determine. The publicists tell us that, at the dawn of civilization, a prisoner of war held his life at the mercy of his captor; and, as the latter might deprive his prisoner of life, it lay at his discretion either to kill him or to keep him in life as his property. Such was certainly the practice in earlier days of the Romans. History tells us that such has been, and yet continues, the custom among the negro tribes in Africa. Certainly there the natives sell their own race as slaves; they sell to each other as they sold to the white man while such sales were allowed by the laws of the white man. Thus it was that the ancestors of those now held in bondage on this continent brought from Africa with them their condition as property. How it was acquired there, can now be a subject of conjecture only, and would be an inquiry as fruitless as vague."—*Speech in Senate, March* 15, 1858.

That is, the common law of England made men property in the colonies who were held as property in Africa, and, because they were so held. All who could be seized and sold, and their descendants, were, by African law, property; therefore, these persons, when brought to the colonies, carried the African laws with them, and they, and the decendants of their women moreover, were to be merely property! The mistake of the Senator was not in the fact of the adoption of the African laws of servitude, but in the statement that they were adopted by the common law. They were in derogation of its first principles. The common law, as expounded by its commentators and its courts, adopted the law of nature, as given in Genesis, as the basis of property; and it was only because corrupt ministers, mercenary corporations, planters thirsting for wealth, and cruel slave traders, conspired to substitute the African code in the colonies for the common law, that we find Slavery there and here.

Jude Tucker, the eminent Virginian, speaking of the introduction of the common law into the colonies, says:

"Local circumstances, likewise, gave an early rise to a less justifiable departure from the principles of the common law in some of the colonies, in the establishment of Slavery—a measure not to be reconciled either to the principles of the law of nature, nor either to the most arbitrary establishments in the English Government at that period—absolute Slavery, if it ever had any existence in England, having been abolished long before."—*Tucker's Blackstone*, 388.

The celebrated Virginian should have known that the common law naturalized the law of all countries, at least as to property brought from them. Like the gods of the provinces incorporated by the Romans into its concrete hierarchy, the diverse laws of property of the diverse types of civilization were adopted by this all-gathering common law. If the English or French sailor, who had been captured by the Algerine, and by his law enslaved, should be brought by his purchaser to England or her colonies, the common law continued him property, because he was so held whence he was brought. So the French banker would have carried his franchise, and John Law might have flooded the world with his paper money as well from London or Boston as from Paris. To such absurdities are men driven.

The common law, indeed! Why, the truth simply is that the common law did and does not create property, but recognizes and protects as such everything that is—claimed as property? No; but everything that *is* property by the laws of Christian States; and never, as the merest tyro knows, does it sanction the idea that man can be the subject of property.*

True it is, and pity 'tis 'tis true, that the African codes in relation to the subjects of property were naturalized in the colonies. True it is, that those who were held as property by those codes, were so held after transfer from the prison ship to the slave plantation, and the blunderbuss and the scourge became the emblems of authority there, as in their distant home. True it is, that every mother's child, according to the law of the black and arid continent, became the merchandise of him who had enslaved the mother. True it is, that these codes were at times, as revenge joined hands with avarice, extended to the Indian as to the African captive; and it is equally true that European blood was unable to dissolve the chain thus wrought from foreign links. And true, alas! it is that these African codes have so banished the common law of property, have so overturned the fundamental idea of the civilization of Moses and of Christ, of modern Rome and of Westminister, that in the jurisprudence of this federation and of half these States, scarce anything is sacred but the right of one man to enslave his fellow-man.

I have said that the base idea of human ownership was *force*. I have shown it to be so in the ancient codes, and I ask attention to the law of property in those countries whence we have naturalized it.

The Senator from Virginia, before quoted, seems at a loss to know how this "condition of property," so "brought from Africa," was "acquired there." It is no subjecture" at all, and I will show those who partake his doubts, that the enquiry is neither "fruitless" nor "vague"

As these African States have not favored us with any code or volumes of institutes, or commentaries, or decisions, from which we can ascertain their laws, or such of them as have been incorporated into our own system, I am compelled to rely upon the customs of the country. "Custom is the highest law," and by its observation we can see the "process" by which man becomes property and the idea which lies at the base of the African law of property.

Gray and Buchard, in their Travels in Western Africa, (p. 191, describing the manner of waging war, say:

"The general object of these detachments is the attack of some small town or village, the inhabitants of which together with their cattle, they carry off." * * * "Several of these parties were sent out during our stay in Bondoo, and with one or two exceptions, came off victorious—if the word can be made use of with propriety in describing the exploits of a horde of plunderers, whose chief object is invariably; the obtaining of slaves, for whom they always find a market, either with the travelling merchants of the country or the Senegal vessels at Galam."

