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BROOKES

DEFENCE OF THE SOUTH

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A

DEFENCE OF THE SOUTH

AGAINST THE REPROACHES

AND

INCROACHMENTS OF THE NORTH:

WHICH SLAVERY IS SHOWN TO BE AN INSTITUTION
THAT GOD INTENDED TO FORM THE BASIS OF THE
BEST SOCIAL STATE AND THE ONLY
SAFEGUARD TO THE PERMANENCE

OF A

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT.

BY REV. IVESON L. BROOKES, A. M.

HAMBURG, S. C.

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TO THE READER.

This Pamphlet consists of two parts. The first contains a reply to an article against the extension of Slavery to the Territory acquired by the Mexican Treaty, in the 1st number of the Christian Review for 1849. The reply was written shortly after the perusal of the article and about the period of the fanatical move by the abolition majority in the last Congress to free the slaves in the District of Columbia, allowing the negroes themselves to vote on the Bill. The threatened ruin of the South; of which that insult was a mere item, prompted the writer to feel it to be the duty of every lover of God and the country to speak out—and the exciting circumstances will palliate, if not justify, any warmth of sentiment or language used on the occasion. It was the design of the letter to the Christian Review to throw back the numerous slanders heaped upon the South on account of the Institution of slavery; and in this defence the high, and only true ground is taken; that Slavery, especially Negro Slavery, is an Institution of heaven and intended for the mutual benefit of master and slave, as proved by the Bible and exemplified in the condition of the Society, and the prosperity of the Southern States. The Editor of the Christian Review was requested to lay it before his readers that they might, at least, see that slavery is susceptible of defence, and that slave holders, are Bible reading, and God fearing men. It shared, however, the fate of most attempts to get anything in the shape of a vindication of southern Institutions and Southern rights into Northern Publications. Its publication in the Augusta Republic gave it but a partial circulation at the South, as that patriotic paper was then in its infancy and had but a limited subscription. Many who read this letter thought that it might be productive of good in a more permanent form, and solicited its publication in a pamphlet. Compliance with the request was waived mainly from the disinclination of the writer (who never sought, and desires never to hold, a civil office) to be subjected to the charge of intermeddling with the politics of the country; and, secondly, from the fond hope that the new administration and the present Congress would settle the affairs of the new territories on Constitutional principles alike honorable to the nation and favorable to Southern rights. I need not say to the reader that my apprehension of utter disappointment of the above fond hopes has induced me to yield to the late repeated solicitations to publish in pamphlet form the letter of last year, and with it,—Second, The Appendix, showing, in part, the wrongs already inflicted upon the South, and those contemplated, and which must subject us and our descendants to the condition of degraded vassals if we suffer the abolitionists, without resistance, to make this last turn of the screw, which appropriates, most unrighteously, all our dearly-bought lands to themselves, and not only confines us to our present limits with the expressed purpose of crippling and rendering worse than useless our property, but of making us forever trail in the dust at the feet of a merciless majority in the National Councils. This state of things is sought to be effected, and the Southern people coaxed into submission under the combined influence of Southern treachery and Northern sophistry. In this Appendix, I, as an humble individual among the people have ventured to suggest a plan which would be honorable to the North and satisfactory to the South—which would preserve the Union upon Constitutional principles, and insure

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TO THE READER

peace and prosperity to the country. I ask the reader to look at the simple plan dispassionately and say whether any other arrangement, under present circumstances, can promise the continuance of a Union worth preserving. In case, too, of the reckless purpose to persist in making the Union the source of disgraceful and ruinous oppression to the South, I have ventured to suggest the most just and reasonable remedy—that of a peaceful separation: To this, too, I invite the reader to unprejudiced attention, and ask him to say, in candor, that if the two great sections of the Confederacy cannot exist in union on principles of a just equality, and mutual friendship, if it would not be the most advisable to separate. With the explanations this pamphlet is thrown before the people. Should it aid in conducing to a returning sense of justice at the North and a proper and calm self-respect at the South ultimating in a rational, equitable, and permanent adjustment of the questions which agitate the country and threaten the Union; I shall feel that I have done important service to God and my country—and shall hope to be numbered with those benefactors whom “posterity shall rise up and call blessed. But if Northern fanatics and Southern traitors go on to accomplish their purposes, destroying the equilibrium of the Government, and with it, the Constitutional rights of the South; and succeed in persuading the Southern people to rest satisfied with the promises of a false peace until too late to help themselves; the testimony of this public effort, on my part, in defence of God's Institution and my country's welfare, will, I trust, gain for me the divine approbation under the decisions of retributive justice; and preserve my memory, unscathed from the execrations of posterity, hurled back upon the present apathetic generation, whose sins they will find visited upon them in their down-trodden and degraded condition.

WOODVILLE, NEAR HAMBURG, S. C. }
FEBRUARY 20, 1849. }

the Editor of the Christian Review :

Sir :—The January number of your Quarterly was received several weeks since. It contains an article headed "The Extension of Slavery," which, in the spirit of most furious abolitionism, claims the right, for the Congress of the United States, to legislate the property of the Southern states, with it necessarily, the citizens of the south, from every acre of territory acquired by the late war with Mexico. The article goes further, urges upon the National Legislature to proceed, without delay, in a proscriptive measure against the south. This is the language held by the writer on this point :

"Our motto is—Congress has the power—Congress must exercise it; directly and in propria persona, not by deputy or delegation; fully and to the utmost, not feebly, partially or circuitously. To do less than this, in this cause, is in our judgment to shake hands with sin, and join partnership with iniquity."

But upon what ground is such a course urged upon the legislature of the country? Simply because by a tedious and laborious research of governmental proceedings and Congressional debates, the discovery is made, by the abolition orators, what it is presumable no body ever pretended to dispute, that Congress has the power, under the constitution of the union, to legislate for the Territories. The correspondent of the Review, forgot, however, the fact that there exists a vast difference between just and unjust legislation; and that the constitution of this country, intended to protect the rights of the minority, never contemplated the recognition of the right, in a fanatical majority, to legislate partially and unrighteously. Nor had we, as we think, considered the very unenviable predicament, in which, he would have the majority of the American Congress place themselves. If he remembered the fact that the officers were mainly from the south who conducted the United States' troops to victory, in the war with Mexico, who secured in defence of this country's rights; and that the chivalric volunteers of the south were, in number to those of the north, nearly two to one; and perhaps always in front of those hard-fought battles, which won the United States' arms with the highest martial fame, he would surely have seen it to be a most flagrant outrage upon southern rights, and upon every principle of common justice, for the northern majority to deprive the citizens of the southern section of the confederacy, of all share in the fruits of the victory. He would have found himself, unconsciously perhaps, instigating a legislative body, claiming to be entitled to high dignity of character to do an act which would forever cover them with disgrace. We would disdain the use of any terms, or comparisons for the

purpose of reproaching, in abusive style, any faction or party; but to illustrate the palpable wrong and over-bearing injustice of the course of action urged upon the Congress of the union, by this rabid abolitionist, we invite him to make his selection of a party, of any number of our slaves, for whom he feels so deep sympathy, and send them on a fishing expedition, with the privilege of dividing their prey among themselves; and he would in vain look for a majority of any such party, so destitute of a sense of common justice, as to refuse to the minority an equitable division. He may, if he choose, go among the aborigines of America, and we defy him to find a tribe of Indians so deeply sunk in savage brutality, as to exemplify a hunting party, a majority of which would not feel that it were beneath the Indian character, and below the dignity of savage generosity and honor, not to accord to all the party, a mutual participation in the prey taken by them.

