

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY UPON THE NON-SLAVERYHOLDING PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH.

The following is from the recent letter of Francis P. Blair, of Maryland, from which we quoted some very candid declarations last week, relative to the opinions and purposes of the Republican Party. Mr. Blair deprecates the evil with clearness and force; but what is his remedy? Why, simply a return to good faith by the original compromise, viz: To allow representation in Congress to the owners of slaves in the South, for three-fifths of that species of population, in consideration that all the territories of the United States shall be consecrated to freedom. Such is Mr. Blair's own statement of the question, and this after he has most conclusively proved a few sentences above, that all this debatement of the non-slaveryholding whites, comes directly and necessarily from this Constitutional concession of power to the slaveholders. This seems an amendment of the old song, that "the hair of the same dog will cure its bite." It is the infliction of a new lute to cure an old wound. We have no faith in this sort of practice.

Mr. Blair says: I hold that the strongest bar against disunion, is the preservation of the territories from slave settlement. To explain this some reference to the condition of these states, where the multiplication of slaves has made their owners masters of the government and the soil, is necessary. Governor Hammond, a leading nullifier of South Carolina, and one of the greatest supporters of the slave interest, cannot be suspected of exaggerating the mischief it works on the minds of the whites. Here is his testimony as to their condition, in an address before the South Carolina Institute, in 1850:

"They obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or flocks, and too often by what in its effects far worse—raiding with slaves, and seducing them to plunder for their benefit."

Mr. Tarver, another southern writer of distinction, sustains this statement in a paper on the subject of domestic manufactures in the South:

"The free population of the South may be divided into two classes—the slaveholder and the non-slaveholder. I am not aware that the relative numbers of these two classes have ever been ascertained in any of the States, but I am satisfied that the non-slaveholders far outnumber the slaveholders—perhaps by three to one. In the more southern portion of this region the non-slaveholder class, generally, live on a small scale, and the land which they possess is almost universally poor, and so sterile that a scanty subsistence is all that can be derived from its cultivation; and the more fertile soil, being in the possession of the slaveholder, must ever remain out of the power of those who have none."

In treating of the same point (manufacturing establishments) in the context of recommending the white population of the South holding no slaves, and thrown out of employment by being driven from the culture of the soil by them, the Hon. J. Dumplin, of Georgia, says:

"It is objected that these manufacturing establishments will become the hot-beds of crime. But I am by no means without remedy. I have seen, from the degraded half-civilized, and ignorant population, more than Sabbath-schools or any other kind of instruction, mental or moral, or without any just appreciation of character—will be injured by giving them employment, which will bring them under the oversight of employers, who will inspire them with self-respect by taking an interest in their welfare."

Mr. Wm. Greig, in a paper before the South Carolina Institute, handling the same subject, remarks that "any man who is in the habit of being treated as a slave through our country without being struck with the fact that all the capital, enterprise, and intelligence is in directing slave labor; and the consequence is, that a large portion of our poor white people are obliged to endure life in its most discouraging forms, satisfied that they were *above* the slave, though faring often worse than he. But the progress of the world is onward, and though in some sections it is slow, still it is onward; and the great mass of our poor white population begin to understand that they have rights, and that they too, are entitled to some of the sympathy which falls upon the suffering. They are fast learning that there is an almost infinite world of industry opened before them, by which they can elevate themselves and their families, and that they are not ignorant, to competence and intelligence. It is this great upheaving of our masses that we have to fear, so far as our institutions are concerned."

These paragraphs are only scraps from volumes of evidence borne by the ablest men of the South, which prove that slave labor under the direction of the rich, educated and powerful class, has reduced the laboring white population to a state that make it "an evil of great magnitude," only to be cured by a "change of public sentiment." Now I turn to the leading organs of the South—the Richmond Enquirer and Richmond Examiner—where what remedy they propose for the oppression which weighs down the white laborer, who, without land of his own, is obliged to enter into competition with slave-labor, directed by an educated master with slaves and capital and means and power to command. The following passages are taken from editorials in the press which speak for the millions of Virginia. They appeared during the last session of Congress, to instruct it in the new theory.