Captain Canet, a modern slave dealer, in his experience in the busines, gives the manner in which he acpired a boat load in an emergency, at the mouth of the Matican river, coast of Guinea, I give an extract (page 228–9) to show the workings of those laws of property which the common law has so kindly domiciled among us:

"Next day we proceeded to formal business.—His Majesty called a regular 'palaver' of his chiefs and headmen, before whom I stated my *dantica*, and announced the terms. Very soon, several young folks were brought for sale, who I am sure, never dreamed, at rising from last night's sleep, that they were destined for Cuban Slavery. My merchandise revived the memory of peccadilloes that had been long forgotten, and sentences that were forgiven. Jealous husbands, when they tasted my rum suddenly remembered their wives' infidelities and sold their better halves for more of the oblivious fluid. In truth, I was exalted into a magician unroofing the village and leaving its crime and wickedness to the eye of *justice*. Law became profitable, and virtue never reached so high a price. Before night, the town was in a turmoil, for every man cudgeled his brains for an excuse to kidnap his neighbor, so as to share my commerce. As the village was too small to supply the entire gang of fifty, I had recource to the neighboring settlements, when my 'bankers' or agents did their work in a masterly manner. Traps were adroitly baited with goods, to lead the unwary into temptation, when the unconscious pilferer was caught by his ambushed foe, and an hour served to hurry him to the beach as a slave-forever. In fact, five days are sufficient to stamp my image permanently upon the Matican settlements, and to associate my memory with anything but blessings in at least fifty of their families."

Again, on page 332, in speaking of the natives amid the slave factories of the Gallinas, the same author says:

"In proportion as these apostats were educated in slave trade under the influence of opulent factors, they greedily acquired the habit of hunting their own kind, and abandoned all other occupations but war and kidnapping. As the country was prolific and the trade profitable, the thousands and tens of thousands annually sent abroad from Gallinas soon began to exhaust the neighborhood; but the appetite for plunder was neither satiated nor stopped by distance, when it became necessary for the neighboring nations to extend their forays and hunts far into the interior. In a few years, war raged wherever the influence of this river extended. The slave factories supplied the hunts men with powder, weapons, and enticing merchandise, so that they fearlessly advanced against ignorant multitudes, who, too silly to comprehend the benefit of alliance, fought the aggressors singly, and, of course, became their prey."

This "condition of property" in man is acquired in Central and Eastern Africa by the same "*process of law*" as in Western. Shick Mohammed, of Tunis, the great Mohammedan traveller, described the slave expeditions of Dafur and Wadai. For the full narative, I must refer the curious student of African slave law, if his philosophy is at fault in the original Arabic, to De Perron's French version or to chapter nine of St. Johns English abridgement of the work. In those more regular and stable Mohamedan Kingdoms, a distinguished subject is commissioned to raise a gazwak or slave hunt and becomes, for the time, the sultan of his troop. This troop invades some Pagan community, named in the commission, seizes all who can be found, occasionally halts to divide and assign the spoils, continues the hunt till, satiated with robbery and blood, the chief drives home his horde of human property, regularly "acquired" under the African law. If the obstinate Pagans resist, of course they are slaughtered without mercy; if, when surrounded, they "yield without resistance, the sultan takes the chief as a prisoner; treats him honorably, gives him a dress and afterwards liberates him; but he siezes on all the grown men, the youths, the women, and girls, leaving only the old people, and those who do not seem to be in a state to undergo the fatigues of a journey." The author narrates, with he coming coolness, the horrors of these hunts; says that, from the frequency of the commissions, the market would be glutted, but that, from fatigue, exposure, and cruelty, but a small portion of the natives survive, and fewer still are able to reach Egypt. About the same compunction seems to be felt by these hunters as by a boat load of Nantucket whalemen after their prey, or a troop of prarie Indians in pursuit of a buffalo, or a United States marshal in chase of a fugitive slave. Since the destruction of the Egyptian market made by the "fanatical folly" of the Turks in overthrowing the slave trade, these hunts are doubtless less profitable; and indeed there is great danger that, by the persevering efforts of the Muselmen and Christian Europe, even Africa, the hitherto impregnable refuge of the idea of property in man, may yield to the progress of Christian civilization. It may then be a question whether this law of property, after it shall have been overthrown in this its most ancient and faithful seat, will survive in those countrice that have thence derived it.

