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The Standard

From the Cincinnati Philanthropist.

THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT—CONSOLIDATION—DESPOTISM.

Our Washington correspondent has kindly furnished us with a report of the argument of counsel in the great slave case between Maryland and Pennsylvania, and also of the decision of the court. If it be correct, as we presume it is, no comments that we have yet seen do justice to its importance.

We have inserted the clauses of the Constitution, relating to fugitives from justice and fugitives from labor or service; and the law of 1793 designed to give them effect. The reader will do well to examine them, and bear them in mind while we proceed briefly to comment on the decision.

1. By the decision, the States are not legislate either in aid of, or against, the rights of the slaveholder.

It follows, that the jury trial laws of some of the eastern States; the slave code of Illinois; the laws of Ohio prescribing the process of arresting and examining persons claimed as fugitives; those forbidding her citizens to harbor, conceal, or aid in any manner fugitives from service; and the laws of all the States against kidnapping,—*are all null and void.*

We in Ohio may now spare ourselves the trouble of petitioning our legislature for the repeal of the black law, or the establishment of the trial by jury; and those citizens who were indicted last summer for resisting a constable in his attempt to arrest a pretended fugitive slave, and whose case has been appealed to the Supreme Court, may set their hearts at ease,—constable Black acted under a law which was unconstitutional.

2. Congress can confer no judicial or executive powers on State officers. The power exercised by these officers, under the law of 1793, has been by usurpation. A State may prohibit them from acting at all. Such is the decision of the Court. It releases State officers from all obligation to aid the slaveholder in any way. If a constable or magistrate of Ohio hears of a human fugitive or gives a certificate, it will be *gratuitous* wickedness. He will do it, not as an officer of the law, not as an authorized agent of the slaveholder—but simply as a volunteer slave-catcher, and we should like any of our legal friends to tell us why he may not be resisted? Many of the State officers will rejoice in their release from the disagreeable task of reluctantly yielding to the power, by formal enactment, on such officers—so says the Court. Can they then confer such power, by consent or otherwise? Neither can the States confer on their officers any power to administer or execute the laws of Congress, by direct and formal enactment. Can they then confer any such power, by consent or otherwise? The Court says, "State officers derive their right to act in such cases? Clearly, they have no right whatsoever. But, to place them beyond all doubt, the law of Congress of the States should immediately pass laws, prohibiting their officers from all interference in the case. The court says they have a right to do this! And they can go one step further. They can make it a felony, for any of their citizens to aid the slaveholder in any way, in arresting or recovering his slave. Let the people, as with one voice, demand such laws. The slaveholders have pushed matters to a crisis and obtained a decision, totally subversive of all guarantees of the liberty of the citizen. Let them have the full benefit of it.

3. Compare the two clauses of the Constitution quoted above. Observe that the act of 1793 provides both for the reclamation of fugitives from justice and fugitives from service; and that in both cases, State officers are made the instruments of carrying out a law of Congress. If Congress can confer no power on State officers in the case of fugitives from service, neither can it, in the case of fugitives from justice. The executives of the several States are therefore under no obligation to comply with any demand for the surrender of fugitive criminals. This decision deprives them of all power in such cases. It obliges the Governor of Ohio, or the tribunal to effectuate this clause of the Constitution; and it will soon become necessary for them to act. But such action will bring up the whole law of '93—as well that part which relates to fugitives from service, as that which relates to fugitives from justice;—and this will involve the whole question of division of slavery, its relations to the Union, its bearings on the rights of the free States, its utter repugnance to American liberty. Let the discussion come, and come speedily.

The decision of the court makes a wreck of State sovereignty. It has done more to consolidate, centralize this government, than any one of all the acts of the government since its establishment. If the States have no power to throw around their citizens the full protection of the habeas corpus and jury trial, if they cannot even inquire into the validity of an arrest of their citizens as slaves, or of a demand for them as criminals; if every personal right of every citizen of every State is to be placed at the sole disposal of Congress, and such agents as it may appoint; then indeed are the States mere appendages of a power as consolidated and despotic as the most central government in the old world.

4. The question of the right of trial by jury, was not raised during the trial. The act of '93 was pronounced constitutional in general terms, in opposition to the acts of the States, on the same subject, because by the Constitution, power over this subject was vested exclusively in Congress.

The act of 1793 empowers the slaveholder to arrest his fugitive slave, that is any one whom he may claim as a slave, without any process of law, and from the person arrested the right of trial by jury, and makes no provision whereby he can have redress for an unreasonable seizure.

Article fourth of the amendment to the Constitution declares—

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."

No one who is familiar with the temper and principles of the slaveholders as a class, with the condition of the colored people, and the operations of slave-catching, can be ignorant of the fact that free people of color are constantly liable to to unreasonable searches and seizures. It is a constitutional duty of Congress to provide safeguards for the rights of all the people. It is its duty, especially in the case of fugitives from service, to provide, that no seizure shall be made but by warrant, issued upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation; to establish a trial by jury; and to secure the person arrested his action for damages, should the claimant fail to make out his claim.—Congress should be immediately besieged with petitions, demanding such amendments of the act of 1793.

5. The most revolting feature of the decision remains to be portrayed.

The clause of the Constitution relating to fugitives from service, "contemplates," says the court, "the unqualified right of ownership in slaves, which no State is at liberty to be permitted to regulate; qualify, control, or restrain." It "therefore recognizes the positive right of the owner with no qualifications or restrictions, to property in his fugitive slave, *to the same extent and in the same manner as he had* the State where he was held as a slave. The owner has in every State all the rights conferred by the laws of the State where he is held as property or chattel. Under the Constitution the owner is invested with the right to recapture his slave wherever he flies throughout the Union. So far the clause executes itself."

The court then proceeds to say, that the slaveholder may do so and bring his servant, or may be interfered with by local laws to the contrary notwithstanding! and if the object of legislation by Congress is simply to secure his rights against interference by State legislation; why may he not, where there is no such interference, or where he can baffle it, carry off, as well as recapture his slave, without any legal form?

His power is thus clearly sustained by the language of the decision. Besides, the law of Congress of 1793, does not forbid such an act, or provide for it in general. It only prescribes certain legal process, not as the duty of the slaveholder, but a privilege of which he may avail himself, for the enforcement of his rights against interference. The third section of the act is not *directive*, so far as he is concerned:—it *empowers*, but does not command the slaveholder to carry the arrested person before a magistrate, and if he should do so, it does not follow that he should drag him by violence, or seduce him out of the State, what law does he break, what penalty incur? None of the laws provide such penalties, and the decision of the Supreme Court, has annulled every State law against kidnapping.—The law of Pennsylvania under which Prigg was indicted, made the violent or fraudulent removal of a negro or mulatto from the State a felony. Ohio has similar laws. But that law was made void by the decision of the court, and our laws fall by the same decision. Let a slave catcher from Kentucky lay hands on a free colored person in Ohio, and drag him into slavery, and how can he be punished? Congress has done nothing; Ohio is impotent; she is degraded at the foot of the kidnapper, who may now carry on his detestable business, and laugh her to scorn. Not a single legal security has a single citizen of this State, against the arts or violence of the two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders of this republic, for whose interests or convenience, the States and every guaranty of personal freedom must be utterly subverted.

What a terrible illustration is this decision of the Supreme Court, of the utter incompatibility of slavery and liberty. Permit one false principle to lie at the basis of society, and it will soon overspread and fill the state at the root of the tree. Tolerate one false principle as a mere exception, and it will soon cease to be, or become the law. Slavery was barely tolerated by our fathers, as a local evil, and simply as a voluntary concession, an exception to the general law of liberty. The exception has become the law, and the law of liberty, the exception. Slavery has court establishes the principle of slavery as the law of the whole Union, on the ruins of State sovereignty, and the independence of the States. Who now can we understand that saying of a profound French philosopher—"whenever there is an abuse in the social order, it appears to be the foundation of it: whenever there is a contradiction in the law of nature, it is necessary for its preservation, that every thing should yield to it, that it should be the centre of everything, and that everything should be subordinate to it." The Supreme Court of the United States, throughout their decision, seem to regard liberty as subordinate to the monstrous abuse of slavery.

In the conflict now going on between liberty and slavery, the government may do one of three things—it may favor liberty, or against it, or attempt to compromise to harmonize the interests and claims of the two antagonist principles. Had the court decided in favor of liberty, it would have been a much clear gain. Had they patched up a sort of compromise decision, it would have been dangerous to the interests of freedom. Compromises have always done mischief. But the court is all on one side; its decision is in favor of despotism, and must do good, by arousing the people of the free States to an indignant conviction, that slavery can live only by the subversion of their rights. The moment this conviction flashes full upon them, rocks and mountains must be rolled on the infernal system from their avenging power.

ABSTRACT OF THE LATE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

[Prepared for the Cincinnati Philanthropist.]

The decision of the court (the majority, 6 judges,) was delivered by Justice Story. The defendant, Prigg, was indicted for kidnapping, under the law of Pennsylvania, for taking away a negro named Ned, who, by force or violence, shall take and carry away, or cause to be taken, &c. or by fraud and false pretense seduce, or cause to be taken, &c. any negro or mulatto, with intent to sell him as a slave, or to keep and detain him as such; with his sisters and abettors, shall be adjudged guilty of a felony, and punished by a fine of from $500 to $1,000, and imprisoned from 7 to 21 years. Judge Story then recited the facts in the case, and proceeded.

Let us now proceed to the act of the clause in the Constitution, which refers to fugitives from service or labor. We know, historically, that it was designed to secure to citizens of contiguous States, property, in those States where slavery did not exist, or might be abolished. It was essential to the safety and permanency of our institutions, to guard against the doctrines and principles of the non-slaveholding states.

No nation, or State, is bound to recognize the law of slavery. It is a purely municipal concern. The object of the clause was to limit the sovereignty of the States, in this respect. Each State might otherwise have been subjected to the laws of the others, for her borders. This would be the fruitful occasion of perpetual strife. And the slave States could not have enjoyed the power of visiting the other States without endangering their property. The clause must be interpreted in such a manner, as to effectuate the whole object of the provision. Nothing could be justified in construing it so as to defeat the very ends for which it was provided.

It contemplates the unqualified right of ownership in slaves, which no State is at liberty to be permitted to regulate, qualify, control, or restrain! Any State law to delay, or postpone, the right of the owner to the possession of his slave, *pro tanto*, is discharge. The clause therefore recognizes the positive right of the owner, with no qualifications, to property in his fugitive slave, *to the same extent and with all the same incidents*, as in the State where he was held as a slave. The owner has, in every State, all the rights conferred by the local laws of such State, or that of recaption. Under the Constitution, the owner is invested with the right to recapture his slave wherever he finds him, throughout the Union.

So far the clause executes itself. But it does not stop here. If it did, it would be insufficient to secure the right of property. The owner may not find him servant, or be unable to enforce his demand, restricted by local courts, and State legislation concerning it. So the remedy might be worthless; because the State legislature has the exclusive right to control its own tribunals. The mere recognition of a right, without the means to enforce it, is delusive.

The States, being under no obligation to act, the rights of the owner would be at the mercy of mere comity, or public opinion, &c. The other part of the clause, gives the slaveholder, the rights, remedies, and works out duties to be discharged. It declares that the fugitive "shall be delivered up." This language is not merely a mere branch of the demands of the case, in the fullest manner. The term *claim*, implies as much—a claim is a demand of right, made upon the person wrongfully withholding it. And the proper enforcement of this, will necessarily requires the aid of legislation, in order to prescribe the mode, in which the owner or his agent may enforce the claim, and the duty in which the slave shall be delivered up to him, and transferred to his domicil.

If such legislation was left to the States, the greatest diversity would exist, and confusion and strife would ensue, from the many differences in the local legislation. The legislation of the States, too, would change, as public opinion or interest might dictate. And the very clause was designed to give uniformity to the slave owner, against the legislation of the States.

The right of the owner, under the Constitution, and the duty of the national legislature, are co-extensive. It is their *natural* place, to establish such uniform mode of asserting his claim. And to make such legislation effectual, the power to legislate must be exclusively in Congress. That power Congress had exercised, in passing the act of 1793. Their act covered the whole ground; and, in the judgment of the court, it was the duty of the Congress saw best, in their constitutional discretion, to give force to the several parts of the clause on which the act was founded. The States here recited the same cases referred to by the counsel for Maryland, and declared that the recognition of the constitutional right, rests on the courts of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New-York, the three leading free States, coincided fully with its own views. It was true, that the power exercised by State magistrates, was not given by the act, but only by sufferance. Congress had no power to vest State offices, as such, with such privileges. Nor could State legislation impose any duty, touching the rights of the slaveholder. The States might, clearly, prohibit their magistrates from any interference in the case.

The court did not mean, however, to interfere with the *police* power of the States, to preserve their peace, to arrest vagabonds, and the like. Unoffending persons might not be arrested, or excluded from the State, *as* vagabonds; not as slaves. But this power could not be suffered to interfere with the laws of Congress, or the rights of owners under them. The law of Pennsylvania was void, because it forbids the very act, for which the act of 1793 provides, and no dispensing power. And the judgment against Prigg, founded upon that law, must, therefore, be reversed.

THUS IS THE LAW OF THE LAND, TILL REPEALED.

But a few items, from the opinions of the judges who dissented from the majority, will throw more light on certain aspects of the case.

Judge Thompson, I presume, admitted that all laws on the subject, designed to *limit* the owner's rights, were void; and that Congress was invested with the constitutional power to guard his rights, in every part of the Union. He dissented from the act of 1793 was a fit exercise of their power. All acts of States, calling upon the owner to go beyond his State magistrate, or other officer, to establish his claim, were null and void.

But he thought the States *had* a right to pass laws in aid of the rights of owners, in the absence of Congress. He compared it to the laws of States, to enforce the observance of contracts, while they could not annul the obligation of them, or even impair it. He thought the provisions of the Constitution, that secured to the citizens of every State, the immunities of citizens, in every State, &c. &c. was a mere compact, which might enforce the master's claim, everywhere, by suitable laws. But State officers were not bound to aid in carrying out the provisions of the act of 1793, which might prohibit them. So the master must go before the United States Judge, to establish his claim. The act of Congress gave no power to issue a warrant to seize a person, but only to arrest, when the claimant a cheap, easy, and prompt remedy. The slave States had never given to the Constitution and laws of Congress, any force. If for a time they passed laws, requiring her officers to arrest fugitives from other States, and to detain them and advertise their owners, yet they had never legislated upon exclusively in Congress, such laws were void; and every State became an open pathway, for the escape of the fugitives.

The majority think that the police power is adequate to prevent this result. But the fugitive is not arrested as a dangerous person. He is peacably going on his way, and his arrest is not necessary for the peace and safety of the State.

