

THE AN-TISLAVERY BUGLE.

there be light—earlier than the malediction against murder—He set an everlasting distance between man and a chattel, giving to man dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth:

“that right we hold By His donation; but man over man He made not lord; such title to himself Reserving, human left from human free,

Slavery tyrannically assumes a power which Heaven denied, while under its barbarous economy, borrowed from the source of evil, a man is changed into a chattel—a person is withered into a thing—a soul is shrunk into merchandise. See, Sir, in your maddest, that you own the sun, the stars, the moon; but do not say that you own a man, endowed with a soul that shall live immortal, when sun, and moon, and stars have passed away.

Secondly: Slavery paints itself again in its complete abrogation of marriage, recognized as a sacrament by the church, and recognized as a contract wherever civilization prevails. Under the law of Slavery no such sacrament is respected, and no such contract can exist. The ties that may be formed between slaves are all subject to the selfish interests or more selfish lust of the master, whose license knows no check. Natural affections which have come together, are rudely torn asunder, nor is this all. Stripped of every defense, the chastity of a whole race is exposed to violence, while the result is recorded in the tell-tale faces of children, glowing with their master's blood, but doomed for their mother's skin to slavery, through all descending generations. The Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Brown) is galled by the comparison between slavery and polygamy, and complains. I hail this sensibility as the sign of virtue. Let him reflect, and he will confess that there are many disgusting elements in slavery which are not present in polygamy, while the single disgusting element of polygamy is more than present in slavery. By the license of polygamy one man may have many wives, all bound to him by the marriage tie, and in other respects protected by law. By the license of slavery, a whole race is delivered over to prostitution and concubinage, without the protection of any law. Sir, is not slavery barbarous?

Thirdly: Slavery paints itself again in its complete abrogation of the parental relation, which God in His benevolence has provided for the nurture and education of the human family, and which constitutes an essential part of civilization itself. And yet, by the law of slavery—happily beginning to be modified in some places—this relation is set at naught, and in its place is substituted the arbitrary control of the master, at whose mere command little children, such as the Saviour called into His, though clasped by a mother's arms, may be swept under the hammer of the auctioneer. I do not dwell on this exhibition. Sir, is not slavery barbarous?

Fourthly, Slavery paints itself again in closing the gates of knowledge, which are also the shining gates of civilization. Under its plain, unequivocal law, the bondman may, at the unrestrained will of his master, be shut out from all instruction, while in many places, incredible to relate, the law itself, by cumulative provisions, positively forbids that he shall be taught to read. Of course the slave cannot be allowed to read, for his soul would then expand in large air, while he saw the glory of the North Star, and also the helping truth that God, who made iron, never made a slave, for he would then become familiar with the scriptures, with the Decalogue still speaking in the thunders of Sinai; with that ancient text, "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hands, he shall surely be put to death," with that other text, "Masters give unto your servants that which is just and equal;" with that great story of redemption, when the Lord raised the slave-born Moses to deliver his chosen people from the house of bondage; and with that sublime story, where the Saviour died a cruel death, that all men, without distinction of race, might be saved, leaving to mankind commandments which, even without his examples, make slavery impossible. Thus, in order to fasten your manacles upon the slave, you fasten other manacles upon his soul. Sir, is not slavery barbarous?

Fifthly, Slavery paints itself again in the appropriation of all the toil of its victims, excluding them from that property in their own earnings which the law of nature allows and civilization secures. The painful injustice of this pretension is lost in its meanness. It is robbery and petty larceny under the garb of law; and even its meanness is lost in the absurdity of its associate pretension that the African, thus despoiled of all his earnings, is saved from poverty, and that for his own good he must work for his master, and not for himself. Alas! by such a fallacy is a whole race pauperized. And yet this transaction is not without illustrative example. A solemn poet, whose verse has found wide favor, pictures a creature who

“With one hand put A penny in the urn of poverty, And with the other took a shilling out.”

