National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SIDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR.

Without Concealment....Without Compromise.

EDMUND QUINCY,
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } CORRESPONDING EDITORS.

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CELEBRATION AT ABINGTON,

JULY 4, 1850.

At the time appointed, a long train of cars left the Old Colony Depot for the beautiful pine grove, at Abington, receiving frequent accessions along the line of railroad. The morning was glorious, threatening, and, for some days previous, the weather had been unsettled—undoubtedly detaining many more at home, who, in spirit, were with us on that occasion. But before the meeting had very far advanced, the clouds broke away, and the sun shone out gloriously, adding brilliancy and effect to the interesting and exciting scenes—sparkling upon the bright waves of the beautiful little lake, on the shores of which the grove is situated, lighting up all faces with gladness and giving assurance that the proceedings of the day would not be rendered memorable by the disagreeable appendage of a dripping garment.

The Chair was taken at 11 o'clock, by FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq., of Boston. A committee to nominate officers was then chosen, who nominated the following gentlemen:—

For President—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

For Vice Presidents—Francis Jackson, of Boston; Bourne Spooner, of Plymouth; Edmund Quincy, of Dedham; Samuel May, Jr., of Abington; Edward E. Bennett, of N. Bridgewater; Elias Richards, of Weymouth.

For Secretaries—Samuel May, Jr., of Boston; John Dick, of Rochester, N. Y.

For Finance Committee—Joshua T. Everett, of Princeton; Lewis Ford, of Abington; Nathaniel B. Spooner, of Plymouth; Ethridge Sprague, of Abington; John H Crane, of Blackstone; Austin Bearse, of Barnstable.

These nominations were put to vote, and accepted by the meeting.

Mr. Garrison then read passages from one of the prophets, singularly applicable to the present condition and character of the American people. One of the songs selected for the day was then sung, giving to the breeze, on Independence Day, the living, but unusual sounds of deliverance to the captive, and hope to the oppressed.

Having called Francis Jackson to the Chair, Mr. GARRISON read the following resolution, and proceeded to address the meeting in its support:—

Resolved, that the most revolting spectacle of wickedness, the most astonishing exhibition of hypocrisy, ever witnessed, is seen this day on the part of our nation, which, while proclaiming it to be self-evident truth that all men are created equal, and endowed with an inalienable right to liberty, is holding in the galling fetters of chattel Slavery three millions of its inhabitants; and which while celebrating its seventy-fifth jubilee in honor of those who achieved its independence, is avowing with reproach that any proclaimer of liberty who are peacefully laboring for the overthrow of a bondage one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which our fathers rose in rebellion to oppose.

Mr. Garrison began by remarking, that for whatever of personal, religious or political interest the day enjoyed, let us be thankful to God, and remember with gratitude the sacrifices and struggles of those who dared to grapple with oppression, that they and their posterity might be free. It was something—it was much—to be living under a government in which neither sedition nor rebellion is recognized even in the strongest denunciations against the freest utterance of sentiments hostile to its existence. By the Constitution of the United States—objectionable as that instrument is on many grounds—freedom of speech is secured to any extent in opposition to the laws of the land, and to the entire modification or abrogation of the Constitution itself. Treason cannot be committed by the tongue: it is not to be found in words, however inflammatory, but in deeds—in deeds clearly defined. It is an overt act—either taking up arms to resist the government, or giving aid and comfort to the enemy in time of war, by furnishing him with information or supplies. Not a government in the Old World is free or popular enough to grant any such indulgence—not even that of France, though in form a republic.

In the free States, the Constitution of the country, in this particular, has ever been duly honored, so far as local legislation is concerned. In none of them is it a law to be found, abridging freedom of speech or of the press, touching any institution or custom. Hence the numerous refuges that have disgraced the North, in regard to and to free discussion, and to overawe the advocates of noplatable doctrines. Those who feel that they cannot meet the arguments of the Abolitionists with arguments, that they are on the wrong side, have frequently become furiously excited, and endeavored to create a reaction against their cause by calling upon the governments to destroy what they so much dreaded, for the time being,—freedom of debate.

In the slaveholding States, the case is very different. There, the Slave Power exercises complete sovereignty over the Constitution, and nullifies its provisions *ad libitum*. There, freedom of speech and of the press is not tolerated any more than it is in Austria or Russia—and essentially for the same reason. There, language is declared to be seditious, and entering certain sentiments, or printing or circulating certain publications, the offender is in peril of his life.

Seventy-four years have fled since the Declaration of Independence was made to the world. During that period, we have grown immensely in population, in wealth, in military and naval power. From thirteen, we have multiplied to thirty States; from three millions to more than twenty millions. Our domains are extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In commerce, in the arts and sciences, in enterprise and power, we have advanced beyond historical precedent.

But what has been our growth, during the same period, in virtue, in true piety, in a generous love of impartial liberty? For, it, in these particulars, we have grown at all, we must have grown rotten, and are all the more swiftly ripening for destruction,—then commerce, wealth, population, extent of territory, will only serve as additional fuel to consume the slave.

A single statement will give a comprehensive reply to this inquiry.

We began with six slaveholding States, and have now fifteen—with five hundred thousand slaves, and have now more than three millions!

Mr. Garrison said he would proceed to contrast the spirit of liberty as it existed in the days of our revolutionary fathers, with the sentiments which are now manifested by our rulers in relation to human enslavement, in one half of the American Union. For this purpose, he read the following poem, which appeared in the *New England Chronicle*, published in Cambridge on the 18th of April, 1775, the day before the battle at Lexington:

TO THE AMERICANS.

THE DAY BEFORE THE BATTLE.

Ye Heirs of Freedom! glorious is your Cause;
Your ALL, your charter'd Liberty and Laws,
Are now at Stake—then lot the noble Fires
Which warm'd the bosoms of your godlike Sires,
Now fill your Souls with an heroic Flame,
To shield your Rights and gain immortal fame!
Great Liberty! Inspire each freeborn mind
With Ardor in THE CAUSE of *human kind*;
The Cause of Heaven, the great Concern of Earth—
The Cause of all who ever shall have birth.
Then this bright Day, shall ever be as they roll,
Who live from the World's Center to the Pole.
Americans! let man to man be join'd
In Freedom's Cause, the Country weal each mind
To meet the Tyrants, and their hostile Band
Drive from the crimson'd Field—and sweep the Land
Of every power that is not Freedom's friend
For empty Honor, or for sordid Gold,
Who would destroy the Freedom of the brave,
That His MEAN SELF might live a pensioned Slave
Death, direst in Horror, meets the guilty Great,
Who make his pomp purchased by the Peoples Sweat!
Not so the brave, the just, the good and wise,
Death is their passport to the blissful Skies
April 18, 1775.

This, then, was the spirit of '75. The struggle then commencing was regarded as the cause of all who ever shall live have birth,—not merely in this country, but of those "who live from the world's centre to the pole." New it is unblushingly maintained, that the extension and perpetuity of chattel Slavery was among the great purposes of the revolutionary conflict!

To show how incompatible slaveholding was deemed at that time with the principles of the Declaration of Independence, by individual slaveholders, Mr. Garrison related an anecdote of Dr. Moses Bloomfield, an eminent physician of New Jersey, who, at the termination of the war, made all haste to emancipate his slaves. The day selected for their liberation was the 4th July, 1783:

"The public meeting took place in the township of Woodbridge. Great preparations had been made; an ox was roasted, and the neighbors assembled to partake of it, and to listen to the orator of the day, Dr. Bloomfield, father of the late Governor Bloomfield, of New Jersey. After the dinner was ended, the orator mounted the platform, followed by all his slaves, fourteen in number, and set them down beside him on his left and seven on his right, while he addressed the multitude on the evils of Slavery. At the close of his speech, he turned to his left, stating that inasmuch as he, as a nation, had declared all men equal, he could not, consistently, hold slaves. Why, he asked, should these my fellow citizens be held in bondage? From this day they are free!

In the midst of the applause which followed, the Doctor called up to him one somewhat advanced in years. 'Hector,' said he, 'when you cannot support yourself, you are entitled to a maintenance from my property. When do you suppose you will need that assistance?'

The delighted negro held up his left hand, and with his right drew a line across the middle joint of his fingers. 'Massa, massa, as long as any of dese fingers are left above dese joints'

'There, fellow citizens,' said the Doctor, 'you see that liberty is as dear to the man of color as to you or me.'

Would to Heaven, (said Mr. Garrison,) that the words he then spoke might be echoed in this country! Would he inspired this day with the same redeeming spirit; so that, ere the setting of the sun, not a slave might be left to sigh for liberty on the American soil, and all might join in one universal shout of thanksgiving and praise! But what are the sentiments now avowed, even in the high places of power—the Capitol of the republic?

In the course of a speech delivered a few days since in Congress, Mr Brown of Mississippi said:—

'You may think Slavery an evil. Very well, think so; but *keep your thoughts to yourselves!* A most gracious permission, and a most reasonable requirement! 'You may think my reign an evil,' says the Russian Autocrat to his Polish victims; 'very well, think so; but *keep your thoughts to yourselves!* The language of despotism in all tyrannic ears is the same the world over. It is a great boon that our fathers secured to us by their blood, that we are to think freely among themselves, and that no law of any kind shall subject under heaven to be allowed to go undiscussed!

Mr. Wellhore, of Georgia, in a recent speech in the United States House of Representatives, coolly declared—'The dogma that ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL is a fundamental error!' And so our fathers waged a seven years' war against Great Britain to establish 'a mystical postulate'! All that they bequeathed to us was a mystical postulate'! All that we now enjoy, in consequence of their heroic deeds, is 'a mystical postulate'! And this is the progress we are making in the cause of universal freedom!

To illustrate the murderous spirit which prevails at the South, Mr. Garrison read extracts from southern newspapers, which go to that section of the country, in which it was declared, that any individual who dared to circulate Anti-Slavery tracts or newspapers among them ought legally to suffer the sight of God and man, of immediate death!—that 'the gallows and the stake await the Abolitionists who shall dare to appear in person among us'—that 'the very moment any private individual attempts to lecture us on the evils and immorality of Slavery, and the necessity of putting means in operation to secure us from them, in the same moment his tongue shall be cut out, and cast upon the dunghill'—that 'the tongue of the whole South should be dead, instant death to the Abolitionist, wherever he is caught'—that 'lashes will not hereafter be spared the backs of Northern emissaries' caught at the bloody 'tribunal' of Southern chivalry—that 'they will never return to tell their sufferings, but they shall expiate the crime of interfering with our domestic institutions, by being BURNED AT THE STAKE.'

Referring to the recent speech made at Charlestown, by the Hon. Edward Everett, on the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, Mr. Garrison said that, in the printing of it, there was one sentiment omitted, whether by accident or design he could not say, (laughter,) and that was the sentiment—(we merely quote the sentiment to be uttered before such an audience, on such an occasion. It was this:—'The blood of kings and princes is not better than the blood of the people.' Now, it was very easy, very safe, for Edward Everett to utter that opinion on the side of the Atlantic. He could, without peril, utter it—before declaring it, that it would be (as it was) loudly applauded. But, respected popular and eloquent as he is—surrounded as he is by troops of admiring and influential friends—if he would know precisely what are his rights under the Constitution, and test the value of his eloquence in the South, let him go there, (and he might take Daniel Webster with him, if he could get him,) and there proclaim—'The blood of the haughtiest kings is not better than that of the meanest slaves—and he would quickly discover that his safety depended upon the suddenness of his flight. Liberty and equality are for the white man, and for him only, irrespective of the color of the skin, except on peril of martyrdom. 'To this *complexion* it has come at last.'

Mr. Garrison here read several extracts from Southern Journals, defending Slavery as an institution divine in its origin, beneficent in its operation, and worthy of universal extension!!! A single specimen from the *Augusta* (Ga.) *Republic* must here suffice:—

'We wonder why, when we are not blinded to madness, to look into this holy, wise and merciful work of the beneficent Creator. And in defending the character of the Christian's God, as the author of Southern Slavery, we only ask that its history may be traced. . . . Not is the wisdom and mercy of God less conspicuous in the instances, in allowing these captive sons of Canaan to be transported from bondage in their own land of degradation and idolatry, to our country, where their enlightenment and religious opportunities would not only elevate their civil character, but secure to them gospel privileges, through which thousands of them have rejoiced in past ages, and thousands will rejoice in redeeming mercy, in every generation, down to the judgment day. . . . God has greatly improved the condition of Joseph, by providentially causing him to be brought into Egypt, and placed second to the steward of such a truest, we feel bound to take good care of our charge; and God forbid that the country of Yankee and British fanaticism should bring against us any iniquitous Pharaoh to wield the sceptre of oppression over them, and in after generations.'

Again:—

'Our slaves are greatly prospering, and the God of heaven has placed not only New, but Old Mexico, in such geographical and climatical juxtaposition to our sunny South, that I know not but when enlargement for our slaves may require. He who ever favored those walking under the banner of truth and righteousness, may open the way in peace and good will too, for his peculiar institution of Slavery, to carry its blessings full farther West.'

Ah, why, we ask, should it not be destined to pass over the battle-fields of Mexico to the Halls of the Montezumas, bearing hither the glorious gospel banner, whose motto is glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good will towards men? There is only to give to all classes access to the true religion, to raise the poor Peon to an equality with our slaves in point of religious privilege, by his abjuring his white fettered in superstition, and elevate him as a descendant of Japheth, to a position in the scale of intelligentality far above the poor negroes of which the sons of Canaan can ever rise, with God's prophetic doom stamped upon their physical and intellectual organs?

Where can impudence and impiety be found equal to this? Man-stealers and traffickers in human flesh boasting of their 'walking under the banner of truth and righteousness' while shouting while advocating eternal Slavery. 'Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good will toward men!'

But why dwell upon Southern devotion to their infernal slave system, and rabid hostility to the Anti-Slavery agitation? Has not Daniel Webster had the audacity to stand before the citizens of Boston, within a brief period, and declare—'The discussion of the subject of Slavery, in Congress and out of it, MUST BE SUPPRESSED!' Yes, our lips must be padlocked, our hearts unmoved, though we see millions of our countrymen bought, sold, enslaved, and sold in the market with cattle and swine! We must not, our *representatives* must not be allowed to discuss the question whether it is right to rob the mother of her babe, the husband of his wife, a larger population than fills New England of the marriage institution, and all hope of the sanctities of home, and yet be considered loyal? Such a discussion is detrimental to the business, prosperity and tranquility of the nation!!!