Judge Wayne, in an elaborate opinion, concurred with the majority in general, but dissented so far as it relates to the power of State magistrates. He thought, in this case, as in that of criminals, Congress could give State officers power to act, (this explains the reverse opinion of the court). He enforced their decision, that the removal of a slave from a State, without a legal proof of the claim to be, a man and not a chattel, was illegal. In this case, this was true, so far as the free States are concerned, where the presumption was in favor of freedom. There, the act of kidnapping was illegal and criminal, without suitably establishing his claim; and the States might punish the offense of doing it.

Judge Baldwin, it seems, was for a sub-driver on a plantation—thought that no legislation was needed from Congress, or any State; that the provision executed itself; and he regretted that the majority had not given the power to the master, to both seize and bring back his slave without warrant. He would sooner trust the States with power over the property of slaveholders, where he considered the spirit that now prevailed in the House.

Judge Daniels, in an opinion concurring with that of the majority, dissented very lately, that the police power of a State had nothing to do with its relations to other States. And he inferred that it might be used as much to facilitate the escape of slaves, as to aid their owners.

I have a few words of comment to add:

1. The provision of a jury trial to establish the fact of a man's being a fugitive, was cited in the arguments of the counsel, nor expressly decided by the court. It should not be given up without a struggle. If it must be surrendered, Congress, should be compelled to grant one, or our Union is not worth two straws. What! shall a native of Ohio, be liable to be seized in the midst of his family, and on the mere ex parte testimony of villains, who hunt the sugar campe of Louisiana, there to establish his title to freedom! Let this matter be weighed well.

2. The question of the right of trial by jury, was the greatest benefit and strongest bond of our Union, are now to become the most powerful lever to sunder it; and that, too, by the power of slaveholders! Will it not will respect them? This decision will do more than a thousand mobs, to weaken the public respect for laws and courts of justice.

3. Some have of late, quite seemed to think that the rights of the slaveholder were the only objects of constitutional protection. No construction favorable to liberty was known, or cited. The wrong was to be guarded, not the right preserved.

4. Your "black code" in Ohio is, of course, null and void. Your law for the protection of your brother Mahan may not turn the tables upon his prosecutors, in the way of exemplary damages! At any rate, there are but three persons in all Ohio, who have any business to be of the slaveholder or his agent, catch and deliver up a fugitive. So the pathway to Canada is a pretty broad one!

WASHINGTON.

THE FUGITIVE BILL OF CONGRESS.

To which the decision of the Supreme Court refers.

The language of the following document shows that those who were contemporary with the Constitution, contemplated *preliminary proof* as essential to the seizure or delivery of the alleged fugitive:

An ACT respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their master.

SECT. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled*, That whenever the executive authority of any State in the Union, or of either of the territories north or south of the river Ohio, shall demand any person as a fugitive from justice, of the executive authority of any such State or territory, to which such person shall have fled, and shall, moreover, produce the copy of an indictment found or affidavit made before a magistrate of any State or territory, as aforesaid, charging the person so demanded, with having committed treason, felony, or other crime, certified as authentic, by the governor or chief magistrate of the State or territory from whence the person so charged, fled, it shall be the duty of the executive authority of the State or territory to which such person shall have fled, to cause him or her to be arrested and secured; and notice of the arrest to be given to the executive authority making such demand, or to the agent of such authority appointed to receive the fugitive, and to cause the fugitive to be delivered to such agent, when he shall appear; but if no such agent shall appear within six months from the time of the arrest, the prisoner may be discharged. And all costs or expenses, incurred in apprehending, securing, and transmitting such fugitive to the State or territory making such demand, shall be paid by such State or territory.

SECT. II. *And be it further enacted*, That any agent, appointed as aforesaid, who shall receive the fugitive into his custody, shall be empowered to transport him or her to the State or territory from which he or she shall have fled. And if any person or persons shall, by force, set at liberty, or rescue the fugitive from such agent, while transporting as aforesaid, the person or persons so offending, shall, on conviction thereof, be fined not exceeding five hundred dollars, and be imprisoned not exceeding one year.

SECT. III. *And be it also enacted*, That when a person held to labor in any State, shall escape into, or be found in, any of the territories on the northwest or south of the river Ohio, under the laws thereof, shall be delivered up to the owner of the said States or territories, the person to whom such labor or service may be due, his agent or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labor, and to take him or her before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing or being within the State, [or before any magistrate of a county, city, or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made, and, *upon proof to the satisfaction of such judge, [or magistrate,]* either by oral testimony or affidavit, taken before and certified by such magistrate of any such State or territory, that the person so seized or arrested, doth, under the laws of the State or territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming to have her, it shall be the duty of such judge or magistrate, to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his agent or attorney, which shall *be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive* from labor, to the State or territory from which he or she fled.

SECT. IV. *And be it further enacted*, That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct or hinder such claimant, his agent or attorney, in so seizing or arresting such fugitive from labor, or shall rescue such fugitive from such claimant, his agent or attorney, when so arrested pursuant to the authority herein given or declared; or shall harbor or secrete such fugitive, after notice that he or she was a fugitive from labor as aforesaid, shall, for either of the said offenses, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars, to be recovered by and for the benefit of such claimant, by action of debt, in any court proper to try the same; [and, moreover, for the said offense, shall be liable to service, his right of action for, or on account of the said injuries, or either of them. [APPROVED, February 12th, 1793.]

The New-York American says:

In the face of language explicit as this, the Supreme Court seem to have decided that the master or his agents may seize and carry off the person he pleases, if he (the slaveholder) chooses, "without proof required "to the satisfaction of the magistrate," or the "sufficient warrant" which he alone can give.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

The only chase of the Constitution on which the late decision of the Supreme Court can possibly be based, is the following:

"No person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime."

Part III. Sec. 2. Article IV. "No *person* held to service or to work in any State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be *delivered up on the claim of the party* to whom such service or labor may be due."

The New-York American says:

"Language can hardly be more explicit than this, to point out the course to be pursued by a claimant. He is to make his claim—who is to do it? Manifestly, to some one having authority to enterain and pass upon it. And what authority is there in the United States, if the fugitive is to be "delivered up"—by whom? Manifestly, by the proper authority before whom the claim was to be established, forsooth.

"Does not this phraseology utterly exclude the idea that the owner of the slave may right himself upon the intervention of any State or United States magistrate, or process, by simply seizing and carrying off the alledged fugitive?

"The second point admits indeed that legislation of Congress may be necessary, "on grand Union State or other interference," but only to guard against such an occurrence, and not for giving effect to the act of the claimant.

The Ordiuance of July, 1787, sixth article, has the following proviso: "Provided always that any *person* escaping into the same, (meaning the territory north-west of the Ohio river,) from whom labor or service is *lawfully* due, may be reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service, as aforesaid."

A writer in the Philanthropist remarks:

"The late opinion of the Supreme Court I understand to be, that the Constitution of the United States authorizes the claimant or his duly authorized agent, to take a fugitive from any State in the Union, is a fugitive from labor, from another State, without any judicial process; and then to take such person before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, in order to establish such claim; that the act of 1793 can give no authority to any State officer to act in the case; that the States have no power to interfere in the matter.

"I take it as obvious, that this decision, (I shall speak of Ohio only,) strikes at the sovereignty of the State, as much as it does at the sovereignty of corporation, existing only by the breath of Congress, and subject in all her important interests to the control of Congress. It goes further.

"In the first place, it annuls the provision of the Ordinance of 1787. By the lawful reclamation therein mentioned, is meant State legislation, excluding the intervention of Congress, and consequently, this ordinance is to remain forever unalterable, unless by common consent. The Constitution of the United States, has not given power to Congress to annul any of the six articles of the ordinance; nor can it be rightfully construed to affect in any manner their obligations in our State. It is a fundamental compact that in the ordinance, in the Constitution of the United States, and in the act of Congress, 1793, fugitives from labor are constantly called *persons*; and this is the language of the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution of the State provides that the people shall be secure in their persons, &c. from unwarrantable searches and seizures, and that no general warrants, without oath, to seize any person and name, &c. are dangerous to liberty, and shall not be granted. The opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, is an entire prostration of our State sovereignty, both under the ordinance, and the Constitution of the State, taking from her the power of providing by her own laws for the protection of the person of the fugitive from violence while within the State, and to prevent him or her from being hurried out of the State, without the trial by jury, which the Constitution declares shall be inviolate. These monstrous results follow from the decision of the Supreme Court; and that same decision upsets the delivery of fugitives from justice, by declaring that no State Governor has power to act on any act of Congress. If this decision is to stand, an entire new code respecting both kinds of fugitives, must be enacted by Congress. Let the people and States see to it.

VIRGINIA AND THE NEW-YORK LEGISLATURE.

Mr. Strong, from the committee on the judiciary, to whom had been referred so much of the Governor's message as relates to the difficulties between Virginia and South Carolina, asked leave to report a bill and resolution to the New-York Senate, the object of which was to repeal the law of 1840, which granted a right of trial by jury to fugitive slaves.

Mr. Strong moved the bill to a third reading. He said that while New-York would never submit to any invasion of the rights of her citizens, on the part of any other State, she was willing to bow submissively to the decision of the highest tribunal in the country, for that was the supreme law of the land.

Mr. Dixon said, if the decision of the Supreme Court went to the extent which newspaper reports would seem to indicate, he did not know but what we were bound to obey it. He said, as to the mere question of the constitutionality of the act was concerned, he could not say but what the majority of the committee thought so, he could not give his assent to the preamble which prefaced the bill. He hoped that at least would be stricken out.

Mr. Strong said the preamble was the best part of the bill.

Mr. Dixon said it affirmed what he never would consent to. It declares that *Congress* can legislate on this subject, and that, no, no such right has ever existed. He coincided with the opinion of Judge Baldwin, that the Constitution, when no law had been made, was self-executing, and effectuated itself. Congress, when not expressly conferred upon Congress by the Constitution, is left with the States, not with Congress. He could never acknowledge the soundness of the position laid down in the preamble. He moved that the clause in the preamble, conferring the right of Congress to legislate, be stricken out.

Mr. Strong said there was but one feeling at the North on the subject of slavery, and that was in opposition. But the constitutionality of the law of 1840 was questioned when it was passed. There had not been been any decisions bearing directly upon the point. He was not willing to declare it unconstitutional, it is our important duty to repeal it. It is proper that the *reasons* for the repeal should go with the bill.

Mr. Root denied that the decision of the Supreme Court applied to the law of this State.

Mr. Dixon said, he was afraid that the law of this State conflicted with the decision of the court. He defied the majority to pass this bill; and promised to vote for ordering it to a third reading, in order to give them an opportunity.

Mr. Nicholas hoped Mr. Dixon would withdraw his motion, and allow the question to be taken directly on the bill and preamble. If the law of 1840 should be repealed, Mr. Nicholas imagined the authors of its repeal would soon discover that they had acted in opposition to the public sentiment.

After another speech from Mr. Root, the motion to strike out the clause in the preamble was negatived, 17 to 15.

Mr. Dixon then offered an additional section, requiring the Governor to draw his warrant on the treasurer, to pay all expenses incurred by any citizen of the State, who should be prosecuted for the execution of any retaliatory law of Virginia or South Carolina.

Mr. Nicholas said he could not sustain this amendment. Should any citizen of this State be subjected to loss from the enforcement of the law of Virginia he hoped the State would be found willing to compensate them. But he did not believe that law would ever be enforced—that the good sense of Virginia would teach them that it was palpably unconstitutional.

This amendment was debated by Messrs. Dickinson, Dixon, Strong and Nicholas, and negatived; ayes 16, nays 20.

The bill was then ordered to a third reading by a vote of ayes 19, noes 9—several Senators saying they would vote against the bill on its *third reading*, but would not vote for its final *passage*.

The following preamble and resolutions reported by the committee, were then submitted by Mr. Strong:

Whereas the Governor of this State has refused to deliver up, upon the demand of the executive authority of Virginia, Peter Johnson, Edward South and Isaac Canaway, charged fugitives from justice, charged with the crime of theft, viz. stealing a slave within the jurisdiction and against the laws of Virginia;—and whereas the Governor has assigned as the reason for such a refusal, that the stealing of a slave within the jurisdiction and against the laws of Virginia, is not a felony or other crime within the meaning of the second section, of the Constitution of the United States—

Resolved, That in the opinion of this legislature stealing a slave, within the jurisdiction and against the laws of Virginia, is a crime, within the meaning of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to transmit the foregoing preamble and resolution to the executive authorities of Virginia.

After discussion between Messrs. Dickinson, Hard, and Strong, the resolution was adopted by the following vote:

AYES.—Messrs. Bartlit, Clark, Corning, Denniston, Ely, Faulkner, Foster, Hunter, Johnson, Paige, Ruger, Scott, Sherwood, Strong, Varian, Varney—16.

NAYS—Messrs. Bockee, Dickinson, Dixon, Franklin, Furman, Hard, Hawkins, Hopkins, Hunt, Nicholas, Pratt, Root, Rose, Wheeler—14.

The Senate then adjourned.

The vote was a party one, with the exception of Mr. Bockee, who voted with the whig minority.

In the resolutions of the Legislature, it appears that stealing a slave in Virginia is a felony in that State, within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, were presented to the House, they were adopted under the operation of the previous question.

To the request to transmit copies of the resolutions to the legislature of Virginia, Governor Seward replied by the following Message, at once maintaining the rights of the Executive, and the dignity of human nature.

MESSAGE OF THE GOVERNOR.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, April 12, 1842.

To the Legislature.

I received last evening a preamble and resolution, in which the legislature, after reciting my refusal to surrender Peter Johnson, Edward Smith and Isaac Canaway, as fugitives from justice, charged, that I had assigned as the reason for that refusal, that stealing a slave within the jurisdiction and against the laws of Virginia was not a crime within the meaning of that part of the Constitution of the United States which relates to the demand and surrender of fugitives from justice, has expressed an opinion that such a reason is inadmissible, and intimated which I had thus adopted. The subject to which the resolution refers is exclusively one of exclusive jurisdiction, and it is not for the department in regard to the demand and surrender of fugitives from justice being prescribed, not by the Constitution and laws of the State, but by the Constitution and laws of the United States. Nevertheless, it is not only rightful but it has always seemed to me to be proper, for the legislature and executive of this State, to express to each other, by way of advice; and such an expression is more proper when the adherence of this department to its decision has, with other causes, resulted in unconstitutional aggression and retaliatory acts by Virginia and South Carolina.

