# THE RALEIGH TIM TERMS: \$2.50 PER ANNUM IN ADVANCE, OR

### PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY CH. C. RABOTEAU, EDITOR AND PLOPRIETOR.

### RALEIGH, FRIDAY, APRIL 12, 1850.

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VOL III.

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#### SPRECH OF MR. BADGER. ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

Delivered in the Scante, Monday, Murch 18, 1950.

Ma. Parameters It is not surprising, sir, consid-Sing the subject instant of the resolutions submitted by the honorable scalar from Kentucky, (Mr, Cisy) that there should have been a warm and even an ex-Sited debate produced by them in this Home. Nor a it surprising, considering the variety of topics curbraced in these resolutions, that there should have been a great diversity of scatiment among the mem-bers of the body. The delicate nature of the subject out of which these resolutions have grown-to which, directly or indirectly they all relate-furnishes abundant excuse and even justification for the large amount of excited feeling, and warmin, and annuation of discussion, here and elsewhere. I do not rise, Mr. President, with a view of saying any thing which shall tend to aggravate excitement, or at all lessen the prospects of an amicable accommodation of the various matters in dispute, pending between the different portions of this county. On the contrary, while I shall express, with planuess and sincerity, the views which Lenterban, I shall endeavor to avoid saying mything which can give just off-nee. In the re-marks which I shall submit to the Senate, I shall enleaver to cultivate in myself, and, so far as acpends apon me, in others, that spirit of mutual concession, compromise, and kind feeling, in which the Union of the States originated, and by cultivating which alone can it be preserved. There can be no question that the subject under

the consideration of the Senate is vasily important. It is, in my judgment, as important as the value of the Union; and for the estimate of that value, 4 myself pomes, no adequate powers of of computation. Fo us, as a people, it is, indeed, inestimable. When, When, therefore, qualities are moved here which do, either directly or maneetly, involve the continuance of this I nion and the maintenance of the form of Governneat under which we live, I must consider them of such transcendent importance as to be worthy of eve-y exercise of the understanding of every member of this body, and as demanding from us all the exercise of moderation, justice, care, and conciliation, in or-

ler to produce good and avoid evil. In the first place, I concur entirely in what has been so chen suid upon this floor, that there can be no eaceable separation of this Union. From the very nature of the c se-from the character of our insui-intions-from the character of the country-from the nature of our government itself, it is, in my judg-nent, impossible that there can be a peaceable septration of this Union. But if there could be, I agree intirely with the honorable senutor from Kentucky, hat that state of peace in which we might separate nust be specially ended-must terminate in intestine conflicts, in wars, which, from the nature of the case build know no anticable termination, no permanent eace, but, until the superiority of one or the other ide in the conflict should be completely established,

) suggestion of Dismion. Calculations and conject feeling to give interpretation to the great law of | sing them faithfully, ye serve Hun; and therefore | Gentlemen may say : we do not agree : we have | and attempt to plas-The Rate is  $T_{1,2}$  with the sent in Sukershein in The Document  $T_{1,2}$  with the sent in Sukershein in The Document  $T_{1,2}$  with the sent in Sukershein in the Document  $T_{1,2}$  with the sent in Sukershein in the Document  $T_{1,2}$  with the sent in Sukershein in the Document  $T_{1,2}$  with the sent in Sukershein in the Matter in the East-sheit in the South do without the South do without the East-sheit in the South do without the South do without the South is down in the South do without the South do without the South with what south is South do without the South do A WE TRIETISE. For every System limit, and two, the Dollar for the first, and Theory is to be added and the Dollar for the first, and Theory is to be added and the Dollar for the first, and Theory is to be added and the Dollar for the first, and Theory is to be added and the Dollar for the first, and Theory is to be added and the Dollar for the first, and Theory is to be added and the Dollar for the first is a second with the South ? What can the South is without the East? They may do much ; they may exclude to the enropsi-tion to the practiced commentary which the Di-is once gig entre to be adverse by the year. If the theorem is adverse by the year. If the theorem is adverse by the year. If the theorem is adverse by the year. historian account in bucheds and striking instance of the which axion, that all republican controleracius hive an indictont and unavoidable, tenden-

the struggles of military chiefs, for confiscations, insurrection, and deels of darkest line. They will gladden the hearts of those who have proclai med that men are not fit to govern themselves, and shed a disastrous eclipse on the hopes of ra-Solon, in tional freedom throughtat the word. ought to be the crime of political parricide-the dismemberment of our 'fatherland.'

