

ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

"TO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

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THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE

Is published every Friday, at Salem, Columbus Co., Ohio, by the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society; and is the only paper in the Great West which advocates secession from pro-slavery governments and pro-slavery church organizations. It is edited by BENJAMIN S. and J. ELIZABETH JONES; and while urging upon the people the duty of holding "No union with Slaveholders," either in Church or State, as the only consistent position an Abolitionist can occupy, and as the best means for the destruction of slavery; it will, so far as its limits permit, give a history of the daily progress of the anti-slavery cause—exhibit the policy and practice of slaveholders, and by facts and arguments endeavor to increase the zeal and activity of every true lover of Freedom. In addition to its anti-slavery matter, it will contain general news, choice extracts, moral tales, &c. It is to be hoped that all the friends of the Western Anti-Slavery Society—all the advocates of the Disunion movement, will do what they can to aid in the support of the paper, by extending its circulation. You who live in the West should sustain the paper that is published in your midst. The Bugle is printed on an imperial sheet, and subscribers may take their choice of the following

TERMS.

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We occasionally send numbers to those who are not subscribers, but who are believed to be interested in the dissemination of anti-slavery truth, with the hope that they will either subscribe themselves, or use their influence to extend its circulation among their friends.

Communications intended for insertion to be addressed to the Editors. All others to the Publishing Agent, JAMES BARNHART.

The Virginia Resolutions.

February 5th, one of the Representatives in the House from Va. presented resolutions from that State in regard to slavery, the Wilmot Proviso &c. They assert that when the Constitution of the United States was formed, the rights of Slaveholders were recognized and protected by that instrument, that had they not been the South would never have consented to the Federal Union; that the Wilmot Proviso is a palpable violation of the Constitution, and that after the fullest re-examination and reconsideration of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of Va. on the 8th of March 1817, that body adheres to, and re-affirms them.

The resolutions of that date are as follows.

"1. *Be it resolved, unanimously, by the General Assembly of Virginia.* That the Government of the United States has no control, directly or indirectly, mediately or immediately over the institution of slavery, so as to impair the rights of the slaveholder; and that, in taking any such control, it transcends the limits of its legitimate functions, by destroying the internal organization of the sovereignties who created it.

"2. *Resolved, unanimously.* That all territory which may be acquired by the arms of the United States, or yielded by treaty with any foreign Power, belongs to the several States of this Union, as their joint and common property, in which each and all have equal rights; and that the enactment, by the Federal Government, of any law which should directly, or by its effects, prevent the citizens of any State from emigrating, with their property, of whatever description, into such territory, would make a discrimination unwarranted by and in violation of the compromises of the Constitution and the rights of the States from which such citizens emigrated, and in derogation of that perfect equality that belongs to the several States as members of this Union, and would tend directly to subvert the Union itself.

"3. *Resolved.* That if, in disregard alike of the spirit and principles of the act of Congress on the admission of the State of Missouri into the Union, generally known as the Missouri compromise, and of every consideration of justice, of constitutional right, and of fraternal feeling, the fearful issue shall be forced upon the country which must result from the adoption and attempted enforcement of the Wilmot Proviso as an act of the General Government, the people of Virginia can have no difficulty in choosing between the only alternatives that will then remain—of object submission to aggression and outrage on the one hand, or determined resistance on the other, at all hazards and to the last extremity.

"4. *Resolved, unanimously.* That the General Assembly holds it to be the duty of every man, in every section of this Confederacy, (if the Union is dear to him,) to oppose the passage of any law, for whatever purpose, by which territory to

be acquired may be subject to such a restriction.

"5. *Resolved, unanimously.* That the passage of the above mentioned proviso makes it the duty of every slaveholding State, and of all the citizens thereof, as they value their dearest privileges, their sovereignty, their independence, their rights of property, to take firm, united, and concerted action in this emergency."

"11. *Resolved.* That we regard the passage of a law by the Congress of the United States, abolishing slavery or the slave trade in the District of Columbia as a direct attack upon the institutions of the southern States, to be resisted at every hazard.

"11. *Resolved.* That in the event of the passage by Congress of the "Wilmot Proviso," or any law abolishing slavery or the slave trade in the District of Columbia, the Governor of this Commonwealth is requested immediately to convene the Legislature of this State (if it shall have adjourned) to consider of the mode and measure of redress.

"IV. *Resolved.* That the Governor of this Commonwealth be requested to send a copy of these resolutions to each of the States of this Union, and also to our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

In presenting them, Mr. Hunter said, "The adoption of these resolutions, Mr. President, was perhaps due from the State, not only to the rights of her own citizens, but to the Union, which she has ever sought to cherish and preserve. If she cannot do these things, it is her duty to warn her sister States of her feelings and intentions in the most solemn form known to her proceedings.

