

ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

"No Union with Slaveholders."

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From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

Political Aspect of the United States respecting Slavery.

Dark as the prospects of our cause may seem to those who look upon the dashing of the political billows, without properly appreciating the healthfulness of the moral agitation which has raised the raging tempest, yet, to those who, like the members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, have long been laboring to break the pestilential calm of sixty years, the present hour seems full of promise and of cheer.

Apathy can no longer exist. Ignorance begins to be dispelled. States are beginning to feel and to dread the proslavery currents that have been so long bearing them silently onward towards political subjugation. Legislatures have been convulsed by the first dawns of a conjecture, that no compromise, however cunning,—no surrender of rights, however limited and guarded, can secure to Freedom any advantage from the existence of Slavery. And it is a proof of the degradation to which Slavery had reduced this nation, that a truth so obvious, a fact so indisputable that to deny it were folly, now gives to the Legislatures and statesmen, who begin to perceive it, a claim for depth and originality. Ideas on human rights, duties, governments, and constitutions, which Abolitionists have for years held up to the community, are now blazoned forth under Legislative sanction as new discoveries. We rejoice that here and there throughout the country, men called wise are coming more or less rapidly to the same conclusions, for the adoption of which the American Society has been branded as incendiary, fanatical, and dangerous; and that too at no distant period of the past. The wise and prudent,—the right sort of men—are now groping blindly for the way, as one of political expediency, which, (because guided by the moral right—the principle of freedom,) the way-faring Abolitionists, though accounted fools, did not err in.

The Annexation of Texas, the admission of Florida, the expulsion of the officials of free States from the territory of slave States, the disgrace of the nation in foreign courts by a new display of the slavertainted character of her diplomacy, the imprisonment, (and in one instance the capital trial, sentence and conviction,) of citizens of the free States in the jails of slave States for acts which, in any other land on earth, would entitle them to reward and honor;—all these things have given the people a shock of awakening. We do not fear that they will ever again recover their guilty rest.

We owe much to the co-operation and sympathy of British Abolitionists, in the direction which they have labored to give the public mind in the cases of John L. Brown, Jonathan Walker, and others. Without political interference, without individual officiousness, without a deed, of which the law of nations could take cognizance, or one which the law of love could condemn, the prompt expression of feeling on the part of British Abolitionists in the case of John L. Brown, was of avail to nullify the bloody sentence of the South Carolina Judge, and set the victim of the slave law free. This is the efficacy of well-directed opinion. God bless the Abolitionists of Great Britain, and make them strong to utter the words of truth in behalf of Freedom, in the hearing of every American State and every American citizen! May no temptation of worldly interest, though clothed in the livery of heaven, ever prevail with them, (as in the case of Dr. Burns, Cunningham, &c. of the Scotch Free Church,) to keep silence when it concerns the cause of human freedom that they should speak.

The near approach of Texas to our political union, fixes all eyes upon the subject of Slavery. That movement is seen of all to be the last hope of the South for the perpetuation of her system. Notwithstanding the constitutional limitations on the power, granted for the admission of new States, to the territories belonging to the United States; notwithstanding that the power to admit it among the reserved rights of the several States; notwithstanding that the province proposed for admission is one justly claimed by a foreign and a friendly power, (though its proclamation of unconditional emancipation in 1820, makes the slave power account it a foe;) notwithstanding that its own consent and acquiescence have never been thought of; notwithstanding the destruction of all uniformity in the United States naturalization laws which would ensue; notwithstanding that Annexation might bring a war with Mexico and England, and the Indian tribes in its train; notwithstanding the equal want of a constitutional right or actual precedent, the slave power has demanded, and has obtained the admission to the United States of upwards of 300,000 square miles of foreign territory, equal to forty-three such States as Massachusetts, or seven of the size of Pennsylvania.

The American Anti-Slavery Society has no partisan purposes. It is neither the defender of the Constitution with one party, nor the flatterer of the people with the other. It notices these unconstitutional proceedings as proofs of the folly of the idea that a lawless, merciless, tyrannical system, such as Slavery, can be restrained by compacts, codes, or compromises. "Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook? Will he make a covenant with thee! Wilt thou take him for a servant forever! do so no more! behold the hope of him is in vain." If the slave system be not paramount, it is paralyzed. Hence the energy of its

supporters, to prostrate the smallest remainder of the rights guaranteed to the free States, for the purpose of immediately extending the domain of Slavery to the Northern tropic, and thus perpetuating the present disgraceful subjugation of the North to the South.