resentation of what will be the fotore and unavoidable results of a separation of the prople of this And when I look at the prospect before us, dread and exil, that I willingly close my eyes upon not rule over one another with rigor." it, and desire to believe that it is impossible it. This is one among the many direct, positive, ould ever be realized.

nitude which I have stated, is there any danger l The country, to apprehend that a discolution may the country, to apprehend that a discolution may blow the action of the Cangress of the United States upon the great questions before us? Is there a probability that such a result may follow any course which Congress may think proper to

and never have been, and trust I never shall be, an whole, but of the individual liberty of the doubt who attends to what he hears in this cham-The most eminest men belonging to this body realskill and dexterity in the uranagement of public measures; that there is danger, that this Union, between the portions of which it is composed, for any length of time, harmonious relation may yet experience convulsions and violent separa-Whether the danger be greater or lesser: tions. ever small, to fear such results, to a man with a patriotic heart it furnishes just the same ground of caution; just the same motive for forbearance; and might breathe from past exertions, and make and diligence for our preservation, as if the daneparations for future conflicts. Sir, the idea of a separation of these States into dis-We all realize this in the ordinary transactions out his own consent, the Judaizing teachers, to al-

waxen poor, and be sold unto thee, thou shalt not pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God: compel him to serve as a bond servant. But as a and whats ever ye do, do it heartily, as to the hired servant, and as a sojourner, he shall be with Lord, and not unto men, knowing that of the Lord cy to dissolution. They will present fields and thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of jubiles. occasions for bollers wars, for leagues and com-her-leagues, for the intrigues of perty statesmen, his children with him, and shill return into his shall receive for the wrong which he hath core. own family, and onto the possession of his fathers | and there is no respect of persons." shall he return. For they are my servants, which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as bondmen. Thou shalt not rule over him with rigor, but shall fear thy God. Both thy ondmen and thy bondmaids, which then shalt his code, proposed no punishment for parricide. have, shall be of the heathen that are round about treating it as an impossible crime. Such, with us you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do And ye shall take them as an inheritance for country into distinct and independent couledera- your children after you, to inherit them for a possession, they shall be your bondmen forever; but it is one so dark, filled with such borrid forms of over your brethren, the children of Israel, ye shall

authoritative approvals by God himself of the in-Now, Mr. President, if the evils resulting from a dissolution of the Union be of the kind and mag-Jewisis theorary. It is not a more toleration, a were exceedingly addicted to fraud, lying, and mere forbearance to prohibit, but an express par-Have we any retion, in the present condition of mission to the Israelites, whom He condescended and cruel to their slaves. Perhaps, also, he was the country, to apprehend that a dissolution may to govern in the stead of a human ruler, to pur-

Slavery, Mr. President, was found, as mentiontake, any decision to which they may come, upon ed by the honorable Senator from Massachusetts, these vexed and harrassing questions? I am not, an existing institution at the time of the Gospei dis-alarmist. I look to the Union of these States as What treatment did it receive from the founders of the palladium, not only of the general safety of that Gespel dispensation? It was approved-first negatively, and then positively. First negatively, eral parts that compose it. I will not undertake because, in the whole New Testament, there is not to state, rir, what amount of hazard we might en- to be found one single word, either spoken by our counter of some domestic convulsion ; but that Saviour or by any of the Evangelists or Apostles, there is more or less reason for apprehension-that there is danger greater or less-no man can rectly condemned. And also affirmatively. To show this, I desire to cite the Senate to two or three passages from the epistle of St. Paal, and to master had the power of life and death over his bring them forward, not with a commentary of any slave. It was a slavery in which bedily hardship ize that we are in a situation which requires great | owr, but with a brief commentary from one of the best men that ever lived, as well'as one of the most learned divines, who spent his life between the though incupable of a peaceable separation, or, years 1721 and 1799 in the kingdom of Scotland, were usually turned at night into one common re-if peaceably separated, incapable of maintaining who never set his foot upon soil where there was a ceptucle, in which each had his cell, and there deslave, and never saw a slave. He gives his opinone in a most able work of his, entitled, "A New Translation, Commentary, and Notes upon the Epistles"-not any hasty production, but the rewhether it is exaggerated on the one hand, or sult of thirty years of his life expended upon this looked upon as too small upon the other; if there subject, which it is said was five times written be any danger, however remote, any reason, how- over by his own hand before its publication. I allude to the celebrared Dr. McKnight of the established Presbyterian church of Scotland.