And a celebrated traveler through Russia, more than a generation ago, describes a kindred spirit, who, while on his knees before an altar of the Greek church, devoutly told his beads with one hand, and with the other deliberately picked the pocket of a fellow sinner by his side. Not admiring these instances, I cannot cease to deplore a system which has much of both, while, under an affectation of charity, it cordily takes from the slave all the fruits of his bitter sweat, and thus take from him the motivating to exertion. Tell me, Sir, is not Slavery barbarous?

Such is slavery in its five special elements of barbarism, as recognized by law; first, assuming that man can hold property in man; secondly, abrogating the relation of husband and wife; thirdly, abrogating the parental tie; fourthly, closing the gates of knowledge; and fifthly, appropriating the unpaid labor of another. Take away these elements, sometimes called 'abuses,' and slavery will cease to exist, for it is these very abuses which constitute slavery. Take away any one of them, and the abolition of Slavery begins. And when I present Slavery for judgment, I mean no slight evil, with regard to which there may be a reasonable difference of opinion, but I mean this five-fold embodiment of 'abuse'—this ghastly quintessence of barbarism—each particular of which, if considered separately, must be denounced at once with all the ardor of an honest soul, while the whole five-fold combination must awake a five-fold denunciation. But this five-fold combination becomes still more hateful when its single motive is considered. The Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Davis) says that it is but a form of civil government for those who are not fit to govern themselves. The Senator is mistaken. It is an outrage whose different pretensions all occur in one single object, looking only to the profit of the master, and

constituting its ever-present motive power, which is simply to compel the labor of fellow-men without wages! If the offense of Slavery were less extended; if it were confined to some narrow region; if it had less of grandeur in its proportions; if its victims were counted by tens and hundreds, instead of millions, the five-headed enormity would find little indulgence. All would raise against it, while religion and civilization would lavish their choicest efforts in the general warfare. But what is wrong when done to one man cannot be right when done to many. If it is wrong thus to degrade a single soul—if it is wrong thus to degrade a whole race. And yet this is denied by the barbarous logic of slavery, which, taking advantage of its own wrong, claims immunity because its usurpation has assumed a front of audacity that cannot be safely attacked. Unhappily, there is barbarism elsewhere in the world; but American Slavery, as defined by existing law, stands forth as the greatest organized barbarism on which the sun now shines. It is without a single peer. Its author, after making it, broke the die.

If curiosity carries us to the origin of this law—and here I approach a topic often considered in this Chamber—we shall confess again its barbarism. It is not derived from the common law, that fortune of liberty; for this law, while unhappily recognizing a system of servitude, known as villenage, secured to the bondman privileges unknown to the American slave; protected his person against mayhem; protected his wife against rape; gave to his marriage equal validity with the marriage of his master, and surrounded his offspring with generous presumptions of freedom, unlike that rule of yours by which the servitude of the mother is necessarily stamped upon the child. It is not derived from the Roman law, that fountain of tyranny, for two reasons—first, because this law, in its better days, when its early rigors were spent—like the common law itself—secured to the bondman privileges unknown to the American slave—in certain cases of cruelty rescued him from his master—prevented the separation of parents and children, also of brothers and sisters—and even protected him in the marriage relation; and secondly, because the thirteen colonies were not derived from any of those countries which recognized the Roman law, while this law, even before the discovery of this continent had lost all living efficacy. It is not derived from the Mohammedan law; for under the mild injunctions of the Koran, a benign servitude, unlike yours, has prevailed—where the lash is not allowed to lacerate the back of a female; where no knife or branding iron is employed upon any human being to mark him as the property of his fellow man; where the master is expressly enjoined to listen to the desires of his slave for emancipation; and where the blood of the master, mingling with his bondswoman, takes from her the transferable character of a chattel, and confers complete freedom upon their offspring. It is not derived from the Spanish law; for this law contains humane elements, unknown to your system, borrowed perhaps, from the Mohammedan Moors who so long occupied Spain; and, besides, our thirteen colonies had no unbroken connection with Spain. Nor is it derived from English statutes or American statutes; for we have the positive and repeated avowal of the Senator from Virginia (Mr. Mason), and also other Senators that in not a single State of the Union can any such statute authorizing Slavery be found. From none of these does it come. No, Sir, not from any land of civilization is this barbarism derived. It comes from Africa, ancient nurse of monsters; from Guinea, Dahomey, and Congo. There is its origin and fountain.