"I had recently, in the Richmond Enquirer, had labored under great difficulties, because its apologists for they were merely apologists, took half-way ground. They assumed the defence to *merely* negro slavery, thereby giving up the slavery principle, admitting other forms of slavery to be wrong, and yielding up the authority of the Bible, and of the history, practices, and experience of mankind—Human experience, showing the universal success of slave society, and the universal failure of free society, was unavailing to them. Because they were not content with employing it, by admitting slavery in the abstract to be wrong. The defence of mere negro slavery involved them in still greater difficulty. The laws of all the Southern States justified the holding white men in slavery, provided that through the mother they were descended; however remotely, from a negro slave. The bright mulattoes, according to their theory, were wrongfully held in slavery."

"The line of defence, however, is changed now, and the North is completely cornered and defeated as an orator. The South now maintains that slavery is right, natural, and necessary. It shows that all divine and almost all human authority justifies it. The South further charges, that the little experiment of free society in Western Europe has been, from the beginning, a cruel failure, and that symptoms of failure are abundant in our North. While it is far more obvious that negroes be slaves than whites—for they are only fit to labor; not to direct—yet the principle of slavery is in itself right, and does not depend on difference of complexion. Difference of race, of lineage, of language, of habits and customs, all tend to render the institution more natural and durable; and although slaves have been generally white, still the masters and slaves have been generally of different national descent. Moses and Aristotle, the earliest historians, are both authorities in favor of the difference of race, but not of color."

A book has been published entitled "Free Society a Failure," written by George Fitzhugh; which

the Enquirer and Examiner commend as supporting "the change of sentiment" which they urge on in Virginia. This book gives emphasis to the new doctrines in these sentences:

"Make the laboring man the slave of one man, instead of the slave of society, and he would be far happier. Of the two hundred years of liberty have made white laborers a pauper land. Free society has failed, and that which is not free must be substituted."

"Say the Abolitionists, 'Man ought not to have property in man.' What a dreary, cold, blood-chilling, and this would be, with such doctrine carried into practice? * * * 'Slavery has been too universal not to be necessary to nature, and man struggles in vain against nature.'"

"Free society is a failure. We slaveholders say, 'We need the negro slave, the oldest, the best, and most common form of sociality.'"

"Free society is a monstrous abortion, and slavery the healthy, beautiful, and natural being of the human race. The slaves are governed far better than the free laborers at the North are governed. Our negroes are not only better off as to physical comfort than free laborers, but their moral condition is better."

"We do not adopt the theory that God was the ancestor of the negro race. The Jewish slaves were not negroes; and to confine the justification of slavery to that race, would be to weaken its scriptural authority, and to lose the whole weight of prophetic authority for we read of no negroes in the ancient times."

"Nature has made the weak in mind or body slaves, black or white, is right and necessary."

"Men are not born entitled to equal rights. It would be far nearer the truth to say, that 'some were born with saddles on their backs, and others not; and it is the duty of the former to ride them down, and the latter to get up behind them, and the spur.' 'Life and Liberty are not inalienable.' The Declaration of Independence is exuberantly false, and abominably fallacious."

The Richmond Examiner supports the same views in this paragraph:

"At first view it seems strange that abolition never arose till after the institution of negro slavery. Protection to the weak, and subsistence for the ignorant, improvident and vicious, are the two great and most obvious considerations that render domestic slavery necessary. Neither private nor public charity is always at hand to relieve the wants, the sufferings, the sickness, and the many other misfortunes to which large numbers of the kind without property or property-holding connections, are subject."

"Our object in these preliminary remarks, is to show how unwise it is for the South to attempt to justify negro slavery as an *exceptional* institution. It is the only form of slavery which has existed from the beginning of the world, and which is the only kind of slavery which has not been recently universal. The experience, the practices and the history of mankind amply vindicate slavery in the abstract as a natural, universal and conservative institution. In justifying slavery in the general or abstract, we have to contend with the prejudices growing out of the African slave trade, out of the cruel treatment of slaves wherever that trade exists, and the still greater prejudices of race and color. Still, it is shown by history and by nature, and by the fact that slavery is a natural, normal, and, till lately, universal institution. A comparison of the evils of free and slave society, from the censures of different countries, from the history of the English Poor Laws, from the famines, revolts, and pestilence, and the various other evils, and the fact that late years afflicted Western Europe, and from the communistic and socialistic movements of the day, proves that societies only to be permanent and enduring, which have rested upon the patriarchal institution of domestic slavery as a basis. When it is shown that such a kind of slavery is necessary, all must be willing to admit that, as slaves there must be, negroes are best fitted for that condition."