To manifest the sincerity of her desire to promote concord, she approaches her confederates not only in the spirit, but in the very language of compromise, and submits to their consideration the fearful alternatives between which she must choose if she cannot be permitted to retain her position of equality in this Union, even by the sacrifice of a portion of her rights and interests. It was once—it may be, perhaps, still—within the range of possibility that such a course on the part of all the southern States might induce a pause in the progress of what we feel to be aggression and insult, however differently it may have been intended.

At any rate, it is due from Virginia to make every effort to save both the Union and the indispensable rights of her people. It is due from her, because no State has contributed more than she did to make and maintain the Union as it now exists. In almost every battle of the Revolution—from the Heights of Abraham to the plains of Georgia—from what was then the remote north-west—from Kaskaskin and Vincennes to Jersey and the Carolinas—her blood was poured; and, to the extent of her means, her treasure was as freely expended.

She not only sacrificed to make, but also to maintain, the Union of the States. To secure harmony and promote fraternal feelings, she ceded away her north-western territory, and submitted to conditions which gave, for ever, the preponderance of political power to the non-slaveholding States—so little was she jealous of their progress, or doubtful of their disposition at all times to do her justice. Under all circumstances, and at all times, she has manifested her attachment to the Union. She has reared her sons to cherish and revere it as, originally, it was formed. It has ever been as a household word with us—sacred for its domestic associations, and which never passed the lips that it did not stir the heart.

Sir, we have been taught to believe that our Constitution, if administered truly, and in a spirit of justice and fraternal feeling, contained more securities for human happiness and the liberty of the citizen than any other instrument ever devised by the art of man. But the Union which we love is a confederacy of equals. The Constitution which we cherish makes no invidious distinction between States or citizens, but distributes equally its blessings and its burdens. Such is the Union and such is the Constitution in which the blood of our fathers was shed to procure; and shall their sons so far fall in reverence to it as to agree to the subversion of the very principle which lies at the foundation of the structure.

Sir, this cannot, ought not to be. The South cannot consent to be made the Jamaica or even the Ireland of this Confederacy, without an effort to prevent it. It would not be for the glory or even for the interest of the non-slaveholding States to force us to such extremities if they could. Sir, they can have no interest in forcing us to extremities and I believe that they would pause in that progress which is inevitably leading to such a result, if they understood fully how we think and feel on this subject. Alas! sir, that it should be so; but we have ceased to study and consider the feelings and opinions of each other in the true spirit of fraternal affection.

Mr. President, I know not what effect these resolutions may produce in other States—very little, I fear; but they at

least contain food for reflection. Sir, it is a grave occasion when one of the States of this Union feels bound to speak out in such language as that of these resolutions. It was in March, 1773, that the messengers of Virginia and Massachusetts crossed each other as they bore mutual propositions for the establishment of committees of correspondence for the maintenance and preservation of their rights. Such were the feelings which prevailed between Virginia and Massachusetts at that day. It was in March, 1847, that the General Assembly of Virginia warned its sister slaveholding States that, in a certain emergency—we all know how near it may be—it would be their duty, as they valued their dearest privileges, to take firm, united, and concerted action. Mr. President, where are we? Whither are we tending? I think I know where we are; but who can tell whither we are going? I have neither the will nor the power to draw the curtain which veils the future. I shall endeavor to discharge the duties of to-day, and to look for consequences to-morrow, well knowing that, "there is a destiny which shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we may." It is enough for me to know that I am pursuing the path marked out for me by my State. Where she leads I will follow, wherever it may carry me. One thing I know and gratefully acknowledge: I know it to be her purpose to protect the rights of her sons by all the means in her power. She has said it, and shall she not do it? There is no man on earth who would not bow his head in shame if he believed that she would not make good her word to the full extent of her ability. It is neither for individuals nor States to command success; but it depends upon themselves to pursue the path of honor, whosoever it may lead. Some things they will thus certainly secure. They will secure their self-respect and reputation; these are the priceless possessions which I understand my native State to promise to defend at all hazards, and to the last extremities.

The Southern Demonstration—Slavery and the Union.

