

# VOICE OF THE FUGITIVE.

ENRY BIBB, EDITOR.

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## VOICE OF THE FUGITIVE

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## SPEECH OF HON. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS,

ON THE

President's Message and Fugitive Slave Law.

Delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives, December 9th.

Mr. GIDDINGS rose and said: I move, sir, to insert between the resolution last read, and the one succeeding, the following as a distinct resolution:

Resolved, That so much of said message, and accompanying documents as relates to our domestic policy, be referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. G. continued as follows: It has been usual, sir, for this body, while considering the President's Message in Committee of the Whole, to investigate and examine its political character. In accordance with that freedom of discussion which has usually characterized our consideration of that document, I will avail myself of the present moment to examine that portion which relates to our domestic affairs. I did not anticipate, sir, that the message would be under consideration to-day, and I am not, therefore, prepared at present to give it that examination which I should have bestowed upon it, had I more time for preparation, for examining its details. There are some portions of the message which I heartily approve, which I desire to commend, and in which I most heartily coincide. In its general features and character, its boldness, its candor, its perfect frankness, it is highly to be approved. It is what was due from that high functionary. In all his positions, so far as he hath laid them down, whose readeth can understand. There is no deception, nor any uncertainty in the President's position. Thus far I most cheerfully commend it. But sir, I will call your attention to that portion of it which refers to our domestic policy, as being the most interesting to the House and the country.

But before I proceed to the examination of that portion which relates to the fugitive bill, I will call the attention of the House to the President's views of the veto power. On this point he has not hesitated to speak his own views, and to cast aside and discard the doctrines on which he was elected.

It is well known that in the canvass of 1848, the Whig party avowed it as one of their cardinal principles, that the President should never exercise the prerogative of vetoing a bill unless it was clearly unconstitutional. The President now goes as far in support of the unlimited use of the veto as ever Jackson, or Polk, or Tyler professed to go.

For his boldness and frankness on this point he is entitled to our commendation. But I have a curiosity to see how many of his political friends will face about at this bidding of the Executive and discard their former doctrines.

But it is very evident that the President has an object in this change of views on the subject of the veto. By looking at the latter portion of the message, it is evident that he intends that we shall understand that he will veto any law for the repeal of the fugitive slave bill; and in order to open the way to that result with some show of consistency, it was necessary for him to discard the doctrines on which he was elected. For his candor and boldness in thus casting aside the errors of his party, I think him entitled to our approbation.

The President next quotes that portion of the Constitution in which he says 'the Constitution has made it the duty of the President to see that the laws be faithfully executed.'

The necessity or propriety of this quotation is not so very obvious. I do not think it has been quoted for the last twenty-five years by any President; but it is now evidently quoted in consequence of the difficulties which have attended the arrest of fugitive slaves under this law. It is an intimation that he will use the army and navy to execute this odious enactment.

One prominent feature of the whole message is, however, perfectly obvious. The President intends that the South shall understand that he intends to sustain their institutions.

The Constitution provides that the 'citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States.' He knows that our free colored citizens of the North have been seized in Southern States and sold into bondage—held in degrading servitude; that hundreds, and perhaps thousands, are now bowing beneath the lash in Southern chains.

Sir, does he allude to the return of these freemen? Does he tell us that this paramount law of the land shall be sustained—that he will see it duly executed? No, sir! he has not a word nor an allusion to this transcendent outrage upon the Constitution, while he is particularly upon those laws which relate to the return of fugitive slaves.

Again: he has seen the agents of Massachusetts driven, by mob violence, from South Carolina and Louisiana, when sent there to see the laws executed by their courts for the relief of our freemen who are there held in

degrading servitude; but he makes no allusion to these outrages.

I will now quote, with pleasure, a sentiment in which I fully concur. The President says that 'every citizen who truly loves the Constitution, and desires the continuance of its existence and its blessing, will resolutely and firmly resist any interference in those domestic affairs which the Constitution has clearly and unequivocally left to the exclusive authority of the States.'

This, Mr. Chairman, is the doctrine of the Constitution, the doctrine of its framers. It is the doctrine of the Free Soilers. If there be any one feature of the Constitution, which the whole 'history of its adoption has made plain, it is that slavery is a State institution over which Congress has no control—with which this federal Government has no legitimate powers to interfere. We, sir, of the North, will not be constrained, even by your fugitive laws, to interfere with it. The slavery of Virginia belongs to her. If she possess the power and the disposition to uphold it, we cannot put it down or abolish it. If she sees fit to abolish it, we have no power to interfere to sustain it.

I have often defined the views of antislavery men, and of Free Soilers on this subject. Others have done it; yet we are misapprehended and misrepresented. The very clause of the message now under consideration, shows that the President intended to impute to some portion of our people an intention to interfere with slavery. He should have known that no respectable number of our northern people have expressed any such wish or intention. But for the hundredth time I will say that, under the Confederation, each State held as supreme and unlimited powers over the institution of slavery within its own borders as the Government of Russia holds over its serfs; that no other power on earth possessed the right to interfere in any manner; that at the adoption of the Constitution these powers were retained, and now remain with each State; that no portion of them was delegated to this Government; that we have as much power to-day to interfere with Russia serfdom as with Virginia slavery;—yet this fugitive law was a direct and positive attempt to interfere to involve this Government and the people of the free States in supporting slavery.

Nothing could have been further from the thoughts of those who framed the Constitution. In that Convention Mr. Governor Morris said that 'he never would concur in upholding domestic slavery.' So say I, and so say our people of the North. We never will concur in upholding that institution. Mr. Morris added: 'It is a nefarious institution. It was the curse of Heaven upon the States in which it existed.'

So we say. It is a curse upon those States, but the curse is theirs, not ours, and we will not share in it. Your fugitive law shall not compel us to share in it. Our fathers would not consent to be involved in its crimes—we will not.

Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, said: "While we had nothing to do with slavery in the States, we should be careful to lend no sanction to it." Sir, we will lend no sanction to it, nor shall your fugitive law compel us to sanction it. Mr. Dickinson "thought it a proper subject for the General Government to interfere with, as it affected our national happiness." But Southern members resisted this proposition, and would not consent to any interference.

But, sir, to come more directly to this question of fugitive slaves. The report of the committee giving the form of the constitution contained a clause for the return of fugitives from justice. They were to be delivered up by the Executive of the State to which they fled. It is done at the expense of such State.

On considering this report, Messrs. Butler and Pinckney, of South Carolina, proposed to amend the report, so as to make it the duty to surrender up fugitives from labor in the same manner. But Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania, objected that such an amendment would "compel the free States to do it at the public expense."

Mr. Sherman, of Connecticut, said: "He could see no more propriety in arresting a fugitive servant or slave at the public expense than there would be in arresting a horse.—And Mr. Butler, on these suggestions being made, withdrew his proposition. Sir, not a member of that body dared stand up then and advocate an amendment which should involve us in the expense or disgrace of arresting fugitive slaves. Sir, no stronger evidence of the accuracy of the view which I have expressed could possibly have been left on record.

It was the intention of those framers of the constitution to secure to the master the right to pursue and arrest his slave without molestation or hindrance. They then declare that no law or regulation should be passed by any State, by which the fugitive should be released from service or labor: "non-intervention" was their doctrine. By the Constitution we are bound to deliver up the fugitive slave to his master, in the same manner that we deliver up our friends to the civil officer. We were not permitted to interfere. We are to stand neutral, and permit the master to take his slave if he can.

Sir, did those framers of the constitution intend that northern freemen should leave their shops, their plows, their merchandise, to give chase to fugitive slaves? Why, such an assertion would be a slander, a libel upon those patriots. The law of 1793 was framed in accordance with the constitution. That gave to the master no process for the arrest of his slave. It lends no aid of this Government, or of any of its officers, not of any citizen of any State to aid or assist the master in

arresting or carrying back his slave. That law secures him against interference on the part of any person to prevent him from arresting and returning his slave. Those who had assisted in framing the constitution, assisted in framing this law. They knew the intention of those who framed the Constitution, and I have no doubt carried that intention into the law of '93.

From that day until the agitation of the annexation of Texas, this doctrine of non-interference was held by southern and northern men. In 1843, this new theory of prostituting the power of this Government in favor of slavery was put forth by the then Secretary of State; but no man in this House ever came forward with an argument in favor of that doctrine until the last session of Congress. The gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. Tombs,] not now in his seat, was the first to come forward in this Hall with an argument in favor of this new theory of subsidizing the people of the free States to the support of slavery.

Now, sir, with the President, I repeat, that no lover of the Constitution will seek to interfere in matters left with the States. We will not be made to interfere with it; but I must hasten to another expression of the President.

He tells us "the law is the only sure protection of the weak, and the only efficient restraint upon the strong. This, sir, is said in direct reference to the fugitive slave law. It would seem that the President intended to see how far he could impose upon the intelligence of the people. Sir, what protection does this law lend to the poor, weak, oppressed, degraded slave, whose flesh has often quivered under the lash of his inhuman owner! whose youth has been spent in labor for another; whose intellect has been nearly blotted out? When he seeks an asylum in a land of freedom, this worse than barbarous law sends the officers of Government to chase him down. The people are constrained to become his pursuers. Famishing, fainting, and benumbed with cold, he drags his weary limbs forward, while the whole power of the government under the President's command, the army and navy, and all the freemen of the land, organized into constabulary force, are on his track to drag him back to bondage, under this law. And this law, the President tells us, is the only sure protection to the miserable slave. The expression appears to me, rather insulting to our intelligence.

Sir, there is not a man in this body—there is not an intelligent man in the free States, but knows, if he delivers a fugitive into the custody of his pursuers that he will be carried to the South and sold to the sugar or cotton plantations, and his life will be sacrificed in five years if employed on the sugar plantations and in seven years on the cotton plantations. The men of the North, who look upon this as murder, would as soon turn out and cut the throats of the defenceless negro as to send him back to a land of chains and whips. As soon would they do this as comply with a law which violates every principle of common justice and humanity. The law, sir, holds him who aids in a murder as guilty as he who strikes the knife to the heart of the victim.—Under our law, a man is hanged if he fails to prevent a murder when it is plainly in his power to do so. Such man is held guilty of the act, and he is hanged accordingly. The man who should assist in the capture of a fugitive, would be regarded by us as guilty as he under whose lash the victim expires.

I have compared this capture of a fugitive to a common murder. In doing that I do injustice to the common murderer. To capture a slave and send him back to the South to die under a torture of five years, is far more criminal than ordinary murder.

Sir, we will not commit this crime. Let me say to the President, no power of Government can compel us to involve ourselves in such guilt. No! The freemen of Ohio will never turn out to chase the panting fugitive—they will never be metamorphosed into bloodhounds, to track him to his hiding-place, and seize and drag him out, and deliver him to his tormentors. Rely upon it, they will die first. They may be shot down, the cannon and bayonet and sword may do their work upon them; they may drown the fugitives in their blood, but never will they stoop to such degradation.

Let no man tell me there is no higher law than this fugitive bill. We feel there is a law of right, of justice, of freedom, implanted in the breast of every intelligent human being, that bids him look with scorn upon this libel upon all that is called law.