Grateful, therefore, to the legislature for the advice which has thus been received, I have considered it with the most respectful deference to their wisdom, and with an anxious desire for harmony and agreement upon a question in which the rights, interests, and honor of this State are deeply involved. After thus considering the subject, without the benefit, however, of any of the arguments which have brought the legislature in a different conclusion, I remain of opinion, that beings possessed of the physical, moral, and intellectual faculties common to the human race, cannot, by the force of the Constitution or laws, be goods or chattels, or a thing; and that nothing but goods, chattels, and things can be the subject of larceny, or felony at the Common Law. Neither of the United States, so far from controverting truths which seem to me so obvious, acknowledges them by carefully treating persons held in involuntary servitude or bondage, not as property but as men, while the Declaration of Independence, expounding what to any mind may seem obscure in the Constitution, declares that all men are born free and equal, and have the inalienable right to enjoy life and liberty, and to pursue the way to human happiness. In view of the crisis at which our relations with other States have arrived, and of the close of the legislative session, it seems my duty to make no delay in submitting these views to the legislature.

I am requested by that body to communicate the preamble and resolution to the executive of Virginia. The Constitution of the State declares that it shall be the duty of the Governor to expedite all measures which shall be resolved upon by the legislature, and to take care that the laws are faithfully executed. But the legislature cannot effectually resolve upon any measure, or impose a duty on the executive, except by bills passed by both Houses, and becoming laws by the executive approval, or by a Constitutional majority, notwithstanding his objections.

In proper cases I cheerfully comply with the requests of the Senate and Assembly—but I cannot do so when a request conflicts with constitutional duties, and the Constitution of the Union in the present case without silently acquiescing therein, and thus waiving a decision to which I adhere; or without incurring the imputation of disrespect to Virginia with a protest of my dissent. The former course would be a plain, palpable dereliction of constitutional duty. The latter course, if the latter alternative were adopted, would not tend to enhance the respect in which this State is held by her sister States and by the Union generally.

Cherished principles of civil liberty forbid me equally from recognizing such a natural inequality among men as the resolution of the legislature seems to me to assume, and from participating in any way to perpetuate the inequalities of political condition, from which results a large portion of the evils of human life.

The Senate and Assembly will therefore excuse me from assuming the duty which an assent to their request would impose upon me, and from, respectfully, some other organ of communication with the executive authority of our sister commonwealth.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

TO THE EMIGRANTS FROM IRELAND, AND THEIR DESCENDANTS.

We commend the following excellent address to the serious consideration and careful perusal of such of our Irish friends as may come to see it. I cannot warm and feelingly from the heart of an Irishman, the arms of whose philanthropy embrace the whole human race. Ireland's sons and daughters throughout the Union would do good service to our cause by transferring it to their columns.—ED. LIBERATOR.

Mr. Patrick Forsyth, by privilege to attend the London Convention, held in 1840. It was constituted by delegates nppointed in various parts of the country, and composed of men of all complexions. Its object was to devise and carry forward measures for the extinction of the slave trade and slavery all over the world. It was my happiness to meet, among the delegates, many of my fellow-priests and sons of the Emerald Isle, and to ascertain the fact that the hearts and prayers of all, or nearly all, the inhabitants of Ireland, were intensely interested in our cause, and with knowing that, however true to liberty an Irishman's heart is, when it beats on his own native shore, he is ever ready to sympathize with the miseries, and influences by which he becomes surrounded, in too many cases warp his judgment, and bias his heart; and the influence and action which ought to be exercised, could not be exercised, if human liberty made to operate against her sacred name, and in favor of slavery and oppression. What, my friends, would you think of a proposition, that it is not that we conceived our heaven-descended rights were abridged or trampled on? And shall we tremble at the sufferings and oppression of our fellow slave? Heaven forbid! and Heaven demands that all our moral and political influences be used for his benefit. What are the sufferings any of us have endured under the monarchy of Great Britain, or from the ecclesiastical domination of the Church of England, tyrannical and despotic as it is? What are all the sufferings of Ireland, Ireland is suffering, compared with what two and a half millions of our fellow-creatures are enduring in American slavery? Remember, I beseech you, that God made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth; and that our adorable Saviour and Redeemer tasted death for all men. Shall we, shall we reduce to chattelship immortal mind—that for which the precious blood of Christ was shed to redeem it from all sin, that it might be an immortal partake of the enjoyment of pleasures at his right hand?

The previous questions I ask, as I am not entirely ignorant of the distressed and distressing condition of Ireland. Surely, if it be right for the native and adopted citizens of America to be agitating the question of the wrongs of our old England and Ireland, must it not be our right, yea, our duty, to agitate and agitate, again and again, a system of slavery, which is almost unknown in "old England," and which lies at our own doors, enters our pockets and our cupboards?

One of the effects of slavery in America, is, that it very much confines the emigrant to the choice of residence to about one half of the States. Some of those on the other side of Mason and Dixon's line, from their more comfortable circumstances, would indeed to settle in the slave States; but if we were to do so, what is the sacrifice we should be called on to make? We, ceasing to use the labor of our native land, is an Englishman's birthright—that of describing things as they appear, and really are. The penalty of exercising this natural and constitutional right, is to be a MAN, and to be called a "Yankee

The Anti-Slavery Standard.
NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 21, 1842.

jamin Watkins Leigh, says of the laborer? "I will tell you. Those who depend upon their daily or their daily subsistence, *can seldom think of political affairs, they never do*, NEVER WILL, NEVER CAN. Those who carry their bread by the sweat of their brow, by laborious economy, *BE OFFER the same place as the slaves.* What is it that compels the poor Irishman to do the drudgery of American cities, and to live in the poorest of the lowest and most laborious labor? What is it that makes the Irishman the bodman, and prevents the American from being one? Why, slavery! and so long as slavery continues, will this state of things exist. Assist in throwing off slavery then will the Irish emigrant, however poor he looked on differently: he will have his own and well, with an accelerated speed, raise himself and family to wealth and independence, in proportion to his frugal and industrious.

I have received intelligence that has been thought that emigration had altered your views on the aforesaid traffic in men, women and children—and that you could view slavery with more indifference which, and thus you did while on the other side of the Atlantic ocean. As proof of this opinion being entertained, I refer you to the Irish address, which bears the signature of those prominent citizens of the human race, Daniel O'Connell and Father Matthew. Were the majority of Irishmen in America known to be correct in principle, and sound in practice, on this side of the water, the address would never have been issued. It was my happy lot to witness the reception of the address in Boston, where Father Mathew and Dr. Channing conversed again and again with the shouts for which it was once pre-eminent. Judging from the newspapers, I may be safely concluded that the address is well-meant, and judiciously drawn up, or it would not attract the notice it has, either in high or low quarters of society. The adage of the old country, is proved to be a true one, "Touch the devil on his sore shoulder, and he will wince." The writhers of slavery are touched, and the beast not only winces, but runs about like one of the wounded, and cries out, to declare that it is a spurious document; and that the signatures of the upstile of civil and religious liberty, and of the apostle of temperance are forgeries! What but a living spirit could induce even the idea? Are not the sentiments of the address apostolic and catholic? Are they not in accordance with holy writ and strictly in unison with Christian Xinnines, who, in latter times, so far as I know, was the first to raise his voice against the infernal system which Daniel O'Connell, Father Mathew, and sixty thousand other Irishmen, with yourselves, when in Ireland, denounced as a crime, as a sin of the greatest enormity? I entreat you to bear in mind what the Holiness, Pope Gregory the 16th, in his bull of the 3d November, 1839, says:—"A great number of Roman pontiffs, our predecessors of glorious memory, forgot no pains, neither by the conduct of their dealers, according to all that laid in their charge as opposed to their spiritual salvation, and willering to the name of Christian. He then proceeds, quote numerous, who have had determinated against the system, and says, that "the Holy See may rejoice in the full success of its efforts, and of its zeal to remove the Indian tribes from all Christian countries: we do advertise and admonish, in the power of the Lord, all Christians, however strong their condition be, that hereafter they cease from the cruelty of the inhuman traffic in men, and human beings, by which they have been treated as if they were not men, but bought, sold, and doomed to the most severe labor, like brutes, for the lucre of others, and this extract again—consider and ponder it well—and then read it once more, and then learn it by heart, and adopt its maxims in daily practice: then the Holy See may truly rejoice in its children.

If there are any emigrants in this country, who should boldly and fearlessly stand and maintain right principles, surely, my Irish brethren, you are the man. And why do I say so? It is because thousands of you have seen the advantage of doing so in old Ireland. Don't you remember the time when neither a Catholic peer nor a commoner elected to the House of Commons, could sit in the British Parliament, on account of the test oath, which required him who took it, to swear that the Catholic religion was idolatrous? How came this injustice to be done away? Was it not by the uniting of the friends of civil and religious liberty—men of all religious creeds, and of every denomination, who petitioned Parliament, year after year, until by importunity they prevailed, and the test and corporation acts were repealed, and Catholics, so that Catholic peers took their seats in the upper house, and Daniel O'Connell and other Catholics were elected to the Commons? What was one of the results of this measure? Parliamentary reform. What grew out of the reform bill? Why, one of the most, if not the most glorious measure which ever passed through the two Houses of Parliament, the British emancipation act, which transformed 800,000 pieces of chattel property into accountable beings: accountable to the law which was thrown around them, and which protects them in their natural, but long-deprived rights; and from this act of justice has grown nothing but good—good to the emancipated slave, and good to the emancipator, and ruler. Estates are now, in these days of freedom, worth on an average full 30 per cent. more than they were in the days of slavery, *with the slaves included in the purchase of the estate*; and so it would be, were slavery abolished in those parts of this country where it exists. And as an old countryman, I call on you, my Irish brethren, in those of Irish extraction, to manfully stand by and sustain your inherent love of liberty and freedom. You have sought and obtained it, in some measure, for yourselves in this country, and I call on you to endeavor to ring Liberty's bell, until the sacred sound thereof shall be heard and realized throughout the land. I would quote Independence Hall, and ring as well as inscription is, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."—Let us, who know what it is to suffer from the infringement of the withholding of our rights, or the enduring of oppression in our native land, now we are come to America, not be so mean-spirited and selfish as to think of enjoying alone the Heaven-descended boon of freedom.

Unity, you know, is strength; and you know some of the results of concentrated and combined action. Don't you know when the Catholics refused to pay church rates in the Episcopal Church, and when their farming stock and household furniture was seized and offered at public auction? Did not, sometimes, several thousand persons attended on the day of sale, yet no bidder could be found; and, in consequence, the live stock was driven to some fair; but even there, no sale could be made, as no man would become a purchaser; and, in many cases, the stock was restored to its rightful owner; and this tacit, passive resistance, (nothing about the extermination, in Ireland, of church rates, both root and branch. What do your fellow-countrymen say in your native, adopted, land? Are thousands of them have sent to you? What do Daniel O'Connell and Father Matthew say? "Slavery is a sin against God and man. All men are not fit to stand be against it none can be neutral. We entreat you to take the part of justice, religion and liberty. *Join with the abolitionists everywhere. They are the only organized and active friends of man.* Tell every man, that you do not understand liberty for the white man, and slavery for the black man; that you are for liberty for all, of every color, creed and country." And as though these great moral and heavenly truths needed enforcing by argument and personal application, you make the little remark, and sound stirring appeal to each and every one of you. "By all your memories of Ireland, continue to love liberty—hate slavery. *Hang up the abolitionists* and in America you will do honor to the name of Ireland." Shall this appeal be sounded in your ear, in vain? Heaven forbid! Humanity and religion, were to be the cloak, and only cloak, under which the cry of mercy has been raised, "foreign distortion" "foreign influence!" Yes, by American citizens, assumed to be a legislative representation of the people of the Parliament of England and Ireland! Yet, in their estimation, the devoting of their time, talents and money, is "foreign influence" and "foreign distortion" "foreign influence." If American slavery be assailed in its dens, the father of lies, the old serpent, the devil, and his emissaries, will use all subtlety to sustain the abhorrent, degrading, soul-destroying system, and raise all manner of outcries, and alarm both Church and State, until they both come to aid by the propping of American slavery.

What is meant by "foreign influence and foreign distortion?" Why, they are words without any proper application to the subject before us, and used only as a bugbear to frighten the weak and timid from duty. Don't all emigrants, who have left relatives or friends in the old country, correspond with them, and hold with joy letters from spots of earth, dictated by hearts which beat once due to home? Distance and separation from friends do not and ought not to lessen affectionate feelings; particularly in those we have left in poverty and misery, whose yoke we have shaken off. When we write or send our relatives and friends to leave their country and come to this, on another side of the Atlantic, we are guilty of "foreign dictation or foreign influence?" and are we not glad to have the pleasure of seeing our friends can convey on any and every subject in which we are interested? Well, if it be a right, yes, a duty, for one person to advise us for our benefit, how much more must the sentiments be worthy of our most serious consideration, when sent by thousands, who love us, and wish to do us good, unite heart and hand to effect it? I appealed the great bulk of the signers of the address here, they were members of the Roman Catholic church, and I have yet to learn if the whole of the doctrine contained in the address does not accord with the sentiments and principles of the Roman Catholic church, and, doubtless, had Pope Gregory the 16th, been in Saint Patrick's land, when signatures were being obtained to the address, he would gladly have affixed his name to the address. I Christian advice on practical moral duties never was, and never ought, can be called "foreign dictation." Take, my friends, the Irish Address, and read it, ponder it, and pray, examine it well, and see if every word and sentence be not in accordance with divine and moral truth. If it be so, reject it not, neglect it not, but act upon it in force of argument; but if, on investigation, it is what the circumstances in which you are involved imperiously demanded, I ask, you, I entreat you, not to be found fighting against God, nor disregarding such excellent advice from your fellow-countrymen; and if the allowed to operate fully on your feelings and conduct, your Irishman, I would say, not a man with an Irishman's heart, will be found in any way, however remote, doing anything that shall promote or strengthen the cause of slavery. Of Christians, there is a still not be found voting for candidates either for our State legislatures or Congress, who will by their votes sustain, sanction or support slavery, or who will vote for men who will make laws, or for those who would abridge or deny the right of petition. In the old country, we could not have sustained by our votes for such measures and such men; and in this boasted land of liberty, which claims to be "the land of the free and the home of the brave," shall we become renegadoes, and cast off our shields as though they had not been anointed? Give no man, nor either of the political parties of the day, an opportunity to indulge in the slanderous, false, and ridiculous idea, that the end of men determined to be free; and as we really love freedom, so in the same degree shall we be solicitous to extend its blessings all over the earth, particularly so to all parts of our adopted country.

May you, with myself, when we approach the mercy-seat of the Eternal, be able to be congratulated with the blood of the slave, nor our ears assailed with "The voice of thy brother's blood cries unto me from the ground." In vain shall our prayer be, by the accusing spirit, mentioned, "Am I my brother's keeper?" for the righteous Judge of the whole earth will bring us into judgment for sins of omission, as well as for commission, and the sin of inasmuch as you have not done acts of justice, kindness, benevolence to the poor slave, when it was in your power so to have done, ye have not done them unto me." "I know ye not." Oh! awful sentence and irrevocable doom! Let us be up and doing; and a clear conscience, and the approving smile of the Lord of our lives, and the approbation of good men, shall be ours; yes, and "by all your memories of Ireland, continue to love liberty—hate slavery—cling by the abolitionists—and in America you will do honor to the name of Ireland." Your sincere well wishing friend,

JAMES CANNINGS FULLER.