lie.

In his introduction to the sixth chapter of the first epistle to Timothy, he thus expresses himself : "Because the law of Moses (Exod. 21, 2,) altheir masters, whether they were believers or un-believers, (verses 1, 2;) and by assuring Timothy that, if any persons taught otherwise, he opposed

do not consider yourselves as acreates to neuronly Aud that ye may be supported under the hardening of your lot, recallect what your religion teaches you, that whetever good action any man does, for that, though he should receive no reward from nen, he shall receive at the judgment a reward

from Christ, whether he he a slave or a freeman." I will trouble the Senate with one more quotation. It is from the third chapter of Collossians: "Servants, obey in all things your masters ac-cording to the flesh; not with eye-service, as mennot meet their approbation. ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance, for

Dr. McKnight explains this passage in the fol-

slaves, and because the duties of the hired servant. sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of | during the time of his service, are the same with vant. Upon these principles, in translations of the Scriptures designed for countries where slavery is abolished and servants are freemen, the word doulos may, with truth, be translated a servant. this, and the parallel passage, (Ephesians, 6, 5.) the apostle is very particular in his precepts to

slaves and lords; because, in all the countries stealing, and many of the masters were tyramical disquiet and alienation, with every patriot. DESSRIPTED: precepts it may be inferred that if slaves are justly

acquired, they may be lawfully rotained, as the Gospel does not make vaid any of the political rights of mankind." Now, sir, the institution which existed at the time when Christianity was proclaimed was thus recognized as lawful. It was proper slavery-perpetual slavery-a servitade for life, with the obligation of servitude transmitted to the descendants; and permit me to say, it was a slavery far more hard, far more hable to reproach, far more descrving condemnation, than any thing that has exist-

ed in this country. It was a slavery in which the when committed by slaves, while the same offence | solts. was imposed upon the slaves of a kind and in a receives a milder penalty when committed by degree totally unknown in any State of this repub-The rural slaves often worked in chains, and tained until they were prepared to resume the la-

bors of the following day. It was a slavery in which the domestic servants were subject to every species of exaction from hard and tyrannical mas ters, whose hearts had not been mollified by the benignant influence of Christianity; and of these domestics they who probably had the hardest lot were the tyre women, who waited npon the Roman ladies, and who often received the severest treatment for any want of skill and dexterity in arranging the hair and dresses of their lovely but fasti-dious mistresses, so as to display their charms to the greatest advantage. So christianity found this institution. It took it