Sir, I was about to make some comparisons, but perhaps they may be regarded as indelicate. During last Summer two distinguished gentlemen of the same name occupied much of the public attention. One was said to have committed a murder, and the other to have procured the passage of this law. One was hanged for his crime, the other, for his efforts, taken to the Executive Cabinet. One destroyed the life of an individual, the other contributed his efforts for the passage of this law, which must consign hundreds, perhaps thousands, to premature graves. I, sir, cannot speak for others; but for myself I would rather meet my final Judge with the guilt of him who has gone to his final account than of him who now sits in yonder Cabinet.

I will ask the attention of the committee to another, a further expression, intended to add weight to the declaration already noticed.

The President says: "You, gentlemen, and the country, may be assured, that to the utmost of my ability, and to the extent of the power vested in me, I shall at all times, and in all places, take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

Now I have told you what the effects of that law will be. I have pointed out the

course which I think our northern people will take with regard to it. Let the President hurl his taunts at the freemen of the North. Let him speak of the powers vested in him; let him use the bayonet, the sword, and the cannon; let him make himself another Haynau; let him drench our land of freedom with blood; but he will never make us obey that law. The first cannon that opens its sound upon northern freemen tells the death-knell of this Republic! I say what before God and man I feel—that the moment your army or navy confronts the freemen of the North, that moment will bring this Republic to its eternal sleep. I make this remark not by way of menace. I do not merely say that I am speaking my personal intentions in that respect. I state what every enlightened statesman who has read the history of our race, must feel and admit. A free and enlightened and independent people will never be compelled by the bayonet, or cannon, or the sword, to aid in carrying into effect this fugitive law.

It is due to our southern friends, who, from the time of the passing of this law, have perhaps expected that the President, in the event of disinclination to obey it, would send his troops, his minions to enforce it; it is due to them, I repeat, that they should understand that the intelligence and firmness of the freemen of the North cannot be forced into a compliance with its injunctions, and there is no power that can compel them to it.

I am told in an undertone, that power will not be exerted. I hope and trust it will not. If the President be a lover of our republican institutions; if he desire to sustain the Government; if he be a friend of this Union, he will never attempt to enforce this law, or to carry out the menaces contained in that message. These menaces are unworthy of the President: indeed, I do not impute them to him so much as to the counsel by which he is guided. We know that, on the 7th of March, a programme of those measures was put forth at the end of the capitol, and debated there for months; but this fugitive bill, when presented to this House, was passed under the previous question. No discussion of it was allowed. The feelings of the North were not expressed or represented. Our lips were hermetically sealed in order that it might pass and assume the form of law. But, Sir, it can never receive the spirit or force of law. The power of public sentiment is opposed to it, and it will remain a dead letter upon your statute book.

I will now refer to that part of the message in which the President says, "I believe those measures," referring to the bill, "to have been necessary, and required by the circumstances and condition of the country."

I rejoice, Mr. Chairman, that he has boldly avowed this fact. The whole North believed that he was in heart and conscience opposed to this bill. Every whig press in the North said plainly that the President did not favor this bill, that he was coerced—that he signed it by compulsion. It was the Whig doctrine on the veto that compelled him to sign it. The President's views on the question are now before the country, and he avows his position fully. He places himself upon this law; and here I wish to say to the House, *He is in favor of this law*; he not only places himself there, but his administration and his party must stand or fall by this law. I rejoice at it! They must sink or swim, live or die, stand or fall by this enactment. We now know where to find the supporters of slavery and the advocates of freedom. Every man throughout the whole country, at the North and South, may take his position, knowingly, with a full knowledge of the character of the party with whom he acts. Those that support this law must consent to obey it and enforce it to the letter. He who will sustain this law must be willing to pursue the flying bondman as he hastens to the land of freedom.

There is no lingering doubt, no difficulty, no obscurity, resting on that party who supports this Administration. All the Whigs throughout the country (and I speak it with some degree of feeling, for I once had the pleasure of acting with them, when we had principles; then we avowed and acted upon the doctrines I have stated to-day)—all the whigs throughout the country feel that their unity is gone; the party has departed from its doctrines and principles, and has descended, step by step, from its position of 1844, until it has literally become a slave-catching party.

The President informs us that these measures "were adopted in a spirit of conciliation, and for the purpose of conciliation." "I believe," says he, "that a great majority of our fellow-citizens sympathize in that spirit and that purpose, and in the main approve it." Sir, where does the President find this evidence of approval in the popular mind? Does he draw his conclusion from the result of the election in Delaware, New Jersey, or Ohio? Does he find consolation in the election of Michigan or Wisconsin? Or in Massachusetts? Does he not read the doom of this measure from their results? Does he not read the hand-writing upon the wall? Or, does he not see the true indications of the public mind in the popular meetings, the resolutions and expressions of popular indignation now manifesting itself throughout the entire North? Does the denunciation of distinguished leaders of that party give the President encouragement to believe that the law can be maintained?

A distinguished judge in northern Ohio, a leader of the whig party, does not hesitate to say that he will issue a habeas corpus, and will release any slave brought before him under this law. Such is the case in almost all

portions of the northern states. Public sentiment is loud in condemnation of this law; opposition to it is increasing and extending and rolling forward, and no power can stop it until this law shall be stricken from the statute book. Who is the President, that he should threaten and menace the people with his power? Why, Sir, he is merely entrusted with the execution of the public will. He is the creature of their power, dependent upon the popular breath. Sir, they will laugh to scorn his impotent threats.

The President says, near the conclusion of his message, "I cannot doubt that the American people, bound together by kindred blood and common traditions, still cherish a paramount regard for the Union of their fathers; and that they are ready to rebuke any attempt to violate its integrity, to disturb the compromises on which it is based, or to resist the laws which have been enacted under its authority."

A noble sentiment, to which I respond from the deepest feelings of my heart. The Union of our fathers! there is something solemn in it. Look at the thirteen old States. How different was that Union from the present! I revere the Union of our fathers; there is a pleasing solemnity in the recollections of everything that pertains to that Union; but where is it now? How have their sons abandoned it?

Commercial benefits first induced us to abandon the Union of our fathers and annex Louisiana—to associate with a foreign people. Then we again abandoned that Union, and took Florida to our embrace. Then, to extend and perpetuate slavery, we abandoned that Union and brought in slave-holding Texas, assuming her war and carrying devastation, rapine, and bloodshed to the heart of Mexico, in order to extend slavery. And, to cap the climax you have passed this fugitive law, and made the citizens of Ohio, and of all the free States, the catchpoles to Texas slave hunters. Well, Sir, I do not say that northern men have lost all love and regard for the Union. But one thing is certain that, they do not feel that reverence for it which once was so prevalent among us. They feel, sir, less attachment to it than formerly. They now speak of dissolution without dissimulation. And if the Union be exerted for their degradation, by subjecting them to the provisions of this fugitive law, they would greatly prefer to see it dissolved. On this subject I feel no compulsion. More than eight years since, with twenty other members of this body, I addressed the people of the free States, foretelling this state of things:

"We hesitate not to say that *annexation* effected by any act or proceeding of the Federal Government, or any of its departments, would be identical with dissolution. It would be a violation of our national compact, its objects and designs, and the great elementary principles which entered into its formation, of a character so deep and fundamental, and would be an attempt to eternalize an institution and a power so unjust in themselves, so injurious to the interests and abhorrent to the feeling of the people of the free States as, in our opinion, not only inevitably to result in the dissolution of the Union, but fully to justify it. And we not only assert that the people of the free States ought not to submit to it, but we say with confidence, THEY WILL NOT SUBMIT TO IT."

These were the sentiments of one of the ablest statesmen of this nation. They are the sentiments of the "old man eloquent," and of many distinguished Whigs of that day.—And, sir, we know that the prediction has been in part fulfilled.

And, sir, the spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers that was manifested at Bunker's Hill, at Saratoga, and Yorktown, still exists in the North. This same spirit that resisted the stamp act will resist your fugitive slave bill. The spirit which threw the tea into Boston harbor will set your infamous law at a defiance. The spirit which overthrew the power of the British Crown will submit to no force that shall attempt to constrain them to comply with the odious provisions of this enactment.

[Here the hour expired.]

### Father Henson.

Many of our readers are aware of the position which this fugitive from bondage held among the really great men of our Continent. The executive talent which could collect, organize and control a colony of runaway slaves, and shape out of such hopeless materials a virtuous, intelligent and self-respecting community, can hardly be inferior to that which fills with the highest credit the first places in our national administration. He has now sailed for England, to solicit for his brethren in Canada the sympathy and aid of the British public and government. He carries with him introductions and testimonials from the highest functionaries of the provincial government. But among the documents of which he is the bearer, the most interesting is from the Sheriff of the County where he resides, who testifies that during fifteen years, and with a black population of from three to five thousand, not a single negro has come under legal custody or animadversion for any crime or misdemeanor whatever. We rejoice in this, as indicating the possibility that, under proper influences, emandipated negroes may become safe and exemplary citizens, and that there is nothing to be apprehended from their presence, except where suspicion and maltreatment create the very evils which they would avert.—*Christian Register.*

☞ The Indiana Convention adopted, by a large majority, a section prohibiting State debts.

☞ A young woman in New York was caught in the machinery of a mustard factory, and was so horribly mangled, that she died before she could be extricated.

☞ A female 79 years of age was burned to death in New York by leaving a candle near the bed, which set the clothes on fire.

# VOICE OF THE FUGITIVE.

SANDWICH, CANADA WEST.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1851.

## List of Agents.

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NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Edward Brackett, Dover; A. T. Foss, Manchester; Elder Brooks, Great Falls.

## INTRODUCTION.

In introducing the VOICE OF THE FUGITIVES to its patrons, the rules of propriety, as well as a long established custom, make it our duty to set forth some avowal of the principles by which we shall be governed in its editorial management. In doing this, we wish to be honest to ourselves and to our readers. We make no flattering promises in advance, knowing that we shall be judged by our works as they shall appear.

To make a competent editor, we are not un mindful of the fact, that there are several qualifications which are necessary. He must be a man of talent, a ready writer, with prudence and literary attainments, well seasoned with good common sense. But we do not claim for ourselves but a very limited degree of either; therefore, it is pressing necessity alone that has impelled us to the task.

We expect, by the aid of a good Providence, to advocate the cause of human liberty in the true meaning of that term. We shall advocate the immediate and unconditional abolition of chattel slavery every where, but especially on the American soil. We shall also persuade, as far as it may be practicable, every oppressed person of color in the United States to settle in Canada, where the laws make no distinction among men, based on complexion, and upon whose soil "no slave can breathe." We shall advocate the claims of the American slaves to the Bible, from whom it has ever been withheld. We shall advocate the cause of Temperance and moral reform generally. The cause of education shall have a prominent space in our columns. We shall advocate the claims of agricultural pursuits among our people, as being the most certain road to independence and self-respect.

Our political creed shall be to support that Government that protects all men in the enjoyment of Liberty, without regard to color. We shall oppose the annexation of Canada to the United States to the fullest extent of our ability, while that Government continues to tolerate the abominable system of human slavery.