Skeneateles, 2d of 4th month (April) 1842.

From the Advice to Whig members of the New-York Legislature.

LATE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT.

Among the measures of the present legislature, the controversy between this State and Virginia has an important place. The judicial proceedings in the Senate, not having another consideration that portion of the Governor's message relating to the controversy between this State and the commonwealth of Virginia, was the subject matter of the session, on the last full day of the session, brought in an act to repeal the law of 1840, granting the right of trial by jury to those who were claimed as fugitive slaves in this State—striking from under the feet of the oppressed that safeguard of human liberty which exists in the determination of a jury of their peers. This act, which commended to the strength of a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, not involving the right of personal freedom, but based only upon the question whether the property in a person held to service, or his agent, upon retaking him as a fugitive slave, and carrying him to Maryland, without the aid of any court of the United States, or any process of the State of Pennsylvania. We cannot believe that the Supreme Court of the Union would have held that where the owner of a slave, claimed as property in the State, should resort to any of the courts of our State for the purpose of aiding him in recovering such slave, the legislature of this commonwealth, could not regulate those proceedings so as to secure to them in determining the questions involved in such claim—and never will we believe such to be the fact until we see an express decision of that court. On the contrary, we regard the principles as laid down by the decision thus referred to by our opponents as their authority for such repeal, as affirming the principles of our State, and as a majority of the court that high tribunal hold that the several States have concurrent power with Congress to enact laws in furtherance of the constitutional provision in relation to such fugitive slaves—and this act of 1840, we assert was in furtherance of the Constitution of the United States; merely directing, not the mode in which the owner of a slave in this State should proceed in matters within their jurisdiction, but how the courts of our own State, subject to our laws, shall exercise that power of the Constitution of the United States, which one person can be questioned so long as any rights remain to the several States as independent governments. The power to control such courts in this manner of Congress, since our laws has never been delegated to the United States, but remains among the powers reserved to the several States as independent governments, and we never should as freemen assent to the assumption of any powers not expressly granted. And thus have our opponents not only used all their exertions to deprive the oppressed within the boundaries of our commonwealth of the right of trial by jury, but they have also manifested a willingness and desire to subject the oppressed out of our State to the jurisdiction of Congress; and that although the people of this State have always manifested great anxiety to sustain and uphold our independent character as a nation.

JAMES FORTEN.

A very interesting address on the life and character of this excellent man was delivered at Bethel church, Philadelphia, by his gifted son-in-law, Robert Purvis; and has since been published. We select the following extract, because we have always considered the event therein mentioned as the most important one in James Forten's life. The wisest and most discriminating white men were deceived by the smooth hypocrisy of that hateful, slippery monster, colonization. But he perceived its deceitful and wicked character at a glance. Long before an anti-slavery society existed, and while there was not one white man to stand by him, he was doing his utmost to foil colonization schemes. No amount of influence could overwhelm, and no flattery cajole him. For this, if for nothing else, all friends of truth and freedom should hold his memory in eternal gratitude.

In the year 1817, the good man's principles were put to the test, having at this time an extended influence, and being the only man of color in the community as a man of singular probity and worth, exerting even from the jaundiced heart of prejudice involuntary respect. Then, it was marked by great marks of freedom, and every device which the scheme of colonization could invent was attempted to blind and mislead him. It was about this time that the society of innate wickedness, mantled in the cloak of benevolence, came stalking over the land, so specious and whining in its tone, so soft and insinuating in its low and plausible manner, so well adapted to the discriminating mind of James Forten penetrated the veil that covered its deformed and damning features. The plan of colonization which had long seized him in times of flattery, assuring him that he would become the Lord's Moses of their "Israel" and with promises of the return of the people of Africa, was told in the simplicity of truth, but with sarcasm, the more cutting because unaffected, "That he would rather remain as James Forten, and suffer and toil in Philadelphia, than be one of the others in the gift of their society." The matter, however, did not rest here with him. He saw what would be the tendency of such a society, and the influence of its institution, and the necessity of frustrating the designs of the leagued spirits of this dark crusade against the rapidly-improving condition of his people, and of incorporating at more and for ever the idea in the public mind that we were fixtures in this our native country. "That here we were born, here we would live, and here we would die." With this view, and having the co-operation of some of the most intelligent of his brethren, among whom was that sterling and intellectual friend of humanity, Richard Allen, James Forten, the good hearted Absalom Jones; and last, though not least the founder of your Bethel church, that extraordinary man, the Rev. Rev. Bishop Allen; a meeting was called in this church, on the 6th of January 1817. The house upon the occasion was literally crammed. Mr. Forten presided as chairman, and a bold, powerful and eloquent address, which had been previously prepared, went down in no unanimous vote on the death-knell to colonization. If these resolutions were from the pen of Mr. Forten. I cannot forbear quoting them; they are an exact transcript of his own thoughts.

"Resolved, That we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited slander attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of color by the promoters of this measure, that they are a dangerous and useless part of the community; when in the state of disfranchisement in which they live, in the form of slavery, they have ever remember their wrongs, and rallied around the standard of their country.

Resolved, That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country. They are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering and of complexion. We feel bound to share their miseries in suffering privations with them than fancied advantages for a season."

Thus, owing to the timely efforts and zeal of James Forten, colonization was foiled in its first aggression crushed; and although there yet are to be seen some sprouts from its decayed and dying root, shooting forth their feeble and forked tongues of iniquity, its poisonous fangs have been extracted, and we fear not now its pestiferous breath. We have ever a firm friend of the abolitionists, being himself open and fearless friend and advocate of the slave.

His hand was promptly extended to that pure Christian, and exalted philanthropist, *William Lloyd Garrison*. He was blessed with those qualities necessary as a leader in the great enterprise of all in his own language, considered him as a chosen instrument in the Divine hand to accomplish the great work of the redemption of humanity. Of his zeal such was his confidence (and justly so) in the principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and of the men and women who composed them, that nothing was ever more painful to his feelings, than the sooner excited his indignation, than the attempt of reproach upon them. The course pursued by Mr. Garrison in the early days of the cause, in the first anti-slavery principles; and those principles, founded upon the immutability of eternal truth, had accordingly been adopted by the society, and with them, the influences of its divinity. Hence, no difficulties nor dangers have intimidated, but they have gone on conquering and to conquer. In no restricted sense, but in the comprehensive sense of religion, he was a friend to human rights. The doctrine of "woman's rights," as they are called, found in him a zealous friend. "Like the principles of Christ, virtues would be acknowledged universally; because, as he would say, we live in an enlightened age of reform—an age which tolerates a free expression of opinion, and which will not be satisfied with the mere own inwardly revealing light, to the enjoyment of its own individuality; and, setting aside the dogmas and creeds of sectarian institutions, which shackles the immortal mind, leaving it free and independent as it was designed by its bountiful Creator. Yet, while *truth*, bright, eternal *truth*, is rising in all its beauty and glory, and transcendent sublime, there are those who, not more egregiously than pernicious, cling to their blindness, their prejudices, their idolatrous worship.—But woman is not a mere dependant upon man. The relation is perfectly reciprocal. God has given both to man and woman the same intellectual capacities, and the same moral nature. He is the same moral government. He was a man of religion, but no bigot; the last survivor of the founders of St. Thomas' Episcopal church, and, in the latter days of his session, on the last full day of the session, brought in an act to repeal the law of 1840, granting the right of trial by jury to those who were claimed as fugitive slaves in this State—striking from under the feet of the oppressed that safeguard of human liberty which exists in the determination of a jury of their peers. This act, which commended to the strength of a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, not involving the right of personal freedom, but based only upon the question whether the property in a person held to service, or his agent, upon retaking him as a fugitive slave, and carrying him to Maryland, without the aid of any court of the United States, or any process of the State of Pennsylvania. We cannot believe that the Supreme Court of the Union would have held that where the owner of a slave, claimed as property in the State, should resort to any of the courts of our State for the purpose of aiding him in recovering such slave, the legislature of this commonwealth, could not regulate those proceedings so as to secure to them in determining the questions involved in such claim—and never will we believe such to be the fact until we see an express decision of that court. On the contrary, we regard the principles as laid down by the decision thus referred to by our opponents as their authority for such repeal, as affirming the principles of our State, and as a majority of the court that high tribunal hold that the several States have concurrent power with Congress to enact laws in furtherance of the constitutional provision in relation to such fugitive slaves—and this act of 1840, we assert was in furtherance of the Constitution of the United States; merely directing, not the mode in which the owner of a slave in this State should proceed in matters within their jurisdiction, but how the courts of our own State, subject to our laws, shall exercise that power of the Constitution of the United States, which one person can be questioned so long as any rights remain to the several States as independent governments. The power to control such courts in this manner of Congress, since our laws has never been delegated to the United States, but remains among the powers reserved to the several States as independent governments, and we never should as freemen assent to the assumption of any powers not expressly granted. And thus have our opponents not only used all their exertions to deprive the oppressed within the boundaries of our commonwealth of the right of trial by jury, but they have also manifested a willingness and desire to subject the oppressed out of our State to the jurisdiction of Congress; and that although the people of this State have always manifested great anxiety to sustain and uphold our independent character as a nation.

Communications.

SOME OF THE FRUITS OF SLAVERY.

The following story is told us by a respectable Irishman, employed as journeyman hatter in this city. It shows that even blue eyes and fair skins may not be safe from the dangerous consequences of the late decision of the Supreme Court. We have good reason to believe the account is strictly true.

"In May, 1840, I went West, in company with James Mead, a printer; each of us seeking employment in our respective trades. At Muskingum County, Ohio, we engaged to work for Mr. Gibbs. One day, a man came in to hire a man. My employer asked me whether I should take that stranger to be a negro. I answered, 'Surely, no.' 'Nevertheless,' replied he, 'he has been held as a slave.' I was surprised at this; for he had light complexion, thin lips, straight hair, and a nose slightly aquiline. In fact, he bore not the slightest marks of African descent. I inquired of him, in the morning, he had acquired somewhat of their dialect and manner.

"They told me he was born of white parents, who died and left him among strangers, a destitute, helpless orphan. A man took him, under the pretense of charity; but placed him with his slaves, with whom he ate, drank, and slept. Like them, he was by law prevented from ever receiving even the daily toil. He worked with the slaves, and was in all respects treated as one of them. When he arrived at twenty-one years of age, there was a good deal of talk about the circumstances of his bondage; and the neighbors began to interest themselves in his behalf; probably thinking it disgraceful to keep a white man in slavery. They threatened to take the matter, unless he let him go free; but he persisted in his unrighteous claim as long as ever he could. What struck me most forcibly, was that my employer, when he told me this story, laughed at it as a good joke, and did not seem to consider it either wrong or improper. This shows that prejudice against the black race, has rendered even the white or black if they can but keep them in subjection. Our white population are apt to feel themselves quite safe from such oppression as grinds the poor African—but the circumstance I have related shows what they would be liable to, should they go South, become poor, and leave their helpless children behind them. Perhaps, some of our readers, who know many white men, who, if they had been brought up in utter ignorance among slaves, as this poor fellow was, might easily be made to pass for descendants of colored persons, and would find it very difficult to secure their freedom, unless they were lucky enough to sell in with some friendly white gentleman, acquainted with their parents. Indeed, I have known a man cast off to some remote town or settlement, by the man who claimed him, who would have known his history, or interested themselves in his fate! He might easily have remained in perpetual bondage: no doubt doubtless do, under similar circumstances. I advise all poor people to keep away from the South; especially those who have dark complexions.

"From Muskingum, my friend Mead and I travelled to Fayetteville. Here, a man by the name of Hinman agreed to employ me; but he said he was not ready to go to work, being obliged to go to Nashville, on the important business of *selling a man*. As we stood in the workshop, waiting for the horse and wagon that was to convey him to Nashville, Mead asked me where the negro was, pointing to a man who was standing by, and muttered, in a low tone, 'There he is.' When I told Mead, he said, 'It cannot be; that young man has a lighter complexion than any of us.' He was, in fact, very fair, handsome, and well-proportioned, with blue eyes, and flaxen hair; a complete model of the much-boasted Anglo-Saxon.

"A chain was lying on the ground. While they were getting ready to start, the flaxen-haired slave kicked it, and asked his master what that was for. 'For the horse,' said he. The young man, half distrustfully, said, 'I hope it is not for me;' to which Hinman made no reply. My friend Mead swore loudly; but it was no use to be wrathy, for he had no power to right the wrong. In a few weeks, Hinman returned from the village, bringing with him a negro girl, ten or twelve years old, and two hundred dollars, which he had received in exchange for his fair-haired victim. He told me this himself; and said the lad wept bitterly, when he found he was to be left behind. With part of the money, he bought a plank-kettle, which I used to call the Bloody Kettle.

"I was told that this handsome fellow had a brother, who strongly resembled him; and that Hinman carried him to New Orleans, for the purpose of selling him.—But he was so very fair-complexioned that no sale could be effected. At last, a mob gathered round the auction-stand. He was shown off, and his hair untwined with a knife, twelve or fourteen inches in blade, which on such occasions, he always carried with him, together with a pair of rifle-pistols. The police had to take them all in hand, and Hinman eventually returned, without selling his victim. That young man I never saw.

"The story of these brothers was told to me thus: Hinman was a native of Virginia, and his family name was Fulton. The father of these young men owed the lawyer a sum of money; and when he died, his estate was found insufficient to meet the demand. As soon as this was ascertained, the agent seized the widow and her two sons, pretending that they were descendants of slaves. He put them up at auction, and bid them off himself. Some of the people, who had the courage to interfere; or else they were too indifferent to trouble themselves.

"I afterward met my friend Mead in Cincinnati, Ohio. He told me that after I left that part of the country, a lawsuit was brought against Hinman, in favor of the widow and her sons, which was likely to terminate in their favor. Mead, at that time, had offered him more than he was worth. At all events, he lost the expense of his journey to and from New Orleans; and that is a comfort.

"If what some folks say were true, there would be no use in making a fuss about such cases. If brown people are happier and better off when they have masters to provide for them, than if they have money to buy themselves, I know why the Anglo-Saxon should be so too. The English need to say this of my countrymen, the Irish; and mad enough it made them; but they turn round now and say exactly the same thing about the colored people.

