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mish priest is known to be vicious? Does his bishop degrade him from office? Do his fellow-priests discountenance him? Is it felt to disqualify him at all for the duties of his office? No; he is permitted to go on almost without rebuke. The system with which he is connected both makes him vicious, and shields him from the consequences of his vice. This can not be said of Protestantism.

The celibacy of the priesthood is essential to the existence of the church of Rome. Once let the priest marry, give him a home, and he will be, not the subject of a foreign power, but a *citizen*, bound by a thousand ties to the community

around him. He will forget his allegiance to the papal see; he will understand the tyranny and corruption of the system with which he is linked, and soon break away from it entirely. Gregory foresees all this and therefore dreads the incipient movement. But the friends of virtue and of man must in the end prevail over corruption and despotic power, both in the church and in the state. As then we hope for the speedy downfall of the Papacy, we wish success to the reformation now in progress in Bavaria.

We must again postpone the consideration of several important doctrines in the Roman Catholic system of theology.

SHALL WE VOTE TO PERPETUATE SLAVERY?

In our last number, we inquired into the objects which the government of this country has sought to secure by the annexation of Texas to our territory and the incorporation of its inhabitants with our people. We proved from the public documents, and, as we conceive beyond any room for doubt, that these objects were, to prevent the possibility of emancipation in Texas; to promote the interests and strengthen the power of the slaveholding states; to extend the guarantees of the constitution to the perpetual maintenance of our slave system against every danger; and to place this nation in the front rank of the supporters of slavery against the moral influence of the civilized world. The southern statesmen, who negotiated the treaty, assume that slavery in this country is to be perpetuated for ever, and that the people are bound by the solemn compact of the constitution to defend it against the conscience of mankind and the providence of God. The conscience of the world is against slavery;

in the course of events slavery has been abolished in some countries; there is a fear it may be in Texas; that country, therefore, is to be annexed to this, both to prevent that catastrophe and to raise up an everlasting barrier against these influences. Nay, it is contended in an argument with the minister of a foreign nation, that we are compelled by the constitution of our government, to defend the southern institution by incorporating with ourselves every neighboring country where there is any reasonable probability of slavery being abolished; for, would not such an event jeopard the rights of slaveholders to their property? And are we not bound to maintain those rights?

But the government does not enjoy all the honor and glory of such opinions and arguments. The Hon. Senator McDuffie took the same position in a speech on the treaty, in the Senate of the United States, May 23, 1844. We quote a single passage. "Now, Sir, whatever oth-

ers may think, there is a deep and universal conviction impressed upon the minds of all the people of the southern and southwestern states, that the acquisition of a controlling influence over Texas by Great Britain—having the views she distinctly avows—will be imminently dangerous to these institutions. We ask you to give us nothing; we only ask you to protect the property we have, which we hold by a title derived from the ancestors of our fellow-citizens of the north, during our common dependence on Great Britain. They imported the slaves under the laws and auspices of the mother country, and against the protest of some of the southern colonies, and sold them to the ancestors of those, who now hold them, and *warranted the title*. And the solemn guaranty afterwards made by the federal constitution was nothing more than a confirmation of the warranty.” If the guaranty of the constitution is nothing more than this, we would not give much for it. There is another “title,” which we doubt not in heaven’s chancery would stand paramount—the title of the slave to himself, of which he was robbed by those who sold him, and the stolen property received by those who bought him. But if this “warranty” compels us to take Texas because the influence of England there will be imminently dangerous to southern slavery, why not Mexico? and Cuba? and the other West India islands? Indeed, since an enormous crime committed two centuries ago has laid on us and our posterity, so long as the government exists, an obligation to maintain in this way the wicked system which it established, we see not but that we have before us a career of conquest which would satisfy the ambition even of South Carolina heroes.