[Mr. S. then proceeds to show by an overwhelming array of statistical facts, the results of slavery as an institution which blights commerce, restricts internal improvements, circumscribes education, and dwarfs the intellect.] Unerring and passionless figures thus far have been our witnesses. But their testimony will be enhanced by a single glance at the geographical character of the Slave States; and here there is a singular and instructive parallel. Jefferson describes Virginia as fast sinking to be 'the Barbary of the Union,'—meaning, of course, the Barbary of his day, which had not yet turned against Slavery. In this allusion he was wiser than he knew. The Slave States of our Union are the Barbary States of North America. Though on different sides of the Atlantic, and on different continents, our Slave States and the original Barbary States occupy nearly the same parallels of latitude—occupy nearly the same extent of longitude—embrace nearly the same number of square miles, enjoy kindred advantages of climate, being equally removed from the cold of the North and the burning heat of the tropics; and also enjoy kindred boundaries of land and water, with kindred advantages of ocean and sea—with this difference, that the boundaries of the two regions are precisely reversed, so that where is land in one case is water in the other; while in both cases there is the same extent of ocean and the same extent of sea. Nor is this all. Algeria, for a long time the most obnoxious place in the Barbary States of Africa—once branded by an indignant chronicler as the wall of the Barbarian world—is situated near the parallel of 36° 30' North latitude, being the line of the Missouri Compromise, which once marked the 'wall of Slavery in our country west of the Mississippi, while Morocco, the chief seat of Slavery in the African Barbary, lies on the parallel of Charleston. There is no two spaces on the surface of the globe, equal in extent—and an examination of the map will verify what I am about to state—which present so many distinctive features of resemblance; whether we consider the common parallels of latitude on which they lie, the common nature of their boundaries, their common productions, their common climate, or the common barbarism which sought shelter in both. I do not stop to inquire why Slavery, banished at last from Europe—banished also from that part of this hemisphere which corresponds in latitude to Europe, should have entrenched itself in both hemispheres between the same parallels of latitude, so that Virginia, Carolina, Mississippi, and Missouri should be the American complement to Morocco, Algeria, Tripoli, and Tunis. But there is one important point in the parallel which remains to be fulfilled. The barbarous Emperor of Morocco, in the words of a treaty, has expressed his desire that slavery might pass from the memory of men; while Algeria, Tripoli, and Tunis, after cherishing slavery with a tenacity equalled only by the tenacity of South Carolina, have successfully renounced it, and delivered it over to the indignation of mankind. In following this example the parallel will be complete, and our Barbary will become the complement in freedom to the African Barbary, as it has already been its complement in Slavery, and is unquestionably its complement in geographical character.

From the consideration of Slavery in its

practical results, illustrated by the contrast between the Free States and Slave States, I pass now to another stage of the argument, and proceed to exhibit Slavery in its influence on the character of slave masters. Nothing could I undertake more painful, and yet there is nothing which is more essential to the discussion, especially in response to the pretensions of Senators on this floor, nor is there any point on which the evidence is more complete. It is in the character of Slavery itself that we are to find the characters of slave masters; but I need not go back to the golden lips of Chryseides, or to the extravagance of insatiable greediness, for we have already seen that this five-fold enormity is inspired by the single idea of compelling men to work without wages. This spirit must naturally appear in the slave master. But the eloquent Christian saint did not disclose the whole truth. Slavery is founded on violence, as we have already too clearly seen; of course, it can be sustained only by kindred violence, sometimes against the defenseless slave, sometimes against the freeman, whose indignation is aroused at the outrage. It is founded on brutal and vulgar pretensions, as we have already too clearly seen; of course, it can be sustained only by kindred brutality and vulgarity. The denial of all rights in the slave can be sustained only by a disregard of other rights, common to the whole community, whether of the person, of the press, or of speech.

