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THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, MAY 6, 1850.

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THE MOTHER-IN-LAW.

A STORY OF THE ISLAND ESTATE.

BY MRS. EMMA D. E. SOUTHWORTH.

BOOK SECOND.

VIII.

THE TWO ATTACHMENTS.

Wouldst beard the lion in his lair—
The tigress in her den?—*Scott.*

When Gertrude reached the hall, she found Zoe standing mid-way its length, with the two bloodhounds crouched at her feet. She had just called them off the bailiff, who was now standing just within the door, his hat in his hand. Without deigning to notice him, Gertrude walked straight up to the standing rack, and taking her riding-whip down, began to crack it for pastime, just as a lady would open and shut her fan, or a dandy would twiddle his cane for amusement. The bailiff bowed—hemmed loudly twice or thrice to attract her attention, but Gertrude went on flinging out the lash of her whip and bringing it up with a loud report, while her fine, transparent nostrils expanded and quivered with spirit.

"Beg your pardon, mum! but you are Miss Lion, I presume?"

"Sir, you are very presuming!" exclaimed Gertrude, with startling, supercilious surprise, and glancing at the intruder from head to foot. Apparently used to rebuffs, the bailiff proceeded without embarrassment to say—

"You harbor a girl here who goes by the name of Zoe."

"I harbor a fellow here whose name I do not know!"

"Excuse me, mum! My name is Jones."

"And a very pretty name it is, too—isn't it, Zoe?"

"Ah, Zoe! That is the girl, is it? Well, Miss Lion, I have an attachment for this girl!"

"Indeed, have you, sir? Really, how condescending on your part! how flattering to her! Do you hear, Zoe? This gentleman declares that he has an attachment for you. What do you say to it, Zoe? Can you bid him hope? He is a nice-looking young man enough! a trifle bandy-legged and club-footed; a trifle round-shouldered, and a wee-bit cross-eyed; not fair to look upon in particular, and rather hard favored in general; still, no doubt, he has an excellent heart—at least his *attachment* does him credit! What do you say to him, Zoe?" Unable to comprehend this scene, Zoe gazed from one to the other, in distressing embarrassment. "You see, Mr. Jones, Zoe and myself properly appreciate the honor you have done us, while we gratefully decline your attachment. I am afraid, indeed, that in Zoe's case there is a *prior* attachment; we therefore decline *yours*, with many thanks, and with a high appreciation of its value! We think it does honor to your intellect and affections!" said Gertrude, with scathing irony. The bailiff was confused; making an effort to recover himself, he said—

"Miss Lion, you cannot affect to misunderstand that I come at the suit of Cassinoe & Co., clothiers, Peakville"—

"Oh-h-h! sure enough! He don't speak for himself! modest soul! He presses another man's suit—he is not courting on his own hook! He is not Cupid himself—only Cupid's messenger! It's a merchant-tailor that has fallen in love with you, Zoe!"

"Miss Lion, I say that I have an attachment for this girl!"

"Oh, *you* have! Just now it was Cassinoe & Co.—now it's *you!* Poor fellow! love has turned his brain; he doesn't know what he is talking about! Presently he won't know which end he is standing on!"

"Miss Lion, I repeat it, I have an attachment for this girl, and shall proceed to serve it!"

"I think you won't, sir! To say nothing of my brother's *prior* attachment, *I* have an attachment for this girl that will be likely to stand in your way!"

"Miss Lion, I attach Zoe Wood as the property of Miss Susan Somerville, and at the suit of Cassinoe & Co., clothiers, Peakville"—

"Oh, you do! Well! *I* attach Zoe Dove as the betrothed of my brother, at the suit of Brutus Lion, lover and avenger! and we'll see whose *attachment* is the stronger!" exclaimed Gertrude, her bosom visibly heaving—her nostrils quivering. The bailiff walked up to Zoe, and touched her on the shoulder.

"HANDS OFF!" shouted Gertrude, bringing the loaded end of her riding-whip down upon the floor with the force of a hammer on the anvil, the walls resounding with the report! The bailiff involuntarily started back.

"Come here, Zoe," said Gertrude, holding out her arms for the child. The poor girl—the victim of a vague terror—fled to her protector. Gertrude, with flashing eyes, raised the end of her whip, menacing the bailiff, while she encircled the waist of Zoe by one arm, and laid the head of Zoe gently on her own broad, soft bosom.

"There, there, there, there, don't be terrified, Zoe; nothing shall hurt you, Zoe! I'll horse-whip the fellow within an inch of his life, if he does but lay his hand on you again, so I will!"

"Miss Lion, are you aware that you are transgressing the law?"

"Mr. Bailiff, I don't care a fox's brush for any law but the ten commandments."

"Do you know that in harboring a slave you expose yourself to"——

"Mr. Jones, your way home lies straight out behind you. I give you two minutes' grace; and if at the end of that time you are not out of this hall, I'll put you out!" exclaimed Gertrude, her bosom heaving like the ocean waves in a tempest, her lips quivering, her nostrils distended, her eyes flashing, sparkling, and scintillating, as though they would explode.

"Miss Lion, do you know, are you aware, that you are threatening an officer of the law?"

"Ha! ha! ha! ha!—ha! ha! ha! Yes; and if an 'officer of the law' don't take himself out of my sight in double quick time, I'll take an 'officer of the law' by the nape of his neck and the strape of his pantaloons, and throw an 'officer of the law' over the precipice. You know me, sir? *I am Gertrude Lion!*"

"I know, and the county knows, Miss Lion, that you are one who sets at defiance all the laws of delicacy proper to your sex!"

"Hear the fellow, Zoe! Arn't you ashamed of being a woman, Zoe, when every 'critter' who sticks his spindle shanks into a pair of ragged pants, thinks himself invested with the robes of a judge, and entitled to pronounce upon what is delicate and proper for the sex! Whew! what a famous thing it must be to be a man! One might be a great empress, a great actress, a great poetess! But, what's all that to being a little 'man!' But this par parenthesis. I waste time. Come! Your two minutes are up, sir! To the right about! *forward! march!*" commanded Gertrude.

Deep thunder seemed to reverberate around the feet of the amazon. It was the low growls of her two bloodhounds, that crouched on either side of their mistress. They lay with their fore paws extended, their large heads laid upon them, their great red eyes glowing like balls of fire. They heard the altercation, and instinctively longed to spring at the throat of the intruder. Gertrude looked down, and noticed them for the first time. She smiled, laughed, crowed, shouted with delight, as she looked at them. Then turning to the bailiff, she said—"See here, Mr. 'Officer of the law,' I am going to count *ten*—just *ten*—and please the patient Lord! if you don't get out of here before I get to ten, it will go very badly with you; for, as soon as I get to ten, I shall say, '*Seize him, Thunder! Seize him, Lightning!*'"

Before she had said another word, mistaking her threat for a command, the bloodhounds made a spring at the bailiff, who turned and fled, they pursuing him, they gaining on him down the hill.

"Good Heaven! he'll be torn to pieces!" exclaimed Zoe, in terror, while Gertrude fled out to recall the dogs. In ten minutes she returned, followed by them.

"And now," she said, "my dear Zoe, you must be put in a place of safety. I can't whip six men, and there is no doubt that six or eight will return here this afternoon. I did not believe it—I mean the worst of it. No, I did not dream it could be true, else I would have had you safe from this fright before this time!"

"But, dear Gertrude, what is it, then? Can they take me up for father's debts?"

"My dear Zoe, my dear little one, it is all a mistake. Have confidence in me, and rest easy until Brutus returns, and then all will be well. Zoe, promise to obey me in all things until Brutus comes, will you?"

"But my father!"

"My dear Zoe, the hand of extreme age has fallen on your father's head, calming his brain to infantile repose. Do not disturb him, and he will not interfere with you."

"Well, I will promise you, Gertrude."

"Then, Zoe, go now, and make yourself up a little bundle of provisions, to last one day. Pack up a pillow and a sheet into as small a compass as possible; then put on your bonnet, and come down here, while I go and catch Borealis!"

Greatly wondering, Zoe went and did the bidding of her protectress. By the time she had returned to the hall, Gertrude had saddled Borealis, and donned her own riding cap. Mounting her horse, and taking Zoe before her, she cantered down the precipice, through the valley, up the ridge of rocks to Mad river passage, and took the path down the same frightful gorge that had witnessed the wreck of the carriage.

"Where are you taking me, Gertrude?"

"My dear child, to a place of safety. Don't ask any more questions—wait till Brutus comes home—have faith in me—I am the most disinterested friend you have in the world, except your poor old father, who cannot help you."

Zoe asked no more questions until they got to the grotto. Gertrude put her down, dismounted herself, and led her into the cavern.

"You are not a coward, Zoe?" she asked.

"Oh, no!"

"Not afraid to stay by yourself all night?"

"Oh, no! I have been used to it all my life, when father would stay away all night with Major Somerville."

Well, this is a safer place, under all circumstances, than the Dovecote. It is safe, because it is inaccessible—that is, to everybody but *me*. Zoe, my child, you must stay here for a few days. I will bring you clothes, food, fruit, and books and pictures, and everything to amuse your solitude; and I will come two or three times to see you. And you need not confine yourself to this cavern, but can wander at will through all this glen, for it is perfectly safe and inaccessible."

"Thank you, dear Gertrude! But if you will bring me my needle, and thimble, and scissors, and my little workbasket, with the hexagon quilt, I shall not be lonesome. And, Gertrude, don't forget to feed my Bantam hens with Indian meal dough—and be sure you don't forget to tuck father up warm when he goes to bed."

"I will remember everything, Zoe. And now I must return to my poor patient, who is alone, you know. I will return again this evening. Good bye, Zoe!" she said, stooping and kissing her.

"Good bye, Gertrude!"

"God bless you, child!"

"And you too, Gertrude!"

And the friends parted.

The bailiff returned to Peakville, breathing vengeance against the audacious amazon. He would have a writ out against her. He would have her arrested, he swore in his wrath. Somewhat cooled and exhausted by his long walk back, however, and upon cooler reflection, he decided not to take any further notice of the matter, feeling very doubtful of its final issue, and having a shrewd suspicion that he would not figure to much advantage in the business—added to which was the knowledge that Brutus Lion was not a man to be enraged with impunity, he contented himself with the design of returning the next day to the Lair, with a *posse comitatus*, to take the girl.

On the next day, as Gertrude was waiting on her patient, the sound of many feet was heard in the hall below, accompanied by the furious barking and yelping of dogs, and rattling of blows.

"It is a descent, or rather an ascent of the Goths and Vandals," exclaimed Gertrude, laughing; however, I am ready for them!" and she marched below. The hall was half full of men. The two dogs were kept at bay.

"Ha! ha! ha! ha! ha! Really, gentlemen, there is strength in numbers!" shouted Gertrude, as she bounced into the midst of the room, flung her torrent of hair behind her, and let fly her blazing eyes over the circle.

"Ha! ha! ha! ha! ha! Try to keep each other in heart! do now! for I do not know what I should do with seven fainting men! Oh! don't be alarmed! I won't tread on you! I am always careful when I walk among ants! See, there are seven of you! Seven men come to take one little girl out of the arms of one big girl! Lord-a-mercy! dear me! what heroism! Seven of you! You remind me of the Seven Champions of Christendom! You're an honor to your native country! Seven of you! seven heroes! Lord, if Brutus had been home, you'd have come seven hundred! Seven hundred heroes! What a gallant army!"

"Miss Lion!" said the deputy-sheriff, advancing from the group, "we have come to search the house for a girl by the name of Zoe—and, with your leave, we will proceed."

"And pray, sir, who are you?"

Her scornful eyes crawled over him from head to foot.

"I am the deputy sheriff of ——— county!"

"Oh! *Mister* Deputy Sheriff of ——— county! I am *so* proud to make your acquaintance! *Mister* Deputy Sheriff of ——— county, I am a hero-worshipper; and I have this morning for the first time heard of your heroic exploits at The Crags! How, with a posse at your back, you courageously made an onslaught upon three feeble women and a weak old man—how manfully you terrified the two women to death, and how valiantly you in single combat knocked the aged man down! how you bound and carried him off in triumph—in company with his wife! Oh-h! *wonderful* Mister Deputy Sheriff of ——— county! my poor house is *immortalized* by your visit! The ground *you* tread is *classic* ground!" declaimed Gertrude, waiving her hand theatrically.

Every one laughed. The brow of the deputy sheriff crimsoned.

"Miss Lion, your pride and scorn is not to interrupt me in the discharge of my duty! I proceed to its execution! Gentlemen, follow me!"

"Mister Deputy Sheriff, I do you homage!" exclaimed Gertrude, grounding her riding whip, and bending her head in mockery.

A peal of laughter broke from the crowd. The deputy sheriff rushed out in a rage. Gertrude sprang to her feet, shouting with laughter.

The search was made—unsuccessfully of course; and, at the end of the circuit of the house, the whole party returned to the hall, where Gertrude again mercilessly opened upon them her battery of sarcasm.

Just as they were preparing to depart, horse's feet were heard rapidly approaching, and Brutus Lion was seen to throw himself from his saddle and stride into the room!

"What's all this? What the devil is all this, Gertrude?" he exclaimed, looking around him in astonishment and anger.

"Oh! it is Mister Deputy Sheriff and his myrmidons come to take Zoe! It takes seven of them to do it, you see! and they have not succeeded!"

"Where is Zoe?" exclaimed the giant, trembling in his Hessian boots.

"Ah! that's what Mister Deputy Sheriff would be glad to find out!"

"Then they have not arrested her!"

"*Arrested* her! Pooh! am *I* not her keeper! Had Susan Somerville been *me*, Mister Deputy Sheriff would not have marched off with flying colors from the Crags!"