"The stars in their courses fought against Sisera," when it was deemed that he should fall and perish. It is so now—so always. Whatever is done in haste to destruction, the efforts of friends and foes alike conducting to that end. He who cannot now perceive the handwriting on the wall with regard to Human Slavery in the United States, must be scotched with several blades. Never before did champions and adversaries more clearly though unconsciously co-operate to secure the same result. The last grand struggle is evidently and rapidly approaching. Its advent will be heralded by the transformation of timid, time-serving, unprincipled men throughout the Free States into free-pioneers and invulnerable champions of the enslavement of one man to the use and profit of another. The moral nature of Slavery will come to hold the first instead of the last place in popular regard; leaving the Constitutional obligations undertaken in behalf of the Free States to follow after. Thinking, conscientious men will first inquire and determine what is their duty to God and Humanity; next, what is required of them by the South and the South agents. Such is the natural order; it will soon be the actual.

The proceedings of the several caucuses held with closed doors by the Members of Congress from the Slave States have long been made public, and we lose no time in spreading them before our readers. Judge Berrien's Address, first because it was ultimately rejected, and so is no part of the authentic expression of Southern sentiment; secondly, because it is but a diluted and inoffensive rebash of Mr. Calhoun's which was adopted, and which we make room for. It is certainly a more polite and less exceptional than the one adopted; but none at all would have been still better. We prefer to know the worst; and so thank the majority for adopting Mr. Calhoun's manifesto. Nothing was ever better adapted to the great work of arousing and fixing the North of the South. The Address is a forced recital of Southern grievances, which, closely scrutinized, resolve themselves mainly into two, viz.—1. The North is not as good hunting ground for runaway slaves as it used to be; and 2. The North is determined not to suffer Slavery to overspread the New Territories recently added to the Union. Both these allegations are essentially true. What then?

The slaveholders of the South have a constitutional right to reclaim their fugitives from labor throughout the Free States. They have a right to take them wherever they may find them—very few deny that—but have they any right to my services or time to aid in their recapture? If any man's time may be impressed for such a service to-day, it may be for three-fourths of the year. If we rightly apprehend the force of the Supreme Court's decision in *Prigg vs. Pennsylvania*, the slaveholder has a perfect legal right to take his slave wherever he may be found within the territory of the United States. This cannot lawfully be resisted.—But hunting, tying, and carrying off fugitive slaves is the slaveholder's business—if he wants help, let him pay for it, and obtain such as pay will bring. The slave shall be delivered up, on proper proof that he is a slave; but this delivery is a legal not a popular duty. The sheriff and his posse properly act only upon evidence; not even an officer can rightfully arrest a man as some other man's property without giving some evidence

that such is the fact. Thus fugitives often escape, while freedom have repeatedly been carried off and sold for slaves. Fifty able addresses will not arrest the strong tendency throughout the Free States to have less and less to do with the return of human beings into bondage. We really can foresee no help for this—none, surely, in caucuses and addresses from the slaveholding Members.

Then as to the other monster grievance.—The Free States—shamed into manhood by the Abolitionists of various species—will not permit the extension of Slavery. The vast regions which came to us Free must remain so. There is no reasonable ground for expecting a recession from this resolve. On the contrary, each day is morally sure to strengthen the popular hostility to Slavery Extension. What is to be done about it?

Mr. Calhoun utterly fails, in our judgment, to show any constitutional right of the Slaveholders to remove their human cattle or cattle to New Mexico and California, there to labor and increase for the master's profit. He talks strongly about equality, by which he means not the equality of men and their rights, but the equal right to do justice and injustice, which we cannot admit. In sustaining his position, he resorts to assertions which the truth does not warrant. It is not true that Southern men and Slaveholders are "disfranchised of a privilege" in respect to the New Territories, which is "possessed by all others, citizens and foreigners, without discrimination as to character, profession or color."

It is not so, Mr. Calhoun! Let a Russian who migrates to California, and the law we stand for would say to him as to you: "You are welcome here, Sir—so are your people; but the relation formerly existing between you of bondman and lord cannot here be recognized and enforced by law. So long as it is voluntarily maintained by mutual consent, it will not be interfered with; but if cannot and will not be upheld by legal force." Just so the law will say to Abdel Kader and his assortment of wives and family or Turk or Arab who chooses to carry the "domestic institution" of Polygamy into our Pacific realm. He would be welcomed there—so would his women if they outraged no dictate of decency or propriety; but we are not bound to naturalize and legalize in any manner of oppression and immorality because the persons who practice them also have an unimpaired right to migrate to California and New Mexico.

Mr. Calhoun deceives himself by his mastery of equivocal terms, but he cannot deceive the People of the Free States.