So in Bornou, Mr. Denham, and more recently Dr. Barth, describe the manner in which this "condition as property" is "acquired" by men and women, according to the State. It so closely resembles the method described by the Mohammedan traveller, as to induce me to believe that this State, as well as others through which these gentlemen traveled, acknowledge the same code and bow to the same fundamental idea of property.—Usually, the execution of law is left to to the ministers; at least, strangers do not feel called on to enforce it. But full examination has satisfied me me that "legal process" upon the coast of Guinea may be served as well by strangers as by members, or even Ministers of State. I accordingly find that, as commerce becomes dull, either from deficiency in its staple or the means of purchase, the foreign slavers, with the alacrity of true law and order men often lend themselves to enforce the laws of the land. Thus, often we find them stealing by night upon some defenceless village, and while the inhabitants are dreaming—some of their pastimes and their loves, and some especially those who feel the cares of State, of the coming hunt to supply the white man's ships—all are seized, bound, and driven to these ships; and the blaze of their empty dwellings lights the march that converts—and by methods long sanctified by African law—a village of savages into cargoes of valuable property. This method of conversion was more common when the early captives, in their "condition of property," were brought to the American colonies; and I cannot find that the legality of the mode, except by New England fanatics," in an instance or two, was ever seriously questioned.

The method by which this "condition of property" was made to "attach" to the transported Africans would be perfectly plain, but for the fact that some of them were not seized in the hunt, either by regular State commissioners or on individual account; but their "condition" attached to them from the earliest infancy. It is found that by the African customs, as well as by those of the ancient States I have spoken of all children of slave mothers are seized and held as property.—How this is done has puzzled many a wiser man than I, and I may not have hit upon its legal solution. But my desire to relieve the doubts of those who trace their rights of property to African laws has induced me to give the matter a careful consideration.

By the slave laws of our States, a slave can make no contract, and cannot unite in lawful marriage. In the absence of any accessible code or decisions of the Ethiopic States, and in deference to the opinion of the Senator before quoted, I infer that "the condition" in which the slave is here held, in this respect as in others, was 'brought from Africa' by his 'ancestors.' All the children, then, of slave mothers, are, by African law, necessarily bastards; and bastards, as all lawyers know can have no father. The mother, being herself but property, can have no interest in the child; and the law permitting no other parent, and foundling hospitals and asylums being unknown, it has no protector. In this emergency, the master, who having the lawful custody of the mother, is all always constructively present; and is the only one who has a right to be present, is kindly authorized by law to seize or make a prisoner of war of the child; and as with all prisoners, it is simply a choice between death and Slavery. Were slave marriages lawful, so that the child could have a father, it is quite uncertain in what 'condition' it would be held; it would probably depend somewhat upon the demands of commerce. But born thus destitute, the harmony of the African code becomes apparent in authorizing its immediate seizure, under the rules that regulate the intercourse of the strong and the weak.

Thus we see the Senator was too easily discouraged, for I have plainly shown how the "condition of property" was in all cases, both by adults and infants, 'acquired' in the mother country.—The only puzzle is, how this African law should be permitted to override the common law, or the law of England, in the colonies, as the supremacy of the latter was expressly provided for in the colonial charters. Chief Justice Marshall seems to doubt whether 'those who had renounced this law' could be 'permitted to participate in its effects;' though it is not believed the present Chief Justice would have any such question.

The Senator; however, cuts the knot, by making this same common law the instrument of its own overthrow, by recognizing 'everything as property which was the subject of property in the country from which it was brought,' &c. But this hypothesis fails to reach the children of slave mothers born here, unless it means, as I suppose it does, that, by this carious operation of the common law the whole African slave code was imported, and and war, after the manner of the African slave hunts, of her kidnapping and baby-sizing, became forever crystallized in the colonies.

Thus began the Africanization of the colonies the subversion of the common law by the law of force, by the code of the man-hunter. So long as mere avarice dictated law, blind money-getting wrenching gold from torn muscle and rifled soil, Africanism ruled the day. But as the public conscience awoke, stimulated by the labors of Edwards, of Whitefield, and of Wesley, and especially of the brave followers of Fox; as the common law vindicated its supremacy at Westminister and as the attention of the colonists was so attracted to its free maxims and free methods as to force resistance to ministerial absolution, the black and bloody code began to be regarded as a hostile intruder. The American Revolution was but an act in the great drama of English hereditary resistance to oppressive laws. It but followed the struggles for the restoration of the laws of the Confessor, the strifes at Runnymede, and the combats with the Stuarts. It was but the emancipation of the common law, and placing it under the control of popular sovereignty—a resumption by the people of guardianship of its maxims and its methods. The people assumed the mastery, and reorganized government to protect, not infringe rights. Africanism was frightened at its new master; and it is no wonder that the Guinea code fled from the gaze of a people burning with a regenerated love for free and a Christian civilization. It only begged for time to set its house in order, a little indulgence to fold its limbs with decency, before being thrust into its grave. Alas that this indulgence was given it! that this African serpent was permitted even for a moment to fix its basilisk gaze upon the young sovereignty, charming by its very hideousness!