But what constitutes the head and front of our offending, that we deserve, at the hands of our northern fellow citizens, to be treated with less courtesy and equalization of privilege, than the magnanimity of slaves and savages accords to their fellows? Why, it seems that it is alone because we are found in company with faithful Abraham, under the former dispensation, and with Christ and his Apostles under the Gospel era, approving and practicing one of God's favorite institutions—"slavery." When Abraham, to escape the disasters of famine, dwelt temporarily in Egypt, before his call to become the father of the faithful, and the friend of God, he was greatly prospered. And among the property constituting his wealth, were "man-servants and maid servants," Gen. xii. 16. When he effected the rescue of Lot, and slaughtered the kings, it was with his 318 able-bodied young slaves. Gen. xiv. 14. In the institution of Circumcision, under the Abrahamic Covenant, God required Abraham to bring under the solemn ordinance, to be continued to the end of that economy, all his male slaves, both "those born in his house," and "those bought with his money." Gen. xxii. 10-14. Surely, in the esteem of modern enlightenment, Abraham must be considered as having been very sinful. But then Christ and his Apostles are in the same category of disabilities. For Christ drew many of the most instructive illustrations of duty and obligation, from the institution of slavery, without ever giving the first word of disapprobation. See Mat. xxii. 13; xxv. 14-19. Luke xii. 36 and 37, 46 and 47; xvii. 7-11. John xv. 15. Several of the Saviour's most sublime and beneficent miracles were wrought upon slaves. See the case of the Centurion's servant whose interested master called to him the best physician, Mat. viii. 5-14. See the case of Malchus, the slave of the high Priest, whose ear Jesus touched and healed. Luke xxii. 51. How happens it that Jesus Christ when in the midst of slavery, did not in some of these allusions to the institution condemn it and require its abrogation? Ah! it was his own institution appointed for the benefit and safe-keeping of the poor, of every land. And it is but a blasphemous mockery of God's purposes, and constitution

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of things, for any fanatical would-be-reformer to attempt either to change or destroy an institution which stands firmly based, and sustained upon the sanction and authority of God, as presented in the Bible.

That the institution of slavery is a shield to the poor, see Genesis xlvii. Leviticus, xxv.

That it must be of perpetual duration with respect to the Canaanitish or negro race, see Gen. ix. 24-28. See the authority of the Jews to purchase of the Canaanites, slaves for an inheritance to their children. Leviticus, xxv. 45. See the history of the African descendants of Canaan, who are said to be nine-tenths in a state of slavery in their own land. See the account of Hazlehurst the Missionary, the Travels of Mungo Park, Clapperton and others.

And what shows the inconsistency of Northern and British abolitionists most glaringly, is a fact, which has lately leaked out, (for the truth of which, however, I do not vouch) that the colony of our emancipated slaves on the coast of Africa are buying themselves rich in native slaves. To this I would not object, as it is perhaps the most easy and successful method of civilizing and christianizing the poor Hottentôts. But with what face can the abolition faction be threatening to take our slaves from us without price, to constitute, them in turn, slaveholders of their own race? In the face of all this array of evidence from scripture and history how strangely presumptuous is the language held by the correspondent of the Christian Review? Referring to the exclusion of the Southerners together with their property from the acquired territory, he says, "what is the property referred to? Is it any form of possession which the law of God, of nature, of civilized christendom, regard as property? Not at all. But it is a kind of property disavowed of God, and denied alike by the law of nature, of christianity, of civilization, and sanctioned only by the local law of the slave States." I suppose it would give a Rhetorician some trouble to ascertain to what class of known argumentation the above would belong. The *argumentum ad hominem* carries with it conviction of selfevident truth. But as this language of the reviewer takes all for granted without proof, and is not attended with such selfevidence, it may be styled the *argumentum absolutum*. But let us see whether this bold abolitionist has any correct authority for the assertion that property in slaves is disavowed of God, in being disregarded by his law. I suppose the law, as published from Mount Sinai, and which Christ says he came not to destroy, but to fulfil, must be received as good authority. In the tenth item of that unchanging code, God says "thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's." God evidently by that commandment or law owned the property in slaves to be a vested right in the owner, on the same principle with every other species of possessions—and still more he recognized as the most felonious dishonesty, the intermeddling of any, with such property, to the annoyance

of the master's exclusive right. That law is still in unabated force, and forbids me to encroach upon the rights of any man, whether such rights vest in slaves or other property. We would in passing, here, simply enquire in what light the inculcations of God's law, and the instructions of his word in general, hold all the abolition movements in this country? Must they not in the divine law be recognized as bearing upon their frontlets, the motto of dishonesty? Upon what principle have the petitions and agitation at the North in and out of Congress, upon the subject of slavery at the South, been based? We recollect no petitioner, nor any orator advocating a petition, before the national legislature, who has manifested his love for the objects of his deep sympathy, by pecuniary measurement. None have exhibited their sincerity, in wishing the negro released from "the scourge and chain," by handing over from their pocket the money, either to the master, or to the negro, to procure on honest, reasonable, and practicable terms, the slave's freedom. And what right have any to petition Congress to do a thing, which that body have no constitutional authority to do? And how could Congress, aside from the Constitution, abolish slavery without the commission of the most egregious dishonesty? Were they to propose to compensate the owners, whence would they derive the means, except from unjust taxation of their owners; and to emancipate slaves without compensation to the owners, would form the most daring act of plunder and robbery! just as much so as to appropriate my lands and tenements or any other property without my consent; and may I not add just as much plunder and robbery as it would be, for the abolition faction, to appropriate our share in the new territories to themselves. But not only does the divine law, but the human law recognize property in slaves, even out of slave States. The Egis of the American Constitution, as the supreme law of the land, is spread over every slave, in every State, and on every foot of land belonging to the United States. And if there be any fugitive or stolen slave, lurking in concealment, in any section of this widespread country over which the Constitution extends; such slave is withheld from the rightful owner under the gross infraction both of human and divine law. I am not lawyer enough to decide, whether in truth, any State law of manumission, without equivalent, or for the prohibition of any slave property from any section of this, our country is compatable with the dictates of the Constitution of the Union. As to laws of civilization recognizing property in slaves, I suppose if the Greeks and Romans were not civilized, the Jews were; and their laws all acknowledge such property. And I presume it will be allowed that Christ and the Apostles, and the members of their Churches were christianized, and they sanctioned it by giving rules for its regulation and continuance. See Eph. vi. 5-8. 1 Pet. ii. 18-20. Col. iii. 22-25. 1 Tim. vi. 1. Tit. ii. 9-10. What is meant by the law of nature we know not. If it be the law of poverty, compelling the children of slaves to follow the condition of the mother, having no means to purchase freedom, then the law of nature owns property in the slave.