Where this exists there can be but one supreme law, to which all other laws, legislative or social, are subordinate, and this is the pretended law of Slavery. All these things must be manifest in slave masters, and yet, unconscious of their true condition, they make boasts which reveal still further their unhappy influence. Barbarous standards of conduct are unblushingly avowed. The swarmer of a bully is called chivalry; a swiftness to quarrel is called courage; the bludgeon is adopted as the substitute for argument; and assassination is lifted to be one of the fine arts. Long ago it was fixed certain that the day which made a man a slave 'took half his worth away,' words from the ancient harp of Homer, resounding through long generations. Nothing here is said of the human being at the other end of the chain. To aver that on this same day all his worth is taken away might seem inconsistent with exceptions which we gladly recognize; but, alas! it is too clear, both from reason and from evidence, that had as Slavery is for the slave, it is worse for the master.

In making this exposure, I am fortified at the outset by two classes of authorities, whose testimony it will be difficult to question. The first is American, and founded on personal experience; the second is philosophical, and founded on everlasting truth. [After copiously quoting from both American and philosophical authority, condemning slaveholders on their own testimony, bringing their newspaper advertisements, and their declarations in various forms—official and unofficial—against them, all clearly establishing the barbarism of slavery, the speaker thus refers to its 'ennobling' influence upon the master.]

Much has been said to exhibit the character of the slave master, the work would be incomplete if I failed to point out that unconsciousness of the fatal influence of slavery which completes the evil. No man is so likely to decline that topic; but I shall be brief. That Senators should openly declare Slavery 'ennobling,' at least to the master, and also 'the black marble keystone of our national arch,' would excite wonder if it were not explained by the examples of history. There are men who in the spirit of paradox, make themselves the partisans of a bad cause, as Jerome Cardan wrote an eulogium on Nero. But, where there is no disposition to paradox, it is natural that a cherished practice should blind those who are under its influence; nor is there any end to these exaggerations. According to Thucydides, piracy in the early ages of Greece was alike widespread and honorable; so much so, that Telemachus and Mentor, on landing at Mycenae, were asked by Nestor if they were 'pirates'—precisely as a stranger in South Carolina might be asked if he were a slave-master. Kidnapping, too, which was a kindred indulgence, was openly avowed, and I doubt not, held to be 'ennobling.' Next to the unconsciousness which is noticed in childhood, is the unconsciousness of barbarism. The real barbarian is as unconscious as an infant; and the slave-master shows much of the same character. No New Zealander exhibits in his flat head, more than the slave-master in these latter days—and always, of course, with honorable exceptions—exhibits in his unfortunate condition. The slave-master hugs his disgusting practice as the Carib of the Gulf hugged cannibalism, and as Brigham Young now hugs polygamy. The delusion of the 'goitre' is repeated. This prodigious swelling of the neck, constituting 'a hideous wallet of flesh,' pendulous upon the breast, is common to the population on the slopes of the Alps; but, according to this deformity, the sufferer comes to regard it with pride, as slave-masters with us regard Slavery, and it is said that those who have no swelling are laughed at and called 'goitre-necked.' With knowledge come distrust and the modest consciousness of imperfection; but the pride of barbarism has no such limitations. It dilates in the thin air of ignorance, and makes a monster. Surely, if these illustrations are not entirely inapplicable, then must we find in the boasts of slave-masters new occasion to regret the influence of Slavery.

It is this same influence which renders slave-masters insensible to those characters, which are among the glories of the Republic; which makes them forget that Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and Washington, who commanded its armies, were Abolitionists, which renders them insensible to the inspiring words of the one, and the commanding example of the other. Of these great men it is the praise, well deserving perpetual mention, and only grudging by a small influence, that reared amid Slavery they did not hesitate to condemn it. To the present debate, Jefferson, in repeated utterances, alive with the fire of genius and truth, has contributed the most important testimony for Freedom ever pronounced in this hemisphere, in words equal to the cause; and Washington, often quoted as a slave-master, in the solemn dispositions of his last will and testament, has contributed an example which is beyond even the words of Jefferson. Do not, Sir, call him a slave-master who entered into the presence of his Maker only as the emancipator of his slaves. The difference between such men and the slave-masters whom I expose to-day is so precise that it cannot be mistaken. The first looked down upon Slavery; the second look up to Slavery. The first, recognizing it as wrong, were at once liberated from its pernicious influence; while the latter, upholding it as right and 'ennobling,' must naturally draw from it motives of conduct. The

first, conscious of the character of Slavery, were not misled by it; the second, dwelling in unconsciousness of its true character, surrendering blindly to its barbarous tendencies, and, verifying the words of the poet:

“So perfect is their misery, Not once perceive their foul disfigurement, But boast themselves more comely than before.”

