The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON, EDITOR. "NOUNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS." ANN PEARSON, PUBLISHING AGENT.

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The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

SPEECH OF PARKER PILLSBURY.

At a Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in New York, May 12th, 1858.

After some intoducrtory remarks Mr. Pillsbury said:

There is nothing in any part of our country that can be called encouraging to the lovers of freedom. Our friend Mr. Phillips called attention yesterday to the fact that the most absolute despotism in Europe is loosening its grasp on the limbs and hearts of its victims. When, think you, will this be true of our despots and our despotism? Do you see, in the signs of the times, any indications of it? I do not know of any.—On the contrary, it seems to me our other friend from Philadelphia, Dr. Furniss, has a clearer appreciation of what is before us than most of the speakers who have addressed us—certainly, of those who have spoken to-day. I remember that, not many months ago, my friend, Mr. Buffum, took me in his carriage to a town in his neighborhood, and we held an anti-slavery meeting. It was just after the first pulsation began to be felt in the cold heart of the Illinois Senator, Stephen Arnold Douglass; and such was the throbbing palpitation that began to be perceptible among the Republicans here at the North, that I ventured to predict that it would not be three months before Stephen Arnold Douglass would be named as the next candidate for the Presidency by the Republican party. Now, I never had much reputation, never claimed any, as a prophet, but it was at once said, that what little I had was forfeited by that rash prediction. The audience cried out "No! No!" and even my friend Buffum looked as if he thought I "saw men as trees walking."—But instead of being three months, it was not *three weeks* before Mr. Douglas was trumpeted from Mississippi to Maine as the next probable candidate for the Presidency of the United States by the party of freedom. Since that time there has been some little modification of the sentiment or feeling; but in what direction? It is only to cross over the river, and fasten upon a slaveholder in the State of Kentucky—I refer of course, to the Hon. Mr. Crittenden; and the highest that party now looks, in 1860, is to some slaveholder, or Northern man with slaveholding principles, to be their standard-bearer in the Presidential canvass. And as political parties always lower their standard, as men always grow worse when they enter the political arena, just as they do when they join the Church, it is perfectly safe to utter such a prediction—and that party has scarcely any lower deep into which it can fall. It seems to me that we can look now for no more from the Republican party than from the Democratic party, or any other party that may arise in the coming three years.

Then, again, I think we deceive ourselves as to the character and position of individuals. Allusion has been made to the kindly event in the workings of Providence, the death of the Senator from South Carolina. But who made the most haste to pronounce eulogies upon that man?—Why, the two most prominent men in the Senate of the United States, if we except Mr. Seward, of the Empire State; I refer to Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, and Senator Hale of New Hampshire. Senator Wilson went so far as to tell, not the country only, but the Senate in particular, that they, even, did not know the merits, the peculiar gifts and graces, of that man. He said, "You knew him only here in the Senate, and you who knew him here knew him only to esteem him. I knew him in the Committee room, where we learn men still more intimately; and the more I knew of him there, the more highly did I respect, esteem and venerate him!" That from a Massachusetts Senator, standing almost in the yet undried blood of his colleague, Charles Sumner, steaming from the floor of the Senate Chamber, and calling to God, certainly unavenged! And Senator Hale's eulogy was in terms no less glowing. I regard these facts as significant indications of the position and character of the Republican party at this time.

Then, again, we all of us fancy that we must speak well of Charles Sumner, however we may [illegible] the dead. I do not know, if Stephen A. speak o[illegible] for the Presidency, who is Douglas is nomin[illegible] firm supporter than any more likely to be n[illegible] member of this Charles Sumner. He is yet a [illegible] of slave-Government—the sworn and pledged ally [illegible] ry. I sometimes fancy that Providence has permitted Charles Sumner to occupy a peculiar position in the government of the country. He went to the United States Senate pledged to the support of the Union and the Constitution. Of course, that bound him to aid in putting down any insurrection that might occur, in whatever section of the South, among the slaves. Even Bully Brooks' own slaves might rise in rebellion, and then who was more firmly pledged than Charles Sumner to see to it that that insurrection was suppressed, if need be, by the strong arm of the Federal Government, himself one of the great throbbing pulsations that put forth the terrible power? Now, it was written, not on Judean parchment alone, and more than eighteen hundred years ago, "With what measure you mete, it shall be measured to you again." Charles Sumner had sworn to be the ally of Bully Brooks, in maintaining order on his plantation; he had sworn to aid in inflicting whatever "caning" his slaves might require, in order to preserve the peace of the plantation; and the terrible Nemesis, that avenges the outrages done, in the name of liberty, in behalf of slavery, hovering over his head, soon letfly the arrows of his wrath, and Bully Brooks was the instrument to avenge the wrong; and that slave measure which Charles Sumner meted out to others was meted out to him.