In our former article, we sought to find out the objects of annexation, proposed by the government,

and through that, by the leading friends of the measure in the southern states. We did not discuss them. Indeed do they require it? Is not the wickedness of such avowed designs apparent on the face of them? Can any severity of language add to the universal scorn and detestation with which they have every where been received? Messrs. Calhoun and McDuffie and others, have taken from their opponents the necessity of reproach, by blazoning their own shame in the maintenance of opinions which are abhorred as soon as they are known. If the question of annexation could be decided on the grounds which they have assumed, Texas would be almost unanimously rejected. But it is contended by the great body of the friends of Texas in the free states, in opposition to the opinions of those leading statesmen of the slave states, who are the most interested in it and the most thoroughly conversant with the subject, that the proposed measure will not promote the interests of slavery. We purpose, therefore, to investigate, in the present article, the actual bearings of annexation upon the interests of our country.

We shall confine ourselves, however, to two inquiries, first, to consider the probable effects of the measure upon the slave system itself; and, secondly, to trace out the results which may arise from these effects viewed as causes acting upon the whole country. We make this limitation, because, in our opinion, it is its relation to slavery, which gives to this subject its great, its chief importance. If we could believe it would not affect the interests of slavery one way or the other, we should regard it as indeed a most important measure, but not of course as an unwise one. We would not tarnish the honor of the nation for it. We would not go to war for it. But we would accede, perhaps, to the conditions

of Mr. Clay, "without dishonor, without war, with the common consent of the Union, and upon just and fair terms"—with this addition—without the increase of slavery or the promotion of its interests.

What are the probable effects of the measure upon the system of slavery itself ?

The first and most important effect, which we mention, is, *the increase of the number of slaves*. We are aware that this is denied. It is contended that as the number of slaves in the United States and Texas will be no greater after Texas is annexed than before, there never will be more slaves under the union with Texas, than in the United States and Texas as independent nations. This is the argument stated in its full force. Its fallacy is seen the moment the attention is directed to it. It is founded on the assumption that the rate of the increase of population is a fixed quantity ; but it is a universally acknowledged principle, supported by common observation of facts, that the population of different countries increases in different ratios, after making allowance for emigration and immigration. We have to inquire, then, whether the annexation of Texas will not affect those causes upon which the rate of increase depends. It may not be possible to assign all these causes, but this may be stated with undoubted certainty, in relation to the increase of a free population, that a new country, where population is not crowded and large families can be well supported, is the most favorable to it. But will this apply to a slave population ? We see not why the case is not exactly parallel, where there is a new country demanding large supplies of slaves, and an old country where the breeding of them has become a profitable business. We reluctantly soil our pages with this last expression, but we can not otherwise state the argument in its

true force. There can be no doubt then, on this point. We appeal to the acknowledged laws of population, and no cause can be assigned adequate to alter them in the present instance. We have, therefore, all the grounds of certainty which can exist in the operation of a law of nature. And it is a melancholy view which this fact in nature brings before our minds—our own native land turned into an Africa, to furnish from its bosom the bleeding victims of a cruel oppression.

But it will be contended that though the existence of slavery in Texas will have this effect—to increase the slave population by opening a new market and a new field of slave labor—it will have the same effect if Texas remains an independent nation. But we deny this. There will be less emigration of southern planters to it in this case. It would be a foreign government, the prosperity of which could not for a long time compete with the advantages which are here enjoyed. Besides, Texas would be a slaveholding government, unsupported by the energies of freemen. Slavery is in itself essentially weak. It is a problem of difficult solution, whether a purely slave government could, at the present day, stand firm enough and attain to such a degree of good order and prosperity as to invite emigration. At any rate, Texas independent, bearing alone the whole burden of slavery, will be a very different thing from Texas upheld and borne along by the general progress of the United States. Texas, therefore, would not stand to our upper slave states in the same relation as Louisiana and Mississippi. If we receive it into our Union, we give to it the energies of our Union, and subject it to the laws of a rapidly increasing population ; but out of it, we leave it to its own weakness. Farther, while planters with their families of slaves might emigrate to Texas as a foreign country,

would this nation sink so low as to engage in a *foreign slave trade*, and enter into rivalry with the African traffick ?