On the 27th of February the bill for the annexation of Texas received the sanction of the House of Representatives, amid disgraceful howling and bullying, with threats and exhibitions of fists and bowie knives, on the part of the Southerners, by one hundred and thirty-two yeas to twenty-six nays.

On the 27th of February it passed the Senate by 27 to 25. The Democratic party, the dominant one of the country, went almost unanimously for it;—as the administration party in the nature of things always must, even for the most diabolical feature of the present state of things, for it holds its dominion by means of its detestable adherence to Slavery.—One noble exception, John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, deserves honorable mention. "Among the faithless, faithful only he."

The whigs redeemed their party from the disgrace of this act, by throwing their majority, alas—an insufficient one, against its perpetration. In Massachusetts they called a Convention for the 6th day of February, before the bill reached the Senate, to protest against so atrocious a deed on the part of a Christian and Republican nation, as the extension and perpetuation of Slavery by the Annexation of Texas. They wished not to make it a party movement. They invited and entreated ALL opposed to Annexation to assist. If they were left alone, in what distant beholders and future times will call their glory, it was not through Whig intolerance, but by means of Democratic servility to Slavery. They did, and are doing, all that Whigs, as such, under oath to the proslavery Constitution of the United States, can do.—May a sense of their miserable weakness, crushed as they are between the upper and the nether millstone of their distressing position, show them the only true way. Politicians, as they glory in calling themselves, let them take the only political course that remains to them. Let them proclaim that the Annexation of Texas is not only unconstitutional and in itself a dissolution of the Union, but in regard to its momentous consequences, as being the last of a long series of aggressions and usurpations on the part of the South, and evidence of a studied and systematic attempt to pervert, to the support of Slavery, all the power and influence of the National Government, such Annexation makes it the duty of the Northern States, by all they owe to Liberty and Justice, and themselves, immediately to call conventions for the organization of a new National Government.

The consideration that hinders them from taking any effectual stand to save themselves from extinction, and the cause of Liberty and their country from destruction, is in part, doubtless, their perception that the progress of the Texan plot, and the feebleness with which it has been resisted by any but ourselves, clearly proves that the whole Northern mind is swallowed up and corrupted by party interests and party ambition, and that no efficient political action whatever, could at present be taken by the free States;—that nothing is to be hoped for from the North, for freedom, while the public opinion continues chilled and tainted by the influence of this Union;—and yet their love of freedom and hatred of slavery and political subjugation, is not strong enough to prompt them to join us in the righteous and indispensable war cry of NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS! that only spell of virtue to make the slave power quail. The Union is more than half dead. Like a gangrened limb, the longer continuance of Slavery as a part of the body politic, will insure the speedy death of the whole. The Union must be severed.

"Oh throw away the worse half of it.

And live the purer with the other half."

They owe it not only to their country and their age as men, but to themselves as keen-witted, astute politicians, to be not only almost, but altogether such as we are. The course may be fatal to the political individuals who lead the van; but no other course is worth even the name of policy, provided they are really seeking, as they say, the interests of the country.

The American Anti-Slavery Society has been falsely accused of repelling, by the severity of its judgment and the keenness of its analysis of motives, those who were really its helpers. Those who said so, know not whereof they affirmed. The sincere always possess, in their very sincerity, the touch stone that reveals the hypocrite. We know what helps or hinders us; and we give or deny the corresponding credit. We recognize in the movements of the Northern Whigs, as a body, a feeble desire to aid our cause if it is not to cost too much—a stronger desire to use it than to serve it—a minority feeling of helplessness which leads to seek the alliance of all foes to the administration; which Abolitionists must, in the nature of the case always be, of which party soever it consists. For the function of an administration necessarily is to keep things as they are, and to go no farther than it is pushed.

The attitude of the South, (as represented by South Carolina and Louisiana,) is the next feature in the political aspect of our cause that demands our attention.