"I work for Marmaduke Osborne, of Newark, Wilkewise can refer to him. He is a Quaker, and superintendent of a cotton factory, a short distance out of the town of Fayetteville, Tennessee; and if my friend Mead is still at work in Cincinnati, he can corroborate the above statement.

ROBERT SIMS.

A LETTER FROM IRELAND—THE CHINESE WAR.

I can hardly tell thee how disappointed and grieved we are at the extraordinary position taken with regard to the Chinese war, by our quondam defender of the Amistad captives, J. Q. Adams. Surely that distinguished friend of liberty and justice must be imperfectly informed in this case. If he had read the history of the opium question from the beginning, he could not thus mistake the worse for the better side. Surely he cannot have read the early edicts of the former Chinese emperor, of 1796, declaring it a prohibited article, and renouncing all connection with it forever. He cannot have marked the increasing severity of the laws, even to the punishment of death, on those Chinese subjects who engaged therein.—He cannot be aware of the wicked perseverance with which the East India Company forced the increased culture of the poppy, and the high hand with which opium was forced into China, in defiance of every remonstrance, threats, and prayers of their government; that the stock of opium was not seized till every mode of remonstrance and prohibition had failed; that foreign merchants were still treated in a lenient manner; and that the Chinese government offered to restore friendly relations when the obnoxious articles had been swept away. Surely, I say, J. Q. Adams must not have been aware of these and a thousand other attendant circumstances, and going to prove that Great Britain is grievously in the wrong, and the Chinese government, with few exceptions, in the right.

I always supposed that, according to the law of nations, foreigners were subject to the laws of the nation, with whom they lived and traded. How would England act if Chinese merchants attempted to carry French laws into effect on English ground? This, I conceive, is the fair way of testing the question; and the answer is obvious enough.

I am aware that many have said the Chinese government cared nothing about the good of the people; that their clamor against the opium traffic was merely between the merchants and the government; because we gave them $1,000,000 worth of opium, while we took of them but $9,000,000 worth of tea. But this statement cannot be upheld; for the Chinese prohibitions have existed nearly fifty years. Even if it were true, it would be highly creditable to our Christian nation to check a trade, which, in addition to its other ruinous effects, was draining the country of its circulating medium.

If we take a higher standard than the laws of trade, how shockingly insultous appears the conduct of a professedly Christian nation endeavoring to force a heathen mind and dominion over a heathen people, which, at the very time when they are striving to rid herself of the evil, they send off strong drink! The fact that our emissaries have corrupted a large part of the Chinese authorities, so that the poisonous drug is all but openly smuggled, only serves to increase our guilt.

You will see by our Freeman's Journal, how decidedly and keenly many of us here feel on this subject. You are probably more than before aware of the sympathy exerted, Joseph Sturge, in a large public meeting, moved a resolution expressive of its sympathy with the Chinese emperor in his struggles, and that it should be translated into the Chinese language, and transmitted to him. The resolution was passed unanimously, and I doubt not was carried into effect. Had you the old serpent, Columns, I could furnish you with volumes from our journals, and further show how the spirit is rounded by reflections from our ablest men among us. But it is not easy to conceive the mischief done by J. Q. Adams's lecture. Our triumphs over the post Christian, whose utter inability to compete with *Christian* Britain, in the sensual lies and barbarous trade of war, is sufficiently proved by the fact that Amoy, with its five hundred pieces of cannon, were taken without the loss of a single British soldier, or sailor; the arrival in London of the £350,000 worth of bullion, part of the ransom of Canton; these have tended to make this wicked war increasingly popular with the mass; of course, a large portion of our press, thus influenced, are constantly going counter, unfortunately in comes the high authority of your venerable ex-President to sustain them in their mischievous course. I trust a more thorough examination of the subject will lead him to change his views, and that speedily.

With regard to the right of search, your government have assuredly taken the wrong side. To me it appears a grievous and shameful act, that a republican nation, glorying in its professions of equality, proclaiming as a self-evident truth, that "all men are born free," should have been represented by a slave-owner and a reputed slave-trader! In such a case, how could we learn of the rights of humanity, that he should be chosen to represent them? The fact can in no way be concealed or evaded, that the reputation of America is suffering throughout the world, by her present position with regard to the slave trade; that she insists upon covering pirates of all nations with her flag, is proof too palpable that she seeks to protect the foul traffic.

Soon after was a second edition of the Amistad case occurred in that of the Creole! and what an example of modernition was given by the so-called mutineers. Do what the masters may, such occurrences will increase. The love of freedom is too strong to be repressed. Well may they tremble for their vile system, for all things conspire to shake it.

I grieve to learn by to-day's papers, that there is sad news from Affghanistan, in India. Our injured natives have revolted, and massacred the British troops; to what extent, I know not. These horrid scenes will occur so long as Great Britain continues her career of injustice and oppression; ever seeking new conquests, instead of applying herself to the right government of her already too extended dominions. This bad policy is recoiling upon us at home, in sinking manufactures, and a fumbling population.

AN IRISH FRIEND.

8th of 2d mo. 1842.

PRESIDENT TYLER'S SLAVES.

Some months since, we published an article called "Tylerising," relating the story of two mulatto slaves, said to have declared themselves the sons of Gov. Tyler, of Virginia, now President. The Madisonian, the official organ of Tyler's administration, denied the charge, and we copied the denial. Soon after, a correspondent of the Globe spoke on the subject; but we in vain tried to find a reader for the article, until now.

He says: "In the denial, they are represented as *mulattoes*; but if you will look at the article called 'Tylerising,' which you copied from the Emancipator of December 30th, you will perceive they are not there represented as mulattoes. John alone is so represented. Of him, I know nothing; but of the other, called Charles, I happen to know something. The statements in the *aggregate*, if not in the *detail*, are correct. There are much in the above case. It is a convenient mode of throwing unjust odium on the abolitionists.

"A person calling himself Charles Tyler, was sent to me, with a letter of introduction from a member of the society of Friends, who probably knew me by reputation as an abolitionist, though I was unacquainted with him. Charles arrived at my house late in the evening, and was extremely fatigued and exhausted, with long and rapid travel. He trembled when he handed me the letter; for he said when he inquired for my house, he was eyed very sharply. This incident terrified the poor fellow so much, that he insisted upon proceeding directly, though it rained very hard, and was growing dark and cold. I told him he needed rest, and urged him further, and after some effort, persuaded him to rest till morning; but I could not coax him to take a mouthful of food. I asked him to point out to me on a map the route by which he came. He recollected the names of towns, rivers, &c. with geographical precision. He said he assumed another name in New Jersey, and let himself to a person there for three months. When the time expired, his employer read to him an advertisement, describing him precisely, and offering $500 reward for his detection. Charles affected coolness; but well knowing his danger, he fastened his chamber door, when he retired to rest. Some time in the night, he heard a voice below, with which he was familiar; immediately the door, which he had fastened, burst it open. At the same instant, Charles rushed through the window, carrying sashes and glass with him, and under cover of the night escaped.

"When I inquired the name of his master, he said he did not like to tell, because his confidence had been betrayed in New Jersey. He stated that his master was one of the great men of Virginia; that he was steward of his family, and had been treated very well by him; but indeed, he was firmly resolved never to be taken alive into slavery again. He was a large, well-proportioned, rather dark-colored young man; I should think about 25 years of age. He did not represent himself to me as the son of his master, nor did I see any indications of what is called white blood in him. He told me it was an extremely common thing for slaves to be the children of their masters. He ran away on Christmas eve, and arrived at my house about the first of April following.

"About a year and a half after, another fugitive arrived, who called himself Gideon Leigh. When he represented himself as coming from the same county in Virginia that Charles had said he came from, I asked him if he recollected any slaves that had escaped from his neighborhood. Among those he mentioned, was Charles Tyler, who he said had been steward to Gov. Tyler, and that his master set a very high value upon him. I questioned him very particularly, before I gave him any intimation that I knew anything of Charles; and I found the two stories agreed in every particular, of names, dates, places, &c. When I told him that Charles spent a night at my house, and had gone on to a land of freedom, his eyes sparkled with joy. His whole countenance lighted up, while he told me how they were both converted at a Methodist meeting, and were both members of the same church. He promised to write to me after he arrived in Canada, and give me tidings of Charles. As soon as he had learned to write there, he kept his promise; and I have the letter now in my possession.

"So I have already observed, slaveholders are so in the habit of regarding the people of color, as a race to be just made, he instantly stopped reading, and said he would not have his name go before the public, in connection with the subject. He utterly refused to answer any questions; and when some of the Executive Committee visited him to make inquiries, he would not tell them anything he knew.

"He preaches here still. I have heard him say that he owned a slave while at the South, but said him. He is of course opposed to anti-slavery; and when one attempts to talk on the subject, he stops discussion, by saying, 'You never lived at the South: you don't know as much about slavery as I do.' His wife is a southern woman, and rumor says she is still connected with slavery; but I cannot tell how true that may be.

"SAMUEL THOMPSON.

"Poughkeepsie, January 31st, 1842."

MR. GIDDINGS.

I am surprised that many northern papers, while they denounce the wrong done to Mr. Giddings, and, in the person, to every freeman, and to the Constitution of the country, do nevertheless take the edge from their rebukes, by what appears to me a pusillanimous admission, that Mr. Giddings did wrong in expressing his opinions at such a time. Let us inquire into this.

In the second session of Congress, a few weeks ago, resolutions upon the same subject were introduced by a *slave member*, and sustained by the whole *slave phalanx*, without a word of opposition, or censure, in or out of that body. An attempt was made by a northern Senator to introduce a verbal amendment, so as to preserve, in respect to slavery, the constitutional phraseology; but the amendment was disagreed to, and, with the caution and delicacy of the framers of the Constitution studiously avoided, the resolutions were passed without a dissenting voice. Where was the restraint, or reserve, in this case, on account of the pending negotiation? That state of the affair was not alluded to.

On Monday, a resolution introduced by a southern member, was passed, calling for the correspondence on the subject; and then came Mr. Webster's famous letter. It was made the subject of remark in the same body, and "applauded to the very echo," as containing true and satisfactory doctrines. Here, again, nothing was said, and nothing seems to have been thought, of any objection on account of the pendency of the dispute. How is this to be explained? Very simply.—Thus far, all was in favor of the servile and the false. So far from being deterred from bringing these things before the Senate and the nation, by the fact of the pendency of negotiation, it was precisely because of that pendency that they were brought forward. The design was to influence negotiation, through public opinion, the Executive officers, and the foreign government. But when a representative from a *free* State ventured to interpose his opinion upon the same subject, why then "it was your bull that gared my ox." Then no word must be uttered, because *negotiation is pending!* The inconsistency and impudence are too palpable for argument. They are like Falstaff's lie, "grown to a mountain." I think *Mr. Everett*, of Vermont, a member who had before exposed much confidence in the North, has been the principal cause of this error of the press, by his request to be excused from voting on Mr. Giddings's resolutions. I cannot but regard the reason he assigned as jesuitical in the extreme. It is said, in explanation, in this quarter, that he is looking to an important office in the gift of the Executive. I know not where he was looking; but it is pretty obvious that it was not straightforward.—n. t. c.

VIRGINIA AND NEW-YORK.

We mentioned a few weeks ago, that Mr. Tyler said in the Virginia legislature, that probably as the democrats, the natural allies of the South, were now in the ascendancy in the legislature, and in the senate and assembly of the New-York legislature, and thereby render it proper for Virginia to meet them in the same spirit, and repeal her retaliatory inspection laws.

To this, Mr. Baily replied, that "he had already written to some of his friends in New-York, suggesting to them the propriety of such a course. But they had answered that it would be useless; for they had ascertained that Governor Seward would utterly disregard any resolutions of the democracy."

The Richmond Whig says: "Mr. Toler exposed in fitting terms this paltry subterfuge. If the New-York democrats are our natural allies, they should prove their friendship by this little act of grace."

And they have proved it. Their masters called upon them in their dairy, and they have done it. If any thing could render the act more contemptible than its own inane vileness, it is to be found in the manner in which it was done. Though the Governor repeatedly urged the importance of action on the subject, and the minority again and again called for a report, no report was made; but the odious bill was brought in and passed without any previous intelligence of it to the legislature, when there was no time for discussion or a movement so very important. One objection would have been sufficient to have prevented its passing to a third reading; but no objection was raised by the minority; on the contrary, several whig senators voted to send it to a third reading; probably intending that the democrats should have the full benefit of the disgraceful job they had undertaken. It is not supposed that a majority of the democratic members really wished the bill to pass. They wanted to gain credit with the South by starting the project, and have the whigs gain discredit with them by stopping it. And this cross game of factions is what men call government!! To such drivers of the dice are entrusted the safety of our free institutions! And for these purposes, the principles should be forever disgraced and profaned by the venality and selfishness of those who profess to them!

Governor Seward behaved nobly; as he always has done on all questions involving the doctrine of human equality. One would think his opponents, who voted for the bill, would receive the closing part of his message with the warmest cheers, as the very soul of professions of democracy. If any thing in the name of manhood is left in them, one would think they would never again use the names of liberty and equality, without having their hands for shame.

Could the democratic party have been thus barely represented, and the whig policy on this subject thus barbed, if abolitionists had adhered to the old plan of political action, and have the same power to keep both parties in check, instead of wasting their influence and their energies on the impracticable and altogether injudicious scheme of third party?

THE NORTH STAR.

Two "fugitives from injustice" lately looked in upon us; bright fellows, evidently well qualified to take care of themselves. "Do you know the North Star?" said one, addressed him, with a smile, for though he knew nothing of their history, he suspected one of them might be. They trusted to his honest kindly face, and answered, with a smile a significant, "We *should* know it, sir; for we have been following it these five days." "I suppose many people in your region take an interest in the North Star?" They understood the full import of the question, and answered in the affirmative. A friend standing by, said, "Among the slaves you have seen, there are some who does not know the North Star from all the other stars?"

"We do not know of one!" they replied: "They generally contrive some way to learn that."

Isaac asked them if they did not feel sorry they had no

masters to provide food and clothing for them, but would now be obliged to take care of themselves. Deceived by the apparent seriousness of his manner, they hesitated, and said, "Everybody likes freedom; and we were tired of being flogged." "Flogged! why that was done for your good, was it?" Well, he consulted his book, they averred, "They told us so." "Well, were'nt you much obliged to them for taking so much trouble to do you good?" something in the speaker's eye, or about the corners of his mouth, revealed his true meaning; and with restored confidence, they merrily entered into his vein of playful irony, till they again started to follow the North Star.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY.