SIR: to follow minutely, and refute seriatim, all the positions of your correspondent, would be too tedious for a communication of this sort. I will then content myself, with giving such quotations, as will show the drift and design of the article, and of the abolition faction, and remark only on such points as may most require notice. Take these quotations: "assuming that Congress may rightfully exclude slavery from the free territory, the next inquiry is, whether they ought so to do. We will not ask whether it is expedient, for we cannot, in conscience, take lower ground than this proposition, viz: whatever Congress lawfully may do, to check the extension of slavery, and hasten its abolition, they are bound to do, bound by their obligations to God, their country and their race." "We have now in our hands the power to recall the administration of our government to the old revolutionary platform;" to put an end to that cowardly subserviency to the slave power, which, has so long disgraced us." "But 'Union' 'Union!' was still and ever has been the cry always most loudly uttered, when some fresh act of treason to liberty was to be done; always loudest by those (meaning Southerners), who would, in reality no more have dared disunion than they would have ventured on certain destruction." "But much as we value the Union we stand prepared to say let it perish, if in order to preserve it we must become the propagators of slavery in regions now free." "Our conviction is that nothing will contribute so essentially to our national harmony and prosperity as the establishment of freedom in the Territories. It will be the first step towards the final eradication, from our political system, of that leaven of discord, slavery itself, whose influence must otherwise, continue to disturb and distract our councils, and involve us in endless strife. But at all events—at whatever hazzard—be the event what it may—the American Congress should protect from the curse of slavery every acre of Territory which now rejoices in the blessings of freedom."

He had previously said "not less than eleven of the States of our Union have by solemn resolution declared that free Territory must be kept free, and what Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Ohio, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Michigan, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Delaware, have thus declared, we feel persuaded, will be carried into effect, by the action of Congress, in true response to the sober principle, and ardent sentiment, of the great mass of the American people." Speaking of those powers of the Constitution, regulating commerce, and prohibiting the foreign slave trade he says, "if foreign commerce includes the foreign slave trade, domestic commerce among the States includes 'the domestic slave trade,' and that infamous trade, as between the States, might now be, and might at any time, within these sixty years, have been constitutionally forbidden. It reflects little credit on our National Legislature, that while they have declared the foreign slave trade piracy, punishable with death they have silently tolerated a domestic traffic equally deserving the law's extremest penalty."

We have given the above lengthy quotations as showing, we think fairly, the position of your correspondent and the fanatical faction which he would lead. We perceive that through political juggling and misrepresentation of truth, among the populace of those resolving States, the wise and considerate politicians have been turned out of office, and a set of intrea-guing demagogues elevated in the State and National Legislatures, and supposing themselves in the majority, they feel bent on overleaping every constitutional barrier and intend unceremoniously to sacrifice the dearest interests of the South. The first step is to exclude us from the new territory and prohibit the domestic interchange of slaves in the District of Columbia. Bills for both have been before Congress, and would doubtless have passed but for the manly opposition of a portion of Southern members. The expectation is that by carrying on the agitation their majority will be increased; and by holding us in *terrorem* with the threat of servile insurrection, they will with impunity proceed to carry out their mad designs in fleecing, and flaying us alive. Should the South yield tamely to the act, depriving us of participation in the Territory, our domestic interchange of slaves would follow; next the act of manumission, and perhaps the division of our other property with our blacks; nothing short of which could satisfy the morbid philanthropy of negro abolitionism, by Northern fanaticism. Now, we ask, who that examines into the movements of the infatuated abolition faction, in connection with the above harangue of one of their leaders, can arrive at any other conclusion than that to which I am brought. And that it is time for every friend of God, of good order, and of the South, to warn the Southern people of the intended onslaught upon them; and that nothing will avert it but our courageous and unanimous resistance to all further encroachments upon our rights. Let us, by conventional expressions of public sentiment, say to the North that we will contend for our rights, and are determined to have them—and, sir, do you ask what will be our resort if over-ruled by the majority and deprived of our equal standing and equal rights in the confederacy?

Your correspondent, without intending such a thing, has given us a clue to our resources for independence. He says, the slave states possess an "area larger than the entire surface of France, Spain, Portugal, Germany proper, Prussia, Switzerland, and Italy, combined." Sir, each of these countries has, for ages, maintained its distinct and separate nationality, and independent Government. Yet neither of them have ever furnished Generals equal in military skill and bravery to ours, or soldiers more chivalrous and patriotic. Our country too, embraces the most salubrious climate, and lands most fertile, and adapted to all the necessities, and most of the luxuries of life. It abounds in rich mines of gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, salt, and coal. It is thickly interspersed with noble streams, adapted to inland navigation and to manufacturing of every description. It contains several thousand miles of sea and gulf coast, and some of the best harbors. It embraces almost the only region for growing cotton,

sugar, rice, and tobacco, the great staples of commerce with the world. I would say to the South, let us at once, whether cast off or not, proceed to monopolize the manufacturing of cotton fabrics. We have the raw material at our doors, with other important advantages compared with others who transport it thousands of miles and get rich upon the commerce of their fabrics. Let all the States unadapted to the culture of cotton, put two thirds of their slaves into manufacturing establishments—the cotton region, half of them to manufacturing, and the other half to raising the supply of the article for themselves and their sister States, being careful to raise plenty of stock and provisions. Let Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, go largely into the culture of sugar. And having unanimously determined upon our course, let us brest up to our rights and say, as with the voice of one man, to the whole fanatical crew of Yankee abolitionists, that we wait for them in their fiendish designs toward us, and their suicidal madness toward themselves, to proceed to pass any Congressional act which in its overbearing aspect shall deprive us of a single acre of the Territory of New Mexico and California.

But, sir, your correspondent will doubtless think, that I have caught his spirit of declamation, and that it is time to come down from so high a key. We will then pause at this point, and proceed to notice and throw back some of the unjust opprobrium which abolitionists heap upon us. Among other ugly things which the reviewer of Congressional speeches thinks the extension of slavery to the New Territories will do, he says, "It is to establish a hundred Smithfields and Brightons for the sale of human cattle in Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and Kentucky. It is to determine that while every portion of Christendom is casting off slavery, and emancipating slaves, republican America alone shall exhibit the disgraceful spectacle of forcing upon conquered and reluctant provinces, that disgraceful barbarism, that scoff and hissing of the civilized world, the institution of negro slavery." We have already thrown off the charge of God being against us, and shown that the most christianized and civilized nations and people of antiquity, were of our way of thinking upon the subject of slavery. But I suppose all that is old timed, out of fashion, and not to be opposed to the enlightenment of modern times. The spirit of abolitionism has discovered new methods of interpretation, under which even the Bible brings to light some things of which Jesus Christ and his inspired Apostles had no conception; and at the self-evident manifestation of duties and sins thus brought to view, Abraham and Moses, were they upon earth, would fear and quake. But where is the authority for these new lights? The Revelation of God closed with the sayings and writings of Christ and the Apostles, and how dare short-sighted worms to alter or amend the institutions of God, as prescribed in his sacred word? We are boastingly told, that "the whole world is against slavery," and that we must succumb to the movements of abolitionism. But, the question for our consideration is on what side is the God of heaven, the God of Abraham, and of Paul—Ah!

and the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ? We feel a confident assurance that this God is our God, and we will not fear what man shall do unto us. If the whole world set themselves in array against God and his government, must we join in the fanatical onset, rather than meet their puny and contemptible reproach. The Saviour said to his disciples, "If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you." John xv. 18.

