

The Glasgow Times.

ADDRESS OF DR. T. N. COCKERILL, Before the Union Mutual Protection Society.

CORRESPONDENCE. GLASGOW, October 7, 1854.

DEAR SIR—The undersigned, Committee of the Union Mutual Protection Society, respectfully request a copy of your Address, delivered before that body to-day, for publication.

Very respectfully, A. W. RUCKER, W. G. BROWN, STEPHEN GARNER.

GLASGOW, October 10, 1854.

To J. W. Rucker, W. G. Brown, and S. Garner, Committee: GENTLEMEN—Your note requesting a copy of my Address for publication, is just received, in reply to which I have to say, that the remarks made before your Society, with little preparation, were not designed for the press.

Very respectfully, THOS. N. COCKERILL.

ADDRESS. MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:

Though not a member of your society, by request I consented to address your association to-day on the subject of negro slavery as it exists in the Southern States.

And as I am informed that the subject was very ably presented at your last meeting in its religious bearing by my friend Mr. Thompson, and the institution as it now exists thoroughly sustained and most triumphantly vindicated from the word of God, I propose in the few remarks that I may offer you, to view it in its social relations and political aspects.

As a social institution it is contended by many and even by some owning slaves, to be a moral evil, a social blight entailed upon us by our ancestry. Though not now disposed to defend it, in all its relations, as a positive good to the whites, I shall contend that it ever has been up to the present time and may continue for ages to come, an absolute blessing to the African race.

This is absolutely necessary in the economy of God, in order to the full expansion of the human intellect—for the full development of all the resources of nature.

Hence He has created individuals and nations with different susceptibilities, various capacities—some to command, others to obey—some to plan, others to execute—some with gigantic intellects to search out the deep and almost hidden mysteries of nature, others to perform the manual labor necessary to their full development—all to share in the general blessings thus obtained.

By this wise arrangement of Providence the aggregate wealth of the world is largely increased—the sum of human happiness greatly augmented.

These facts, few will question in this enlightened age of the world. Take all the servants of Europe, Asia, Africa, the Islands of the sea—the slaves of North and South America, leave them for only one year, without a mind to plan—an arm to direct—a voice to command—and the aggregate wealth of the world would be greatly diminished—the sum of human happiness infinitely curtailed.

Suppose all men had to perform alike their own drudgery, where should we now be in the development of the arts and sciences which have conferred so much happiness upon mankind, the peasant as well as the Prince, the Slave as well as the Master, we should be centuries behind the present age.

But who are to be hewers of wood, and drawers of water? Those of muscular frames but inferior intellects, and separate and apart from the curse pronounced against the descendants of one of the sons of Noah, may not color constitute the main distinction—white, you know is an emblem in nature, of virtue, purity, elevation—while black is the reverse, of vice, depravity and degradation.

The Circassians, the handsomest and whitest people upon the face of the earth, amidst all the revolutions of ancient and modern times have never been enslaved. However this may be, we are told by some sickly sentimentalists, some pseudo-philanthropists, some abolitionists of the North, that though we must have "help," we must have servants to do the "helping"—it is wrong, it is a sin, a crying curse, to have an ownership in, and control over, the person of an individual.

If not his humanity may induce him to treat them kindly—not over work them—attend to their physical wants. Contrast sir if you please, northern servitude, with southern slavery and mark the result. While the Millionaire hires his daily servant, for the smallest pittance that Shylock could desire barely enough to procure food and raiment, works him to the full stretch of human power, exhausting his physical energies regardless alike whether he lives or dies—for if he dies he loses nothing, if he is taken sick nobody has any interest in him, and unless a charity institution finds him, he dies on the floor of a cold damp cellar, or in a dark garret upon a bed of straw, no kind hand to minister to his wants, no physician to alleviate the pangs of a dying hour.

Not so with the negro slave; his master has a property interest in him, and consulting that interest, he does not overtask his physical energies, clothes, and feeds him well, that he may not get sick, if taken down with disease, the most skillful physician is employed, for upon his success depends the master's loss or gain to the value of the slave.

But we are told by those who have paupers at their doors dying with cold, destitution and starvation, that we are cruel and inhuman to our slaves.

Exaggerated sickly Nouvellettes, are put forth to prejudice the world against us.—Isolated cases are given by Mrs. Stowe, with the evil design of making them represent the general condition of the slave. While we may admit that her pictures were not over wrought, that they have their counterparts in the South, while there are devils in human shape all over the world, we "Fiduciate the truth of history" when we say that for one monster Lagree, in the South, there are twenty Hanau butchers in the North, who would not only decoy off the slave, but murder those who attempt to reclaim him, as they did in the case of Burns in Boston.

All the philanthropists in that wealthy city would not raise \$1200, to purchase his freedom, but some of them no doubt aided in resisting his reclamation, in violation of the laws of the country, against the solemn adjudications of the courts, at an expense of sixty thousand dollars to the General Government, and at the expense of human blood.