poken of, be ione the adoption of his considered, and be time that the question was before the Américan copie, whether the constitution proposed by the con-enter should be adopted, it was the spoken of, the poken of, be ione the adoption of his constitution. At box the many reason to suppose, be time that the question was before the Américan copie, whether the constitution proposed by the con-enter should be adopted, it was the spoken of, the poken of, be ione the adoption of his constitution. At box the poken of, be ione the adoption of his constitution. At box the many reason to suppose, be time that the question was before the Américan copie, whether the constitution proposed by the con-enter should be adopted, it was the spoken of, the poken of, be ione the adoption of his constitution. At box the many reason to suppose, the time the aposter the two races tan concerts and all oppression and cruelty, and inculcated justice, the aposter should be adopted, it was the spoken of, the poken of, be ione the adoption of his constitution. The two races tan concerts at unlear the aposter the two races tan concerts at unlear the aposter the two races tan concerts at unlear the adoption of his constitution. It took it is an instance, and humanity from the master to the anoter the adoption of the tan the spece to the master. It recognized ex. In all human affairs we are obliged to act upon their masters, whether they were believers of that the the two races tan concerts at unlear the adoption of the share point out any change in the grant the share point out any change in the share point out of the share point out of the share point out of the share point on the share point of the share point out of the share point out of the share poi of the slave as property. The offences referred to their condition much in every respect intelera-in the statute, cited in this note, are conspiracies, ble. We must then be mented in every respect intelera-robellions, insurrections. The law of Neural States are then be mented by the states of Neural States are then be mented by the states of Neural States are then be mented by the states of Neural States are then be mented by the states of Neural States are then be mented by the states of Neural States are then be mented by the states of Neural States are then be mented by the states of Neural States are then be mented by the states of Neural States are then be mented by the states of Neural States are then be mented by the states of Neural States are the states are the states of Neural States are the states of Neural States are the states olina, as I suppose the law of every other country, carefully avoids, in regard to offences which erdiimplicate a large number of individuale, the horrid apectacle of indiscriminate slangdter, and therefore authorizes the court there to affix either If the the punishment of death or transportation. centleman had been soliticous, before making this grave charge of sacrificing the principles of justice to the base calculations of pelf, he have looked a little further into the origin of this law. and he would have discovered that, in the preamble of the original law, omitted in the revisal, the motive is set out, which is, to avoid an unnecessary shedding of blood, by enabling the courts after a sufficient example has been made, to give son tence of transportation only. The purpose there-fore, is evident : In the first place, to punish with death the leaders, those who stir and foment this insurrection, and with a just consideration and humanity to withdraw that penalty from sphere nates in guilt, while the safety of the State is consulted by removing them out of the United States. And if the gentleman who wrote this note had not skipped over, in his citation, the 38th tion of the same revised statute, he would have found the extreme care which the legislature look to avoid any hasty conviction of slaves charged with such offences. The legislature knew it was subject upon which the public mind was likely to become excited ; and that section provides the where the testimony of blacks shall be received, for the purpose of convicting the slave, such testi mony shall not be deemed sufficient, unless it i anoported by other and pregnant circumstances. unding to produce conviction of guilt to the must of the jury who may have charge of the offender No, sir. no such motive exists as the writer of this mite supposes. And the reason why in my State that particular offices is punished inflexible death to the white man, is obvious. A white man who joins in such an insurrection stands without excuse, and is necessarily a ring leader. He it not a person imposed upon, but imposing others; and the legislature wisely, and justly de termines that no discretionary modification of the punishment should be left in regard to him, when ngaged in such in insurrection against the peace and lives of the community. But, sir, the whole legislation of my State-Ido not mean to distinmish between that and other southern States speak of her because I know what her laws are is marked by the extremest care for the lives of see slaves who are unfortunate enough to be charged with capital offences. They are tried by we a right to conneel, if not retained by the ow-. assigned by the court. They have a right to charlienge 35 phores peremptorily, and to be shoul in these challenges by their counsel. They in appeal to the supreme court ; and in order to give them the largest security that is attainable a on -: improp r influences, and the benefit of every estegnand against improper conviction, while any

or idea that that great law of charity which says

NO. 19.

New, Mr. President, 1 with it to be distingtly do units others as you would that others should be unto you," forbids you to hold a slave." He who gave that haw of charity under the Out underste d-it is for thet purpose I have brought this subject forward : it is for that purpose 1 have The subject forward 1 of a for that put peer 1 does not contact 1 of a for that put peer 1 does not contact the note to which 1 have called the after to which 1 have outhern friends is, that this is a case not, free old senare, of which I will define the other day, are very difficulty, in which difference of opinion may, without just offence, be entertained ; and hence that no making feeling, no prejudice should result. because we take a view of this subject which does the confirm country in regard to the slaves with

not meet their approbation. Mr. President, in these excited times, it is very difficult to get a culm and quiet consideration of mything connected with this subject. My atten-time control Jona hast, where a slave re-time control Jona hast. in is almost daily arrested by misrepresentations with the murder of a white were wait here Dr. McKnight explains this passage in the fol-lowing note: "Though the word doulds properly signifies a slave, our English translators, in all the places where the duties of slaves are inculcated, have justly translated it servant; because an inculcated, have slaves, and because the duties of the bird servant.

