

The Potter Journal.

SINGLE COPIES, 10 CENTS.

Dedicated to the Principles of True Democracy, and the Dissemination of Morality, Literature and News.

FOUR CENTS.

VOLUME XII.—NUMBER 41.

COUDERSPORT, POTTER COUNTY, PA., THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 1860.

TERMS.—\$1.25 PER ANNUM.

Terms of Advertising.

Space [10 lines] 1 insertion,	50
Subsequent insertion less than 13,	25
Three months,	2 50
Six months,	4 00
One year,	5 00
And figure work, per sq. 3 ins.	6 00
Subsequent insertion,	50
Column six months,	18 00
Three months,	10 00
Per year,	30 00
Single-column, each inser- tion less than four,	3 00
Additional insertion,	2 00
Double-column, displayed, per annum	65 00
Three months,	38 00
Six months,	16 00
One month,	6 00
Per square	1 00
of 10 lines, each insertion under 4,	1 00
of columns will be inserted at the same rate.	
Administrator's or Executor's Notice,	2 00
Attorney's Notice, each,	1 50
Attorney's Sales, per tract,	1 50
Attorney's Notice, each,	1 00
Attorney's Notice, each,	1 50
Administrator's Sales, per square for 4 acres,	1 50
Business or Professional Cards, each, not exceeding 8 lines, per year	5 00
Legal and Editorial Notices, per line,	10
All transient advertisements must be in advance, and no notice will be taken advertisements from a distance, unless they are accompanied by the money or satisfactory reference.	

Business Cards.

JOHN S. MANN,
TORYNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW,
Coudersport, Pa., will attend the several
Courts in Potter and McKean Counties. All
business entrusted in his care will receive
prompt attention. Office on Main st., oppo-
site the Court House. 10-1.

F. W. KNOX,
TORYNEY AT LAW, Coudersport, Pa., will
regularly attend the Courts in Potter and
the adjoining Counties. 10-1.

ARTHUR G. OLMSTED,
TORYNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW,
Coudersport, Pa., will attend to all business
entrusted to him, with promptness and
fidelity. Office in Temperance Block, second
door, Main St. 10-1.

ISAAC BENSON,
TORYNEY AT LAW, Coudersport, Pa., will
attend to all business entrusted to him, with
care and promptness. Office corner of West
and Third sts. 10-1.

CHARLES BRISMAN,
CABINET MAKER, having erected a new and
convenient Shop, on the South-east corner
of Third and West streets, will be happy to
receive and fill all orders in his calling.
Repairing and re-fitting carefully and neatly
done on short notice.

O. T. ELLISON,
ACTING PHYSICIAN, Coudersport, Pa.,
respectfully informs the citizens of the vil-
lage and vicinity that he will promptly re-
spond to all calls for professional services.
Office on Main st., in building formerly oc-
cupied by C. W. Ellis, Esq. 9-22.

SMITH & JONES,
DEALERS IN DRUGS, MEDICINES, PAINTS,
Oils, Fancy Articles, Stationery, Dry Goods,
Groceries, &c., Main st., Coudersport, Pa.
10-1.

D. E. OLMSTED,
DEALER IN DRY GOODS, READY-MADE
Clothing, Crockery, Groceries, &c., Main st.,
Coudersport, Pa. 10-1.

M. W. MANN,
DEALER IN BOOKS & STATIONERY, MAG-
AZINES and Music, N. W. corner of Main
and Third sts., Coudersport, Pa. 10-1.

G. OLMSTED,
DEALER IN STOVES, TIN & SHEET IRON
WARE, Main st., near opposite the Court
House, Coudersport, Pa. Tin and Sheet
Iron Ware made to order, in good style, on
short notice. 10-1.

COUDERSPORT HOTEL,
F. GLASSMIRE, Proprietor, Corner of
Main and Second Streets, Coudersport, Pot-
ter Co., Pa. 9-4.

ALLEGANY HOUSE,
ANGEL M. MILLS, Proprietor, Coleburg
Potter Co., Pa., seven miles north of Cou-
dersport on the Wellsville Road. 9-4.

LYMAN HOUSE,
C. LYMAN, Proprietor, Ullyesses, Potter Co.,
Pa. This House is situated on the East
corner of Main street, opposite A. Corey &
son's store, and is well adapted to meet the
wants of patrons and friends. 12-11-1y.