It is a remarkable fact, that the world, with only partial exceptions, always has been, and now is, antagonistic to the government and institutions of God, who has given them their hourly breath, and their daily bread in the midst of their wicked rebellion against him. But the allegation is, that "all christendom is casting off slavery," and that we are their foot ball of "scoffing and hissing." We reply that a vast proportion of christendom have corrupted the sacred institutions of heaven, and are teaching for doctrine the commandments of men, and that perhaps, in no instance have they arrayed themselves more foolishly and unnecessarily against the purposes of God, than in their fanatically presumptuous attempt to frustrate his institution of "negro slavery." Nothing has done more to elevate the African character, than this same institution, so much despised by conceited, misguided, and blinded abolitionists. And nothing is doing the poor negro, every where, more harm than the unauthorized and foolish zeal of those professed advocates of negro philanthropy.

But if all christendom should reject the counsel of God against themselves, and proceed to mutilate or wrest his word, so as to bend it to suit their notions, or should reject the Bible as an unworthy standard of morals, and turn Mormons or Fouriurites, what is all that to us? Let them see to that. As for us we will be content to take the Bible for our guide, and feeling the comfortable assurance that God is for us, we care not who is against us.

Mr. Jefferson, of whom your correspondent seems to be a special admirer, was, by his mistaken and strange notions of universal liberty and equality, led to the adoption of the worst sort of infidelity. No humble Christian, can, without shuddering, read the presumptuous and blasphemous language he holds in reference to Christ, and his apostles, and their writings. See his letter to Mr. Short, published in the sketch of his life, in the Stateman's Manual. Nor can this be alleged to be the sentiment of his dotage, for it was expressed long before in his early writings.

And we cannot perceive how any person can entertain the spirit of rabid abolitionism, such as is manifested by the writer in the Review, and pretend to hold in fellowship the Bible, and its author and adherents. God himself instituted human slavery, when he authorized Noah to doom the posterity of Ham, through his youngest son Canaan [see Genesis ix.] to perpetual servitude: and the perpetuity of that doom rests, not merely upon the authority of Bible prophecy, but upon the unalterable stamp of inferiority of intellect, which characterizes the descendants of Canaan.

and must make them in some form or shape, servants of Shem and Japhet, as well as servants of one another. But God did not limit the institution of slavery to the African race. He authorized, in the only Theocracy among the governments upon the earth, the Jews to enslave one another under circumstances in perpetual bondage: and strangers, [Canaanites,] were to be purchased, as property, to be held as bond slaves, from generation to generation, without the prospect of release. Under this authority Abraham possessed probably several thousand bond slaves, and all the patriarchs and prophets were either possessors of that species of property, or under the highest authority that of God himself, sanctioned the institution of slavery. Jesus Christ, and his inspired Apostles, found the institution of slavery not only among the Jews, but among all the Gentile nations; and in the churches constituted by them, they not only recognized its existence, but legislated for its unlimited continuance, without giving the first intimation of disapprobation to the principles of slavery.

But a word upon African slavery as it exists among us in the Southern States of the American Union and for which we are anathematized by religious and irreligious at the North. Whence did this ugly, uncouth, ill-shaped monster arise, and whence came it amongst us? I protest that no Southerner ever yet made a slave. The institution, our puritan friends will perhaps admit, for the most part took its origin in the captures effected by the belligerent tribes, themselves of Africa, and it was surely a mercy that such captives were enslaved instead of being destroyed by their conquering brethren. But how came their descendants now among us is the question which I suppose would bring abolitionists to a stand, if not too rabid. Your correspondent being a knowing one might perhaps charge the introduction of African slaves into this country to British cupidity. And if we grant it was thus the institution arose among the puritans of the North, we again ask how it came fixed exclusively upon us in "the sunny South." Did not our enterprising Northern neighbors, when their slaves were of no further service at home, push them off upon us, and not without the "quid pro quo," the "cui bono," or in plain English, for value received? And now, does the attempt to wrest them from us without compensation come with a good grace from that quarter? Surely not! But let me suggest to your eloquent correspondent and his compatriots how the thing may be done on principles of equity. It is a bad rule which will not work both ways. As the abolitionists are the sympathizing party, convinced that slavery is a crying sin against God and the country, while we are not of that way of thinking, let them give us our money back, and convince us that they will better the condition of "Nancy and Scipio Africanus," and the rest, and perhaps, if the slaves can be induced to leave, many might be thus satisfactorily relieved from "the scourge and the chain."

But let him and *id omne genus* sell all their property, and come over like men and vest the whole of their cash in the purchase of slaves to be taken from among us, and manumitted where their religious privileges,

with their health and happiness will be bettered, and we will no longer upon such practical benevolence fling the charge of being hypocritical cant. We will allow them to be sincere, though we may not think them quite free from fanaticism—nor thoroughly read in the book of God's revelation, prescribing human duties and obligations. Because of the obnoxious feature of our slavery which they had forced upon us, our abolition brethren some years ago repudiated religious connection with us in the work of christian benevolence. They now (your correspondent a leader) are resolved at all hazard, at the risk of cutting every Southern throat, (except "Nancy's and Scipio's," and that class) to exclude slaveholders from the territory acquired by the blood and treasure, in which I suppose they admit that our chivalric volunteers bore equal part with theirs; and the justice of the thing is to be seen in the fact that "so much territory has already been given up wholly to the South." Well, this might seem plausible were it not for the fact that we have always welcomed good citizens from every quarter to share equally with us in the privileges and immunities of all our States; and thousands of Northern men and women have grown and are growing rich amongst us; your boot cleaners and milk maids are perhaps more highly honored with us than at home: and all we ask is to join with our Northern fellow-citizens in settling up the new territories.

Does there appear to you no semblance of reason and justice in our demand? In making it we think conscientiously that we have the Constitution of the Union, and still more the God of the Bible with us. Be not surprised, then, that the South should insist so pertinaciously upon the righteousness of this claim, as to make its refusal to us, the fearful act of severing us from the American Union, to which, we have so long clung with steadfast attachment. Sir: while your correspondent's orator, Mr. Dix, indulging in abolition cant for political effect at home, spoke of Northern bones bleaching upon the plains of Florida, he forgot the fact that they were commingled with an equal number of Southern bones.

But in reference to the plains of Mexico, we say that the blood of the fallen sons of the North unites its voice with that of the blood of Southern heroes in proclaiming to the world the trumpet-tongued truth, that the South are, equally with the North, entitled to share in the costly purchase of that blood. Yes, on making the demand, we are conscious of having on our side every principle of reason and justice, and that legislative act of Congress which will so far trample upon equity and the Constitution as to elbow us out of the New Territory, must at the same time thrust us out of the Union. How could it do otherwise? For in the language of your correspondent, "it will be the first step towards the final eradication of that leaven of discord, slavery itself"—and so it would. For in having overleaped the barrier of the Constitution in taking this first, the next would be to legislate our property from us without compensation, one of the ultimate results at which rabid abolitionists aim. Would not this first step then