Mr. President, it is time to close this branch of the argument. The barbarism of Slavery has been now exposed, first, in the law of Slavery, illustrated by a contrast between the Free States and the slave States, sustained by official figures. From this exposure of Slavery I proceeded to consider its influences on Slave-masters, whose true character stands confessed, first in the law of Slavery, which is their work; next, in their relations between them and their slaves, maintained by three inhuman instruments; next, in the relations with each other, and with society, as here we have seen them at home under the immediate influence of Slavery—also in the communities of which they are a part—practising violence, and pushing it everywhere, in street fight and duel; especially raging against all who question the pretensions of Slavery; entering even into the Free States, but not in lawless outbreaks only; also in official acts, as of Georgia and of South Carolina, with regard to two Massachusetts citizens; and then, ascending in audacity entering the halls of Congress, where they have waged, as at home, against all who set themselves against their assumptions; while the whole gloomy army of unquestionable facts has been closed by portraying the melancholy unconsciousness which constitutes one of the distinctive features of this barbarism.

[Mr. Sumner briefly disposes of the argument of the inferiority of the colored race.] This is not the time to enter upon the great question of race, in the various lights of religion, history and science. Sure I am that they who understand it best will be least disposed to the pretensions which, on the assumed ground of inferiority, would condemn one race to be the property of another. If the African race be inferior, as is alleged, then is it the unquestionable duty of a Christian civilization to lift it from its degradation, not by the bludgeon and the chain—not by the barbarous pretensions of ownership—but by a generous charity, which shall be measured precisely by the extent of its inferiority. The second argument put forward for this pretension, and twice repeated by the Senator from Mississippi is that the Africans are the posterity of Ham, the son of Noah, through Canaan, who was cursed by Noah, to be the 'servant'—that is the word employed—of his brethren, and that this malediction has fallen upon all his descendants, who are accordingly devoted by God to perpetual bondage, not only in the third and fourth generations, but throughout all succeeding time. Surely, when the Senator quoted Scripture to enforce the claim of slave-masters, he did not intend a jest, and yet it is hard to suppose him in earnest. The Senator is Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, in which he is doubtless experienced. He may, perhaps, set a squadron in the field, but he has evidently considered very little the text of Scripture which he relies. The Senator assumes that it has fixed the doom of the colored race, leaving untouched the white race. Perhaps he does not know that in the worst days of the Polish aristocracy this same argument was adopted as the excuse for holding white serfs in bondage, precisely as it is now put forward by the Senator, and that even to this day the angry Polish noble addresses his white peasant as the 'son of Ham.'

It hardly comports with the gravity of this debate to dwell on such an argument, and you cannot go wrong if, for the sake of a much injured race, I brush it away. To justify the Senator in his application of this ancient curse, he must maintain at least five different propositions, as essential links in the chain of the Afro-American slave; first, that, by this malediction, Canaan himself was actually changed into a 'chattel,' whereas he is simply made the 'servant' of his brethren; secondly, that not merely Canaan, but all his posterity, to the remotest generation was so changed, whereas the language has no such extent; thirdly, that the Afro-American actually belongs to the posterity of Canaan—an ethnological assumption absurdly difficult to establish; fourthly that each of the descendants of Shem and Japheth has a right to hold an Afro-American fellow man as a 'chattel'—a proposition which finds no semblance of support; and fifthly, that every slave-master is truly descended from Shem or Japheth—a plea against no anxiety can establish. This plain analysis, which may truly excite a smile, shows the five-fold absurdity of an attempt to found this pretension on

Any successive title long and dark, Drawn from the moldy rolls of Noah's ark. From the character of these two arguments for property in man, I am brought again to my denial. [After discussing the connection of slavery with the constitutional question, he thus closes.]