In these principal journals of the Old Dominion and of South Carolina, we have the solution of the mystery which grows out of the monopoly of the soil by slave labor, and the sovereignty over the State governments, which, as an incident, it conferred on the masters. The utter destitution and entire dependence of the white working classes on the slaveholding class, and the absolute inferiority of the latter on the former, produces a state of superiority on one side, and inferiority on the other, that does not exist anywhere among the despots of Europe. There the nobleman has no power to force any man (the serfs of Russia excepted) to work for him. He must offer a reward of comfort to the laborer to obtain his service."

If one employer will not give adequate wages, the laborer may apply to another, and there is therefore some dependence of the great property-holders on the good will and preference for them on the part of the working class. But in the South, the great slaveholder looks to his slaves as an all-sufficient body of machinery, which enable him to dispense with the labor of the free-laborer class; and he may use them and supply them, or refuse them and starve them at pleasure. I invited attention to this system, as to the state of things which the slave never complains of, but during the late session of Congress. The facts were not denied by a single member from the South, nor was the argument controverted. It was not denied that the accumulation of wealth in slaves, which necessarily grows up, and which, for their owners, must put the white race of laborers wholly at their mercy."

The fact of inference being undisputed, the reply with the remedy for the evil they exposed, is given in the passages quoted from the press which speak for the slaveholders. 'What is it?' We are told that "protection to the weak, and subsistence for the ignorant, improvident and vicious, are the two most obvious considerations that render domestic slavery necessary;" that "the South maintains that slavery is right, natural and necessary;" that "the laws of all the Southern States justified the holding white men in slavery;" that "the principle of slavery is in itself right, and does not depend on difference of complexion;" that "slavery, black or white, is right and necessary;" that "our negroes are not only better off as to physical comfort, than free-laborers, but their moral condition is better;" the salvation for the free white laborer, falling into pauperism in the South, and struggling in vain under the superincumbent weight of the well-directed slave power, is to make him a slave, and give him the same masters. This is clearly the whole drift of the policy, now for the first time loudly enforced by argument. The blessing, which this new feature of the peculiar constitution is to bring on our government is thus illustrated in a late Richmond Enquirer.

"This agitation has produced one happy effect at least—it has compelled us of the South to look into the nature and character of this great institution, and to correct many false impressions that even we had entertained in relation to it. Many in the South once believed that it was a moral and political evil. That folly and delusion are gone. We see it now in its true light, and regard it as the most safe and stable basis for free institutions in the world. It is impossible with us that the conflict can take place between labor and capital, which makes it so difficult to establish in the free nations where such institutions as ours do not exist. The southern States are an aggregate, in fact, of communities, not of individuals. Every plantation is a little community, with the master at its head, who concentrates in himself the united interests of capital and labor, of which he is the common representative. These small communities aggregated make the state in all, whose action, labor and capital is equally represented and perfectly harmonized."

Here is a new system divulged: "Every plantation is a little community, with the master at its head, who concentrates in himself the united interests of capital and labor." "These small communities aggregated make the State." Louis the 14th, King of France, said, "I am the State." Each "little community" composed of white and black on the large plantations of the South, has "a master at the head," and the masters of "these small communities aggregated" are the State. And to make the masters of the blacks more absolutely