I speak of this not as the enemy of Charles Sumner. I know him well enough to believe that he would not have me false to my convictions and to myself, in glossing over his position, out of regard to his personal merits, or my particular friendship or fondness for him. But I will not stop to speak of the political relations of the country to slavery. I have very few words to say as regards the "revival" through which we have recently been passing, in different parts of the country.

Here, again, I think, when there are such significant and striking indications of what is called "the presence of God," we are all too much in the habit of speaking in measured tone and with suppressed and bated breath in regard to them. I know something of the history of revivals in this country for the last twenty-five years. I know that in 1830 there commenced a series of revivals that swept over the entire country. I know that in this city, in particular, there was such an outpouring of what was called "the spirit of God" as was never witnessed before; I remember that one of the largest theatres was converted into a place of worship, and Professor Finney was called from the West to perform the mighty works done there in the name of religion; and the city almost fancied that it had become a fit emblem of the "City of Mount Zion" above. Such a rush of converts to the communion had never been witnessed before, and the Church lifted up her voice in such songs of rejoicing as had not been heard since the days of the Apostles. But here, in the City of New York, what has followed? In looking after the fruits of the revival, what have we found? Amid its slime, there has sprung up a vegetation the most dangerous and deadly to be found in any of the moral quagmires of the whole western hemisphere. There has sprung up the rule of Isaiah Rynders, Tammanny Hall, and Fernando Wood, and that and all subsequent revivals have not suppressed that more deadly and poisonous influence—and powerful, too—the *New York Observer*, so long published, to the disgrace of this city and the dishonor of this country (applause).

Now, there was the legitimate fruits of the revival here in the cityof New York; but I want to take, for a moment a more extended view of it. In Mexico, at that time, there was an effort making for the overthrow of the slave system of that Catholic country, and Roman Catholicism and as much of Republicanism as existed in that country at that time were sufficient to accomplish the glorious act of the overthrow of the slave system, that has so long cursed that unfortunate Republic. There was no revival of religion, but there was an overthrow of slavery there. Our country enjoyed a revival of religion. It lasted from 1830, with more or less power and interest, until 1840. In 1840, we began to witness the fruits of that revival—and what were they? The history of the ten previous years was the history of what was called "the outpouring of the spirit of God," in the most millenneal manner. All over the land, from east to west, there sprung up churches and theological seminaries, and it was said that the day star of the millennium had risen upon the country, and that the wilderness and the solitary places were budding and blossoming like the rose. The churches increased among the wilds of the West to such an extent that, as it was said of Athens, when Paul first preached there, "the gods are so numerous that it is easier to find a god in our city than a man," so it might almost have been said of the West, "the houses of God are so numerous that it is easier to find them than to find the house of a man." Thus the Church seemed to triumph, and thus, for ten years, there was rained down from heaven, as though its very windows were opened, such refreshings from the presence of the Lord as had never been enjoyed before.

So sang the Church. Meantime, as I said, Roman Catholicism had abolished slavery in Mexico. But what were the fruits gathered from that golden harvest of revival? The seizure of Texas, and its annexation to these United States, and the war—if you call such a massacre a war—the war with Mexico, that wasted the fairest portion of her heritage. The Protestantism of the United States, the *revived* Protestantism of the United States, the Millennium Protestantism of the United States, signalized its zeal and regard for the honor and glory of God by seizing upon Texas, a revolted province of the Mexican Republic, and re-enacting slavery there, where Roman Catholicism had thrown down its reeking altars, as it fancied and hoped forever and ever!

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have been wondering what would be the fruits of this great revival. I have been wondering what act our Government and our Church contemplated, of peculiar diabolism, whose way must thus be prepared by these remarkable religious outpourings. I remember "John Brown, the Ferryman," who used to write letters, I think, for the New York *Post*, said he always knew when Daniel Webster contemplated some particularly diabolical act, by the remarkably religious unction with which he seemed to be visited (laughter and applause). I think the same with regard to our country at large. I think you will find that almost every peculiarity diabolical deed has been preceded by some special religious observances and celebrations.