And the struggle now is, not between the North and the South—no, indeed! the friends of the common law in the South are in the closest sympathy with its friends in the North—but between systems, between civilizations. It is the misfortune of the South, that the African code, the law is fastened upon it; deeply do I sympathize with that misfortune. It is the misfortune of the South that the champions of that code are grinding her in the dust; with what alacrity would I aid her to shake off the tyrant rule, and leap to the position given only by the law of justice! It is the misfortune of the South that her fame is involved in the frauds and crimes her territorists commit in her name; I would relieve her from the stain, by snatching power from these her territories. It is the misfortune of the South that she is drunk with the cup of Circe; I would not even reproach her with the deadly lethargy; but, going backward, would spread the mantle, while arousing her from the charm of the drunken potion. The South is not alone responsible for her condition. The North has helped it on. Even while our old statesmen were as they supposed, dissolving the spell, New England, as the price for a navigation monopoly, consented—ay, herself held the cup for a deeper draught—and ever since, the Northern slaves and Northern hucksters have vied in the deep lullaby.* No; we have no controversy with the South; but the struggle is between fresh Freedom, flinging off the manacles of barbarianism, both the old and the new, and fetid Force, long driven from the Tiber and the Thames, coming from its refuge in the dark fastnesses of the Niger, to breathe its stifling breath upon the Potomac and the Mississippi.

*Justice smiled when that navigation act was destroyed, as are those hucksters spurned by the unconsciously avenging South.

*For the true relation of the common law to Slavery, see Chamberlain *vs.* Harvey, 1 Lord Raymond 147; Smith *vs.* Gould, 2 ditto, 1274; (also, 2 Salkeld, 666.) Somerset *vs.* Stewart, 20 Howell's State Trials, 1, 82; (also, same case, Loff's Reports, 1;) Rankin *vs* Lydia, 2 Marshall, Kentucky Reports, 402, Forbes *vs* Cochran, 2 Barnwell and Creswell's Reports, 462: Prigg *vs.* Pennsylvania, 16 Peters 539; (see page 511;) Neal *vs* Farmer, 9 Georgia Reports, 540; in this case, the English authorities are reviewed;) 2 Blackstone's Commentaries, 422.

Per contra—see *dicta* in the Dred Scott case.

## OPINIONS OF THE ENGLISH PRESS ON THE LATE SEARCHES.

From the London Times, June 4.

Is England to go on forever with her cruisers at the mouth of every river in the western, and even the southeastern coast of Africa, and along every shore west of the Atlantic? Is she not only to keep up this costly force—this drain of money and men—but to increase it continually beyond all reckoning, so as to keep peace with the ever-increasing traffic, and strength, too, of the American States? What sort of a force shall we find necessary in A. D. 1958? At present there might seem to be a chance in our favor, through the difference between the states of the Union on the subject of slavery; but national pride, as we know well at home, is ever apt to prevail against the differences of party, and even religious scruples; and we may see by the feeling exhibited at New York, how readily all the states, free as well as slave, would combine against a foreign power that pretended to flog them into their duty.

No doubt, the conduct of the American government is bad. They don't disguise it, for it is quite the joke of the Union. We have a treaty with them for their equal co-operation in putting down the slave trade, and, as one of their papers observes they don't make one capture against our fifty. It is estimated that every year 30,000 slaves find their way into Cuba, and a regular stream, no doubt, sets in thence, under the stripes and stars, of course, into the southern states of the Union. The American journals, with amusing effrontery, express great indignation at the immense profits made by the Governor and authorities of Cuba by conniving at a traffic contrary to treaties and public morality; but the righteous rebuke they meditate for the transgressors is to walk into Cuba, oust the authorities, and annex the island to the Union.—They don't seem to have any doubt that Lord Palmerston had facts enough on his side when he sent a fleet of gun boats to cruise in the Gulf; they only stand out that the stripes and stars shall always cover the cargo. "Nigger or nothing," according to the resolution adopted at a meeting of shipholders. What is the inference to be drawn from this obstinate and unblushing depravity, as it will be called on this side? One, we fear, which will be thought very unsatisfactory and inglorious. We see no prospect whatever of the Americans mending their ways in the course of the next century, and, as we have observed before, the day must arrive, before the expiration of that century, when the question will be settled by the immense growth of the Union. It is not that we shall decrease, but the States must increase. The strippling, now our equal, must one day be a giant. Were it any consolation or any real gain to us that America had its own troubles in prospect, we might have it in anticipation. The simple facts that America, being under a treaty to suppress the slave trade, will not stir a finger, and even connives; that it permits an immense importation of slaves all but direct from Africa, and that, on the whole, the slave states are bullying the free, are ominous enough of future difficulty. But that we conceive to be no affair of ours, except as proving the nature of the community with which we have to deal. We don't convert America by our present course. We do not compel her to the virtue she has not. Before very long the mere attempt must bring on a fearful war. Is there no such thing as giving up a crusade which began with being optional, and is found to be ineffectual? Is nothing to be surrendered except after the loss of 30,000 lives on both sides and thirty millions of money? Is there no other use, equally benevolent, to which we could put the half-million of money and the valuable lives annually sunk in those squadrons?