It is said that the destination of the African race is southward, and that no political causes can prevent it. But is it their destiny to be driven there as slaves ? Can we believe it is the design of Providence that any country should be cultivated by slave labor ? It may be true that those southern regions are destined to be occupied by the negro race ; but shall we interfere with that destiny, and fill them with slaves ?

Moreover, if it be true that such is the destination of the African race, and if it be furthermore true, that Texas, as an independent nation, will draw off just as many of our slaves, and will in time convert in this way the upper slaveholding states into free states, then, we say, let her remain independent. We should rejoice if she would take our whole slave population, and with it the curse of slavery. We should, then, be wholly a free people.

Whether, therefore, Texas as an independent nation will have the same effect upon the increase of slavery in the United States as if united with us, or not, we equally object to the union. But we must adhere to our own opinion, that the annexation will increase the number of the slaves in the two countries.

We mention, as a second effect of annexation, *the increase and perpetuation of the domestic slave trade*. We have been astonished at the flippancy with which the diffusion of slavery has been talked of. It will not increase slavery, it is said, it will only diffuse it. And what is it to diffuse slavery ? It is to carry on the most abominable and guilty traffick on the face of the earth. It is, to fill the prisons of the slave-driver, and send forth that demon of terror, prowling for prey,

through the land ! It is, to tear the husband from the wife, the child from the mother, the brother from the sister, and to separate them for ever !” It is to cut deeper and deeper every wound that slavery inflicts, and to uphold before those who have already suffered more than could be easily atoned for, the perpetual horror of exile, of suffering, of an early grave ! It is, in short, to promote a business which finds its appropriate parallel only on the coasts of Africa. No man can think of the slave-trade of the United States, without feeling the deep degradation of his country. And yet we talk of the diffusion of slavery with perfect calmness ! We know what is meant by the diffusion of a free population, by the emigration of families. We know how many alleviating circumstances there are, when the planter removes with his slaves. And we deny not there would be much of such emigration to Texas. But who can adequately describe the enormities of the diffusion of slavery by the slave-trader ? Who can behold, without pity and indignation, the coffle of slaves, collected one from one family, another from another, one taken for his viciousness, another because poverty or worse has compelled the sale of the best, as they start on their long and painful journey, separated for ever from all the little happiness which has been theirs on earth ? Who can think of the old Virginia planter, as we may have conceived of him in the early days of the republic, before the curse of slavery had wrought its vengeance upon him, and as he now is, making up for the failure of worn-out lands, by the sale of men and women, brought up with him on the same plantation, or of children, who have enjoyed the delights of youth under his own eye, and not blush for shame at the comparison ? And yet, the annexation of Texas will perpetuate for gene-

rations this abominable business,—a business which brings upon us the reproach of the world, and exposes us, as we firmly believe, to the just vengeance of heaven.

The third and last effect which we shall mention, is, *that annexation will tend to perpetuate slavery.* We believe the number of persons to be very small, at least in the free states, who regard the system of slavery as a political institution destined to be coexistent with our government. There is a very prevalent conviction in the minds of men, that slavery, under the providence of God, will cease to exist. Persons may differ in opinion as to the causes and means by which this will be effected, but not as to the result. We can, however, fix upon some causes as having a tendency that way. We shall find, as we think, that the annexation of Texas will operate against every known cause which can be relied upon with certainty for its abolition. These causes may be reduced to two classes; *such as make the system undesirable in point of interest*; and *such as make it intolerable to the conscience.*

Slavery has the causes of abolition within itself. It is inherently weak, and, unless supported by foreign power, must die. Confined within given limits, and receiving no accession from abroad, it must become extinct by a natural process. For, as a system of labor, it impoverishes the soil, while it imposes upon the master the burden of supporting the increasing multitude, without the means of doing it, till at length it compels him to leave them to themselves, and that makes a free man of the master and free laborers of the slaves. Then the energies of freedom will spring up, and the life of the nation revive from within. The only life which the slave system has, is infused into it from without. Hence it is that every new country whose unworked