We are told that Cuba, Central America, the African slave trade, are already laid down in the programme of the Government for the coming year. I strongly suspect that it is true, and I scarcely could wish better evidence of it than the remarkable revivals of religion we have witnessed during the past winter (applause and hisses.) I do not know whether those who hiss are "lambs of the flock"—I am afraid they are entirely another species of animal by the dialect (laughter.)—However. I remember reading somewhere that Rome was once saved by the hiss of a goose, and the Church may be saved by the instrumentality (renewed laughter.) But I am speaking in all seriousness. I know my remarks to some may seem extravagant, but I will not retract them; I could not if I would. But sure I am, you will all agree in this—that from 1830 to 1840, we did not have these remarkable revivals of religion; and I am equally sure that those of you who are conversant with the history of the time will agree with me that we had the annexation of Texas, and that that was followed by what was called the Mexican war; and following thick and close and fast upon it came the enactment of the Fugitive [illegible] bill, and then its execution, and then the [illegible] in Kansas—scenes of such a character that one m[illegible] almost fancy the seven vials of Apocalyptic wrath ha[illegible] been poured out on that ill-fated Territory. So far, I am sure we are agreed. Well, if, at the close of the revival of 1840, some one had predicted all these events as likely to follow, surely that would not have been considered as paying a very high compliment to the power of the Church or to the Christianity and religion of the people. But yet, all the events have come; and those three to which I have referred as likely to transpire within three coming years are surely not more remarkable. You thought I was speaking extravagantly. I spoke just so at the close of the revival of 1840. I said, some deed of damning darkness is about to be committed—and were not such deeds close upon us? I claim to be no prophet, the son of no prophet, but I remember who it was that said, "Can ye not observe the signs of the times?"—Why, the Republican party at that time sprung into new life; it called itself the Free Soil party, and its motto was, "No more slave territory—so help us, Heaven!" Do they say it now? Is there any such party now, or any such zeal in the cause of freedom?

One single word, Mr. Chairman, if you will indulge me, to the Abolitionists. I am afraid we are a little too anxious for our reputation. It was a glorious utterance of Wendell Phillips, three or four months since in Boston, when he said, as long as we have a shred of reputation about us, we should distrust our position and ourselves. He said it, too, just at the moment when my friend Remond and myself returned to Boston from Vermont, blushing with the honors that had been showered upon us during a little visit there; and, oh! how quickly our laurels withered on our brows! But I agree with the remark. And how, think you, shall we sacrifice our reputation?—Not by denouncing the Democratic party—the Republican party out do us altogether in that; we can go to school to them for terms of denunciation of the Democratic party. Not for denouncing the Church in general—for I am sure, in that matter, the finger of Geo. B. Cheever is thicker than the loins of Garrison, Abby Kelley Foster, and many more like them, together. Where, then, is the place for us to occupy? Somebody has said there is a principle in philosophy that renders it proper for a lecturer to say, in using certain apparatus, "If I touch that spot, the universe trembles." In the ecclesiastical organizations of our country, that tender, sensitive spot (if there be such an one) is, I strongly suspect, in the Old School Covenanter Church, not in the Plymouth Church, or the church George B. Cheever, on Union Square; and, I think, Mr. Chairman, they are the grand obstacles to the progress and triumph of the anti-slavery cause, for they are the men who deceive the very elect ("hear, hear.")

Now I honor these men, probably, as highly as they themselves would wish me to honor them; and yet what does Dr. Cheever say of the great revival through which we have just passed? (I hope we have passed through it.) [A Voice—"Amen."]—Why, that unless it reaches to the overthrow of slavery, wherever it is found, it is false and spurious (loud applause. Well, does it? Has a single slave been emancipated by the whirlwind and earthquake and fire that have passed over the land? On the contrary, will not the 'still small voice' of this anniversary be heard, louder than those thunders, all through the caverns of despair in the slaveholding States of the land? Nobody was ever more sure than the slaveholder that the Church is the bulwark of slavery, and every revival of American religion adds new strength, new towers to that terrible Bastile. Our meeting today and this anniversary, will be heard and felt, and feared, by the tyrants of the South; but when and where have they trembled at the rumbling of the revival, though they have been told, and most of them believed, perhaps, that it was the chariot of salvation whose wheels they heard?

