

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

The moral relation of such parties is very aptly set forth by The Evening Post, which announces "that Blackwell's Island is determined to receive from the State of New York, and that Sing Sing will follow in a week, Auburn in a fortnight, and Clinton Prison before the end of the month."

FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The following extracts are from Mr. Phillips' recent speech on "Progress." The gain to-day is, we have a people. Under their vigilant eyes, mindful of their sturdy purpose, sustained by their determination, many of our politicians act much better. And out of this popular heart is growing a Constitution which will wholly supersede that of 1787.

think of; and the fifty thousand mothers, who, with sickening senses, watch for footsteps that are not wont to tarry long in their coming, and soon find themselves left to tread the pathways of life alone—add all the horrors of cities sacked and lands laid waste—and then weigh them all against some young girl sent to the auction-block, some man like that taken from our Court House and carried back into Georgia; multiply that individual agony into four millions; multiply that into centuries; and that into all the relations of father and child, husband and wife; heap on all the deep moral degradation both of the oppressor and the oppressed, and tell me if Waterloo or Thermopylae can claim one tear from the eye even of the tenderest spirit of mercy, compared with this daily system of hell amid the most civilized and Christian people on the face of the earth!

No, I confess I am not a non-resistist. The reason why I have advised the slave to be guided by a policy of peace is because he has had, hitherto, no chance. If he had one—if he had as good a chance as those who went up to Lexington years ago, I should call him the basest recreant that ever deserted wife and child, if he did not vindicate his liberty by his own right hand.

Suppose we welcome disunion, manfully our real sentiment, "liberty and equality," and draw the line at the Potomac. We do not want the border States. Let them go, be welcome to the fort, take the capital with them. (Applause and hisses.) What to us is a hot-house city, free streets, and useless marble? Where Macgregor sits is the head of the table. Active brains, free lips and cunning hands make empires. Paper capitals are vain. Of course, we must assume a right to buy out Maryland and Delaware. Then, by running our line at the Potomac, we close the irrepressible conflict, and have homogeneous institutions. Then we part friends. The Union thus ended, the South no longer hates the North. Cuba she cannot have. France, England and ourselves forbid. If she spread over Central America, that will bring no cause of war to a Northern confederacy. We are no filibusters. Her nearness to us there cannot harm us. Let Kansas witness that while Union fettered her, and our national banner clung to the flag-staff heavy with blood, we still made good George Canning's boast, "Where that banner is planted, foreign dominion shall not come."

Why, then, should there not be peace between two such confederacies? There must be. Let me show you why.—Let the laws of trade will bind us together as they now do all other lands. This state of the ocean, at least, we are not living in feudal times, when princes made war for ambition. We live in days when men of common sense go about their daily business, while frightened kings are flying along the highways. Leave neighborhood and trade alone, and we shall be at peace. Observe, only Northerners are lynched at the South now. Spaniards, French, Scotch are safe. When English Captain Vaughan is tarred and feathered, the Mayor offers a reward, and the grand jury indicts. After a fair, sensible disunion, such as I have described, a Boston man will be as well off as Captain Vaughan.

At any rate, disunion could not make the two sections any more at war than they are now. Any change in this respect would be an improvement. If the North and Mexico had touched boundaries, would they ever have quarrelled? Nothing but Southern filibusterism, which can never point North, ever embroiled us with Mexico. To us in future the South will be another Mexico—too weak, too intent on her own broils to attack us.

The South cannot make war on any one. Suppose the fifteen States hang together a year—which is almost an impossibility—let them have given bonds to two thousand million of dollars—the value of their slaves—to keep the peace.

2d. They will have enough to do to attend to the irrepressible conflict at home. Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, will be their Massachusetts—Winter Davis, Blair and Cassius Clay, their Seward and Garrison.

3d. The Gulf States will monopolize all the offices. A man must have Gulf principles to belong to a healthy party. Under such a lead, disunion heart Virginia, in opposition, will not have much heart to attack Pennsylvania.

4th. The census shows that the border States are pushing their slaves south. Fear of their free Northern neighbors will quicken the process, and so widen the breach between gulf and border States by making one constantly more and the other less slave States. Free trade in sugar bankrupts Louisiana. Free trade in men bankrupts Virginia. Free trade generally lets two-thirds of the direct taxation rest on the numerous, richer, and more comfortable whites of the border States; hence further secession. Such a secession, with every third man black and a foe, will make no wars.