The recent outrages on the free States, in the person of the Hon. Samuel Hoar, of Massachusetts, are the last of a series of attempts on the part of the slave States to avert the danger with which they are threatened by a single free black in their territory.—The danger seems trifling to the unphilosophical and inexperienced. But the old in tyranny know that the presence of a single representative of Freedom in the midst of slaves, is of more efficacy in favor of the

cause of human rights than all their legalized wrong and spontaneous cruelty can be for Slavery; the contact of the free black with slaves, is like the touch of the imperceptible spark to powder. The universe in arms cannot prevent the consequent explosion.—

Hence, the preventive policy pursued by South Carolina, while the civilized world stands aghast at her barbarity, and our suffering. She has no other course to preserve her existence as a slaveholding State; so dangerous is this deadly sin. It is for this that she violates every natural right, outrages every constitutional obligation, and overleaps every constitutional provision, for the protection of such a system. It is for this that she assumes, in behalf of the South:

A right to discriminate between the innocent members making up the crews of ships of other States, for the purpose of seizing and imprisoning whom she thinks proper:—

A right to lash at pleasure, citizens of other States, solely because they may be found in the ships of those States a second time in her harbors:—

A right to sell them into Slavery:—

A right to expel from her territory, citizens of other States, seeking to appeal to the courts of the Union for support against the cruelty of her laws, even though clothed with official powers as the representatives of their free State sovereignty:—

A right to punish by fine and imprisonment, any individual from another State who dares within her territory to question her right to imprison, to lash, and to sell whom she pleases, without hearing or trial.

Florida, immediately after the passage of the Annexation bill, was admitted to the Union as a slave State. The following extract from her Constitution shows our character as a slaveholding nation.

ARTICLE XVI. General Provisions.

1. The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves.

2. They shall have no power to prevent emigrants to this State from bringing with them such persons as may be deemed slaves, by the laws of any one of the United States, provided, they shall have power to enact laws to prevent the introduction of any slaves who may have committed crimes in other States.

3. The General Assembly shall have power to pass laws to prevent free negroes, mulattoes, and other persons of color from emigrating to this State, or from being discharged from on board any vessel in any of the ports of Florida.

We trust the time is at hand when the word will go forth from the North, that shall stay this moral pestilence, so that we may no longer stand "a wonder—a marvel to men," linked, as we allow ourselves as States to be, with the body of that moral death, of which the infection ravages the fairest spots on earth, and blasts the dearest hopes of humanity from the discovery of this new world. But there is nothing that should discourage us as Abolitionists in all this. On the contrary, there is hope from the very grossness of each succeeding outrage, that a people who have closed their ears and refused to hear, will be obliged, in their own despite, to feel their danger and their shame. Let us rejoice that the laws by which we may promulgate moral principle, are more rapid in their operation than the progress of population.—White Mexico has been slowly dismembered, and Texas, by the aid of our refuse people and our slave-led soldiery, stayed up on either side as an independent province, while slaveholders have, by bullying, and by cunning, and by force,—by pushing, by parrying us as the case demanded, succeeded in bringing in their plan for the extension and perpetuation of Slavery, Abolitionists have so far converted whole States to the principles of Freedom, that they protest with one voice against the deed. Spread every sail, then, to catch the breath of reaction which this nefarious project will raise. Light at first it may be, but it will not subside, as after the introduction of Missouri as a slave State. The circumstances are different. There was then, no organized opposition, no embodied hostility to Slavery. Now, the American Anti-Slavery Society exists, to fan this flame of Freedom for which the South furnishes the fuel. So vast is the disproportion between moral power and physical force in favor of the former, that all past experience shows us how the Lord can save a land for ten's sake only, who put their trust in right. We call upon all who hate the wrong, to unite with us for its extinction. "They are not yet quite ready!" Go to work, then, members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society!—servants of the slave;—and make them ready. Spare neither time, nor money, nor labor, nor life, if the times need them all.—Preach this gospel of deliverance as it were a crusade!—let each man see its cross pinned to your shoulder. Is this a time to add house to house, and field to field!—to calculate the farthing on cotton freighting, or speculate in factory stocks! Is this a time to linger round the Capitol for official spoils! Is this a time, men of America, to sit at ease in your ceiled houses! Be covetous, indolent, meanly ambitious no longer! Leave party spite on one hand, and sectional prejudice on the other, and unite—just where they now stand, with the only body in your country that occupies the true position—the only individuals who care enough for Freedom to have identified themselves with her. You must come to them, for to you the exact right forbids them to return. "But they are few!" Amen. Let your adhesion to their cause help to amend that. "But they are so weak!" Amen. Is not their hope of right the stronger because their ranks, tried so as by fire, are incumbered with nothing neutral and half-hearted,—delayed by no burden of wealth, or office, or honors?