No, Mr. Chairman, we must judge trees by their fruit, and we must not be afraid to speak the truth of Sumner, or Beecher, or Cheever, or of religion revived, anymore than of religion dead—as, happily for the slave, it almost always is in our land. It will make our number few—no matter for that. What though we are few, now and always?—so ever are the faithful. What though we may be growing fewer still?—that also may be a part of the economy of God: for so it has been before. What though the heavens over our heads may seem brass, and the earth under our feet may seem iron, and no results seem to follow our labors?—to wait and watch may be part of our mission, as well as to work; and the word that is spoken on this platform to-day may be blossoming in beauty and in blessedness long after we have been gathered to our graves. The olives from the planting of Isaiah and Moses are not yet all gathered in, and the flower that blooms to-day on the banks of the Nile may have sprung from seed sown by Pharaoh's daughter. So, our work, in its grand results, may not be complete until that day when future Layards shall disinter the ruins of New York instead of Ninevah, and grave antiquarians from Australia come to search among the debris of the Mississippi for traces of a once flourishing civilization. I wish we could divest ourselves of all desire to be popular, of all desire for reputation; for in the whole history of the past whenever God has appeared for the recovery or rescue of his own cause, it has generally been not until the hour when man's extremity drove him to despair, and he was willing to ascribe all the glory of his salvation to the God of Heaven (loud applause.)

From the Springfield (Massachusetts) Republican.

EMASCULATED CHRISTIANITY.

The Lecompton triumph in Congress was a doubtful one; the Lecompton triumph in the Tract Society, achieved on Wednesday, was not doubtful. It will be remembered, that last year the Society instructed the publishing committee to publish tracts upon the subject of slavery, and that they persistently refused to obey their instructions. The course was utterly dishonorable on their part. They had no legitimate alternative but to obey or resign. At the present anniversary, there gathered, of course, a great deal of interest about the decision of the question, and it has been decided. The publishing committee has been sustained by the Society, whose will they had contemned, whose confidence they had betrayed, whose judgment they had insulted. This reversal of the position of the Society is a momentous event, and full of significance. It involves very grave decisions, and its effects will be seen in the future, not, we fear and most honestly believe, in the advancement of Christian morals. The office of the Society is the dissemination of Christian truth, and the denunciation, which shall lead to the renunciation, of all wrong that militates against the progress of that truth and its incorporation into life. The decision of the Society now is, that there is one thing in this land, generally held to be wrong, which is not to be spoken against.

The holding of human beings in bondage is a sin, or it is not. Slavery is a Christian institution, or an institution of the devil. The Tract Society, in its decision, says either that slavery is a Christian institution, involving neither sin nor wrong, or that, being an offspring of Satan, and necessarily full of sin and wrong, it is to be ignored for truth's sake, for Christ's sake, for men's sake, for the Tract Society's sake. We doubt whether the men who favor the Tract Society, unless they be those who come from the South, will admit that Slavery is a Christian institution. They would not rise in a public assembly and defend it as such No; they consider it a wrong which, for certain reasons, very powerful in their own minds, they may not denounce.

Now let us look at this matter of Slavery a moment, and see what it is. In our Southern States, there are more than three millions of men, women, and children, equal to three times the population of the State of Massachusetts, who are bought and sold and worked like cattle. They are denied the privileges of education. They are whipped and abused at pleasure. Their family relations are no more sacred in the eyes of the law than the family relations of the hogs that litter in the pens and run in the streets. Christian marriage has no sacredness, and parental love no claims, under this system. The bodies—the virtue—of the women are not in their own keeping, but are subject to the wills of owners and overseers. If, through the grace of God, a slave become a real Christian, it enhances his price in the market, and love and charity and heavenly distinctions are set off against so much silver. The labor of these millions is taken without reward. They are watched and disciplined like convicts. They are in the hands of a responsible power. Light is shut out from them. Whatever good they may receive is by grace of their masters, for they have not a single right. The system which enslaves them reacts upon their enslavers—demoralizes and debauches them. It curses the very soil they tread upon. It poisons the fountains of political power, so that its black influences flow through all the streams of national legislation. It threatens virgin Territories with its foul blight. It comes up annually and thunders madly against the chains that bind the union of these States. It makes our free Republic a byword and a hissing among the nations. It perverts the national conscience. It is so much broader in its sweep of sin than any other form of evil, that it embraces in itself unbridled licentiousness, polygamy, theft, swindling, oppression, and so on, through the catalogue. In short, it is "the sum of all villainies."