And who are these Simon Pures? who stand against self-righteous indignation! Who are they who raise their hands in holy horror of negro slavery. Many of them are the degenerate descendants of Shylock ancestors who made their wealth by dealing in the accursed slave trade. Who are they now sir, that are violating the solemn treaties of christian nations against that evil traffic? Who are they that bid defiance to the fleets of Great Britain, France and the United States in shipping cargoes of negroes to Cuba and Brazil? Report says, and no doubt truly, the Millionaires of Wall Street and Boston, and for ought we know the Seward's, Hale's, Giddings', Sumner's, Van Buren's and others are engaged in it who would violate the Constitution and Laws, dissolve the Union, "move heaven and earth," to free the southern slave, and then suffer him to die of starvation. The southern slave owner is the only real friend of the negro.—His condition in every respect is better than the menial servant of any country, than the free negro, or poor daily laborer of the north. History attests this fact. Richard Randolph brother of the late John Randolph who died about the year 1796, freed all his slaves, 140 in number, divided among them his princely estate, giving them land, stock and farming implements, with which with ordinary foresight and industry, they might have become a respectable and flourishing community—but we are told they now present a miserable and pitiable spectacle—poor, indolent and dirty—the men thieves and drunkards, the women common prostitutes—the children all diseased with syphilis taint—and instead of a large increase, they have degenerated in 60 years from 140 to 85—a deplorable result of that gentleman's philanthropy and munificence.

The case of John Randolph's negroes who were freed and colonized in Ohio, presents now a similar spectacle. The fugitive slaves now in Canada, are in a state of destitution and want, and have degenerated in the scale of being greatly below the southern slave. In some of the West India Islands where they have been emancipated only a few years—History says they have degenerated almost to a state of native African barbarianism—and that in many cases secret cannibalism is now practised. They are an indolent and sluggish race and I very much doubt their capability of self government and improvement.

I know that the Colony of Liberia is said to bid fair for ultimate success; but I know also that the United States have been a "power behind the throne greater than the throne itself," that it is yet an experiment—a problem to be solved by future time—and if successful, then the hand of God directs it as the only efficient means to civilize and christianize Africa.

When all the relations of master and slave are properly observed the great designs of God are fulfilled—the slave blessed above his free condition—and the master not necessarily injured.

In its political aspects it presents a subject fraught with innumerable difficulties, that any well connected serious consideration—the calm deliberation of the philanthropist and statesman.

ment, filling the colonies with African slaves. This continued up to a period subsequent to our Revolutionary War.

After we had obtained our independence, the Northern States more from personal interest than a spirit of philanthropy—finding slave labor unprofitable in the north soon got rid of it by gradual emancipation. At the formation of our federal Constitution the institution of slavery first entered the political arena. The northern States contending for its abolition—the southern, for its recognition under the constitution and laws—refusing to enter the Union unless certain concessions and guarantys were made.—They consented to the abolition of the African slave trade, but demanded protection in their existing and vested rights, that the negro population should form a certain part of the representative power—and that they should have the right to reclaim fugitives from service. These reasonable demands were ultimately conceded, the Union of the States formed and this constituted the first great compromise of that vexed question.—We lived fraternally and happily as the great American family—advanced in all the arts of civil life with unexampled rapidity up to 1820 when Missouri petitioned to enter the Union. Again the subject of slavery was agitated—denounced as a social and political evil and we refused admission.

The States were convulsed from center to circumference—disunion with all its dire calamities threatened. But happily wise councils prevailed and what was called the Missouri Compromise effected and harmony for a time restored. Whether that compromise was right or wrong, constitutional or otherwise, I will not now argue, but will say they had no right to ask any question in relation to slavery; if we presented a constitution "with a Republican form of Government" we fulfilled the requisitions of the Federal constitution and should have been admitted.

Again we reposed in security as we supposed for all time. But our territories got too small, the spirit of conquest got abroad—the "army of occupation" as it was called marshaled his hosts upon the Rio Grande with the ostensible object of "conquering a peace with Mexico" but as many suppose the real object was a piece of Mexico.

After several years of war, at an expense of much "blood and treasure"—our victorious army marched in triumph to the city of Mexico, and there, in the very Halls of the Montezumas, dictated their own terms of peace. Mexico was despoiled of a part of her dominions, our borders enlarged—then again came the "tug of war." The North contended for the "Extension of the area of human freedom," the South for their rights in the domain, obtained by the common "blood and treasure"; they were arrayed against each other in angry strife—bitter denunciations and a fearful forensic struggle ensued; we all trembled for the stability of the Union. But thank God there were then master spirits at the helm of the ship of State, who calmed the turbulent elements of faction and steered her safely through the storm.—But they are gone to their eternal rest, God grant that their mantle may fall upon those, who may be able to give counsel to preserve us from dissolution.