We shall from time to time endeavor to lay before our readers the true condition of our people in Canada, of their hopes and prospects for the future—and while we intend this to be a mouth piece for the refugees in Canada especially, yet we mean to speak out our sentiments as a FREEMAN upon all subjects that come within our sphere; and if others differ with us, as they probably will, on some subjects, all we shall ask will be the toleration of opinion and free discussion, which is the refutation of error and the bulwark of liberty. We shall make no compromise with wrong, nor allow personal controversies in our paper. But any thing written in respectful language, by way of reply or explanation shall always have attention, but we must be the judge of what is suitable to go into our columns.

## ATTENTION.

This paper will be sent to some persons who have never subscribed for it, or been asked to do so by its agents. But as we have good reasons to believe them to be interested in the elevation of the people of color in North America, and especially those who have fled to Canada for their liberty. Hoping and believing, as we do, that they will aid us in the support of such a paper, we forward it to them. If they do not wish it continued they will please return this number.

## PREJUDICE IN CANADA AGAINST FUGITIVES FROM SLAVERY.

The Amherstburg Courier, of Dec. 7th, contains two slanderous communications against the character of the people of color who are settling in Canada. One of the writers signs his name Edwin Sarwill, while the other is a little too modest to plank down his name under such a compilation of base slander and falsehood. We know not who these writers are; at any rate they are not Englishmen. They may be a fraction of the rebels who struck hands with the southern slave-hunters here in 1837-8, and who strove hard to burn our cities, to rob the country of its treasure, and to drag the colored inhabitants back into southern slavery. We hope that every friend of this Government, and of the colored race, will watch with a jealous eye these infernals to human nature, lest they should attempt to play the old game over.—These writers first attempt to excite a public prejudice against the settlement of colored people, and their ground of complaint is, that we

are an inferior race, and that we are ignorant, idle, &c. &c. But to cap the climax, they seem to be awfully afraid that, if the colored people should be allowed to settle in Canada, that the result will be that an amalgamation must take place; they will marry with the whites, and both races will be degraded, and what then? Nothing short of a slave holding philosopher could tell what would be the result.

But who fears amalgamation? Is it the honest and virtuous at heart? or is it the vicious rum-sucking slanderer, who seeks to oppress the poor, and would drive them from their own land if possible into perpetual bondage? We know of no law in Canada which compels a white man to marry a colored female—neither is there the least probability of the white girls here making choice of black men for husbands, whom they have already said were ignorant, idle vicious and degraded. Indeed, we think it would be paying their daughters a very poor compliment to suppose such a thing if the colored people were half as worthless as these writers have represented them. We shall resume this subject again when we have leisure.

## Aid for the Fugitive Slaves.

Several agents from the States have visited this section of Canada just before the close of navigation, with boxes of clothing and food for the poor and needy, who have been driven here by the kidnapping laws of the United States.—Among these messengers of mercy, was the Rev. J. F. Dolbear and Mr. Coe, of Lenawee Co., Michigan; Wm. Stedman, of Portage Co., Ohio; Lewis C. Chatfield, of Madina Co., Ohio; and Joseph Macomber, of Farmington, Ontario Co., N. Y. These kind hearted friends spent several days here, in visiting among the relieved and suffering, relieving their wants, so far as they could. Their visit to this place will be long and gratefully remembered by the fugitives. We think that they must have relieved the pressing wants of about one hundred families before they left here. Yet there is more help wanted to supply their returning wants. There was some things left with us for distribution, most of which have been disposed of accordingly. We know of some who are sick and not able to work to earn bread, to get fire-wood, or to pay house rent.

Within the vicinity of Malden, hundreds have stopped for the winter, so that every house is full or occupied. Rev. Mr. Hotchkiss, and Bro. Kirkland, (his co-laborer) are doing much to instruct and aid our brethren as far as they have means to do with; with the clothes, &c., which have been generously placed in their hands, they have administered to the immediate wants of about 200 families.

Considerable help for the needy has been sent to Chatham, in the vicinity of which place hundreds have settled within three months.—Still we think they may need more help to enable them to stand the winter comfortably. Many other settlements might be mentioned, where there is need of help, which we shall speak of at another time. At all of the above places remittances may be safely made, to the care of the vigilance committees, of whom we have spoken in another place.

In behalf of the destitute, we have the honor to acknowledge the reception of the following articles of clothing from the anti-slavery friends in Genesee Co., Michigan:

One woolen bed quilt and three pair of stockings, sent by the wife of Deason Hitchcock, of Flint, and a sister of the same family sent a good shawl, all of which have been disposed of according to request. We would also gratefully acknowledge the reception of two small boxes, sent in Washington, McCoomb Co. We know not who sent them, as there was no letter accompanying the box. We have distributed most of them. We have kept, and shall continue to keep a record of what is sent to our care, and of what we give away, and to whom it is given, &c.

We have received several letters respecting this subject, one of which is from James Mott, of Philadelphia, but the goods have not yet arrived of which he speaks. We have not room to say more in this paper respecting them.

## Schools for Colored People in Canada.

We know of several such schools within sixty miles of this place, several of which are supported partly by the Government—but still there is need of more. Hundreds of children are growing up in ignorance, where there is no schools. At Malden there is a very large and well conducted school, under the instruction of Mrs. Coywood. There are several schools in that vicinity for colored children, one is taught by Miss Jane Buckner, also one by Miss Turner. There is an interesting school about ten miles from Malden, under the supervision of Rev. Mr. Kirkland, in the settlement which is called New Canaan. Miss Lyons is now teaching the school. In the Township of Windsor we have no school, but there is great need of one. Seven miles above Windsor, there is quite a settlement of colored people who need a school, but have none. In Sandwich township we have great need of a school. Mrs. M. E. Bibb has commenced with 25 pupils at her residence, with the hope that some more suitable place will be provided, and means for carrying on the school properly. Nearly double this number of children would be glad to attend this school, but for want of the necessary provisions they cannot attend. We hope to be able to give more light upon this subject hereafter.

## The Fugitive Slave Case.

We lay before our readers an ably written letter, which will be found in another column, from the New York Tribune. The author does not come up to our standard of "human rights," yet we think such articles will do good.

## GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ., M. P.

This eloquent and devoted reformer, who is now a member of the British Parliament, is in the vicinity of Boston, (Mass.) delivering a course of lectures on British India, &c. He attempted to deliver his first lecture in Faneuil Hall, where his meeting was broken up by a mob of the loafers and counter-hopping boys of Boston. They opposed him only because he is known to be a consistent advocate of Temperance and Freedom, and stands up for the laboring classes of every color, country and clime. He is also opposed by the contemptible pro-slavery citizens who are under the Webster influence, on the ground of his being a foreigner. But the secret is here. About fifteen years ago he visited the United States, at which time he brought to bear his mighty intellect against the American traffic in the bodies and souls of their fellow men; and for this he was mobbed and persecuted wheresoever he went; but by the power of his eloquence, and his unflinching devotion to the cause of down trodden humanity, he converted thousands to the true principles of anti-slavery; and they have reason to fear his influence yet upon this subject. May the blessing of God rest upon him in his labors of love wherever he goes.

## AMHERSTBURG COURIER.

We have spoken in another column, of the lectures of George Thompson, M. P., and of his meeting being broken up by a mob in Boston, &c. The Courier of Dec. 7th, speaks of this disgraceful mob, and says, that "they served him (Mr. T.) just right," "it is an impertinence for any man to go to a foreign country and lecture the people upon the errors of their institutions." We are truly sorry to see an editor on British soil taking sides with mob violence, to put down free discussion upon a moral subject. This is the same spirit that shed the blood of the martyrs, and crucified the Son of God. But if the Courier is right, it is wrong for us to send out missionaries to foreign nations, to expose their errors in order to establish the christian religion.

Mr. Thompson is a devoted christian and philanthropist; he is also one of the most gifted orators of this generation, either in Europe or America, and we think it ill becomes any man to speak disrespectful of one whose life and energies are being devoted to the elevation of the oppressed.

## DANIEL HOTCHKISS.

This devoted friend of humanity has just entered upon his mission among the fugitive slaves in Canada West. He is stationed at Amherstburg, by the American Missionary Association. We never saw the brother before yesterday.—He called on us, and passed the night. We were truly happy to form an acquaintance with him, and believe him to be an able, true-hearted soul, and well qualified for his field of labor. His labor will be mostly to travel among the fugitives, and find out the suffering and needy, and to direct them to where their wants may be supplied. He will also labor in the ministry among them, for their spiritual good. We wish him an abundant success in his labors of love, and hope that he may be well received by our people wherever he may go.

## Temperance Meeting in Sandwich.

On Monday evening, December 29, according to previous notice, a large meeting of the colored inhabitants of Sandwich assembled in the stone barracks, to appoint officers for their Temperance Society.

The meeting was organized by appointing the Rev. C. Brown chairman, and Arthur Williams secretary.

Prayer was offered by Robert Ward, and the temperance pledge read by H. Bibb. Short and animating addresses were then delivered upon the subject of temperance by Messrs. Bibb, Brown, Bullard, Ward, and others.

Several persons came forward and signed the pledge, after which the following persons were regularly elected officers of the society:—Robert Ward, president; Wm. Harrison, vice-president; and H. Bibb, secretary.

The following resolutions were then offered by Mr. H. Bibb, which were adopted by the society:

Resolved, That we believe that two-thirds of the crimes committed, and the suffering that we have witnessed among our people, have grown out of the practice of intemperance.

Resolved, That this society will meet on the first Monday evening in every month, to labor for the advancement of temperance.

The society then adjourned to meet at the same place on the first Monday evening in February next.

ARTHUR WILLIAMS, Secretary.

## FUGITIVE SLAVES IN CANADA WEST.

NOVEMBER 11th, 1850.

Persuant to a call, a large convention of the people of color met in Sandwich, at 10 o'clock, A. M., and organized by appointing Rev. Josiah Henson, President, who opened the meeting with prayer. Thomas J. Gool was appointed Secretary, and H. Brown, Wm. Copland, and E. Cooper, Vice Presidents.

After the object of the meeting was briefly stated by Mr. H. Bibb, he offered a resolution which was carried, for the formation of a Society. He also submitted a set of propositions as the basis of the Society, which, after a spirited debate between Messrs. Bibb, Cooper, and Lightfoot, were adopted—Mr. Cooper being opposed to having the spirit of Temperance incorporated in it as a test for membership. A second reading of the following propositions was called for, and a motion passed, that no Constitution for the Society should be so formed as to conflict with the spirit of these propositions:

The object of this Association shall be to enable every fugitive from slavery, if possible, to become an owner and tiller of the soil, and to

promote the cause of Temperance and education among our people; and that any person who does not sell or use intoxicating drinks as a beverage, and who bears a good moral character, may become a member of this Society, by paying into its treasury the sum of twelve and a half cents.

A motion was then made and carried, that the names should be recorded of all who wished to unite with the Society.

All the business that was then transacted in the Convention was done in the name of the Society.

It was then resolved, that the Chair should appoint a Business Committee, consisting of B. Conisiting, H. Bibb, S. S. Davis, and H. H. Hawkins.

A Committee of five was also appointed to nominate regular officers for the Society during the year, after which the committee reported the following names, which were received and adopted by the Society as their officers during the year:

Rev. Josiah Henson, President,  
George Williams, Vice President,  
H. H. Hawkins, Corresponding Secretary,  
Henry Bibb, Recording Secretary,  
Henry Brent, Treasurer.