From the City Article of the London Times.

The probability is that most of the accounts which are described in the advices this afternoon by the Vanderbilt to have excited intense anger at Washington are merely repetitions of those inventions by which a certain set of small American ship-masters in the South are incessantly seeking to provoke ill-feeling between the two countries. The real difficulty arises, as Mr. Fitzgerald indicated last evening, from the apparent indisposition of the United States government to enter into any mutual agreement that shall be thoroughly effectual for the suppression of the slave trade. Every slaver hoists the American flag, and the Americans say they will not allow any vessel bearing that flag to be stopped or searched. Such proceedings on our part, according to the language of their journals, are outrageous and insulting, and must always be promptly met. Yet they will not themselves establish an efficient blockade, or come to any clear agreement for a joint one. If an earnest desire to that effect existed among the majority, there are a hundred ways by which the suppression of the traffic could be insured. Supposing America to be unwilling to find ships, there might be an agreement for one or two American officers to be received as permanent guests on board our own while serving on such stations, and that every search of an American vessel should be conducted under their auspices. But this, by rendering complaints impossible, would deprive the back orators who, to the pain of the more solid portion of community, trade upon national prejudices, of innumerable opportunities, now constantly presented, for gaining political capital. Under the circumstances, therefore, it may be doubtful whether our efforts can be safely continued. Great as are the horrors of the slave trade, the injury to the world from any interruption of the harmonious relations of England and America would be much greater. We are ready to do our part in the cause of humanity, and if America is resolved to frustrate the aim by refusing to co-operate, it is upon her the responsibility must rest.

From the London Globe.

The whole difficulty of the case lies in the abuse of the American flag by the slave-traders, and in the unwillingness of the American government to give any vigorous assistance to the British government in its efforts to stop the shameful traffic.

From the London Post, June 4.

The policy of the cabinet at Washington may to a great degree be influenced by the sympathies and opinions of the people of the southern states; but what should we say in this country, if, in time of peace, an American squadron—for any purpose, and even on grounds of grave suspicion—should station itself off the coast of Ireland or Scotland, and overhaul all its British merchantmen? Most assuredly such interference would not be tolerated for a single moment. Let us be just—let us be moderate—let us extend our individual efforts to suppress, by all means not calculated to give offence, the slave trade; but let us not, even in the name of humanity, provoke a calamity which would be so deplorable and so disastrous as a conflict between the two nations whose interests and affections ought ever to be identified!

From the London Times, June 11.

## EXPENSE OF THE FRENCH SLAVE TRADE.

REVOLT ON BOARD ONE OF THE SHIPS.

The Ethiope, Captain Croft, a steamer belonging to the West Africa Steam Company, arrived at Monrovia, the capital of the settlement of Liberia, on the 14th. of April. The captain, on landing, was informed by ex-President Roberts that a French vessel, the Regina Cœli, which had been for some weeks collecting "emigrants" under the new system, had been the scene of a fearful catastrophe. These so-called emigrants had revolted during the absence of the captain, purser, and a few of the crew, who, fortunately for themselves, had gone on shore for a short time. The seamen left on board, to the number of eleven, were murdered by the negroes; the doctor alone was spared and put on shore. The ignorant wretches, after perpetrating this deed, had taken possession of the vessel, and were known to be in the neighborhood of Cape Mount. Shortly after Captain Croft received this information, there came a formal request from the French Consul that the Ethiope would, if possible, recapture the vessel. The Ethiope set out accordingly. The Regina Cœli was known to be well armed; ships conveying this class of emigrants are, it appears, well armed; and Captain Croft made every preparation. But rightly believing that ex-President Roberts would exercise a moral influence on the blacks, that gentleman was requested to accompany the expedition. At nine o'clock the next morning they sighted the Regina Cœli, "quite unmanageable near the shore." "As we neared," says an eye witnesse 1; "we saw the decks crowded with people, who, as soon as they saw the British flag, hung up a white shirt, and, the Ethiope coming within hailing distance, they made all possible demonstrations, by clapping their hands and crossing their arms, thus expressing their joy at seeing a British ship, and their readiness to give themselves up." Mr. Roberts went on board and when the blacks heard they were to be taken to Monrovia they danced and shouted with delight. Mr. Roberts, having heard the account of these people, expressed his opinion that all the so-called emigrants were merely slaves, and had been regularly bought, shipped and manacled just in the regular way, as practiced on the coast for many a year.