It is this great system of iniquity, this terrible blotch of sin, this conglomeration of all possible evil and wrong, which the American Tract Society, in this latter half of the nineteenth century, refuses to denounce. On the subject of Slavery, it consents to be silent. It proposes to sit like a cowardly dog at the gate of the temple of truth, and bark lustily at all the little sins that go by with their tails between their legs, but when a great sin comes along, owned by a dangerous master, with a cane in his hand, they shut their eyes, close their mouths, and become dumb. It is not good policy to touch such a sin as this. It is too important. The man who owns it will abide no interference, and if the society would do him any good it must let his pet sin alone.

Now, we are outsiders in this thing, and only speak as those who are in the habit of looking at such matters in a common-sense, business way. We declare, therefore, that in a view like this, the Tract Society has taken a long step towards the absolute emasculation of American Christianity. Slavery is let alone by this society, simply and only because it is a great sin. It is let alone because it will not tolerate the truth. It is let alone because it will not receive the whole Gospel. We declare that no Christian society can take a position like this without shame and dishonor, the Bishop Mellvains and Rev. John Lords to the contrary notwithstanding. It is a cowardly and unchristian thing. The Society absolutely refuses to repeat the words by which Christ denounced a woe upon those who lay grevious burdens upon men's shoulders. The precedent is a terrible one. Polygamy is only to become a prevalent, powerful, and respectable sin, to be let alone in the same way. The slave trade must be let alone when the South shall accomplish its wishes to re-establish it. And if there were no religious agencies and influences in the world except the Tract Society, that organization might, in time, find its field so limited—withdrawing from big sins to little—that its operations would be confined to pinstealing, puppy-catching, and its own tergiversations.

I [illegible] understand the mission of Christianity, [illegible] among other things, to "undo the heavy burd[illegible], and let the oppressed go free." If we hav[illegible] the comprehension of the mission of those wh[illegible]ch and disseminate the truth of the Gospel, [illegible]ether men will hear or whether they will forbe[illegible] If, according to the pitiful judgment of th[illegible]us politicians, more good can be accomplished [illegible] indirectly than directly; if they believe the[illegible] a benefit Christianity by compounding with [illegible]ignoring sin, if they imagine that the spread [illegible] and power of truth can be secured better by s[illegible]ce regarding wrong than by demonstration against it, they may have sophistry enough at command to secure the confidence and co-operation of the majority of the Christians in this country; *but they will do it for the benefit of Slavery, at the expense of Christianity.* If the South want tracts, let them buy and pay for them; but for the North to furnish men and money for this work, and for the South to dictate how these men shall work and what this money shall aid us in publishing, is entirely uncalled for, and is equally demoralizing to all parties.

SLAVERS.—The following, perhaps, may account for the recent eagerness of the British cruisers to make captures of the slavers:

CAPTURE OF A RICH SLAVER.—A letter from an officer on board the gun-boat Jasper, Lieutenant and Commander H. Pim, says:—We have captured and brought in, I may safely say the largest and richest prize ever captured in the slave trade. She is a full rigged and fast sailing ship of 750 tons burden, with a full slave equipment, and provisions for sustenance. She also had on board specie in gold to the amount of 2,250 ounces, Spanish and Mexican, or about £8,500 sterling. Her name and nation unknown. We captured her on the North side of Mantanzas, on the 22d of March, between 9 and 10 A. M., she having sailed from Havana on the previous night to purchase and bring over slaves, for the Island of Cuba. We had rather an exciting chase for about four and a half hours. At 7 A. M., the Styx (6, paddle, Commander Vessey,) hove in sight and joined in the chase, but kept astern of us till the prize was taken. She, however, stood on until we were within a mile of her, when she lowered her royals, but did not heave to until two more shots were thrown. We boarded and examined her. She had no papers. Slave coppers were lying on the main deck, and their furnaces in a case in the square of the main hatchway, marked "Marseilis," to which place they pretended to be going. We also found slave tins and spare plank for slave deck, marked, fitted, and numbered but not in its place, 350 "leagers," and 300 tons of water in them, an immense quantity of rice, farina, coffee, dried salt fish, 18 puncheons of rum, and other necessaries. The Styx shares, but the Jasper will share in the proceeds of a prize taken the previous day by the Styx.—*English paper.*