"Then Zoe is safe, Gertrude?"

"Yes! Zoe is safe!"

"Thank God!"

"Now, Brutus, don't turn a Miss Molly on my hands! S'pose she hadn't been safe! S'pose she'd been in danger. Could not you have rescued her?"

"Gertrude, my dear sister," said Brutus, without noticing her speech, but taking a packet from his pocket, "here, take this letter up to your patient—it is from some of his friends in England—and tell him I will wait on him in the course of the evening."

Gertrude took the letter and ran up stairs.

"Now, Mr. Power, I will speak with you alone, if you please!" said Brutus, beckoning the deputy sheriff into another room. "At whose suit have you attached this girl?"

"At the suit of Cassinoe & Co., clothiers, Peakville."

"How much is the debt?"

"One hundred and seventy-five dollars."

"I assume it! Come with me to Peakville, where the business can be legally arranged!" and, without another word, Brutus Lion remounted his horse, and rode rapidly to Peakville, followed by the *posse*, most of whom had come to the Lair rather from curiosity than necessity.

In an hour, Brutus Lion had arranged the transfer of the liabilities, and again mounting his horse he galloped furiously towards the Crags, saying—

"Now to purchase the freedom of this poor girl, before another writ of attachment at the suit of some other creditor is served upon her!"

He reached the Crags, threw himself from his horse, and entered the sitting-room.

What a scene of misery met his eyes! A corpse was laid out on tressels in the midst of the room. It was covered by a snow-white sheet, that, clinging closely to the body, revealed its deathly rigidity. By its side sat one solitary mourner, clothed in black, her arms extended over the body, her head fallen upon her arms, in an attitude and expression of hopeless grief!

Brutus approached reverently—

"Miss Somerville!"

The mourner did not seem to hear.

"My dear Miss Somerville!"

"Oh!" moaned Susan, without moving.

"My dear Miss Somerville, I am grieved, deeply grieved, to see you sorrowing thus!"

The mourner raised her head, revealing a face frightfully ravaged by grief.

"Look there! oh! look *there!* She is dead—*dead!* They said it was disease of the heart!—enlargement of the heart! They were right! Oh, yes! they were right! Her heart filled and filled with sorrow, till it could hold no more, and then her strong heart broke—*it broke!* Anna! Anna!" and, with convulsive but tearless sobs, down went her arms again upon the form of the dead.

Tears filled the eyes of Brutus Lion. At any other time, and under any other circumstances, he would have left the mourner alone with her dead; but now, for the sake of the living, he was forced to intrude upon this sacred sorrow. In order to shorten the business as much as possible, Brutus, before leaving Peakville, had taken the precaution to get a bill of sale drawn up, ready for signature, and to draw his money from the bankers; so that what he now had to do was very simple—to make Miss Somerville understand that Zoe was her property, to gain her consent to the sale, and her signature to the deed. Again he reverently addressed the mourner—

"My dear Miss Somerville, I am very, very sorry for the cruel necessity that compels me to intrude on your sacred grief, but the welfare of a fellow-creature depends upon my gaining your attention. Can you give it me for a few, a very few minutes?"

Moans only answered him.

Brutus laid his hand upon her hand, to attract her attention, as he said with deep earnestness—

"Miss Somerville, listen to me! The vital interest of Zoe Dove hangs upon this hour! The happiness of her whole life depends upon my gaining your attention for a few minutes. Will you hear me?"

And, taking her hand, he led her unresisting to the seat at the window.

Then, sitting down by her, he told her the whole story of Zoe, as the reader knows it. He told her in a very few words. Susan heard it with all the apathy of deep sorrow. She expressed no surprise; she *felt* none. Her deep grief shut out every other emotion. Brutus now proposed to purchase Zoe. He had to repeat this proposition several times before Susan, pre-occupied by her sorrows, could be made to understand and receive it. Then, speaking slowly and brokenly, like one trying to break the spell of an over-mastering thought, she said—

"But if she is mine, as you say, I will free her at once."

"But, my dear Miss Somerville, that will not do. To emancipate her would require time and trouble. In the mean while, another writ of attachment, at the suit of some other creditor, would be served on her, and your benevolent designs defeated. What I propose is the only safe way. It is very easy. Here is the deed. You have only to write your name at the bottom, and she is mine—she is safe. Come, Miss Somerville, do it," pleaded Brutus, putting the pen in her listless fingers, and laying the deed before her.

"Well, well; as you think best."

And, scarcely conscious what she did, Susan Somerville wrote her name at the bottom of the bill of sale, and Zoe become the property of Brutus Lion.

Susan Somerville tottered back to her seat by the corpse, threw her arms across the body, dropped her head on them as before, in the abandonment of profound sorrow.

Brutus Lion sprang into his saddle and galloped towards the Lair.

That evening, Gertrude hastened to the grotto, and brought back Zoe in triumph to the Lair. That night, Brutus, Gertrude, and Zoe, were grouped around the kitchen fire—

"Now, then, dear Gertrude, remember your promise, that as soon as Brutus should return you would explain this *mistake.*"

Gertrude looked at Brutus; and Brutus, taking the hand of Zoe in his own, began—and slowly, cautiously, tenderly revealed to her the secret of her birth, and her present condition. The shadows of the fire-light danced so fitfully upon her face that he could not see its expression while he spoke. He told her all—*all.*

At the conclusion of his story, Zoe remained silent, with her hands clasped upon her lap, with her head bowed upon her bosom. At last broke from her lips in passionate grief these words—

"Oh! my parents! my parents! what misery this deception has made! Oh! that I had never been born! My heart is breaking! breaking! Let me die! let me die now! I never shall look up again! never! no, never!" and, overcome by grief and shame, she sank upon the floor and rolled upon her face.

Gertrude and Brutus made a simultaneous spring to lift her. Brutus caught her to his bosom, laid her head against his chest, laid her arm up over his shoulder, and soothed her. This kindness touched the fountain of her tears, and she wept, long and freely. This weeping relieved her, as weeping always does. Her grief expended itself as a rain-cloud in showers. It is only quiet grief that kills, as in the case of Anna. "Reaction equals action." At last, Zoe looked up clearly through her tears, and said—

"At least it is *you* who have bought me! is it not, Brutus? Come, it is not so bad as it might have been. There is comfort in all things, and at least I am to live with you *always*, dear Brutus! And I am to cook you nice dishes that you like, and to mend your clothes, and to make your house comfortable, and to make you happy in many ways. Indeed, it is not so bad, after all! It is not bad at all! After all, it is nothing but the name! only it came on me like a shock; and I was a little proud! that's all! I shall not be sad! People will say that the schoolmaster's adopted daughter, who used to be so proud of her housekeeping, is a slave. Well! I shall not hear them say it. I shall be here with Brutus! waiting on Brutus! and I shall be happy! Don't grieve for me, Brutus; *indeed* I am not unhappy! Do you think that Zoe considers it such a misfortune to belong to Brutus! *No, indeed.* Come! don't weep, Brutus! dear Brutus! I hate to see tears in manly eyes!" and she raised her apron and wiped away the tears from the eyes of her great big lubberly nurse, who was quivering with emotion like a mammoth *blanc mange.*

"Zoe, my child!" he said, "did you think I would hold you bound a moment longer than I could help? Zoe, you should have been free to-day, but that the court-house was closed before I had even completed the purchase. Zoe, you shall be free to-morrow; and then you must return with your adopted father to the Dovecote!"

"Must I leave you, Brutus?"

"Zoe, my dear child, *yes.* You cannot be my wife, Zoe—and I will not make you my mistress; and loving you as I do, Zoe—loving me as you do—*that* would be your fate if you lived with me, dear child! Take her, Gertrude;" and, pressing one passionate kiss upon her lips, he tossed her in his sister's arms, and bounded from the room, bounced into his chamber, where the great big fellow might have been seen extended on his bed, sobbing, blowing, and floundering like a harpooned whale.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

For the National Era.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

CHARGE OF INCONSISTENCY.

I am somewhat surprised that all the friends of Freedom throughout the land have so far mistaken Daniel Webster as to charge him with inconsistency. It may be true that the *spirit* of what he said in 1848 *seems* opposed to the spirit of what he has said in 1850; but I trust it can be shown that if he manifested the least favor to the Proviso by what he said in 1848, he must have been in that state described in Holy Writ, where it is said, "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging"—he was *not* himself.

The people—many of them, at least—have mistaken Mr. Webster. To suppose that his opinions were ever on the side of Freedom—to suppose that he ever drew one full inspiration of generous liberty—to suppose that his veins were ever warmed by one pulsation of a conviction of human equality—is to mistake the man. So far from his being inconsistent, his late speech fully accords with the opinions with which he commenced his career of statesmanship, as avowed on an important occasion, and at a time when he was entering into the prime of manhood.

In 1820, Webster was, I believe, twenty-eight years of age, and a member of the Constitutional Convention met in Boston to revise the Constitution of Massachusetts. In that body, the fundamental principles of human liberty were discussed: such as—

1. Universal suffrage.
2. The support of religion by taxation.
3 Whether Government is founded on Property or Manhood.

1. On the proposition to limit the exercise of the right of suffrage to property-holders, Mr. Webster said:

"I shall object to giving up all pecuniary qualifications, though I would be content with the smallest tax. There is a great difference between this and universal suffrage."

In this is betrayed Mr. Webster's want of Faith in Man—his low appreciation of the virtues and capabilities of his fellows—and his failure to recognise the great right of civil equality, even among "white folks." This is perfectly consistent with his late speech in the Senate.

2. As to the support and propagation of religion by constitutional enforcement, the Constitution of Massachusetts, of 1820, was an improvement upon that of 1780. The old Constitution provided for the support of the "Protestant" religion by a tax on all the property of the Commonwealth, while that of 1820 substituted the word "Christian" for that of "Protestant," so as to embrace Catholics! After the Convention had drawn such a heavy draft upon human liberty, Mr. Webster thought they had gone quite far enough. He said—

"The word 'Protestant' has given place to the word 'Christian,' and the clause enjoining attendance on public worship is struck out. What more is required? Nothing but to make certain the right of going from one society to another of the same denomination. There is no right of conscience in the case."

Thus, Mr. Webster would bind the people by a constitutional obligation to pay taxes to the support of religion, whether they believed in it or not—whether they were opposed to giving money for the propagation of doctrines they deemed erroneous and pernicious or not! "No right of conscience in the case!" Deists have rights of conscience as other people; and yet Webster so little understood the nature of human rights that he would compel deists to pay money for preaching what they despised. Universalists were not recognised as "Christians"—therefore Webster would reënact the old English law compelling the people to pay a tax to the regular system of religion, and leave them to maintain their own creeds as best they could!

3. Another proposition was, whether the representatives should be apportioned among the several counties according to the amount of property or according to the number of inhabitants; in other words, whether Government was founded on property or on manhood.

John Adams, then eighty years of age, was a member of this Convention; and when he found democracy to be in the ascendant, he rose, as he said, "with fear and trembling," to warn the Convention of the doom to which they were hastening, by placing so much power in the hands of propertyless people. His gray locks quivered with the terror which agitated his venerable soul, in view of the wreck of the Government on the quicksands of civil equality. Give equal power to the poor and rich, and the poor, being the more numerous, "would vote us out of our houses."

Webster seemed to agree with John Adams, that property was the true and only source of political power, and its protection ought to be the chief object of Government, as, in the absence of military force, it is its chief support and defence. On this subject, Mr. Webster said—

"But, sir, I take the principle to be well established by writers of the greatest authority. In the first place, those who have treated of natural law have maintained, as a principle of that law, that as far as the object of society is the protection of something in which the members possess unequal shares, it is just that the right of each person, in the common councils, should bear a relation and proportion to his interest. Such is the sentiment of Grotius, and he refers, in support of it, to several institutions among the ancient States. Those authors who have written more particularly on the subject of political institutions, have, many of them, maintained similar sentiments. Not, indeed, that every man's power should be in *exact* proportion to his property, but that, in a general sense, and in a general form, *property, as such,* should have its weight and influence in political arrangements. Montesquieu speaks with approbation of the early Roman regulation, made by Servius Tullius, by which the people were distributed into classes, according to their property, and the public burdens apportioned to each individual according to the degree of power he possessed in the Government. * * * One of the most ingenious of political writers is Mr. Harrington, an author not now read as much as he deserves. It is his leading object in his *Oceana* to prove that *power naturally and necessarily follows property.* He maintains that a Government founded on property is naturally and legitimately founded; and that a Government founded on a disregard of property is founded in injustice, and can only be maintained by military force. * * It is strange, says Mr. Pope, in one of his conversations, that Harrington should be the first man to find out so evident and demonstrable a truth, as that of property being the true basis and measure of power. In truth, he was not the first. The idea is as old as political science itself. It may be found in Aristotle, Lord Bacon, Sir Walter Raleigh, and other writers. Harrington, however, seems to be the first writer who has illustrated and expounded the principle, and given to it the effect and prominence which *justly* belong to it. *To this sentiment, sir, I entirely agree.* It seems to me that, in the absence of military force, political power *naturally* and *necessarily* goes into the hands which *hold the property.*"

So much the more necessity, then, of withholding political power from property, and of confiding it exclusively to the whole people, without distinction of property. Property is aggressive, and the only mode of guarantying the public welfare is to give the people, poor as well as rich, the whole power. But this was thought dangerous; for, as Webster said, when the poor become numerous, they grow clamorous, and look upon property as their prey and plunder!