The time of our annual meeting draws nigh, and we trust the warm-hearted and the true-hearted will come in the gathering with earnestness of spirit and unity of purpose. If ever there was a time when we needed to take counsel together, that time is the present. Events are hastening on the crisis of our cause with a fearfully accelerated power. The huge machine will move on with or without our aid; but unless we put our shoulders to the wheels brings us new duties, and subjects us to new perils. The developments of the slave power were never so ominous as at present. Our opponents are playing with the recklessness of men whose last chance depends on the throw of a die. They see that slavery and freedom cannot co-exist in the same government; and they are resolved that freedom shall yield in the conflict. Their determination to force matters to the final issue is shown in the recent decision of the Supreme Court, perhaps more plainly than in any other circumstance. The development is most startling, and furnishes a fresh motive for weighing the value of the Union; but it is in fact only a new revelation of what we have long felt, it is a correct exponent of the popular sentiment of the nation. Those who represent the people in the civil, judiciary, and ecclesiastical departments of our social system are, and always have been, perfectly willing to sacrifice the rights of the weak to the interests of the strong. To them the civil equality of the white and the colored man is an unmeaning phrase. They care not how much the innocent are endangered and trampled on, provided the foul deed can be sheltered behind classes of the Constitution or enactments of Congress. Such is the spirit that really exists; and it is well to have it manifested, that those who do not believe in the power of Congress to create God may be prepared to meet and resist it.

With regard to Mexico and Texas, events are fast tending to a crisis, highly important to the cause of human freedom whichever way it turns. It may result, at no distant day, in the dismemberment of this Union, and the formation of a great southern slave empire. To this the slaveholders doubtlessly look as the last resort of defeated policy. If they cannot *sway* the councils of this nation, they will not remain in them.

It is true these are events foreign to our enterprise in one sense; though in another point of view closely connected—yet, legitimately growing therefrom. The steam we labored so hard to raise has set in motion more wheels and cylinders than we could possibly anticipate. We can neither stop their revolution, nor manage it.—But the call that first drew us together remains in all its force and sacredness.

Our mission, as of old, is to purify a corrupted public sentiment, and enlighten the misled opinions of the people; and whatever we have had we owe to our zeal, energy, well-tempered with a most loving discretion.—Never did we so much need to take counsel together, and pray for wisdom from on high. Never did we so much need the "strengthening opportunity" of a social gathering.—Come, then, from the pulpit, and the printing press, from the parlor and the kitchen, from the workshop and the field! Whoever hath genuine love for human freedom, let him come! Every true and honest heart is of itself a tower of strength. Let none faint by the wayside; for behold the harvest draweth nigh.

LETTERS FROM NEW-YORK.—No. 22.

I have always felt a strong interest in the Washington Temperance Society. Apart from the physical purity, the triumph of soul over sense, implied in abstinence from stimulating liquors, these societies have peculiarly interested me, because they are based on the Law of Love. The Pure is inlaid in the Holy, like a pearl set in fine gold. Here is no "fifteen-gallon-law," no attendance upon the fiddles of fashionable folly, no bustle or manœuvres of political party; measures as useless in the moral world, as machines to force water above its level are in the physical world. Serenely above all these, stands this new Genius of Temperance; her trust in Heaven, her hold on the human heart. To the fallen and the perishing she throws a silken cord, and gently draws him within the golden circle of human brotherhood. She has learned that persuasion is mighter than coercion, that the voice of encouragement finds an echo in the heart deeper, far deeper, than the thunder of reproof.

The other day, I stood by the wayside while a Washingtonian procession, two miles long, passed by.—All classes and trades were represented, with appropriate music and banners. Troops of boys carried little wells and pumps; and on many of the banners were flowing fountains and running brooks. One represented a wife kneeling in gratitude for a husband restored to her and himself; on another, a group of children were joyfully embracing the kneeling father, who they had lost. Engine companies were there, with badges and engines; and military companies, with gaudy colors and tinsel trappings. Toward the close, came two barouches, containing the men who first started a Temperance Society on the Washingtonian plan; and who were going about delivering addresses in various parts of the country.—These six individuals were a carpenter, a cooper, a blacksmith, a tailor, a hatchmaith, a wheelwright, and a silver-plater. They held their meetings in a carpenter's shop, in Baltimore, before any other person took an active part in the reform. My heart paid them reverence, as they passed. It was a beautiful pageant, and but one thing was wanting to make it complete; there should have been some of the many drunkard's wives, filled with women, and little children, bearing a banner, on which was inscribed, WE ARE HAPPY NOW! I missed the women and the children; for without something to represent the genial influence of domestic life, the circle of joy and hope is ever felt to be incomplete.

But the absent ones were present to my mind; and the pressure of many thoughts made gushing tears to my eyes. I seemed to see John the Baptist preparing a pathway through the wilderness for the coming of the Holiest; for like unto his is this mission of temperance. Clean scenes are filling vessels for pure affections and lofty thoughts.

Within the outward form I saw, as ever, a deep, spiritual significance. As the bodies of men were becoming weaned from stimulating drinks, so were their souls beginning to approach those pure fountains of living water, which refresh and strengthen, but never intoxicate. The music, too, was revealed to me in fullness of meaning. Much of it was of military character, and cheered onward to conflict and victory. Yet, strange though it may seem, I do not detest, except its music.—My heart leaps at the trumpet-call, and marches with the drum. Because I cannot ever hate it, I know that it is the voice of something good, perverted to a ministry of sin. It is the voice of resistance to evil, of combat with the false; therefore the brave soul springs forward at the warlike tone, for in it is herself a call to its appointed mission. Whose does not see that genuine life is a battle and a march, has poorly read his origin and his destiny. Let the trumpet sound, and the drums roll! Glory to resistance! for through its agency men become angels. The instinct awakened by martial music is noble and true; and therefore its voice will not pass away; but will cease to be a call to carnal war with carnal weapons, and remain a type of that spiritual combat, whereby the soul is purified. It is right noble to fight with wickedness, and wrong; the absurd mistake is in supposing that spiritual evil can be overcome by physical means.

Thus far have I wandered, led on unconsciously by the music; and so have forgotten to tell you that in Philadelphia, too, the Washingtonians have lately had a procession of some twelve or fifteen thousands, with music, banners, and the badges of various trades. A correspondent of the Journal of Commerce says:

"As a mere display of tastefully-decorated and chaste-ly-mottoed banners, interspersed at intervals through a long line of men, thickly studded with beads and martial music, the sight was imposing and sublime; particularly when viewed in a moral sense, and the present feeling on temperance compared with five and ten years ago, when a drapery stared you in the face at almost every other door, and when drunkenness was looked upon as no crime, and hardly esteemed a fault, the procession of sober persons at such a time was sublime. In the front of the procession, I saw several societies of reformed drunkards—young men and old—and as they passed, their tears and faltering voices, I felt, were tokens of true repentance and comfort, rose to my mind, and in their joyous faces and happy homes, I saw the full reward of those exertions which have been devoted to the cause for the past, and ample remuneration for them to pursue in the future, until drunkenness shall not find a foot-hold in the land."

When, oh when, shall anti-slavery march forward hundreds, but course cheered on by the multitude, her banners inscribed "LIBERTY TO ALL THE INHABITANTS!" If I can but live to hear of that day, methinks I could say, cheerfully, "Now let me depart in peace, for my eyes have seen the salvation of the Jubilee, or depart weary and wayworn in the midst of the struggle? The clear note of victory will ring through the world, and I shall hear it, there beyond.—

L. M. C.

BENJAMIN LAY.

The Memoir of this singular but interesting individual is taken from the brief biography published by Roberts Vaux, of Philadelphia, in 1815; with the addition of some anecdotes, and other matter obtained from Friends' Miscellany, and traditions handed down from authentic sources to Isaac T. Hopper and his wife.

Few will be able to suppress a smile at sight of his uncouth figure; for few were able to do so during his lifetime. But I have become so thoroughly imbued with a living sense of the importance of the cause of the freedom of speech in this Hall?" "There ought *to be* no freedom of speech," was the *consistent* reply. "That," said Mr. Adams, "illustrates what I have remarked, that there is no real regard for liberty in a slaveholding community; all pretensions to it are sheer hypocrisy."

Said Craven, of Tennessee, "I voted right, to Triplett, who is a friend of slaveholders and Southern rights; standing round, "Triplett! how long was it after the National Assembly began to pass votes of censure, before they used the guillotine?" "About twelve months, wasn't it? I reckon it will be about eighteen, in this country."—*Emancipator.*

Effect of Southern Despotism.—The Washington correspondent of the Boston Courier, speaking of the overbearing and arrogant manner in which Mr. Giddings was treated, says:

"I am not an abolitionist—perhaps I ought rather to say, *I have not been till to-day*—but I do assure you, as the result of long experience and observation, here exists a state of things, which ought to open the eyes and convition is, that *slavery must give way, or the country and its institutions will be prostrated.* There is now no conservatism in the South."

A Freeman's Rebuke.—The venerable Judge Matlocks, of Vt. on a petition day, some months ago, said, "Mr. Speaker, I have in my hands the petitions of several thousands of my fellow-citizens, for important objects. If this was the Temple of Liberty, I should offer them; but as it is Slavery's Hall, I shall not do it."

Sailor's Rights Union Association.—We rejoice that such a society is in operation in this city. The continual and most wanton aggressions on the rights of our fellow-citizens, which have been so frequently noticed its first anniversary, on the 7th of last month, but it was crowded out by press of other matter. It was very largely attended, and the proceedings were spirited and interesting. Basil Banks, President; N. A. Borden, Secretary. The meeting was opened with prayer, by Rev. Joseph Smith. Resolutions were made by Messrs. Wilson, Gilmore, Going, Van Rensselaer, Gibbons, Hennell, and Newby, of North Carolina.

New Book.—A visit to the United States in 1841, by Joseph Sturge, 300 pages, octavo, is being republished in Boston.

Dr. Channing on the Creole Case.—This book is delightfully written, and calculated to do extensive good. A few are for sale at 143 Nassau street.

Good.—A large and interesting anti-slavery meeting has been recently held in Girard Valley, East Tennessee.

Married,

On Tuesday evening, April 5th, by Rev. John T. Raymond, Mr. Jacob Smith Gray to Miss Eliza Louisa Nell, all of Boston.

On the 18th instant, at Darien, Ct. according to the custom of the Society of Friends, Samuel Burling, of Hartland in Litchfield, N. Y. to Alice, daughter of the late Samuel Whiting, of the former place.

Died,

On the morning of the 13th, after a short illness, Samuel Havodck, of Philadelphia, in the 62d year of his age. He was eminently characterized by stern integrity, and unswerving faithfulness to the cause for his race. His sole purpose seemed to be obedience to his Father's will as revealed to his own heart. He has gone from us, but the fruits of his labors remain behind him.

At Brooklyn, (L. I.) John Hutchinson, Jr. of the Society of Friends, formerly of Philadelphia, aged 53 years. His integrity and exemplary deportment commanded the respect and esteem of his fellow-citizens of Friends and acquaintance. He has left a widow and several children who will keenly feel their loss in the death of this estimable man.

At Salem, Ohio, on the 22d ultimo, of Erysipelas in the head, Benjamin Rich, formerly of Pennsylvania, in the 39th year of his age.

Congressional.

In Senate, April 12.

The long bill, after much animated discussion, and a good deal of bitterness, was finally postponed to the present Senate, 26 to 16.

On the 13th, Mr. Williams presented resolutions of the legislature of Maine, relative to the British colonial trade, and the unjust restrictions imposed by Great Britain on the trade of the United States with the West Indies and Mexico

Miscellany.

MEMOIR OF

BENJAMIN LAY.

BENJAMIN LAY was born at Colchester, in the county of Essex, Great Britain, Anno Domini 1677. His parents, who were members of the Society of Friends, carefully instructed him in the religious principles which they professed, but their pecuniary resources did not enable them to bestow upon their son more than the rudiments of learning, as taught in the lower order of English schools.

At an early period of his youth, he was placed an apprentice with a glass-maker, in whose service he continued for some time. Before, however, he had attained his nineteenth year, he abandoned his employment, and went to reside on a farm in the country of his father. In this situation he regained until the independence which the age of manhood confers, permitted him to gratify the leading inclination of his mind, which withdrew him from the interesting and innocent employments of agriculture, to encounter the hardships and perils of a sailor's life.

Whilst thus employed, he visited various sections of the globe. In a memorandum, extant, he relates that he served eighteen months on board a ship of four hundred tons burden, in a voyage to Scanderoon; and it is probable that during the stay of the vessel at that port, he made an excursion to the interior of Syria; for he often related, among other incidents connected with his ocean-wandering, that he had visited the memorable spot, where the Saviour of the World conversed with the woman of Samaria; and had refreshed himself by a draught of water from *Jacob's well*. His maritime employment terminated in 1710, when he was married to one of his country women, and settled in the town of his nativity. But little is known concerning him during several years of this part of his life; excepting that he appears to have taken an interest in some of the public topics and controversies, by which the close of the seventeenth, and commencement of the eighteenth centuries, were distinguished. He presented, in person, to George the First, and Second, a copy of *John Milton's* pamphlet, entitled "*Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hedings out of the Church*;" and on the occasion of the last of these interviews, he was admitted to a private audience of the royal family. To what extent, and in what manner, he participated in the contests of the times, cannot now be ascertained with certainty. It is fair to presume, however, that he exceeded the bounds which limited his brethren in religious community; for in the year 1717, they were induced to disunite him from membership among them; and as no charge of immoral conduct was ever preferred against him, this measure is probably to be attributed to the part which he took in the controversies just mentioned.

In 1718, at the age of forty-one years, he removed from his native land to the island of Barbadoes, and there established himself in mercantile business. Here he is exhibited in a new and interesting field of action, in which he appears to have taken a bold and decided part. At this period, the African slave trade was carried on, if possible, with more intense cruelty, than at any previous or subsequent stage of its uniformly iniquitous history. The treatment to which unhappy victims of avarice were subjected in the service of their masters, in the plantations of the West India islands, furnished a melancholy proof of the application of human ingenuity, exerted in the contrivance of the most barbarous punishments, —as well as the absence of all compassion, from the hearts of those whose mandate directed, and whose power inflicted them. Thus a witness of scenes which were calculated to excite the keenest sensibility, and awaken the tenderest sympathy of human nature, Benjamin Lay became singularly enlightened, in relation to the injustice and oppression exercised toward the people of Africa. From that moment, every faculty of his mind was exerted, to render odious, not only in the opinion of the community in which he lived, but among mankind universally, a traffic which begot so much crime—entailed so much misery—and threatened such awful retribution from the Omnipotent and righteous Parent of the whole human family.

> "Justum, et tenacem propositi virum,
> Non civium ardor prava jubentium
> Non vultus instantis tyranni
> Mente quatit solida." HORACE.