D. L. & M. H. DANIELS,
DEALERS IN DRY GOODS, GROCERIES,
Ready-made Clothing, Crockery, Hardware,
Books, Stationery, Hats, Caps, Shoes,
Fancy Goods, &c., Ullyesses, Potter Co.,
Pa. Cash paid for Furs, Hides and
Felt. All kinds of Grain taken in exchange
for trade. 12-20.

Z. J. THOMPSON,
ARRIAGE & WAGON MAKER and RE-
PAIRER, Coudersport, Potter Co., Pa., takes
this method of informing the pub-
lic in general that he is prepared
to do all work in his line with promptness
in a workman-like manner, and upon the
most accommodating terms. Payment for
repairs invariably required on delivery of
the work. All kinds of PRODUCE
taken on account of work. 1-35.

Port's Corner.

UNDER THE ICE.
BY J. M. BATES.

Under the ice the waters run;
Under the ice the spirits lie;
The genial glow of the summer sun
Shall loosen their fetters by and by.
Moan and groan in thy prison cold,
River of life—river of love.
The winter is growing warm and old,
The frost is leaving the melting mold,
And the sun shines bright above.

Under the ice, under the snow,
Our lives are bound in a crystal ring;
By and by will the south winds blow,
And the roses bloom on the banks of spring.
Moan and groan in thy fetters strong,
River of life—river of love.
The nights grow short, the days grow long,
Weaker and weaker the bonds of wrong;
And the sun shines bright above.

Under the ice our souls are hid;
Under the ice our good deeds grow;
Men but credit the wrong we did,
Never the motives that lay below.
Moan and groan in thy prison cold,
River of life—river of love;
The winter is growing warm and old,
The frost is leaving the melting mold,
And the sun shines warm above.

Under the ice we hide our wrong—
Underneath the ice that has chilled us thro'
Oh! that the friends that have known us long
Dare to doubt that we are good and true!
Moan and groan in thy prison cold,
River of life—river of love;
Winter is growing warm and old,
Roses stir in the melting mold;
We shall be known above.

Political.

The Barbarism of Slavery.

**SPEECH OF
HON. CHAS. SUMNER,**
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Delivered in the U. S. Senate, in Committee of
the Whole on the State of the Union, June
4th 1860.

(SECOND EXTRACT.)

In undertaking now to expose the BAR-
BARISM OF SLAVERY, the whole broad
field is open before me. There is nothing
in its character, its manifold wrong,
its wretched results, and especially in its
influence on the class who claim to be
"ennobled" by it, that will not fall natu-
rally under consideration.

I know well the difficulty of this dis-
cussion involved in the humiliating truth
with which I begin. Senators on former
occasions, revealing their sensibility, have
even protested against any comparison
between what were called the "two civil-
izations"—meaning the two social sys-
tems produced respectively by Freedom
and by Slavery. The sensibility and the
protest are not unnatural, though mistaken.
"Two civilizations!" Sir, in this
nineteenth century of Christian light,
there can be but one Civilization, and this
is where Freedom prevails. Between
Slavery and Civilization there is an es-
sential incompatibility. If you are for
the one, you cannot be for the other; and
just in proportion to the embrace of Slavery
is the divorce from Civilization. That
Slave-masters should be disturbed when
this is exposed, might be expected. But
the assumptions now so boastfully made,
while they may not prevent the sensibility,
yet surely exclude all ground of pro-
test when these assumptions are exposed.
Nor is this the only difficulty. Slavery
is a bloody Touch-not, and every-
where in sight now blooms the bloody
flower. It is on the way side as we ap-
proach the national capital; it is on the
marble steps which we mount; it flaunts
on this floor. I stand now in the house
of its friends. About me, while I speak,
are its most sensitive guardians, who have
shown in the past how much they are
ready either to do or not to do where
Slavery is in question. Messages to deter
me have not been spared. But I should
deserve this high post of duty here,
with which I have been honored by a
generous and enlightened people, if I
could hesitate. Idolatry has often been
exposed in the presence of idolaters, and
hypocrisy has been chastised in the pres-
ence of Scribes and Pharisees. Such ex-
amples may give encouragement to a Sen-
ator who undertakes in this presence to
expose Slavery; nor can any language,
directly responsive to the assumptions
now made for this Barbarism, be open to
question. Slavery can only be painted
in the sternest colors; but I cannot forget
that nature's sternest painter has been
called the best.