After thus seeing what opinions Mr. Webster held in 1820, when in all his youthful freedom and vigor, is it surprising that he should have made his late speech? Is not that speech in harmony with his views in 1820? Has he not been a consistent, anti-democrat, man-distrusting conservative? Has he not always supported the aristocracy—that aristocracy that would ride down the people, white or black; that aristocracy which would make slaves of *white* people, if it had the power?

A man old-fashioned enough to oppose universal suffrage, to enforce contributions for the support of the established church, and to distribute political power according to the amount of property and disregarding the number of people, is the very man to oppose the Proviso, and labor shoulder to shoulder with those who trade in human flesh.

L. A. HINE.

Cincinnati, 1850.

P. S. The above quotations from Webster, in 1820, are from the report of the Constitutional Convention, and may also be found in an article I contributed to the Democratic Review for February, 1848. H.

For the National Era

SLAVERY SINFUL IN ITSELF,

AND NON-FELLOWSHIP OF THOSE PRACTICING IT THE DUTY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

No. 9.

OBJECTIONS.

5th. There are other portions of Scripture supposed by many to favor the policy of staying in the church to purify it: such as Matt. xiii, 30, "Let the wheat and the tares grow together." We reply:

1. If this text means that true Christians ought to stay in a corrupt church, an anti-Christian church, where the controlling influences sanction immoralities, then Scripture clashes with Scripture; for it will not be disputed for a moment, that in Rev. xviii, 4, and other like passages, God commands his people to come out from a corrupt church.

2. The text, as used by the objector, would destroy all discipline whatever. Such a construction would open the floodgates of vice, pour in upon the church every immorality, and make it the receptacle of drunkards, thieves, liars, adulterers, and murderers. Yet many, and even ministers of the Gospel, give the text such a construction.

3. The error of such persons is in using the *field* as the *church*, whereas Christ uses the field to designate the *world.* See verse 38—"The field is the world." God had made the world good and pure. By the temptations of Satan, man fell; and at that time, under Satan's influence, many were annoying Christ and his followers. Some of these felt as James and John did—like calling down fire from Heaven to consume the enemy. Christ said, "let the tares and the wheat grow together"—"let the wicked continue to live in the world, as well as the righteous, and by the example of a pure church, a consistent walk on your part, and the saving efficacy of my spirit, many of these wicked persons may be converted. If not, at the judgment day I will gather all together," and "those that do iniquity will I cast into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the stars in the kingdom of their father." Verses 41—43.

6th. Again, it is said, Christ communed—continued fellowship—with Judas, and we may with equal propriety commune with slaveholders.

1. We ask, would the Apostles have continued fellowship with Judas after the overt act, had he survived it? Would you, reader? Would a single denomination, now existing, be willing to retain him in their fellowship, still in heart and *practice* a "devil," as the Scriptures declare, and as the objector supposes him to be? Is the church the place for known "devils"—having already *committed* the act of betrayal and *murder.*

2. As we cannot see into the hearts of men, Christ gave us a rule that we should *judge a tree by its fruits*—judge men by their *overt acts;* and gave no rule for excluding any man called brother, unless he is actually guilty of teaching some corrupt doctrine, or living in some immoral practice. Now, Judas was not doing *either* of these when Christ communed with him. He was not yet an offender; and as such, neither the civil nor divine law would discipline him. Hence Christ did not. The case is then no justification to those who are eating with—fellowshipping—the *actual and deliberate extortioner.* With such we are positively commanded not to eat.

7th. Reverting to Scripture again, the objector says: "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat." 1 Cor., xi, 28. The objector uses this passage to teach that every man is to judge of his own fitness to commune or have fellowship in the church; and that if he eats condemnation to his own soul, it is none of our business. The passage is very often so used in our country, and as a reason, particularly, why we should make no distinction between those who are slaveholders and those who are not. We reply:

1. Such a construction would destroy all discipline for *any offence* whatever.

2. There is not a church, nor, perhaps, a church member, that understands the text as teaching the doctrine assumed by the objector. No one will allow a brother, who has become a gambler, counterfeiter, adulterer, or acknowledged murderer, to have fellowship with them. They will not let such be their own judges. They do discipline such.

3. The Apostle never intended the words of the text to be so construed. He wrote them for a wholly different purpose, as any man can see by reading the connection in which they are used. The church at Corinth, in imitation of Pagan rites or ceremonies, out of which they had just emerged, and with which they were yet daily surrounded, had converted the Eucharist into a Bacchanalian feast—a feast of gluttony and drunkenness. See ver. 20—23. They were not partaking of this feast in a spiritual manner, and for spiritual purposes—not using the emblems simply as a remembrance of what Christ had done and was still doing for them; but they were partaking of it in a vain, sensual, and most irreverent manner; "not eating the Lord's supper," ver. 20—"not discerning the Lord's body," ver. 29. Now, to correct this sensual and irreverent *manner* of celebrating the Lord's supper, the Apostle penned the text under consideration; and not for the purpose of saying that each man should be his own judge, whether he should come to the Lord's table or not. Not for this, but to correct an error in this *manner* of celebrating the Eucharist or Lord's supper—as though he had said, see to it, that when you come to celebrate the Lord's supper, you celebrate it not in this profane, irreverent, and sensual manner. Let a man examine both his motives and his acts in coming to or partaking of this ordinance. To construe the words of the text as the objector does, would make the Apostle contradict himself; for in a preceding chapter he expressly says, "with drunkards, liars, fornicators, covetous persons, and extortioners, no, not to eat."

8th. Does the objector again say, "if this be true, then we must leave the State and the world—go where no slaveholders or extortioners are." We reply, the Apostle has answered this objection, and if the objector was a careful reader, he would have seen it. By the phrase not to eat, as used in 1 Cor, chap. 5, ver. 11, the Apostle means that we should not have Christian fellowship—see ver. 13—"therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person." In ver. 10, he says he means "not that we should not have common intercourse with the men of this world," "then we must needs go out of the world." But if a man *that is called a brother* be a fornicator, or an extortioner, with *such an one* have no Christian fellowship. You may exhort him, labor to convince him of his error, and though you *feel kindly* to him, and desire him to be reclaimed from his error, yet you must obey God and respect his church and his religion too much to consent that they shall be so lowered and corrupted as to sanction the immorality. For thereby you will destroy the *standard of right* and take away *the very power to purify society;* and really do the *extortioner an injury*, by deceiving him with the idea that slaveholding is consistent with piety and ultimate salvation.

9th. Again the objector says: The Scriptures teach us to mark them that cause divisions—divisions are therefore wrong—union is desirable." True, but you do not quote all the text. The Apostle says—"Mark them that cause divisions *contrary* to the doctrine ye have learned."—Romans xvi, 17.

1. If this text means what the objector desires to teach, it forbids any and all separation, even from mystic Babylon, and clashes with that text which says, "Come out of her, my people." It forbids even that the Protestants should have come out from the Roman Catholic church. But the objector must see better by this time—that his position proves too much.

2. The Apostle had a very different object in view from that of condemning those who were coming out from gross immoralities, to form a pure church. He wished to condemn those Judaizing teachers of his age, who were making parties *for the sake of gain*—"who counted gain a godliness"—who "served their own bellies"—see verse 18. The Apostle had himself come out from the Jewish church, and was establishing a new one, and in other places had commanded that, even under the new dispensation, we are to "withdraw from those that walk disorderly."

3. The Apostle having taught Christians to mark them that cause divisions *contrary* to the doctrines they have learned, and himself having taught that it is wrong to eat with the "extortioner," and "manstealers," those who fellowship the manstealer and the extortioner are the persons composing and *keeping up* the divisions, "*contrary to the doctrine he has taught.*" Such persons are the schismatics; and on them rests the responsibility. The tables are turned.

We are in favor of union, much more than now exists We would be in favor of requiring a profession only of those doctrines *essential* to salvation—making the articles of belief as few as possible, and administer the rite of baptism, either by immersion or by sprinkling, as the convert or applicant honestly believes the word of God requires. We would not trammel a brother's conscience, especially in non-essentials, in order that he should comply with our view, when, as all admit, there is ground for honest difference of opinion, and that *mode is not essential.*

We are not schismatics, but in favor of the most liberal basis which the Bible allows; and every denomination embracing the essential doctrines of Christianity could unite with us. And it would be better that they should let go many of their distinctive non-essentials, unite on the essentials, and present a strong and broad front for truth and righteousness. But to lower the conditions of membership so as to take in the covetous, the idolater, the extortioner, the manstealer, is not charity, but reckless rebellion against God's commands—corrupts the *fundamental principles* of Christianity—opens the floodgates of vice, and tears down the distinction between the church and the world. They are the enemies of the church—the schismatics—who do this.

JOHN G. FEE.

Cabin Creek, Kentucky.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

PARIS, *April* 11, 1850.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Languor and indecision are now reigning at Paris. The Conservative majority of the Assembly are unwilling to strike down the popular liberties immediately before an election, which would be a prompt answer of the people. Thus, the bill placing the nomination of the mayors in the hands of the President, the bill giving the Administration the right to disperse or forbid any political meeting, the bill for the destruction of the liberty of the press, all lie tranquil in the committee rooms. After the election, they will be resuscitated, and, perhaps, enacted into laws. The moral power of the last vote of the people of Paris has shaken the courage of the timid majority. They now profess a supreme devotion to the Republic. The legislative club of the Rue Richelieu, composed of Royalists of all colors, has resolved to hoist the banner of the Republic for the time being. The Conservatives are discouraged, and begin to think of being more democratic. Even M. Thiers is now willing to see M. Dufaure made Minister. You remember the couplet:

When the Devil was sick, the Devil a saint would be;
When the Devil was well, the devil a saint was he!

Which means, that if the approaching election at Paris should give a majority in favor of the Conservatives, we shall see this sick party filled with new life and vigor, and ready to attack and crush not only its enemies, but the Constitution, as soon as that may be practicable.

The present republican pretensions of the Royalists in the Assembly are satirized and exposed by some of their own papers. *La Patrie* reminds them that cowardice is always the precursor of defeat. Most of their organs, however, take very kindly to the new idol, and are prodigal of professions of respect to the laws and Constitution. All that persuasion, menaces, and arguments, can do, is done in order to effect a separation between the bourgeoisie and the operatives. The meetings of the Socialists are caricatured, misrepresented, and slandered; the most abominable sentiments are put into the mouths of the orators, who are made to chant, in every tone, the praises of pillage and the guillotine. It is useless to say that these accounts are fabricated out of whole cloth. The meetings are held in the presence of police officers. Any word which could give the least possible pretext to the Government, would occasion the immediate arrest of the orator. The tone of the Socialist journals is moderate and reserved, while that of many of their enemies is seditious, violent, and revolutionary. But the fact which shows more clearly than any other the spirit of conciliation abroad in the Socialist party, is the intention to nominate as their candidate the venerable Dupont, (de l'Eure,) formerly President of the Provisory Government, and one of the founders of the Republic. Calumny has never blackened his name; for, in a long political, judicial, and ministerial career, his name has been synonymous with moderation and probity. The versatile and talented editor of *La Presse*, M. de Girardin, announced himself as candidate immediately after the option of M. Vidal for the Rhine department. His recent services to the democracy have certainly been great, but his past career offers too many examples of changes to permit the democracy to have full faith in him. Besides, he holds one principle which is essentially anti-republican. He says that the majority has a right to adopt any government it may think proper, and that were the majority to vote for an absolute monarchy, he should think himself bound to assist in the reëstablishment of that form of government.

This doctrine, too common among American democrats, assumes that the individual has no rights whatever, but that society has all. It is the Socialism of M. Louis Blanc, who would annihilate the man and aggrandize the mass. How different is the American doctrine of rights inherent to humanity, of rights which the man cannot alienate if he would, and of which others cannot deprive him without crime. Girardin says that other people, who wish to be slaves to an absolute master, have the right to force me to become one, too; the American declaration asserts that they are criminal, not only in robbing me of my freedom, but in wishing to alienate their own—and that any contract for this purpose would be void. Girardin's doctrine is the Catholic one, the Socialist one, that a man has a right to put another or others between himself and God, as interpreter and director; the American is the republican and Protestant doctrine, that, as every man is directly and personally accountable for himself, no one has a right to subject himself to the arbitrary control of another—no man can serve two masters.

M. Girardin's republicanism has this dark spot on it, and, although in all other respects he is evidently the man for the hour, his candidature will probably give way to that of Dupont de l'Eure. Mr. G. holds about the same relative position to monarchy that Mr. Greeley holds to slavery—attacking it very vigorously, but interposing no objection to the people's establishing it for themselves. M. Dupont may be compared to Mr. Chase—both attack the evil as a crime, let it be committed by whom it may, people or rulers, and keep themselves clear of all complicity in it.

The people of Paris, being thoroughly devoted to the Republic, object to M. Girardin this defect in his philosophy on a point which has, by the progress of public sentiment, become almost an abstract one. They will lay him on the shelf—the proper place in the present age for every politician who does not consider the rights of society to end where the rights of the individual commence.

The Conservative party here, as well as elsewhere, does not trouble itself about the symmetry and harmony of a man's opinions, but about his availability. It has nominated M. Fernand Foy as its candidate. He is the son of General Foy, distinguished under Louis Philippe for his liberalism and his hostility to the doctrine of Divine right. Hence the Legitimists refuse to support him, and the Conservatives scarcely hope for the victory. In their despair they have taken to threats. President Bonaparte's Sunday paper, *Le Napoleon*, says that if the bourgeoisie do vote for the Socialist candidate, the electoral law will be amended so as to prevent such deplorable results, and invites them to choose between a Socialist candidate and the law. This language shows the despair of the gentlemen who pass their time in the President's ante-chambers, plotting the restoration of an empire, with pretty titles for themselves. The same paper advocates also a revision of the Constitution, and promises to give its opinion on the different amendments proposed, provided always the discussion be continued in a proper spirit. This recommendation by the President throws some light on his speech delivered on the same day to the General Council of Agriculture. Several passages were strange enough: "Four years ago," said the President, "you were in possession of tranquillity and security, and could study how to ameliorate the condition of the country." He then assured them that it was time to build up again the institutions shaken down by the "general disorder" which took place in 1848, and reconstruct a strong Government, able to look over the interests of the people. By these and similar expressions, M. Bonaparte continues to keep alive the uncertainty in the public mind. Men hesitate whether to pronounce him an obstinate and stupid person, or an ambitious conspirator.