necessarily throw us upon the resort to self-protection. Were it not to do so, the abolitionists themselves would think us dastardly drones, and we could not bear the reproaching voices hailing from our blood-stained battle fields—those of the old revolution for liberty, and those of the late British war for free trade and sailors rights, and those of the recent Mexican war for national rights. But, Sir, I trust that if your correspondent's orators in Congress have no more knowledge and sense of Bible principles than he has, they at least know better how to calculate dollars and cents. They know the worth of Rice, Sugar, and Cotton and Southern Commerce, upon which their people through an unjust Tariff, much of the time, have been long fattening, and they know that the stagnation to which it would be brought by the prohibitory measures we should be compelled to adopt, would place the North in rather an awkward predicament. On the other hand too, those calculating men of the North, who are not blinded by fanatical delusion, must see that the South, with God and the Bible in her favor, thrown on her own resources, would become the most independent people upon earth. In that event we would at once preclude every bale of cotton from crossing Mason and Dixon's line or the Atlantic Ocean, without a high duty, or were we to raise in abundance our provisions, and put all our hands now raising the surplus quantity of cotton, into factories, making only enough of the article to be manufactured by our own people, would we not soon begin to grow rich in bartering our fabrics with the world, instead of foolishly, as we have hitherto done, allowing Old and New England to gloat on the wealth of this commerce, while they buy for a song our raw material. "Being thrown out of the Union, then, instead of leaving us in twenty years forsaken by our property and in hopeless poverty," would give to Southern energy that mighty impulse which would in that period exhibit a state of prosperity hitherto unanticipated by us. We ask our Northern friends if such national advantages would not make a separation from them our true policy? Yet such is our cherished fondness for this great American Union, that we deprecate the act that would sever it, and will wait till they, in their mad fanaticism, strike the blow fatal to themselves, which will break the cord of union and launch our own ship of state. But perhaps your correspondent will think that I, like himself, am getting rather declamatory. I too must come down to sober reasoning. You must excuse some remarks upon the general principle of slavery. We have said that God—I mean the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob—the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, instituted slavery. And under God's constitution of things in our present state—under the administration of the divine government of our sinful world, this institution must exist in some of its forms, mauger the fanaticism of New or the vaunting of Old England. What is there in the name? It is the thing at which we invite the abolitionist to look. Among savages and barbarians their women ever have been drudges of slavery. In civilized nations, whether heathen or christain, the lower orders of society have

served the higher, and among the most civilized and enlightened nations of antiquity—God's peculiar people and Republican Greece and Rome in the lead, the state of servitude existed in the form of absolute and hereditary slavery. And, Sir, this thing slavery, in accordance to God's fixed appointments, now exists throughout the civilized world. Take the circuit of the most civilized portions of the earth—notice in Spain and France, (now Republican) and haughty England, their porters, boot cleaners, washer women and cooks, ah, their tenants who after they pay rent and taxes are scarcely able to live from hand to mouth. Take a look at the serfs of Russia, and then pass round to Mexico. Yes, New Mexico, the Territory in dispute, whether negro slavery shall go there, and what do you make of the state of peonage there in which thousands of poor wretches are in hopeless slavery, constituted by debt, the interest of which forms an incubus, from which there is no escape. Finally go to intrusive New England and look not to the "black Nancies and Scipio's," but at what they modestly call their helps, and what, we ask, is seen in all this circuit but a state of slavrey, under other names it is true, but for the most part, far worse than our state of negro slavery. These all through life, are engaged in hard and drugery service, for which the pittance they get barely affords food and clothes, and often through the freak of the employer, or for their own faults they are turned off, homeless and penniless, finding it difficult without a recommendation to get their heads into a shelter on any terms. And your correspondent sneers at the slave marts calling them "Smithfields & Brightons places for sale of stock. Wonder what are the chief names of those intelligence offices in New York or Boston, where hundreds of helpless helps go to be arrayed for inspection, by the owner of the establishment, whose business is not to procure them protection and comfort for life, but for a fee to get them temporary and uncertain homes? Such an exhibition looks very similar to a slave mart at least. But he most sarcastically calls our slaves "cattle," meaning, because the master in purchasing, acquires an absolute property in them. Now this feature in slavery seems to be especially obnoxious to the abolitionist, only because his vision has become too morbid to allow him to see it correctly. The truth is that the ownership of the Southern slave holder—the very fact that his slave is his money—to use scripture language—the idea at which modern fanatics are rendered so death-sick at the heart—is under God, the highest safeguard of protection and happiness to that slave. It is the personal, the pecuniary interest (the strongest sort of interest I suppose with some persons at the North, as well as the South) of the master compelling him to use every means necessary to prolong the life and secure the health of his property. Now so far from this being a hideous trait in the character of slavery, it, to a reflecting christain, bespeaks this institution to be founded in benevolence, showing it to have its origin in divine authority, and at once to be the best kind of servitude. And, Sir, who can show to the contrary, that the state of Southern negro slavery does not exhibit the best

condition of the poor (which Christ says "ye have always with you,") to be found any where in the world? Go look into the back streets and crowded cellars of London, and New York, the metropolitan cities of the old and new world, not to refer you to Boston, and you will see a condition of squalidness, hunger and sickness without medical aid, for which you will look in vain among the slaves of the South, because the humanity and pecuniary interest of the owner combine to prevent such wretchedness. Raving fanaticism—such as perverts the word and character of the living and holy God—such as disregards the sacredness of civil constitutions and social compacts—such as delights in insurrectionary intermeddling with the relations of masters and their slaves in a distant region of God's vineyard, even at risk of drenching with the blood of its inhabitants that fair region—such a spirit will find it difficult to obtain a resting place. Sir, it is under the unhallowed impulse of such a spirit that your correspondent, we fear, urges the Congress of the United States "at all events—at whatever hazard—be the event what it may," to exclude the property of the South, and with it the owners, from the Territory bought with our blood and treasure, and to which the God of justice and the Constitution of the Union hail us to a welcome participation in common with the rest of our brethren and fellow-countrymen. We trust that the God of peace will prevent the counsellors of the nation from obeying the furious dictates of such a spirit. But your correspondent must excuse this declamatory digression.

I will again reason on the subject of slavery. He calls our slaves "cattle"—he does not mean that they are really brutes, but that we degrade them to a state of brutality. Now, sir, we think we can without the fear of successful contradiction, assert, that the negro race is no where, upon the broad face of the earth more elevated in moral character than among the slaves of the South! I suppose this will startle many a pious philanthropist at the North, and in captious intermeddling Britain. But let us examine into the point. None of course will point us to the aborigines of Africa. For no portion of the human race is sunk lower in savage ignorance. We must then go to the descendants of African slaves, and at once acknowledge the benevolence of the institution of slavery, in raising the race from its moral degradation. Shall we then look first at the condition of the slaves of the South. I admit, in the outset, that there is no pretention to erudition, among them. For the insurrectionary intermeddling of New England and Old England forbids us to instruct them in literature, though some of them can read their Bibles, and thousands of them know more of Bible truth, soul-saving truth, than many of those abolition orators, who rave on the floors of the American Congress, or the British Parliament. I invite you to visit me, and I promise to conduct you on the Sabbath to houses of worship, neat and commodious, erected by themselves, in the neighboring city, where you may see full congregations of "black Nancies and Scipiones Africani," whose dress, order, and general appear-

ance come perhaps as near to what the Bible requires of christian worshippers, as many congregations in Boston or London exhibit; and you shall hear a "Scipio Africanus" speaking forth the orthodox truths of God to his attentive audience, many of whom, rejoicing in the truth, as it is in Jesus. There are in different cities of the South, such worshipping assemblies, with hundreds of communicants, humble, devoted christians, destined to join Onesimus, and other slaves of the early christians, round the throne of God, where Abraham and his redeemed slaves are at rest; but from which I fear many of the knowing ones about human thrones, and high places of the earth, will be excluded, though they may cry Lord, Lord, open unto us. In perhaps every country house of worship, throughout the Southern States, an apartment is provided for slaves, where they are privileged, with their owners, to sit under the joyful sound of the gospel message; and thousands of them through redeeming grace have been enabled to lay hold upon that hope set before them, which is an "anchor of the soul both sure and steadfast."