"For whom

Hath he who shakes the mighty with a breath,
From his high places made the majesty
And ever wakeful presence of his power,
To the pale startled earth most manifest.
But for the weak? Was't for the helmed and crown-

ed
That suns were stayed at noon day— stormy seas
As a rill parted? Mailed archangels sent
To wither up the strength of kings with death!
I tell you if these marvels have been done,
'Twas for the weak and the oppressed,
They needed such! and generous faith of men hath,
By her prevailing spirit, even yet power to work
Deliverance, whose tale shall live with those
Of the great elder time!"

"Too late," is it? No wonder you think so, but it is not yet too late. You see things through the mist of wasted years. Wake to the work even now, the twelfth hour though it be! join yourselves even now, to those already "in harness on the right;" for only so did he you make your example as a man, and your worship as a God, deem it "becoming" "to fulfil righteousness."

"Why hath heaven poured forth courage as a flame,
Wasting these offered hearts which must be stilled
The sooner for that swift consuming brightness,
If not to quell your doubt and your despair,
And your soul's torpor! yet ARISE AND ARM—
It shall not be too late!"

This is your only wisdom as well as your only duty—to join yourselves to them who have made straight your way before you! Is it by having lain stone still and stupid all these idle years, that men think to have got the wisdom—the prudence—the energy to accomplish them for such an hour as this?—They mistake in thinking so. Let them not think it shame to learn of us, humble though we individually are. It is to our lofty moral position; to our ennobling and exalting cause that we invite you; to the adoption of our holy principles;—to the use of our simple but effectual measures that we urge you. We warn you against holding back, because we have taken the lead of the advance. The members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, seeing the only course, had no choice in this matter. They must be faithful to the right, and so ought you to be. Reject not the advice which watching and working, while you slept, qualifies us to give. Do as common sense dictates to you in your business relations. When you find them used to your destruction—when you see your funds diverted against your will, to nefarious purposes, and your names used to strengthen baseness, do you then fail of knowing what course to take? Never. YOU DISSOLVE THE UNION. What else is left for you now! To what purpose denounce, with the lip, the sin the right hand upholds! What right have you, man of the North, to complain of the Annexation of Texas, as extending the area of Slavery, who are at this hour under oath, and under arms too, to hold the planter's slaves for him, within the constitutional limits of the United States? What more would you wait for! Have not the free States, in the person of Massachusetts, undergone what should be the severing blow—the last possible indignity; a wrong that would have driven a declaration of war even from between the slow-moving valves of the slowest European Cabinet door, as a ball is sent from the cannon mouth! and yet here the noblest man of his State, Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, talk of constitutional abolition, while the discharge of artillery announces the annexation of Texas! That act leaves the Constitution a broken wreck upon the political ocean! Those sounds are the signal guns of the parting vessel: and oh, that they might waken the dead hearts of Northern statesmen to becoming action.—The American Anti-Slavery Society cannot, dare not assist any such paralyzing process as "constitutional abolition," and it calls upon all who have the souls of men left within them, to peril all things—even the miserable lingering hope of popularity with a degraded people, for the glorious hope of our country's salvation. The American Anti-Slavery Society adjures every awakening statesman to urge onward the inevitable revolution; to announce it as his immutable determination to restore the desecrated principles of our political and religious faith.

But it seems the way of Providence, that "the wise shall be taken in their craftiness," that "their eyes shall be holden that they shall not see" the dangers of delay. Oh! that they knew in this their day, the things that belong to statesmanship, manliness, and honor. They would rally the people on every hill side, and in every valley. They would turn their faces from the South as from the wasting pestilence. One short year, well employed by them, would show the world a renovated nation.

Judge by the wretched drivelling with which this hour's stern work is met, whether they are likely to rise to the height of its demands. See them standing still to be manacled, and venturing only feeble suggestions on the fashion of the fetters. "Bind us not by resolution, but by treaty!"—they cry! "Shame! shame!"—is the response of just indignation reprobation, such as it is the duty of man to feel! The people of the free States have been over and over again sold in the market. Will they stay sold!

The American Society makes its appeal to the people in confidence, that they will not sanction their own bondage—though they have basely covenanted for that of the slave. May we not rely upon the lingering remnants of human character that makes the fugitive turn his face northward? If we may, now is the hour for their exhibition, Legislatively—Eccle-

*Jesus to John at his baptism.