soil is given up to slavery, is a lease and pledge of its continued existence; for, while it opens a new field for slave labor, it converts the old and worn-out regions into slave grounds, for raising the necessary slave laborers. Slavery is like a poor system of farming: it must have successively new soils to work upon, or it will die of inanition. We believe if the Virginia planter had had no new slave lands to settle upon, and if there had been no market for his slaves, he would gradually have given up the system, and that Virginia would now be tilled by freemen, as prosperous a state as there is in the Union. When we reflect upon what Virginia and Maryland might have become, with a naturally emancipated peasantry, had it not been for the extension of slave territory, we can not enough abhor the system which our country has followed, of giving up such extensive regions to slave labor. The annexation of Texas will prolong for generations the existence of slavery in the upper slaveholding states, so far as its abolition depends upon the cause we have been examining.

It will be said, perhaps, that the annexation will abolish it in those states in another way, by drawing off all the slave laborers. This seems to us too absurd to be answered. The supply of a market will always keep pace with the demand, and the worthy slave-breeder would probably remember that he is a poor calculator who sells off his whole stock.

But it will be said that independent Texas would have the same effect to perpetuate slavery. Why, then, we ask, are the sagacious statesmen of the South so anxious to annex it on the sole ground that, united with us, it will perpetuate slavery, but as an independent state would be imminently dangerous to the southern institution? Besides, as we have already shown, Texas

without us, by itself, is a very different thing from Texas with us, supported by our power.

But, another cause of the abolition of slavery is, *the conscience of the slaveholder himself*. The whole world is against slavery, and slaveholders hear with trembling the voice of God speaking to them through the moral sentiment of the world. The conscience of mankind, like an embodied spirit, is ever before them. It confronts them every where. It presses upon them; they feel it; they can not escape from it. It awakes their fears, and arouses their slumbering conscience. The statesmen of the South see it and fear it. Every movement of Mr. Calhoun and Mr. McDuffie shows how much they fear it. It is the moral influence of the world that disturbs their fears, and they wish to place this nation on their side by some new positive act in favor of slavery. We have already pledged ourselves to it in the constitution. We have done it in various measures of government. But they are anxious for their safety. Like persons in a vast solitude, they are alarmed at silence, and want to hear our government speak aloud in terms to be heard over the world, and pledge itself anew to slavery. Disguise it as we may, the annexation of Texas by this people will be regarded by the slaveholders as a new consecration of the energies of this mighty republic to the maintenance of perpetual slavery. It will quiet many consciences. It will be like a thick and black cloud to keep off from them the light which would otherwise dawn upon them from the moral world. We will here repeat an opinion which we expressed in our last number, that if the slaveholding states are determined to make slavery perpetual, then their leading statesmen, such as Mr. Calhoun and Mr. McDuffie, have truly comprehended the means of doing it. May God, in

his mercy to a down-trodden race, bring good out of the presumptuous intent! These means are, *first*, to indoctrinate the people of the South into the belief that the slave system is a wise and righteous "political institution," and thus to fortify them against the voice of God in the heart of man; *secondly*, to raise up this nation as a barrier against the moral influence of the civilized world, and thus by the solemn example of a whole country disregarding such influence, to confirm the enforced creed of the righteousness of slavery, and of the hallucination of mankind upon the subject; and, *thirdly*, to provide new territory for the extension of slavery, in order to open new fields of labor, and to "operate," in the words of Mr. McDuffie, "as a safety-valve to let off the superabundant slave population from among us." The annexation of Texas will of course furnish the necessary territory. It will also pledge the nation to the cause of slavery, and in a way it has never been pledged before—it will pledge it after discussion—it will pledge it in the light of truth—it will pledge the people individually. And, finally, this new guaranty of the free states will give the desired quiet to the southern conscience.

We have thus examined the probable effect of annexation upon the slave system. We have endeavored to investigate the causes which this measure will bring into operation, and the principles of human nature to which it appeals, and from these to deduce the just conclusions. Demonstration is not to be expected, but we have the same kind of confidence in the result which we ever can have in reasoning from moral or political causes to their effects. We are willing to submit it to our readers, whether we have not shown highly probable grounds for believing that annexation will increase the number of slaves, and augment the internal slave trade, and furnish the

only means which slavery possesses for its perpetual support.