the masters of the State, we find that the representation in many of the southern states is apportioned on the black basis. The counties with a great number of negroes and a few whites, have in this state a majority of the Legislature, and can control that portion of the state having a much greater number of whites and fewer slaves. Eastern Virginia, with its multitudes of slaves and few whites, has a control in the Legislature over the larger white population west of the mountains and fewer slaves. In South Carolina the sway of the masters in the Legislature over the whites is made still more absolute; for, besides basing representation upon black population, the Constitution makes the ownership of few slaves a qualification for a seat in the Legislature, or an equivalent in frehold estate. And it takes away the choice of the Presidential electors altogether from the people, and gives it to this slave-holding assembly. This is the system which the Richmond press now urges on, to establish a principle that will justify the actual enslavement of the dependent class of the free white population. This is not my statement of the case. It is the record of the principles and policy of the democratic party in the South, as indicated by the leading statesmen and presses directing its power. The record is made by me, I merely copy it. It is the democracy of Jefferson or Jackson, or of the true Republican party, built up by the fathers of our government. Their principle was that the white race should, by a majority of its suffrages, wield the authority of the state governments. They allowed representation in Congress to the owners of north of it to the emigrants and free settlers. This was a most solemn treaty. Its stipulations ought to be held more sacred than any other because it has root in the policy recognized in the constitution as the basis of the Union—because it was professed by the weaker power, and was ratified, not by the sanction of the President and Senate alone, as in the case of ordinary treaties, but by the House of Representatives and called, in contradistinction to other statutes, by universal accord "the Missouri Compromise." The breach of this, like the breach of treaties among independent States, has brought on an appeal for force. Civil war between the free and slave States is impending, and nothing can avert it but a return to the principle of the Compromise, and of good faith. It is on this ground that the Republican party has taken its position.

It was in pursuance of this principle of compromise between the North and South, engraved in the constitution, that gave Missouri and all the territory south of 36° 30', to slave settlement, and all the territory north of that line to free settlers. This was a most solemn treaty. Its stipulations ought to be held more sacred than any other because it has root in the policy recognized in the constitution as the basis of the Union—because it was professed by the weaker power, and was ratified, not by the sanction of the President and Senate alone, as in the case of ordinary treaties, but by the House of Representatives and called, in contradistinction to other statutes, by universal accord "the Missouri Compromise." The breach of this, like the breach of treaties among independent States, has brought on an appeal for force. Civil war between the free and slave States is impending, and nothing can avert it but a return to the principle of the Compromise, and of good faith. It is on this ground that the Republican party has taken its position.

As no letters are permitted to reach me in Kansas from Missouri, you will direct your answer to Indianapolis, Indiana. Yours, J. H. LANE, Fremont County, Iowa, Sep. 22, 1856.

DISUNION INCONSISTENT.—A correspondent writes that he thinks Disunion Abolitionists inconsistent in petitioning the Legislature for the removal of the disabilities of the colored people of the State or for other purposes. He puts his difficulties on our behalf into the following propositions:

1st. Proposition (and almost an axiom in Garrisonian logic,) is that to consent with the Slaveholding United States Government by voting, holding office or otherwise is essentially sinful and wrong.

2nd. The Western Anti-Slavery Society invited the people of Ohio, (as expressed in one of their resolutions,) to do something which cannot be done without such voting and holding office, that is to alter and amend the Constitution of Ohio by erasing the word white &c.

3d. Consequently the Western Anti-Slavery Society invite the people of Ohio to: to vote through immorality to reach a fancied goal. And consequently they are inconsistent in claiming as they do "that you must never do evil that good may come."

These propositions, may make out a case of inconsistency against Garrisonians, but we cannot perceive the force of the logic. The Disunionists have no hand in electing the Legislature, even according to these propositions. They find the Government in existence and it will exist in spite of them. They only ask it to do good and not evil. This is no recognition of the rightfulness of the government. It is not doing evil that good may come. It is doing good that good may come.

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NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.—From Mrs. Lucy Stone's notice in another column, it will be seen that the National Woman's Rights Convention has been postponed till further notice.

A BORDER RUFFIAN THANKSGIVING. The Filibustering Governor Price of Missouri, lends off the states this fall with his thanksgiving proclamation. He has appointed the 20th of November, to be observed for that purpose. This thanksgiving would be eminently appropriate had the governor proposed to give thanks to Franklin Pierce and northern dogfishes, for to these, their distinguished success in their magnificent enterprises of the past year are attributable, and not to the Benevolent and Almighty God to whom Governor Price proposes to render the thanksgivings of the ruffian State.