Mr. President, this argument is now closed.—Pardon me for the time I have occupied. It is long since I have made any such claim upon your attention. Pardon me, also, if I have said anything which I ought not to have said. I have spoken frankly, and from the heart; if severely, yet only with the severity of a sorrowful candor, calling things by their right names, and letting historic facts tell their unimpeachable story. I have spoken in the patriotic hope of contributing to the welfare of my country, and also in the assured conviction that what I have said would find a response in generous souls. I believe that I have said nothing which is not sustained by well founded argument or well founded testimony; nothing which can be controverted without a direct assault upon reason or upon truth. The two assumptions of slave-masters have been answered, but this is not enough. Let the answer become a legislative act by the admission of Kansas as a Free State. Then will the barbarism of Slavery be repelled, and the pretension of property in man be rebuked. Such an act closing this long struggle by the assurance of peace to the Territory, if not of tranquility to the whole country, will be more grateful still as the herald of that better day near at hand, when Freedom shall be installed everywhere under the National Government; when the national flag, wherever it floats on sea, and land, within the national jurisdiction, will not cover a single slave, and when the Declaration of Independence, now reviled in the name of Slavery, will once again be revered as the American Magna Charta of Human Rights. Nor is this all. Such an act will be the first stage in those triumphs by which the Republic—lifted in character so as to become an example to mankind—will enter at last upon its noble 'prerogative of teaching the nations how to live.' Thus, Sir, speaking for Freedom in Kansas, I have spoken for Freedom everywhere, and for civilization; and, as the lesson is contained in the greater, so are all arts, all sciences, all economies, all refinements, all charities,

all delights, of life embodied in this cause. You may reject it, but it will be only for to-day. The sacred animosity between Freedom and Slavery was not only with the triumph of Freedom. We had some question will soon be carried before that high tribunal, supreme over Senate and Court, where the judges will be counted by the millions, and where the judgement rendered will be the solemn charge of an aroused people, instructing a new President, in the name of Freedom, to see that civilization receives no detriment.

[Mr. Chesnut of S. C. replies to Mr. Sumner's speech as follows.]

After the extraordinary, though characteristic, speech which has just been made in the hearing of the Senate, it is necessary that we should explain the reasons which we are invited to assume. After ranging over Europe, sneaking through back doors, and fawning at the feet of British aristocracy, seeking for pity but reaping the rich and just reward of contempt, the slanders of States and men reappears in the Senate. We had hoped that from what he had left, though ignominiously failed to meet, as the consequence of former insolence, he would become wiser, if not better, by experience. In this we are disappointed; and we regret it. Sir, in the heroic ages of the world, men were often deified—but they were deified for the possession and exercise of some virtue, wisdom, justice, magnanimity and courage. Yes, Sir, in Egypt they deified beasts and reptiles, but even that bestial people worshiped their idol on account of some supposed virtue. It has been left for this age, for this country, and for the Abolitionists of Massachusetts, to defy the incarnation of malice, mendacity and cowardice. Sir, we do not here intend to be guilty of any such apostrophe of malignity and meanness. We do not intend to contribute, by any conduct on our part, to swell the Paons at the shrine of this new idol. No, Sir, and though, with no expectation but the hope of improvement, we are not inclined by any punishment again, to send the recipient of it ballooning through the world, yelling forth increased volumes of slander and malice.—These are the reasons why we have remained quiet, and shall endeavor to remain quiet under that which we have heard.

[Mr. Sumner responds by using Mr. Chesnut for an additional illustration.]

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SERVED HIM RIGHT.

A year ago last winter, two negro girls, held in slavery in Nebraska, (there's a squatter sovereignty item,) escaped from their master, and as was supposed, crossed the Missouri river into Iowa. Their owner finding plenty of Democrats for the service, organized an armed party for pursuit, and as soon as they were on Iowa soil, commenced breaking into and searching citizens houses and committing various other offences against the law, order and decency which prevails in a free State. Of course they had no warrant or show of authority. Like the Missouri nigger-catchers in Southern Illinois, they proceeded upon the assumption of the white man's divine right to all the darkies he can get, and to catch and hold them wherever they can be found. The girls were not captured; their owner went back minus his chattels, but with a heavy bill for his Democratic posse and their whisky, which in all nigger catching expeditions somehow is sure to flow. One R. S. Williams, of course a petulant 'Abolitionist,' who has just enough effrontery to maintain that he has rights that even nigger-catchers are bound to respect, seems not to have liked the proceedings of the marauders. He sued the would be master, the owner of the flying chattels; and we see by an Iowa paper, that he has recovered eight thousand dollars damages, in full, we suppose, for the insults and injuries to which he and his family were subjected by the barbarous clan. That's good.—Chicago Press.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