The account the negroes gave of themselves leaves, indeed, no doubt of the fact. The irons with which they had been manacled were on board, and many of them retained the marks on their wrists and ankles. They were about 270 in all, but 100 had left before the Ethiope fell in with the ship. One of the men said that the greater part had been brought down from the interior and bought by the Frenchmen in the usual way. Others had gone on board as laborers, he himself among the number, and had been suddenly seized, put in irons, and stowed away in the hold. By these means were the emigrants obtained, who, but for the mutiny, were destined to "develope their faculties by contact with civilization" in the Island of Reunion, late Bourbon.—The account given by them of the massacre itself was, that it arose from the cook stabbing one of the people who had gone to the galley to get some thing to eat; but there can be little doubt that the deed was premediated, and that the cook's violence, even if true, was only the signal for the rising.

This is the mutiny of a number of kidnapped slaves, bought, carried on board, chained in the usual way, and destined to be transported to the French plantations under the name of "voluntary emigrants. That the system is nothing more than the slave trade under another name cannot be doubted. That the immigration of Africans and Asiatics to thinly peopled colonies is desirable we have always upheld, and even this French scheme might have been so worked as to be a blessing both to Africa and the Antilles. The various races which have been introduced into the British possessions have of late years prospered and been productive of prosperity to others. The coolies in the Mauritius and Demarara, the Chinese in Australia, and even large bodies of negroes introduced into different islands, have had no reason to regret the change in their lot; and we hope that this kind of emigration will continue and increase. But nothing is more likely to check a really health supply of labor than such a nefarious traffic has now been exposed. We trust that the French government will no longer hesitate to discountenance proceedings which are able now to boast of the imperial approbation.

## FREEDOM IN TEXAS.

From the New Orleans Bee.

It will doubtless be remembered that in the compromise act of 1850 provision was made for the division of Texas into four States, whenever the population should be sufficiently numerous; the said States to be admitted into the Union with Constitutions recognizing Slavery, if such should be the desire of the people. The value of this concession to the South has been considerably impaired in consequence of the rapid growth of Kansas, Oregon, Minnesota, Nebraska, and other Territories, which are either now prepared to enter the Union or will apply for admission within a very few years. Nevertheless the boon; such as it was, has been hailed as of vital and lasting importance to the South. It was naturally supposed that, with the marvelous progress made by Texas, the contemplated division would be accomplished in the course of some ten or twelve years, and that the South would be materially strengthened by the addition of six more members to her representation in the United States Senate. Perhaps there are few of our readers who suspect that at this time there is serious danger of the utter defeat of Southern hopes and aspirations touching Texas, and that in the very heart of the South, in the region of all others best adapted to the successful cultivation of Southern products, and to the consequent remunerating employment of slave labor, a feeling of settled opposition to Slavery exists which if not counteracted, will ultimately neutralize the entire benefit conferred by the act of 1850, and incorporate the largest, finest and most fertile part of Texas into the family of Free States.

We have recently conversed with an intelligent and observant gentleman, who has spent many years in Texas, and has traveled all over the northern and western portions of the State. He informs us that throughout those sections of the country the immigration is nearly entirely derived from foreigners, of whom seven eighths are Germans. Excellent agriculturists, hardy and patient tillers of the soil, sober, temperate, industrious, peaceful, and obedient to law; this population in many respects cannot be supassed but they are from birth, breeding, and habits of thought, invincibly hostile to slave labor. Not one in a thousand owns a negro, and there are whole tiers of counties in certain parts of Texas, which cast, in the aggregate, many thousands of votes, where one may travel many a day and scarcely see a black skin or hear the accents of the English tongue. There is very little intercourse for commercial purpose between these people and the inhabitants of eastern and southern Texas. There are no available means of ready and easy communication, no railways, and the ordinary roads are exceedingly primitive in construction, and frequently rendered impassible by bogs and marshes. The industry of the German population is peculiar. It is easily satisfied and is not of the vigorous and energetic character of the Anglo-Saxon race. It is not adventurous and enterprising. It does not perpetually seek for improvement. The Germans of Texas are satisfied to till their abundant lands, to raise live stock, to provide every desirable comfort for their families, and to live the tranquil and unostentatious life of their forefathers. The lands they cultivate, and millions of acres more, are unsurpassed in fertility. How is it, then, they have remained in a great measure unsettled by American planters? Simply because the latter will not emigrate to a country distant from the center of commerce, with few and imperfect avenues, and these at certain seasons almost hermetically closed. The American who purchases a section of land in Texas calculates—to use a national term—to raise cotton or sugar, and make money. He will avoid the selection of any spot, however productive, whence the products of his labor cannot reach a market. The German, on the other hand, buys land that himself and his family may possess a cheap, substantial and comfortable homestead, and barely looks beyond this main point. Hence the region referred to is rapidly filling up with Germans, who outnumber the Americans in the proportion of ten to one. Our informant states, as the result of personal inquiry and observation, that if no marked change should occur before two years elapse, Texas will be divided into four States—one slave-holding, and the others free.