But the South did her part toward the acquisition of these territories. So she did—and rather more. She took the lead in the original theft of Texas from Mexico. She took the lead in the Annexation swindle, driving the reluctant North into it through her control of the machinery of that stupendous fraud entitled the Democratic party.—But for that machinery not one-fourth of the voters of the Free States could ever have been coaxed or driven into acquiescence, even in Annexation. She took the lead also in hurrying us into the consequent War, through Polk's counsels and Shields's diplomacy. But we do not thank her for all this; we do not recognize it as imposing on us the least obligation whatever. "The South" of Mr. Calhoun and his hangers in Annexation and in this Convulsion drove us into the War; but its cost in blood and treasure, in reputation and morals weighed equally and still weighs upon all parts of the Union. At a very early period of that War, the South was warned by the vote of the House on the Wilmot Proviso that the North would never consent to the farther Extension of Slavery. She cannot plead surprise or disappointment.—And we feel that the Nation has quite enough to answer for with regard to that territory without the guilt of consigning a new empire to bondage. Let it at least be Free Soil.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

Purchase of Cuba by the U. States.

The *Gaceta de la Habana* of the 27th ultimo, after quoting from the Madrid Gazette a contradiction of the story that a negotiation was going forward in that capital for the sale of the Island of Cuba to the United States, remarks as follows:—"This speaks the official organ of Her Majesty's Government, and the same has been our opinion from the moment the impostures of certain presses in the United States first reached us. It is now utterly impossible that there should have been, we will not say a convention, but even a conference, on matters of that sort. The men, now at the head of the Government and those who are to follow them, whatever may be their creeds or principles, their political complexion and tendencies, would view with indignation such an idea; which, moreover, bears on its face all the characteristics of the visionary and absurd. Our readers will perhaps remember that in the Gulf of Guinea there are two important islands called Fernando Po and Annobon, which, although nearly forgotten, belonged to us, and formed a part of the Spanish territory. They will also remember the excitement which was occasioned by the mere proposition to cede those islands to another Power. The press, of all shades and opinion, was up in arms against the suggestion, which involved, as they conceived, a lowering of the national dignity; and there was but one opinion on the subject throughout the kingdom. If such was the case then, it is easy to imagine what an impression would be produced by a similar proposition relating to the Island of Cuba, so attached to the crown of Spain as the most important of her ultra-marine provinces. A govern-

ment, a religion, laws and family relations of more than three centuries, cannot be sacrificed to a rash and almost inconceivable project. No Spaniard, worthy of the name, could hear it uttered without indignation; and this alone ought to convince the authors of such impostures of the absurdity of their falsehoods.—This propensity to invent paradoxes, causes us more pity than injury; and if we now allude to what we read months since in an American paper, it is because we find in the Madrid Gazette the paragraph above quoted, and not because our readers need any assurance from us, humble as we are, though in the present case speaking on sufficient authority.

"The Island of Cuba thrives and is happy under the paternal Government of Madrid, and its inhabitants are not only faithful, but understand their true interests. Compare its situation with that of the rest of what was once Spanish America, look to Europe and the entire world, that we may bless the hand of Providence which preserved us unharmed amidst the general wreck.

"Thus we talk, here in Cuba, of our true condition. Thus we speak of rumors set afloat by reckless men, who hope to profit by the change. They themselves do not believe what they assert with such an air of confidence; if they did, they would have but a poor opinion of the Island of Cuba, the Government of her Majesty, and the national character."

Law of Ohio.

An act to authorize the establishment of separate Schools for the education of colored children, and for other purposes. Passed Feb. 6th, 1849.

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio.* That the trustees of each incorporated township in this State, and the trustees, visitors, and directors of schools, or other officers having authority in the premises of each city and incorporated town or village, shall be and they are hereby authorized and required respectively, in case they shall not deem it expedient to admit the colored children resident in any such township, city, town or village, into the regular common schools therein established, to create one or more school districts for colored persons, in every such township, city, town or village, which district or districts, shall include all the territories thereof; and in laying off said districts, and in altering the same, they shall be governed in all respects by the provisions of the act for the support and better regulation of common schools, &c., passed March 7, 1833.

SEC. 2. Whenever any district shall be established as aforesaid, the trustees or other authorities establishing the same, shall give notice, by public advertisement, to the adult male colored tax payers residing in such district, to meet at a time and place specified in the notice, and choose their school directors, and such meeting, and all subsequent meetings, for the election of directors, and for other purposes, shall be held and conducted as is directed in respect to meetings for like objects by the said act of March 7, 1833, and the act amending the same; and the powers, rights, and duties of the directors so chosen, and of their successors, shall be the same in respect to the school officers of their several districts, as are conferred upon, or required of school districts by said acts.