THE BARBARISM OF SLAVERY ap-
pears; first in the character of Slavery,
and secondly in the character of Slave-
masters. Under the first head we shall
naturally consider (1) the Law of Slavery
and its Origin, and (2) the practical re-
sults of Slavery as shown in a comparison
between the Free States and the Slave
States. Under the second head we shall
naturally consider (1) Slave-masters as
shown in the Law of Slavery; (2) Slave-
masters in their relations with slaves, here
glancing at their three brutal instruments;
and (3) Slave-masters in their relations
with each other, with society, and with

Government; and (4) Slave-masters in
their unconsciousness.

The way will then be prepared for the
consideration of the assumption of consti-
tutional law.

I. In presenting the CHARACTER OF
SLAVERY, there is little for me to do, ex-
cept to allow Slavery to paint itself. When
this is done, the picture will need no ex-
planatory words.

(1.) I begin with the Law of Slavery,
and its Origin, and here this Barbarism
paints itself in its own chosen definition.
It is simply this: Man, created in the
image of God, is divested of his human
character, and declared to be a "chattel"
—that is, a beast, a thing or article of
property. That this statement may not
seem to be put forward without precise
authority, I quote the statutes of three
different States, beginning with South
Carolina, whose voice for Slavery always
has an uttering distinctiveness. Here is
the definition supplied by this State:

"Slaves shall be deemed, held, taken, re-
puted, and adjudged in law, to be chattels per-
sonal in the hands of their owners and pos-
sors and their executors, administrators, and
assigns, to all intents, constructions, and
purposes whatsoever."—*Brev. Dig.*, 229.

And here is the definition supplied by
the Civil Code of Louisiana.

"A slave is one who is in the power of a
master to whom he belongs. The master may
sell him, dispose of his person, his industry,
and his labor. He can do nothing, possess
nothing, nor acquire anything, but what must
belong to his master."—*Civil Code*, art. 35.

In similar spirit, the law of Maryland
thus directly defines a slave as an article:

"In case the personal property of a ward
shall consist of specific articles, such as slaves,
working beasts, animals of any kind, the
court, if it deem it advantageous for the ward,
may at any time pass an order for the sale
thereof."—*Statutes of Maryland*.

Not to occupy time unnecessarily, I
present a summary of the pretended law
defining Slavery in all the Slave States,
as made by a careful writer, Judge Stroud,
in a work of juridical as well as philan-
thropic merit.

"The cardinal principle of Slavery—that
the slave is not to be ranked among sentient
beings, but among things—is an article of
property—a chattel personal—obtains as un-
doubted law in all of these [Slave] States."
—*Stroud's Law of Slavery*, p. 22.

Out of this definition; as from a solitary
gem; which in its pettiness might be
crushed by the hand, towers our Upas
Tree and all its gigantic poison. Study
it, and you will comprehend the whole
wondrous growth.

Sir, look at its plain import, and see
the relation which it establishes. The
slave is held simply for the use of his
master, to whose behests, his life, liberty,
and happiness, are devoted, and by whom
he may be bartered, leased, mortgaged,
bequeathed, invoiced, shipped as cargo,
stored as goods, sold on execution, knock-
ed off at public auction, and even staked
at the gaming table on the hazard of a
card or a die; all according to law. Nor
is there anything, within the limit of life
inflicted on a beast which may not be in-
flicted on the slave. He may be marked
like a hog, branded like a mule, yoked
like an ox, hobbled like a horse, driven
like an ass, shivered like a sheep, unaided
like a ear, and constantly beaten like a
brute; all according to law. And should
life itself be taken, what is the remedy?
The Law of Slavery, imitating that rule
of evidence which, in barbarous days and
barbarous countries, prevented a Chris-
tian from testifying against a Mahomedan,
openly pronounces the incompetency of
the whole African race—whether bond or
free—to testify in any case against a
white man, and, thus having already sur-
rendered the slave to all possible outrage,
crows its tyranny, by excluding the very
testimony through which the bloody cru-
elty of the Slave-master might be ex-
posed.