We now find this philanthropic advocate of the oppressed, fearlessly engaged in public and private admonition with all who were in any degree implicated in the crime of enslaving their species; and whilst he zealously pleaded with the oppressor for the extinction of slavery, he was equally conspicuous for the practical benevolence which he manifested toward the subjects of his compassion. Whenever he met the slaves of the island, he noticed them with kindness and cordial entreaty. Their sorrows he commiserated—they acquainted with his views and exertions in their favor; and as an evidence of gratitude to their benefactor, they came from the neighboring farms on the Sabbath day, and assembled around his house in the town, to the number of many hundreds; and he then had an opportunity of conveying to them suitable advice, and also of furnishing them, gratuitously, with simple and wholesome food, as liberally as his restricted pecuniary resources would allow. In this practical he continued, until popular clamor was raised against him, and he was deemed even the melancholy satisfaction of showing his tenderness for those whose sufferings, at most, he could only mitigate. In proportion to the steadiness and determination of his testimony against memo bondage was the hostility of those who were enriched by its existence. Their opposition to his total Christian principles at length became so violent, that after having endured the conflict for several years and perceiving a prospect of effecting no change in the conduct of the slaveholders, he resolved to seek an asylum in another country. This resolution, which communicated to his wife, she entirely approved. Her mind was deeply affected with the subject of slavery: and *Barbadoes, long be remembered there she might be heard, lamenting the cruelty of the inhabitants, which was* [illegible] *pride and oppression.*" After having resided thirteen years in Barbadoes, he came to Philadelphia [illegible]

Having followed him to the shores of our own country, it may be proper before proceeding further in our history, to furnish a description of his person and appearance, for his physical organization was in no respect unlike the qualities of his mind. He was rather small in stature, his face was much marked with the pitting of the small pox, and his health was delicate. His head was large in proportion to his body; the features of his face were remarkable, and boldly delineated, and his countenance was grave and benignant. He was hunchbacked, with a projecting chest, below which his body became much contracted. His legs were so slender, as to appear almost unequal to the purpose of supporting him; diminutive as his frame was, in comparison with the ordinary size of the human stature. A limp he had contracted, of standing in a twisted position, with one hand resting on his left hip, added to the effect produced by a large white beard, that for many years had not been shaved, contributed to render his figure perfectly unique. It is singular that his wife very much resembled him in size, and had a crooked back like her husband. The similarity of their appearance even excited the remarks of the slaves in Barbadoes; who used to say when they saw them together, "*Yar dat Buckerawa? mass, you all over world, seer for dat buckerawa woman for himself.*"

On his arrival in Pennsylvania, it was soon discovered that his character was eccentric. The practice of holding slaves was general in the province, though they were treated more mildly than their debased countrymen in the West Indies. Lay was, however, established in the process that the odious system of slavery was altogether unrighteous; and with the same zeal with which he had begun, he continued to reprove the members of his society who participated in the custom. His independence of opinion, and freedom of expression, rendered him a less welcome emigrant than those who could quietly approve, or openly adopt the habits of the times; and his sentiments met with vigorous opposition from every quarter. Thus this champion of justice, of human rights, and reformation, found himself again an almost solitary combatant, in a field where prejudice and avarice had marshalled their combined forces against him. His disappointment at being thus received in Philadelphia, the very manner of which promised tranquillity and repose to his long afflicted heart, gave a new, and as was at first supposed, a misanthropic determination to his mind. His intention, when he left Barbadoes, was to have resided in the city; but he now resolved to fix his residence in a more retired situation in the country.

Conformably with this plan, he procured a few acres of land, situate between Germantown and the Old York road, about six miles north of Philadelphia, and not far distant from the present village of Milestone. On the usual spot of his choice, he built a cottage, resembling, in its construction, a cave, planted a small orchard, and for utility and ornament, cultivated near the front of his humble dwelling several walnut trees, which remain venerable and living monuments of the place of his first habitation in Pennsylvania.

Having completed his use, he removed to it in 1732. Here he lived in the very simplest manner. He drank nothing but water and milk, and often subsisted entirely on acorns, chestnuts, and cold boiled potatoes. The reason of his abjuring animal food was, he used to observe: A cow-boy offer came into his garden, and destroyed his vegetables. Vexed beyond what was usual with his loving nature, he slew the troublesome animal, and nailed its quarters at the four corners of the garden. This hasty proceeding so deeply affected the good man's conscience, that he never after would use any article for food or clothing, that was procured at the expense of animal life. He went barefooted after this, and used to wear a low coat and trowsers, of his own spinning, of the natural color, often very much darned. As he never shaved, it may well be imagined that he made a singular appearance; but we have the testimony of his cotemporaries, that "his countenance bespoke innocency and righteousness."

Nothing could induce him to use any article that was, in the remotest degree, the product of slave labor.

Thus purified, by what he conceived to be obligatory and necessary to qualify him for the great duty assigned him, he went forth with fresh animation to disseminate his principles. Excepting the time requisite for procuring food and raiment, he was wholly devoted to the inculcation of his doctrines; and for the promotion of them, he visited several of the governors of the neighboring provinces, as well as other influential characters, in Church and State. He omitted no opportunity to endeavor to interest every one with whom he met, in the benevolent work he had undertaken; and to effect this, he adopted various means, some of which were so extravagant as to induce the belief that his intellect was partially diseased. Although he had been disowned from membership with the Society of Friends at an early period of his life, yet he always avowed their principles, and was attached to them as a religious community: but he could not endure the idea, that, professing as they did, it was proper that any of them should hold their fellow-beings in bondage; hence, he appears to have directed the most energetic and unceasing assaults upon them.

The following facts will show some of the modes he adopted, to convince the Society of Friends, and others, of the inoperacity of their practice. At one of their yearly meetings, held at Burlington, in New Jersey, Lay proceeded to that city. Having previously prepared a sufficient quantity of the juice of the poke-berry (Phytolacca decandra) to fill a bladder, he contrived to conceal it within the cover of a large folio volume, the leaves of which were removed. He then put on a military coat, and belted a small sword by his side; over the whole of this dress he threw his great coat, which was made in the most simple manner, and secured it with a leathern strap or single button. Thus equipped, he entered the house, and deliberately walked up to the platform for the ministers, which is raised three or four steps above the floor, and seated himself on the steps, between the men and women, facing the congregation. The meeting were sitting in silence. In a short time he arose and addressed them thus:—

"Oh, all you negro-masters, who are outwardly holding your fellow-creatures in a state of slavery, during life, well knowing the cruel sufferings, the innocent captives undergo in their state of bondage; both in those North American colonies, and in the West India islands; you must know they are not made slaves by any direct law, but are held by an arbitrary and self-interested custom in which you participate. And especially you, who profess to *do unto all men as ye would they should do unto you*"—*where are the witnesses for God, in your families, who are superior to the influence of such causes, and resumed his labors of benevolence with augmented assiduity. He continued to publish and circulate essays on the subject of slavery, and sought for occasions, both publicly and privately, to speak of its injustice. For this purpose he attended all places of public worship, without regard to the religious professions of their congregations. On one occasion, he walked into the Oxford church, with a mantle of sack-cloth wrapped round him, and stood attentively listening to the sermon which was preached. When the services of the morning were over, Lay thus began an address to the congregation: "*I do not approve of all the minister has said, but I did not come here to find fault with the preaching; I come to cry aloud against your practice of slaveholding.*" In all the places of worship which he thus visited, he used the same freedom. Sometimes his addresses were so long and vehement, that a portion of his hearers would carry him out of the house; a proceeding to which he always submitted without opposition. At the Monthly meeting of Friends he was an frequent attendant. At that time, many members of the society were slaveholders. Benjamin gave no peace to any one of that description. As sure as any such character attempted to speak to the business of the meeting, he would start to his feet, and cry out, "There's another negro-master!"*

(To be concluded next week.)

From the Leeds Mercury, Jan. 8th, 1842.

THE IRISH SLAVE.

On the 23d ultimo, a public meeting was held at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; R. Walters, Esq. in the chair, to memorialize the Queen against the Chinese war. The proceedings were of an earnest and decided character, and the resolutions unanimously adopted, from which we make a short extract:—

"Under a deep sense of the manifold evils inseparable from war, and especially in it as a relic of ancient barbarism, and deeply lamenting its occurrence under whatever circumstances; we humbly entreat your Majesty's attention to China, the most ancient, the most populous, and till lately, the pacific empire in the world—12,000 miles distant from England, now suffering from the terrible scourge of war, inflicted by the ministers of your Majesty.

"This is the first time for many ages that China has been visited by fire, sword, and rapine, by a foreign people.

"The attempts of a few unprincipled English merchants, (men unworthy of this honorable title,) to force smuggled opium, a poisonous drug, upon the Chinese government, in spite of the most earnest protestations of the government, has drawn down this mean and atrocious war upon three hundred millions of our fellow-creatures, and fellow-heirs of immortality.

"The sufferers are heathen—the invaders are Christians. What a hopeless prospect does this spectacle afford of the extension of the pure and blessed principles of the gospel among one-third of the human family!"

The above sentiments will find a response in many hearts. This war is in opposition to the sense of the best portion of the community. The present government is supposed to be opposed to it, and have likely received considerable remonstrances out of the sum received as the ransom of Canton. We should like to see further evidence of their determination to carry out that it is not even in the full tide of naval and military successes, to be a national disgrace.

THE VOICE WITHIN, THAT SPEAKS TO ALL WHO REVERENTLY LISTEN.

In the early days of the Methodist church, though the sentiment against slavery uttered itself strongly, there were some preachers, recently converted who still held slaves; but they felt so much of God in them in peace in their sin. A striking instance of which we find in the life of the Rev. Freeborn Garretson. Having lost his first manumission, by a flood of tears, and being in great distress, he writes:—

"I continued reading the Bible till eight, and then, under a sense of duty, called the family together for prayer. I read a long book of prayers, and in the act of giving out a hymn, this thought powerfully struck my mind: 'It is not right for you to keep your fellow-creatures in bondage; you must go home and free your slaves.' I knew this to be the same blessed voice which had spoken to me before—till then I had never suspected that the practice of slave holding was wrong; I had never thought much on the subject, nor had been told so by any—I paused a minute, and then replied: 'Lord, the oppressed shall go free!' And I was as clear of them in my mind, as if I never owned one. I told them they did not belong to me, that I did not desire their services without making them compensation. It was now as liberty to proceed in worship. After singing, I kneeled to pray. Had I the tongue of an angel, I could not fully describe what I felt; all my dejection, and that immensity of gloom which preyed upon me, vanished in a moment, and a divine sweetness ran through my whole frame. It was God, not man, that taught me the impropriety of holding slaves; and I felt I never could give praise him enough for it. My very heart has bled since that for slaveholders; especially those who make a profession of religion. For I believe it to be a crying sin."

From Mr. Taylor's Lecture before the Mechanics' Institute, N. Y.

THE IGNORANT VOTER.

Look at the ignorant man! Strong in muscle, fistic in his mode of life, he knows not without eyes; the slave of appetite; the dupe of the quack, the thrall of the fanatic; the creature of impulses and impressions; the passive instrument of those who flatter upon his weakness. An ignorant man voting! Holding in his hands a ballot he cannot read; carrying it towards the unimposted ballot-box, to drop it into the nation's sovereign! Let us see your relation to that man? "He is a partner in this political firm; you cannot withdraw from it, or throw him out;" his lot is your lot; his fate is your fate; his ignorance is like a blind physician who goes up to the sick bed with a great club—he strikes—he may hit the disease, he may hit the patient.—Applause and laughter;—And how many blows do you dodge, annually, through the ballot-box? How long can we continue to dodge these? If we do not educate this tremendous power, the ignorant, like the giant of Samson, so far from being our protection, it will but serve to bring upon our heads, this temple of our ancestors.—[Loud applause.] Let us see, then, what is the extent of ignorance, but look out that we break not down, midway in our career.

A FAIR HIT.

The following is too good to be lost. It was written on the wrapper of a newspaper, that passed through our post-office a few days since. The Postmaster General must promulgate some new regulation to prevent the transmission of intelligence by means of newspapers, or give up beat.

"The wrapper forms no part of the package, neither is postage paid thereon." P. G.

EZRA D. BARNES, ESQ.

Bavon, Michigan.

One Paper.

"Now I wish to have it understood by all the postmaster's along the route between here and away out in Michigan—that every man, woman, or child, who may happen to be Reyiur, from grandmother to little *babe*, and also that there is no 'writing within the wrapper, or on the margin of it but my name, and other memoranda—nevertheless, I open it, upon him of Byron to tear off the wrapper and examine it, lest there should be something else in it. Your brother, a little south of Uncle Jake Comouse's,—we had *poor* sleighing, but very *fat* turkeys, Thanksgiving day—a long night and a short morning—I'm off for Indiana—Merry Christmas—a good deal of wind and some weather, New Year's day *balls*, jugling and *ballet* dancing through the evening—many *scarlet* fevers—post-office circulars freely ever since." *Buffalo Com.*

ANECDOTE OF JOHN WESLEY.

In the course of a voyage to America, Wesley, hearing an unusual noise in the cabin by General Oglethorpe, (the Governor of Georgia, with whom he had already assigned a part of his time,) of which the general immediately addressed him: "Mr. Wesley you must excuse me, I have met with a prodigious rare specimen of a fly, I have got yet, the only wine I drank in Cyprus wine, as it agrees with me the best of any. I therefore provided myself with a bottle, and have kept it for a curiosity. Now, Sir, I have shut up the fly in the bottle, and I am

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his foreign servant, who was present, and almost dead with fear,) has drunk up the whole of it. But I will be revenged of him. I have ordered him to be tied and carried to the mast-head of the vessel, which sails with us. The rascal should have taken care how he used me so, for *I never forgave*."

"Then I hope Sir (said Mr. Wesley, looking calmly at him,) you *never sin*." The general was quite confounded at the reproof; and putting his hand into his pocket, took out a bunch of keys, which he threw at Grimaldi, and said, "There, villain, take my keys, and behave better for the future."

AND DOTES.

A BRIGHT BOY.—There is a boy in Salem so bright, that his mother has to look at him through a piece of stained glass.—*N. Y. Herald.*

THE SCHOOLMASTER ABROAD.—There is a sign board at Hornby, in the State of Maine, on which is written "*Boonetism Room Here.*" The Doctor says it must be by a *spell*.

RIVAL CLAIMS.—"Ah, John Slocomb, my uncle has been in New-York and your's too!" "Well, what of that? my uncle has been in jail, and your's hasn't."

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.—Corporal punishments have generally a hardening effect on the minds of bold and wicked men. A gentleman brought up his son, to whom he was very severe, to his own trade. One day the old Vulcan was attempting to harden a cold chisel, but could not succeed to his satisfaction; it, father," exclaimed the youth; "if that will not do it, nothing will."

A LAND-LUBBER.—"Let go the jib there! Let go that jib quick!" bawled an eastern skipper to a green hand, who was just coming out in a squall. "I'm sure I touching yer jib," replied honest Jonathan.