# Communications.

## CHARACTERISTIC CORRESPONDENCE.

Our readers will all recollect the recent case of the sale of three colored women, by Charles Bodman, of Cincinnati, the proceeds to be devoted to "benevolent purposes." They will also recollect that Mr. Bodman under the influence of public sentiment, went after the girls to Memphis whither they had been taken, brought them back to Cincinhati and emancipated them. It was reported in the Cincinnati papers that he was prompted to this act in a great measure by a fear of the anti-slavery sentiment of Great Britian, whither he designed soon to journey. At the request of Mr. Willis, we publish the following letter, reluctantly as we do not like to pollute our columns with such blackguardism.—The Cincinati papers certified to Bodmans "standing" and 'respectability' in the Society of that city, and this letter is valuable, as showing what kind of a defence men of respectability and standing, can make for slave holding and slave trading even for the benefit of benevolent societies. Mr. Bodman it seems, by his own confession is a slaveholder still, and of the vulgar and shameless sort, notwithstanding Cincinnati Editors vouch for his respectable position in city society.

The letter is written in answer to one from Henry Willis of Battle Creek, who remonstrated against the sale of these young American women.

CINCINNATI, June 11, 1858.

H. WILLIS, Battle Creek: On my return from an absence from home, I have your letter before me, and as such, give it my attention. Such chaps as you I have read of before to-day. Whether your name is Willis or an alias I can't say but I recollect well, we have one by that name in our Baltimore Prison not for selling Niggers but for stealing them, whether he is a Brother or Son of yours that I am not able to say, but the name of Willis sounds on the discount order to me. Well! you have been so liberal and taken so much trouble with other peoples business which does not concern you, and spending three cents in addressing me, I think it no more than duty bound in me to treat you in return on old Maryland style.—You as a stranger to me, what business have you to mix yourself with my affairs, have you never been taught by your parents to mind your own business and let other people's alone? What concern, what object had you or have you in view to have given me such friendly advice, do you expect me to remember you in my will? Why for take such an interest in my affairs, you a total stranger to me, it looks strange, doesn't it Willis? Whether I have sold Niggers or not is none of your dam business as for you I don't owe you a dollar or yours, I pay my bills on presentation and profess to be the keeper of my own conscience and not you, and that is perfectly clear on the subject; you wouldn't give me any, if I was in need of it today and why for spend your money in writing me to buy Niggers, save your three cents Willis you may need them some of these days and when the day comes feel in your pocket and not find them, they went to pay for business not concerning you. My opinion of you is a small one. If you take such an interest in Niggers, I suggest to you to advance not $100, but $500 in purchasing some now that I hold in Balto will you? No nary red would you give, such are Northern principles. Your principles is to let little children and little Niggers go to school together; mix and marry. Dam it! your ears ought to be cut off and nailed on a dungeon door that the present generation can see the man who takes so much trouble and robs his family of three cents to interfere with other peoples business. My opinion and regard for you is that of a poor man and your letter shows not even the cunning to appear in any degree respectable. Your letter shall be framed and hung in my Cabinet Desance, places for such caricatures are always vacant, so that when the curious come they may read it.

No reply submitted.

CHAS. BODMAN.

P. S. Your future letters shall be returned unopened and as a warning let me give you to understand to mind your own business in future and by so doing you will get along a great deal better and at the same time save your spare change for you have use for all you have got without squandering it.

BATTLE CREEK, Michigan, June, 14 1858.

FRIEND BODMAN: Yours of June 11th is just received. I am sorry you have so hastily decided not to open any communication I might address to you in reply to your favor, consequently I shall ask the insertion of my reply in the Anti Slavery Bugle published at Salem Ohio,

I will state that my real name is Willis. I have never assumed any other; I am an illiterate, humble person, never pretending to be anything more.—But when I read the account of your sale of those inocent girls into Slavery and no doubt to a condition that ought to bring shame upon any one who could for a moment tolerate a crime so heinous my feelings were such that I at once grasped my pen to enter my solemn protest, and warn brother of the awful sin he had committed. I perhaps was hasty, I might have been severe.—If so I can only say that my very soul was pained as I reflected upon the condition of those you had so shamefully decieved in the first place, and then sold while reposing confidence in you. Yes you made merchandise of your own species thus committing the most henious crime known on earth; this you did cooly and deliberately and this too for the paltry dollars meeted out to you for the bodies of poor defenceless females.