Thus in its Law does Slavery paint
itself; but it is only when we look at de-
tails, and detect its essential elements—
five in number—all inspired by a single
motive, that its character becomes com-
pletely manifest.

Foremost, of course, in these elements,
is the impossible pretension, where Bar-
barism is lost in impiety, by which man
claims property in man. Against such
arrogance the argument is brief. Ac-
cording to the law of nature, written by
the same hand that placed the planets in
their orbits, and like them, constituting
a part of the eternal system of the Uni-
verse, every human being has a complete
title to himself direct from the Almighty.
Naked he is born but this birthright is
inseparable from the human form. A
man may be poor in this world's goods;
but he owns himself. No war or robbery,
ancient or recent; no capture; no middle
passage; no change of climate; no purchase
money; no transmission from hand to
hand, no matter how many times, and no
matter at what price, can defeat this in-
defeasible God-given franchise. And a
Divine mandate, strong as that which
guards Life, guards Liberty also. Even
at the very morning of Creation, when
God said, let there be Light—earlier than
the malediction against murder—He set
an everlasting difference between man

and a chattel, giving to man dominion
over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl
of the air; and over every living thing
that moveth upon the earth:

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

Slavery tyrannically assumes a power
which Heaven denied, while, under its
barbarous necromancy, borrowed from the
Source of Evil, a man is changed into a
chattel—a person is withered into a thing
—a soul is strunk into merchandise.—
Say, sir, in your madness, that you own
the sun, the stars, the moon; but do not
say that you own a man, endowed with a
soul that shall live immortal, when sun
and moon and stars have passed away.

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

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

Fourthly, Slavery paints itself again
in closing the gates of knowledge, which
are also the shining gates of civilization.
Under its plain, unequivocal law, the
bondman may, at the unrestrained will
of his master, be shut out from all in-
structions, while in many places, incredi-
ble to relate! the law itself, by cumula-
tive provisions, positively forbids that he
shall be taught to read; for his soul would
then expand in larger air, while he saw
the glory of the North Star, and also the
helping truth, that God, who made iron,
never made a slave; for he would then
become familiar with the Scriptures, and
the Decalogue still speaking in the thun-
ders of Sinai; with that ancient text,
"He that stealeth a man and selleth him,
or if he be found in his hands, he shall
surely be put to death;" with that other
text, "Masters give unto your ser-
vants that which is just and equal;" with
that great story of redemption, when the
Lord raised the slave-born Moses to deliv-
er his chosen people from the house of
bondage; and with that sublimer story,
where the Saviour died a cruel death, that
all men, without distinction of race,
might be saved—leaving to mankind
commandments, which, even without his
example, make Slavery impossible.—
Thus, in order to fasten your manacles up-
on the slave, you fasten other manacles up-
on his soul. Sir, is not Slavery barbarous?

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

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

—*Poet's "Course of Time," Book VII., 622.*

And a celebrated traveler through Rus-
sia, more than a generation ago, describes
a kindred spirit, who, while on his knees
before an altar of the Greek Church, bor-
rowed; perhaps, from the Mahomedan
Moors who so long occupied Spain; and
besides, our Thirteen Colonies had no
umbilical connection with Spain. Nay, is
it derived from English statutes of Amer-
ican statutes, for we have the positive and
repeated averment of the Senator from
Virginia [Mr. Mason,] and also of other
Senators, that, in not a single State of
the Union can any such statute author-
izing Slavery be found. From none of
these does it come.

No, sir; not from any land of civi-
lization is this Barbarism derived. It comes
from Africa; ancient nurse of monsters,
from Guinea, Dahomey and Congo.—
There is its origin and fountain. This
boughten region, we are told by Chief
Justice Marshall, in a memorable judg-
ment (*The Antelope*, 10 Wheaton 2., 66),
still asserts a right, discarded by Chris-
tendom, to enslave captives taken in war;
and this African Barbarism is the begin-
ning of American Slavery. And the
Supreme Court of Georgia, a Slave State
has not shrunk from this conclusion: "It
ceased to hold slave property," says the
Court, "the Georgia planter held the
slave as a chattel, either directly from
the slave-trader, or from those who held
under him, and he from the slave-captain
in Africa. The property in the slave in
the planter, became thus, the property
of the original captor." [*Neal v. Farm-
er*, 9 Georgia Reports, page 555.] It
is natural that a right, thus derived in
defiance of Christendom, should be exer-
cised without any mitigating influence
from Christianity; that the master's au-
thority over the person of his slave—over
his conjugal relations—over his parental
relations—over the employment of his
time—over all his acquisitions, should be
recognized, while no generous presump-
tion inclines to Freedom, and the womb
of the bond woman can deliver only a
slave.