They effected the great compromise of 1850 which granted greater facilities in the reclamation of fugitive slaves, somewhat defined the conditions of extension and nearly all proclaimed it a final settlement, and a general jubilee ensued.

But like all other human hopes it has proved deceptive. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise—the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, with its squatter sovereignty, has opened the subject afresh, with all its fearful consequences. Already the North is threatening to repeal the Douglas bill and the compromise of 1850, and to defy us in the reclamation of our slaves. Northern abolitionists have organized aid societies for the purpose of transporting to our borders at their own expense, emigrant paupers, and probably convicts of Europe, the most degraded of the world's refuse, in order to make Kansas a free State. Southern men are organizing "Self Defensive Associations," whose object is to make it a slave State at all hazards; but unfortunately for us while the North presents an undivided phalanx—we are dissipated and if we thus continue must succumb to Northern power.

You have seen no doubt that the citizens of a neighboring city are divided—almost at the daggers points, ready to shed each others blood.

The self-defensive association may have done things not warranted in law—they may have gone to extremes. Men sometimes become desperate under wrongs the law will not heal. Mob law is a fearful, a dangerous remedy, and should be administered only in desperate diseases—should only be applied to when other laws are impotent or not executed. But do we not find such cases, and are they not on the increase every day? Look at the mobs in eastern cities raised to resist the proper execution of the laws. Look at the Ward case in the State of Kentucky, where witnesses were brow beaten and jury men probably suborned, and a murderer turned loose upon society! Too many of those courts, now-a-days, are but public forums—forensic arenas for a gladiatorial contest between opposing counsel—where the victor, the successful champion, feels proud of his triumph, though at the expense of public and private justice.—This can only be corrected by a stern but calm public sentiment.

We recognise the right of every citizen

in this republic going to Kansas to settle and make himself a home; but when organizations take place in the East—when men who never expect to see the country, employ their talents, time and money in sending Abolition emissaries and European paupers upon our borders to inflict an evil upon us, then we are justifiable in organizing against them, for I hold that contiguity of pre-existing settlement ought to have much to do in the settlement of this question.

For the sake of illustration, just reverse the picture. Suppose a purchase or conquest of the Canadas—which is not improbable—suppose, again, an organization of Southern men aid and abet and by their money and influence induce every foreign pauper and renegade they can find to go there with the avowed object of making one of the Canadas a slave State, affecting the surrounding States with (as they say) the accursed evil of slavery. Think you not their indignation would be aroused, and appealing to that "higher law" of which they so much boast, drive them out by mob violence, as they have so often done in the reclamation of fugitive slaves? And the parallel is to our disadvantage, for we with slavery upon their borders, could only inflict upon them a moral evil; they, with abolition upon our borders, inflict upon us a moral and personal property wrong—for if Kansas is made a free State, our slave property will be of little value.

We are now upon the eve of a fearful crisis. Northern fanatics are marshaling their hosts for a repeal of the Douglas bill and the Compromise of 1850; which, if consummated, will set this Union on fire.—And I predict that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by Southern votes, in the last Congressional struggle, will be, in the next, offered as a precedent to justify them in violating a sacred compromise. And may it not have been a deep laid scheme, a political trick in the North, to offer that precious blood to the South in order to furnish a precedent by which they might calm their clamorous consciences when they come to the final struggle? This effected, and we of the south have but one loop upon which to hang our political salvation. We should forthwith earnestly demand of Great Britain an international arrangement by which to reclaim fugitive slaves in her American dominions. This she cannot in justice refuse, having on several occasions recognised them as property, and made restitution for them taken upon the high seas. This arrangement consummated, and northern fanatics will soon become fugitive slave officers, in returning them to their owners, instead of agents of underground railroads forwarding them to Canada. We of the South should be united, calm and firm—should claim our rights under the constitution and laws—do nothing to excite the angry passions that may arise when the struggle comes—should endeavor, if possible, to calm the billows of political commotion and leave the issue with God.

But so long as the institution of slavery exists amongst us, we are responsible for the maintenance of the proper relations that should exist between master and slave.—We should all take a deep interest in seeing that the laws are properly observed; in ferreting out any abolitionists that may be prowling about, corrupting and deceiving off our slaves; and when one shall abscond each and every man should feel and take a deep interest in his immediate reclamation—for one negro at large corrupts many, and if he should succeed in a final escape, it engenders insubordination in others, and induces them to take similar attempts.

It is due to ourselves, it is due to the best interests of humanity, it is due to the well-being of the negro himself, to keep him in proper subjection—"peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must."

CHASPEL.—In a late speech made by Gen. Cass, at Detroit, he is reported as saying he "was thankful his place of residence was in a free State." The old fogy has certainly given up the idea of getting southern support for the Presidency, though he has not abandoned all hope of the White House.

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