for the motives of others, and even prompt to sup-pose that whatever is done for a wrong and, over whom he has consult with a source that or under a wrong impulse. Now, I deem it prop- repeated blows under ann-nal circumstances. er-though at other times such matters would not the slave at the instant strikes and kills, with be worthy of any consideration-to notice one or evencing by the mesos used, great wickedness, or two misrepresentations with regard to my own crucity, he is only guilty of minshanghter, giving State, of whose laws I happen to know something, due weight to motives of policy and the necessity as well as of the habits and character of her in- for anborhustion.

has well as of the habits and character of her in-habitants. I do this because everything which im-presses upon the general mind of our northern fei-low-citizens that we are a heartless, exacting, un-just, merciless race of people, has a most unbruppy effect upon their disposition and feelings towards us, which react unon our minds: and this is easy.

us, which re-act upon our minds; and this is con- Now, I think I may as bit shallenge the world tinually fomenting and increasing these sources of to show a more tendor consideration for the parsions and feelings of a buinten being than is mani-I saw the other day, accidentally, in taking up newspaper, a note appended to a speech deliver-the supreme court has build hows, by which the ed in another place. In this note I found these hife of an unfortnoise slave was saved, who, smarting under gross ill-treatment, had upon the instant "Nore By MR. MANN .- On repairing to the Law | taken the life of a white man, and with a weapon Library, to ascertain which party was right in re-gard to the above difference of opinion, the se- wish our northern friends to understand, that, in and book I opened contained at least three cases dealing with this subject, they are not dealing where the courts were authorized to sentence a with inhumane relations of society existing among slave to be transported for the commission of an a savage people, but with an institution existing offence for which a white man must be uncoudi-tionally hung. (See North Carolina Rev. Stat. vol. 1, chap. UI. ); 36, 37, 39.) Of course, the rea-mitigated by the coeration of the principles of son of this difference is the permissive subsort of the permission of the principles as an of this difference is the permissive subsort of the permission of the principles as a solution of the permission of the or ten, 'or any other number of offences with death, | ure, is calculated to produce very mischievene "

But then, sir, sheere must be remembered, and whites, or laws denying the benefit of clergy backed at in another point of view. It is with ne (where that relic of bacharism still prevails,) to a  $\frac{1}{2}$  fixed first." the origin of the a matter of no (where that relie of barbarian still prevails.) to a slave, while it is granted to a white man, are succ-ly among the greatest atrocities recorded in the history of the race." Now, sir, I would not be willing to suppose the gentleman who penned these paragraphs capable of willingly misrepresenting an individual, much less the whole people of a State of the Union, but so carried away is he by this subject, that he does not correling to the value of the subject that he does not correling the big who while an individual conduct is concerned, the only dull tence between ourselves and the North is that the does not correling the big who while a big way to be a state of the first mark the moder the subject in the first mark. and he does not perceive that his "of course," in the first pas-sage, manifests a most uncharitable deduction; and he does not perceive that what he says in the second paragraph is in direct conflict and incon-second paragraph is in direct conflict and inconsistency with the first. If the legislature of a in it-old that they should continue or not as shares southern State permits a slave to be transported is a matter of no importance to daternine, be after for an offence for which a white man is put to it is impossible that the two races can convist unmong us, it is a wrong for which we are no more esponsible than our northern brothren. We will not go back again to cast reproach upon the ances tors of either; but in the actual bringing of the African rare here, in the planting them upon our soil in a state of bondage, they are just as much involved he the offence-if offence it be-as we ourselves.