THE IRISHMAN'S CAT.—A short time ago, a poor Irishman applied at the Churchwarden's office of Manchester for relief; and upon some doubt being expressed as to whether he was a proper object for parochial charity, enforced his suit with much earnestness:

"Och, yer honor," said he, "sure I'll be starved long since, but for my cat."

"But for what?" asked his astonished interrogator.

"My cat?" rejoined the Irishman.

"Your cat! how so?"

"Shure, your honor, I sold her eleven times, for sixpence, and she was always at home before I'd get there myself!"

MR. CLAY AND MR. CALHOUN.—An anecdote is told of the meeting of Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun after the former retired from the Senate, which shows their political strife, though it may be for a while denden the finer feelings of the heart, cannot destroy them, especially in those hearts that heat with generous and manly sensibilities. As Mr. Clay was passing towards the door to leave the Senate chamber, Mr. Calhoun met him—they had not spoken to each other for five years—but they now simultaneously extended to their hands; neither spoke, but both wept. At length Mr. Clay said, on parting, "Give my best regards to Mrs. Calhoun."—How much more noble was this reconciliation and parting, than if they had separated looking defiance at each other! They had almost spent their lives together in Congress, and at various times stood as leaders in the Senate. Time had passed over them, and the young had become old. One was about to retire, and both must ere long, "sleep the sleep that knows no waking." The statesmanship of the one would leave the other with no companion or rival of his younger days, and it told him emphatically that he too must follow. Thoughts like these soften the heart and make the eyes dim, and cause the fountain of generous feeling to gush forth.

Miscellaneous Items.

BLOODY AFFRAY.—An affray took place in Macon, Georgia, on the night of the 23d of March, which resulted in the death of two individuals, and the wounding of four others. It appears that some difficulty occurred between a constable named Dukes, and a man named Sumers. Dukes was standing on the side walk, when he was assailed with abusive language, and drawn from his place of rest by an armed himself with a gun, a fight ensued, and several guns were fired by the parties and the friends. Dukes received a full charge of buck and goose shot in his breast and arms, and his recovery is thought doubtful. A respectable mechanic, named M. E. Hobard, received three balls, and died instantly. A bystander named Jones, received a charge of shot in his abdomen, and has since died. Two others, named John Welch and ——Doster, were also dangerously wounded. Sumers and his brother had no participation in the affray. Sumers and his brother were arrested.

THE MURDERER DISCHARGED.—Our readers will not have forgotten the murder of *Mr. Arnell*, in the Chancellor's village, N. Y. Vineyard, by a rather mean character, *James R. Vineyard*. We learn that the murderer has been discharged on bail—Judge Dunn, before whom the application for a writ of *habeas corpus* was made, refused to bail Vineyard in bail in the sum of $20,000—ten thousand as principal, and ten thousand as surety.

DEBTS DUE FROM AMERICAN STATES.—We understand that very decisive measures are about to be adopted for the recovery of debts due by states of the American Union to British subjects. Mr. R. Chrichton Wyllie, himself a creditor, authorized by other holders of American securities to represent them, has embarked in the Columbia steamer for New-York. His first object will doubtless be to resist and counteract the dangerous doctrine of the repudiation of debts by the American Union and States. The amount of British money invested in American State bonds, banks, canal, and railroad shares, is from 20 to 25 millions.

LUCKY.—The Secretary of the Treasury has contrived to be very ready for the April interest on the national debt.

SINGULAR INVESTMENT.—We were told a few days since, that there is a wealthy individual in this community who is owner, by purchase, of sixty-nine pews! Of these, 17 are in the Episcopal church, 3 Unitarian, 12 in Trinitarian; 2 in Roman Catholic; 9 in Universalist; 6 in Episcopalian, and 16 in Methodist. We understand that these pews was about $60 each, and he has derived an average interest on the cost, of 11 per cent. This is not only a singular investment, but if we have been correctly informed, a more profitable one than we would have been led to suppose.—*Concord Freeman.*

A LOST CHILD.—Among the incidents connected with the late fire in Delancey street, New-York, the following may not be altogether unworthy of publication. A little girl belonging to a poor Irish family in Henry street, after school hours on Thursday, was dismissed as usual. She sought her home, but found no trace of her parents, till night closed in; she wandered about the streets, and knowing, seeking for her parents, till night closed in; when her sobs attracted attention, and she was conveyed to the station house, where she was, and made comfortable for the night. In the morning, if we understood aright, she could not tell the names of her parents. Her father worked in a shop, and an aunt lived in Brooklyn; the distance from which was unacquainted with. When the proper hour arrived she was conveyed to the school-house, as the only place she could be found at, by her parents; and when we last heard from her, she was under the care of one of the teachers, who was endeavoring to trace out those to whom the lost child belonged.

FIRE.—The loss by the three fires which lately raged at the south-eastern and northern parts of New-York is estimated at $250,000, insurance $150,000.

ENTERPRISE IN ALL QUARTERS.—Africans of different tribes, have lately visited the British West Indies to inquire into the prospect of emigration. Some of them came from Sierra Leone, by the British Emigration Society. They were so well pleased, and considered the prospect good. This colony is found to be in great demand, and the climate has generally proved deadly to Irish and other European emigrants.

POISON.—A child of Mr. Webber, of Fox st. R I was poisoned to death, by eating the caps from the ends of a bunch of fraction matches.

A LAZY AGRICULTURALIST.—We learn from the Kennebec Agricultural Society, that at the last meeting of the society, Mr. Hains, claimed and received the premiums for the best crop of Indian corn and wheat. The yield of corn was eighty-five bushels of ears to the acre, and of wheat 28 bushels. There were a number of corn

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FREE-LABOR GOODS,

At Wholesale and Retail.

CALICOES small and large figures; 4-4, 5-4, and 6-4 unbleached Muslins; do. do. do. bleached Muslins; super Manchester Ginghams; 3-4 and 4-4 colored Muslins; 7-8 and 4-4 Bed Tickings; Canton Flannels, bleached and unbleached; Cotton Laps and Waddings, low priced; Cotton Yarns, bleached and colored Knitting Cotton; Cotton Yarn; Manchester Stripe, for negro wear; Apron Checks and Furniture Checks. Also, a full assortment of Ladies' Cambric Handkerchiefs, Linen Sheetings and Shirtings, Grass Cloth Hilkfs., Mousla de Laines and Silks.

Persons from a distance, (store-keepers in particular,) wishing any of the above goods can have them sent, by forwarding their orders, and at the lowest prices at which they can be afforded.

N. B.—The above cotton goods are all warranted to be *free from Slave Labor*. Persons wishing to purchase can have full evidence of the fact.

CHARLES WISE,
N. W. corner of Arch and Fifth streets
Philadelphia, 1st mo., 13th, 1842.

FREE LABOR DRY GOODS.

Manufactured by American Free Produce Associations

4-4 Stout muslin bleached and unbleached; furniture checks, 4 qualities and prices; apron checks, do. do. 7-4 and 8-4 table diaper, (huckaback,) bleached and unbleached; 7-4 and 8-4 table diaper, (bird's-eye,) bleached and unbleached; bird's-eye cotton towellins; bed ticking; pantaloons stuffs, yellow striped; Manchester ginghams; various patterns and two qualities; canton flannel, bleached and unbleached; wadding, black and white; cotton laps, &c. for sale retail by LYDIA WHITE, No. 24 North Second street, and wholesale by D. L. MILLER Jr. 20 Arch street, and W. C. BETTS, 43 Cherry street.

In addition to the above, the association is now having made colored cambrics, new's half hose, women's stockings, cotton fringe, cord, calicoes, Marseilles quilts patterns.

LYDIA WHITE,
D. L. MILLER, Jr.
W. C. BETTS.

Philadelphia, 3d mo. 31, 1842.

Paper Hangings and Borders

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL,

N. E. corner of Arch and Seventh-streets, Philadelphia.

THE subscriber informs his friends and the public, that he keeps constantly on hand, plain and fancy Paper Hangings, suitable for churches, entries, parlors, dining rooms and chambers, of the most approved patterns and colors, and from the best manufactories; also, a large and well selected assortment of Paper, and an extensive assortment of Fire Screens.

Country merchants supplied on reasonable terms.

Paper put up at short notice, and warranted.

WILLIAM W. CANSLER.

April 14th, 1842.

Removal.

VAN RENSSELAER'S TEMPERANCE EATING HOUSE, No. 122 Water-street, opposite George Brown's Auction Hotel.

The proprietor of this old establishment has removed to 122 Water-street, a few doors above Wall, near the former location.

His refreshments are of the *first quality*, and his prices are in accordance with the times.

New-York, April 14th, 1842.

Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw.

One hundred copies of Mrs. Trollope's "Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw," have been imported from Europe and are for sale at the *Anti-Slavery Office*, No. 31, North Fifth street, Philadelphia; and at 143 Nassau st., N. York.

This work has long been in reputation where our slavery prejudices come in the crucible of the judgment, as a work of remarkable truth and power. The following from the Philadelphia Gazette, is the tone of a mandatory notices, which hailed its first appearance,

"This book is exceedingly clever, and surpasses in vigor the most popular novels published. Her dialogues are full of spirit, and bear the genuine impress of peculiarities of valiant American dialect. In fact, in many parts of J. J. Whitlaw, she fairly emulates the matchless power of the best novel-writers in our language."

Philadelphia, March 3d, 1842.

PHILADELPHIA ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE,
No. 31, *North Fifth street.*

The National Anti-Slavery Standard, will be issued regularly from this office at $2 per annum, if paid in advance; $2.50 if not paid within six months; $3 if not paid within the year; or six copies for one dollar. Two copies for $3 if paid in advance; $4 if not paid within six months; $5 if not paid within the year. Six copies for $10 if paid in advance; $12 if not paid within six months; $15 if not paid within the year. Six copies for $10 if paid in advance will pay for six copies for one year; $20 if not paid within six months; $25 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $20 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $40 if not paid within six months; $50 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $40 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $80 if not paid within six months; $100 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $80 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $160 if not paid within six months; $200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $160 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $320 if not paid within six months; $400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $320 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $640 if not paid within six months; $800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $640 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $1280 if not paid within six months; $1600 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $1280 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $2560 if not paid within six months; $3200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $2560 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $5120 if not paid within six months; $6400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $5120 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $10240 if not paid within six months; $12800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $10240 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $20480 if not paid within six months; $25600 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $20480 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $40960 if not paid within six months; $51200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $40960 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $81920 if not paid within six months; $102400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $81920 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $163840 if not paid within six months; $204800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $163840 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $327680 if not paid within six months; $409600 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $327680 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $655360 if not paid within six months; $819200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $655360 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $1310720 if not paid within six months; $1638400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $1310720 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $2621440 if not paid within six months; $3276800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $2621440 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $5242880 if not paid within six months; $6553600 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $5242880 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $10485760 if not paid within six months; $13107200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $10485760 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $20971520 if not paid within six months; $26214400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $20971520 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $41943040 if not paid within six months; $52428800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $41943040 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $83886080 if not paid within six months; $104857600 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $83886080 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $167772160 if not paid within six months; $209715200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $167772160 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $335544320 if not paid within six months; $419430400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $335544320 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $671088640 if not paid within six months; $838860800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $671088640 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $1342177280 if not paid within six months; $1677721600 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $1342177280 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $2684354560 if not paid within six months; $3355443200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $2684354560 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $5368709120 if not paid within six months; $6710886400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $5368709120 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $10737418240 if not paid within six months; $13421772800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $10737418240 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $21474836480 if not paid within six months; $26843545600 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $21474836480 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $42949672960 if not paid within six months; $53687091200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $42949672960 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $85899345920 if not paid within six months; $107374182400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $85899345920 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $171798691840 if not paid within six months; $214748364800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $171798691840 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $343597383680 if not paid within six months; $429496729600 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $343597383680 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $687194767360 if not paid within six months; $858993459200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $687194767360 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $1374389534720 if not paid within six months; $1717986918400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $1374389534720 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $2748779069440 if not paid within six months; $3435973836800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $2748779069440 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $5497558138880 if not paid within six months; $6871947673600 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $5497558138880 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $10995116277760 if not paid within six months; $13743895347200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $10995116277760 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $21990232555520 if not paid within six months; $27487790694400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $21990232555520 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $43980465111040 if not paid within six months; $54975581388800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $43980465111040 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $87960930222080 if not paid within six months; $109951162777600 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $87960930222080 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $175921860444160 if not paid within six months; $219902325555200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $175921860444160 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $351843720888320 if not paid within six months; $439804651110400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $351843720888320 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $703687441776640 if not paid within six months; $879609302220800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $703687441776640 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $1407374883553280 if not paid within six months; $1759218604441600 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $1407374883553280 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $2814749767106560 if not paid within six months; $3518437208883200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $2814749767106560 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $5629499534213120 if not paid within six months; $7036874417766400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $5629499534213120 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $11258999068426240 if not paid within six months; $14073748835532800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $11258999068426240 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $22517998136852480 if not paid within six months; $28147497671065600 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $22517998136852480 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $45035996273704960 if not paid within six months; $56294995342131200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $45035996273704960 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $90071992547409920 if not paid within six months; $112589990684262400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $90071992547409920 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $180143985094819840 if not paid within six months; $225179981368524800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $180143985094819840 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $360287970189639680 if not paid within six months; $450359962737049600 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $360287970189639680 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $720575940379279360 if not paid within six months; $900719925474099200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $720575940379279360 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $1441151880758558720 if not paid within six months; $1801439850948198400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $1441151880758558720 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $2882303761517117440 if not paid within six months; $3602879701896396800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $2882303761517117440 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $5764607523034234880 if not paid within six months; $7205759403792793600 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $5764607523034234880 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $11529215046068469760 if not paid within six months; $14411518807585587200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $11529215046068469760 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $23058430092136939520 if not paid within six months; $28823037615171174400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $23058430092136939520 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $46116860184273879040 if not paid within six months; $57646075230342348800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $46116860184273879040 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $92233720368547758080 if not paid within six months; $115292150460684697600 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $92233720368547758080 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $184467440737095516160 if not paid within six months; $230584300921369395200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $184467440737095516160 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $368934881474191032320 if not paid within six months; $461168601842738790400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $368934881474191032320 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $737869762948382064640 if not paid within six months; $922337203685477580800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $737869762948382064640 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $1475739525896764129280 if not paid within six months; $1844674407370955161600 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $1475739525896764129280 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $2951479051793528258560 if not paid within six months; $3689348814741910323200 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $2951479051793528258560 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $5902958103587056517120 if not paid within six months; $7378697629483820646400 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $5902958103587056517120 if paid in advance will pay for twenty copies for one year; $11805916207174113034240 if not paid within six months; $14757895384352275808800 if not paid within the year. Twenty copies for $11805916207174113034