The following committee was also appointed to draft a Constitution for the Society, and report the same to it on the fourth Friday of November, at Sandwich, which was adopted:

H. H. Hawkins, S. S. Davis, and H. Bibb.  
AFTERNOON SESSION, 2 o'clock.

The Committee reported (in part) the following Preamble and Resolutions:

Whereas, We have assembled in convention, as a union of colored Americans, under the protection of her Majesty, (Queen Victoria,) discarding all sectarian prejudices and selfishness, in a common, resolve to arise from degradation and poverty, by honesty, industry, and self-respect; putting our trust in God for the final success of our cause, who is the only Being that is truly able and willing to help all classes of men who put their trust in Him; and whereas, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are, Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness," and whereas, the last Session of the Congress of the United States of America repudiated this principle, by the passing of what is called the fugitive slave law, and thereby proved themselves to be hypocrites and infidels to their own doctrine; and whereas, according to that hellish law, there is no spot in the United States upon which colored persons can stand and not be liable to be seized and dragged into perpetual bondage, without a trial by jury, or the privilege of showing their free papers, if they have any; and whereas, Canada is a free country, protected by the laws of Great Britain, therefore,

Resolved, That we duly appreciate the high privileges which we freely enjoy in this land of equal rights, where we have "free soil, free speech, free press, and none but free men; and that we pledge ourselves to do all we can to instruct and persuade our brethren, and that we are willing and determined to discharge the duty of good, peaceable, loyal subjects to her Majesty—the Queen of Great Britain.

Resolved, That we will sternly resist, by all the means which our Creator has placed in our power, every form of oppression, or proscription attempted to be imposed upon us by any class of men, in consequence of condition or color.

Resolved, That this Convention recommend, that all persons of color who settle in Canada make themselves acquainted with the laws of this Government, as far as it may be practicable, and that they strictly obey them as good subjects.

Resolved, That, in order to elevate ourselves as a people, to throw off the dead weights which stand in the way of our religious, political and social elevation, united, vigorous, and persevering effort is necessary among ourselves; for the history of nations plainly show that he who would be free, himself must strike the blow.

The above was accepted and adopted as a part of the Committee's report.

## Second report of the Committee.

Whereas, Fugitives from Southern slavery are flocking to Canada by scores, who are penniless, houseless, and among strangers, most of whom understand agricultural pursuits, but for want of a little pecuniary help to commence with, they are compelled to suffer for the necessities of life; and believing that the friends of humanity, not only in the United States, but in England, Ireland and Scotland, stand willing and ready to help us, if some feasible plan could be properly brought before them, therefore

Resolved, That, in order to improve properly the moral, social, pecuniary, and political condition of the fugitive slaves now in Canada, some general Benevolent Association must lay out a plan that will enable them to become owners of the soil.

Resolved, That we recommend to the people of color in Canada, as far as it may be practicable, to go into agricultural pursuits, as the most certain road to independence and self-elevation.

Resolved, That this Society will aim to purchase thirty thousand acres of government land some where in the most suitable sections of Canada, where it can be obtained for the homeless refugees from Southern slavery to settle upon; and that said lands should never be given away, but sold to said persons at cost, and on such terms as to enable them to pay for it by their own industry.

Resolved, that no person should be allowed to purchase more than 25 acres of said land at cost, and that one-third of all moneys paid in for said lands should be appropriated for the education of the children of those who have settled in Canada as fugitives from slavery; and that the balance should be used for the purchase of more land upon the same principle, from time to time, while slavery shall exist in the United States of America.

Resolved, That we appoint a committee of five, to correspond with the proper authorities of the Home Government, in behalf of their colored subjects in the Western hemisphere, and to make intercession for a donation of the public lands for the escaping bondmen from slavery to settle upon.

Resolved, That an exploring committee of three be appointed to examine the government lands as far as it may be practicable in relation to its value and fertility, and to report thereon, and that they be requested to publish an address to the free people of color in the United States upon the propriety of emigrating to Canada, where they will be recognised as men.

Resolved, That in order to extend immediate help to the suffering and destitute who are daily making their way to Canada, that this Society appoint a vigilance committee of nine,

three of whom should be stationed at Amherstburg, three at Sandwich, and three at Chatham, and whose duty it shall be to look after the wants of all such as may arrive at the above places from slavery, and as far as they can, find them homes and employment, and to take charge of all articles that may be sent to these places for the relief of suffering humanity, and to distribute them to the best advantage among those who are the most needy.

Vigilance Committee.—At MALDEN.—Levi Foster, H. H. Hawkins, and William Ruth.—At SANDWICH.—Henry Bibb, George Williams, and Henry Brent.—At CHATHAM.—James E. Grant, George Ramsey, and O. Griffen.

The Committee also reported the following, in relation to the press, which was adopted:

Whereas, We, as a people, have a great work to accomplish, and we have no instrument that we can use with more effect than the public press—as we struggle against opinions, our warfare lies in the field of thought, embodying ourselves to the field, we need a printing press—for the press is the vehicle of thought—the ruler of opinions. We need a press, that we may be independent of those who have always oppressed us—we need a press that we may hang our banners on the outer wall, that all who pass by may read why we struggle, and what we struggle for, therefore,

Resolved, That we make immediate effort to have a newspaper established in our midst, which shall be the advocate of the colored people in Canada West.

The Convention then voted to have the proceedings of the meeting presented to the editor of the Essex County Freeman, with a request that they should publish it, and with a request also, that all others who are friendly to our cause, should copy the same.

It was then

Resolved, That the Convention tender a vote of thanks to the officers thereof, for the faithful performance of their duty.

Resolved, That this Society now adjourn to meet again at Sandwich on the 1st of Aug., 1851.

JOSIAH HENSON, Pres.

THOMAS J. GOOL, Sect.

We shall publish the Constitution of the above Society in our next.

## WESTERN STATES AND SLAVERY.

One of the most expensive law suits, perhaps, that ever was brought before the United States Circuit Court, in any of the Northern States, is now progressing in Detroit, Michigan. Judge Wilkins is presiding. The suit is brought against certain anti-slavery friends of Cass Co., Michigan, for aiding persons to escape to Canada, who were alleged to have been fugitives from slavery in 1847.

Trantman, the renowned soul-driver, is there acting as their principal agent. We shall give a full account of the trial when it is over.

## ILLINOIS.

The true friends of the slave in that State are up and doing, calling loudly for a State Convention that they may organize the friends of freedom so that they can more effectually roll back the pro-slavery tide which is striving to spread itself over the entire North. They believe the time has come when all the friends of the slave should act earnestly, and, if possible, work in harmony. They believe that the work of agitation should go on in its varied forms of discussion, imparting correct information by means of the Speaker and the Press, and conversation in the social circle; that an organization is necessary for this object, and, therefore, is the first great thing of importance towards advancing the cause in this State. They believe a right state of heart, and an awakened interest to do all that each, as individuals, can do, will insure right action. They, therefore, invite all the friends of the slave to meet as above suggested, and form such an organization, on such principles, and adopt such measures, as they in their united wisdom and fraternity of heart may see best. There never was a time when the public mind was so favorably impressed with the elementary doctrines of anti-slavery as the present, and never before when the Providence of God, the wickedness of man, the circumstances of the times, and the spirit of the age, called more loudly upon us to agitate!

## INDIANA.

In the recent Constitutional Convention an attempt was made to incorporate a clause in their new Constitution to expel the free people of color from the State, and also to prevent others from settling there. But this base attempt was promptly met and defeated by the friends of justice in the Convention, so that the question of migration into that State, so far as colored persons are concerned, is to be submitted to a separate vote of the people, when they vote upon the adoption of the Constitution.

## OHIO.

Ohio is doing much to advance the cause of liberty, especially in the eastern part of the State. Public opinion is growing stronger and stronger every day against the kidnapping law of Congress, and the friends of justice and humanity are moving with uncompromising energy for its speedy repeal.

SLAVE-HOLDING STATES, from which we give the following items:

MURDER OF A MASTER BY A SLAVE.—Mr. William Smith of Johnston County, N. C., who is described as a man of miserly habits, recently took a runaway negro girl belonging to him from from Wilmington Gaol. He carried her home, and as soon as he released her, she seized an ax, struck him on the head and killed him.

Virginia is striving to drive the free people of color from the State by Legislative action.

Kentucky is, or has been, trying to pass an act in her State Legislature to prevent the owners of slaves from setting them free without permission of Government, and to expel from the State all colored persons who are now free; and if they should refuse to go after due notice being given them, to send them by force of law to their State's prison; and the whole South are making the most vigorous efforts to expel, even at the point of the bayonet, the free people of color from the United States.

### STANDING UP FOR THE RIGHT.

The following resolutions were adopted by the colored inhabitants of Chatham, C. W., Dec. 16th, the spirit of which we highly approve of:

*Resolved*, We understand, that the impression exists to some extent in this community, that we, the colored people of Chatham and vicinity, are disposed to connive at pilfering and petty thefts, and that we are inclined to indulge in idleness ourselves and encourage it in others, therefore,

*Resolved*, That we are unalterably opposed to stealing in all its forms, and pledge ourselves to do our utmost to ferret out, and bring to justice, all guilty ones who may seek to take refuge among us.

*Resolved*, That we are the friends of honest labor, and are pledged to exert ourselves to the extent of our ability to discountenance idleness among the colored people, and especially to induce every colored man among us, who is not, to become a free-holder.

*Resolved*, That we are the firm friends of total abstinence, from all that can intoxicate, as a beverage.

*Resolved*, That we are not aware at this time, that the colored people of Chatham have sent any agent to the States, or elsewhere, to collect funds for their benefit, and we would caution our friends everywhere, against receiving any person from Canada, as an agent, unless he bears credentials signed, not only by colored people authorized so to do, but by magistrates. We also advise our friends in the States, not to consign donations of clothing or money to any person in Canada, unless he is sustained by, or is the agent of some missionary society.

*Resolved*, That we return our sincere thanks to the friends in the States, for the donations which they have forwarded to us through the American Baptist and Free Mission Society, and their other agents, and reassure them that they will be distributed in the most judicious manner.

*Resolved*, That we recommend to the colored people in Canada to hold meetings in the several townships where they live, and take decided ground in favor of all these points.

*Resolved*, That we return our sincere thanks to J. C. Brown, for the able manner in which he has presided over the meeting, and to Mr. Brown and Benj. Huntington, for exposing the late colored burglars.

J. C. BROWN, Mod.

S. O. GRIFFIN, Sec.

### Slavery in Michigan.

A female about 16 years of age, has just arrived at my residence, who goes by the name of Maria Douglass. She appears rather stupid, and is also very poorly clad—says that her owners brought her to the village of Ann Arbor, in the month of August, from South Carolina—that they were visiting some of their relations, and that they brought her along to take care of their children. She was never allowed to step out of the house without some one being with her, until the day she made her escape.—Finally there was a friend who informed her that Michigan was a free State, and who also directed her to Canada, where the soil is a little more so.