It is a fact—as shameful as it is undeniable—that the Slave Trade is carried on with renewed vigor by American capital, in American vessels. Every day arrangements are making in New York to build, equip and send out slavers to the coast of Africa. The United States Marshal and his officers are systematically bribed to allow slavers clandestinely to leave that port. Slavers are sent out from Boston, and it is rumored that they have gone even from Philadelphia.

The American flag covers a majority of the vessels engaged in this infamous traffic. No less than fifteen hundred Africans are now at Key West, taken from slavers captured by our naval vessels. But the worst of it is, that our general government countenances this business. The navy is not actively engaged in suppressing it. The Judges and District Attorneys in the southern Atlantic States, make no more than a show of enforcing the law against the slave trade. The courts torture the acts of Congress so as to effect the acquittal of the criminals. The Marshals allow them to escape, or they are dismissed from court on their own recognizances without security. It has come to such a pass that political parties and tract societies refuse to condemn the hellish trade.

Is this, indeed a civilized age? Is this, indeed, a land of humanity? Or are we to become the scorn and detestation of all decent nations? Just think of the paradox—the Declaration of Independence and the slave trade!—Sunday Transcript.

THE OLD KEY.

Enclosed in a small case which is fastened against the wall of one of the doors leading from the Hall, hangs a large iron key, which called up the recollections of the past, and suggested many thoughts connected with the present and the future. It is the Key which opened and fastened the doors of the French Bastille, which caused to turn upon their heavy hinges those ponderous gates which shut out from liberty, and often life, those whose love of freedom made despotism feel insecure. But the time came when the people rose in the majesty of their power, the popular voice spoke as the voice of God, and the old Bastille trembled at its sound. Its gates swung open, its prisoners walked forth in freedom, and its walls crumbled to the earth.

The old key excited much attention from those who were present when we saw it, but we found that not a few of those who curiously inquired of its history—and apparently intelligent persons too—were wholly ignorant of the character and even the name of the French Bastille, and could not have told whether it was some place of fashionable resort, a gunpowder magazine, or a Cathedral in Paris. What wonder that such persons know but little of the American Bastille whose builders and jailors possess a more terrible power, whose outrages upon liberty are deeper and darker, and who deserve to be smitten with a more fearful vengeance than the oppressors of France ever knew. The hand writing in which, it is recorded their doom, is blazing upon the wall of their temple, but they heed not the warning, nor will they listen to the voice of the true interpreter.

It has been definitely ascertained that the omen which was discovered in 1840 'settin' on a rail,' selected that location on account of said rail having been split by Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

non-omnibus; and looking cautiously around chucked on:

“He, he! you too sharp for them old feller; keep dark; if you jes' speak one word of English, white man have a hoe in your hand in less'n one minute.”

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

“PROVIDENCE HAS MADE ME AN ACTOR, AND SLAVERY AN OUTLAW.”—John Brown of Osawatimie.

SALEM, OHIO, JUNE 23, 1860.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

To go to see Washington and not to go to Mt. Vernon, would be a wide departure from general usage, and we accordingly fell in with the popular current, and visited the resting place of one, who in many respects was certainly in advance of his age, and unspokeably superior, with all his faults, to the people whose idolatry makes pilgrimages to his tomb, while their lips anathematize, and their hands smite those prophets of Liberty who now preach the duty of repentance and atonement for our deeds of despotism.

ONE OF SLAVERY'S MARKS.