From its home in Africa, where it is
sustained by immemorial usage, this Bar-
barism, thus derived, and thus developed
traversed the ocean to American soil. It
entered on board that fatal slave ship,
"built in the eclipse, and rigged with
curses dark," which in 1620 landed its
cruel cargo at Jamestown, in Virginia,
and it has boldly taken its place in every
succeeding slave ship from that early day
till now—helping to pack the human
freight, regardless of human agony; sur-
viving the torment of the middle passage;
surviving its countless victims plunged
beneath the waves; and it has left the
slave-ship only to travel inseparably from
the slave in his various doom, sanctioning
by its barbarous code every outrage,
whether of mayhem or robbery, of larceny
or lust, and fastening itself upon his offspring
to the remotest generation. Thus are the
barbarous prerogatives of barbarous Afri-
can chiefs perpetuated in American Slave-
masters, while the Senator from Virginia
[Mr. Mason,] perhaps unconscious of
their origin—perhaps desirous to secure
for them the appearance of a less barba-
rous pedigree—tricks them out with a
phrase of the Roman law discarded by
the common law, *partus sequitur ven-
trem*, which simply renders into ancient
Latin an existing rule of African Barba-
rism, recognized as an existing rule of
American Slavery.

Such is the plain juridical origin of the
American slave code, which is now
vaunted as a badge of Civilization. But
all law, whatever may be its juridical
origin, whether English or Mahomedan,
Roman or African, may be traced to oth-
er and ampler influences in nature, some-
times of Right, and sometimes of Wrong.
Surely the law which blasted the slave-
trade as piracy punishable with death had
a different inspiration from that other
law, which secured immunity for the
slave-trade throughout an immense terri-
tory, and invested its supporters with po-
litical power. As there is a higher law
above, so there is a lower law below, and
each is felt in human affairs.

Thus far, we have seen Slavery only in
its pretended law, and in the origin of
that law. And here I might stop, with-
out proceeding in this argument; for, on
the letter of the law alone Slavery must
be condemned. But the tree is known
by its fruits, and these I now shall ex-
hibit; and this brings me to the second
stage of the argument.

(2.) In considering the practical re-
sults of Slavery, the materials are to ob-
vious and diversified, that my chief care
will be to abridge and reject; and here I
shall put each point of the blasting influence
of Slavery.

The States where this Barbarism now
exists excel the Free States in all natu-
ral advantages. Their territory is more
extensive, stretching over 851,348 square
miles, while the Free States, including
California, embrace only 612,587 square
miles. Here is a difference of more than
238,000 square miles in favor of the Slave
States, showing that Freedom starts in
this great controversy, with a field more
than a quarter less than that of Slavery.

And a celebrated traveler through Rus-
sia, more than a generation ago, describes
a kindred spirit, who, while on his knees
before an altar of the Greek Church, bor-
rowed; perhaps, from the Mahomedan
Moors who so long occupied Spain; and
besides, our Thirteen Colonies had no
umbilical connection with Spain. Nay, is
it derived from English statutes of Amer-
ican statutes, for we have the positive and
repeated averment of the Senator from
Virginia [Mr. Mason,] and also of other
Senators, that, in not a single State of
the Union can any such statute author-
izing Slavery be found. From none of
these does it come.