And here we might pause. We have made out our case. We have given reasons enough for every lover of freedom to oppose this iniquitous measure. But we will go farther, and prove that these advantages of slavery are ruinous to the country at large. We have appealed to humanity and benevolence; we will now appeal to patriotism.

We have seen that certain effects favorable to the existence and power of the slave system will follow from annexation. But these effects are themselves causes, which must produce other effects, not merely upon the slave states, but upon the whole nation. This brings us to the second inquiry which we originally proposed. For the purpose of this inquiry, these effects of annexation may be summed up in two,—*the increase of the political power of slavery; and the augmentation of its moral enormities.* The question is, what are the natural results of these two classes of effects, viewed as causes acting upon the whole country?

The increase of the *number of slaves* will increase in the same proportion the political power of the slave system in the *House of Representatives*, and the increase of the *number of slave states* the same power in the *Senate* of the Congress of the United States. Now it is to be observed that the slave system as a political power in our government, is an anomaly. Its action is peculiar to itself. Although it is one of the bodies which move around our Union as their center, it is one which creates more disturbance than all the other bodies together. We must, then, examine the general influence of this peculiar power upon the whole country.

This we will endeavor to do with candor and fairness. We wish to look at the case just as it is, unbiased by our hostility to slavery itself.

We are one people, bound together by strong ties, and having the most powerful motives to remain so. The union of the people of these states under one general government, is the only ground of hope for permanent peace in this country, and the strongest pledge of the establishment of civil liberty among mankind. We hold, then, that the constitution of government under which we are united as one people, is to be preserved and obeyed in all its parts. We believe it to be a moral duty for every citizen to observe in the spirit and letter, those conditions on the subject of slavery with which the union was founded. We utterly repudiate any technical, hair-splitting construction of those parts of our constitution. Let them have their full meaning. Our forefathers entered into the compact of union in good faith; we will maintain it in good faith. We do indeed believe that the slave system is a moral wrong and a great political evil. But we do not, therefore, hold it to be wrong to maintain our federal constitution with its guaranty of slavery. We do, indeed, believe that the conviction of the moral wrong of slavery is settling deeper and deeper in the minds of men; but we see nothing which leads us to fear serious danger to our constitution, so long as slavery is kept within constitutional bounds. But, while we thus state our confidence in the fidelity of the non-slaveholding portion of the people to the whole constitution, we can not blind our eyes to the fact, that if there is danger any where to our union as one people, the slave system is the chief source of it.

The slave system is a bond of united political action, which has no corresponding, counterbalancing force in the free states. There is not one single interest in the free states which can break up party divisions, and unite the people as one man; whereas in the slave states

there always have been some interests growing out of slavery, which have moved the community in one mass, and there always will be at least one such interest, namely, the preservation of the system itself. There is not a Northern or Eastern interest peculiar and distinct from the interests of the whole country, nor a Northern or Eastern party distinct from the parties which divide the whole country. But there is a slaveholding interest, and a slaveholding people, for we can hardly call it, party. Here, then, is a power of political action, arising out of the very system of slavery, which, in the hands of Southern statesmen, controls almost every other power of the government. We do not complain of it—we abide by the bond. We do not view its frequent exercise as indicating any peculiar selfishness in the Southern states. Far be it from us to say that we should not make the same use of it. We merely describe the fact, calmly, impartially. We would as soon trust them with this power as any portion of the people, and we believe that they exercise it with as little reference to mere personal ambition as any other statesmen would do. But the truth is, they will always have plausible grounds for employing it, not for the sake of the individual, but of the state—not for the interests of a party, but for their very existence. The dangers which threaten slavery, will always furnish occasions for this sort of action, and they will increase rather than diminish, with the increased hostility to slavery. The South must oppose the right of petition, for all their interests are staked upon the issue. The South must control the appointments of the Supreme Court of the country, for there is her security for the maintenance of her rights. The South must furnish the ministers to foreign courts, for the civilized world is against slavery, and she must have her friends abroad.