Your abolition neighbors sometimes taunt us with the charge that the delicate subject of virtue, is desecrated through our institution of slavery, to which allusion is made when your correspondent intimates that slaves are multiplied by "expedients, criminal and beastly." We admit that this kind of desecration exists to fearful extent, as the result of the fallen state of human nature, not only in low, but in high life, especially among men, and doubtless for the perversion of God's purpose on this point, a fearful reckoning will be had at the eternal judgment. But we unhesitatingly give the negation to the charge, that this soul-destroying, and mind-enerivating crime, grows out of slavery, *per se*, or that it is in any wise peculiar to the South. In regard to this charge against females, a careful census of the inmates of houses of ill-fame, from Boston to New Orleans, those licentious gateways to hell, will, we think, put this ugly charge to silence: For we ask whom it may concern, if the inmates of those dens of vice, do not hail, for the most part, from the ranks of New England helps, who, perhaps, corrupted at home, and thrown out of business destitute of friends and means, plead the necessity of a resort to the wages of iniquity for their bread. No "black Nancy" at the South was ever placed, at least, under that sort of necessitous temptation, either as a cause, or as an excuse for her sins. But, sir, we will waive the discussion of this delicate point, and proceed with our purpose of comparing the condition of descendants from the aboriginal slaves of Africa: and it is remarkable that any of them, in every quarter of the world, under the government of Japheth and Shem, however degraded, are in better condition than the race in their native country. But where are they better off than the slaves of the South, is the question. Shall we pass to New England first, whence issues the voice of so deep sympathy and universal commiseration for our slaves, whom your correspondent is pleased to style "serfs," comparing them to the slaves of Russia, which are not only degraded to the lowest

civil condition, but are sunk deep in religious superstition. Sir, we have never visited New England, and must therefore reason from hearsay and analogy. We have heard that there remain some descendants of those African slaves whose owners, at the time of your Legislatures passing manumission acts, did not, under the common avarice float them off to the South; and also descendants, we may suppose of some fugitives, whose Southern owners were never able to recover them from the fastnesses where their protectors had secreted them. And now, sir, yours is the land of boasted freedom and equal rights, politically, religiously, and educationally; where, in the language of Mr. Jefferson, "all men are created equal; they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," which language, though admired by your correspondent, and harped upon as the great basis of abolition coming from slaveholding Virginia, is so false, and so contradictory to God's order of things, that any child capable of looking upon things as they are, could see its absurdity.

But, sir, though we do not say that your free negroes, when born, are equal to you, nor when grown, for you would doubtless take it as an open insult; yet I will venture the assertion, that I have ever admired your free schools as worthy of your boasting, schools in which literary instruction purports to be given gratis to all classes. Ought we not then, under such advantages, to look expectingly for negro intellectuality and mental greatness, if to be found any where upon earth, to be found in New England? What then are the facts as they are exhibited in your midst? Why is it that we have never heard of your "Scipios" towering eloquence in the National Congress, nor in the legislative councils of their native States? They, according to your correspondent's position, are equal to the most lofty spirits of New England, and should not be denied any civil rights, or political and social immunities. Why then is it, we ask, that we have not heard of any high places of honor, trust, and emolument being filled by any of the favored sons of Ham in New England?

Ah, sir, when we look at the matter with a vision, divested of fanatical sophistry, the reason is obvious. It will then appear, to reason's eye, unedimmed by the prejudices of abolitionism, that it is because God's decreal decisions, published by Noah some thousands of years since, still in fulfillment of God's purposes, forbid that the negro race should, under most favorable circumstances, rise to intellectual greatness.

Sir, God has—to the majestic lion, at whose roar the beasts of the forest tremble—to the towering eagle, that gazes upon the sun while he swiftly flies through the upper regions of the air—to the mighty whale, that flings aloft his jetting spout from the sea—given the absolute mastery over their fellow creatures in their respective elements. And man, poor short-sighted, fanatical man, may presumptuously mock God with the charge of cruelty, because he has constituted those master-beasts with predatory organs fitting them to live exclusively upon the lower orders of their fellow ani-

mals—still the impious charge against the Creator will not alter his purpose, nor make the facts in the case different from what they are, and must ever be.

And, now sir, do not think that I am about to charge the northern people with intentionally oppressing their negroes! No! Although your published placards against southern slaveholders, and wood-cut caricatures of masters, with whip in hand, domineering over the bleeding slave, bandied from Dan to Bersheba, throughout New England, have made the false and libellous impression upon your people, that we are monsters, in human shape, yet we do not retaliate, by charging the puritans of New England with cannibalism, or injurious or ruinous tyranny. because the negro race with you is tending to extinction; while with us, upon the showing of your correspondent, it is rapidly increasing and improving.

But, we press the question, why does the free negro of the north languish in obscurity? And we answer, that the reason is, because God has given the Caucasian race superior order of intellect. Knowledge is power; and intellectual power must every where rule the lower orders of man. And that God has given this power to the white race, over the negro race, is seen indelibly instamped upon the very form of the heads of the two races.

The science of Phrenology places the seat of the intellectual faculties in the front, and that of the baser passions in the back part of the head; and while facts, in regard to the history of the two races, prove the correctness of the science, the lofty forehead of the white man, and the low forehead and capacious cinceput of the negro race, prove the prophetic appointment of God, that Shem and Japheth must, to the end of time, in some form, rule over the sons of Ham, cursed with the flat cranium, because of his awful sin against his father. But we were upon the point of comparing negroes with negroes! And, sir, the reason why your free negroes are far more debased than our negro slaves, is because, having repudiated negro slavery, and adopted under your modest name the slavery of the lower order of your own race, your white helps must have the preference in service, and your poor "black Nancies and Scipiones Africani" are excluded from your social circle. Ah, yes, even from your churches, in a great degree; and what is worse, if worse it could be, are thrown out of business, and are necessarily doomed to languish in squalid wretchedness in their freedom, or to atone in your state prisons those crimes which ever result from idleness, degradation, and dissipation.

Now, sir, we have reasoned from God's constitution of things, we ask you, if the general facts of the case, as coming before your eyes, do not bear testimony that the conclusions drawn from our premises are true? In such facts then, you have presented to you *prima facie* evidence, that it is imposible, under God's arrangement of things, for the negro race to be associated with the whites and prosper, except in a state of absolute slavery. Who then would not at a glance, if not blinded by mad fanaticism,

perceive that the manumission of our slaves amongst us, would at once give them a mighty impulse upon a moral inclined plane, from degradation to speedy extinction! And yet this is the mad object, fatal to the best hopes of the negro race, at which Northern and English fanaticism, wild, furious, and blood-thirsty, exclusively aims.

Sir, we do not blame our northern fellow citizens for being anti-slavery, so far as not to wish the institution of negro slavery among them, because they suppose that their clime and its products do not call for such service. Moreover, you prefer to adopt the services of your own race. These were the reasons why your calculating men put away from themselves, and put upon us, this institution, which, your wild fanatics, in the spirit of invidious intermeddling with other men's matters, which should not concern them, have distorted into an imaginary monster, which at their great distance from it, appears to their morbid vision very hideous.