A day or two after the threat in the President's paper, one of his friends and intimates, Colonel Espinasse, laid a resolution before the Assembly, or rather a bill, for the neutralization of the evil of suffrage. This project provides that no person shall vote, unless he has resided two years in the commune, and is engaged actively in some commercial, agricultural, or manufacturing business. If a workman, he must produce a certificate from his employer, that he has worked one year, without interruption, in the same shop. Beggars, and persons without fixed residence to be excluded, as also all persons condemned by the police or criminal court, or by a political court. The vote of the army to be mixed with that of the people, so that it cannot be distinguished. All elections to be null if no candidate receives the majority of all the votes given. And to render the bill ridiculous, a punishment is provided for not voting—for the first offence, a fine of from five to ten per cent. on the amount of taxes paid by the offender; for the second, a fine of from ten to fifteen per cent. on the same sum; and for the third, loss of all civil and political rights for a space of time not less than two nor more than five years!

Here is a conservative run mad for you. And yet he comes directly from the Elysée National. M. Bonaparte lets fly the shaft without showing his hand. The weapon will wound his own friends, no matter where it may fall.

The Government pursues unremittingly its war on the poor teachers of primary schools. More than four thousand have already been turned out of employ on account of their political opinions, and the cry is still, "Lay on, Macduff!" A committee of representatives has been formed for the purpose of receiving contributions for the temporary maintenance of these poor wretches; but this committee is treated by the Government as factious and disposed to foment conspiracies. The persecution now raging in France for opinion's sake would not discredit the happy days of Louis XIV. Fortunately, there are now no *lettres de cachet* or Bastile.

The newspaper called *La Voix du Peuple* is to be killed off as soon as possible by fines, and the imprisonment of its publishers and editors. It has been seized, at the Post Office, three times during the last two weeks—once for a philosophical article on Catholicism, once for an article on the budget, and once for a review of the foreign politics of the day. I have read the objectionable articles, and cannot see what plausible pretext they afford to this ticklish and sensitive Government. But the remark of some Procureur General, "Give me four lines written on politics by any man, and I engage to hang him," is solid morality for the present administration. The French indictments are loose enough, leaving everything to the caprice of the jury. The fabulous Mississippi indictment for "kicking up a d—d fuss generally," is no fable here. One count in the indictment of *La Voix du Peuple* is for "publishing an article tending to excite the people to dislike the Government."

One of these articles was in relation to the budget of 1851 just presented by M. Fould, the Jewish banker and present Minister of Finance. This promptness is very praiseworthy in M. Fould, his predecessors having set him the example of waiting until the commencement of the year before presenting the budget. That of 1850 is not yet voted. M. Fould professes, in this great financial, to restore the equilibrium between the receipts and expenses, leaving, indeed, a balance in favor of the former of more than eight millions; to diminish the tax on landed property; to lessen the stamp tax on mortgages, and to restrain within proper limits the floating debt. The budget of 1850 amounts to fourteen hundred and twenty-seven millions, that of 1851 to twelve hundred and eighty-four millions, being a reduction of one hundred and forty-three millions. This is an advance toward the proper standard, but still the plan of the budgets of Louis Philippe is kept up. To make up the receipts, it is proposed to sell most of the forests and landed property belonging to the State, which would yield more than fifty millions. The comments on this part of the budget by *La Voix du Peuple* were the immediate pretext of one of the seizures.

The discussion of the budget of 1850 has occupied much of the time of the Assembly. Each Minister defended the abuses of his own department from the attacks of the committee of retrenchment. The occupants of the tribunes had a good opportunity to scrutinize the personal appearance of the great men who govern France, from M. Parien, who, with his black eyes and hair, and swarthy complexion, looks as if he had just sprung from some well-sooted stovepipe, to Gen. D'Hautpoul, who is as white as if he had the habit of living in a meal barrel. Everybody said many good things about reform and economy, but no serious change has yet been effected in this sense—a great many whittlings here and there, no cutting at the very heart of the evil.

The bill proposed by the Government, providing for the transportation of political convicts to the Marquesas islands, was the occasion of one of the most eloquent discourses ever uttered. Victor Hugo was the orator. His speech has been struck off in an edition of 100,000 copies, and will be distributed through all France. It is an eloquent protest of a humane man, against the lingering death reserved, in a distant island, in prison, for the writers and politicians who may fall under the displeasure of the Government.

For some days past, the Chamber has been discussing the bill for conferring on a private company certain monopolies and privileges, and guarantying it an interest of five per cent. for its money, provided it will undertake to build the railroad from Paris to Avignon. This bill revives the corruption and speculation in Government favors which so disgraced the last years of the reign of Louis Philippe. Everybody was surprised to see M. Lamartine come forward as its advocate. It appears that certain conversations with M. Rothschild have altogether converted M. Lamartine. in regard to M. Lamartine, one is always inclined to ask the question of the sailor blown up by an explosion at a conjuror's exhibition, "What will he do next?" He is a political didapper, that is always coming up to the surface in the most unexpected places. Nobody expected him to appear on the Avignon railroad, but M. Cremieux was ready for him, and gave him a shot which ruffled his feathers.

The Assembly has had time to annul several socialist elections, and ratify all of the majority party. This is done with a cool disregard of principle which would make the fortune of an American Congressman. A new election is to take place on the Rhine on the 28th, although the socialists had a majority at the last of more than 16,000. The election in the department of the Haut Rhine has been confirmed, although the conservative majority was but 188, and proof was offered that more than 2,000 illegal votes had been given.

The city of Rouen has been thrown into disorder by an arbitrary act of the prefect, who took the responsibility of forbidding, at a late hour, the representation of the *Wandering Jew*, a dra-

m formed out of the celebrated work of Mr. Sue. This piece was performed for several months in Paris, to the great horror of the Jesuits, whom it attacks, but the Government did not think it prudent to forbid it here. Notwithstanding all the restrictions on the Jesuits, the Rouen prefect thinks it contrary to law to attack them. The theatre was crowded during its representation here, and the crowd applauded with great enthusiasm every thrust at the Jesuits. Order has been restored at Rouen, but the theatre is preparing to large houses Moliere's play of Tartuffe.

It is idle for the Government to think of opposing the natural hatred of the people for the Jesuits. It breaks out on all occasions. The magnificent piece now played here, called Bonaparte, flatters it by representing the Italian priests as outcrosses and hated with a deep hatred of hypocrisy. Alexander Dumas's new play of Urbain Grandier is an excellent satire of the corruptions, malice, and strategems of the supple members of the Papal hierarchy.

There is little news from other countries. The Greek difficulty has been brought peacably to a close, and nothing remains except to pay the indemnity adjudged to England.

Russia is amassing troops in Poland, but protests that her intentions are entirely pacific.

The Pope has left Portici for Rome, but it remains doubtful whether he will return to that city at once. He may tarry some time on the road.

Switzerland is perfectly free from fear of an attack. The gold of the reaction is more busy there than their armies. The Swiss election takes place in May. The allied Governments are straining every nerve to have the *Sonderbund* party successful. They will not succeed in this effort.

Clouds and thick darkness are gathered about the Erfurt Parliament. It will probably result in little else than the return of Germany to the institutions of 1815, and the evaporation of the hopes of the friends of Union.

PRUSSIAN HEMP.

A report has been made to the Minister of Public Works in Prussia, from which I take the following particulars:

In Prussia and Poland hemp is sown at the end of May or beginning of June, according to the weather. It arrives at maturity toward the end of August or beginning of September. The plant is then torn up with the roots and bound in bundles containing from 200 to 300 stalks. The heads containing the seed are cut off and dried separately. If the weather is fine and dry, the curing can be commenced in three or four days, by the immersion of the stalks in standing water of any kind, ponds, lakes, or ditches. Running water would cover them with mud and sand. The hemp remains in the water from two to five weeks, according to the temperature. After the fifteenth day they should be examined to see if every two days, to see that they do not become too much soaked for the temperature and the water exercise an influence very variable that we cannot can be fixed to the time of immersion; sometimes it is twice as long as at others, our day too much is enough to make the hemp soft and diminish the strength of the fibre, one day too little may leave it hard and brittle.

The stalks are dried by placing them roots upward, so that the water may run out easily. This drying by the air and sun is prolonged during the spring and summer; if wood is abundant, the drying is sometimes done in houses constructed for the purpose. If the stalks are not dry enough, they are broken on brakes similar to those employed for flax. The thread having thus been separated from the woody parts, it is put up in bundles or bunks weighing from 5 to 10 pounds. The air should be admitted to these in the month of July, when the hemp becomes easily heated.

The hemp prepared by immersion is much broken in winter is softer and more flexible than that dried in the open air, but has not so good a color. Some of it is broken with the flail, but this injures the thread of the hemp—making it weaker and twisting it.

The inspection of hemp is very severe in Prussia. It is visited twice before the permission is given to export it. The purest and longest hemp is sent to Ameriea, Denmark, and England.

Yours, &c.,

W.

MEETING IN FAYETTE COUNTY, OHIO.

Pursuant to previous notice, a Free Soil meeting was held at Bloomingburg, Fayette county, Ohio, April 27, 1850.

P. Ogden was called to the Chair, and H. C. Stewart appointed Secretary.

H. L. Preston, Esq., of Columbiana county, being present, addressed the meeting in a clear and lucid manner.

Several resolutions were adopted, among them the following:

Whereas we, as Free-Soilers, have frequently expressed our willingness to support any man for office, possessing a good moral character, who would step on the platform of Free Soil, and who down at Buffalo, in August, 1848, come from that party they may; therefore,

Resolved, That we, having fully tried the old Whig and Democratic parties in supporting for office those who professed to occupy that platform, and have been as often betrayed, we will only support those on whom we can depend for the future.

Resolved, That the signs of the times are such, that we have only to hear a man speak, to determine whether he, from the heart, is opposed to the extension of slavery over Territory now free, and when we hear him say that he is in favor of the Wilmot Proviso—but we have no confidence in his professions of opposition to slave-extension, for at the present crisis it should be paramount to every other question.

Resolved, That we, having not taken place in the minds of the common people, in regard to the opposition to the extension of slavery over territory now free, that the anti-slavery sentiment prevails, and that is, no slave Territory, no more slave States, now and forever.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be sent to the National Era for publication.

PHARAOH OGDEN, *Chairman*.

H. C. STEWART, *Secretary*.

PUBLIC MEETING.

At a public meeting, with distinction of party, held pursuant to adjournment, at the Oak School-House, in Upper Providence township, Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, March 30, 1850—

On motion, Joshua Place, Esq., was called to the Chair, and John Jacobs appointed Secretary.

The Chairman stated the object of the meeting, the objects of the meeting, the following gentlemen were appointed a committee to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the call:

Thomas Kulp, W. W. Taylor, George D. Price, Uriah B. Shade, and Thomas West, who reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

[We copy some of them:]

Resolved, That the representative, of whatever grade, who proves false to his God and his country in the hour of peril and time of need, upon the great question of human freedom, is a fit subject to be hled upon the names of man, and the Benedict Arnold of the age.

Resolved, That to meanly entail upon posterity, through the action or non-action of Government, when slavery will have gained more power, the settlement of a question which we are afraid to meet ourselves, is to be infamous in the extreme, and any Northern man willing to sustain such action would be a fit instrument in the hands of tyranny to enslave the mass of his brethren.

Resolved, That we will hereafter be faithful to freedom's noble representatives, for their manly, dignified, and heroic efforts to preserve inviolate the glorious sentiments of the Declaration of Independence, and to maintain unsullied the honor and integrity of our country. The admiration of the present age awaitie them; the blessings of the future will keep their memories green in the hearts of its children.

Resolved, That California having complied with the terms prescribed by the Constitution, it is the duty of Congress to immediately give her admission with her present boundaries, separated from all other questions.

Resolved, That copy of the above proceedings be sent to our Representative at Washington, and to each of the newspapers at Norristown for publication.

JOHN JACOBS, *Secretary*.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY,
Middletown, Ct., April 29, 1850.

To the Editor of the National Era:

In the Washington *Union* of last week I find a communication from Rev. Mr. Bascom, the president of the Wesleyan University had held a meeting, at which they passed resolutions "denouncing the Wilmot Proviso," "in favor of the Union," "opposing Northern agitation," &c. &c. "The result," it says, "has astounded the Free-Soilers," and "may be considered as no trifling indication of the change going on in the public sentiment."

Now, sir, I know not how important may be the influence of the action of a few boys on the world's destiny in this respect; but believing that the *truth* is the best, I will give, in a plain statement of the facts in the case. A meeting, composed of about *one half* of the students, after some discussion, *did*, by a bare majority, pass resolutions disapproving of the Wilmot Proviso. But on the next night at a *full college meeting*, the vote was reconsidered, and by an overwhelming majority the resolution consigned to the table, from which the most strenuous efforts of the propagandists have failed to take it up. So it appears that though the "venerable Nestor" of the *Union* might "chronicle this item with joy," he was nevertheless egregiously taken in by the communication of our sapient Freshman. Such political precocity is seldom met with; but it appears, in his hurry to "write for the paper," that our friend was premature in his communication, and thus perpetrated a vile slander on a very respectable body of young men. The final result, Mr. Editor, *we* consider as no "trifling indication" of public sentiment, not merely in Connecticut, but throughout the entire North—an uncompromising hostility to the extension of slavery. So strong is this sentiment in Connecticut that we confidently predict the election of the consistent Free-Soiler, Mr. Trowbridge, as United States Senator, instead of Mr. Toucey, the non-interventionist.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, MAY 9, 1850.