[From the New York Tribune.]  
CONSTITUTION AND FUGITIVE SLAVES; No. 1  
To the Editor of the Tribune:

With your permission I propose to express an opinion through the columns of your paper, on several points touching the subject indicated by the above title. A very large number of slaves have fled from Southern bondage—some going to Canada for Freedom, and others taking refuge in the Northern States. The effort to capture them under the law recently enacted by Congress, is proving a source of great excitement, not only among the colored people of the North, but also all other classes. The 'peace measure,' so called, has sadly failed of its professed object. Congress could hardly have done anything better adapted to promote agitation, and keep up the excitement in regard to Slavery. If the South mean to make the North a hunting ground for catching slaves, they may rest assured of one thing—that is, the whole subject of Slavery will continue to be agitated by the people. Plain and honest men will have their own thoughts; and if occasionally they speak out, Slaveholders must not be surprised.

What then is the provision of the Federal Constitution, on which slave-catching legislation is sought to be based? We have it in following passage:

"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." Art. 4; sec. 2; clause 3.

This is one of the dark spots to be found on the face of the National Charter. Aside from three, it is the most perfect as well as practical Bill of Human Rights that ever was framed. Let us then examine five questions properly growing out of this provision—that is, its Elementary Clauses—its Legal Reason—its Moral Features—its Executive Agency—its Manner of Execution. All these are important points.

I. ITS ELEMENTARY CLAUSES.—Such a provision ought in all justice to be held to the rigid rules of interpretation. It is manifestly against right and freedom, as it is inconsistent with the whole genius of our Republican System, and ought to be understood as meaning no more than it says. What then does it say?

It describes a human being in a certain State—a MAN, and not a horse or an ox. He is a 'person held to service or labor.' The word 'slave' is not used, because the framers of the Constitution would not disgrace the National Charter with the odious term.—They felt sensitive about their diction. Yet a slave was meant. But for Slavery existing under the State governments, no such feature would have appeared in the Federal Constitution.—It is there at the demand of Slavery, and this only. Much as we regret its existence, we cannot deny facts.

This person must be 'held to service or labor' under the laws of one of the States.—He is to be held in a STATE. This is the word used. It does not mean a Territory; neither does it mean the District of Columbia; it means one of the members of the Con-

federacy—a State, and nothing but a State. The framers of the provision carefully guarded against the idea that the holding could take place under the laws of the Federal Government. They threw the whole responsibility of slave-legislation upon the States.

The person so held must make his ESCAPE from that State. 'Escaping' is the word used. This cannot mean less than that he leaves his master, runs away without any consent or concurrence on the part of the latter. From the moment he touches the soil of freedom by any other method than an actual escape from the local law of Slavery, he becomes *ipso facto* a freeman. The provision does not authorize masters to carry their Slaves into the free States, and then return them into bondage.—This strict interpretation of the word 'escaping' has been the general doctrine of American Courts on this subject. See Stroud's Sketch of the Slave Laws, pp. 165—174.

The person so held and escaping, is described as making his escape into 'another State.' The provision in idea follows the fugitive—Where? From the State in which he is held into 'another' State. This is clearly the language of the clause. State is the antecedent, to which 'another' refers. The man escaping goes not only from a State, but to a State, in order to come within the description of the provision. Merely escaping is not the idea; the place from which and that to which are carefully marked; and in both instances it is a State. If the framers of the Constitution intended more, they could easily have said so, by adding the phrase 'or any other place under the jurisdiction of the General Government.' This they have not done; and hence we do not see that the provision applies to cases of Slaves escaping into a territory or into the District of Columbia. Either of these places might be an Asylum, so far as the language of this provision is concerned. This is not a quibble; it is simply reading the clause as it is written.

The person so held and escaping is supposed to be claimed by a certain 'party.'—'The party to whom such service or labor may be due.' Whether he owes service morally to this party, is not the question; but simply whether he owes it legally, under the laws of the State from which he has escaped. This part of the provision necessarily marked an issue to be tried in some way. A 'claim' is presented, of course to somebody and somewhere. This claim is not an act of violence, but the declaration of a legal title on the part of the claimant. It is necessarily followed by a legal issue, testing its validity, and involving all the questions of fact referred to in the provision. Until these questions are settled by 'due process of law,' there is no evidence that the person claimed by the party claiming is held to 'service or labor'—no evidence that this party is the one to whom 'such service or labor may be due.' The provision assumes a state of facts as constituting the reality of the claim; and if these facts are not present, then there is no claim in the sense of the Constitution. The presence of these facts, however, in a particular case is not to be assumed; since this is the question to be tried and definitely settled. Any other doctrine would place the whole North, black and white, at the mercy of lawless gangs of slave-hunters. It would only be necessary for one man to say to another, 'You are my property by the laws of Georgia;' and here the whole matter would end. Plain is it, that between the assertion of the claim and the actual delivery intervenes the important fact of a trial by a competent tribunal. No slave catcher may touch a man but at his peril, except through a 'due process of law.' In the State of New-York he is a kidnapper, liable to imprisonment for ten years in the State prison, if he seize any man as a Slave "without lawful authority."

The provision having thus recited its conditions, contains two *mandatory* clauses. The first is, that no State shall pass any law or adopt any regulation by which the Fugitive Slave shall 'be discharged from such service or labor.' Any such law or regulation would be unconstitutional. Here it is very plain that the provision addresses itself to the State, and restricts its Legislative power within the limits specified. To comply with it, all that is necessary is to do nothing—to keep off from the statute book any law or regulation contemplating the discharge of the fugitive. It demands no *positive* action on the part of the State to prevent the fugitive slave from coming within its territory. It does not assume that the State is bound to know who are fugitives from slavery. The duty enjoined upon the State is merely a *passive* one. The second clause requires that the fugitive 'shall be delivered up,' in the circumstances specified. The provision commands the delivery, but does not in express words point out the process or the agency. There being no description of the process in the provision itself, the general doctrine that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, undoubtedly becomes the rule applicable to this case. This rule, moreover is to be taken in the usual sense affixed to it in the Constitution, as well as long-standing usage. It includes a trial by jury. This is what the phrase means in the practice of this country. As to the *agency* of this delivery, it is manifest that no party other than the State is here, in the remotest sense, brought to view. We intend to look at this question with some care in the sequel. The whole provision is on its face a *compact* between the States, the one agreeing with the other, and with all, that in no State into which the Slave may flee shall he be discharged from service or labor; but that, into whatever State he goes, being there identified as a Slave by the laws of the State from which he escaped, he shall be delivered up to his lawful claimant. The agency of the Federal Government is not here referred to by the remotest hint. Not a sentence or syllable appears bestowing any power on Congress in the premises. The only agency that is even suggested is that of the State into which the Slave has made his escape. The provision is not a grant of power to any legislative body. It is merely a limitation of State power in one respect, and the imposition of an obligation upon the same power in another

respect. Thus we read the Constitution in regard to fugitive slaves.

II. ITS LEGAL REASON.—Slavery is in itself a thing so odious, so contrary to the first principles of justice, that it can have no existence or defense at common law. Nothing but express Statutes or provisions can support it for an hour. Hence, it is a general principle that as soon as the slave passed beyond the local law of his bondage, his chains melt away. From that moment he becomes free, the curse of Slavery not being permitted to follow him from one civil community to another, without express provision. Property in man is contrary to the law of nations; and hence, it is no part of international law that independent nations should deliver the one to the other, fugitives from slavery. By the law of nations emancipation occurs the instant the victim passes beyond the local law of Slavery; and this general fact shows the judgement of mankind in regard to Slavery.

Now it is plain that this clause of the Constitution was designed to obviate the action of this just and equitable principle. The thirteen States composing the Federal Republic, were independent sovereignties, in some of which slavery was not tolerated, and in others was destined soon to disappear. Had there been no special provision for the capture of slaves, the general rule would have been the law of these sovereignties. The necessity for such a provision is founded in the existence of slavery and the general sentiment of nations against it. It confesses the disfavor of mankind. To ask for it is a substantial indictment of guilt at the bar of the civilized world. It was inserted in the Federal Constitution, to make an exception to a general rule of human justice, as a reluctant concession for the sake of Union on account of the existing toleration of Slavery in some of the States, and the legal and unrendered right of property vested by the laws of those States in the individual slaveholder. It was not an endorsement of slavery, or a commitment of the Constitution, or its framers, or the people, to the principles of this institution. It did not contemplate its extension or perpetuity. It was not designed to weld such an unnatural system, as a permanent feature, upon the political fabric of this country. Of this we have conclusive evidence in the fact, that the very age which produced the Constitution, provided for the abolition of the slave trade, then the fruitful source of slavery; in the fact, that this same age, by the ordinance of 1787 excluded slavery forever from all the Territory then in possession of the Union; and equally in the fact, that the distinguished men of those times were publicly committed against slavery, and viewed it as of brief duration—not dreaming of its extension one inch beyond its then present limits. Within those limits it was tolerated by the laws of the respective States; within the same the slaveholder held an un-surrendered right of property which the Federal Convention could neither reach nor abrogate. He claimed some security for his slave property against the laws of general justice and locomotion; and in these circumstances it was accorded to him by the anomalous provision of the Constitution. A bare concession is the very utmost that can be made of this—a declination to interfere with the legal rights of slavery where it existed. Men opposed to slavery—and perfectly conscious of its repugnance to the fundamental principles of our government did consent that the slaveholder might on the soil of freedom reclaim his slave property. This they did for the sake of Union, couching that consent in such language as to imply no approval of Slavery, no endorsement of the doctrine of 'property in man.' The concession, though really made, is on its face an impeachment of Slavery. It stands out as a mournful exception to the general sense of the civilized world.

### HUMAN RIGHTS.

#### GERRIT SMITH.

The following is an extract from a circular written by this great and good man, it will doubtless be read with deep interest by the true friends of a righteous civil government and the lovers of truth.

"Our great political parties are not religious parties. It is not pretended, that they are. They would scorn to be so considered. Their code of morals, if indeed, it can be said, that they have any, is a very low and a very loose one. The Liberty Party, on the contrary, is emphatically a religious Party. The Bible is its text-book. It honestly aims to go where that book goes, and to stop where that book stops. The Bible is its supreme Constitution; and it admits the obligation of no constitution and no laws, which are repugnant to the morality of the Bible. Many eminent Whigs and Democrats oppose the recent enactment for kidnapping. But they oppose it mainly because it is in conflict with the Federal Constitution. The Liberty Party is as sensible as they of this conflict. It goes farther in the direction; and holds, that every part of American slavery is condemned of the Federal Constitution;—still farther, and holds, that such an abomination, as slavery, is utterly incapable of being legalized; and that what lacks justice, and truth, and all the elements of law cannot be law. But when the Liberty Party would say in a word, why it must oppose this kidnapping enactment, it says, that it is a wicked enactment—contrary to the Bible and to God.—The great mass of even our religious people argue, that this enactment, cruel and wicked as it is, must nevertheless, because it is the work and has the authority of Civil Government, be obeyed. But the Liberty Party, whilst it would 'render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's,' would also render 'unto God the things which are God's.'