## \$3.00 IF PAYMENT IS DELAYED SIX MONTHS.

erred to by the writers of that admirable series of apers denominated the "Federalists;" and I beg he indulgence of the Senate while I read a brief xtract, conveying the views of those entinent men ; "If these States should either be wholy disunited or only united in partial confederacies, a man must o far youe in Utopian speculations who can serious y laubt that the subdivisions into which they might be hrown would have frequent and violent contests with such other. To presume a want of motives for such contests, as an argument against their existence, ould be to forget that men are ambitious, vindictwe, and rapacious. 'To look for a continuation of armony between a number of independent, unconected sovereigntics situated in the same neighborood, would he to disregard the uniform course of hu. nus events, and to set at defiance the accumulated xperience of ages." If the was a just view of the probable, the certain

its of a separation of these States at that time, and nder the then circumstances, I pray, you, sir, upon what, at the present day, can we found a better sope? Then the States were fresh from the conflict sonel f the revolutionary war. Then not only had they lively remembrance of the contest in which they and fought, and in which they had gathered victory and honor together, but the leading men of that time goors more choice spirits who had carried them rough that recent conflict ; who had established independence of the country ; and who exercised an influence in public affairs proportioned to their Batriotism, their valor, and their wisdom. Then they hight have separated without the same causes of flity and alicantion which must exist in any sep Tration of these States at the present day. If we Reparate now, we do it with feelings of mutual dis-fleast and hitterness. We divide; not by common froment, as partners who can no longer carry on their mont business with mutual profit, each to pursue for nois own separate advantage that course of business dia which he thinks he can best succeed ; but we part mainir the feelings of those who considered themselves instantly wrouged. A sense of injustice and oppress them rankies in the frurts of eacy portion of one of the sew confederacies, and a scale, in the other, of de-

circumstances, "what can ensee," Nuder meh berrow the language of the great English mor-dist, "but a continual exacerbation of harred-an Manutinguistable feud-an increasent reciprocation of itthe a to destroy?"

The question has been asked. What can the stee do? aupposing fleers to be divided and sepachoted into distinct subdivisions, or independent hypercreignities. Allow me to answer that question In the words of one of the most eminent aften whom fling State has ever produced : a man of clear and is supreliensive intellect, of a shund heart, and encasrged and ardent patriotism ; who shed a ghury justion and his native State, and whose name is held with just reportion by every one who a knowledges definised a North Carolinian. At another period of some history, the same question was asked. In the efficience 1831 and 1839, it had become an inquiry-hild subject of disquisition in my own State-and the and his native State, and whose name is held bil anbject of diaquisition bi my own State-and the ref at Judge Caston, in an address delivered in 1832 notefore t. a liter, ry societies of the University, thus Literate of the sol set:

"Threats of resistance, secession, separation, the interview of and silly violence of public declaimers - strive; and it will be that which I have stated - the soul-that is, differently. The soul-that is, differently. The public car is familiarized, and the public But as may adopt a different mode of conducting in the soul-that is, differently. "With countral areas do your for a to your surthly interview of sources of the figure - may that where target to get a to the bard of the figure - may that where target to the sources of the bard of the figure - may that where target to the bard of the bard of the figure - may that where target to the bard of the bard of the figure - may the work to get to the bard of the bard of the figure - may the work to get to the bard of the bar we become common as honsehold words, in the balifule doubt as to the result at which we must

probable evidence, and to provide for probable contingencies, and to respect even the lowest degree of probability, in avoiding dauger and se- the wholesome precepts of Jesus Christ, and the curing safety. I care not whether there be more | doctrine of the Gospel, which in all points is conor less reason to think that a convulsion may be formable to godliness or sound morality. (verse 3,) produced among the people of the different sec- and was puffed up with pride, without posses tions of the Union by the manner in which these questions shall be decided by Congress: if there be any danger, any ground of fear, as men of sense, as men of patriotism, as lovers of our country, we are bound to the most anxious, earnest, persevering efforts to secure the country .---Entertaining these views upon the subject, and

having stated what I believe to be the duty of I profess now to act, and to be always us all, ready to act, upon the principles which I have stated as that which should govern our conduct. In what, Mr. President, have those difficulties their origin? They spring from one single source. They may multiply themselves; they may assume various directions; they may govern and direct the conduct of individuals in various modes; but the whole difficulty lies in slavery as its original It is the existence of that instiand sole source. tution in certain States of this Union, and the ex-