A short time since I noticed an account of your having repurchased and set those girls free.—That account made me hope that your humanity had received a spark at least of sympathy for suffering beings; I was about to address a line to you tendering my sincere thanks, for an act of duty, and should now do so, but for the disclosure you have voluntarily made in yours of the 11th ult. There I find an admission that you are yet in league with that most cursed of all crimes ever perpetrated by man—American slavery. The Willis you mention is a stranger to me, and no relation that I am aware of, except our union in sympathy for those of our down trodden, despised and oppressed fellow mortals. If as you say Willis' only fault, and for which he is now incarcerated in a dungeon, was as you call it, for stealing niggers in order to give them their God given rights and not to consign them to a still deeper degradation as some infernal demons do, then I shall never cease to feel the deepest sympathy for my poor unfortunate namesake and should feel it an honor to take him by the hand as a brother in the cause of humanity.

You seem to think that your old 'Maryland style" is of much importance. Let me inform you that it was in old Maryland in the city of Baltimore that I was first made an abolitionist. Yes it was in that home of my childhood and boyhood that my eyes beheld an almost countless number of poor victims guilty of no crime; torn from parents and kindred and driven on board the slave coasters and carried to the rice and cotton swamps of the South to drag out a miserable existence compared to which death itself is a boon. It was in that City that my feelings were hundreds if not thousand of times shocked in beholding the gory backs of innocent men, women and young girls as the infernal cat o nine tails, was plied by the demon in human shape. It was in old Maryland style that I witnessed hundreds of poor victims at work on the streets and public highways with a heavy iron collar around the neck, a chain 8 to 10 feet long with a fifty-six at the other end and often times heavy hand-cuffs besides they had to toil incessantly, without even a comfortable meal or a bed to rest their weary bodys on.

It was in old Maryland style that I have witnessed the sucking infant ruthlessly torn from the mothers breast and driven in the chain gang of 50 to 100 through the public streets of old Baltimore, to wend her way to the South. Yes it was on old Federal Hill where the stars and stripes of the union floated to the breeze proclaiming Liberty! Liberty! that I saw one of the noblest of Gods children tied up and receive 200 lashes on the bare back; this too for simply asserting that he was a man and dared to proclaim it, but poor creature he had a dark skin and it was no part or parcel of old Maryland to suffer him to make any higher pretension than the man chattel. Yes friend Bodman, it was and is in old Maryland that white infants are nursed and reared by what you call niggers and if you have been raised there you certainly ought to feel very grateful towards the niggers for the motherly care and nourishment received from their despised race.

You suggest that I should advance money for the purchasing of some that you now hold in Baltimore yes I will pay the sum you propose or twice that amount provided you set them free, not that I acknowledge the right in you or any other human being on earth to make merchandise of your fellow brother; no, far from it, but as the last resort, rather than see my own species consigned to the miserys of chattel slavery.

You are right as to my principles in letting white and colored children go to school together, and any school that forbids the attendance of the colored children should never have any support or countenance for one moment. Friend Bodman will you please inform me which of the two is the most degrading; for white children to mingle with colored children in school, or for white children to be suckled nursed and cared by the mother of the black child? We Abolitionists of the North never think of rearing our children at the breast of a nigger as you call them, not that we despise the color but we are content with those of our own color, while we demand for all mankind their god-given rights to liberty and an unrestricted pursuit of happiness.

As to my ears I think I would not be willing to spare them, but were they nailed to the door of a dungeon as you suggest I think they would not cause much consolation to those whose charity is so limited as yours seems to be. As to the three cents I certainly can live without them and my family not suffer. I can apologise some for the letter I wrote you from the fact that I never have had the benefit of an education and being illiterate and a poor self-taught man of course I must feel deeply my want of ability to indite a letter after perusing yours where I see the accomplished scholars magnificent production in real old Maryland style.

As to your will, I assure you, you can do no act or make no will that would cause me more joy than for you to liberate your Baltimore slaves and treat them as human beings, give them that liberty which nature designed for all. I hope you will not be offended at my blundering reply to your very scientific letter. Should you ever visit our section of country I would be happy to see you at my shanty. I will in real old Michigan style give a cordial welcome if you favor me with a visit.

For forty years have I been engaged not in stealing niggers, but in assisting almost hundreds to find the land of liberty in Queen Victoria's Dominions, and had you a dark skin or was you a slave for I have seen slaves at the south as white as you or I, I would give you all the aid in my power to gain your liberty and should you ever be so unfortunate as to fall amongst those who deal in human flesh and bones, write to me at once and I will lend a helping hand. You know that the demon who will rob a man of his right to liberty, who will sell his own begotten as do thousands of the slaveholders to the shambles, and prostitute his own daughters for filthy lucre, cares not for the color, it is the power he seeks.

Very Respectfully Yours,
H. WILLIS.

Ticknor & Fields will soon publish "The Courtship of Miles Standish," and other poems, a new volume by H. W. Longfellow, and the Poetical Works of James G. Percival.

Miss Proctor, Barry Cornwall's daughter, is about to publish a volume of poems.