So much for the Fugitive Slave Surrender of the Constitution! How is it with the Northern Champions of the Church? Bishop Hedding says he finds the slaveholding Church in the Bible Code—'What sovereign we would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them!' Professor Stuart (the theological Nestor) says—'We have a right to hold slaves' in the fourth commandment of the Decalogue! And he roundly denies that the passages of Scripture, so often cited by the 'infidel' Abolitionists in condemnation of American Slavery, such as 'Undo the heavy burden, break *every* yoke, let the oppressed go free, bide the outcast, let the poor wanderer in, when thou seest him that wanderetb, deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor,' &c. &c.—have anything to do with the question! Here what he says:—

'Of all the prophetic texts, I believe Is. 58: 6 has been the subject of appeal most frequent, and confident too. What says it? 'Loose the bands of wickedness; undo the heavy burdens; let the oppressed go free; break every yoke' The prophet further enjoins, that they shall give bread to the hungry, house shelter to the wanderer, and clothe the naked. He then adds: '*Hide not thyself from thine own flesh.*' And who then are the slaves and who disciples? Plainly *fellow-countrymen, citizens of the same commonwealth and kindred by blood.* Let the reader, if he doubts this interpretation of the expression, *ouk ten sarkos*, opens his Bible at Gen 29: 14 and 2 Sam. 5: 1, 19: 13, 14 Judg 9: 2. It is clearly the oppressed and injured Hebrews, who are the persons in question in the whole passage. It has no special relation to slaves at all, much less to those of foreign birth. Hebrew slaves would not be called, by Isaiah, the 'own flesh' of the Hebrews. Yet this passage is printed in the margin of our Bibles, as the Scripture and ultimate and supreme tribunal, which decides the cause of the Abolitionists in their favor.

Mr. Garrison, in Luke 4: 17. 'Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor.' The context (vs. 12—16) informs us, that the Jews of that days proclaimed liberty to their brethren, at the time when the seventh or liberty year had come. The masters still continued their bondage. Jeremiah threatens them, therefore, with DEATH, for not giving liberty to their perfidy to the law of Moses. But—not a word or syllable is here, about the bondage of Israelites or another people in Egypt. 'Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor.' The context (vs. 12—16) informs us, that the Jews of that days proclaimed liberty to their brethren, at the time when the seventh or liberty year had come. The masters still continued their bondage. Jeremiah threatens them, therefore, with DEATH, for not giving liberty to their perfidy to the law of Moses. But—not a word or syllable is here, about the bondage of Israelites or another people in Egypt. 'Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor.' Ah! this the outcaste; he way not him that wanderetb.' And who are the outcastes? Plainly the Israelitish slaves and their daughters of Moab, who flee from the conquering invaders of their country, and seek safety in the land of Israel. The prophet addresses the fugitives as Israelites, Hebrew people, beseeching them, in the words quoted, to conceal them in a place of safety, and not to sell or betray them into bondage. Israel is to be to them as a hiding place from the storm. Israel is not to betray them. This is all. But how this is to be put to the application of our fugitive slaves, we know not. There is no command to aid and protect them, I have not sagacity enough to divine

This is rare and lofty reasoning. In their dealings with each other, it seems, the Jews were required by God to be just and merciful, to recognize each other as of one flesh, and to break every yoke; but, as to the rest of mankind, they were to oppress, ravage and enslave them with impunity! The moral obligations which were laid upon them to walk uprightly in the fear of God, and love their neighbor, had no binding force in their dealings with other nations! Hence, it is both the moral and constitutional duty of the Jews to enslave the Hebrews, and sell them, and to restore them to their *Christian* countrymen at the South! Contrast all this with the language of the Saviour of the world—'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them'—language taught us from our childhood as worthy of everlasting remembrance:—

'I would not be a slave to till my ground,
To carry what I get, a slave to spend
And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth
That shines, bought and sold, have ever earned.
No—dearer than all this, more precious still
Just estimation prized above all price,
I had much rather be myself the slave,
And serve the humane, than fasten them on him.'

Mr. Garrison concluded his remarks by reading Whittier's last poetical effusion, 'A Sabbath Scene,' describing in the most graphic manner the scripture scenes there shown (in imagination) at the very horns of the altar:

'I woke; and, lo! the fitting cause
Of all my musings met my pause.
Two bulky pamphlets, *Webster's text*
With Stuart's commentaries!'

At the close of his speech, Mr. Garrison introduced to the meeting a fugitive slave, and presented a letter of our colored brethren who gave his name as JOHN ALLEN, (not his real name,) very recently from the South; in the course of which letter, he (Allen) gave from bondage gave an interesting account of the mode of his escape, and the particular act of oppression which led him to make the attempt. His chief object, at present, he stated to be, to raise money enough to purchase his sister, who had been sold to the slave-dealer, and sent to New Orleans for the very heinous crime of living with her fellow-slaves, and reading the Bible for their religious edification!

Edmund Quincy, of Dedham, was then called to the stand, and made a short but very effective speech, denunciatory of the hypocrisy of the American Church, and of the slaveholding Church in Boston: said that, to be consistent with their own ideas of war, and of military glory and State rights, in the Church's Capital, they should be instructing their school *children*, and firing away their powder into waste smoke, on the day, their booming cannon echoed the sounds of the Bunker Hill battle, and balls of fire, upon Charleston and New Orleans, in vindication of the insulted honor of Massachusetts. It is ridiculous that the insignificant little State of South Carolina, which any one of our counties could whip, should be permitted to tread upon the rights of her sisters and co-equal States.

Mr. Garrison then closed his day celebrating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the day on which the Fathers of the revolution declared the Independence of these United States, and of the day which gave the Independence to this country! Prior to that day, it was ruled by the lords of the soil, who at least had the prestige of historical fame, and the great and warlike deeds of their forefathers, to give them some shadow of right to rule. Ever since that day, as every one knows, these States have been ruled by the miserable lords of the lash—a poor exchange! Were the day of final doom to come now—the belief of the Millerites to be verified, and the curtain of the world's history to drop here,—it were better that the Declaration of Independence had never been made.

At the close of Mr. Quincy's address, the meeting broke up for an hour, to give time to take some refreshment. The various tents were soon occupied, and tables were spread, in the grove, under the shade of the trees, partaking of the good things that had been provided.

AFTERNOON, 2 O'CLOCK.

The meeting was again called to order by the Chairman, who introduced to the assembly a remarkable colored woman, formerly a slave, well known by the name of Sojourner Truth, who, in her own peculiar and impressive style and dialect, she showed the wickedness of selling the child from its parents. 'Do not white women, ask, 'Are not I your sister?' Are not I a free colored woman honor? Have we not human feelings? We are human, and we suffer as much when our little ones are torn from us, as you white women do.' The Chairman recommended a general purchase of her Narrative, in pamphlet form, and many copies were readily bought.

Samuel May, Jr. read a letter from Frederick Douglass, in reply to an invitation to be present on this occasion.

Mr. Garrison then made a short speech, illustrative of the demoniac spirit of Slavery, and read, as proof of the following sentiment, a paragraph printed within a few months in the port of Wilmington, (N. C.):

NOTICE.

TO MASTERS OF VESSELS.

The undersigned, Harbor Master for the Port of Wilmington, holds himself in readiness to attend to the crossing of all vessels bound for Northern ports. The law requiring the services of a Harbor Master has become so common, that more than ordinary vigilance should be exercised. All Masters of vessels, who wish to have this part free from imputation, would do well to call on the Harbor Master.

JNO. S. JAMES, H. M.

N. B.—The penalty of the law is *death*. (!!!)
Dec. 11th, 1849.

The object of this smoking was to discover whether any runaway slaves were on board the vessel, and either to drive them from their hiding-places or suffocate them.

Wendell Phillips followed in a speech of great force and eloquence. [A sketch of this speech we hope to be able to publish in our next number.]

Rev. CLAUDIUS BRAGDON, of Bridgewater, next took the stand. He read an extract from a letter of J. T. Everett, in a recent *Liberator*, which relates an incident at the late N. E. Anti-Slavery Convention, between a reverend gentleman of the city and a reporter for one of the daily newspapers. Mr. Bradford spoke of it as a very apt illustration of the influence of the pulpit, and of its unfaithfulness and neglect in regard to the Anti-Slavery cause. He recognized the fact that there were exceptions to this unfaithfulness, but he declared it to be true of the most of them. And he went on to declare that, at this day, the truest church, according to the idea of Jesus and his New Testament, is to be found amongst those whom a vast majority of the pulpits and so called religious presses are denouncing as *infidels!* These infidels,—so called because they expose and rebuke the neglect and sin of the churches,—have observed, said Mr. B., the Christian commands to do unto others as we would wish to be done by, to love our neighbors as ourselves, and to feed and protect and rescue the suffering man, far more truly and devotedly than the great body of the Church. Our Anti-Slavery friends are sometimes charged with not making the proper exceptions in their denunciations of the Church. Not so, faithfulness to duty; but, sir, said Mr B., I hum it to be for us, who are ministers, *to make the exceptions*, in our own conduct, and of we do not, then to receive the deserved rebuke.

The President called upon NATHANIEL H. WHITING, of Marshfield, to speak. He was one, we confess, more worthy of respect than the Marshfield Senator at Washington. (Applause.)

Mr. WHITING, on coming forward, said he felt embarrassed by such an introduction to the audience.

The President said he would explain. Daniel Webster is not an honest man—our friend Whiting is—and the poet has assured us that

'An honest man's the noblest work of God!'

Therefore our friend Whiting is better and a greater man than Daniel Webster. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. Whiting, after remarking that he was a shoemaker, and was accomplished in his trade by the sweat of his brow, and therefore having no time to cull the flowers of rhetoric, or to prepare a classical and eloquent speech, even if he had the ability, proceeded to speak with hope and confidence of the coming triumph, if Abolitionists would only be true to their principles, and bold to carry them. Mere Slavery, said Mr. Whiting, is recognized by the Bible. He is welcome to his opinion on that subject. But we need not go to Moses Stuart, or anywhere else, to find out that it is our duty to return fugitive slaves, or whether Paul sent back Onesimus as a slave. We are greater than Paul; inasmuch as we are living, and he is dead. When we look at the fugitives on this platform, we need not inquire what Moses Stuart says on the subject. We see, without any man's commentaries, or commentaries that these are independent, thinking and acting human beings, as we ourselves are. It is for each one to speak out his sentiments, in regard to the slave-catching business, without regard to mere authority.

Mr. Whiting dwelt on the importance of every one doing his own thinking, and acting according to his highest convictions, independently and boldly. Oppression in every form, and in all lands, is to be overthrown, and overthrown, and the down-trodden masses of mankind elevated to equal rights and privileges.

The CHAIRMAN said—Our friend who has just taken his seat thinks that every man ought to make his voice heard at the present time, especially in regard to the seizure of the passing fugitives. Let us see what we can do for our country. I do not know whether we can make Moses Stuart at Andover, and Daniel Webster at Washington, hear us, but I think we can make our voice heard at home you, therefore, as are resolved—God helping you—that, henceforth, Massachusetts shall be free soil, and that Constitution of Slavery, which is its only law, every fugitive slave on touching it shall find shelter and protection, will manifest it by saying, *Aye!*

A mighty shout went up to heaven from the crowded assembly, and made the welkin ring.

The chairman proceeded to remark, in a speech, but the stillness of death was the only answer!

WM. I. BOWDITCH, of Brookline, made some brief but exceedingly pertinent remarks. He was called to the stand, and made a short but very effective speech, denunciatory of the hypocrisy of the American Church, and of the slaveholding Church in Boston: said that, to be consistent with their own ideas of war, and of military glory and State rights, in the Church's Capital, they should be instructing their school *children*, and firing away their powder into waste smoke, on the day, their booming cannon echoed the sounds of the Bunker Hill battle, and balls of fire, upon Charleston and New Orleans, in vindication of the insulted honor of Massachusetts. It is ridiculous that the insignificant little State of South Carolina, which any one of our counties could whip, should be permitted to tread upon the rights of her sisters and co-equal States.

The meeting then closed by celebrating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the day on which the Fathers of the revolution declared the Independence of these United States, and of the day which gave the Independence to this country! Prior to that day, it was ruled by the lords of the soil, who at least had the prestige of historical fame, and the great and warlike deeds of their forefathers, to give them some shadow of right to rule. Ever since that day, as every one knows, these States have been ruled by the miserable lords of the lash—a poor exchange! Were the day of final doom to come now—the belief of the Millerites to be verified, and the

rage committed under the Slavery system, use language by no means remarkable for its daintiness.—Now, we should live to see the Church cares no for speaking our minds freely. Kentucky is the daughter of Virginia, but we can assure our old mother commonwealth, that her daughter Belle would never tolerate any such proceedings against any individual as were tolerated in Loudoun county, against Samuel M. Janney.

We are glad, for the honor of Virginia, that the Court quashed the proceedings which had been instituted against Mr Janney. We hope his Christian persecutors are satisfied now that even old Virginia, however paralyzed by negro slavery, has not so entirely forgotten the principles of her revolutionary sons—as not to be scandal and sunken in degrade enough to punish one of her children for maintaining opinions which were cherished by all her great men—by her Washington, Henry, Jefferson, Madison, Wythe, Monroe, and others, worthy to be mentioned in the same breath with these illustrious advocates of the great doctrines of human freedom.

The Reverend Doctor Smith has no affinities with such worthies. They all devoutly believed in the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, and one of them was the author of that document, whose fame will be as imperishable as are the great political truths which it enshrines. But Doctor Smith ridicules the most assured portion of that document which states that all men are created free and equal, and that all men have inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. And not satisfied with profaning that great chart of American liberty, he blasphemes the Deity by asserting that HE regards the wicked system of African Slavery with approval. Oh such a man is a rare preacher of religious and political truth! and he who asserts that the Declaration of Independence does not lie, and that the Sovereign Ruler of the universe does not approve the dark and red catalogue of crimes necessarily associated with Slavery, should certainly be imprisoned, and fined, and disgraced!

Mr. Janney's defence of himself, which we now publish, is simple, clear, logical, forcible, and to the point. If it were less full of the spirit of simplicity and candor, we might applaud its masterly ingenuity. We do not applaud it. Mr. Janney, after listening to it, ordered the proceedings to be quashed, they would have been thoroughly disgraced had they done otherwise. Here is the admirable document:

Having been summoned to appear before the Justices of the County Court of Loudoun, "to show cause why information shall not be filed against me upon the presentment of the Grand Jury, for maintaining, in an article published in 'The Washingtonian,' on the 10th day of August last, *that masters have no right of property in their slaves*," I beg leave to submit to the Court the following good and sufficient reasons why the said information should not be filed:

First. I deny the fact alleged in the presentment. It will be found on a careful examination of the said paragraph, that I do not maintain that masters have no right of property in their slaves. I have distinctly stated, in two paragraphs therein, that slaves in Virginia are property. The first of those paragraphs contain my definition of Slavery, viz: "It is based upon a principle recognized in all the slave States, and expressed in the laws of South Carolina in these words: 'Slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, reputed and adjudged in law to be *chattels personal*, in the hands of their owners and possessors, to all intents and purposes whatever.' Slavery, therefore, is that institution in which man is held as a chattel." The second of these paragraphs, towards the close of the essay, is as follows: "Slaves are held in bondage as property, or *personal*, and may be taken and sold for his master's debts. He cannot acquire nor hold property: he can make no contract, has no remedy at law, and his marriage, even though solemnized, is not a legal marriage at all."