bstence of that institution alone, which has bro't upon us the necessity of considering whether this Union is safe. Entertaining very clear and deci-ded views upon the subject of that institution, and sentiments having been expressed with great confidence by many gentlemen, particularly by the Senator from New York, who sits on this side of the chamber, [Mr. Seward,] as to its nature and character, considered in a religious point of view; it being assumed as a matter of course that that institution itself is atterly opposed to the spirit and law of Christianity, and that it must be taken to be in itself morally evil-evil altogether-and to be tolerated only where we have no power to put it down, I beg leave, though not exactly germane to the political discussion, to aubinit to the Scinte a brief equiry into the correctness of this view. 1

maintain, and shall endeavor to establish that whether the institution of slavery be considered as an evil or not, it is not a sin. It is not in itself a viotion of the Divine law. It was said by the honorable Senator from Massachusetts, in the poble

and able apevch which he delivered the other day, that that institution had existed from the earliest times; that the first writers of history found it existing; that, in the theoretic government of the Jaws, no disapprobation of it was expressed; and that, under the Gospel dispensation, no injunction against it was to be found. That is the troth, sir, against it was to be found. out it is not all the truth. It is clear that this institution, which we find existing in the world before and at the commencement of the Jewish theoeracy, not only was not disapproved of, but expressly recognized, approved, and its continuance ametioned by the Divine Lowgiver of the Jews. Why. Mr. President, if we disabase our minds of

the influence of previors oninings, and undertake to inquire whether the Di ins law of charity condemns the institutions of slave ry; and if in this in-

quiry we subordinate our own judgments to the teaching of the Divine Lowgiver house if, there can

count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blaspherned. And they that have believing masters let them not despite them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithrevelation. ful and beloved, partakers of the benafit. Them things teach and exhort. If any man teach other wise, and consent not to wholesome words, exclu the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud. knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness, from such withdray thyaclf

On this he has the following note: "

"By ordering Timothy to teach slaves to con tinne with and obey their masters, the apostle has showed, that the Christian religion neither alters men's rank in life nor abolishes any right to which they are emitted by the law of nature, or by the law of the country where they live. Instead of enlaw of the country where they live. Instead of en-countging slaves to disobedience, the Gospel makes them more faithful and conscientious. And by sweetening the tempers of masters, and inspiring them with benevolence, it renders the condition of slaves more tolerable than formerly; for in proportion as masters imbibe the true spirit of the Gos pel, they will treat their slaves with humanity, and even give them their freedom, when their services much a favor."

I ask the attention of the Senate to a brief par sage from the sixth chapter of Ephesians. It is in these words:

"Servants, be obedient to them that are you masters according to the flesh, with fear and from bling, in singleness of four heart, as anto Christ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service, as to the Lord. and not to men; knowing that whatsoever good | confided to us is a high and an important one thing any man doeth, the same shall be receive of the Lord, whether he be boud or free."

The passage is thus paraphrased by Dr. Mac Knight in his Commentaries:

"As the Gospel does not cancel the civil rights f mankind, i to the bond servants, shey your masters, who have the property of your body, with fear and trend ling, as Pable to be punished by them for lisabedience; obey also from the integrity of your we disposition, as obeying Christ.

"Do thus, n't marshe when their eye bron you, or they are to excount your work, as those do whose care is to please ment but as boudine not Christ, doing the will of God in this matter from

out reproach, be both members of the same church -that believing masters might have believing slaves ; and it enforced their relative duties upon Gospel principles. Why was it left to exist the church, if wrong in itself ? There was no difficulty at all about emancipation. The restraints upon emancipation were few, and applied only to special cases. The principal were the prohibi-tion to emancipate to the injury of creditors, the restriction of emancipation by testament, beyond a certain number or proportion, and the provision that emancipation by persons under twenty years

of age should be sanctioned by certain respectable official persons. Such were the chief restictrions apon emancipation at the epoch of the Christian

Nothing could be easier than for St. Paul to lave said "Slaves, be obedient to your heathen masters; but I say to you, believing masters, emancipate your slaves : the law of Christ is against that relation, and you are bound therefore n set them at liberty." No such word is spoken. From that day down, the church acted upon precisely the same principlo-both before and after the empire became Christian-the emperors from time to sme (especially the Christian emperors) by interposing laws for the purpose of preventing oppression and injustice to slaves, and the church her excommunications, affording a restraint against barbarous usage on the part of Christian masters.