SEC. 3. The trustees or other authorities establishing separate districts, as aforesaid, shall cause an accurate list to be made as speedily as possible, of all colored tax payers, and of all colored youth over four and under twenty-one years of age, resident therein, and shall certify it to the county auditor, who shall preserve the same in his office, and no property of any colored tax payer within said districts shall be charged with any special tax for district purposes, for the benefit of the schools in any regular district, composed wholly or in part of the same territory; and no property of any white person in any regular district, shall be charged with any such tax for the benefit of the schools in any separate district composed wholly, or in part, of the same territory.

SEC. 4. Every separate district, established as aforesaid, shall be held to include for school purposes, only the colored persons resident within its territorial limits, and from and after the establishment of the same, the colored youth resident therein, shall attend the schools organized under the directors of such district; and the powers and duties of county auditors, county treasurers, township clerks, district treasurers, and district clerks, and other officers in regard to such separate district and the schools established therein, shall be the same as now are or may be exercised or performed by said officers respectively, in relation to the regular districts, and the schools established therein, and said districts and schools shall in all respects except so far

as this act provides to the contrary, be governed by and have the benefit of all the provisions of said act of March 7, and the amendatory acts, and all acts relating to schools in cities, towns, or villages, modifying the same.

SEC. 5. The term colored as used in this act, shall be construed as being of the same significance as the term "black or mulatto," as used in former acts.

SEC. 6. The act entitled an act to provide for the establishment of common schools for the education of black and mulatto persons, &c., passed February 23rd, 1848, and the act to regulate black and mulatto persons, passed January 5th, 1804, and the several acts to amend the same, passed January 5th, 1807, and February 27th, 1834, and all parts of other acts so far as they enforce any special disabilities, or confer any special privileges on account of color are hereby repealed, except the act of the 9th February 1831, relating to juries, and the act of the 14th March 1831, for the relief of the poor; *Provided,* however, that if any person shall bring or cause to be brought, or shall aid in bringing or causing to be brought, or shall persuade or induce to come into this State, any person or persons who is or are likely to become paupers in any township of this State, every such person so offending, shall forfeit and pay a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, to be recovered with costs of suit in any court having jurisdiction by action of debt, in behalf of the State of Ohio, or by indictment, and shall also be imprisoned until such fine be paid, unless the court shall otherwise direct.

The DANGER.—The correspondent of the New York True Sun writes from Washington as follows:—"The impression that the question of the existence of slavery in the territories will be settled this winter, is gaining ground here, in well-informed political circles. This arises from the anxiety of the Whig managers to prevent the Wilmot Proviso from going to Taylor. The vote on the Pacheo claim, in which half a dozen Whigs of the North, heretofore acting with the abolitionists voted to pay the owner of the negro his value, is an earnest that Northern Whigs will risk the loss of their constituents in sufficient numbers to keep the dreaded issue out of the path of Taylor. Early in the session I wrote you that the Whig leaders were even then extremely anxious to save Taylor from the embarrassment that cannot fail to result from signing, or refusing to sign, a proviso bill. The subsequent storm about slavery in the District has greatly heightened their fears and will induce half a dozen or more Northern Whigs to vote for the admission of California and New Mexico as States, without an allusion to the slavery question, or to give Texas jurisdiction over New Mexico and California, south of the Missouri compromise line, annexing all of TEXAS, New Mexico and California north of that line to Oregon, or making it a non-slaveholding territory. The Whigs have the last project in hand—Gentry being its leading spirit.

The editor of the Cleveland "Palladium," writing from Washington, gives the following illustrative incident.

A bad Precedent—Pay demanded for the loss of a Husband.

In a former letter I spoke of the principle involved in the Pacheo bill, as being important, and if adopted as highly dangerous in its effects upon future legislation. The principle was adopted by the votes of northern services and the precedent established, and hardly has the money been paid over as the price of human blood, when another demand is made, and another price set upon humanity. A woman by the name of Mary Johnson, in the State of New York hearing of the willingness of Congress to pay all demands of this character, and feeling herself much more aggrieved by the late war than Pacheo by the Florida war, petitioned Congress in substance as follows.

Her husband enlisted during the late war with Mexico, went to the field of battle under General Taylor, deserted, and went over to the enemy, was recaptured by our forces, and General Taylor considering him a dangerous fellow, sent him off with some Mexicans, beyond the influence of his own army, just as General Jessup sent Lewis, Pacheo's man beyond the influence of his army, after he had deserted, fought with the enemy and was recaptured. The circumstances and acts of the two are alike, and she desires pay for the loss of her husband. She says that as Congress by its decision in the Pacheo claim, had determined to pay claims of a similar character, and as one thousand dollars was paid for the loss of Lewis, and one white man is worth as much as two black men, she demands two thousand dollars for the loss of her husband. The petition was referred to the