The following extracts from the proclamation are rather rich scraps of reading considering the occurrences in Missouri, during the last twelve months: "Whereas, it is considered right and proper that we should gratefully acknowledge the goodness of God, displayed in the preservation of our lives, our civil and religious liberties, and our republican institutions, and for every blessing, temporal and spiritual, which we enjoy. And whereas the protection of the State from insurrection and intestine commotion, and the citizens from pestilence and plagues, equally demand a return of thanks to Him whose will has wrought this protection."

"Now, therefore, under a full sense of obligation and duty, and in accordance with the wishes of a great many citizens of the State, I Sterling Price, &c., &c."

SOUTHERN JUSTICE.—Slaveholders who are unaccustomed to inquire particularly into the justice of the penalties they inflict upon their slaves, adopt the same short method with all who are suspected favoring the slave's cause. A life of devotion to slavery, and even the practice of the patriarchal virtue of slave ownership, all goes for nothing when suspicion is once aroused. Mr. William Strickland, the Mobile Bookseller who was recently expelled from that city is a case in point. He has written a humble letter of defence from his place of refuge, New York, from which it appears that his is a case of clear persecution by mistake.

That his only offence was the misdirection of supposing that his slaveholding friends might be safely trusted to buy and read such books as they thought proper to order. That under this delusion he had actually sold a few copies of books of an abolition tendency. That he has been a slaveholder and always a fast and faithful friend of slaveholding. Poor fellow. He is a victim of the system he has so long and so ardently cherished and still desires to serve. This is the reward of unrighteousness. He closes his letter as follows:

"If I have done ought other than what I have stated above, it is unknown to me. I challenge any proof that by word or deed I have directly or indirectly, in any form or shape, attempted to resist during any period of my life, to circulate any Abolition document, sentiment, or anything else which would in any way tend to promulgate Anti-Slavery views, beyond the above facts."

"My whole life at the South gives the lie direct to any such charge. The ten thousand lies and rumors in circulation which have become engrained on the above facts are false from beginning to end."

"WILLIAM STRICKLAND, Bixby's Hotel, New York, Sept. 6, 1856."

WHO CONQUERED CALIFORNIA?—This is the engaging question just now with a great number of our political journals. It is one of the questions that admits of a "free fight." The Filibuster and Buchanan men contend that the barrels belong to Commodore Stockton. The Fremonters demand clamorously that their champion shall wear them. Buchanan himself had not made up his mind, two years ago, to whom they belonged. Probably he has, more recently. This contest shows the heartless wickedness of all who claim it as an honor. California was conquered during the progress of the infamous Mexican war; a war waged for the conquest of an unoffending and helpless people for the robbery of their land and the extension of American Slavery. The conquest was therefore dishonorable to whoever achieved it, and should mark him, as on that account, unworthy the support of all friends of justice and lovers of liberty. The parties which make this claim too exhibit their shameless immorality.

GEN. LANE'S CHALLENGE.

Gen. Lane of Kansas has addressed a letter to A. W. Doniphan and A. G. Boone, two Missourians who he recognises as comparatively good men, and in it he corrects some statements which appeared over the signatures of these gentlemen in the following vigorous language: "I venture the assertion that in recklessness of veracity and bold falsification, it would be difficult to find its parallel."

Gen. Lane closes his address with the following challenge: "When you get ready for another invasion to gratify this hellish disposition, in order to save a further impeding of our beloved Union, I will further a proposition like this: You to select one hundred actual slaveholders, torn and raised in Slave States, who have already been engaged in this conflict, Atchison & Co. among the number; and I to select one hundred actual non-slaveholding settlers of Kansas, myself included; we being the party invaded and having the right to select time, place, distance, and weapons, who shall fight in presence of twelve members of the Senate and twelve members of the House of Representatives of the United States, one half of whom shall be selected by each party, with the mutual agreement that the blood of the parties thus selected shall settle this vexed question, and save Kansas from further outrage."