But, sir, the dangerous tendency of the abolition fanaticism is seen in the fact that the master spirits among you have become tainted with the cankering infection. Not merely your Manns and Dixes rare and foam on the subject, but your Adamses and Websters have had their towering minds so far besogged by the foul fumes of this disorganizing spirit, as to lend their influence to the abolition faction. And what is yet more strange, this foul spirit has not only fallen upon, and warped, the judgments of your most distinguished politicians who, in pursuit of human greatness, have sought honor one of another, and not the honor that cometh from God only, who, through their toilsome struggle in climbing the rugged mountain of fame, have found no time to examine the lively Oracles, and make themselves acquainted with the God of the Bible; but this deleterious fanaticism has also thrown its pestilential vapor into the departments of religion, and infected and blinded the minds of many who profess to seek for the truth as it is in Jesus. Even many among you who occupy the sacred desk, instead of feeding their flocks with the sincere milk of the word, desecrate the Sabbath, and its solemn services, in hurling towards Southern slaveholders the poisoned shafts of abolition agitation, which, however, fall not upon us, but with a double vengeance upon themselves and their congregations, proving, in truth, to be a savor of death unto death. For the consequence is, as might be expected, that those who undertake to fight against the God of the Bible, must fall in the fearful conflict. Many of the strong abolition Ministers of the North, forsaken by the restraining grace of God, have been permitted to fall into gross sin, and others into open apostacy, or into the adoption of some one of the prevailing heresies abounding in the land of Edwards and Dwight, once distinguished for cherishing the orthodox faith of the Gospel. The fate of Garrison, and other abolitionists, who led the van in the faction, and who, finding the Bible opposed to their views cast it off utterly, ought to be a beacon of alarm to those who feel in their bosoms the unhallowed flame of fanatical agitation, but who may, as yet, not have arrived at the point of open

infidelity. We ask if it is not a fearful fact that Socinianism, Universalism, Deism, Socialism, Fourierism, Millerism, and, perhaps, other isms that might be directly or indirectly sustained by Mr. Jefferson's expurgated Bible, aided by Mr. Wayland's book, perverting God's code of morals, are not fast sweeping over the once puritan land of New England? The reason is obvious. It is because the blighting curse of God must ever fall upon any people who pervert his truth and oppose themselves to his constituted appointments. And should this demoralizing, truth-perverting, God-dishonoring, soul-destroying, spirit of fanaticism, be permitted to continue its march under the banner of abolitionism, unarrested by God, its legitimate results must be the prostration of the ramparts of law and justice. And the spirit of mobocracy in politics, must fling the besom of the levelling system across their land; and the spirit of atheism in religion, throw its withering curse over the last remains of pilgrim puritanism.

But we have again gotten quite on the declamatory order, and must return to sober discussion.

We had commenced the examination of the decendants of African slaves to see if there might be found any in better condition than our southern slaves. We think it evident that those of new England are not. And having forgotten that we were so long declaiming, we must make short work of our further investigation.

Shall we take a passing glance at those lately emancipated in the British possessions? We will merely say that the statistics of their commerce, show that vast diminution of their export products of industry, which must convince England herself that her miscalculating fanaticism has done those poor negroes great harm; and their increasingly vitiated morals, under a corrupting religion, must bespeak their moral condition worse than that of southern slaves. But, I suppose, some abolitionists are waiting, with a sort of unhallowed spirit of triumph, in reference to the Island of insurrectionary memory, perhaps with a spirit kindred with that of the murderous intermeddlers, who, through foul cupidity, instigated those poor slaves to their revolt. About these I have heard but little, and know less, but must infer that the natural want of energy with the negro, left to himself, and the incapacity of the race for high enlightenment and self-government, added to the delusion of false religion, in which that sombre spot is enveloped, must denote bad management in political affairs, and a state of morals most undesirable. There is yet one more place where the negro race are making the experiment of self-government, under circumstances very favorable, and it were to be devoutly hoped that the best success should attend them. It is the colony established on the coast of Africa, by the American Colonization Society. This colony is the forlorn hope of extending civilization, and the knowledge of the true God, to the native tribes of that portion of our globe, so long neglected by the Christian world, and than which none other is more deeply enveloped in idolatrous ignorance. The colony planted under the quasi protection of the American flag, had connected with it some of the master spirits of the race, correctly taught in the principles of divine truth, and with a white man to supervise their civil and literary institutions. The climate, however, has been very fatal to their health; and altho' it may be trusted that they will become acclimated, sustain a correct state of morals, and ultimately fulfil the hope of their friends in the elevation of the aborigines; as yet it remains to be proved, that their condition is or ever will be more favorable to morals and happiness than that of the southern slaves. We then reiterate the fearless challenge to the world, to show us, in any portion of the earth, the negro race more favorably situated for the enjoyment of protection, health, peace, religion, and happiness, than in the condition of southern slavery.

But a word upon the *institution* of slavery, as to its *origin* and *ownership*.

The correspondent of the Review seems to triumph in sneering at slavery, as our "peculiar institution." And when he spoke of it, by quoting the sentence of abolition slang, "That scoff and hissing of the civilized world," throwing upon it more contempt than he himself could originate, I imagine that the twirl of the lip, and the scowl of the countenance, involuntarily marked the scorn which his aspiring mind felt, when his pen transcribed the graphic phrase. 'And we pray that the God of Abraham, who sitteth in the heavens, and laugheth to scorn his enemies, may pity the weakness of those who sell themselves into the slavery of ignorant and blind fanaticism. We would feel it to be the height of presumption, to claim this peculiar institution as ours, in any other sense than as being the stewards of God. We give the God of the Bible all the honor of its origin and ownership. And we think, that next to the gift of his Son to Redeem the human race, God never displayed in more lofty sublimity his attributes, than in the institution of slavery, and especially African slavery.

We invite any, who are not blinded to madness, to look into this holy, wise and merciful work of the beneficent creator. And in defending the character of the christian's God, as the author of southern slavery, we only ask that its history may be traced. Go back, then into the wilds of Africa, and see two of her savage tribes engaged in the din of deadly battle. The one and not perhaps the aggressor, proves victorious in the conflict. And now the brooding spirit of the God of mercy says to the conquering party, do not butcher your captives, though they may have unjustly assailed you, and, if conquering, might have put you to death and paved their yards with your skulls, as many savage tribes of your country often do with their captured enemies, but do you act upon the principle of mercy and benevolence. Make them your servants—turn them into your money—and then they will be grateful to you, and you will love and protect them. The divine influence prevailed over their savage minds. The poor captives, destined to destruction, were spared by their conquerors, and became their kind and submissive slaves. But to go back to the case recorded in the ninth of Genesis, when Ham the father of Canaan, through whom Ham's descendants are subjected to the prophetic curse, had committed a most atrocious offence of some kind, was it not wondrous mercy in God, instead of the decapitation of Ham to simply punish him in Canaan, the first son perhaps, born to him after the offence, by flattening his head, kinking his hair, and blackening his skin, and turning him loose, with his mind in chains, to be a servant of servants to his brethren, thus giving him time and opportunity for repentance, upon the same principle that the New Englanders confine their free negroes in their Penitentiaries, instead of hanging them for crimes. Nor is the wisdom and mercy of God less marked with infinite benevolence, in allowing those captive sons of Canaan to be transported from bondage in their own land of degradation and darkness, to our country, where their enlightenment, and religious opportunities, would not only elevate their civil character, but secure to them gospel privileges, through which thousands will rejoice in redeeming mercy, in every generation, down to the judgment trumpet, at the sound of which we are told, that "every bondman, and every freeman, together with men of every rank in society, (found in impenitency) will say to the mountains and rocks fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the lamb, for the great day of his wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?" We admit that in transporting the forefathers of our slaves, there may have been, probably was,