Here is a distinct recognition that slaves are property, *in the legal sense of the term*, for by property is meant any thing to which a person has a legal title; and I do not, in the paragraph, maintain that in Virginia the owners of slaves have no legal title, when we know that Slavery is established by law.

But I do maintain that masters have no right to the whole system of American Slavery; it degrades men by regarding them as property, and not only as property, but as property in chattels.

In this respect it differs from that system of feudal bondage which formerly prevailed in Europe; for the serf was attached to the soil, he could be *sold with it*, but not *without it*, and consequently the family ties were not liable to be broken at the will of the master. Perhaps it may be alleged that the quotation I introduced from the writings of John Wesley does maintain that masters have no right of property in their slaves. I beg leave to call your attention to the language of Wesley as quoted by me. He says, "It cannot be that either war or contract can give any man such a property in another as he has in his sheep and oxen." Now we know that the owner of sheep and oxen can at any time put them to death: but a master cannot put his slave to death without being guilty of homicide or murder, consequently the law does make a distinction between property in man and property in sheep and oxen. But if this extract quoted from Wesley will bear the construction put upon it by the Grand Jury, it does not necessarily follow that I agree with Wesley, for we quote from an author for other purposes than to corroborate our own sentiments. If the quotation from Wesley is at variance with my opinions in regard to the right to property in man, it cannot reasonably be imputed to me. The object I had in view in quoting from the writings of Wesley, was to strengthen the logic, arguments of a professed Methodist minister, is sufficiently obvious; it was "*to show what genuine Methodism requires in relation to Slavery*." And there was a place to the manuscript to this effect, when taken to the editor of the Washingtonian, but it was stricken out by his request, in order to spare the feelings of certain individuals.

Having now shown that I did not maintain, as alleged in the presentment, "that masters have no right of property in their slaves," I deem it proper to say, in the language of George Washington, "that is among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which Slavery in this country may be abolished by law."

2ndly. The statute under which this presentment was made, *when taken in connection with the Constitution of Virginia*, does not apply to the case. The Constitution says (Art. 3. Sec. 11): "The Legislature shall pass no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press:" and again it says: "Nor shall any man be enforced, restrained, molested, or debarred by law, from worshipping God in manner so as not to infringe the freedom of religious opinions or beliefs"—that "all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion."

We must not suppose that the Legislature intended to violate the constitution, when it passed the act of 1849, and, therefore, it is reasonable to construe the statute, so as not to infringe the freedom of speech or of the press, and so as not to violate the sacred rights so solemnly guaranteed to every citizen of Virginia.

It may be shown by reference to the Discipline of the Society of Friends (page 10) that "as a religious Society, we have found it to be our indispensable duty to declare to the world our belief, that slavery is wholly inconsistent with the Christian profession of the Christian religion. It therefore remains to be our continued concern, to prohibit our members from holding in bondage our fellow-men." And at the present time, we apprehend it to be incumbent on every individual, deeply to consider his own particular share in this concern. The main question is the emancipation of this part of the human family we lament, but, nevertheless, do not despair of their ultimate enlargement. And we desire that Friends may not suffer the deplorable condition of these, our enslaved fellow beings, to lose its force upon their minds, through the delay which the opposition of the interested may occasion in this work of justice and mercy, but rather be animated to consider that the longer the opposition remains, the greater is the necessity, on the side of righteousness and benevo-

Letter to J. F. Mercer.

lence, for our steady perseverance in pleading their cause."

This extract from our Discipline shows conclusively, that we place our opposition to Slavery on the *ground of a religious concern*. We consider it a duty, on proper occasions, and in the spirit of meekness and love, "to open our months for the dumb, and to plead the cause of the poor and needy." (Prov. xxxi. 8, 9.) But never, on any occasion, has a Friend been known to incite slaves to rebellion, insurrections or rebellion," or to resist oppression by physical force, is contrary to our well known peaceable principles. We believe that the triumphs of philanthropy and Christianity cannot be achieved by coercive means, but by the gentle, persuasive spirit of the Gospel, which, proceeding from the love of God, expands the heart into love for the whole human family. Nor do we feel at liberty to encourage insubordination among slaves, or advise or incite them to leave their masters, for this would be an improper interference with the relations established by law.

Our concern is not to meddle with the slave, but to appeal to the master. Our course is open and aboveboard—our aim is to accomplish a Christian object by Christian means.

Now we must not suppose that the Legislature intended, by the statute referred to, to deprive us of a religious privilege, solemnly guaranteed to us by the Constitution of our native State, and which has been constantly exercised by *the members of our Society, from the foundation of the government down to the present day.*

3rdly. If this Court shall deem that the statute under which this presentment was made, does apply to this case, and it was intended for the cases, then I would respectfully maintain that the statute, being a palpable violation of the Constitution of Virginia, has not the force of law, and it is the duty of the Judiciary to disregard it. The Court will find a precedent for this course in the case of Peter Kemper vs. Mary Hawkins, recorded in "A Collection of Cases decided in the General Court of Virginia." (Phila. Edition, page 20.)

In this case, which was decided in the year 1793, a statute of the Legislature was unanimously set aside, on the ground that it was contrary to the Constitution of Virginia.

Judge Roane, in giving his opinion, said: "I now think that the Judiciary may, and ought, not only to refuse to execute a law expressly repugnant to the Constitution, but also one which is, by a plain and natural construction, in opposition to the fundamental principles thereof. If the Legislature infringe the Constitution, it is no longer fixed; it is not this year what it was the last, and the interests of the people are wholly at the mercy of the Legislature." (Page 38.)

Judge Henry said: "I concur most heartily with my brothers who have gone before me, in the last two points, that the law in question unconstitutional, ought not to be executed; the injunction, therefore, must be overruled; and this opinion I form, not from a view of the memorials, nor from writers who know not the blessings of free government, but as they were seen and felt through the prospect of future times, but from *honest reason, common sense*, and the great letter of a free constitution." (Page 66.)

Judge Tucker said, in concluding his remarks: "From all these instances, it appears to me, that this deduction clearly follows, viz.: 'The Judiciary *are bound* to take notice of the Constitution, as the *first law of the land*, and that *whatever is contrary thereto, is not the law of the land.*'" (Page 81.)

I would, moreover, suggest, that the statute now under consideration has been recently changed in some of its features, since which I believe there has been no judicial decision under it.

4thly. I would respectfully call the attention of the Court to the circumstances under which my review of W. A. Smith's address was written. A person from another County, professing to be interested in Education, has recently traversed the County of Loudoun, and at several places publicly maintained that Slavery is right in itself, and is sanctioned by the Bible; he had even ventured to call in question, and to ridicule the leading doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, as may be seen by an editorial article in the "Loudoun Well-Digger," published the same week that the lecture was delivered in Leesburg. And can it be possible that freedom of speech and of the press are so completely prostrated in Virginia, that a native citizen of the County may not be permitted to answer an address thus publicly delivered, in which were maintained doctrines at variance with the sentiments of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry, and all the great Statesmen of Virginia? The Court will find on examination of the essay for which I have been prosecuted, that it is moderate and temperate in its tone, regarding all views adverse to its own, and that it has had in prospect for the feelings of my fellow-citizens, whose education and circumstances have caused them to view this subject in a different light from that in which I have seen it.

So careful was I not to give offence, that I erased from it a quotation from Stephen Merrill, which was too strong for the nerves of some sensitive people in Loudoun; and on handing the manuscript to the editor, C. C. McIntyre, who is also a member of the Court, I requested him to examine it, and strike out any passage that was calculated to do harm. He did examine it with that object, and a clause was stricken out, showing the purpose for which the quotation from Wesley was made; but it ought to have been retained, as subsequent events have shown.

In conclusion, I beg leave to remark, that on the from denying that slaves in Virginia are legally the property of their owners, I asserted that "they are to all intents and purposes chattels personal;" and this is the main ground of my opposition to the whole system of Slavery, for from this root springs all its manifold evils.

Being desirous to pay all due respect to the dignity of the Court, and the laws of my country, I trust that my ignorance of legal forms, in the preparation of this answer, will be considered as a plea, that the Court will protect me in the rights secured by our Constitution to the humblest citizen.

S. M. JANNEY.

Affidavit of S. M. Janney.

I hereby certify to the Court, that in the publication in the "Washingtonian," for which I have been prosecuted by the Grand Jury, I had no intention to violate the laws of the State. Given under my hand this 11th day of the 6th month, 1850.

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The Grand Jury of the County of Loudoun having felt it to be its duty to take cognizance of these publications, and to found a presentment thereon, against Mr. Janney, I was called on to testify in behalf of Mr. Janney, to make the following statements in connection with the publication.

When he referred to answers to Mr. Smith's speech were handed to me for publication in my paper, by Mr. Janney, I hesitated to publish them therein, not because I viewed them as violating the law, but because I thought that the subject involved (Slavery) had better be agitated as little as possible. Mr. Janney said that the pieces were but *answers* (as was the fact) to a person who had come amongst us and publicly discussed the subject, and insinuated, that if it was but fair they should appear, and thus both sides be heard. He further said that I could make any alterations I might think proper, or strike out any portions of them I might desire; manifesting a disposition and wish to publish nothing in the paper which might appear to be uncalled for or censurable. And as an evidence of the sincerity of this expressed disposition, he (Mr. Janney) struck out of one of the manuscript pieces a paragraph relating to Wesley's sentiments and the Methodists, at my request, desiring to avoid the publication in my paper of any thing which might appear to side with either of the two divisions of the Methodist Church, existing in this community.

It is further due to Mr. Janney to state that, from his conversation about the answers when handed to me for publication, I felt assured he did not look upon them as at all conflicting with the law, and also that it was not his wish to publish any thing which would violate it. Such was certainly my view of his publications, for had I looked upon them as incendiary in their nature, and therefore obnoxious to the law, they assuredly never would have been given to my paper.

Signed, C. C. McINTYRE.

C. C. McIntyre this day made oath before me, a Justice of the Peace for the County of Loudoun, that the above statements are, to the best of his knowledge and belief, substantially true. Given under my hand this 8th June, 1850. F. W. LUCKETT, *J. P.*

POPULATION OF MASSACHUSETTS.—We gave yesterday a statement of the population of the several counties of Massachusetts, except the towns (few towns having as yet made no returns.) Since that, we learn that the population of Worcester is about 125,000. This will make the population in the State to be nearly one hundred of 970,000. At the census in 1840 it was 740,000. Gain in ten years, 230,000. Middlesex is still the most populous county, as it has been for years. There are three counties containing over 100,000 inhabitants. The increase in the counties bordering upon railroads is quite remarkable.—*Boston Transcript, Saturday.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 25, 1850.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

[*Phonographic Report by Dr. Stone.*]

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MR. PRESIDENT:

I wish to say one word in regard to the remarks which have been addressed to us, in order that the Anti-Slavery enterprise may stand aright before the nation. It might be judged from the tone of the last speaker, that the Abolitionists see an enemy and an obstacle in the Bible. He has been entreating us to have greater regard for the Bible He has been endeavoring to impress upon us reverence for that book. You might draw the inference that we needed such entreaties. Now, in behalf of the Abolitionists, let me say, we have nothing to do with the Bible in regard to its merits or its faults except in one point: does it sustain or rebuke Slavery? If any speaker wanders beyond that, he speaks on his own responsibility; he speaks that for which this Society is not responsible. Perhaps it may be impossible for him to avoid expressing his private opinions of the Bible as to other points; in the course of illustrating some Anti-Slavery topic. Yet you see to what use he makes his illustrations. And when my friend Foster introduced some speculations of his own, on other points than Slavery, he had no right to do it otherwise than as individuals.

Now, the friend who has just spoken will, I think, grant us this: that no speaker, unless it be Mr. Foster, has entered beyond Slavery. Is not Slavery fair matter of discussion; that our Anti-Slavery speakers have never yet allowed that the Bible sustained Slavery, that we have felt no need, therefore, to throw it overboard. And although we may put the question like my friend Wright, What would you do in case Slavery is unconstitutional, but it be remanded, that the Anti-Slavery enterprise puts such circumstances as merely fictitious, hypothetical, and claims the Bible as on its own side. [Prolonged applause.]

Remember, that although we feel there is enough in mere humanity, without the Bible, to condemn Slavery—that the verdict against it is so self-evident as to destroy the title of any book to be thought inspired which sanctions such a system; still we, so far from bringing any such accusation against the Bible, have always claimed it in behalf of justice and liberty. It is from Moses Stuart, it is from Daniel Webster, it is from the pulpits and the politicians that this attack on the Bible comes, and not from us. [Loud cheers.] I know I am repeating things abundantly well known to all our friends, but it is often the result of such speeches as we have just heard that the audience go away under a wrong impression. I cannot but say that every thing that has been said, that the principles of these resolutions, that the substratum of all that has been spoken, all claim the Bible as a basis; and that, confident the Bible is on our side, we will not be forced into any position that seems doubtful to it. We have nothing to quarrel with this Community.

Because the clergy of our little day and neighborhood pervert the Scriptures, shall that make us disbelieve them? No matter for the texts: enough for us to know that on every field where justice has triumphed, the Bible has been on our side; that wherever humanity has bled it—humanity, in every step of its progress, has caught watchwords from its pages. Freedom of thought was won by those who would read it in spite of Popes; freedom of speech by those who would translate it in spite of Princes; and that Bible spirit of respect for the feelings of my fellow-citizens, whose education and circumstances have caused them to view this subject in a different light from that in which I have seen it.

So careful was I not to give offence, that I erased from it a quotation from Stephen Merrill, which was too strong for the nerves of some sensitive people in Loudoun; and on handing the manuscript to the editor, C. C. McIntyre, who is also a member of the Court, I requested him to examine it, and strike out any passage that was calculated to do harm. He did examine it with that object, and a clause was stricken out, showing the purpose for which the quotation from Wesley was made; but it ought to have been retained, as subsequent events have shown.

In conclusion, I beg leave to remark, that on the from denying that slaves in Virginia are legally the property of their owners, I asserted that "they are to all intents and purposes chattels personal;" and this is the main ground of my opposition to the whole system of Slavery, for from this root springs all its manifold evils.

Being desirous to pay all due respect to the dignity of the Court, and the laws of my country, I trust that my ignorance of legal forms, in the preparation of this answer, will be considered as a plea, that the Court will protect me in the rights secured by our Constitution to the humblest citizen.

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NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 25, 1850.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

COCHITUATE HALL, Tuesday Eve'g, May 28.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

I would propose, Sir, that if the resolutions which were laid upon the table, in the course of the day, be read, they may be the house.

A Voice—Mr. May is not in the hall.

Mr. Phillips—It will be necessary that we proceed without reading the resolutions. I suppose that they can be read at some future stage of the meeting. I presume that I shall be in order if I keep within the limits of the resolutions.