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THE UNDERGROUND R. R. IN KANSAS. The following is an extract from the Kansas correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette:

"He, about now, Edward, 'tis a boy." "About an hour after we parted from Lane's party the attention of our boys was arrested by some object in the grass, which we supposed to be some kind of kit. It was about one hundred yards up his Sharp's rifle and took deliberate aim. In the mean time it seemed to spread its tail, and no one doubted it was a wild turkey, but as it continued to rise one of the boys cried out, 'Don't shoot, Jim, 'tis a man—it's a nigger.' In his first earnest impulse he forgot all distinction of color and recognized only his humanity 'tis a man.' His second thought, the result of his education, was 'tis a nigger.' True enough, it was a negro lying in the tall grass. He had on an old white wool hat, pulled down to a point on each side so as to crease it shaped (a style peculiar to these sons of the South) and as he raised his head it looked exactly like the spread of a turkey's tail.

"As we approached him he raised up. The largest drops of sweat I ever saw stood upon his face, and the whites of no darkie's eyes ever looked bigger. He was a runaway slave from Jackson county, Missouri, and had escaped to Kansas with his brother, (who lay in the grass at a short distance.) They came to Topeka, where they fell in with a director on the underground railroad, and had been forwarded thus far."

"The leader of our little party was a well known Free State man. A line from him would pass them safely over all ferries and dangerous points. He said to the men, 'Shall I pass them?' Every voice cried out, 'Yes we're for Freedom everywhere.' Vermont said, 'Freedom's what I came out here for, else I'd be in New now.' I shook hands with them on parting, and wished them God speed. I came out here a Free State man but I am dreadful afraid I am getting to be an Abolitionist."

"These two negroes were worth twenty-five hundred dollars. I wonder what slaves will be worth in Jackson county, Missouri, when Kansas becomes a Free State, and has a railroad running from Lawrence northward, with connections to Canada?"

SLAVERY—WHY CONTINUE IT? The great principle is, and ever will remain in force, that men by nature are free.—Continental Congress, 1779.

It is conceded on all hands, that the right to be free can never be alienated.—Continental Congress, 1779.

It is among my first wishes to see some plan adopted, by which Slavery in this country may be abolished by law.—George Washington.

Slavery is contrary to the law of nature and of nations.—Wm. Wirt.

Slavery is a dark spot on the face of the nation.—Lafayette.

Slavery is repugnant to the principles of Christianity; it prostrates every benevolent and just principle of action in the human heart.—Richard Rush.

We should transmit to posterity our abhorrence of Slavery.—Patrick Henry.

The way, I hope, is preparing, under the auspices of Heaven, for a total emancipation.—Jefferson.

Even the earth itself, which teems with profusion under the cultivating hand of the freeman laborer, shrinks into barrenness from the contaminating sweat of a slave.—Montesquieu.

The South now maintains that Slavery is right, natural, and necessary, and does not depend upon difference of complexion. The laws of the slave States justify the holding of WHITE MEN in bondage.—Richmond Enquirer.

SPEECH OF HON. NATHANIEL P. BANKS.

In compliance with an invitation extended to him by a large number of the merchants and citizens of New York, who had 'noticed with much interest and satisfaction' his 'CONSERVATIVE, conciliatory and impartial course as presiding officer of the House of Representatives,' Hon. N. P. Banks addressed a vast multitude from the steps of the Merchant's Exchange in that city, on Thursday afternoon, last week. He made an elaborate speech of great length, a portion of which, illustrating by a series of statistical facts the immense superiority of free over slave labor, was instructive and valuable; but other parts of it were suited to the meridian of South Carolina rather than that of New York, and showed Mr. Banks to be destitute of all sympathy for the enslaved millions at the South, and all concern for their deliverance at any period however remote, as any slaveholder could desire. We proceed to quote a few of the most objectionable passages that fell from his 'conservative' lips, to tickle the ears of his 'conservative' Wall Street listeners.

First—read what he says of the American Union:— "The Union of the States, not as it might be in the imagination of some theorist, but the UNION OF THE STATES AS IT IS—THE UNION OF THE STATES AS IT HAS BEEN—I TRUST IT WILL BE FOREVER, as long as the stars of God's firmament shall brighten with their fire the intelligent minds and the great hearts of the nation, and the call of patriotism shall have power to bring so many intelligent and truthful faces together."