THE MISSISSIPPI SLAVE TRADE.—The Charlottesville (VA.) *Advocate* says:

"We have seen once or twice, recently, newspaper paragraphs to the effect that the African slave trade was successfully carried on with some parts of the Gulf States. As these reports were subsequently denied, and because we could not think that such a project could be successful in this the nineteenth century, and in evident violation of the laws of the United States and the sentiment of civilization, we concluded that the reports were unfounded. Such is not, however, the fact. We are told by a most reliable gentleman, who was an eye-witness of what he speaks, that several cargoes of native Africans have been landed within the last twelve months upon the banks of Pearl River, Mississippi. They were, it is true, brought over under the mere pretext of indentured apprenticeship; but no one doubts that they are, and will continue to be slaves in every sense of the word, and for all time. These negroes were scattered through the southern counties of Mississippi; they were sold at a low figure, but still high enough to make the enterprise a profitable one for those engaged in it. As soon as they are placed in the field, the master selects some reliable negro man of his own force, to whom the newly imported African is chained, and whom he is compelled to imitate and follow in the day's work."

Four vessels sailed from Cleveland to Liverpool direct, on Saturday, the 29th ult.

From the Mo. Christian Advocate, May 19.

FREE LABOR IN MISSOURI.

Every section of the country and every class of society is deeply interested in the position and prospects of the question of free labor in Missouri. Its economical commercial, political, moral and religious bearings are undergoing the closest scrutiny; and its comparison with a coerced, unremunerated, degraded, and demoraling system of labor such as slavery presents, is evolving its wonderful and magic superiority more and more every day. The selfishness, bigotry, and intolerance of the fanatical slavery propagandi of this State in their recent Kansas crusades, and their brutal and murderous treatment of their own fellow citizens who dared to differ with them in opinion, have not only called forth the honest and hearty indignation of good men elsewhere, but have been especially successful in evoking a spirit of independent investigation among liberty loving citizens, which bids fair to 'conquer a peace' so at least as to secure at no distant day the right of white men to citizenship in Missouri. Indeed, from present indications, we have good hope that this "body of death will be peacefully and lawfully removed from the State entirely before the lapse of many years.

This result we earnestly desire from every consideration which we think ought to influence the judgement and conscience of an enlightened citizen and christian We believe slavery to be a "great evil," and an evil for the perpetual continuance of which in Missouri there is no sufficient reason.—Of course we do not consider the institution a *divine* one, else, whatever our motives might be as regards its influence upon real estate, commerce, and the material prosperity of the State in general we should, in every proper manner, defend and build it up, though the States upon three sides of us should double us in material wealth and prosperity in a few years. We believe that a christian and especially a christian minister, should hold himself in readiness to sacrifice *everything* of earthly good in order to accomplish the will of God on the earth, and did we subscribe to the new gospel —THE "UN-NEGROIZED *gospel*"—we should "take up the cross", and "contend for the faith" at however great pecuniary sacrifice to ourselves and our neighbors. As, however, we have not been converted to this new order of piety, we feel at liberty, as a "free white male citizen" of the State of Missouri, to endorse most cordially this *free labor* movement, so long as it is properly conducted.—And we do most heartily rejoice in the unparalled tide of prosperity which is setting in upon our State in consequence of this upheaval of society.

But we did not set out so much to write an article upon the subject, as to give our readers a few items of intelligence bearing upon it, and to show them in this way, the prospects which are opening out before us. At a number of elections in the municipality of this city, wherein this question has been the chief issue, *free labor* has signally triumphed. Recently other cities have followed suit as Kansas City, Jefferson City and St. Joseph and other great commercial cities will not be slow to learn that it will pay to do right. There are now quite a number of out spoken noble papers within our bounds which most powerfully advocate the cause of free men and freedom in Missouri. The Missouri Democrat of this city is, beyond dispute, one of the most ably conducted papers on this continent, and to this cause it is uncompromisingly committed. This noble sheet deserves an unbounded patronage.

The Evening News, also published in this city, formerly the organ of the American party in this State, is less palpably promoting the cause of freedom and free labor, but is nevertheless, doing a great and good work in that regard.