The curse which the Father of his country suffered to exist in Virginia, is clearly visible upon her soil, and the marks of slavery are to be seen upon both shores of the beautiful Potomac. Nature has not been niggardly in her gifts, and although here and there upon her banks are seen a handsome dwelling, we could not but feel that had the stream flowed near a northern city, its shores would have been lined with beautiful mansions, with tasteful country residences whose existence would have indicated the presence of free labor, and of paid industry.

As for the sarcophagus which contains the mortal remains of George Washington, of the simple inscription upon it, of the appearance of the enclosure in which reposes the remains of himself and wife, and of the situation of the Mt. Vernon Mansion, behold, have not the particulars been written again and again, so that all who will may have an opportunity to read!

REMEMBRANCE.

It is expected that every visitor to Mt. Vernon will carry away a memento of his visit either in the form of a cane, a bouquet, or something of the kind, and sable-bred merchants are to be found on every hand to supply these remembrances for a consideration. The trade in the first named articles—cane—is said to be immense, and illustrates most forcibly the truth of the commercial axiom, that supply is regulated by demand. It is even whispered that notwithstanding her non-intercourse threats, Virginia imports a considerable quantity of her Mt. Vernon cane from New England. It is said there is wood enough extant of the Holy Cross to build two seventy fours, and it requires as much credulity to believe that the Mt. Vernon plantation is an illimitable thicket of canes, whose supply ever has, and ever will equal the existing demand.

CONDITION OF THE MANSION.

We think no one can visit the mansion and grounds of Mt. Vernon without feeling that the \$200,000 demanded and received by the late proprietor as its purchase money, was a speculation that savored more of pecuniary profit to John A. Washington than of either honor, honesty, or patriotism. Upon beholding the neglected condition of the grounds and the tumble-down appearance of the Mansion, it is difficult to repress a feeling of indignation against the person who has thus suffered these things to occur, and then demanded exorbitant pay for such neglect. The slipshod appearance of things at Mt. Vernon would probably not strike a Southerner with the same force as it would one from the North, for a development of the same spirit is to be witnessed in almost every part that we saw of Old Virginia, for not only does everything look old and venerable, but the appearance of age, but one is inclined to doubt whether they were ever new. A prosperous farmer of the West would be ashamed to have his farm and his farm appointments of such character as those which seem to satisfy a Virginia planter. John A. Washington had packed up his furniture to leave. The boxes occupied the greater part of the hall, and entirely filled up one of the two rooms which visitors are permitted to enter. Our inspection of the interior of the Mansion was therefore very limited, and as everything had been removed from the other room, we could fully examine its uncarpeted floor and bare walls. The original furniture would certainly have been an agreeable addition to the view, but it was nevertheless a great satisfaction to stand there and feel that the room was itself unchanged, that its fashion and fixtures were the same as when the leading statesmen of other days, and the representatives of the governments of other lands gathered in the reception room of the private Mansion of the first President of this nation.

THE OLD KEY.

Enclosed in a small case which is fastened against the wall of one of the doors leading from the Hall, hangs a large iron key, which called up the recollections of the past, and suggested many thoughts connected with the present and the future. It is the Key which opened and fastened the doors of the French Bastille, which caused to turn upon their heavy hinges those ponderous gates which shut out from liberty, and often life, those whose love of freedom made despotism feel insecure. But the time came when the people rose in the majesty of their power, the popular voice spoke as the voice of God, and the old Bastille trembled at its sound. Its gates swung open, its prisoners walked forth in freedom, and its walls crumbled to the earth.

The old key excited much attention from those who were present when we saw it, but we found that not a few of those who curiously inquired of its history—and apparently intelligent persons too—were wholly ignorant of the character and even the name of the French Bastille, and could not have told whether it was some place of fashionable resort, a gunpowder magazine, or a Cathedral in Paris. What wonder that such persons know but little of the American Bastille whose builders and jailors possess a more terrible power, whose outrages upon liberty are deeper and darker, and who deserve to be smitten with a more fearful vengeance than the oppressors of France ever knew. The hand writing in which, it is recorded their doom, is blazing upon the wall of their temple, but they heed not the warning, nor will they listen to the voice of the true interpreter.

It has been definitely ascertained that the omen which was discovered in 1840 'settin' on a rail,' selected that location on account of said rail having been split by Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.