Though we can make nothing of the rhetorical flourish about the stars of God's firmament brightening with their fire the intelligent minds and the great hearts of the nation, the reference to the Union is sufficiently clear and explicit. Mr. Banks goes for the Union as it has been and as it is, and trusts it will never alter its present character—i. e. he believes in perpetuating a compact between Freedom and Slavery, by which four millions of human beings are securely held in their fetters, fugitive slaves are run down in every part of the land, and a slave oligarchy is provided for in Congress! He would not have it as it exists 'in the imagination of some theorist,'—i. e., a Union of freemen for freedom, pure and consistent,—but dripping with blood, and every seventh person in the land a chattel slave—a Union of slaveholders, slave-traders, slave-breakers, and slave catchers, with Northern freemen!

Again he says:— "I am, you may suppose, no little impressed with the responsibility that attends me here to-day. I speak in a place where great men have spoken—men entrusted with the confidence not only of your section of the country, but with the confidence and love of the people throughout the entire confederacy of States, which now numbers thirty-one in our glorious Republic! I mean to speak, so far as I may, in elimination of exactly the principles and truths that they themselves, here and there, and to you, always have declared, and none other—and such as you always have been and are now ready to receive."

What a progressive Republican is Mr. Banks! But hear what he says of the present conflict now shaking the nation to its centre:— "In theory, and only in theory, fellow-citizens, one class, or one portion of the confederacy, in regard to the Presidential election at present impending, is arrayed, in theory and theory only, I say, against another portion of the confederacy, on the principles that it declares, and in the candidates for popular suffrage that it presents."

A mere theoretical conflict going on between the North and the South—nothing practical or of great moment! Again:— "I speak, to-day, for the institutions and the principles that have been transmitted to us by Washington, by Jefferson, by Jackson, by Polk, and by Taylor—all of them distinguished citizens and statesmen of the Southern section of the confederacy."

Not a Northern name mentioned! Mr. Banks speaks in behalf of only such 'institutions and principles' as certain slaveholders have transmitted to us! Now see what he says in regard to the slave system itself—the source of all our divisions and calamities:— "With the institution of slavery we have nothing to do. With the institutions of the Southern State, local or traditional, we have nothing to do; and I know I speak the sentiments that animate the hearts of all men here when I say, that we are determined to interfere in no way, at no time, and in no event with those sectional, local and traditional rights, which distinguish them. (Great applause.) But if they choose, for their own interest and of their own volition, to make this change, I trust that there is no intelligent man here who will interfere in the welfare and prosperity of New York, who would have anything to say against that. It is a work for them, and not for us, and I dismiss this matter by asserting that the declaration that we should not interfere in their affairs is a bold and baseless slander, animating no section of the people of the North, and representing the feelings, the intentions, and the purposes, of no considerable portion of any State of the Northern portion of this confederacy." (Applause.)

What utter disregard of human rights and degradation of sympathy for the oppressed are exhibited in this declaration! And how utterly at variance with the truth is the assertion, 'With the institution of slavery, we have nothing to do,' in view of our religious and political affiliation with the South! Again:— "I am not against Southern men or against Southern Presidents. I believe we are safer with Southern men of character and honor than we are with some men. (Cheers, huzzas and laughter.) Do you know what I intended to say. I would to-day trust the institutions and liberties of this country to a man—filling the Presidential chair—to a man from the Palmetto State. I would say, in God's name, give us a Palmetto always in a free over because there is a Palmetto man, there is a will, and if a man has not a will of his own, he is as clay in the hands of the potter, to be molded into a vessel of honor or dishonor, (as Webster said,) and more readily into a vessel of dishonor." (Applause.)