I differ some little from one of the speakers this afternoon in regard to that degree of conscience and conviction of right which should be attributed to the community about us. One of our friends thought, if I understood him aright, that the time had come when no one would dare to stand up and defend the position of the slaveholder. If I understood him correctly, he thought that we had already done our work so completely, that neither the slaveholder himself, nor any one else in the community, would have the hardihood, basing his defence on the idea that slaveholding was right, or on any other hypothesis, to defend the character of a slaveholder from the charge of O'Connell, that he was 'the most despicable person in the universe.' I read, a few days ago, a sentiment of kind in the New York Observer—and that paper represents the sentiments of a very large portion of the Northern States—I read a sentiment of this kind: 'Some of the very best people in the country are for slaveholders.'

Mr. Foster said that no one would venture upon an Anti-Slavery platform to defend Slavery, in the presence of the Abolitionists of the country.

Mr. Phillips—What I understood the speaker to allude to was the state of the public mind upon the subject. It seems to me that the public is still, to a great extent, unwilling to have Slavery spoken of in the common affairs of life, the rightfulness of the relation of master and slave, and that when we want to note our progress, we must trace it by other signs than these. I should agree with him in regard to the great amount of Anti-Slavery sentiment which has been in the land for years. I think, Mr. Chairman, that we have brought people to consider. That is the only triumph of which we can at present boast. We have caught the ear, and to some extent we have alarmed the conscience of the community. We know very well that the time was when public sentiment, not only in the South, but in this country, with hardly an exception, sustained the Constitution of the United States, sustained the duties of citizenship under that instrument, and all the relations which it imposes upon the Northern States toward the slaveholder. At the present moment, we have to deal with a very different state of public sentiment. We have to deal with a public sentiment which is willing to discuss the question, (strange as it may seem!) What is the duty of a Christian man in regard to a law which his conscience deems wicked? and some of them have had the audacious hardihood to come openly to the persuasion that it is the duty of a Christian man to refuse obedience to such a law! This is our doctrine.

Our friend thought Mr. Webster would not dare to return a fugitive slave, and told him of the peril he would run if he attempted it in this city. Mark you! We have achieved a greater triumph than that. In the Senate of the United States, on a certain day of March, a Northern man with a Northern heart, in Mason's bill, in all its provisions to its fullest extent, consent that speech home. It was printed in three editions, revised by himself, and sent home to his district a certain opinion of Massachusetts upon the subject could be gathered and rolled upon his head, it was not till he found that what he had deemed the solid earth of New England was falling, crumbling beneath him, and had been undermined, that Mr. Webster, through the columns of the Boston Courier, comes out and tells it he known that he is not willing to endorse that bill. With the nation for stake-holders, we have made the lion retreat after he had put his foot down. The despised Abolitionists, whom he could not find befitting epithets to describe, have driven him up his fox and hounds! [Cheers.] It has been done in spite of nine hundred and eighty-seven retainers whom he has left endorsing that very pledge; and now he slips his own neck out of the yoke. [Applause.] It has been done to the shame of all manliness, as well as consistency. [Cheers.]

The great masses of mankind never reason; they only feel. They are to be addressed through their sentiments, and not through their intellect. It is only by the certain but slow movement of the feelings that you can change a popular position. Now, the Constitution of the United States may be Anti-Slavery or pro-slavery; the great mass of the community, broken up into sects, immersed in the cares of the day which is passing over them, cannot stop to listen to you. But there is one salient point. Slavery lays its vile hand on the Northern freeman for the service of the South-ern slaveholder. That is practical; that is felt. You remember that when Sterne wanted to impress on the popular mind the horrors of imprisonment for debt, he did not discuss the abstract doctrine of the legality of imprisonment, but he opened the prison-door, and pointed to the solitary prisoner pining in his living grave. With his single appeal to the sentiment of England, how much he did to hold up the hands of John Howard!

Now, what reasoning cannot do, the fugitive slave, in the form that God gave him, does, when he stands at your threshold and asks a morsel of bread. He is the Anti-Slavery argument against the United States Constitution. [Cheers and hisses.] In comparison with that appeal, all the eloquence of Daniel Webster is as a drop in the bucket, and the small dust of the balance. [Applause.] This appeal has been made over and over again, thanks to the Abolitionists, in every village of the country. Brandied as the enemies of the Constitution, they have answered by helping and encouraging the slave. Onward he has come. And weightier than Constitutions, stronger than laws, is one Ellen Craft, to open the hearts of Northern freemen, and to make them say, 'Thou shalt not be shot.' [Cheers and hisses.] The retainers of Daniel Webster may hiss that sentiment; but remember, Daniel himself is cowed. [Approbation and disapprobation.] The nine hundred and eighty-seven men whom he has left in the slough of their constitutional sentiments, may hiss at the sentiment; but he has left it in my. He says the sentence was be-*witched*, [laughter,] and he wishes to change the position of that word 'which,' so that it can allude to amendments he had to offer, but *forgot*. As Henry Ward Beecher said of him, 'The memory seems to have been paralyzed for a long time'

There was a time when Mr. Webster urged the Senate to declare war with Great Britain, and said that if certain territory on our north-eastern boundary were not yielded, it would be the duty of the government to march into the territory before the next fourth day of July. He came to New York, and the merchants trembled for their property school. 'Do you intend,' said they to him, 'to make a warlike demonstration?' 'No,' said he, 'it was a mistake of the reporters. I did not say the next fourth day of July, but some fourth of July.' So now, it was not Mr. Mason's bill, which he was intending to support, but *some* bill, to *some* extent, with *some* amendments. [Laughter.] I do not intend to extend my remarks upon the conduct of this distinguished man. No! I am reminded by that article in the Courier appearing just after the criticisms of the 'Old Whig' in the Atlas (not to speak of the Whig, taking of his positions back in the face of the country—I am reminded of an anecdote of Judge Story, defending a man against his wife, who seemed the stronger of the two. 'Gentlemen of the jury,' said he, 'my client is a subdued man.' [Laughter.] I am reminded by Daniel Webster's conduct of his speech what he ought never to have put in, and inserting what he ought never to have omitted, it seems to me that he is now *a subdued man.* [Increased mirth.]

Suppose that he had promulgated similar sentiments in 1820, before the Anti-Slavery enterprise was started. Who would have found fault with him? Where are the Boston lawyers or the Boston judges or the Boston presses who would have found fault with him? It is the peculiarity of 1850, that it finds a public sentiment to rebuke a man who has the courage that he would carry out the Constitution with alacrity. The sentiment which rebukes a man for that is rotten, whether consciously or not, on the subject of the Constitution; and though we may not be permitted to utter our sentiments, without rebuke, yet the time of our triumph is not far distant. One of the most important points of the Constitution is disregarded. There is a savage growl from the constituents at home, which swears that the fugitive slave shall not be surrendered. It seems to me that our duty as abolitionists is fulfilled, if we can keep the mind intent upon this point. Let us not allow it to be diverted to other questions. Let us not allow it to be squandered upon Free Soil, or Texas, or Cuba, questions that may be confounded with party politics, and with a thousand disputed points. Here is the point every man can understand. Here is the Crime of the Constitution, without which Mr. Calhoun acknowledged that the Constitution was of little worth to the Southern States; and Mr. Calhoun was aware of the tendency of Northern sentiment when he said it. You remember that he said, 'Slaves are property, sir, property as much as any property, and laws are worth nothing without a public sentiment in their favors.' This is a point which comes up in daily life. This is plain, small, comprehensible, easily managed in argument. The position of the parties has given it to us. It is astonishing, if you look back to the Whig Congress, to see how universal has been the dealing with this topic, the recapture of fugitive slaves. Cass and Seward, and Calhoun, Toombs, Foote, Baldwin, Julian, Hale, and Giddings, Webster and Winthrop and Mann, and I might go on so many more, have been unanimous in the opinion that the Constitution of the Northern mind to come up to its duty in this respect. Now that we have obtained the public ear upon this topic, let us keep it—Sift the question and analyze it. Oblige the divines to discuss it. The New York Observer says—'We are abolitionists. By what right do you come to our pulpits and preach on fugitive slaves to their masters? No, by no manner of means We will mind the Constitution until we can mend it.' The Boston Recorder says—'It is the duty of a Christian to obey a wicked law till we can change it. And remember that the general good will prevail in the end. My friend Foster cited Webster, noon a provision of the Jewish law that a Jew was not to sell unhealthy meat to a Jew, but might to others. Professor Stuart seems to go on that principle in regard to fugitive slaves. He volunteers a defence to Mr. Webster's position, that position from which Daniel Webster was driven by the indignation of the Abolitionists, he says, 'fanatically cry out against us, 'Thou shalt not deliver to his master the slave that has escaped from his master unto thee.' This was intended by Moses to secure for the fugitive servant who had once got free, a dwelling place where he should enjoy all the rights of religious privileges. He was not to be returned to his master. Why? Because that master was heathen. And consequently, if Moses had directed the slave to be returned, he would be removed from the full blaze of the Jewish religion, and the heathen would be thrust out the man whom God had brought into the sunlight back into the darkness of Idolatry. Now, says Professor Stuart, this provision of Deuteronomy, he says, 'applies to the case of a Christian slave.' If we return a fugitive slave to South Carolina, we do not return him to a heathen master, but to a brother Christian. Consequently no Christian conscience need to be at all troubled by the quotation of this law of Deuteronomy, as it has no application in the case.' Well, I suppose, Mr. President, that this argument is a fair specimen of the kind of the slave of a heathen or a Jew, or even of a Roman Catholic (for I think Professor Stuart would include him) should escape, he is not to be returned.

This is the defence of Slavery. And mark you! The abolitionists have forced them to defend it in this way. The time has been when they would not condescend to argue the question. Now there is a division in their own household. Eminent men in their midst have declared that the church, so long as it fosters Slavery among its church members, is no Church. Eminent men have declared that it is the duty of the Christian man to return fugitive slaves. Thus far the abolitionists have compelled them to assent to their principles; at least, have set them by the ears.

I take encouragement from this state of things. Never before has the clergy of the country found it necessary to enter the pulpit to defend the Constitution of the United States. We have assailed it for just ten years as a Pro-Slavery Constitution. We have just driven the enemy up to this point; that he deems it necessary to defend the Constitution. What did the apostles do when the greatest blessing that God could grant him? 'Behold Saul is praying.' Some adversary had written a book.' Some 'adversary' must have put it into the hearts of a great man at Washington to make a speech, and of another great man in Andover to back him up. [Hisses and cheers.]

If we had done nothing else in the discussion of the twenty years but make some men profess their individual readiness to return fugitive slaves, to walk up to the limit of constitutional obligation, and fairly and frankly confess that they intend to perform it, and then make others defend Slavery, having pledged themselves to particular measures, in my opinion, we should have done a great deal. The battle is half won when the lines are clearly drawn.

The Chairman—The audience will be as quiet as the nature of the business will admit. We did the best we could for accomodation. I think if the audience are quiet they will be enabled to hear with satisfaction.

Mr. Phillips—I do not desire, Mr. Chairman, to linger on this point longer than its importance demands. At the same time, it seems to me that the discussions of the afternoon in relation to the Bible, and in the morning in some respects in relation to the Constitution, are both brought to a focus by a practical question of this nature. You must get a test of the public mind. Now we get one; now we get another. They are more prepared to vote the Anti-Slavery cause. The first test that presented itself was the right of petition.

The time was when John Quincy Adams did not dare to profess himself the friend of the right of petition without smoothing that confession in the ears of his associates by declaring that he would vote against the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. Then you come to another question, Texas; then to that of Free Soil. These are in somewhat, a series of a chain, somewhat remote from the Anti-Slavery cause. This session of Congress has drawn the lists closer. The South has asked a new hill, and the North is discussing it. And the Northern leaders are asking what is the sentiment of it. Let us examine it as carefully as we can for the information of these the blind vassals of party leaders; for of parties it is always true as of snakes, that the 'tail moves the head.' We must see if the little men of the North interested thus. They are the leaders, not the Cassos, not the Clays. The great men wait for the letters from home. They stand ready to carry out that sentiment which we have sown in cross. And when by the drudgery of years of labor we have built up an Anti-Slavery highway, doubt not that some uncoiled and dainty leader in political pumps and silk stockings will consent to walk over it; but mean while it is to be built. And for this work we never had while it is to be built. And for this work we never had such a god send as these pledges of Northern men to the duty of returning fugitive slaves.

The time has been when if you asked a Whig if he would return fugitive slaves, he would have answered, 'Is thy servant a dog to do this thing?' Now, in 1850, you answer—'Not a dog, only a Webster. [Applause and hisses.] Why, do you hiss your Constitution? Do you hiss the law for supporting the Constitution, or Daniel Webster for supporting it? ['Both.'] I am ready to join in opposition to him. Let my man stand up before the New England public and profess his readiness to return the fugitive slave, and lay his hand on the bond-man, and help the slave carrier carry him back to bondage, and see how like vegetation before the early frost, his prospects will wither. No! no man will undertake it. We have placed that stock at a bad discount. And that is the first triumph against the Constitution. It is the only palpable point on which we meet it. And the pledges of Washington are our capital. They are the facts on which we are to go before the people. And I exhort abolitionists to lay aside other issues. Let the Bible shift for itself. It can live and stand on its own foundation. Let us hold to their pledges and frankly enters of those great men who have fully and frankly avowed before the American people that the Constitution demands the return of the bondmen, the return of her Kossuths back to Czars, the return of woman, back to their masters, children back to their cradle spoilers, and that they, American Citizens, are not only bound, but willing to do our dirty work. Let our text; and if we do not make every man in Congress heartily ashamed of pledge upon the surrender clause of the Constitution, it will be our fault.

I see the greatest prospect of success upon this question, the relations of the citizen to the government. We have been discussing it among ourselves. The world begins to discuss it. Let us urge that discussion upon them. It is not possible to discuss it often without the Constitution falling somewhat in the reverence with which it is looked upon. Why? It would seem that we were but children. It seems to me to be the opinion of politicians that we have neither sense nor morality. On the occasion of the last anniversary of the Liberty man war, Mr. Webster says that he saw that plot half accomplished which would turn the Constitution of the United States into a monster and a curse. Well the Constitution of Texas, which we helped to make the Constitution a monster and a curse, rises in place, in the Senate of the United States, and pours out the vials of his hotest wrath against the Abolitionists for not loving his 'monster and curse;' as if it were *always* boys play, as if he used words for counters.

I was saying that that great statesman had denounced the Abolitionists, and he assigns why we discuss him is, that this is his home We do not, like some religious bodies, attack sin on the banks of the Ganges, and ignore that on the Potomac.

I hold to no right of attack upon those in private life. The same rule applies here with regard to criticism as in Turkey with regard to the bow-string. If the sultan feels it to be his duty, he has a bow-string up his right to bow-string him But let him once take office, then the Sultan claims and exercises the power. A man may in private life state his right and intention to return slaves, without any very public criticism from us; but when a man is sent to Congress, and there utters a sentiment which we think ought to bear his name then his pledges and his sentiments are public property. Like all other facts, for he is himself a fact, he is a subject of criticism. When, therefore, I criticise the pledges of Webster, it is not as Daniel Webster that I criticise him, but it is as the representative of Massachusetts as a hunting-ground, without one little voice going up from that State in remonstrance.