Now, Mr. President, having an institution a nong us so ancient, so canctioned, surely it can not be that it is, in itself, atterly unlawful and irreconcilable with the spirit and teachings of our divine religion. I cannot conceive, after considring the writings of the Apostles and the continued practice of the church, from its earliest and purest times, which recognize slavery as a lawful nstitution, and enforce the duties growing out of it apon both master and slave, how we, who now hold slaves, are to be put beyond the charities of our race as oppressors and robbers. No, sir, no sir. We stand upon higher and better ground. We justify no injustice, cruelty, or hardship. We laim that we have just rights recognised by the religion we profess, as well as by the laws of the country in which we live, and that, for the possession and just use of them, we should incar reproach here, and we loose we shall incut none herdafter ; though we freely admit that the trust for the manner in which we discharge it, we must give an account hereafter, not because we possess or ex-reise authority-that is right ; that is proper hat is not antiscoligious-that for having been faithless-if faithless we shall be found-to the great dufies which the G. spil inculdates as to the ode in which that antipority is to be used, and the inst restraints to be bad upon it.

I have not made three fomarks because I mp see that they will predice condition apon the indom genilemen who take opposite views ; no in I suppose that such conviction can be orodan ed ; but I wish these gentleman to understand that we do not stand in the light of flagmant to here and oppressors, who have no apparent reason and institution for our conduct. In my mind the whilees of this tostitution in the Christian bound an interest in an an interest in the second s

Well, then, Mr. President, the question arises ..... for it is to this particular purpose that I make these remarks-what is if that we have a right to ask of are porthern and nerthwestern friends and fellow. citizens, in reference to the subject of slavery? ing an existing institution, being such a one aff I have described-it being absolutely neconsary and meximilia, as far as any burgen legislation can he brought to bear, or any buman foresight is to discover, that it must continue-what have we a right to ask from our portherd friends ?

In the first place, we have a right to a k an effeetnal bill for the recapture of fugitive slaves that must lie at the foundation of any prelificaion of feeling between the North and the South. Without is, every attenue to settle the anitating question will be as insecure and tottering as a one built without a suitable foundation. This is a question of right: this is a demand form led unon the constitution: this is not a matter of quen tion or dehate. If there is anything in the constiintion free from doubt, difficulty, or dispute, it is that that instrument gives us a right to have our lagitizes surrandered to us. If the constitution gives hat right, it gives us, as a pecessary consequence of it, a right to demand an effectual bill to carry out the designs of the constitution promptly, and as far as human means will avail, certainly,

Now, Mr President, I desire to say a few words, pon the subject of this hill-what it should, , what is the remedy which we have a right ask, and which the constitution guaranties to ne In the first place. I recard that the framers of the conditution designed to carry out this priniple -- open which this pert of the constitution was founded-that, although the States existed under separate organization, thry should still be consi?? ered as one to this purpose ; that each should pose entire and absolute confidence in the in-Jation of every other State to administer jurtice in round to all its citize found subjects, and the referre, that, both with regard to fugitives from service and fugitive from justice the re should be an imperative chlightlich to restore the respective furinices to the inviscience from which they receiped, and make them amenable in every respect determination of that jurisdiction ; that the two cases stand upon the some foundations, and were intended to be governed by the anna principles. The provision of the constitution us to fugitive from justice is in these words : "A percent charged in any State with trenson,

folony, or other crime, who shall fles from justice recluder is competent to sit upon the trial of my-, and be found in seather State, shall, on dem nd self for my trie and death, no freeholder who is not the exertaince authority of the State from which