Nor can we say that Southern statesmen have not some plausible grounds for this. They doubtless have occasion for watchfulness, if they are determined to maintain for ever their slave system. At any rate, it is perfectly natural—it is what we are to expect of human nature—for them to use the power they have in their own behalf. We make no accusation—we take human nature as it is. It is what man will always do. It is on this very ground that we contend that this political action will always exist; and the result will be, it will give to the minority a predominance in the measures of government and in the appointment to important stations.

But while it is natural for the South to use the advantages they have, it is equally natural for others to be jealous of it. There is no principle of human nature more sure in its operation, than that which revolts at what is felt to be a tyrannical exercise of power. Now, whatever may be the excuse for it, the political action of the slave system is tyrannical. It is tyranny to exclude men of talents from honorable stations merely on the ground of their residence being above a given line of latitude. It is the worst kind of tyranny—tyranny over opinions, and opinions sanctioned by the world. Aspiring men, who are thus kept down, feel it. Their friends feel it; and as the free states increase in power, it will be felt more and more. Here is a source of rankling jealousies, of bitter animosities, of growing hostility between different portions of the country. Here, then, are real causes founded in human nature, which make the political action of slavery dangerous to our Union. Shall we then strengthen that power? But here we are brought to a serious subject, the dissolution of the Union. We have no sympathy with those who threaten this awful calamity, if Texas is annexed to

this country. We believe it will long survive the annexation. We have nothing ever to fear, in our opinion, from open threats of disruption. The Rhett's and Quattlebums, if there is a veritable Quattlebum, may explode all their ammunition, and the Union be as firm as ever. We repeat not here the threats which have been made by some individuals at the North, but we describe existing causes which have a tendency to make the people dissatisfied with the Union. These causes are the more dangerous, because they are not violent in their action. They are like a hidden disease, which corrupts the source of life. If this Union perishes, it will be dissolved, not broken—undermined, not overthrown. We ask, then, if there is any wisdom in giving increased energy to the only dangerous element in our government? Let the slave system have all the power which the constitution gives it, but no more.

It is worthy of observation, that of all the causes which were predicted as dangerous to the Union, slavery is the only one, the dangers from which have not been lessened. These have increased. They will go on to increase, and it will require all the forbearance and candor and patriotism in the land to defend our government from them. Let us not, then, augment our difficulties. Let us with a fair spirit, cherish our Union as it now is. We are safe with it. We are satisfied with it. We love it. The annexation of Texas will only involve us in new difficulties, and inflict, it may be, a wound that can not be healed.

It only remains for us to inquire, what will be the effect upon the people of the free states, of the fact that this nation has knowingly, by the annexation of Texas, increased the moral enormities of slavery. The moral feeling of the people towards slavery, as a sin which exposes the nation that upholds it to

the just vengeance of God, is a fact which deserves and will soon demand the most careful consideration of our statesmen. It is folly to shut our eyes upon it. Call it enthusiasm—call it fanaticism, if you choose; it is still a fact, a principle of action, an element of power. With a large and increasing portion of the community, slavery is felt to be not only a sin, but a sin of peculiar turpitude. This conviction is no barren, theoretical speculation, but an earnest, practical belief. It is founded upon sound reasoning and an unperverted conscience. There is no reason to believe it will cease to exist so long as slavery exists. It will rather sink deeper into the hearts of men, and influence them more and more. It is not confined to the church of Christ; there is an honest, deeply founded, well principled hatred of slavery, among the friends of freedom in the civilized world. For our own part, we believe that this Union has yet to pass its severest trial—its justification before the tribunal of conscience as a question of morality. We speak not as having doubts ourselves, but we describe an undeniable state of things, which will at some not distant period require all the wisdom and strong sense of the great and good, unembarrassed by any new efforts to increase the energies of the slave system. Is it wise to multiply the difficulties which threaten us from this source?