Why should it attack us? We are not a cannon thundering at its gates. We are not an avalanche overhanging its sunny valleys. Our influence, that of freedom, is only the air, penetrating everywhere, like heat, permeating all space. The South cannot stand isolated on a glass circle. The sun will heat her, and electricity convulse. She must outwit them before she can get rid of ideas. A fevered child in July might as well strike at the sun, as the South attack us for that, the only annoyance we can give her,—the sight and influence of our noble civilization.

Disunion is gain. I venture the assertion, in the face of State street, that of any five Northern men engaged in Southern trade exclusively, four will end in bankruptcy. If disunion suits such commerce, the North will lose nothing. I venture the assertion, that seven at least of the Southern States receive from the government more than they contribute to it. So far, their place will be more profitable than their company. The whole matter of Southern trade has been grossly exaggerated, as well as the importance of the Mississippi river. Freedom carries her own loads of iron. Facts show that for one dollar the West sends or brings by the river, she sends and brings four to and from the East by wagon and rail. If, then, Mississippi and Louisiana tar the river

with tar, they will gradually be allowed to pay for them, while Northern railroads grow richer, trying to buy steam the small portion of wheat, cotton, silk, &c. which would otherwise flow in city up and down that yellow stream.

The Cincinnati Press, which has treated this subject with rare ability, asserts that, excepting provisions which the South must, in any event, buy of the West, the trade of Cincinnati with Southern Indiana alone is thrice her trade with the whole South. As our benevolent societies get about one dollar in seven south of Mason and Dixon's line, so our traders sell there only about one dollar in five. Such trade, if it cut off, would ruin nobody. In fact, the South buys little of us, and pays only for about half she buys. (Laughter and hisses.)

Now we build Southern roads, pay Southern patrol, carry Southern letters, support, out of the nation's treasury, an army of Southern office-holders, waste more money at Norfolk in building ships that will not float, than is spent in protecting the five great lakes, which bear up millions of commerce. These vast pensions come back to us in shape of Southern traders, paying, on the average, one half their debts. Dissolve the Union, and we shall save this outgo, and probably not sell without a prospect of being paid.

Southern trade is a lottery, to which the Union gives all the prizes. Put it on a sound basis by disunion, and the North gains. If we part without anger, the South buys, as every one does, of the cheapest seller. We get her honest business, without being called to fill up the gap of bankruptcy which the wasteful system of slave labor must occasion. In this generation, no slave State in the Union has made the year's ends meet. In counting the wealth of the Union, such States are a minus quantity. Should the Gulf States, however, return, I have no doubt the United States treasury will be called on to pay all these accreted debts.

EXTRACTS FROM LINCOLN'S INAUGURAL.

QUOTES THE CHICAGO PLATFORM IN WHICH JOHN BROWN IS DECLARED A CRIMINAL.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and their personal security are to be endangered. There never has been any reasonable cause for such apprehension; indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from some of those speeches when I declare that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me did so with the full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them; and more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"Resolved, that the maintenance, inviolable, of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment, as exclusively, is essential to its balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we declare the lawless invasion, by an armed force, of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, among the gravest of crimes." I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the new incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which consistently with the Constitution and the laws can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States which lawfully demand, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE CLAUSE SHOULD BE RESTRICTED. There is much controversy about the delivering of fugitives from servitude or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions: "No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it, for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves, and the intention of the law-giver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution, to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves, whose cases come within the terms of this clause and shall be delivered up, their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they could make the effort in good temper, could they not with nearly equal unanimity frame and pass a law, by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath? There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be but of little consequence to him or to others by what authority it is done. And should any one, in any case, be content that his oath shall be unkept, on a mere unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept? Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced so that a freeman may not be in any case surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?"