The Delta, published at Alexandria, has often and honestly spoken of this subject, and we are greatly pleased to see that its former editor Mr. Raymond, is about to establish another paper at that point, which in advance declares its position on this question in the following manner.

"The paper will be *independent* in its tone and *conservative* in its sentiments; and will advocate the cause of free white emigrants to Missouri—believing that it will be productive of more common good; be an enhancement of the pecuniary interest of the masses; be an incentive to our State's welfare, and push her on to the proud goal of prosperity and greatness. "We honestly contend that Free White Labor alone, can develop the resources of Missouri, and make it what nature intended it to be—the great State of the Union—while slave labor is unprofitable, retards the growth of the State; keeps out intelligent white men, and is a serious draw back on agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and increase in the value of real estate"

The cause is onward; and in a peaceful orderly manner is this lovely land to be possessed, improved and elarged by the hardy freemen of this land who will speedily make the "wilderness blossom as the rose". That the hand of the great God is in all this we do not doubt for an instant. May He lead on to certain victory.

The friend of civilization, the friend of science and religion, the friend of humanity and of God cannot fail, we think, to rejoice with great joy at the outspreading glory which awaits our State under the magic influence of free labor.

LOUIS NAPOLEON AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

The public are aware that several months ago the imperial Government of France inaugurated a movement which aimed at a virtual revival of the African slave trade. They employed M. Regis of Marseilis to repair to the coast of Africa, to hire negro laborers for a term of years, and to transport them to the French West Indies. The neglected lands of those fertile islands were thus to be rendered productive by a body of workmen, who were called free and were nominally compensated for their toil. They were to be voluntary emigrants, whom the government would kindly convey from a land of poverty and idleness to a promising colony where wages awaited even the ignorant and unskilled African. Such were the leading features of the plan, as it was described and commended by its friends and advocates.

But they knew, and every one, familiar with African life, knew that the negroes could not be hired for that purpose. The inhabitants on the coast, from which they intended to obtain their laborers, can scarcely be induced to work at home, and can by no means be persuaded to sail for a distant land, in order to find employment. The only way to remove them from their home is to steal them, or what is nearly the same thing to buy them from some royal thief, who has stolen or captured them. The French government were perfectly well aware that they had to choose between the slave trade and no emigration from Africa. They hardly dared to adopt the former with boldness. They selected a new name for the nefarious traffic, and disgraced their flag by sending M. Regis to fulfill his notorious contract.

Those, who remember what epithets the Congress of Vienna and that of Verona had applied to this crime of slave-dealing, who recalled the treaty obligations, by which France is still bound to co-operate in suppressing it, who knew the honest and hearty hatred with which the French nation regard this iniquity, were not without hopes that the Emperor would be deterred from the execution of his designs by the general indignation which the announcement of them excited in the chief continental States. But recent intelligence leaves us no room to doubt that M. Regis has fairly begun his disgraceful work. Two of his ships have taken 1200 slaves from the barracoons, and landed 1000 of them in the West India islands.—These poor victims were carried beneath the French flag, but in no other respect, so far as we can learn, did their condition differ from that of the captive negroes, who are conveyed in the slavers which sail under false colors, and are regarded by law as piratical. Many of the unhappy sufferers perished on the voyage, and were thrown overboard to mingle their bones with those of the innumerable throng, who in years gone by had suffered the horrors of the Middle Passage.

Those who regard Louis Napoleon as a friend of national liberty, as a man who oppresses only because he is obliged to oppress in order to save his country from anarchy, will please remember that he is the first sovereign of his time to legalize the slave trade. He is the first monarch to violate treaties which the philanthropists of every land labored so long to secure, and which the whole civilized world proudly pointed to as an indubitable proof that the human race was advancing. The feeling which dictated the Regis contract have also led the Emperor to propose to the Corps Legislatif the repeal of the law which prevents French Citizens from holding slaves in foreign lands.

When we behold such a spectacle as this, when we see English ships chartered for the coolie trade, and listen to the harangues of intelligent Americans advocating the importation of Africans into our own country, we are tempted to enquire whether the world is moving backward. Are we to lose all that we thought we had gained? Are the victories of Truth and Justice only temporary and partial? Did Clarkson and Wilberforce and Adams and all their illustrious compeers spend their lives in toil, that we might have merely a few years respite from the evils which they fought so bravely and so well? Sometimes it would almost seem so. But we need not yield to such a fear. The hearts of the French people are right, and whenever their real feelings shall find utterance, one of their first cries will be "down with this iniquitous traffic in slaves." The citizens, who abhor the tyranny of the Emperor at home, will not have their respect or affection for His Majesty increased by the recollection that he has assumed the office of imperial trader in slaves.