Are not the proceedings of the last General Convention of the Methodist church, serious and important facts, demanding the most careful *political* consideration? Is not the state of things in other denominations worthy the attention of every lover of the Union? We find whole denominations dissolving all connection with slavery, and striving to avoid every thing which might seem to countenance it. Let it be observed, too, that this state of things has not been brought about

by the clergy,—it has sprung up of itself from the people. It would be presumptuous to predict what will be the political results of this state of things in the church. We can see its tendencies. The conscience which can not endure slavery in the church, will sometimes feel a twinge at slavery in the state. The principle which is strong enough to burst the bonds of church fellowship, may not be satisfied without at least testing the rightfulness of our political fellowship. We trust that no such trial awaits us; but is it wise to augment those moral evils, which will call this principle into action, if act it should?

But even if this should not be the result, is there not serious reason to fear the alienation in feeling of a large portion of the community from the government? Such men will not make a rebellion; they will not threaten to dissolve the Union; they will retire as it were from their own country, and cease to cherish it in their bosoms with holy love. Who would not tremble for that country, in which the best and most enlightened part of the nation has withdrawn from all participation in the affairs of government on the ground of conscience? How dreadful the thought, that all those who pray for our country, should do it in doubt and fear, whether their prayers may not be answered in judgment!

We have thus gone over the ground which we marked out. We feel that this nation approaches an important crisis. The question to be decided is not for ourselves alone, but for posterity,—not for a party, but for the whole country,—not for the country alone, but for mankind.

"The whole civilized world," said Mr. McDuffie in the speech which we have already referred to, "is laboring under a perfect hallucination on the subject of negro slavery as it exists in the United States." The whole civilized world

then, is against Mr. McDuffie and those who agree with him. What he holds to be right, the world of mankind which has been instructed in the truths of Christianity and purified in morals and intellect by the light of civilization, holds to be wrong. What he regards as a good condition of society, it regards as the worst possible state—a state at war with the natural rights of man, with human happiness and with the moral nature and the revealed law of love which God has given to our race. And the whole civilized world will hold, future ages will hold, the God of justice and mercy who has never taken part with the oppressor, we deem it not presumption to add, will hold any movement of this nation in behalf of perpetual slavery, should it be successful, to be a still more outrageous wrong. But for what else is Texas to be annexed to this country? Military defenses, commercial advantages, English interference, are mere after thoughts brought in to palliate the enormity of the evil and to furnish a pretext to the conscience which can not endure the unmitigated wickedness. President Tyler, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. McDuffie have all said that slave interests are the paramount interests to be secured by this measure. The annexation would never have been sought, had it not been supposed that Texas would open a new market for slaves, that Texas might give predominance to the slaveholding interests in the councils of the nation, and that Texas would raise up a barrier which the whole civilized world would in its hallucination assault in vain. This is what the southern originators and patrons of annexation call upon northern free-men to vote for, and they do it with the confession upon their lips that the whole civilized world will condemn the act. Shall we respond to the call? Shall we join with Mr. McDuffie and spurn the spontaneous feelings and the well settled opin-

ions of the best and most enlightened portion of mankind? The reverend clergy, who have been set apart to preach the everlasting gospel of good will on earth towards men, of every civilized nation and of every diversity of name, are opposed to the extension and perpetuation of slavery. The church of Christ, which has been redeemed from sin by his precious blood and instructed by the Holy Spirit in the great commandment of loving our neighbor as we love ourselves, is opposed to it. The wisest and most philanthropic statesmen of every civilized country, who have studied profoundly every state and condition of society, and the people at large, whose instinctive feelings and common-sense decisions rarely fail of being right, are opposed to it. The civilized world is unanimous here. Shall we pronounce all these to be under "a perfect hallucination," and bow down before Mr. McDuffie, and the South Carolina synod of moralists and statesmen as the only sane persons in the civilized world? But we thank the honorable senator for his confession. It has been substantially made before; it is now made on high authority. The civilized world is against slavery, and against every scheme to perpetuate it. Is not this enough to settle the question with every considerate freeman? Is there any known cause sufficient to warp the judgment and to mislead the conscience and pervert the instinctive feelings of mankind? But there are causes of self-interest and pride adequate to blind the vision of Mr. McDuffie and his friends, and make them mistake their own hallucination for the madness of all others. But "I am not mad most noble Festus," the civilized world can say, "but speak forth the words of truth and soberness." To us this universal decision of the most enlightened and virtuous portions of the world, seems to be a plain in-

dication of the will of God, and the attempt of slaveholders to perpetuate slavery like an interference with the designs of divine Providence.