As for abuse of Daniel Webster, I should like to see the man so vain of his power of satirical eloquence as to attempt to abuse him. The Abolitionist pauses when he reaches that last speech of Webster not only at what that speech says, but at what it omitted to say. He sees that he left it out. The Abolitionist sees that he kept in his desk the only sentence that he claims to have prepared in behalf of Massachusetts; and that now, with a claim almost ludicrous from its lateness and its utter distance from the ground of incredibility, it is asserted that he has in that same desk an amendment to Mr. Mason's bill, securing to the fugitive slave the trial by jury, and that was omitted too. 'The part of Hamlet omitted from the play by particular request.' [Three cheers for Hamlet.]

The Chairman—You will be dealt with if you interrupt the meeting.

Mr. Phillips—I recollect a story of a man who was eloquently profane; so much so, that when he was in great trouble, his neighbors crowded around him to hear how he would swear. On one occasion, he was going up a steep hill, and the back of his cart having broken, his cargo came tumbling to the ground. His friends followed him to see him and hear his oath when he should learn of the accident. But when he reached the top of the hill, and saw, for the first time, the extent of his misfortune, that his load was entirely gone, he folded his hands, and said, 'I feel utterly unequal to the occasion.' So may we say of this speech. [Laughter.]

Then there are the 987 retainers. As the drunken Duke of Norfolk once said to a tipsy companion in the guter, 'Friend, I cannot help you up, but I will do the best I will lie down by your side. So said the 987; and then he, worse than his Grace of Norfolk's companion, the great man shuffles free from the shackles in which he has bound them. Then again the Abolitionist feels that he has no words for the occasion. He leaves him at the Senate board, where he is cowed at finally case the old Senator from Kentucky, a man who is the consistent representative of the institutions of of the State that has elected him—a man who has spoken more words for liberty, as he understands it, and somewhat as the Abolitionist understands it, than the craven Northern Senator has ever let slip from his lips. Now, the duty of the Abolitionist is to make it impossible in any future continuance of the Anti-Slavery sentiment of Massachusetts shall be so represented on the floor of the United States Senate that we cannot trust it. Boston stands by itself. Its great wealth and manufactures make men pigmies; and they crouch at the feet of the Websters and the Appletons, and we give them up. But outside of the Boston Further off than Palfrey's district, there stand men who are not Abolitionists, but who do not intend to be slave-hunters.

We have stood alone, without the sympathies of the people, and alien to its wishes; but at this point we can unite with the feelings of the good to our aid. And there is not a man who would dare to face of the community, dare to assert, for his reputation's sake, that he would favor the return, or dare in any way have a hand, in the return, of fugitive slaves. [Prolonged cheers.]

Let us not be contented with the half-way measures of jury trial. Let us not claim merely for the slave certain methods

apparently perfect identity of intention (I speak reverently) of the command, Exodus 21. 26-27, and of the one in Deuteronomy of which we are treating, readers it quite certain, that by generally received sense of the latter is the true one

I repeat, however, that a practice, in accordance with your view, of the passage, *may* have been included in the rule, though there is nothing in the Jewish history to warrant such an inference. Perhaps I shall express my own meaning more clearly by presuming, that from time to time—occasionally—cases *may* have presented themselves, of the class you have supposed, and the practice—as a necessary corrolary—has grown into a Rule. Indeed it has long dwelt on my mind, that the Jews had practiced upon this branch of the subject—which is now the settled Law of Nations —and a breach of which would *now*, over any government, or people with infamy—has, probably, in some such mode—grown out of this command. But that it should have been *originally* intended to the foreign fugitive *exclusively*,—that it should *ostensibly invite* him to abscond from his *foreign* master, living in *a foreign land*, (and, with your "*exclusiveness*," it *must* have been so understood) there is no evidence to shew, and is indeed, too preposterous to believe for a moment.

I aim at brevity Rev. Sir, for I hope to be read. I propose, therefore, rather to answer your arguments—so far as I can *infer* them—than to fill my pages with the verbiage of long quotations. You speak of religious privileges, of the peculiar institutions of this command, —and that the refusal to restore the fugitive to his enraged heathen master, had especial reference to these privileges. You admit, however, that the *servants of the Hebrews enjoyed them*, and I cheerfully corroborate your admission. Beyond all price, indeed, were those privileges,—and in *your* mind fully justifying both the escape of the foreign fugitive, and the refusal to give him up. I have something to say on this point.

I propose now, Rev. Sir, to deal, in the first instance, with your assumption, because it necessarily follows, that if those invaluable religious privileges had been withheld from the *Hebrew* servant—if the power of life and death had been held by the master—if the servant might be scourged (even with rigor)—if he had been put to excessive toil—if, moreover, all the laws in reference to him without any other purpose, but to tread out of him, the small remnant of humanity—to destroy, if possible, all sense of accountability to a SUPREME and UNseen POWER—and if furthermore indeed the foundation law, of all Christian morals—of all Christian *society*—that "the stone which the *builders rejected*, and the *bed established*" had, and *could have no* reference to him whatever —then is a case presented, which, following your *own* lead, would have justified both *his* escape, and the nonrendition to his master.

In *such* the condition of the *American* slave! It is, Rev. Sir: and the powerful pen of Mr. Stroud has incontestable authority, namely, the LAWS by which the victims of this very "peculiar institution" are governed, and controlled, that *thus* it is. I quote principally from Judge Stroud's "Sketches of Laws relating to Slavery, in the several States," a most astonishing volume of one hundred and eighty pages, Philadelphia Edition, 1827—a date by the way, five or six years anterior to the formation of any abolition Society. I take the liberty of recommending this Book to your particular acquaintanceship and study.

Page 85 commences with a proposition, "That the Benefits of Education are withheld from the Slave."

Page 88 under the foregoing head is a quotation from a Law of S. Cerolina, of 1740, which enacts, that any person or persons whomsoever teaching, or causing any slave, or slaves to write, or shall be aiding, or assisting such offence forfeit £100 currency. Georgia has an act of the date of 1770 similar to that of S. Carolina, except the penalty, which is £20 sterling.

Page 88, 89. Virginia by her Revised Code 1819, reiterates as enactments, the laws, which make it a misdemeanor for negroes or mulattoes with slaves, at schools, to teach *reading* or *writing* to slaves, at any hour of the day or night are unlawful assemblages—are to be broken up—and corporal punishment inflicted on the offenders were they the slaves, or any other of any justice of the peace—not exceeding *twenty lashes*.

Page 89. The second paragraph quotes from a law of South Corolina of 1800. The quotation is too long to copy here. From the parties enumerated—slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, or any other persons—for the purpose of religious instruction, even with *white* persons—I infer that *religious* meetings are intended, and *these* also, as in the preceding instance, are declared unlawful meetings—are to be broken up, and the offenders punished by, not exceeding *twenty lashes!*

Page 90. The City of Savannah 1818, had (and perhaps *still has*) an ordinance, ordaining that any person teaching any person of color, slave or free, to read or write, be fined thirty dollars, for each offence, and any person of *color*, keeping a school for such purpose, is fined thirty dollars, or imprisoned ten days, and whipped *thirty nine lashes!*

Judge Stroud concludes his proposition thus "apart from the obstacles of law, the condition of Slavery is such, that a slave capable of reading must be, in most of the States, a prodigy of genius. His life is embittered, passed in incessant labor. The laws secure to him no portion of time, in which he may employ himself, at his pleasure. He is awakened from slumber at the call of his master, often before the dawn of the day. He continues his heartless labor, until the night hat eight intervals, for food and rest, till night has closed around him. Hard worked, and scantily fed, his bodily energies exhausted—without an instructor, and without books (for he has not the means to procure them) he must of necessity remain forever ignorant of the beauties of education."

Page 90, Proposition "The means, for Moral and Religious instruction, are not granted to the slave; on the contrary, the efforts of the humane and charitable to supply them wants are discouraged by Law."

"One of the duties of ministers of the Christian Religion, is a regard for the well-being of our fellow creatures. It is indeed largely insisted upon, as a *duty*, both in the Old and New Testaments. No believer in the Christian Religion can doubt, that the labors of such its precepts, and practices, will promote the happiness, both here and hereafter of every accountable creature; now will any one deny, that a negro, though a slave, is a member of the human family—is endowed with reason—has a soul which is immortal—and must be accountable to God for his conduct and motives?" How can such a belief be reconciled with a practice which forbids to the slave, access to the gospel; and *which, so far as the masters power (to do so) extends*, shuts out from him the means of his salvation! "It has been shown" that one of Christian morals, is forbidden, and is generally entirely withheld from the slave. He cannot learn the scriptures therefore, except as an *auditor*. And yet, in none of the Slave States, are *any* facilities afforded for the purpose. No *time* is secured to the slave by law: so *place* provided where he can assemble with his fellows to hear *preached* the glad tidings of salvation,"

As to accompanying his *master* to *Church*, Stroud apprehends, that it *rarely* happens, except for *the especial convenience of his master*. The places of worship, compared even with the number of the whites, are few and altogether inadequate to the religious necessities of the Community.

And how could the rude mind of the slave comprehend a discourse directed to the refined taste and enlarged capacity of his master! Christianity demands that these unfortunate beings be taught to *read*—that buildings be erected for them to worship in—that spiritual teachers be encouraged to devote their time and talents, to the improved service—that time be allowed at the usual seasons to the slaves for the purpose, and *especially that laws* be passed, and *enforced*, to prevent the exaction of such severe labor from the slave, as would prostrate and unfit them from profiting by such opportunities.

Page 92 presents a curious piece of legislation—*curiosum*,—but traced by Judge S. with considerable ingenuity. Georgia 1792. It seems difficult through any part of its devious course, to lay finger on its object, until it terminates in "*Any assembly or meeting of slaves*, which may (possibly) endanger the peace &c., may be broken up—as usual—and every slave found or taken therein, be corrected—WITHOUT TRIAL—by twenty-five stripes with a whip of the bare back &c.

Page 93. S. Carolina, 1800—A severe enactment, against multiplying meetings of slaves, afterwards, more in appearance, however, than in reality.

94. Virginia. Meetings for any pretence are unlawful—are to be dispersed and broken up. Corporal punishment, of course, not forgotten.

This illustrates the spirit of the laws of the several slave States, and suitable comments thereon, commencing on the 36th page and ending at the 44th. Eight pages are evidently too long to quote here, and I therefore give the result in Stroud's own words, which appear, indeed, much more forcibly and clearly drawn out, and forcibly expressed, namely: "That the master's power to inflict carnyal punishment to *any extent*, short of *life or limb*, is *fully sanctioned* by LAW in all the slaveholding States—that the master, in at least *two* States, is expressly protected in using the *knife and cimeter*, as instruments for leading his slave —that he may with entire impunity, in the same States, load his *slaves with irons*, or subject him to perpetual imprisonment whenever he may so choose—that for cruelly *scalding, wilfully cutting out the tongue*, putting out an eye, and for *any other dismemberment, if proved*, a fine of one hundred pounds currency only is incurred in South Carolina—that though in *all* the slave States, the wilful, deliberate and malicious murder of the slave is not *directed* to be punished with death, yet in the case of a *white offender*, none but *whites* can give evidence,—a *conviction can seldom*, if EVER, take place."

I find this letter growing under my hands to an extent which I did not anticipate, and therefore must be more general in my remarks. And first, I refer you to his list of propositions at page 25, which he has fully illustrated and *proved*, when treating of each separately. That the slave is scantily fed, and clothed, you will find in pages 31 and 34 inclusive—excessively overworked—page 36 and 37 inclusive. In three States *convicts* (whites) are to be compelled to work 8, 9 and 10 hours severally, out of the 24, according to the season—innocent slaves are to work 14 hours out of the 24, six months in the year, and 15 hours out of 24 for the other six months.

For a systematic and constant endeavor to tread out of the unhappy slave every vestige of intelligence and humanity, I refer you to the entire work, which I again recommend to your diligent and attentive perusal. Pages 44 to 50 inclusive, Pages 61 to 66, which I have reserved until now for your especial notice, viz.: "Slaves can make no contract." "A slave cannot even contract matrimony"—the associations which take place amongst slaves, and is *called* matrimony, being property designated by the word *concubinage*, —a relation which has no sanctity, and to which no civil rights are attached. "A slave," says Daniel Dulany, Attorney General for the State of Maryland, "has never maintained an action against the violator of his bed. A slave is not admonished for incontinence, or punished for adultery; neither adultery nor incontinence for bigamy, or petty treason for killing a husband being a slave, any more than being admitted to an appeal for murder."

These instances, Rev Sir, constitute but a small part of the *index*, even, of the peculiarities of this "peculiar" and atrocious institution. Can it be that while reasoning from the servitude of the Hebrews, to the abominations of *American* Slavery, you could have made yourself *all* acquainted with the laws which constitute the Slave Code? Or, have you overlooked the two systems, severally, ere wide as the poles asunder. I con here no doubt whatever, and candid men will admit, that the entire system of Hebrew servitude was controlled by a law of kindness throughout reciprocal *mutual rights and duties* existed in relation *between master and servant*, in their borders, which ration (*without* such intent) I cannot doubt existed at that period in all the surrounding nations. On the contrary, read the book (Stroud) from which the foregoing extracts are taken—read the laws of Slavery as on the soil of American Slavery, a collection of facts under the title of "*American Slavery as it is*," published in 1839, for which facts, the authorities are given, the names of the perpetrators, where resident, dates, and to this hour, no law has been enacted, repealed, they keep your attention fixed on the 11th proposition of Stroud, that the law does *not* recognize the marriages of slaves, and to the fact that, in reference to it, the "bleaching process" is progressing under this rule of law unpunished and unpunishable (then, if, after all this be faithfully and diligently performed on your part, you shall still persist in considering the two systems *essentially* identical, we shall feel compelled either to wonder at your powers of judgment and discrimination, or to suspect the humanity of your heart.

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To this confession and argument, and all arguments and evidence supporting it, we have given our most serious and anxious attention, and we have proceeded to consider the case in the hearts and light derived from know the truth, and our duty, and with a firm purpose to do what both should require.

It is now a matter of notoriety, that the sentence in the case of said Webster, having been passed by the Court, after a full and fair trial, in the county of which, in Massachusetts, the facts and circumstances which could then be brought to light, were patiently and thoroughly investigated and fully heard, and, after a long and fair trial, confirmed, after a careful revision of the law upon trial, since had by the full Court, on solemn argument of both sides, there appears to be no cause for the Executive interposition, except it may be found in the subsequent confession of the prisoner.