SPEECH OF MR. THOMAS.—According to promise, we give to-day about the best speech on the Southern side of the Territorial Question, we have heard. It is very able, and better-tempered than might be supposed, coming from a member who throatened the Union so fiercely in the beginning of Congress.

A HINT.—We know this is a busy time of the year with our country friends, but they must not forget to renew their subscriptions in season, and to send us a token of their good will in the shape of subscribers.

Mr. WILMOT made an excellent speech on the Slavery Question in the House, last Friday afternoon. We shall publish it in our next.

☞ Subscribers who do not file the *Era*, and have numbers 155, 162, 163, 165, 166, 167, or 168, on hand, will confer a favor by remailing them to this office.

MR. WEBSTER AND THE WASHINGTON UNION.

The Washington *Union* in its new love for Mr. Webster seems to have forgotten its old favorites. It records all his journeyings and all his speeches; it sorrows in his affliction, rejoices in his joy, glories in his triumph, nurses his reputation, defends him against all attacks, cherishes him with all the tenderness of the "honey-moon."

Scarcely a number of the paper appeared last week, without some affectionate notice of Mr. Webster. Wednesday, he was the honored theme of three articles, occupying two columns and a half—one, denouncing the Administration for its "assaults on Messrs. Clay and Webster," another, expressing pleasure at the liberality with which the "great expounder" was received at home, the third, giving a report of his arrival in Boston, and his speech upon the occasion. *Thursday*, the admiring editor resumes the subject, and occupies a column and a half more to the distinguished representative of what the *Union* used to style, "Blue-Light Federalism." It pronounces his speech, "worthy of the orator and worthy the occasion," "an admirable, we may say, a noble appeal to the citizens of Massachusetts," "in dignity of manner, power of style, beauty of eloquence, and, above all, in firmness of purpose, everything it should be." The *Augusta* (Ga) *Constitutionalist*, having denounced Mr. Webster for his lack of moral courage, his affectionate friend of the *Union*, conjures that paper not to give way to gloomy anticipations: he is sure Mr. Webster will not disgracefully desert the post of duty. "True," it says, "he cooperated in the proposition of separating California from the Territorial Governments; and, in that respect, Mr. Clay manifested his *superior sagacity*, if not *generosity of character*; but we understand the best authority, that Mr. Webster deemed it the best way of effecting the objects he had in view; and that he intended, by that vote, not to abandon an iota of the fine sentiments and bold enunciations of his celebrated speech. Mr. Webster *has it now in his power to bruise with his heel the serpent's head.* Fanaticism must be boldly met, to be put down."

The pleasing theme is resumed on Friday; the *New York Evening Post* and the Free Soil and Abolition press, with their vials of wrath, are thrust aside to make room for the *Boston Courier*, *Newburyport Herald*, and *Baltimore Clipper*, with their vials of incense for the Massachusetts Senator. The *Union* grows more and more confident, and trusts he "will stand up like Mount Atlas, unmoved!"

The Democratic Press of the West does not relish this new position of the "sole organ of the Democracy at the seat of Government," as the following paragraphs show. The *Indiana State Sentinel*, is the State organ of the Democracy of Indiana, and the *Ohio Statesman*, the State organ of the Democracy of Ohio—both, supporters of General Cass at the last Presidential election.

From the Indiana State Sentinel.

We have been much gratified at the tone of the *Ohio Statesman* for some time past, in reference to the political aspect of affairs at Washington. It has seemed to speak as if it truly apprehended the tendency which has so long existed there to sacrifice the entire interests of the Democratic Party, for the purpose of unjustly favoring the interest of a certain section of the Confederacy. It is high time that a stop should be put to such a condition of things. It is time to checkmate a game, the end if not the object of which tends to perpetuate the Whigs in power, because they are willing, for the sake of power, to become the pander of Slaveocracy. It is time to do this, not only to *avoid any just complaint of sectionalism*, which may be unfairly made against us, but also that we may at least retain our self-respect as well as the esteem of conscientious men.

The speech of Mr. Webster is but the *denouement* of the game which has been playing at Washington during the whole of the present session—a session which passes in disgrace anything ever enacted in Mexico. This speech, which is nothing but a bid by Webster for ultra Southern support for the Presidency, will, as it should, damn him to the lowest pit of political perdition. And yet some *Democratic* papers *puff* the venal thing, and cry hosannas to the most infamous of libels against the Democratic party. The *Ohio Statesman* justly speaks of this:

"We have read this late 'remarkable' speech of this most remarkably inconsistent New England statesman—the author of the famous Buffalo document that any liberal-minded, just-hearted, intelligent *national* patriot, can feel it proper to utter aught but prompt and entire condemnation of the case, the tone, the spirit, and the ill-considered and too palpable object, of such a production, at such a time, and from *such* an author! That Mr. Webster intends to Union in any sense in the extreme, we have not the slightest idea. That he has put forth this mongrel mixture of good and bad—a speech aimed to countenance sectional excitement and then to escape, if, and at the same time the nuncioatory of the whole 'Northern Democracy'—for his *own* mere exclusive personal advantage, we have not the slightest particle of a doubt. A 'noble' and 'manly' effort, forsooth—seeking with poor, paltry, partisan falsehoods against the 'Northern Democracy.' It is easy to conceive in what took of a man's heart lies the feeling that seeks utterance in the form of praise for such a production as Daniel Webster's late speech!"

EMIGRATION TO CALIFORNIA.

Emigration to California is going on with great rapidity, chiefly from the free States. It would be well if the country papers would furnish the statistics of the emigration this spring in their respective counties. The *Register*, of South Bend, Indiana, publishes a list of one hundred and seventy persons who have started this spring for St. Joseph's; and the editor remarks that the list does not comprise all the individual cases, or smaller companies. This is a striking illustration of a vast movement going on throughout the entire North. This drain of population, occurring at a time when a new cession is about to be taken and another apportionment made, is rather unfavorable to the North. It must reduce to some extent her representative power.

While Americans are pouring upon the Pacific coast, the tide of emigration sets rapidly upon our Atlantic shores. The social and political effect of this change of population, are becoming the subjects of serious speculation, and there are those who profess to apprehend danger to our institutions from this source. There is much to be hoped, little to be feared, from the revolution in progress. It is well that Americans, with their strong attachment to this Union, their habitual respect for law, and their aptness at self-government, should organize the new States on the distant shores of the Pacific. Had a foreign population obtained the numerical ascendency there, our title to *sovereignty* would have become in time merely nominal, and it would have been long before the frame-work of society could have been established as it now is.

We can spare enough of our countrymen for such a work, and yet retain vitality enough to assimilate to our social organization the hundreds of thousands of strangers who come to take their places. The foreign emigrant, feeling himself welcomed into the American family, denied no privileges belonging to the home-born, placed on an equality with all other citizens, soon becomes Americanized, and his interest in the land of his adoption exceeds that in the land of his birth. Hitherto no prejudices or policy that seeks to proscribe him on account of his foreign peculiarities, or to compel him to sacrifice any of them, no antagonism is aroused in his nature, and he falls insensibly under the silent, but irresistible assimilative process everywhere tending to a homogeneous population.

THE NASHVILLE CONVENTION.

The scheme of a Nashville Convention, having answered its purpose, in frightening a sufficient number of the venerable politicians of the North, is now to be given up. A few chivalrous spirits that regarded it as a reality, not a shame, still cling to it; and perhaps there may be a gathering of some sort at Nashville, but it will not be *the* Convention that awakened the patriotic anxieties of the tremulous Mr. Cass.

Richmond, Va., it seems, has decided against the Convention. The good people held three meetings to consult about it, but at the third resolved that, owing to the hopeful state of affairs in Washington, the thing was not at all necessary.

Mr. Seddon of the House of Representatives being present, tried to move them to a different conclusion, but it was "no go." From his observation of events at Washington, he felt authorized to declare his full conviction that the meeting should decide in favor of the Nashville Convention. He expressed the decided opinion that but for the *decided* movement of those who had urged this Convention, the Wilmot Proviso would at this very moment have been passed by the House of Representatives; and he was sure that the abandonment of the Convention at this juncture would have the most injurious influence by raising doubts of Southern earnestness. Mr. Seddon's decided opinions availed nought; the meeting held decided opinions the other way. The resolutions moved as substitutes for the original ones reported, were adopted, 214 to 105; and one of them runs as follows:

"6. *Resolved, nevertheless*, That, under existing circumstances, an earnest attempt being now in progress in the Senate of the United States to adjust, on a satisfactory basis, our present difficulties, we deem it inexpedient at this time, in anticipation of measures of a contrary character, to take any further action in relation to the Convention contemplated to be held at Nashville."

A strong objection urged against the abandonment of the Convention was, that Daniel Webster and Lewis Cass might backslide; but after a full consideration of the chances, it seemed to be agreed that, in view of what had taken places, these venerable gentlemen would continue steadfast. The *Richmond* (Va) *Whig* cannot believe that they will so easily forget the exhibition of Southern spirit which has proved so wholesome in the instance of Mr. Adams. Admitting, it says, that it were consistent with the known character of these gentlemen to back out—"with their lofty renown—with that love of fame, which is strongest in strongest minds—have they not already seen enough of Southern feeling and Southern spirit to deter them from a step so dangerous?" We "reckon" so.

The Democratic papers in Richmond are scandalized at the conduct of the meeting. One of them, the *Examiner*, is out of all patience, and thinks it simply ridiculous that "a dirty little village" like Richmond, of thirty thousand inhabitants, and half of them nutmeg Yankees, should be considered the exponent of the feelings of the great State of Virginia!

We half sympathize with the *Examiner*. This Nashville Convention has been a sort of pet with us; we have gone out of our way to say a good word for it now and then, but the truth is, there are so many doughfaces on both sides of Mason and Dixon's line, one set anxious to furnish, and the other just as anxious to accept, a pretext for not holding the Convention, that we begin to fear there will be no show at all.

THE COALITION.

We have repeatedly called the attention of the People to the coalition between Whig and Democratic leaders in Washington, to put down Free-Soilism. The policy of Messrs. Clay, and Webster, has continued so long existed there to sacrifice the entire interests of the Democratic Party, for the purpose of unjustly favoring the interest of a certain section of the Confederacy. It is high time that a stop should be put to such a condition of things. It is time to checkmate a game, the end if not the object of which tends to perpetuate the Whigs in power, because they are willing, for the sake of power, to become the pander of Slaveocracy. It is time to do this, not only to *avoid any just complaint of sectionalism*, which may be unfairly made against us, but also that we may at least retain our self-respect as well as the esteem of conscientious men.

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PENNSYLVANIA AND HER NEIGHBORS.

Of all the free States, Pennsylvania is perhaps the least enlightened on the question of Slavery, and the most amenable to the requisitions of the South. In the early stages of the Free Soil agitation, before the slaveholders had organized their system of intimidation, the Whig and Democratic parties of that State, obeying the popular impulse, were running neck and neck in the policy of Slavery-Restriction. The candidates of both parties for the office of Canal Commissioner, pledged themselves to it, and the Legislature without distinction of party, passed resolutions affirming it.

But a series of reactionary movements affecting the Democratic party was soon instituted, under the auspices of the Administration. With the Democratic press of the State and the leading politicians under his control, it was no difficult task to convince the masses of the party, ignorant as they are of the aggressions and demands of Slavery, and of its power in the National Councils, that they had been deluded by the Federalists into a mere sectional struggle, which could have no other effects, if persisted in, than to destroy the Union of the Democracy and the union of the States.

The sudden change produced in the action of the party by these movements, shows how much mastery one mind may acquire over many, that choose to give up the right to think for themselves. Public meetings of the Democracy in various parts of the State revealed the triumph of Buchananism, and the votes of the Democratic members of the Legislature, by spurning the Wilmot Proviso, prove that the revolution is now nearly complete.

"Isaachar," said the old patriarch, "is a strong ass, couching down between two burdens, * * and he bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute"—a true type of the Land of Penn, only it couches under one burden, instead of two. But it is always bowing its shoulder to *bear*, and becoming a servant to tribute. "Held to service or labor," is a phrase describing its normal condition; and if by any sudden impulse it break away and become fugitive, it scarcely needs a pursuer to bring it back—it returns voluntarily to the yoke. None of the States of the North is under such subordination to the Slave Power; and this is owing chiefly to the excellent discipline of Mr. Overseer Buchanan.

We were unreasonable enough to hope, when Messrs. Brown and Ingersoll of Philadelphia were left at home by their constituents, that Pennsylvania was about to send Representatives to Congress bearing the stamp and attributes of manhood; but she is worse off in this respect than ever. Compared with the treachery of Gilmore, the weakness of Irving, his predecessor, is virtue itself; and the position of Charles Jared Ingersoll was respectable, compared with that of Thomas Ross. The speech of this member was destitute of a single decent sentiment. He denounced the People of the free States in unmeasured terms, for their aggressions on the rights of slaveholders, and denied most vehemently that the latter had ever done more than stand upon the defensive. He even went so far as to denounce California, and avow unqualified hostility to her admission as a State, although, he said, in obedience to his constituents, he should be compelled to vote for it—unless they should change their minds. Some of his sayings were as false as his sentiments were abhorrent. For example; speaking of the publication of incendiary papers and documents at the North, he said:

"Sir, if this be not aggression, then I do not know what aggression means. Emancipation, by no principle, moral or religious, *by no feelings of humanity for their fellow men, and by no mercy for their intended victims*, these Abolitionists pressed forward to consummate *their wicked designs, with the torch of the incendiary in one hand and the black flag of negro emancipation in the other.* And, sir, in the very front rank of that fanatic throng, stood Hypocrisy,

——— with holy leer,
Soft smiling and demurely looking down,
But hid the danger underneath the gown.