The object of the Liberty Party is the establishment of righteous civil government. It believes that this object must be realized ere the vast amount of human wretchedness can be essentially diminished. It believes that righteous civil government is an indispensable instrument in the hands of Christianity for carrying forward her work of saving and blessing the world. Now there is not to

be found, in all the world, even an approach to righteous civil government. Nothing better is to be found, under this sacred name, than anarchy, and the conspiracy of the few against the many. The great natural rights which God makes it the province, and the only province of civil government to protect, are all left unprotected. Indeed, it is almost universally denied—in practice if not in theory—that there are natural and absolute rights. It has become the fashion to resolve all rights into the product of uncertain legislation, or into the allowance of more uncertain usage. The natural and absolute have become but conventional and conditional.

The late election proves the necessity of the Liberty Party. It proves that there are many voters who cannot find a home in parties, which are not, and which, indeed, do not profess to be governed by the unbending principles of Christianity; and which are not, and do not even profess to be, devoted to the realization of the true and Divine idea of civil government, and to the establishment of a civil government righteous in all respects, and toward all classes of its subjects. Such voters are not now, and perhaps never will be, numerous enough to constitute a large party. But, whether few or many, they must constitute a party, because they are drawn together by the force of their common principles.

The Liberty Party should be well organized. It should be as active and united in the spring election, as in the fall election. If suffered to scatter at the less important election, it will be impossible to re-collect it at the more important election. It should have its periodical and frequent Conventions, its lecturers and newspapers. All this is indispensable to keep its principles alive and unimpaired; and to make them most extensively and happily influential. All this is indispensable to preserve a nucleus, around which new converts to its principles may gather, and around which they, also, may gather, who, after their temporary forsaking of it, return to it. Many are now returning to the Liberty Party, if, in truth, it is proper to say, that they, who have a heart to return to it, did really leave it. They left it in form rather than in fact and in heart. They left it, not to abandon, but to promote its principles: and they now return to it, fully convinced that the best way to labor for it is to labor in it.

What a mighty party would the Liberty Party have been at this day had patience and perseverance characterized it; and had all its members been able to withstand the Free Soil tempest! This kidnapping statute would have had the effect to double its numbers. More probably, however, it could not, in that case, have been enacted. The Liberty Party, to be able to control the councils of the nation, does not need a numerical superiority. Its truths, if adhered to and honored, and diffused, by not more than two or three hundred thousand members, would prove an overmatch to the falsehoods of the great political parties, notwithstanding that the millions, who compose these parties, stand identified with those falsehoods. Such is the advantage of the true over the false. Such is the weakness of wrong, when contrasted with the strength of right.

The Liberty Party is indispensable, if it is only, that it may continue to teach, as it has ever taught, that national parties are fast working the ruin of this country. Every one of our national parties is, of necessity, a pro-slavery party:—for the South will abide in no party—will come into no party—but upon the condition, express or implied, that said party shall not molest slavery. Hence, whoever adheres to, or joins the Episcopal, or Presbyterian, or Democratic, or Whig party, (every one of which is a national party) should feel himself bound in honor to stand by slavery. But, what if he does not feel himself thus bound?—nevertheless, he does, in effect, stand by it. What if the Governor Searles and Preston Kings do succeed in producing anti-slavery eddies around themselves?—nevertheless, they and their eddies are swept down stream, and to the side of slavery, by the resistless pro-slavery current of their respective national parties.

I learn, with much gratification, of movements in Northern Illinois, which will, I trust, result in the revival and re-organization of the Liberty Party in that State. Persecutions and oppression, which the friends of freedom in Northern-Indiana are suffering at the hands of pro-slavery courts, will, I hope, along with other causes, lead to the like happy result in that State also. Old Liberty Party men in Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin, are beginning to move in the right direction. And, can Dr. Le Moynes, and other friends of our cause in Pennsylvania, delay much longer to set up anew, in that State, the standard of the Liberty Party? Of Iowa, I cannot speak hopefully, whilst she suffers herself to be represented, as she now is, in her own and in the National Legislature. Nor can I speak hopefully of New Jersey, whilst the city of New York on her one border and the city of Philadelphia on her other border, continue to pour forth resistless streams of pro-slavery and other satanic influences. Poor Tariff bound New England! I do not despair even of her. Her best men are now absorbed with the one idea of anti-slavery. In respect to civil government, they aim at nothing more than an anti-slavery government.—By and by, however, they will take a broader and juster view of things, and will aim at a righteous civil government:—and they will do so, not only because they believe that they are bound to seek for a government righteous in all respects; but because they believe that a government falling short of this character, cannot be relied on even for an anti-slavery character. Regarding righteous civil government, as the great want of the world, I shall have hope of the world when I shall see among men, distinctly and devotedly engaged in bringing about such government, the Charles Sumners and Charles Francis Adamses and Stephen C. Phillipses and William Jacksons and John G. Palfreys, of Massachusetts, and the Samuel Fessendens, of Maine, and John P. Hales, of New Hamp-

shire, and the Francis Gillettes, of Connecticut.

The Liberty Party men of the different States need to renew their acquaintance with each other. To this end they should, in my judgment, hold a Convention, which (although the Liberty party cannot be a National party, until the neck of slavery is broken,) can, for convenience sake, be called a National Liberty Party Convention. A Convention under this name, was held in Oswego, the present autumn. Why should not another be held there, or in Buffalo, next autumn? One need of such a convention is, that it may put in nomination a candidate for President of the U. States—the present Liberty Party candidate refusing to consent to his nomination, and refusing to consent to accept office, if elected. Since we have taken our candidate for Vice President from one of the Eastern States, is it not expedient to take our candidate for President from the West? Can we not find among the Le Moynes of Western Pennsylvania, and the Lovejoys and Collineses of Illinois, and the Crockers and Julians of Indiana, and the Durkees of Wisconsin, a man whom we shall delight to place in the Presidential Chair?

GERRIT SMITH.

[From the Ypsilanti Sentinel.]

### MEETING FOR THE RELIEF OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVES IN CANADA.

Pursuant to notice a few citizens met at the Presbyterian Church, in this place, on Monday evening, Dec. 23d, to consult as to the best measures of securing relief to the suffering fugitives in Canada.

Mr. Mason, a fugitive slave from Canada, was present, and gave a very interesting but painful description of the present suffering and destitution of his countrymen in the Queen's dominions.

After hearing his statements, the meeting organized by appointing Rev. E. Cheever, Chairman, and D. B. Green, Secretary, when the following resolutions were adopted.

*Resolved*, That we deeply sympathize with the hundreds, who have, at a late season of the year, been compelled to leave comfortable houses, and for the sake of freedom, become 'strangers in a strange land,' where they are now suffering for want of the common necessities of life and are now on the eve of absolute starvation and death.

*Resolved*, That in order to afford the needed relief as speedily as possible, a committee of three be appointed to solicit subscriptions of money, provisions and clothing, to be forwarded immediately to Canada, by Mr. Mason, agent of the colored population there.

Whereupon Messrs. Stuck, Phelps and Green were appointed said committee.

The Meeting then adjourned *sine die*.  
E. CHEEVER, Chairman.  
D. B. GREEN, Secretary.

The weather is quite cold, and we have sleighing—but Detroit river is not yet frozen over. The steam Ferry Boats continue to run through the floating ice.

Some of the type with which our paper is printed this week is smaller than we desired it to be; our next will not be so.

Washington, Dec. 26.

It is said that Mr. Rhett will, after he takes his seat in the Senate, submit a proposition requiring of the General Government to enter into negotiations with Great Britain for the extradition and surrender of fugitive slaves having sought refuge in Canada. An effort is being made in the city for raising funds for the establishment of a new paper to advocate Senator Benton's election for the next Presidency.

House.—Mr. McLernand introduced a bill for the re-organizing of the State Department, improving its efficiency and usefulness in foreign affairs.—Referred.

Mr. Reed, of Penn., introduced a bill in favor of granting land to aid in the construction of certain railroads in the State. House adjourned till Monday.

### PROSPECTUS.

### VOICE OF THE FUGITIVES (IN CANADA).

It is to be the title of a Newspaper published by  
Mr. HENRY BIBB,  
AT SANDWICH, CANADA WEST, NEAR DETROIT, MICHIGAN.

It is designed to be an organ through which the refugees from Southern Slavery may be heard both in America and Europe. The first copy will be issued in January, 1851, on a medium-sized sheet, and will be published but twice a month until we shall obtain a sufficient number of subscribers to support a weekly.

To do this, and to spread our cause widely before the world, we would most respectfully solicit all to whom this may come—and especially such as are interested in the elevation of those of us who, after many long years of unrequited toil, have succeeded, by the help of God, in making our way to where we may glorify Him with our bodies and spirits, which are His—to subscribe for the paper. And if any should wish to know whether Fugitives can take care of themselves, after becoming free from bondage, subscribe for the paper. If any wish to know how we enjoy liberty, and what we think of those who have robbed us of our wives, children, and all that is sacred and dear, let them subscribe for the paper. If you would like to give utterance to the dumb by aiding us in proclaiming liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to those that are bound, contribute and subscribe for the paper!

The terms will be One Dollar a year, to be paid always in advance. Will those who are interested in the success of our enterprise give us a lift in the start? Will you act as agents, and forward to us before the 1st of January next? Only make us to feel that we shall be backed up by anti-slavery sympathy, and we shall go forward with strength and courage.

All letters from the United States must be directed to Detroit, Michigan, and those from Canada and England, to Sandwich.

### W. F. PARKER,

No. 157 Woodbridge St., opposite Davis' Hotel, sign of "Point Comfort."

Has fitted up an Eating House, where every delicacy can be furnished in better style than at any other establishment in the city. He is prepared to supply any number of the best cooks and most experienced waiters for parties, &c., on the shortest notice.

P. S. A few day boarders wanted. Det. jan7td

### NEW STAGE LINE.

AMHERSTBURG & WINDSOR.

To start every Tuesday and Friday mornings at 8 o'clock, from Mr. Maria's Hotel, Amherstburg, and from Mr. Beeman's Hotel, Windsor, at 4 o'clock, P. M., on same days.

Very superior covered vehicles, secured from all inclemencies of weather.

Fare—Up and down, fifty cents. L. FOSTER. jan 1-td

### MISCELLANEOUS.

[From the National Era.]

### STANZAS FOR THE TIMES—1850.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER  
The evil days have come : the poor  
Are made a prey ;  
Bar up the hospitable door,  
Put out the fire-lights, point no more  
The wanderer's way.

For pity now is crime : the chain  
Which binds our States  
Is melted at the hearth in twain,  
Is rusted by her tears' soft rain :  
Close up her gates.

Our Union, like a glacier stirred  
By voice below,  
Or bell of king, or wing of bird,  
A beggar's crust, or kindly word,  
May overthrow.

Poor whispering tremblers!—yet we boast  
Our blood and name ;  
Bursting its century-bolted frost,  
Each gray hair on the Northman's coast  
Cries out for shame!

Oh, for the open firmament—  
The prairie free,  
The desert hill sides, cavern-rent,  
The Pawnee's lodge, the Arab's tent,  
The Bushman's tree!

Than web of Persian loom most rare,  
Or soft divan,  
Better the rough rock, bleak and bare,  
Or hollow tree, which man may share  
With suffering man.

I hear a voice : ' Thus saith the Law,  
Let Love be dumb ;  
Clasping her liberal hands, in awe  
Let sweet-lipped Charity withdraw  
From hearth and home.'