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To these questions, the minds of the Committee have been most earnestly and anxiously directed, and we know no unwillingness on their part to come to an affirmative conclusion, if they could do so consistently with a proper regard to the public safety and justice. The considerations which they have been able to bestow upon this confession, and upon the light of the evidence and comments with which it has been accompanied and supported, they feel constrained to say, that the effect has not been such as to produce in their minds the conviction of the case has been materially changed.

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It is now a matter of notoriety, that the sentence in the case of said Webster, having been passed by the Court, after a full and fair trial, in the county of which, in Massachusetts, the facts and circumstances which could then be brought to light, were patiently and thoroughly investigated and fully heard, and, after a long and fair trial, confirmed, after a careful revision of the law upon trial, since had by the full Court, on solemn argument of both sides, there appears to be no cause for Executive interposition, except it may be found in the subsequent confession of the prisoner.

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P. SHAPTER.

July 25, 1850 NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. 35

apparently perfect identity of intention (I speak reverently) of the command, Exodus 21. 26-27, and of the one in Deuteronomy of which we are treating, readers it quite certain, that by generally received sense of the latter is the true one

I repeat, however, that a practice, in accordance with your view, of the passage, *may* have been included in the rule, though there is nothing in the Jewish history to warrant such an inference. Perhaps I shall express my own meaning more clearly by presuming, that from time to time—occasionally—cases *may* have presented themselves, of the class you have supposed, and the practice—as a necessary corrolary—has grown into a Rule. Indeed it has long dwelt on my mind, that the Jews had practiced upon this branch of the subject—which is now the settled Law of Nations —and a breach of which would *now*, over any government, or people with infamy—has, probably, in some such mode—grown out of this command. But that it should have been *originally* intended to the foreign fugitive *exclusively*,—that it should *ostensibly invite* him to abscond from his *foreign* master, living in *a foreign land*, (and, with your "*exclusiveness*," it *must* have been so understood) there is no evidence to shew, and is indeed, too preposterous to believe for a moment.

I aim at brevity Rev. Sir, for I hope to be read. I propose, therefore, rather to answer your arguments—so far as I can *infer* them—than to fill my pages with the verbiage of long quotations. You speak of religious privileges, of the peculiar institutions of this command, —and that the refusal to restore the fugitive to his enraged heathen master, had especial reference to these privileges. You admit, however, that the *servants of the Hebrews enjoyed them*, and I cheerfully corroborate your admission. Beyond all price, indeed, were those privileges,—and in *your* mind fully justifying both the escape of the foreign fugitive, and the refusal to give him up. I have something to say on this point.

I propose now, Rev. Sir, to deal, in the first instance, with your assumption, because it necessarily follows, that if those invaluable religious privileges had been withheld from the *Hebrew* servant—if the power of life and death had been held by the master—if the servant might be scourged (even with rigor)—if he had been put to excessive toil—if, moreover, all the laws in reference to him without any other purpose, but to tread out of him, the small remnant of humanity—to destroy, if possible, all sense of accountability to a SUPREME and UNseen POWER—and if furthermore indeed the foundation law, of all Christian morals—of all Christian *society*—that "the stone which the *builders rejected*, and the *bed established*" had, and *could have no* reference to him whatever —then is a case presented, which, following *your own* lead, would have justified both *his* escape, and the nonrendition to his master.

In *such* the condition of the *American* slave! It is, Rev. Sir: and the powerful pen of Mr. Stroud has incontestable authority, namely, the LAWS by which the victims of this very "peculiar institution" are governed, and controlled, that *thus* it is. I quote principally from Judge Stroud's "Sketches of Laws relating to Slavery, in the several States," a most astonishing volume of one hundred and eighty pages, Philadelphia Edition, 1827—a date by the way, five or six years anterior to the formation of any abolition Society. I take the liberty of recommending this Book to your particular acquaintanceship and study.

Page 85 commences with a proposition, "That the Benefits of Education are withheld from the Slave."

Page 88 under the foregoing head is a quotation from a Law of S. Cerolina, of 1740, which enacts, that any person or persons whomsoever teaching, or causing any slave, or slaves to write, or shall be aiding, or assisting such offence forfeit £100 currency. Georgia has an act of the date of 1770 similar to that of S. Carolina, except the penalty, which is £20 sterling.

Page 88, 89. Virginia by her Revised Code 1819, reiterates as enactments, the laws, which make it a misdemeanor for negroes or mulattoes with slaves, at schools, to teach *reading* or *writing* to slaves, at any hour of the day or night are unlawful assemblages—are to be broken up—and corporal punishment inflicted on the offenders were they the slaves, or any other of any justice of the peace—not exceeding *twenty lashes*.

Page 89. The second paragraph quotes from a law of South Corolina of 1800. The quotation is too long to copy here. From the parties enumerated—slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, or any other persons—for the purpose of religious instruction, even with *white* persons—I infer that *religious* meetings are intended, and *these* also, as in the preceding instance, are declared unlawful meetings—are to be broken up, and the offenders punished by, not exceeding *twenty lashes!*

Page 90. The City of Savannah 1818, had (and perhaps *still has*) an ordinance, ordaining that any person teaching any person of color, slave or free, to read or write, be fined thirty dollars, for each offence, and any person of *color*, keeping a school for such purpose, is fined thirty dollars, or imprisoned ten days, and whipped *thirty nine lashes!*

Judge Stroud concludes his proposition thus "apart from the obstacles of law, the condition of Slavery is such, that a slave capable of reading must be, in most of the States, a prodigy of genius. His life is embittered, passed in incessant labor. The laws secure to him no portion of time, in which he may employ himself, at his pleasure. He is awakened from slumber at the call of his master, often before the dawn of the day. He continues his heartless labor, until the night hat eight intervals, for food and rest, till night has closed around him. Hard worked, and scantily fed, his bodily energies exhausted—without an instructor, and without books (for he has not the means to procure them) he must of necessity remain forever ignorant of the beauties of education."

Page 90, Proposition "The means, for Moral and Religious instruction, are not granted to the slave; on the contrary, the efforts of the humane and charitable to supply them wants are discouraged by Law."

"One of the duties of ministers of the Christian Religion, is a regard for the well-being of our fellow creatures. It is indeed largely insisted upon, as a *duty*, both in the Old and New Testaments. No believer in the Christian Religion can doubt, that the labors of such its precepts, and practices, will promote the happiness, both here and hereafter of every accountable creature; now will any one deny, that a negro, though a slave, is a member of the human family—is endowed with reason—has a soul which is immortal—and must be accountable to God for his conduct and mot

Miscellany.

We copy from the *Literary World* this review of a recent essay 'on the Use and Abuse of Alcohol, Liquors in Health and Disease,' by Dr. Carpenter, who has already known to our readers, through the extracts of his writings which we have heretofore made from the *London Inquirer*.

THE USE OF ALCOHOL.

On the Use and Abuse of Alcoholic Liquors in Health and Disease. By William B. Carpenter, M. D., F. R. S., F. G. S., Examiner in the University of London, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in University College, and Author of Principles of Human Physiology, etc. Lea & Blanchard.

We have given the title entire, that it may be seen that the distinguished author is not seeking individual seeking, by a treatise on a popular topic, to bring himself into undeserved notoriety. The work was written in consequence of a one hundred guinea prize being offered for the best essay on the topic. This is the successful production. As it is calmly and temperately written, and probably most of the real arguments (except the second one) against the use of alcoholic beverages are plainly given, we propose, in a condensed form, to present them to our readers, directing them to the work for particulars.

What are the effects, corporal and mental, of alcoholic liquors on the human system?

"We shall commence," says Dr. Carpenter, "by examining the influence of alcohol upon the *physical, chemical* and *vital* properties of the several components of the animal fabric. . . . The most important *physical* change which the contact of alcohol effects in the softer animal tissues, is that of *coagulation*, . . . or a shrinking of the animal substance. The chemical change is the coagulation of soluble albumen. Alcohol applied to the living skin produces irritation, inflammation, and death.

Intoxication (as its etymology denotes) is poisoning. A single moderate draught of alcoholic beverages excites the pulse; the appetite and digestion are more increased, and the secretions of the skin and kidneys augmented. The mind is also enlivened, and the natural qualities made more prominent, and the voluntary control of the thoughts and muscles is completely destroyed. The third state is one of coma, which differs from apoplexy, and not unfrequently is followed by death.

The rapidity with which alcohol enters into the circulation is remarkable. It could scarcely be more rapid were it injected into the veins. "In one of Dr Percy's experiment, the animal fell lifeless to the ground immediately, the injection of alcohol into the stomach was completed (the respiratory movements and pulsations of the heart entirely ceasing within three minutes) and the stomach found nearly void, whilst the blood was strongly impregnated with alcohol." Alcohol seems to possess a natural affinity for the brain, and hence is apt to the organ is found to contain a larger proportion of alcohol than that in other parts of the system.

Nature soon carries off the poison, and leaves only the disordered condition it has produced. The skin and kidneys emit large quantities, the lungs exhale it, and still more is carried off by its combustion in the blood, changing it, by combining with oxygen, into carbonic acid and water, which are speedily exhaled by the lungs.

The remote results of the excessive use of alcoholic liquors are Delirium Tremens and Insanity. In ninety-eight asylums in England and Wales, out of 12,007 cases, 15 per cent were from intemperance. In the Glasgow Lunatic Asylum, at least one fourth. In nine provincial asylums, the proportion was 32 to per cent. In an asylum in the Netherlands, the proportion was 41.07. At the Richmond Hospital, Dublin, one half owed their madness to drinking.

Another common form of insanity is called Dipsomania: "it is the irresistible propensity to swallow stimulants in enormous doses whenever and wherever they can be procured. . . . The poor victim derives no pleasure from the taste, but only from the glow the liquor, of whatever kind it be; or from society, for he generally avoids it; but he only derives a temporary satisfaction from the excitement of his insane impulse." This disease is what many possess who seem compelled by some demon, at periodical intervals, to "go on a spree," as the phrase is commonly expressed. It is seldom cured; even after years of confinement, this disease returns with a power the poor victim cannot resistant.

The mental debility of the offspring is one of the most painful consequences of this vice—Idiocy, Insanity, and Mental Debility. Plutarch long ago said, "Our drunkard begets sotards." and Aristotle's remark has come down to us, that "drunken women bring forth children like unto themselves." In the Report on Idiocy by Dr Howe, to the Legislature of Massachusetts, he says: "The habits of the parents of 340 idiots were learned; and 145, or nearly half, were known to be habitual drunkards. The parents of No. 62 were drunkards, and had seven idiotic children." Paralysis and epilepsy are also frequently caused by liquor.

Besides these, there are many diseases directly originating from the constant and excessive use of alcoholic drinks. Among many others, these are enumerated: irritation and inflammation of the mucous membrane of the stomach and intestines; dyspepsia, and various diseases of the liver, some forms of which are known as the "gin drinker's liver;" many affections of the kidneys, &c. Every one has observed, probably, the tendency to disease of the skin, which is more or less marked in persons of frequent drinkers. The liability to epidemic diseases is made manifest, and the causes of spontaneous combustion, which many think improbable, are also given.

A note, under the head of "Diminished power of sustaining injuries by disease or accident," gives this anecdote, showing the enormous power both of strength and endurance to which man can, by long and severe training, be raised. It is a statement made by one of the coal-heavers employed on the Thames "I was a strict tee-totaler for many years, and I wish I could be so now. All that time I was a coal-whipper, and I have carried more than I was made one of a gang that has done as much as 180 tons in a day. I drank no fermented liquors the whole time. I had only ginger beer and water, for that cost me 1s. 6d. It was in the summer time. I didn't buff it that day, that is, I didn't take my shirt off. Did this work at Regent's Canal, and there was a little mill-shop close by, and I was used to run there when I was dry. I had about two quarts of milk and five bottles of beer, or about three quarts of fluid altogether. I had no other kind of drink necessary. I perspired very violently; my shirt was wet through, and my flannels wringing wet with the perspiration over the work. But there was among us, that we do 28 tons on deck, and 28 tons filling in the hold. We go on that way during the day. The perspiration in the summer streams down our foreheads so rapidly that it will often get into our eyes before we have time to wipe it off. This makes them very sore. The perspiration is of a very briny nature. We are often so heated over our work that the perspiration runs into our shoes; and often, from the dust and heat, jumping up and down, and the heat galled with the dust, I have had my shoes filled with blood. The thirst produced by the work is very excessive. It is completely as if you had a liver on you. The dust gets into the throat, and nearly suffocates. You can scrape the coal-dust off the tongue with the teeth; and do what you will, it is impossible to get the dust out into the mouth. I have known the coal-dust to be that thick in the hold of a ship, that I have been unable to see my mate, though he was close by me. Your legs totter under you. Both before and after I was a tee-totaler, I was one of the strongest men in the business. I was known to carry 2 cwt. on my back for fifty yards, and I could lift nine half hundreds with my right arm. After finishing my day's work, I was like a child for weakness. Then there's the coal to be carried up a nasty ladder twenty feet—and a sack full of coals weighs two cwts. and a stone. I carried the sack itself heavy and thick. Isn't that a strain on a man? I think it could stand it long The sweat runs into the boots. I have felt it run down the shoe for hours as I had to trudge along."

Another says: "It is food only that can give real strength to the frame. . . . I have backed 60 tons in a day since I took the pledge, and I did it with out any intoxicating drink, with perfect ease to myself, and walked five miles to a temperance meeting afterwards. . . . Coal-backing from the ship hold is the hardest work that man can do. Going up a ladder sixteen feet high, with 230 lbs. weight on a man's back, is sufficient to kill any one; indeed it does kill the men in a few years; they're soon old men at that work." Surely, on reading such statements, we may exclaim, "Are these men human in these days!" "And this incredible labor is done better and easier without the use of alcohol! What labor then requires it? It is pitiful to think that these men, so powerful in other respects, are prostrated by the slightest attack of disease; surgeons shrink from trivial operations upon these hulky and strong men, with constitutions destroyed by liquor.