Mr. Chairman, was all this no aggression? Sir, if the Democratic party had not taken a bold, but perhaps doubtful, constitutional ground, it would have been something more than aggression—it would have been *cold-blooded massacre*. The South would have *been surrounded up with the conflagration of her cities and towns, and the air would have resounded with the dying shrieks of her helpless women and children; blood would have flowed like water, and the war of extermination would have been carried on, until half of the States of this Confederacy had been desolated, if not entirely depopulated.* But the Democratic party saved the country from so direful a calamity. The peril to the South was imminent, and required prompt and decided action. *A bill was passed, empowering the President to prohibit States to open the mail-bags, and take out the incendiary publications, which the Abolitionists were secretly circulating throughout the Southern country. It was only by these means that a servile insurrection was prevented, and the domestic tranquillity of the South in some measure secured.*"

This is a pretty illustration of the intelligence of a genuine Democrat from Pennsylvania of the Buchanan school. *Never* *by blood and scenes of fire* have been prevented from rolling over the South by—*just nothing at all!* The bill, which he says was passed, originated in the Senate, but was killed on the third reading. That he not all. It was never expected that it would pass. The design of it was to place Mr. Van Buren, at that time in the chair, and a candidate for the Presidency, in such a position as to compel him to risk the loss of his Southern or Northern supporters. Such a bill, with so mean a purpose, and so effectually killed that nothing approaching it in principle has ever been attempted since, was passed, according to Mr. Ross, and its passage saved the South from utter ruin!

If Pennsylvania were not already so illustriously represented in the Senate of the United States, we should recommend this enlightened gentleman as a suitable candidate for the place of Senator Sturgeon.

After all, it will not do to despair utterly of a State which can furnish such Representatives as Stevens and Wilmot, Strong and Chandler.

THE PRESS.

The *Raleigh Register* (N. C.) has an interesting article on the press of that State, from which we glean a few items.

There are 33 newspapers in the State, all weekly, except two semi-weekly and one tri-weekly. No magazine or other periodical is issued.

The *Register*, from the best information it can obtain, averages the weekly circulation of each paper at 550, which gives a total circulation of 18,150 per week, for the whole State.

This being true, the *Era* alone circulates only about 3,000 fewer copies, per week, than the entire press of North Carolina; and a single New York daily circulates 3,000 more copies every day, than the whole press of that State circulates in a week.

The population of North Carolina is near 600,000—or, we may estimate about 108,000 families. But, as the press of the State circulates weekly but 18,150 copies, we may estimate that not more than one out of six families is supplied with newspapers.

Here is a table prepared by the New York *Independent* of the circulation of papers and periodicals in New York city in 1849:

No. of Papers.	Aggte regular issue.	Aggate weekly issue.	Aggte yearly issue.
13 Daily papers issue	125,200	754,200	39,218,400
9 Semi-weekly	27,400	64,900	3,337,600
9 Weekly, orthodox	72,950	-	3,845,900
7 Weekly, ist'l, R. Cath., &c.	20,100	-	1,066,000
5 Weekly, Sunday	42,000	-	2,184,000
41 Weekly, miscellaneous	242,100	277,550	12,659,200
16 Monthly, religious	292,100	-	3,409,200
4 Monthly, miscellaneous	76,250	-	915,000
6 Bi-monthly, miscellaneous	54,250	-	651,000
21 Monthly magazines, miscellaneous	133,339	-	1,600,284
4 Quarterly, miscellaneous, religious	5,800	-	23,200
9 Quarterly, miscellaneous, religious	27,750	-	111,000
1 Semi-annually	100,000	-	200,000
188		1,196,650	69,247,884

Number of reams of paper consumed, 147,095. The weight of all this paper is about 5,600,000 pounds, and its cost alone is above $600,000.

By a different classification, we make out the number of *volumes* made up in a year to be as follows:

Daily and semi-weekly papers	152,650
Religious papers and periodicals	442,500
Other papers and periodicals	444,914
Total, volumes	1,040,164

We have not taken the pains to ascertain by actual inquiry the average increase in the products of the press in the year 1849. If we estimate it, in the aggregate, at only 5 per cent, it will give the following results:

Daily and semi-weekly papers	160,282
Religious papers and periodicals	464,730
Other papers and periodicals	467,160
Total, volumes	1,092,172

"It may be asked," says the *Raleigh Register*, "why make these mortifying contrasts? Why pull the veil from our mother State, and expose her defects to the curious eye, to the gaze of a scoffing world? We answer, that in no way can our people be made to appreciate their true position in the social scale. It is not that others may see and deride our backwardness, but that our own citizens may see and strive to remove it, that we make the exposition."

One of our Alabama exchanges presents the following as the total circulation of newspapers in the State:

Democratic, (weekly)	21
Whig, (weekly)	19
Total weekly papers	40
Democratic, (tri-weekly)	2
Whig, (tri-weekly)	1
Neutral, (tri-weekly)	1
Total	4
Democratic, (daily)	3
Whig, (daily)	2
Neutral, (daily)	1
Total	6

Making, in all, 50 papers published in Alabama, which, we think, speaks volumes for the intelligence and literature of our citizens.

Averaging these weekly at 500 each, the issue weekly would be 30,000 in a population of 650,000.

NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN REPRESENTATIVES.

A personal observation of proceedings in three successive Congresses, and of the characteristics of the Northern and Southern delegations, when brought in collision, has resulted in impressions not very favorable to the former.

The North is cursed with public men, infirm in purpose and in principle; with trimmers and time-servers in politics. Political life has few attractions for the majority of its best citizens, who devote themselves entirely to their own private interests; of course, not excluding the social interests of the communities in which they reside. It is their habit, however, to leave political affairs to the management of inferior, frequently of very corrupt men. Having a common interest, these men, through intrigue, cheaert, and caucus management, do pretty much as they please, shaping the policy of the party, and selecting candidates, too often totally unfit representatives of the general intelligence and character of the people.

In the South, political ambition is the ruling passion of the more elevated classes. Politics is their study—to the art of governing they dedicate themselves.

Hence, while the North sends many men to Congress who are fit only to be used as tools by the expert demagogue, the South is represented generally by its strongest citizens—men of action and governing talent.

Do we not find in this difference one reason why the Northern delegation in Congress, though more numerous than the Southern, is so often *subject*? It does not lead, but is led. Its inexpert, weak, or corrupt members are soon intimidated, entrapped, or seduced, by the wily tacticians of the South, and, ere it is aware, it has lost the only power it had—its numerical ascendency.

Do you ever find *Southern Doughfaces*? That genus of animals does not exist. A Southern member has the nerve to fulfil his pledges. Difficulties in the way quicken his resolve; his energies rise with the occasion; the stronger the opposition, the more adroit, the more determined his action. Though he may be weak in himself, he is strong in the support of his constituents, who generally decided in the concessions so that there is no division in his delegation. We refer, of course, to controversies of a sectional character.

The Northern members cannot be depended upon for a long struggle. They may triumph on the first vote, but this is no ground for predicting their ultimate victory. We have never seen a Northern minority overcome or in any way baffle a Southern majority; but we have often seen a Southern minority break down a Northern majority.

We said there were no doughfaces at the South. Even when a Southern man chooses to oppose his own section on a particular question, and side with the North, he assumes leadership; the Northern members seem to fall under his governing power. It was Mr. Benton, a Southern man, who really fought the battle for Oregon. It is Mr. Benton who has conducted the struggle for California.

On the other hand, Northern members who unite with the South sink into subordinate positions. To Mr. Webster, with his vast intellect, and Mr. Cass, the last Presidential candidate of the Democracy, are assigned inferior posts in the work of "Compromise," as it is called, while the part of leader is imperiously assumed by Henry Clay. Mr. Clay is chairman of the leading committee; Messrs. Cass and Webster are his aids, feeling themselves honored, we presume, by being suffered to follow in his footsteps.

The North has a great deal to do before it can secure the political influence in the National councils, to which its population and intelligence entitle it. Its best citizens must spare enough time from their business and literatures to preserve their political affairs from the mismanagement of drivelling or sordid politicians. They must send to Congress men of character and courage—not your clap-trap stump-speakers; not traders, accustomed to study politics in the fluctuations of the stock market; not empty brawlers, whose entire capital consists of party prejudices and animosities; not profligates, who, on open questions, where money could not be disguised, generally keep their promises, while on questions of operations, by covert ways, they are seeking either to thwart the will of their constituents, or place themselves in a position where they may find an excuse for treason; not hypocrites, who aim to turn philanthropic sentiment to political advantage; not gentlemen distinguished merely for scholarly attainments, or fino oratory, or great intellect—but men, sound in principle, sagacious in judgment, earnest in action, vigilant, steady, physically and morally courageous—men of action and endurance, whose yea is yea and nay is nay. Ill the free States send such representatives to Congress, they will never be able, whatever their numerical advantages, to meet the slave States on equal terms. We do not say that such representatives from that section may not be found, but we do say that they are too often rendered powerless by colleagues of a totally different character.

For the National Era.

STATE OF THINGS AT JAMAICA.

From a file of the *Morning Journal*, published by Mr. Osborn, a colored man, I have gleaned several interesting items, some of which will doubtless be acceptable to the readers of the *Era*. The conduct of the Home Government, in relation to the Sugar act, continues to be animadverted upon severely. It is pleaded that an exception ought to have been made in favor of the Colonies, in their transition state, and that slave-labor sugar ought not to be admitted into British ports from Brazil and Cuba on equal terms as from Jamaica. This is argued on the ground that the policy injures the British Colonies, and has greatly stimulated the slave trade. The argument, sustained as it is by facts, appears unanswerable. Still, it is strongly recommended to the Colonies to bear up manfully against this state of things; to introduce agricultural and mechanical improvements; to practise economy; to lessen the expenses of Government; to improve their social condition; and to work their way to prosperity, in spite of impediments.

Complaints are made that the Legislature, instead of offering inducements to foreigners to trade with the island, is, by unwise legislation, throwing obstacles in the way. The Home Government is assisting, it is said, by consenting to the alienation in the route of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, and thus making St. Thomas, instead of Kingston, the landing-place between Southampton and Chagres.

Great satisfaction is expressed at the prospect of having not only American skill, capital, and enterprise, introduced into the island, but also American labor. "If the Americans can come here and work mines, or produce sugar or cotton, at a remunerating rate, we can do the same. And if we do not, it must be because we lack the energy, industry, or skill which they will bring." The island is rich in resources, but it is confessed that "all hands, high and low," have been distinguished for their "pride and indolence," and a hope is expressed, that if the Yankees come among them, the people of Jamaica will be shamed out of their unskilful and wasteful modes of cultivation and labor, and that the abundant resources of the island fully developed by laborers and employers, uncontaminated by the system of compulsory and unrequited labor.

"Let us," says the Journal, "begin again, and try to work up. How do men in England and Scotland obtain means? By patient, honest industry and economy. But all must needs be gentlemen in Jamaica, and gossip about in broadcloth coats and silk gloves, instead of handling a spade where a plough cannot be afforded, and shaving the untaught, uncared-for, uninstructed mass, what a man can do when he has a mind, and is disposed."

Jamaica produce is to be carried to England in American vessels, owing to the new Navigation law. A first-class American ship is advertised to leave Falmouth, Jamaica, direct for London, about the middle of April. The rates of freight will be reduced—two shillings and sixpence sterling per cwt. for sugar, 2½*d.* per gallon for rum, and a halfpenny per pound for pimento.

The friends of temperance and education will learn with satisfaction that the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in the island have taken measures to arrest the progress of ignorance and intemperance, and lead the people onward in the path of virtue and improvement. Intemperance, it is said, has made such progress, that it is necessary to adopt measures for checking, and, if possible, putting an end to it. "Our experience," says the Journal, "on this side of the island, does not justify us in saying that the bulk of the population have become more intemperate, or are more so than they were." Still it confesses that intemperance prevails, and should be checked. It calls upon the Legislature to take action. It calls upon all who have influence, to use it, for the purpose of preventing the use of intoxicating drinks.

A lecture on "Jamaica and the Americans," by a gentleman who had recently visited the United States, is published, with editorial comments. The lecturer says—"As to soil and climate, extent and variety of productions, facilities to make and accumulate wealth, and general appearance of the country," we are greatly superior to the United States; "and on my return, I felt more contented than ever to remain in Jamaica, and participate in the afflictions of the times, in the sure hope of better days, to contribute my humble share of duty in promoting the common weal." He speaks highly of the "honorable estimation in which manual labor is held by all classes" in America, and contrasts it with "the spirit of the sensual life, which is a stranger to self-denial and sustained energy, and the pride that is founded, not on what is ennobling, but on the pitiable notion that hard work degrades, instead of elevating the mind," too characteristic of the inhabitants of Jamaica. The habits and opinions which distinguish slaveholding communities still linger in the island, and the lecturer strongly recommends a new condition of society, and says, "There is not a man in the world that will so shamefully reward the efforts of ingenuity and industry as the generous soil of Jamaica, if her sons and daughters will only believe it, and seek to develop its abundant bounties. Even one well-tilled acre of properly selected land will nearly secure an entire family against want. There ought, therefore, to be no hanging heads or rueful looks amongst the young and the strong amongst us."