A SLAVE AUCTION IN VIRGINIA.

A correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette writes:

In my wanderings about the city, I also called at one of the auction rooms for selling slaves.—These are rough looking establishments, something like our horse auctions, with only such differences in the arrangement as to adapt them to showing off bipeds instead of quadrupeds. When I entered they were about putting up a woman with a child at the breast. As this was the first time I had ever seen a human being sold as a chattel, I watched the proceeding with great interest. Two large moustached mulattoes; a shade or two darker than the auctioneer, who passed for a white man, I presume, acted as grooms, and performed the part of showing off the chattel and her offspring who were placed on the block, so that the bystanders could have a full view of the *property* to be sold. They exposed the arms to the shoulders, so as to see the quality and quantity of muscle; then the legs were shown as high as the knees in like manner; then directions were given to show the teeth and condition of the mouth, by opening it wide enough to be examined. Whether defective or good teeth were considered as the most desirable, I did not learn.

It is probable that the amount of corn and bacon they were capable of devouring was an element in estimating their value; as economy in feeding would no doubt diminish the expenses, and in this way add to the net product yielded by the investment. She was then directed to get down and show her agility and the quality of her movement, by walking rapidly up and down the room in the presence of those interested in the purchase, while the grooms were calling out, "Gentlemen, please notice this *woman*." [Poor fellows, they had not read the Dred Scott decision, or they would not have said *woman*, but "this piece of property."] During this performance, the auctioneer was crying at the top of his voice the bids as they were received, and asserting that "this girl had neither *scar* nor blemish;" finally the highest price was supposed to have been reached, and the "girl" and her baby changed owners.

The next one brought to the block was a light mulato woman, with her little girl (of lighter complexion) four or five years old. The same process was gone through in showing her physical qualities, as in the preceeding case; but, in addition, she was declared to be five or six months advanced in pregnancy. Whether this enhanced her value I did not discover, but supposed it did.

In about a half an hour some half dozen females were disposed of, at prices ranging from eight hundred to something over one thousand dollars a piece, including their children. After the women were disposed of, a man was brought out, said to be forty years of age, of most powerful muscular development. He also had to roll up his sleeves to show the quantity and quality of muscle of his arms, while at the same time his feet and legs were relieved of his shoes and a quantity of rags which were wrapped around them. With bare arms and rolled up pants, he was ordered to step quickly backwards and forwards before the audience, to show his powers of movement and locomotion, occasionally stopping to show the condition of his masticating apparatus by widely opening his mouth. It occured to me, from his countenance, that he was a hard customer to manage, and I have no doubt it sometimes crossed his mind that his muscles might be used to a better purpose in making tracks towards the north star, and in "the manly art of self defence," neither of which, however, he dared to put into execution. For some reason he sold for considerable less than a thousand dollars. Disgusted with the sight, I left the spot, remarking that this was my first visit to a slave auction, and I never wished to see the like again.

It is proper to state that these auctions are held in utter detestation by the better class of citizens, who are fully aware of their revolting character, and they seldom allow themselves to come within hearing of the voice of the auctioneer, or even to think of this blot upon the reputation of their city. Excepting for the curse of slavery, this would be a pleasant city as a residence, and I have no doubt a profitable one, both for the merchant and manufacturer. The people are mostly kind, polite, hospitable, and intelligent. As in all Southern cities, there is less hurry and bustle than in the Northern: and if we can judge from the easy manner in which the cares of the world seem to rest upon the people, they ought to be long lived.

OHIO.

PETERSBURG, VA., June 1.—The Keziah, of Wilmington, Delaware, Capt. Baylies, cleared from Petersburg on Saturday night. Several slaves being missing, a steamer was sent after her, and overhauled the Keziah below the city point. On searching her five slaves were found on board.—The vessel, containing the captain, crew of the Keziah, and the slaves were all brought to the city, and lodged in jail. An intense excitement prevails in consequence. About two thousand people were at the wharf when the vessel arrived, and they were restrained from violence with great difficulty.

The Pennsylvania State Republican Convention will be held at Harrisburg, on the 8th. of July.