Statistics of Insurance Companies, Army Reports, and Hospital Accounts, prove the fact that the duration of life is much shortened by the excessive use of liquors, with the imperfect conclusion that "intemperance is the chief cause of crime." In answer to the serious question, "Does Physiology or Experience teach that alcohol, taken habitually in moderate quantities, is a wholesome article of food?" the experiment, that when men of genius have habitually had recourse to alcoholic stimulants for the excitement of their powers, they have died at an early period, as the consequence of the premature exhaustion of their nervous energy; Mozart, Burns, and Byron (Lamb and Goldsmith), may be cited as remarkable examples of this fact. "We might easily enlarge the list by additions from this country. Practised Gamblers are remarked, when about to make a great venture, requiring sagacious calculations, to "keep themselves cool." The greatest part of that intellectual labor that has extended the domain of human knowledge has been performed by sober drinkers. "Under this last category are enumerated Demosthenes and Haller. . . . Johnson, in the latter part of his life, was sober, and drinking no less than tea, whilst Voltaire and Fontenelle used coffee; and Newton and Hobbes were accustomed to solace, not to excite themselves, by the free use of tea. . . . Regard for Locke, whose long life was devoted to constant intellectual labor, this diet was the same as other people's, except that he usually drank nothing but water." . . . Such assertion is endurance of cold, the proof is conclusive that it is injurious. When the stomach is empty, liquor is better than nothing. Food, especially of a nitrogenous nature, is best. The reaction of the system after the effect of the drink is over, is especially pernicious. This is proved by the experience of Arctic voyagers, the hunters of Chamouni, and many others leading exposed lives. . . . "In 1619, the crew of a Danish ship of war, "well supplied with strong liquors and ardent spirits, attempted to pass the winter at Hudson's Bay; but 58 of them died before spring; while in the case of an English crew of 52 men, in the same circumstances, but destitute of distilled spirits, only two died!" Many other similar cases are given. As an aid to endurance of fatigue, alcohol is seen to be injurious. The system under the excessive loss by perspiration, at high temperatures, it seems to be thought because water is drawn off from the blood through the medium of the skin, that it must be taken in to replace it—a most egregious absurdity. "Experience shows that sweating is not exhausting to the frame, but the reverse; that it is experienced when the atmosphere is loaded with dampness, even at a low temperature. A person clothed in waterproof garments experiences the most unpleasant results from the interference with the customary insensible perspiration. The following characteristic Address of Sir Chas. Napier to the 78th Regiment is full of point. "Sweat, sweat, sums up whole tablets of army reports, and condenses the experience of thousands. "Let me give you a bit of advice—no, I don't mean, I don't command you, I mean don't think much of advice from old men. They put their tongue in their cheek, and think they know a great deal better than the old one. Now, I don't know a great deal, but let me tell you that you are coming to a country where, if you drink, you are dead men. But you be sober and steady, you will be healthy, and, if you die, you will die decent. You will either be invalided or die. I knew two regiments in this country; one drank, the other didn't. The one that didn't drink, I put in the first fire regiments, and has got on as well as any regiment in existence. The one that did drink had been all but destroyed. For any regiment that will do as they have done, I care not a rush. I, one of the British regiments that I don't respect). I should always try and persuade them to keep from drinking. . . . Sweat, sweat, sweat, and you will drink like a fish, and the devil, and their officers; but such men will soon be in the hospital, and very few that go in, in this climate, ever come out alive." The insalubrious and Morbific Agencies is also, less with the spirit taken; the Cholera and other pestilential diseases which are known to first attack the drinker, is proof of this.

The consequences of the habitual moderate use of alcoholic liquors are enumerated. As a stimulant, it excites the stomach, it over-excites it, which, besides weakening that organ by too much use, gives a tendency to produce a general state of plethora, and to produce the cutaneous, vascular, and inflammatory diseases of various organs and which especially dispose to hemorrhages and the diseases of the lungs. The effects on the digestion and on the nutrition, have previously been briefly noticed; and in a synopsis like this, the difference between moderate drinking and intemperance appears to be too slight to be delineated. They differ mostly in amount. The effects on nutrition are most marked. A slight cut in a healthy subject, if the edges be kept in close apposition and glued together, will usually unite as it were, and the wound be entirely healed in a few days. No such action takes place in similar injuries in the drunkard. The wound, instead of "sets," and goes through a tedious process of suppuration before health is restored to the part. Many people who have seen this fact in the hospital, may have perhaps do not think that this habit is frequently the (for it is not the only) cause.

"Is there any medicinal qualities of the bodily or mental condition of man, short of actual disease, in which the occasional or habitual use of Alcoholic Liquors may be considered beneficial?"

This is a demand for extraordinary bodily exertion, the author allows that in cases which resemble the efforts of a race-horse, the spur may be used (if the stimulant be taken, it is to be necessary to remember, that the spur gives no strength in advance to the laboring sailor or the exhausted orator, but calls out the energies of the horse, by the pain it produces). The racer may fall dead at the winning-post, and the over exertion of the vital powers must ultimately be paid for. The stimulant, however, may be used by advantageous to resist the influences of temporary exposures to damp and wet (as in the case of a traveller on the top of a coach), or to assist in a long or long-continued, the result of the sure to be injurious, is unquestionably injurious. Where there is a deficiency of adequate sustenance, as in the case of Mungo Park, the Negroes, a teaspoonful of rum given to each man by Capt. Bligh, every morning, was undoubtedly of great utility. In some cases of a sinking of the system, arising from a deficient supply of food, the great object of supporting the system under the demand occasioned by the flow of milk, is a moral agency, a delusion, and a snare." "Is there any medicinal qualities in the secretion, and is more likely to impair than to improve the quality of the milk; and still more, the milk secreted by such stimulation is not equal in its nutritive qualities, it is not unfrequently nuff nourishment for the child. "The only cases," says Dr. Macnish, "in which a moderate dose of spirits is thought to improve the quantity of the milk is deficient, and the nurse unable or averse to putting another in her place."

Of the effects of liquors on the year 1848, made a series of examinations of the various kinds of cows milk generally found in this city. In that production, "of 37 samples, 14 were found to be of a refuse after distillation, the "epithelial scales," or the small glands in which the milk is formed, were found to have been cast off from the secreting vessels, and to be thicker, and were in a highly inflamed and diseased state. Such milk given to delicate children produced almost immediately vomiting, diarrhea, or other disorders in usual health before, living on ordinary grass-fed milk. Perhaps the milk of women is similarly affected by similar drinks!

In childhood it is supposed that the habitual use of fermented drinks is advantageous, especially in those that inherit a scrofulous diathesis, cold water, sea bathing, exercise, and air, are far better. If they are to be used at all, they should resemble spirits for a broken leg to be removed as speedily as possible, so that nature may not be accustomed to rely upon them for support.

In old age the use is far less frequent than is generally supposed. As the waste of the body is far less than in youth, a proportionally less quantity of food is necessary to support life. The stimulation of the old, unaccustomed to these incentives, is most likely to effect a loss of digestive power, which no treatment, medical or hygienic, can ever completely repair.

"Is the employment of Alcoholic Liquors necessary in the practice of Medicine; if so, in what diseases or in what stages and states of disease, is the use of them necessary or beneficial?"

This is not denied by the author, but it must be administered with great caution. Hemorrhage generally ceases of itself. After a *severe blow*, which has apparently almost overthrown the powers of life, and more particularly when the brain is the part in which the injury has occurred, on account of the special determination of blood to this organ; after extensive burns; these stimulants are manifestly beneficial. In the treatment of the heart's action, keeping up the nervous excitability.

In the treatment of acute diseases, where the powers of the system are in danger of fever, erysipelas, &c., in the recovery from prostration when the vital powers are not so much exhausted as depressed, in the treatment of other forms of acute disease, alcohol is useful. In chronic diseases but little good can be expected from its administration. Its use is like raising the wick when there is a deficient supply of oil. It is procured not by the re-animation of power which exists in the body but has previously ceased, but by the rapid consumption of "the small remaining power left."

We have given this work a thorough digest, and endeavored to state the views of the author clearly and fully. The author seems to be somewhat of an enthusiast on the subject, and has, without doubt, stated all that may be said in relation to the physical effects of the use of the human system. We might not, perhaps, agree with every statement therein contained, but we consider it questionable if it would be profitable to do so, particularly in giving any extended examination of them. In the main he is undoubtedly correct, and if he errs does it on the safe side.

THE CATTLE-ROAD TO RUIN.

There is more land food consumed in England than in any other country in the world. We do not merely say more, in proportion to the size of England, and the number of its inhabitants, but that we should only utter what every body must know—but we mean actually more, without any such proportional consideration. Considering, then, the great amount of animal food, in all its manifold bearings, it is impossible not to be struck with a sense of what vital importance it is to the health and general well-being of the community that this food should be of a perfectly wholesome kind. That very great quantities are not only unhealthy, but actually poisonous, we believe, and that it must proceed to show. We will set this question clearly before the eyes of the reader, by tracing the brief and eventful history of a fine bullock from Smithfield, till he rolls his large eye upward for the last time beneath the muskillul blows of his slaughterer.

Some unnatured, healthy, hoosel-faced ox, is driven out of his meadow at break of day, and finds a number of other oxen collected together at the place of rendezvous, amidst the shouting of drovers, the lowing of many deep voices, and the sound of many cudgels. As soon as the expected number is made up, the drovers, with their cudgels, and yelling, the journey of twenty miles to the nail commences. Some are refractory—the thrusting and digging of the goads, the cudgelling of the drovers, and even our good-natured ox cannot help contributing his share of lowing and bellowing, in consequence of one of these poignant goads reaching his ribs, and he is at length compelled to acquiesce in what was required of him. From this moment there is no peace or rest in his life. The noise and confusion of the journey, the long, tiresome, ever renewed now and then at a cross-road, when the creatures do not know which way they are to go, and the continual goading and cudgelling of the other. The contest is also renewed whenever they pass a pond, or brook, as the weather is sultry; and the roads are so dusty, from the tramping of the herds and the footsteps of the animals, that their journey seems to be through a dense, continuous, sulphur cloud. Its noon; and the sun is glaring fiercely upon the road, and our ox, from a different cause, is undergoing a similar torture, it is waxing wroth. His eye has become blood-shot since they passed the last village, and he has been goaded to madness, and, in his pain, goes to draw his feverish tongue along the water of the horse-trough, but was suddenly prevented by a vile lest blow on the nose, which, he has felt since the tip of his nose. Besides this, the wound he has received from the goad, has laid bare the skin on his back, and the sun is beginning to act upon the flesh of the wound. By the time the twenty miles are accomplished, he is in no mood at all for the close jam in which he is packed with a number of other oxen in the yard of the Smithfield gons. He bellows aloud his pain and indignation; in which sonorous eloquence he is joined by a bad cough, the result of the blows he has had to pay a violent blow from a drover's stick, because he had stopped to drink from a ditch at the road-side, and persisted in getting a taste. Some oxen, when they are brought together in a yard, or in a pen, or stall, they quickly recognize each individual, and they recount their wrongs to each other; but the idea of escape does not occur to them; they rather resign themselves to their miserable fate, and suffer stoically. Hunger, however, and worse than this, thirst, causes sensations which are quite beyond all stoicism, and some of them may split their great voices in anger and distress.

Our rather slow-minded ox has now arrived at the opinion that something is amiss with his intended fate, and feels convinced that something more is needed in this world than passive submission. But what to do, he knows not. He is a courage is higher than the mere contemplated his position. Man, and his doings, are a dreadful puzzle to him. His one-horned friend fully coincides in all this. Meanwhile, they are foaming with heat, and thirst, and fever.

After a day's torture in this way, the animals are got out of the pen, and are driven through a yard, and brings them pell-mell over each other, many landing on their knees, some head foremost, and one or two falling prostrate beneath the hoofs of the rest. The last stage of London then commences, the two friends having been separated in the recent confusion.

With the dreadful scenes, among the live cattle, which have been described in the Smithfield market, readers have already been made acquainted; it will now be our duty to display before them several scenes, which are quite as dreadful, if not, perhaps, still more alarming, scenes and doings which occur in this neighborhood, and in other markets and their vicinities.

Look at this ox, with dripping flanks, half covered with mud; a horrid wound across his nose; the flesh laid bare in a deep cut, and the blood streaming down his face to the sun and the flies; his eye-balls rolling fiercely about, and clots of foam dropping from his mouth! Would any one believe that three days ago he was a healthy, happy, healthy, hoosel-faced ox? He is waiting to be sold. But who will give a decent price for a poor beast in this unsound condition? He is fastened to a post, with a rope round his neck, by which he is fastened to a rail, and in his anguish he has drawn it so tight that he is half-strangled; he has drawn it so tight, that he is undure no more, he thinks, because he is becoming insensible. Presently, among several others, he is driven into the ring, he recognizes his friend with the broken horn. They pick up side, and grasp deeply their mutual torments. There are no more loud lowings and bellowing; they utter nothing but groans. Poor one-horned friend, the fractured horn, this bullock has since received a thrust from a goad in his right eye, by which the sight is not lost, but greatly impaired; and, consequently, it requisite to sell him at any price he will bring. This being agreed upon, he is led away to a slaughter-house, and the butcher of the poor ox makes a strong effort to accompany his friend, and with his eye, he balls almost starting from his head, tugs at the cord which holds him by the throat, until it breaks. He then bounds after his friend, but it quickly intercepted by a couple of drovers, who assail him with such fury, that he turns about, and runs out of the market.

He is in too wretched and wore-out a condition to run last, so he merely staggers onward amidst the blows, till suddenly a water-cart happens to pass. The sight of the shining drops of water seems to give the poor beast a moment-any energy. He runs staggering at it; head-foremost—his eyes half shut—falls with his head under the after-part of the wheel as the cart passes on,—and their lies lolling on his tongue upon the moistened stones. He round him, and rain blows all over him; the drovers form a circle with his tongue out upon the cool wet stones. They then wrench his tail round till they break it and practise other cruelties upon him; but all in vain. There he lies.

While the drovers are pausing to wipe their sanguinary and demoniac foreheads, and recover from the effects, the ox slowly, and as if in a sort of delirium, raises himself on his legs, and stands looking at the drovers with forlorn vacancy. At this moment, Mr. Market Inspector comes on the crowd, after a brief glance at the various sores and injuries, condemns the ox as' diseased—therefore unfit for sale. He is accordingly led off to the slaughter-house, and the cause-blasphemer's in Sharp's Alley, duly attended by the Inspector, to see that his order of condemnation be carried into effect. The ox, with his little dimness, and sore feet, follows, whose filthy habitaments show that they have slept amidst horrors who keep the diseased ox in view with a sort of stony wonder, "as a thing apart."

The dying ox, with the drover, and the inspector, having slowly made their way through the crowd of market-people, and the horses and oxen (not used in it) the equally revolting horrors of the outskirts, finally get into Sharp's Alley, and enter the "terrible den of the licensed murderer."

It is a long knacker's yard, furnished with all the usual apparatus for slaughtering diseased or worn-out horses, and plentifully strewed with the worn-out horses, and plentifully strewed with the reeking members of frightful refuse of the morning's work. But even before the eye,—usually the first and quickest organ in action,—which is not accustomed to such scenes, is not only assailed, but taken by storm, with a most horrible, warm, moist, effluvium, so offensive, and at the same time so peculiar, that it is, in itself, a shock, so small resolution in any one, not accustomed to it, to remain a minute within its precincts. Three of the owners are complaining of the loss of their horses, lying upon their backs, with their hoofs sticking bolt upright; while two other engles in the yard are filled with a mass of hollow carcasses, whose contents, and whose limbs, and other members serve as stretchers for raw skins.—flayed from their companions, of from themselves, lying all discoloured, in the yard, beneath, or by the side of the skins are stretched out to dry. A few live animals are in the yard. There is one horse—waiting for the knacker, as the cry goes—with a large sore on his breast, his head is bowed towards the slushy ground, his dripping mane falling over his face, and almost reaching with his long hair the ground, and the place in which his fore hoofs are placed. A strange, ghastly, rattling sound, apparently from the adjoining premises, is kept up without intermission, and it is a sound of horror, the devil's-rattle, by way of accompaniment to the hideous scene.