I hear another voice : ' The poor  
Are thine to feed ;  
Turn not the outcast from thy door,  
Nor give to bonds and wrong once more  
Whom God hath freed.'

Dear Lord ! between that Law and Thee  
No choice remains ;  
Yet not untrue to man's decree,  
Though spurning its rewards, is he  
Who bears its pains.

Not mine Sedition's trumpet blast  
And threatening word ;  
I read the lesson of the past,  
That firm endurance wins at last  
More than the sword.

Oh, clear-eyed Faith, and Patience, thou  
So calm and strong,  
Angels of God ! be near to show  
His glorious future shining through  
Our night of wrong!

[From the American Temperance Recorder.]

### THE TEMPERANCE TRACT.

BY T. S. ARTHUR.

A young man, who felt a good deal of enthusiasm in the temperance cause, procured some tracts for distribution. He had a dozen, and in the ardor of his feelings, he calculated that at least twelve men, would be reformed through their agency. Having an idle afternoon to devote to the cause, he started out with his dozen tracts in his pocket, his mind somewhat elated in the prospect of the good that was to be done. In walking along, the first who came in his way was a tavern-keeper. 'Here is a good subject,' said Wilton to himself, as the tavern-keeper drew near. 'Let me see what I have that will suit him. Ah, this is it. An appeal to the people on the liquor traffic.' And selecting a tract with this little title, he presented it to the tavern-keeper as they met, saying, as he did so,

'Accept this if you please.'

Taken by surprise, the man received the tract, and the distributor, bowing, moved on.

'A dead shot for him!' thought he; but the thought was scarcely formed ere he felt a hand laid roughly on his shoulder. Turning quickly, he confronted the tavern-keeper, whose face was red with anger.

'What is this?' he demanded imperatively.

'It is a tract,' replied the young man, looking confused.

'See here, my friend! and as the tavern-keeper spoke he withdrew his hand from his shoulder, 'my first impulse was to pitch you over the fence. On second thought, however, I will let you go unpunished for your impudence; but, with this piece of good advice, if you wish to keep out of trouble mind your own business.'

Then crumpling the tract in his hand and tossing it from him contemptuously, he turned away, leaving the young temperance reformer with his enthusiasm in the cause down to zero.

While this state of mind was predominant, the balance of the tracts on hand were thrown over a fence, and, meeting a gust of wind, were scattered apart, and driven in various directions. The distributor returned home, feeling mortified and discouraged. On reflection, however, he was vexed at himself, both for the bungling manner in which he had proceeded, and for his having been so easily thrown off by a rebuff.

'The tracts need not have been wasted,' said he, 'that was a folly of which I ought to be heartily ashamed.'

About an hour after this occurrence, a man came walking along the road, near to where this little adventure took place. A piece of paper caught his eye, and stooping, he picked it up. Moving on, as he opened it, he commenced reading, and was soon deeply interested, for he walked slower and slower, and sometimes stopped altogether. This man was also a tavern-keeper. After reading the tract through, he placed it in his pocket and continued on his way.

'Stop and think, John,' said a wife in an appealing voice to her husband, as the latter was about leaving the house.

'Don't talk to me in that way,' replied the husband impatiently. 'You couldn't act worse if I were a common drunkard.'

'But the danger, John, stop and think of that! There is a lion in the way.'

'I am out of all patience with you, Alice,' said the man; 'a high respect you have for

your husband's good sense and good principles! As if I couldn't enjoy a glass now and then, without being in danger of becoming a miserable sot.'

With this the man turned off and took his way to the tavern, while his wife went weeping into the house. As he walked along, the words she had uttered—"Stop and think" wrung in his ears, and he tried to push them from his thoughts, in order that he might not think. All at once a fresh blast of wind blew from a field that adjoined the road a piece of paper, and, as it fell at his feet, his eye caught the words—

### 'STOP AND THINK.'

The coincidence of language startled him for a moment. He took this piece of paper and commenced reading, and, as he read, he walked slower. One of Wilton's temperance tracts had fallen into his hands. It was a close appeal to the moderate drinker, and set forth his danger in the fullest manner. At last the man stood still. Then he sat down by the road side, still reading on.

'There is danger, he at length murmured, folding up the tract as he spoke. Rising he stood irresolute as to whether he should return home, or keep on his way to the tavern. Had any one thrust the tract into his hand, he would have rejected it; but coming to him as it did, it found his mind prepared to listen unto its appeals. But the love of drink had been formed, and, at the prospect of having its accustomed gratification cut off, began to cry out for indulgence. A combat in the mind of the man was the result; and this continued, until appetite gained the victory so far that he concluded for this time at least to go to the tavern, but to give up the habit thereafter.

'I hate to turn back after I once start to do a thing,' said he as he moved on towards the tavern. 'It's bad luck.'

Still the argument for and against any further indulgence, kept going on, and he could not turn his mind away from it.

At length the sign of the 'Punch Bowl,' whither he was wending his way, came in view, and the sight affected him with the old pleasure. In imagination the refreshing and exhilarating glass was at his lips, and he quickened his pace involuntarily.

As he drew near, he saw the landlord sitting on the porch. The good-natured old fellow did not smile with the broad smile of welcome that usually played over his countenance when a customer approached.

'How are you, to-day, landlord?' said the man cheerfully as he stepped upon the porch.

'Do you know the road you have come?' asked the landlord with a gravity of manner that surprised his customer.

'Yes,' replied the man, 'I've come the road to the Punch Bowl.'

'Better say the road to ruin,' returned the landlord.

'What is the matter?' inquired the man. 'I never heard a landlord talk in that way before.'

'It was the road to ruin to poor Bill Jenkins. That I know too well, and has been the road to ruin of a good many that I don't like to think about. It will be your road to ruin if you keep on; so I would advise you to stop and think a little on the matter. If you want any liquor, you can get it from Jim at the bar; but I'd rather not have your sixpence in my till to-day. I won't feel right about it.'

'What's the matter, landlord? What has put you in this humor?' said the man, who, in his turn became serious.

'I found a piece of paper on the road, as I walked along just now, and it had something printed on it that has set me to thinking. That's the matter. Ah, me! I wish I was in better business. It doesn't make a man feel very pleasant to think, that in building himself up, he had dragged others down, and I'm rather afraid that's my position. So go home, my friend, and don't let the sin of your ruin be on my conscience. You've got to loving liquor a little too well; may be you don't think so, but I know it; I have seen a great many men go down the hill, and I can tell the first steps. You have taken them. Stop and think before you go any farther.'

'Look here, landlord,' said the man after standing thoughtful for a few minutes, 'I'll make a bargain with you.'

'Very well, what about?'

'If you will quit selling, I will quit drinking.'

The landlord did not answer for some minutes, but sat with his eyes upon the floor. At length, rising up slowly, he extended his hand to his customer, and grasping it firmly, said—

'Agreed, it's a bargain!'

A hearty shake sealed the bargain.

An hour afterwards those who went by the Punch Bowl, saw the bar closed. And in less than an hour afterwards, the sad-hearted wife, who had seen her husband walking in the road to ruin, saw him return as sober as when he left, and heard, with gladness, his promise, never again to put the cup of confusion to his lips.

Thus it is that truth, scattered even in the fields and by the road side, finds its way into the minds of men and does its work on their hearts. Our most imperfect and defective efforts are often over-ruled by Providence to the accomplishment of the greatest good.

### No License.

JANE.—Well, Sarah, don't you think we have great reason to rejoice that most of the towns in our State have gone in favor of No License?

SARAH.—Yes, Jane, but it makes me feel sad when I think how many have perished already—had this reform commenced thirty years ago, how much misery might have been prevented; I might have been spared the grief that falls to the orphan's lot—spared, also, the bitterness of weeping over the graves of a father and brother, whose lives were wretched, and whose death was in consequence of the intoxicating cup.

J.—Dear, dear Sarah, indeed I do feel for you very much. I did not think of bringing up sad memories, when I spoke of our temperance victory.

S.—Nor do I think you did; but the past

can never be forgotten—the misery I have endured can never be obliterated from my mind—my heart, so often torn, can never be healed—the recollection of a mother's grief haunts me in my nightly visions—deprived of my natural protectors—an orphan, whose friends are friends from pity. Oh, have I not reason to weep, and wish the past a dream.

J.—Do you think, Sarah, that I thus love you. No, ere I knew your misfortune, I loved you for yourself alone; your virtues endeared you to my heart, and since I have known the story of your griefs, think you I love you less? Far from it. Do you remember Mrs. Brown, of A——, the lawyer's wife.

S.—Yes, Jane, well do I remember how she died, as the fool dieth, as my father died, as my brother died.

J.—As my mother died. Oh, Sarah, I thought to lock this secret in my heart; and while here at school, enjoy a reputation, not mine if known; but you have won my heart, your sorrows my sympathy. Mrs. Brown was my mother. Now, think you I know how to feel for the drunkard's daughter?

S.—Alas! but too well; but why, then, do you wonder that I am unhappy?

J.—I do not—and I should be quite wretched if I would. Weeping over the past, will not wash away the past, so I have long been trying to exert my influence in the cause of temperance. I touch not, taste not, handle not. I endeavor to enlist the youth about me to do the same, but little could I accomplish while license was given to sell. Now, we will work together—we will try to make others happy, and this will be reflected back into our own hearts. Let me dry your tears dear Sarah, let us together hold a jubilee over this law of humanity—rejoice that rum-sellers can now have no license to sell—No License!—Parlor Magazine.

### The Great West.

We copy the following just remarks from a late number of the Dublin Nation:

'In the east there is rising a colossal centaur called the Russian Empire. With a civilized head and front, it has the thews and sinews of a huge barbaric body. There one man's brains moves 70,000,000. There all the traditions of the people are of aggression and conquest in the west. There but two ranks are distinguishable—serfs and soldiers. There the map of the future includes Constantinople and Vienna as outposts of St. Petersburg.'

'In the west an opposing and still more wonderful American empire is emerging. We Islanders have no conception of the extraordinary events which, amid the silence of the earth, are daily adding to the power and pride of this gigantic nation. Within three years, territories more extensive than these three kingdoms, France and Italy put together, have been quietly, in almost "matter of course" fashion, annexed to the Union.

'In seventy years, seventeen new sovereignties, the smallest of them larger than Great Britain have peaceably United themselves to the federation. No standing army was raised, no national debt sunk, no great exertions were made, but there they are. And the late mail brings us news of the organization of three more great States about to be joined to thirty. Minnesota, in the north-west; Deseret, in the south-west, and California on the shore of the Pacific. These three States will cover an area equal to one half of the European continent.

'Nor is this a mere addition on the map. It is not piling barren Pelion upon uncultivated Ossa. It is an actual conquest of new strength and resources. Already has Minnesota its capital—St. Paul—which has its churches, schools, journals, parties, interests, and speculations. The Mormon founders of Deseret are doing what the puritans did in Massachusetts two centuries ago—taking care to possess themselves of the best lands and waters in their new State. Instead of becoming a lawless horde of adventurers, the settlers in California are founding cities, electing delegates, magistrates, sheriffs, and Congress-men, as methodically and intently as if they trod the beaten paths of life on the Atlantic shore of the continent.