The editor, in commenting upon the lecture, says: "We have repeatedly stated, that if persons here would do as persons in the United States and in Canada do, there would be no want, no poverty, no complaining in our streets. * * * It has been fashionable to reserve all the condemnation and complaint for the British Government and the laborers. * * So long as the happiness and comfort of the people, and the prosperity of the country, are held to be dependant upon the successful cultivation of sugar, and the price of the article in the markets of England, and the supply of labor here, the only subjects worthy of a moment's consideration, so long will the indolence, ignorance, and apathy complained of, remain. Absenteeism has produced antagonism The interest of the absent landed proprietors is not that of the people of the colony. They, or their agents, seem to care for nothing but the hogsheads of sugar and puncheons of rum produced on their estates. * * Nor will they believe that the most effectual mode of securing labor is to encourage in every possible way the production by ourselves of articles of general consumption, and to cheapen the necessaries of life."

Some months since, a series of letters was published in the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, written by an "American gentleman," who had recently visited Jamaica. He graphically described what he saw, and his opinions are deemed by the Journal candid and just. He says: "I am bound to say, that so far from beholding the license and disorder alleged, by gentlemen of other islands, to exist in consequence of emancipation, I never saw, in a town of the size of population as this (Kingston,) more good order and external propriety of deportment. The negroes are uniformly civil. I have not yet seen a drunken man on a street brawl, or heard any foul language. The streets are remarkably quiet after nightfall. That the condition of the colored population has been improved is confessed by all with whom I have conversed on the subject—clergymen, magistrates, public officers, planters, commercial men—all without exception, agree in this point. * * All argue that Jamaica would have prospered, in the protective duty, that was promised when the Emancipation act was passed, had been continued. But it has been taken off, and with the high prices of labor that now rule in the island, it costs more to make a sugar crop than it will sell for in market."

Slavery well nigh ruined this

American questions,' and he went without a whimper."

Untrue again. He *did* intimate to the public that he cared about the question of slavery as connected with the subject of annexation. He did say, openly and without reserve, that he was opposed to the annexation of Texas, unless she could come in as a free State. He did say that he should have voted against the admission of Texas, had he been a member of Congress. We have known Governor Cleveland eleven years; and, during all that time, he has been a "Free-Soiler." Those who have known him for a longer period, attest that anti-slavery has been a conspicuous sentiment with him, from the earliest period of his political history.

Again the *Tribune* says—

"Yet Governor Cleveland did his best for Cass in the free soil States, and we never heard, during the canvass, that he condemned the Nicholson letter. Not till he needed the abolition votes of his district, was he heard from as a member of Congress, did we hear that he was in principle a Free-Soiler. Who knew it before?"

He did condemn the Nicholson letter, and the people of his district knew it.

We make this statement in justice to Governor Cleveland, who is misrepresented by the Tribune.

Times.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND'S SPEECH.

Now, that the speech of this gentleman is fully before our readers, we will make a few comments. We did not wish to do so until it was fully before them, that they might have the opportunity to peruse it that we have had. To the Northern man who has read it, we not tell him that its sentiments meet the real views of nine-tenths of the people of Connecticut, and indeed of all the free States. We are frank to confess that some parts of it go further than we think it is practicable to go at the present time, yet, as a whole, we admire the effort as being manly, honorable, and reflects much credit upon the head and heart of our old friend.—*Democrat.*

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

PARIS, *April* 18, 1850.

CONTENTS.—*Political Situation—Pope at Rome—Horrid Accident—Celebration of the Anniversary of the Republic—Way to dispose of Socialist Candidates—M. Thiers for the Republic—Houses for Working Men—Health of Laborers protected by Law—Steam Engines—New Books—History of the Causes of the French Revolution—Confidications on Democracy—The Press: Le Napoleon, Le Moniteur, Le Constitutionnel, Le Revue des Deux Mondes—Bonaparte's Speech—M. Dufaure's Invitation—M. Baroche's Protest—D'Union, Le Pays—L'Assemblee Nationale—Socialist Press—Le Siecle—M. Louis Blanc—Opinion of Le Credit on the Permanence of the Republic—Conclusion.*

To the Editor of the National Era:

The relative position of parties has not changed since my last. The same disunion reigns in the ranks of the Reaction. Legitimists rail at the Orleanists and Bonapartists, who return the treatment with interest. The President's papers attack the Assembly and the Legislative power, while the papers in the interest of the Assembly, majority find no terms too harsh for the President and his advisers. One portion of the coalition refused to vote for M. Foy, and the other denounces the attempt to substitute the name of M. Leclerc as "base intrigue." To put an end to the digression, the *Electoral Union* or Central Committee has ordered a preparatory election in their party.

The Socialists preserve their pacific tone, and do not quarrel among themselves. They are united on the candidate of M. Eugene Sue, whose dramatic efforts against the Jesuits have recently been the object of the violence of the Government agents at Rouen. The objection to the venerable Dupont (le PEure) was, that he had approved the sanguinary and violent proceedings of General Cavaignac. If M. Leclerc, the hero of June, who, after one of his sons was shot in an attack on the barricades, went home and brought out the second, who continued fighting by his side to the end of the insurrection, should be nominated by the Coalition, the result is very doubtful. All the passions of 1848 will be revived.

The news from abroad is, that the Pope entered Rome on the 12th, and, to use the official language of the announcement, to the joy of the whole population.

The people of Paris were stunned yesterday by the announcement of a terrible accident at Angers. The eleventh battalion of light infantry were crossing the suspension bridge, when the chains on one side gave way, and four hundred were precipitated into the river, loaded with arms and baggage. About two hundred perished.

On the 12th, M. Baroche asked an appropriation of 200,000 francs for the celebration of the 4th of May, the anniversary of the meeting of the Constituent Assembly and the proclamation of the Republic. We shall have then another illumination, one of those splendid fêtes which only Paris and Constantinople can offer.

On the 29th of March, the jury of the Court of Assizes found Patres, and other Legitimists, guilty of holding secret meetings not authorized by the law. The Court condemned them to imprisonment for periods varying from six to thirty days. On the 12th of April, the same jury found Buoignier, and Hivay, two Republicans, guilty of the same offence. The Court condemned Buoignier, who is now a candidate for the Assembly in the Department of the *Seine et Loire*, to one year's imprisonment, 500 francs fine, and five years' loss of all civil rights, and Hivay, who is not so dangerous, to six months' imprisonment, 100 francs fine, and loss of civil rights for two years. It was proved on the trial that the words of his sonnet had been deposited with the proper civil officer, but the Court decided that this was not equivalent to an authorization. M. Buoignier was a member of the Constituent Assembly, and was one of those elected last month by a majority of nearly 17,000, in the Department above named, but his election was annulled by the Assembly. He is now disposed of fairly for the present. The French Judiciary understand how to dispose of the Democratic candidates.

M. Thiers has declared himself at last openly for the Republic. After a great deal of fretting, plunging, and running, like a steed unwilling to be bridled, he bows his head and takes the hated bit into his mouth. At a late meeting of the Legislative caucus of the majority, he said there were but three classes of measures which would insure the safety of France—first, the most energetic measures; second, measures of a secondary character; third, measures unnerved and paralized given to the establishment of the Republic. "Energetic measures! Who will take the responsibility of them? No one. Secondary measures! A certain number of these were proposed after the 10th of March, but their inefficacy having been generally recognised, the Assembly seems disposed to reject them. Open and honest aid to the Republic! I have already said at the beginning that the Government was the one which divides us the least. I believe it *politic* and *necessary* to rally to it; to do this distinctly, so as not to permit any doubt to subsist as to the intentions of the majority. What I say before this reunion, I am ready to say from the tribune!"

What more striking proof can be given of the necessity of the Republic in France, and of its brightening prospects, than this declaration of its most bitter foes?

Add to this the conversion of the *Constitutionnel* to the same cause. You will find a *long leader in the number of the 14th*, which takes the strongest ground in favor of the continuation of the present form of Government. Here is a single sentence which is in strong contrast with the articles of this paper month before last: "Very happily, the Republic is not responsible, as we think, for what we suffer under its oppressement." Then follow several paragraphs to show that all Governments springing from a revolution have had quite as much difficulty to maintain themselves at first.

HOUSES FOR WORKING-MEN.

In a letter from Berlin, I mentioned the *cité ouvrière* undertaken at Brussels, but did not give you the plan on which it is to be constructed. The contract between King Leopold and the architect, M. Cosmand, has been published. The buildings are to be erected on about

ground in the suburb of Brussels called Ixelles. They are to consist—

1. Of a large building destined to the use of unmarried workmen, and containing their private rooms, a dining-hall, a school-room, a dwelling for the teacher, library, and conveniences of every kind. It is to be heated by a common furnace.

2. A second building, containing rooms for the manufacture of lye, wash-rooms, drying-rooms, and baths.

3. Four houses fitted up as stores.

4. Forty-two houses with yards and gardens, some two and the rest one story high.

The lye, wash, drying, and bath-rooms are to be open to all the tenants. Every family is to occupy at least two rooms. The greatest precaution is taken to prevent the introduction of any one of doubtful morality. The rent is not to exceed twenty francs a month for the two-storied houses, or twelve for the one.

The plan of this establishment seems far better than that of the one at Paris, in which the apartments are to be separated from each other only by wide galleries, giving too many opportunities for gossiping at the doors by the female occupants of the company, and too many facilities to designing men for unobserved meetings with young persons of the other sex. It is questionable, however, whether the system would be worse than the one in use, in which, young females in female servants in little chambers under the roof and far away from the notice of the family. Most of the occupants of the building will be surrounded by relatives who will exercise control of the hundred eyes of the neighbors—a control not to be despised where the eyes belong to women not dumb.

On the 15th, the Assembly passed a law to protect the laboring population from the avarice of landlords, who, for a trifling rent, permit whole families to lodge in places destructive of health and life. The law provides that, on complaint, the municipal council of any commune may appoint a committee to inspect the dwelling-houses of the poorer inhabitants. If, on report, the committee should judge it necessary or expedient, it is authorized to order the proprietor to put the premises in a sanitary condition, and, if he should refuse or neglect, to have them made at his expense.

A second law, and excellent in its details, was passed on the same day, for the prevention of the explosion of steam machine boilers. The number of explosions has been very small in France, but the Legislature wishes, by a strict inspection, to prevent them altogether.

The activity of the writers on both sides in politics, and the consequent fecundity of the press, was astonished by a work which wishes to insinuate its philosophy and views into every branch of human knowledge. We have reading-books for children in which the author or publisher generally screws the public into a sore the slightest taint of Socialism. Arithmetics are recommended as particularly rich in sums and problems from which Socialism, and therefore practical, and suited to the wants of the age. That unfortunate damsel, History, is battered into every possible shape. One publishes a Socialist history for the use of schools, and the conservative party answers it. This last lies before me. The title is, "*History of the Causes of the French Revolution, by a Member of the Assembly.*" The author undertakes to prove, by his manner of stating the facts, the strange proposition that the philosophers and democrats of the last century had nothing to do with the cause of the Revolution, and did not hasten it by their writings, but that the martyr-King, Louis XVI, in his zeal to establish Democracy and liberty for his country, calculated too confidently on the good sense of the people. The Revolution went beyond his wishes. The Constituent Assembly is wholly cut of the question, as not having contributed to found the liberal institutions which now exist in France. As no one has ever had the hardihood to sustain such a proposition, the author has taken a bold step in advance of conservatives. *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, which utters too many paradoxes of its own not to find a brother in M. Cousegrand, has published a long article on

THE NATIONAL ERA.

ADMISSION OF CALIFORNIA.

SPEECH OF MR. R. TOOMBS, OF GEORGIA,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

FEBRUARY 27, 1850,

In Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, on the President's Message communicating the Constitution of California.

MR. TOOMBS said:

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is a general discontent among the people of fifteen States of the Union against this Government. Popular discontents are rarely ill founded. It is almost impossible, in a free, popular government, for a considerable portion of the people to become alienated from the government of their own free choice, without a substantial reason. I propose, as a representative of a portion of the people who feel themselves, largely in this discontent, to inquire into its cause, and if it be well-founded, to ask you to remove it. It is based upon a misunderstanding or perversion of a first purpose on the part of the non-slaveholding States of the Union to destroy their political rights; to put their institutions under the ban of the empire, by excluding them from an equal participation in the common benefits of the Republic, and thereby to bring the powers of their own Government in direct hostility to fifteen hundred millions of their property. This brief statement suggests the propriety of the investigation upon which I now propose to enter: What is the true relation of this Government to property in slaves? We are now, sir, in a transition state; heretofore, the distribution of political power, under our system, has made sectional aggression impossible. I think it would have been wise to have secured permanency by such distribution by the fundamental law. It was not done. The course of events, the increase of population, the rapid settlement of the Republic, and the addition of new States, are about to give, if they have not already given, the non-slaveholding States a majority in both branches of Congress, and they have in their hands a preponderating majority of the population of the Union. These causes have brought us to the point where we are to test the efficiency of written constitutions to protect the rights of a minority against a majority of the people. Upon the determination of this question will depend, and ought to depend, the permanency of this Government. The union of these States had its birth in the weakness of its separate members; without that single controlling element, the union of thirty-nine demonstrates that its creation, in its present form, would have been an impossibility. It contained incongenial elements, and perhaps discordant interests. It left local, yet vital and important interests, of which was even then seen would be numerically the weaker section of the Confederacy, without any security against the stronger, except from parchment guarantees. Our fathers did not imitate the wisdom of the great Grecian ambassador, who declared, when entering into a treaty with the Athenians, that necessity; I will accept no other security but this—that you shall not have the power to injure my country, if you wish to do it. The security, under the Constitution, is based solely upon good faith. There is nothing in its structure which makes aggression permanently impossible. It requires neither skill, nor genius, nor courage to propagate it; it lives only by faith. I have studied the histories of nations and the characteristics of mankind to but little purpose, if that quality shall be found wanting in the future administration of our affairs. Our present Constitution was not baptized in the blood of the Revolution.