THE SUPREME COURT. I do not forget the position assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to the very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government, and while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case; still, the evil effect following it being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by the decision of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent, practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the Court or the Judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes. One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute; for the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution and the laws for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade are each well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. Would the great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, after the separation of the sections, more than before? The foreign slave-trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section; while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

ON SEPARATION. AMENDMENTS. Physically speaking, we cannot separate, we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out one of the presence, and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and an intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. It is possible then to make that intercourse more advantageous or

more satisfactory after separating, than before.—Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws among friends?—Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always, and when after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the old identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you. This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendations of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself, and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being offered the people to act upon it. I will venture to add, that to me the Convention mode seems preferable, inasmuch as it allows the amendment to originate with the people themselves, instead of permitting them to take or reject a proposition originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would not wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the constitution, which amendment, however, I have not seen, has passed Congress, to the effect that the federal government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid a misconception of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments so far as to say that holding such a provision to be now implied as Constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable. The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this also if they choose, but the Executive as such has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer present government as it came to his hands and to transmit unimpaird by him to his successor. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present difference, is either party without faith of being in the right. If the Almighty Ruler of nations, with his eternal truth and justice be on our side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth, and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal, the American people.

I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and laws, the Union is unbroken; and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins on me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform it so far as practically possible, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend itself. In doing this there will be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government, to collect duties and imposts; but beyond that may be necessary for those objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States, in any interior locality, shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for a time the use of such offices. The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union; and so far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thoughts and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed unless current events and experience should show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case or emergency my best discretion will be exercised according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of the fraternal sympathies and affections.

THE TWO CONSTITUTIONS—THEIR PRECISE DIFFERENCE.

That our readers may know exactly wherein the Constitution of the Confederate States differs from the Constitution of the United States, I subjoin the following alterations and amendments embracing all that have been made:

ALTERATIONS.

- 1st. The Provisional Constitution differs from the other in this: That the legislative powers of the Provisional Government are vested in the Congress now assembled, and this body exercises all the functions that are exercised by either of both branches of the United States Government.
2d. The Provisional President holds his office for one year, unless sooner superseded by the establishment of a permanent Government.
3d. Each State is erected into a distinct Judicial District—the Judge having all the powers heretofore vested in the District and Circuit Courts; and the several District Judges together compose the Supreme Bench, a majority of them constituting a quorum.
4th. Wherever the word "Union" occurs in the United States Constitution the word, "Confederacy" is substituted.
THE FOLLOWING ARE THE ADDITIONS:
1st. The President may veto any separate appropriation without vetoing the whole bill in which it is contained.
2d. The slave trade is prohibited.
3d. Congress is empowered to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of this Confederacy.
4th. All appropriations must be upon the demand of the President or Heads of Departments.
5th. There is no prohibition on members of Congress holding other offices of honor and emolument under the Provisional Government.
6th. There is no provision for a neutral spot for the location of a seat of Government, or for sites for forts, arsenals and dockyards. Consequently, there is no reference made to the Territorial powers of the Provisional Government.
7th. The section in the old Constitution in reference to capitulation and other direct taxes is omitted; also, the section providing that no tax or duty shall be laid on any exports.
8th. The prohibition on States keeping troops or ships of war in time of peace is omitted.
9th. The Constitution being provisional merely, no provision is made for its ratification.

AMENDMENTS.

- 1st. The fugitive slave clause of the old Constitution is so amended as to contain the word "slave," and to provide for full compensation in cases of abduction or forcible rescue on the part of the State in which such abduction or rescue may take place.
2d. Congress, by a vote of two-thirds, may at any time alter or amend the Constitution.
THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IS REQUIRED TO TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF ALL MATTERS BETWEEN THE STATES FORMING IT AND THEIR OTHER LATE CONFEDERACIES OF THE UNITED STATES IN RELATION TO THE PUBLIC PROPERTY AND THE PUBLIC DEBT.
1st. Montgomery is made the temporary seat of Government.
3d. This Constitution is to continue one year unless altered by a two-thirds vote or superseded by a permanent Government.—N. Y. News.

The following significant hint appears in the Charleston Mercury: Copyright—Some enterprising individual might make a fortune by reprinting Northern copyrights at the South. We depend almost wholly upon the North for our books, and there is now nothing to prevent Southern publishers from printing Northern works, as the Northern publishers have pirated from the English. Any one disposed to embark in the business should do so immediately, in advance of any copyright law.

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THE RENDITION OF LUCY.

