was called. They assembled at Philadelphia Sept. 4, and continued in session till October 6. There is no record of a discussion on slavery. Nothing occurred to test the sentiments of the delegates, or to shape the policy of the nation on this point. On the 10th of May, 1775, the next Congress convened at the same place. The Virginia delegates, before leaving home, were instructed to present a resolution declaring the independence of the colonies. The measure was approved, and Jefferson appointed to draw up a declaration of independence. In this paper he inserted an article advocating the king of "being determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, and of prostituting his negative to suppress every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce." Suppressed Article, Madison Papers, p. 24. On this article, the first slavery discussion of Congress ensued. The only remaining record of it, to which I have had access, is the following brief notice in the Jefferson Papers, under date of July 2, 1775: "The clause for repealing the existing law of the inhabitants of Africa was stricken out in compliance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, wished to continue it. I think our Northern brethren also felt a little sensitive on the point, having recently engaged largely in the traffic." This record does not bear on the extension of slavery. It was, however, the first Congressional discussion of it. It shows the bearings of the country on the subject at that time, and brings out the following important facts: The influence of slavery had not yet corrupted the statesmen of Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. Virginia denounced it in strong language, and had made legislative efforts to suppress it. South Carolina and Georgia were bold and unyielding in its defence. In the first national discussion on this subject, the anti-slavery principle of the country yielded to the pro-slavery will of the extreme South, to preserve a union of the States.

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THE VERMONT LETTER.

To the House of Representatives in Congress assembled, and to the Citizens of the United States, on the Nebraska Bill. BY A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES. GENTLEMEN: The great questions now before Congress and the country, I regard simply in a national and constitutional light. It is only as such that I have examined them. If, as I believe, they involve great principles, independent of all parties, which are to change the policy of the country, as established by the fathers, and by the Constitution itself, these principles are more important than the adoption or rejection of any particular bill; and are infinitely above all party measures and party feelings. It is chiefly as a historian of the policy of the country respecting the extension of slavery, and as an interpreter of the Constitution on this point, that some pending measures may be brought to these tests, that I have written the following letter.— I think every intelligent citizen must be convinced, that there is a wrong somewhere in our political system. It does not work well. In 1820, in 1850, and in 1854, the nation is suddenly thrown into great commotion. It is brought, unexpectedly, almost in a day, to the verge of dissolution and strife. A few steps more, and all may be lost. The strikers and starred banners of freedom which float over the battlements of every sea, may be rent asunder, or fall ignominiously. This state of things, occurring so often in such rapid succession, among an enlightened, law-loving, and law-abiding people, can arise only from a great wrong somewhere

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CONFEDERATION OF THE STATES.

On the prospect of a war with France, England requested the American Colonies to form a union for efficient action. Accordingly, delegates from each of the New England States, from New York, Delaware and Pennsylvania, met at Albany in 1754. On the 4th of July, Dr. Franklin drew up "Articles of Confederation," which were debated and adopted. The Convention discussed "the right of the British Government to lay contributions on the Colonies without their consent." The Madison Papers state that the convention was called to discuss this subject, which is not historically accurate. The discussion was incidental, not the object of the meeting. There was no discussion on slavery. The convention formed a precedent for the future action of the colonies. In 1771, an open, formal meeting of delegates from all the States was called. They assembled at Philadelphia Sept. 4, and continued in session till October 6. There is no record of a discussion on slavery. Nothing occurred to test the sentiments of the delegates, or to shape the policy of the nation on this point. On the 10th of May, 1775, the next Congress convened at the same place. The Virginia delegates, before leaving home, were instructed to present a resolution declaring the independence of the colonies. The measure was approved, and Jefferson appointed to draw up a declaration of independence. In this paper he inserted an article advocating the king of "being determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, and of prostituting his negative to suppress every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce." Suppressed Article, Madison Papers, p. 24. On this article, the first slavery discussion of Congress ensued. The only remaining record of it, to which I have had access, is the following brief notice in the Jefferson Papers, under date of July 2, 1775: "The clause for repealing the existing law of the inhabitants of Africa was stricken out in compliance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, wished to continue it. I think our Northern brethren also felt a little sensitive on the point, having recently engaged largely in the traffic." This record does not bear on the extension of slavery. It was, however, the first Congressional discussion of it. It shows the bearings of the country on the subject at that time, and brings out the following important facts: The influence of slavery had not yet corrupted the statesmen of Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. Virginia denounced it in strong language, and had made legislative efforts to suppress it. South Carolina and Georgia were bold and unyielding in its defence. In the first national discussion on this subject, the anti-slavery principle of the country yielded to the pro-slavery will of the extreme South, to preserve a union of the States.

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THE VERMONT LETTER.

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