The old Confederation, which was found strong enough, under a sense of common danger, to carry us triumphantly through the war of the Revolution, upon the return of peace was supposed to be insufficient for the wants of the country. Congress met in convention at Philadelphia to amend it; the present Constitution was the result of their labors. It is generally supposed that the convention attest the fact, that the delegates from the slaveholding States saw the danger of submitting their rights to property in slaves to the hazard of the legislation of the majority of the Government. They foresaw that they would be in a minority, a strong hostility to that interest was openly manifested in the Northern States, they were wise enough not to expect an abatement of that sentiment, and therefore they demanded special guarantees for its protection. The inflexible pertinacity with which some of these guarantees were insisted upon, on more than one occasion during the deliberations of that assembly, threatened the loss of the whole plan of Union. They were conceded, because the Union could not have been formed without their concession. These special guarantees were—

1st. An exception of the African slave trade from the general power of Congress over commerce for twenty years.

2d. Representation for slaves in this branch of Congress.

3d. The right to demand the delivery up of fugitives from labor escaping to the non-slaveholding States.

4th. The obligation of the General Government to suppress insurrections.

These special securities, together with the reservation to the States respectively, or to the people," of the "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States," were accepted by those who granted them and those who accepted them to be amply sufficient to protect property in slaves from any hostile action in this Government. In this sense we say the Constitution received and accepted by the people of the United States. The only defect in these guarantees results from the fact that the express and faithful execution of them depends upon the good faith of the Government; in themselves honestly adhered to, they are full, ample, and sufficient.

The history of some of them is curious and instructing. At the time of the formation of the Constitution, Virginia and Maryland had prohibited the African slave trade. North Carolina had laws trammelling and restraining it. South Carolina and Georgia insisted upon further importations. These two States bargained with New England, as a part of the consideration that, that New England was to vote for the continuance of the African slave trade for twenty years, and Georgia and South Carolina were to vote to place the general commerce of the country under the control of a majority of Congress, instead of two-thirds, which had been passed by the convention. We understand that this thirty agreed out on both sides, and thus the African slave trade was made lawful commerce under the flag of the Union, by the votes of New England against the vote of slaveholding Virginia and Maryland. The North have enjoyed in security her part of the bargain, and she was none the loser by our part of the contract, as she did the carrying, and received the profits of the speculation in slaves. Yet, in the face of these facts, and in defiance of these provisions of the Constitution, we are told on the floor of New England that Congress has slave property is out of the protection of the Government. Thousands of these slaves thus introduced as commerce are now held by the people of the South; other thousands, which were sold for taxes and other debts due this Government, are thus held, the money is or may be in your treasury. Taxes to be paid out of your per diem pay. Your Government has direct or imperfect liens upon other thousands in the shape of official bonds. Will we have the right to call on you to give your blood to maintain these thousands and all the rest of the slaves of the South in bondage. It is "so nominated in the bond." Yes, with slight obligations upon your honor, we are told by you that slave property is out of the protection of the Government. Gentlemen, deceive not yourselves, you cannot deceive others. This is a pro-slavery Government. Slavery is stamped upon its heart—the Constitution. You must tear that out of the body politic before you can commence the work of its eradication.

I have heard in this Hall, within a few days past, fierce and bitter denunciations from Northern lips, of Abolitionists—those of the Garrison school, who have made themselves odious in Faneuil Hall. In my judgment, their line of policy is the fairest, most just, most honest, and defensible, of all the enemies of our institutions. And, mark will be the judgment of impartial history. "They shun no question, they wear no mask." They admit some, at least, of the constitutional obligations imposed on them. They have fulfilled those obligations inconsistent with good conscience, and therefore denounce the institution as "a covenant with Hell." They struggle manfully for its overthrow. If their conduct is devoid of every other virtue, and every claim to our respect, it is at least consistent. They do not seek, as many members here, to get the benefits and shun the burdens of the bargain.

Notwithstanding the constitutional safeguard, which I have enumerated, the enemies of slavery here have attempted, and are now attempting, to get, by implication, that power to war upon it which was so studiously withheld. No man pretends that it is by any express grant of power, but to inhibit the African slave trade after 1808, granted in the Constitution to limit, restrain, discourage, yet not to impair property in slaves. But they seek to effect that object by legislation, under the claim of power to govern the Territories belonging to the United States. This power to govern the Territories is itself but a doubtful implication. It is not founded upon express grant. That clause of the Constitution which authorizes Congress "to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory or other property belonging to the United States," has been sometimes relied upon to warrant legislation over the Territories. But its terms confine it so clearly to territory as land, as property, that the pretension is now generally abandoned as untenable, the advocates of the power most usually claim it as resulting from the power to acquire territory by treaty.

It being unimportant to my argument from whence the power to legislate over the Territories is derived, I shall not now discuss it. No matter where you place it, the power to legislate against slavery in the Territories is conceded, and is claimed by any just rule of constitutional construction be derived from it. The object, the end, is now here sanctioned by the Constitution, therefore the means cannot be implied. It is claimed by the North, stated briefly, is this: That the object of the power to legislate over the Territories is to secure the good government, and that the exclusion of slavery is a means of good government, to secure that object. The conclusion is not warranted by the premises, even considering it as a general proposition, but the proposition is peculiar form of government, taken in that connection, it is not only illogical, but atrocious. It is assuming that there was an implied power given to the Union to make a Government for us, against the members—a power to stamp with reprobation the institutions of fifteen States of the Republic, to declare their institutions inconsistent with good government, and to forbid their adoption, even if desired by the people, by the inhabitants of the common domain of all the States. There lies the real question in controversy. This proposition is not only not warranted by the Constitution, but brings you in direct collision with the fundamental principles of the Government and of all good government. This Government was established for the protection of the rights of persons and the rights of property of the political communities which adopted it. Property was the great object of all good government. The protection of property is the corner-stone of industry, of national progress, of civilization. No Government can stand in security, which does not protect it, which brings its powers in hostility to the property of the people. These principles are the foundation stones of the edifice which I mean to lay, opening of this Congress. They elicited much animadversion from the press of the North, and some from people at the South who are among us, but not of us. I will, therefore, stop to re-state them. I shall stand by them; if their maintenance by the South costs the Union, it is your fault, not ours. Our rights are founded upon our mental privileges, are all really involved in the issue. Your position offers us the fate of Hayti, or, at best, of Jamaica, or resistance to lawless rule. I trust there is yet left in the North a majority, who ought to induce you to doubt which alternative we shall accept. Though the Union may perish—though slavery may perish—I warn my country, my country, that we never can be free, if we make participation in the common property of the Republic, nor its right to full and ample protection of its property, the ground of our political hostility. The day they do this deed, their fall will be like that of Lucifer, never to rise again.

This general duty of Government to protect property, and the right of slavery, is so obvious, so just that it is usually admitted, with the qualification of excepting slave property. This very exception is the admission of the principle, the hostility to our rights. The principle upon which the exception is pretended to be based is, that slavery is a peculiar institution and is against the common sense of mankind. Slavery is a peculiar institution, I have to reply, then our Government is a peculiar Government, our Constitution is a peculiar Constitution. The fact is, it has been shown that both the Government and the Constitution are impregnated with the peculiarity. "The common law of mankind" is at best but an unwritten law, and, therefore, is one of the ingredients of our law. It is difficult of ascertainment, and more difficult to enforce. I take its best exponent to be the practice of mankind. Tested by this rule, the position of the North is untenable. There is no period in the history of the human race in which slavery has not been recognized, and, I add, that it has been the universal practice of mankind from the days of Abraham until the formation of our Constitution. It was expressly authorized and sanctioned by the successor of St. Peter in the Christian Church, and was at that time the general law of Christendom. At the formation of our Constitution, property in slaves was recognized and protected in some form by every civilized Government in the world. If our constitutional right to the protection of our slave property is to be subjected to the new test, that mankind, with all its elements, "the common law of mankind," we claim to stand upon the law as it stood when the compact was made. It is the legal sense of the constructing private contracts; it is equally just when applied to the exposition of public compacts. It is the only mode of arriving at the true sense and meaning of the Constitution to the common relation to the test applied. At that day, slavery was lawful in every country in the world where it was not prohibited by law. The dictum of Lord Mansfield to the contrary in Somerset's case, in 1772, was outside of the case before him, against the express decision of Lord Hardwicke and a long line of his predecessors, upon the precise point, and was disavowed fifty years afterwards in a judicial decision by Lord Stowell, one of the most able, learned, and accomplished of England's judges. That such was the common law of these colonies Lord Mansfield himself, in the case referred to, expressly affirmed; and that such was the understanding of the law in the colonies, is proved our Constitution is conclusively proved by the fact, that emancipation, where it has taken place, has been effected by our Government, not by express prohibition; and it was left to be made by the uniform protection which this Government, from its foundation, has given to property in slaves, withdrawing it from the jurisdiction of this Government, and, by the power to declare what shall or shall not be property, or to regulate the manner or extent of its enjoyment, except in the cases of patent rights and copyrights. The power we have given her the monopoly of our coasting trade. By discriminating tariffs we have invigorated and protected the arm of her industry. We have followed with our laws her ships freighted with her property, and her hardy seamen in pursuit of wealth, over the trackless ocean, to the uttermost parts of the world. They have traversed every ocean; they have stood upon every isle of the sea and upon every continent of the earth. In pursuit of the acquisition of wealth, under that emblem of our nationality—the stars and stripes.

We have withheld no part of the price—neither of blood nor treasure—of winning for that flag a name and a renown which shall be no contingent to shield the persons and property of American citizens. The sight of the flag of England, wherever it floats, is a sufficient protection to insult by job and gladness. Then the power which it represented was used to shield and protect them. Foolish tyrants made it the subject of insult, and finally were converted into hate—the rest is history. Profit by its teachings. I demand to-day that protection for my constituents and my property which is inherited from you. It is the price of our allegiance. Let us understand each other. We hold it to be the duty of this Government to protect the persons and property of the citizens of the United States wherever its flag floats and it has paramount jurisdiction. And as a just corollary from this proposition, we affirm that, as the Territories of the United States are the common property of the people of the several States, we have the right to enter them with our flocks and our herds, with all our property, and to have it protected, by whatever else the laws of any of the States of this Union declare to be property, and to receive full and ample protection from our common Government until its authority is rightfully superseded by a State Government. This is equity, this is what we call equality. And it is what you would call equity and equality but for your crusade against slavery.

We do not demand, as is constantly alleged on this floor and elsewhere, that you shall establish slavery in the Territories. We have advanced to show that you have no power to war upon it which was so studiously withheld. No man pretends that it is by any express grant of power to inhibit the African slave trade after 1808, granted in the Constitution to limit, restrain, discourage, yet not to impair property in slaves. But they seek to effect that same object by legislation, under the claim of power to govern the Territories belonging to the United States. This power to govern the Territories is itself but a doubtful implication. It is not founded upon express grant. That clause of the Constitution which authorizes Congress "to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory or other property belonging to the United States," has been sometimes relied upon to warrant legislation over the Territories. But its terms confine it so clearly to territory as land, as property, that the pretension is now generally abandoned as untenable, the advocates of the power most usually claim it as resulting from the power to acquire territory by treaty.

It being unimportant to my argument from whence the power to legislate over the Territories is derived, I shall not now discuss it. No matter where you place it, the power to legislate against slavery in the Territories is conceded, and is claimed by any just rule of constitutional construction be derived from it. The object, the end, is now here sanctioned by the Constitution, therefore the means cannot be implied. It is claimed by the North, stated briefly, is this: That the object of the power to legislate over the Territories is to secure the good government, and that the exclusion of slavery is a means of good government, to secure that object. The conclusion is not warranted by the premises, even considering it as a general proposition, but the proposition is peculiar form of government, taken in that connection, it is not only illogical, but atrocious. It is assuming that there was an implied power given to the Union to make a Government for us, against the members—a power to stamp with reprobation the institutions of fifteen States of the Republic, to declare their institutions inconsistent with good government, and to forbid their adoption, even if desired by the people, by the inhabitants of the common domain of all the States. There lies the real question in controversy. This proposition is not only not warranted by the Constitution, but brings you in direct collision with the fundamental principles of the Government and of all good government. This Government was established for the protection of the rights of persons and the rights of property of the political communities which adopted it. Property was the great object of all good government. The protection of property is the corner-stone of industry, of national progress, of civilization. No Government can stand in security, which does not protect it, which brings its powers in hostility to the property of the people. These principles are the foundation stones of the edifice which I mean to lay, opening of this Congress. They elicited much animadversion from the press of the North, and some from people at the South who are among us, but not of us. I will, therefore, stop to re-state them. I shall stand by them; if their maintenance by the South costs the Union, it is your fault, not ours. Our rights are founded upon our mental privileges, are all really involved in the issue. Your position offers us the fate of Hayti, or, at best, of Jamaica, or resistance to lawless rule. I trust there is yet left in the North a majority, who ought to induce you to doubt which alternative we shall accept. Though the Union may perish—though slavery may perish—I warn my country, my country, that we never can be free, if we make participation in the common property of the Republic, nor its right to full and ample protection of its property, the ground of our political hostility. The day they do this deed, their fall will be like that of Lucifer, never to rise again.

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