'And with this increase of territory there is a commensurate increase of industry in the older States. By recent statistics we perceive that manufactures are rapidly increasing in what were the southern States—most so in the Carolinas and Georgia. The cotton mill is now built beside the cotton field—a formidable sign for Liverpool shippers and Manchester mill owners. In the Northern and Eastern States every torrent is trained to work, Sampson-like, in the mill.

'The census of 1850 about to be taken in the United States, will show a growth of numbers, territory, and industry entirely unexampled in human history. Let the "grey powers" of the old world look to it—let the statesmen of France, Germany and Russia read the census carefully, though it should startle them. Let despotism count every man of these millions as a mortal enemy, and every acre of that vast commonwealth as an inheritance of mankind most gauged to the cause of freedom.

'Let England's ministers, too, read and ponder well on this, and ask themselves whether with such a sea and land rival arising against England, they can afford, by legalizing famine, to force one half our race to flee for a home and laws into the arms and service of that rival already so formidable?'

'But let Ireland take it to heart above all. Let her learn that the growth of nations has not ceased. Fertile energy and a will that will not bend, still build States, whether in the wild pampas of the New World, or the studded and strengthened regions of the old. America is as grand a field for human enterprise as when the ships of Columbus first neared the shores of Guanahani.'

A brute at Mount Holly Iron Works, the other day, ordered a coffin for his deceased child, when the coffin proving too short, he deliberately chopped off the child's feet with an axe.

### LITTLE BOB, THE CABIN BOY.

There is not one of us, however young, but he may do some good. Every little child can be useful. I will tell you how useful a little cabin boy was, who was sailing in a large ship over the wide sea.

Little Bob had a good mother. There is nothing on earth so precious as the example and the prayers of a good mother. Every one who has these blessings, will have to give account to God as to whether he is the better for them. Little Bob was the better for his mother's advice and for her prayers. He treasured up in his memory what she said to him. She sent him to the Sunday school too, and there he learned more than she could have taught him herself. She was a widow, and could not afford to keep him at home doing nothing, or she would not have parted with him. But he was obliged to go to sea to earn a living for himself. The last thing she told him on going away, was to read his Bible and to pray. Bob did this, and the truths he read in his Bible had a great effect upon his mind, and God heard his prayers, and he was indeed a happy boy. As he grew taller and older day by day, he grew in wisdom and in favor with God and men. The captain and sailors in the ship were thoughtful and wicked men, but they could not help loving Bob, he was so good, and so gentle, and so industrious.

It happened that on the voyage, the sailors quarrelled with the captain, who was so proud and overbearing, that none of them would submit to him. This gave the captain so much trouble, and preyed so much on his spirits, that he became very ill; so ill as to be confined to his bed. None of the sailors cared for him; so there he lay very ill, and all alone. No one thought of speaking a kind word to the poor sick captain, but little Bob. His Bible had taught him a lesson which the sailors knew nothing about. It taught him to be kind to everybody, even to those who had used him ill. So he stole softly to the captain's door and knocked. 'Who's there?' asked the captain, in a very gruff voice.—'It's little Bob, sir, can I do any thing for you?' 'Go to your work, you scoundrel,' cried the captain, in an angry tone, 'don't come plaguing me.'

Little Bob stole away even more softly than he came, but his heart was not filled with any angry feeling. He pitied the captain still more than he had done before.

The next day he resolved to try again.—He saw that the poor captain was not on deck and again he went and knocked at his door. 'Who's there?' 'Captain, can I do anything for you to-day?' asked little Bob.—'No, no, go away,' said the captain. Bob was pleased that the captain did not speak in so harsh a voice as he had done the day before, and he made up his mind to try again. Meantime the captain's heart grew warm towards the kind little fellow. He thought how differently he acted from the unfeeling sailors, who had not once inquired for him all the time of his illness; and he determined that if he came again, he would let him in.

When Bob came the next day, the captain said, 'Come in.' Bob walked in on tiptoe, and said very tenderly, 'Please, sir, can I do any thing for you? Shall I make your bed, or get a cup of coffee for you? I'll do it in a minute.' 'Well, Bob, you may, if you like,' said the captain. Away ran Bob, and in a few minutes everything was ready, the coffee, and the hot toast, and he brought it on a tray to the captain's bedside. Bob always carried with him his Bible in his pocket; his poor mother made him promise to do it; and when he brought the coffee, the captain saw one end of it peeping out of the pocket of his jacket.

'What book is that?' said he. 'It is the book my mother gave me,' said Bob; 'the nicest book you ever saw.' 'Can you read it, Bob?' 'O yes, Sir,' said the boy, 'and I should like to read it to you.' 'Ay, you may,' said the captain, 'as soon as I have finished my coffee, you may begin.' Bob cleared away the coffee, and sat himself down on a box by the side of the captain's bed, and opened on the history of Jesus, and read how he went about doing good; how he pitied the wretched; how he healed the sick and forgave their sins. The captain listened very attentively, and asked the boy to come again the next day. From this time, he came every day, and many times in the day, and instructed the poor captain in the knowledge of Jesus the Saviour. The captain asked him many questions, and Bob knew how to answer them; thanks to his mother, and to his Sunday school teacher.

One evening the captain said, 'Leave me that book of yours, Bob; I should like to look at it myself.' Bob willingly left it. The next morning he went as usual, and tapped at the cabin door. No answer came. He tapped again. There was no answer. Again he tapped, and louder. Still there was no answer. He opened the door, and walked in. The captain was on his knees, and the Bible was lying open on the chair before him. Bob spoke; still there was no answer. He came nearer; the captain never stirred. He looked; the captain was dead! He had died on his knees, praying over the Bible. We trust that through the instructions of little Bob, he had sought and found mercy at the hands of the Saviour of sinners. Is there a little boy or a little girl, now reading this story, who is poor as this cabin boy? young as this cabin boy? 'Go and do likewise.'

VOICES FOR PRESIDENT.—The following shows the total popular vote for President at the last six elections:—In 1828, 1,162,118 votes; 1832, 1,290,491 do; 1836, 1,501,263 do; 1840, 2,402,955 do; 1844, 2,702,540 do; 1848, 2,575,284 do; not including South Carolina, where the vote is cast by the Legislature.

The number of vessels belonging to the United States, wrecked during the year ending June, 1848, as shown by official documents, was 585, valued at \$2,021,495. The value of their cargoes was \$2,501,771. Total, \$4,513,176. The total number of lives lost, in connection with the above, was 477. The amount of losses paid by underwriters on vessels and cargoes was \$2,802,819.

### GENERAL JAMES HAMILTON.

This notable individual, whose name and official acts are associated with Nullification, has written a letter to the "People of South Carolina," dated at "Retrieve, Oyster Creek, Brasora county, Texas."

This letter has been greatly lauded by the press, as pregnant with patriotic advice—it may be so—still, as a whole, it is, in our judgment, unworthy such commendation. He undoubtedly tells his "late fellow citizens" some plain truths, and gives some honest advice, predicated upon existing facts; but we can discover nothing advisory or admonitory in the letter that proceeds from an ardent love of our glorious Union, or from any desire to perpetuate the blessings which that Union multiplies, cherishes and protects.

He writes to the People of South Carolina as one having authority to do so, from twenty years of service in the Legislature, Executive and Congressional representation of that state. He tells them that he has traveled through several of the Southern States, and that he has ascertained beyond a question, that not one of the Southern States will join South Carolina in her efforts to secede from or dissolve the Union.

In North Carolina, he says, the people give no signs of animation—they are enjoying refreshing slumber, content "to go on and make her usual amount of tar and turpentine."—That Georgia was sinking rapidly into a patient and philosophic calm, whilst thirteen cents a pound for cotton made them exceedingly opposed to war and revolution. That in Alabama, the feeling of resistance and dissolution, was neutralized by the high price of cotton. That in Mississippi, General Quitman, Senator Davis and others, will probably induce a call of the Legislature, but that they will not approach "within cannon shot of secession." That Senator Foote, with the late President of the Nashville Convention, as an Apostle of Peace, was traversing the State, "with the whole Whig party at his heels." That of Louisiana he would say nothing, save that "the State made an average sugar crop," is good natured, and disposed to "acquiesce" in the aggressions of the North.

He therefore repeats, although South Carolina deems any one of the late acts of Congress good cause for a dissolution of the Union that it is a fact, that a majority of not a single other State, deem all said acts combined, any cause for joining her in her opinion or action.

He says that he advised that the Southern States should appropriate a bounty fund of \$100,000 each, to aid emigrants to go to California, and that, without this or some extraordinary effort, they could not compete with the enterprise of the North. That the South would also lose Utah and New Mexico, unless they did something at once to head the North—that 300 slaveholders in each territory would control the Mexican population.

He asserts that Texas has not surrendered a single inch of territory in which slavery could exist two years; that slaves might as well be taken to the Arctic coasts as to the territory relinquished by Texas; that it would take a gang of niggers from January to Christmas to hunt buffalo to support themselves for a year, and do nothing else; that it is cursed with the aridity of Arabia Deserts, and has a climate lik the Equator and Zembla's frozen coast; that a premium of \$500 and support would not induce a slave-holder to carry a negro above El Passo. He declares, therefore, that the Boundary Bill did not restrict slave territory.

He advises the South Carolinians, if they wish to establish slavery in Utah and New Mexico, that he will stake his life they can do it in six months, if 1000 of her gallant sons will go there and take with them 5000 negroes!

He tells them that "God has given them pluck enough" to annihilation—to be crushed under the walls of their towns—burn their houses, and to raise a "muss generally"—still he counsels them to "hold on"—to "grin and bear it," for civil war is to be preferred, rather than being made the "laughing stock of the whole civilized world."

He says "grin and bear it" only for two years longer, for by that time he thinks something will be done which will unite the whole South in favor of dissolution, and that Virginia will then take the lead.

Finally, he tells them that their great danger is in acting hastily, and without the sympathy and concurrence of the other slave States. He assures them, that in case they resolve "to go it alone," he shall also fight with them—that he knows their dauntless courage—that God has never made a braver people—that upon their own soil "you can whip twice your force, let it come from whence it may"—that the banner of South Carolina will be in the van when the great crisis of dissolution comes and her gallant sons will form the Tenth Legion in any force with which she may be allied. "And in such a cohort, (he adds) if the hand of God does not strike me with death or paralysis, you will find me enrolled."

Such are a few specimens of the "patriotic letter of General Hamilton to the People of South Carolina."—*Cin. Gazette.*

Massachusetts has 994,665 inhabitants by the census just completed.

Judge Andrews, of the Superior Court now in session set aside a verdict yesterday, on the sole ground that one of the jurors held a conversation with one of the jurors touching the matter then in issue.—*Cleveland True Democrat.*

There are 19 Railroads, in Indiana, either in progress, or completed.

John C. Calhoun's Essay on the Constitution will soon be issued, a work of 800 pages, octavo.

A new paper is to be started in South Carolina, to sustain the Union of the States.

FOREIGN COINS.—By a late act of Congress which goes into operation on the 15th inst., Spanish and other coins are to be reduced in value. The Spanish quarters will hereafter be taken only for twenty cents.