No, sir; not from any land of civi-
lization is this Barbarism derived. It comes
from Africa; ancient nurse of monsters,
from Guinea, Dahomey and Congo.—
There is its origin and fountain. This
boughten region, we are told by Chief
Justice Marshall, in a memorable judg-
ment (*The Antelope*, 10 Wheaton 2., 66),
still asserts a right, discarded by Chris-
tendom, to enslave captives taken in war;
and this African Barbarism is the begin-
ning of American Slavery. And the
Supreme Court of Georgia, a Slave State
has not shrunk from this conclusion: "It
ceased to hold slave property," says the
Court, "the Georgia planter held the
slave as a chattel, either directly from
the slave-trader, or from those who held
under him, and he from the slave-captain
in Africa. The property in the slave in
the planter, became thus, the property
of the original captor." [*Neal v. Farm-
er*, 9 Georgia Reports, page 555.] It
is natural that a right, thus derived in
defiance of Christendom, should be exer-
cised without any mitigating influence
from Christianity; that the master's au-
thority over the person of his slave—over
his conjugal relations—over his parental
relations—over the employment of his
time—over all his acquisitions, should be
recognized, while no generous presump-
tion inclines to Freedom, and the womb
of the bond woman can deliver only a
slave.

From its home in Africa, where it is
sustained by immemorial usage, this Bar-
barism, thus derived, and thus developed
traversed the ocean to American soil. It
entered on board that fatal slave ship,
"built in the eclipse, and rigged with
curses dark," which in 1620 landed its
cruel cargo at Jamestown, in Virginia,
and it has boldly taken its place in every
succeeding slave ship from that early day
till now—helping to pack the human
freight, regardless of human agony; sur-
viving the torment of the middle passage;
surviving its countless victims plunged
beneath the waves; and it has left the
slave-ship only to travel inseparably from
the slave in his various doom, sanctioning
by its barbarous code every outrage,
whether of mayhem or robbery, of larceny
or lust, and fastening itself upon his offspring
to the remotest generation. Thus are the
barbarous prerogatives of barbarous Afri-
can chiefs perpetuated in American Slave-
masters, while the Senator from Virginia
[Mr. Mason,] perhaps unconscious of
their origin—perhaps desirous to secure
for them the appearance of a less barba-
rous pedigree—tricks them out with a
phrase of the Roman law discarded by
the common law, *partus sequitur ven-
trem*, which simply renders into ancient
Latin an existing rule of African Barba-
rism, recognized as an existing rule of
American Slavery.

Such is the plain juridical origin of the
American slave code, which is now
vaunted as a badge of Civilization. But
all law, whatever may be its juridical
origin, whether English or Mahomedan,
Roman or African, may be traced to oth-
er and ampler influences in nature, some-
times of Right, and sometimes of Wrong.
Surely the law which blasted the slave-
trade as piracy punishable with death had
a different inspiration from that other
law, which secured immunity for the
slave-trade throughout an immense terri-
tory, and invested its supporters with po-
litical power. As there is a higher law
above, so there is a lower law below, and
each is felt in human affairs.

Thus far, we have seen Slavery only in
its pretended law, and in the origin of
that law. And here I might stop, with-
out proceeding in this argument; for, on
the letter of the law alone Slavery must
be condemned. But the tree is known
by its fruits, and these I now shall ex-
hibit; and this brings me to the second
stage of the argument.

(2.) In considering the practical re-
sults of Slavery, the materials are to ob-
vious and diversified, that my chief care
will be to abridge and reject; and here I
shall put each point of the blasting influence
of Slavery.

The States where this Barbarism now
exists excel the Free States in all natu-
ral advantages. Their territory is more
extensive, stretching over 851,348 square
miles, while the Free States, including
California, embrace only 612,587 square
miles. Here is a difference of more than
238,000 square miles in favor of the Slave
States, showing that Freedom starts in
this great controversy, with a field more
than a quarter less than that of Slavery.

Such is Slavery in its five special ele-
ments of Barbarism, as recognized by
law; first, assuming that man can hold
property in man; secondly, abrogating
the relation of husband and wife; thirdly,
abrogating the parental tie; fourthly,
closing the gates of knowledge; and fifthly,
appropriating the unpaid labor of
another. Take away these elements,
sometimes called "abuses," and Slavery
will cease to exist, for it is these very
"abuses" which constitute Slavery.—
Take away any one of them, and the ab-
olition of Slavery begins. And when I
present Slavery for judgment, I mean no
slight evil, with regard to which there
may be a reasonable difference of opinion;
but I mean this five-fold embodiment of
"abuse"—this ghastly quintessence of Bar-
barism—each particular of which, if con-
sidered separately, must be denounced as
once with all the ardor of an honest soul,
while the whole five-fold combination
must awake a five-fold denunciation.