For the subject tools and subjects of a law more degrading in its requirements, and more wicked and cruel in its operations than any which even Bomba or Francis ever dared to impose upon the prostrate States of Italy, a law which pre-supposed every man of Ohio to be no better than a dog, and chided fit for a bloodhound's business—for the willing abusers and tools of this law we have no sympathy, and no charity. Our abhorrence of their baseness almost stifles our pity for their degradation. If an inexorable necessity required that base and horrid act, the taking of the woman "Lucy" from her well-earned and rightful home in Cleveland and sending her into the hell of Southern Slavery, a helpless victim to the most cruel system of wrong which the world ever saw—if this sacrifice of all that is holy in our religion, and all that is honorable in our human nature was utterly unavoidable, then, at least, it would be expected that the people of Cleveland would have submitted to it as to a great sorrow and shame. A day of fasting and of public protest against any willing complicity in the deed should have been proclaimed. The Mayor and all the citizens should have had the grace and pretence of decency which Pirate affected, and should have washed their hands of the deed and exclaimed, "we are free of the blood of this innocent person—see ye unto it, ye official kidnappers."

This was the least to be expected of a community instructed in the obligations of religion, the claims of our common humanity, and the high sense of honor which should characterize freemen. But what have we seen? A willing, and even a boastful compliance on the part of a majority of the people with the basest terms of that base law, and no brave word on the part of the minority against it. The few colored men and women in whom all the true manhood of Cleveland seems to be represented, have been overcome, and cruelly punished for their brave but hopeless efforts in behalf of their oppressed sister, and the highest ambition of the city seems to have been to earn for each of its white citizens a brass collar with the motto "FAITHFUL TO SLAVERY." We do not know whether they will get the collars, but they have already got something encouraging in that way from the slaveholding patrons in Wheeling in the shape of a series of official letters and complimentary resolutions from slaverydom, approving their alacrity in hunting and returning fugitives into slavery. Those compliments are gratefully received and published in the Cleveland papers—Republican and all, and no doubt will be thankfully responded to by the high dignitaries of the city. We advise the Mayor to do it—something more may come of it. If not brass collars, at least some badge of infamy or diploma of dishonor.

HIS FAITH SUDDENLY FAILED HIM.

From the day that Mr. Lincoln left Springfield, Illinois, until the afternoon or evening of the day on which he arrived at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, he made proclamation, in all his numerous interviews with the masses, that he relied upon Almighty Power and the support of the people, and that with these he could not fail. At Trenton, New Jersey, he referred to the revolutionary struggles in that locality, the hardships endured, and all that, and the Provisional aid given, and intimated that he was an instrument in the hands of the Almighty, "and this, his almost chosen people," for "perpetuating the object of the great struggle" for independence. At Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, he referred to his dependence upon these agencies for support, and recognized the teachings which went out from that edifice, when the Declaration of 1776 was framed, and said, "my right hand forget its cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if ever I prove false to these teachings." In the public performances at Harrisburg, on Friday afternoon, he spoke in a similar strain; and, yet on that evening, after night closed in and he had ceased to receive company, he seems to have lost his confidence in God and the people, and decided to put his trust in a Highland plaid and other disguises, and a specie train of care, to put him through the state of Maryland and into the district of Columbia. It is a pity that "honest Old Abe" should act thus, and that his faith should fail him so suddenly. God and the people had certainly treated him very well all the way from Springfield to Harrisburg, and he ought, therefore, with candid assurance, to have trusted them one day longer.—Ohio Statesman.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT DAVIS.

Gentlemen of the Confederate States of America: Friends and fellow-citizens: Called to the difficult and responsible station of Chief Executive of the Provisional Government, which you have instituted, I approach the discharge of the duties assigned to me with an humble distrust of my abilities, but with a sustaining confidence in the wisdom of those who are to guide and to aid me in the administration of public affairs, and an abiding faith in the virtue and patriotism of the people. Looking forward to the speedy establishment of a permanent Government to take the place of this, and which by its greater moral and physical power will be better able to combat with the many difficulties which arise from the conflicting interests of separate nations, I enter upon the duties of the office, to which I have been chosen, with the hope that the beginning of our career, as a Confederacy, may not be obstructed by hostile opposition to our enjoyment of the separate existence and independence which we have asserted, and with the blessing of Providence, intend to maintain. Our present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrates the American idea that Government rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish Governments whenever they become destructive of the ends for which they were established. The declared purpose of the compact of Union from which we have withdrawn, was "to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to our posterity;" and when in the judgment of the sovereign States now composing this Confederacy, it had been perverted from the purpose for which it was ordained, and had ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot-box declared, that so far as they were concerned, the government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted a right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776, had defined to be inalienable, of the time and occasion for its exercise, they, as sovereigns,

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