Let us have neither a Palmetto man-stealer nor a Northern trickster to be President. Once more:— "The compromise has been repealed, and its repeal has given to the world scenes of injury and wrong of which we have not yet seen the end, and of which no man can predict the result. Now, for this we have a remedy. It is not that we shall legislate against the South on the subject of slavery. It is not that we shall raise the question whether in future territories slavery shall be permitted or not. We lay aside all these questions, and stand, distinctly and simply, on the proposition that that which gave peace to the country, in 1850, that which concentrated the peace of the country in 1850, ought to be made good by the government of the United States, with the consent of the American people. (Applause.) That is all. No more, no less, no better, no worse. That is all we ask; that the acts of 1850 and 1850 shall be made good, in the place of confederation, and of civil war, for the year 1856, by the voice of the American people, South, let me say, as well as North. (Applause.) Now, to do that, no legislation is required. It is not necessary that the halls of Congress should be opened again to agitation. We desire the election of a man to the Presidency of the United States of simple views and determined will—a man who will exert the influence of the government in that portion of the territory of

the United States so as to allow its people to settle the question for themselves there. We ask no more than that; and when we succeed in the Presidential election before us, (as, by the grace of God, we shall and will succeed,) (loud huzzas,) when Fremont is proclaimed President, then Kansas will be again restored to freedom, without legislative act, and without the interference of any body. So much, gentlemen, for the remedy in regard to Kansas; it is a simple, and feasible, and statesman-like proposition, and needs only the concurrent action of your State with the other States of our own section of the confederacy, to give it life and being. This will remove all question of agitation, will give the country again that peace and domestic quiet which it had in 1852, and which has been broken for ever, unless such a result shall come about as I have predicted, by the course of the people."

And finally:— "Will you strike hands with those of us who want to substitute peace and commercial prosperity for these fierce contests between Northern and Southern sections? (Cries of 'We will.') If so, before another year is past after this election, the question between the North and South will not be one of slavery; but it will be a question of the Pacific Railway, and this trade of 700,000,000 of people." (Loud huzzas.)

And this is Republicanism! and this is statesmanship! Mr. Banks is not only in a fog, but stone blind—not only in error, but demerited.

THEY WILL HAVE CUBA—THE OSTEND MANIFESTO IN FULL BLAST.

The great democratic speech of the Hon. Mr. Keitt, of South Carolina, which we published the other day, is full of the most magnificent democratic ideas. Take the following for example. Mr. Keitt is talking about the democratic party and Cuba. Hear him:—

"As I said before, I am independent, not neutral. (Cheers.) If the party desires the right line of policy, I will oppose it. (Cheers.) I say, never will I act with any party that does not stand upon the constitution—I mean, for the rights of the south. (Loud Cheers.) I go with it now because it is a gallant party—because it is a progressive party. (Cheers.) We have left us a great country. We have two races—the Latin and the Anglo Saxon and with such elements composing the population of our country, our destiny must be a noble and exalted one. (Cheers.) The love of progress, and the first step in that direction is the acquisition of Cuba. (Loud and enthusiastic cheers.) Standing on your southern shores, the sentinel of your watch towers, it must be ours, or the South is exposed to invasion. (Cries, it must be ours, and I have no objection to the filibuster taking it. (Loud cheers.) Take it, and we will pay for it afterwards. (Frenzied cheering.) Take it—I care not in what manner—and then we will roll into it a full stream of Southern population that will make it truly the gem of the Antilles. Externally guarded by nature protected, rolling into your Southern population, and the navies of all the earth may thunder in vain. (Loud cheers.) Yes, controlling the commerce of the East, through the greater enterprise and commercial spirit of our population, Cuba would be to the filibuster, taking it, an ancient times, if it once throws off the despotism Spanish rule. (Loud cheers.) The democratic party can and will take it. (Cheers.)"

This proves that the Ostend manifesto of Mr. Buchanan, of 'wresting Cuba from Spain, if we have a hand in it, as a living principle among the democracy of the South. This is the democratic plan, then—first Kansas at the point of the bayonet, and secondly Cuba by a piratical seizure, "if we possess the power" at all events, we are to have a trial for it, that a glorious epoch of civil war, shall be the result of the filibuster taking it, and filibustering forays we shall have with the election of James Buchanan! In view of these things, can Mr. Keitt inform his Southern friends which is the safe side of the line? We can.—New York Herald.

THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE REPEATED BY THE BUCHANANERS.