But this five-fold combination becomes
still more hateful when its single motives
is considered. The Senator from Missis-
sippi [Mr. Davis] says that it is "but a
form of civil government for those who
are not fit to govern themselves." The
Senator is mistaken. It is an outrage
where five different pretensions all con-
cur in one single object, looking only to the
profit of the master, and constituting its
ever present motive power, which is sim-
ply to compel the labor of fellow men
without wages!

If the offence of Slavery were less ex-
tended; if it were confined to some nar-
row region; if it had less of grandeur in
its proportions; if its victims were count-
ed by tens and hundreds, instead of mil-
lions, the five-headed enormity would find
little indulgence. All would rise against
it, while religion and civilization would
lavish their choicest efforts in the general
warfare. But what is wrong when done
to one man cannot be right when done
to many. If it is wrong thus to de-
grade a single soul—if it is wrong thus to de-
grade you, Mr. President—it cannot be
right to degrade a whole race. And yet
this is denied by the barbarous logic of
Slavery, which, taking advantage of its
own wrong, claims immunity because its
Usurpation has assumed a front of auda-
city that cannot be safely attacked. Un-
happily, there is Barbarism elsewhere in
the world; but American Slavery, as de-
fined by existing law, stands forth as the
greatest organized Barbarism on which
the sun now shines. It is without a sin-
gle peer. Its author, after making it,
broke the die.

If curiosity carries us to the origin of
this law—and here I approach a topic
often considered in this Chamber—we
shall confess again its Barbarism. It is
not derived from the common law, that
fountain of Liberty; for this law, which
unhappily recognises a system of servit-
tude, known as villeinage, secured to the
bondman privileges unknown to the
American slave; protected in his person
against mayhem; protected his wife
against rape; gave to his marriage equal
validity with the marriage of his master,
and surrounded his offspring with gener-
ous presumptions of Freedom, unlike that
rule of yours by which the servitude of
the mother is necessarily stamped upon
the child. It is not derived from the
Roman law, that fountain of tyranny, for
two reasons—first, because this law in its
better days, when its early rigors were
spent—like the common law itself—se-
cured to the bondman privileges unknown
to the American slave—in certain cases
of cruelty rescued him from his master—
prevented the separation of parents and
children, also of brothers and sister—
and even protected him in the marriage
relation; and, secondly, because the Thir-
teen Colonies were not derived from any
of those countries which recognized the
Roman law, while this law even before
the discovery of this continent had lost
all living efficacy. It is not derived from
the Mahomedan law; for under the mild
injunctive of the Koran, a benignant ser-
vitude unlike yours, has prevailed—
where the lash is not allowed to lacerate
the back of a female; where no knife or
branding iron is employed upon any hu-
man being to mark him as the property
of his fellow man; where the master is
expressly enjoined to listen to the de-
sires of his slave for emancipation; and
where the blood of the master, mingling
with his bond woman, takes from her the
transferable character of a chattel, and
confers complete freedom upon their off-

spring. It is not derived from the Span-
ish law; for this law contains humane
elements, unknown to your system, bor-
rowed, perhaps, from the Mahomedan
Moors who so long occupied Spain; and
besides, our Thirteen Colonies had no
umbilical connection with Spain. Nay, is
it derived from English statutes of Amer-
ican statutes, for we have the positive and
repeated averment of the Senator from
Virginia [Mr. Mason,] and also of other
Senators, that, in not a single State of
the Union can any such statute author-
izing Slavery be found. From none of
these does it come.

No, sir; not from any land of civi-
lization is this Barbarism derived. It comes
from Africa; ancient nurse of monsters,
from Guinea, Dahomey and Congo.—
There is its origin and fountain. This
boughten region, we are told by Chief
Justice Marshall, in a memorable judg-
ment (*The Antelope*, 10 Wheaton 2., 66),
still asserts a right, discarded by Chris-
tendom, to enslave captives taken in war;
and this African Barbarism is the begin-
ning of American Slavery. And the
Supreme Court of Georgia, a Slave State
has not shrunk from this conclusion: "It
ceased to hold slave property," says the
Court, "the Georgia planter held the
slave as a chattel, either directly from
the slave-trader, or from those who held