Never was a greater responsibility placed upon any nation than is placed upon our own at the present crisis. Spain in the sixteenth century unconsciously encountered the heavy responsibility of introducing slaves into the New World, and there is nothing either in her past or present state which should make us emulous of her example. England trod in her footsteps and went beyond her in the traffick of human beings, and we ourselves alledged it as one of the causes of that war which cost her the fairest portion of her possessions, and if by a tardy repentance she has done what was in her power to repair the wrong, it was at immense expense and trouble. Shall we in the nineteenth century imitate the fatal example of Spain in the sixteenth, and commence at this day the career of spreading slavery over the whole southern part of North America where it has been abolished? That is the question now before the people of this country. Its decision rests with each individual voter. It is this which gives its peculiar characteristic to the present contest. It was the Spanish government and a few of its favorites that involved Spain in this guilt; it was the English government and the commercial community that aggravated the evil; but if we annex Texas to our country to perpetuate slavery there, it will be the *people of the country* who do it. If made, it will be the most extraordinary decision that ever was made in favor of slavery—a vote by a whole people in its behalf.

Upon every individual voter rests ultimately this decision. It is a case of conscience to each individual. Each freeman, as he drops his ballot into the box actually votes for the perpetuation of slavery or

against it. There is no dividing the responsibility. The majority can not apportion the guilt of supporting slavery equally among its members, so that each individual shall have but a small share. The enormous guilt of the whole rests upon each voter. The individual does not vote for it a little, and thus throw in his fraction to make up one vote, but if he were the sole arbiter he would decide the same. He has the heart to do the whole, and this is the reason that in voting to perpetuate slavery, his responsibility is the same as if his own vote should decide the question. It may be difficult in many cases to determine how far the voter is responsible for the measures of the party to which he belongs, but surely where a particular measure is directly brought before the people to be decided by their votes, each

voter is responsible for the entire result. What man would dare, against the wishes and opinions of the whole civilized world, *by his own act*, to spread American slavery over Texas and make it perpetual there? And yet a vote to annex Texas virtually does this.

It may be thought, perhaps, that we are taking a party stand. But we can not regard the question of Texas as involving any political principle upon which the two great parties are divided. We but follow the lead of some of the most distinguished writers of both parties. We view the subject as they do, that it has been made, without any necessity, a party measure, and it is on this ground, that we have concluded, after looking deliberately at the difficulties in the case, to speak out plainly our sentiments.

THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN AS A GRAIN OF MUSTARD SEED.

To roll a snowball and to grow an oak are not the same thing. Enlargement of volume is a result in both cases; but beyond this, they have nothing in common. In one, the result is wrought by an external force; in the other, by a vital force within. In one, the swelling bulk receives all that will adhere to it, snow, mud or gravel, as it may happen, forming a promiscuous conglomerate mass; in the other, the new matter is carefully selected, taken up internally, digested, assimilated, and built into an organic, vital whole. In the snowball, there is, at no time, any internal power of production or self-enlargement. Not one of the particles in its cold body can it quicken or fructify; whereas, in the tree there is a vital, self-active power, which can work, feed, and send out the extensions of growth, as long as it lives.

The same distinction holds in reference to every organic and vital being; it must have its increase by a law peculiar to vital beings, i. e. by its own internal activity and a development from within. Nor is this less true of the mind, or intellectual life, than of animal and vegetable natures. There is no true enlargement of the mind, no increase of intellectual stature, save that which is wrought in and through the internal activity of the mind itself. To be a receiver only of the world's knowledge, to pile up the treasures of libraries in the memory, to overlay the soul with borrowed ornaments, and crowd its capacity with borrowed opinions and arguments, is no better than to swell the body and shape it into proportion, by laying on muscles of cloth or of clay. The creative and mercurial energies of the soul itself must be called into action, the