Two dead horses are being skinned; but all the other carcasses, of which there are a great many, are mere bullocks in different stages of disease, and they are seven in number. These latter have not been condemned by the Inspector, as diseased, but they very fast become so, in effort for the purpose of being made saleable-washed and scrubbed, so as to have the chance of finding a purchaser by scrubbing in some very foul place. Finally, they have to be killed before they die, or cut up as soon after they die as possible. They are all distinguished by slang terms denoting their diseases, and are sold as "diseased meat." The two best of these bad bullocks are designated as "choppers;" the three next, whose hides are torn and broken by the goads, as "gons;" and the three those who are in a drooping and reeking condition, with literally a death-sweat all over them are playfully called "wet-uns." The "choppers" are the best of the bad, and they are now brought in, and formally introduced by the Inspector, as diseased, and condemned. The others he does not so—they are condemned by the butcher, with the ox, who was the last comer. Having thus performed his duty the Inspector retires.

The "choppers" are a wonderful tattoo that is kept up in the adjoining premises The walls vibrate with it! Machinery of some kind! Yes—it is a chopping machine, which, we should be in chopping "both horses and diseased bullocks, who will shortly be in a fit state for promotion, and will then be taken piece-meal next door. Ay, it is the next door we are speaking of, and there it is Sharp's Alley, you behold the largest horse-slaughter-house in the city; and here, next door, you will find the largest cow-slaughter-house in England. Yes, the slaughter-house of the Metropolis!

"The wet-uns are very far gone in disease, and runs staggering at it head-foremost—his eyes half fully cover their hands to avoid immediate contact with such foul substances, naturally fearing the contagious nature of poison. A servant of a respectable master butcher, about a twelvemonth ago, slightly scratched his finger with a bone of one of these diseased animals; the consequence was he was obliged to go to the hospital, where he was for upwards of six weeks, and the surgeons all agreed that it was occasioned by the poison from the diseased bone. It is also a fact, that if the hands at any time come in contact with this meat, they are frequently so affected with this meat, they are frequently so affected by the strong smell of the medicine which has been given to the animal; and, if it be not, it is possible for a considerable time to get rid of it; and yet, it will scarcely be believed, none of these poisonous substances are thrown away—all are made into soap or form part of the stomachs of the human poor, or is served up as a dainty for the higher poor, or, in other words, the middle and soil-classes. Even cows which die in calving, and still-born calves, are sold for food, and, we fear, many of these facts be gainsayed; we defy contradiction.

We must by no means overlook the adventures and sufferings of sheep; they are unwholesome condition and sufferings of sheep; they are unwholesome condition of which great numbers of them are reduced before they are sold as human food.

A sheep is scudding and bouncing over a common, and, perhaps, with the dew glistening on her fleece. She is full of enjoyment, and knows no care in life. In the evening of the same day she is slowly moving along a muddy lane, among a large flock; fatigued, her wool matted with dust and slush, her mouth parched with thirst, one ear torn to a red rag by the dog. Presently, she is driven by the shepherd, because she lagged a little behind, to gaze through a gap in the hedge at a duck-pond in the field. She has been in a constant state of fright and excitation, and yet, perhaps, never since. At every shout of the shepherd's voice, or that of his boy, and at every bark of the dog, or sound of the Inspector's whip, she has been in a state of fear; she has expected to be again seized, and perhaps torn to pieces. As for the pastures, she has never seen a green field or random sage or the dog over her back, in one of her lonely slumbers, driven by the boy to the pond, and together near some crooked corner or cross-way—in utter confusion as to what they are wanting to do—what they themselves are about, and, perhaps, whose property in the world is about to be done—not a word of man, or bleat of sheep, can convey any adequate impression of the confusion, and, perhaps, the dog is seen coming when going through a narrow turnpike, the dog is seent over their backs to worry the leaders who are going the wrong way, and in her frenzied fear, at the moment, the poor ewe of his devilish foot, she lacerated her side against a nail in the gate post, making a long wound.

The sufferings of this ewe causes her to leap out of the rank, up a bank; and seeing a green field beneath, the instinct of nature makes her leap down, and, in her fear, she goes bounding over that fairy and secur away. She puts forth all her strength, all her speed—the wind is filled with the horrors of his voice—of the redoubling sound of his feet—the sounds, heard by her, of his dog's leaps up banks—over hurdles—through hedges—but he is close upon her—without knowing it she has made a circle, and is again amongst the flock, and, perhaps, just as the springs upon her shoulders and tears her again on the head, and his teeth lacerate anew her ever gulated ear. She scarcely knows, in her terror, that she is crushed into one of the markets waggons; and in this state of exhaustion, fever, and burning thirst, remains for several hours, and, perhaps, for the whole night, in some place of Smithfield. What she suffers in this place has been narrated, till finally she is sold, and driven off to be slaughtered. The sufferings of this ewe are mentioned, as, in what other terms can we designate all these unnecessary brutalities!) is usually a dark and loathsome cellar. . . . Perhaps, the poor creature lingers days, which the sheep are forced. But very often there are no such means of descent, and our poor jaded, footsore, wounded sheep—all foul and bruised—is thrown down, and, perhaps, is seized in the half-naked blood bolstered arms of a fellow in a greasy red nightcap, and flung down the cellar, both her legs and her back broken. In this cellar, perhaps, clutched by the ruffians below—dragged to a broad and dripping bench—flung upon it, on her back—and then the pallid lips and patient eye looks upward!—and is understood.

And shall not we also—the denizens of a Christian land—understand it? Shall we not say—"Let the poor creature's necessities be, in what know that your death is one of the means whereby we continue to exist—one of the means whereby our government is able to continue—one of the means whereby our states of knowledge and civilization—one of the means whereby we can time to fill, to expand and to refine the mind, and to make the spirit ready for the future abode. But, knowing this, we yet must recognize in you a fellow-creature of the earth, dwelling in our sight, and often close at our side, and, in your sufferings, we must feel, and, as far as useful to us, both for food and clothing; nor do we deserve the good with which you supply us, nor even our own, if we do not, in the sight of God and man, time recognize your rightful claim to our humane considerations."

A number of last year there were sold in Smithfield Market, the enormous number of two hundred and thirty-six thousand cattle; and one million, four hundred and seventeen thousand sheep. It is a portentous fact, that, in proportion to the number of serious and extensive bruises, caused by beer brutality, rather than any accidents, in the market, is the fact that the bruised parts cannot not be less than five hundred and twelve thousand. These are only the body-bruises, and do not include the cuts and contusions of blows and cuts on the nose, hocks, horns, tails, ears, legs, &c. Of course, this fevered and bruised flesh rapidly decomposes, and is no longer fit for human food. The flesh of the sheep, which, on the Tuesday, is fine, on Monday, has become diseased meat by Tuesday evening—a fact too well known. The loss on broad meat, in the city, is not well calculated, but, perhaps, there at three shillings a head on every bullock, and sixpence on every sheep, making a total loss of Sixty-Five Thousand Pounds per annum. This loss, it is to be understood, is independent of the quantity of bruised and diseased meat, which ought to be loss, but is sold at various markets, as human food. It is a fearful reflection, that the poisonous matter in cows and pigs brought to market every week, and sold,—Very much of this diseased meat is sold publicly—at a penny per pound, and, perhaps, more exceptionally—and at any rate there is a special and very lucrative trade carried on in it. One camp establishment, in the evening of disease, is said to carry on a business amounting to between three and four hundred pounds weekly, in diseased meat. It is also used by sausage, polony, and sweloy makers; for meat pies, and for the cheap food of the poor, and extensively by many of the concoctors of preserved meats for home and foreign consumption. It is said that one of the Australian Preserved Meat Companies, in consequence of the preserved meats failing them. They are now in keep. Is it any wonder that they would not keep? What they are made of—wholly, or in part—has been sufficiently shown.

"In Newgate Market," says the writer previously quoted, "the most disgraceful trade is carried on in diseased meat, as a proof of which, we assert that one person has been known to purchase, at three hundred and twenty, to one hundred and thirty diseased carcases of beasts weekly; and when it is remembered that the meat is sold, in penny pieces, at least, engaged in this nefarious practice in that market alone, some idea may be formed of the extent, and of the number of diseased sheep from *variola ovina*, of small pox, sent to this market, increasing yearly on the increase, and it is much to be feared that this complaint is naturalized among our English flocks. Cows are also subject to the same malignant lis. It is an acknowledged fact that upwards of one hundred sheep in this state were weekly, and for a considerable time, sent to Newgate Market from one owner, who had purchased largely from abroad, and this took place at the early part of the present year (1848) in the midst of the causes of the inquiry in Parliament, and the subsequent Act.

"An Inspector is appointed to this market with full powers, acting under a deputation from the Lord Mayor, and the duties of the office must be of a very difficult nature, and, perhaps, *incompatible with the other avocations* of the Inspector, as we find but little evidence of his activity. Compare our Inspector with the Inspector of Nuisances, and the Board of Trade, and it will appear that of fifty diseased carcases not one on an average is seized.

"Close adjoining to Newgate Market, is Tyler's Market, it is only separated by Warwick Street. This market is said to be private property and that the Inspector has ever been appointed. Every description of diseased meat is sold in this, the most undisguised manner: it is *celebrated for diseased pork*. It has been stated by a practical man, one well acquainted with the trade, that it is only capable of forming a correct opinion, that nearly one half of the pigs sold in this market during the pork season of 1847, ending March 1848, was diseased and unfit for the purpose of food. A friend of a respectable master butcher, about a twelvemonth ago, slightly scratched his finger with a bone of one of these diseased animals; the consequence was he was obliged to go to the hospital, where he was for upwards of

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

——Here is nothing I observe and note down with greater precision than the equinoxes—the coming and going of the sun in the zodiac, the state of the balance, and the meteorological equinox of nature because from the equinoxes I conclude the year, I season I am enabled to prophesy, in a wonderful manner, what it will be for a long period. The most important of my predictions are those which I have said in the married state; all the others come from the same quarter.—*Jean Paul Richter.*

——The Siamese Twins Dead.—The Paris Journal des Debats contains a letter from the Siamese Twins. The Debats states that, according to the *London Medical Times*, the two brother died in consequence of a pulmonary affection, which was been constantly supposed by the faculty, that the two ovvites of the abdomen communicated by a ligament, and that, in consequence, it was, that the livers of the twins were connected by a membrane bridle short half an inch thick.

——Arrival of General Garibaldi.—The Liverpool Mercury of Saturday, July 13, says: "General Garibaldi, the celebrated defender of Rome, by the steamer Queen, from Gibraltar. The General took up his residence at the Sailors' Home in consequence of spirits. The General will remain in Liverpool for short time, but he contemplates a visit to America. Garibaldi is a tall, handsome man, of Charles Albert, the well-known leader of the republican system in Rome, is now residing at Tangiers, in Africa, and he is a native of Nice, and has been engaged in the great events in which he took such a large part. The most useful has been sold to a bookseller, of Paris, who has published it, at the same time in the French and Italian languages."

——Folly in 1850.—The *Osservatore Romano* publishes a letter from Fossombrone, of the 1st instant, as follows: "Yesterday morning, at half past 8, a fire has commenced to move its eyes in that town. Except its smaller size, it is the exact copy of that of the Vatican, which has been made by the Sculptor Sig. Bernini, and belongs to a woman called the *Pottora*, to who it was made a present on her wedding by a mangiapane, in the year 1846, and it was the first image brought to move its eyes almost at the same time as that of Bernini, and the miracle was first observed in private in the owner and her relations and friends. The bishop Monsignor Ugolini, afterwards got it placed in the Episcopal Chapel. A commission of theologians, assisted by a jury of medical men, has certified of the fact, and made a favorable report, in consequence of which the image was transported to a place where, says the letter, it is now cures the halt, the blind, the dumb, and the deaf. Immense sums have already been collected, and by the church on account of this wonderful miracle.

——The Philosophy of Drowning.—Man is the only animal that drowns naturally. He does so because he is endowed with reason—that is to say, with a hemispherical brain, and a long and flat face with a short nose. If he falls into deep water, in spite of a hemispherical brain, he has not presence of mind enough stick his nose out of the water, and is easily mighted but his heavy head, like a stone, presses his nose underwater. In this position he inhales and fills his lungs with water,—as he turns on the whole so much heavier than water as to sink. While the lungs are filling, the brain, which is heavier than the rest of the latter, and of course swims just as an iron vessel does. All, therefore, which is necessary to keep a person from drowning, is to place his head so as to keep out of the lungs. Suppose yourself a bottle. Your nose is the nozzle of the bottle, and must be kept out of the water. If it keep out, you will not drown. Do as follows: Then, to prevent its going down again, raise your left part under—head, legs, arms, all under water but your nose. If you do so, you will be safe. Keep out of water. All you need do to secure this is to clasp your hands behind your back, and point your nose upwards to the water, and keep it there. Your nose is the top of the vessel, and the water cannot get in. You will never go under water to the end of time, unless you clasp your brain, hand, knee, or foot under the it. Keep still with your nose pointed up in perfect repudence, and you are safe. This will do in tolerably quiet water. In dangerous water you will need a lift of the art of swimming.

——Superstition in France.—The *Courrier de Meuse* says:—"Witchcraft is still an object of belief our provinces. On Sunday, in a village belonging the Ardennes, a cow was found to be bewitched. The parish bull forgot to lay before the poor animal at the usual hours accustomed allowance of provender. The impatient cow bellowed, and, in vain, the poor bull tried to lay before her, and at last succeeded. The first sign of the freedom was to demolish a cabbage, which was in the neighborhood. The wife hearing noise ran to the place, and as soon as she saw the bewitched cow, immediately cut a piece of the cabbage hoofs, seized a cudgel and showered down a volley blows on the cropper of the devastator. But, not bold enough to stand the cudgel, the cow ran off, and, in her fury, and fell upon his neighbors, the oven, and, with horns and hoofs, turned the stable into a wreck. Since that time, the cow has been so quiet as to carry help. Her cries were heard, and with some trouble the bull was ousted from the stable, and forth with the cow was brought back to her duty. The impostor is the adjoint of the commune were attracted to the spot of the cow, and, on witnessing the animal's fury declared, after a short rate, that the bull was a sorcerer, or, at any rate, that he was possessed with the devil, and he ought to be conducted to the Ardennes to the authorities of the Ardennes, who, in the secondly obeyed, and the bull was dragged or drivel to the Ardennes, and, on his arrival, was placed the subject him to the formalities prescribed in the rite. The good priest fodhdon little difficulty in escaping pressing solicitations of the authorities, but, he, however, succeeded; but, though the bull escaped exorcism, he could not chase the chambles. Condemned death by the mayor as a sorcerer, his sentence was immediately executed.