much iniquitous work, and infamous injustice committed by the sons of Old England and New England. They no doubt, swindled and cheated the aboriginal owners, and, in getting their slaves from them for a song, we need not wonder if they stole many a poor captive, if we may judge from their later transactions in other quarters, as for instance, within the present century, the overbearing tyranny of Old England in subjugating by force of arms, for mercenary purposes, helpless heathen nations, and drawing from them iniquitous revenue; exemplified in forcing her opium upon China, and licencing the bloody sacrifices of Juggernaut in Hindostan. And the selfish, dishonest spirit of abolitionism of New England, which, at the present crisis, in open day, seeks to wrest from us, by iniquitous and unconstitutional legislation, our Territory, purchased by the blood of our brave soldiers, and our slaves bought from them with our money, and upon the interest of which they have grown rich.

We have not unfrequently been branded by northern fanatics, with the opprobrious epithet of man stealers, meaning, I suppose, to make the impression that our slaves were kidnapped from the coast of Africa. But, if they had been, against whom would the charge lie? We had not the shipping, nor had our people found the way to every corner of the earth where a penny may be turned, and, I suppose the abolitionists will hardly be willing for me to show the evidence, fixing the foul felony upon the sons of Old and New England.

But putting the institution upon the footing that many of the forefathers of our slaves were in truth kidnapped, though the avaricious dark-hearted thieves "meant it for evil, God intended it for good." And while he holds those felonious man stealers responsible to the decision of the eternal judgment, he has greatly improved the condition of Joseph, by providentially causing him to be thrown into our honest possession, and as the steward of such a trust, we feel bound to take good care of our charge: and God forbid that the vandalism of Yankee and British fanaticism, should bring against us any iniquitous Pharaoh to wield the sceptre of oppression over them, and us in after generations. Your correspondent would insinuate that the fact of our Southern men voting in Congress to prohibit the importation of slaves from Africa, and also to prevent the extension of slavery to some of the Territories, denoted their disapproval of the institution of slavery. They voted against the slave trade, not because the condition of the poor slaves would not be vastly bettered, by being transported from Africa to this country, but, because the North had enough of them, to push upon our markets; and secondly, because, it was becoming a rather strong temptation to the iniquitous sin of Yankee and British kidnapping.

And we think your correspondent's attempt to use as precedents, to entirely justify the unrestrained overleaping of the constitution those compromises voted for by Southern men, and sanctioned by Southern Presidents, for the sake of the Union, and for the peace of the North, is but one out of many instances of proof that the spirit of abolitionism is marked by the characteristic trait of basest ingratitude. We hesitate not to assert that all those compromises, admitted by the South to conciliate the North, were founded in injustice. For though we hold that every state who might feel it to her interest to put out of her limits negro slavery, should be allowed to do it, if compatible with the rights of her citizens and neighbors. Yet all Territory becoming the property of the United States should be held in common by all her citizens, and that all should be entitled, without restraint, to participate in its occupancy. And why should not the people of the South, with their property, and, with the God of justice and mercy overshadowing them, with the protecting banner of his truth, go into New

Mexico and California carrying the flag of the gospel, to unfurl to their inhabitants, debased far below our negroes in civil condition and religious opportunities? Ah, we ask in truth and justice why not? And the sound of this question having reverberated upon the zephyrs of the far west, sends the echo, as the voice of God, back from the mountains of California, thundering forth "in truth and justice, why not?"

I have no pretention to prophetic vision, but, upon the showing of your correspondent, our slaves are greatly prospering, and the God of heaven has placed not only New but Old Mexico, in such geographical and climatical juxtaposition to our sunny South, that I know not, but when enlargement for our slaves may require, he who has ever favored those walking under the banner of truth and righteousness, may open the way in peace and good will too, for this peculiar institution of slavery to carry its blessings still farther west.

Ah, why we ask, should it not be destined to pass over the battle fields of Mexico to the Halls of the Montezumas, bearing thither the glorious gospel banner, whose motto is "glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will toward men." There not only to give to all classes the true religion, not only to raise the poor Peon to an equality with our slaves in point of religious privileges, but to unshackle his mind fettered in superstition, and elevate him as a descendant of Japheth, to a position in the scale of intellectuality far above the point beyond which the sons of Canaan can ever rise, with God's prophetic doom stamped upon their physical and intellectual organs. But I am reminded that the spirit of declamation has carried me, perhaps, unnecessarily beyond the Rio Grande, below the boundary of New Mexico. I will once more to sober reasoning return.

Our subject has enlarged beyond any thing dreamed of in the commencement of this communication, yet I must be permitted to notice briefly your correspondent's sentiments, as to the effects of the institution of slavery upon human society, and upon us in particular.

In summing up the arguments of Mr. Mann's speech, delivered in Congress, and published over New and Old England, he says: "slavery diminishes the productive capacity of all classes of operatives, bond and free, by cramping their minds in ignorance, thus reducing them to mere machines." Speaking of our farmers, he says: "who is to disturb the master in his wonted dominion over his colored fellowman, or interfere betwixt the solitary shiek in the midst of his plantation and his trembling serfs?" "Will black Nancy or Scipio Africanus, be taught the mysteries of a writ of habeas corpus, or *de homine replegeando*?" In speaking of its effects upon our politicians, he says: "Can christian philanthropy, or enlightened patriotism, look without fear and horror upon such a corruption of the old political faith; or fail to dread and detest, more than ever, an institution, which in sixty years, has thus had time to poison the nature, darken the intellect, and harden the moral sensibilities of the finest minds of the South?" Now what is the representation given in the above language? Is it not that our highest orders are by the institution of slavery reduced to a condition of barbarism; our middle ranks to the condition of the savage Ishmaelites, the Bedouins of Arabia; our lowest orders to doltish machines; and our negroes to the condition of Hottentots. If it does not give such representation, will yourself tell what idea of us, as a people, it could communicate to those many quarters of the world entirely unacquainted with our history and present condition. And, we ask, your correspondent, if, with his knowledge of us, he does not in candor think it a libellous charge expressed in the slang of low abuse? And we will further inquire, whether the pub-

lication of such a tirade of defamation for political effect, at this juncture of things in the country, is compatible with the professed dignity of a religious Review, purporting to be the most elevated channel of christian instruction in New England, and to be borne not only through the public mails into our Congress Halls, to fan the strife of political discord there, but also to be wafted upon the swift steamers across the Atlantic, for the enlightenment of Old England and all Europe.

But I must not recriminate, though it will surely be allowed that this unending torrent of abuse, hurled upon us, ought to justify us in the exercise, at least of christian indignation. But we trust the God, whom we serve, will enable us to restrain any rising of evil temper, and to pity, rather than reproach those, who have so entirely consecrated themselves at the altar of blind fanaticism, as to be incapable of discerning the inductions, both of reason and facts, But lest I again be chargeable with indulging in declamation, let us come to the point in hand.

The position assumed by abolitionism, against the institution of slavery is, that it not only degrades the owner, throwing blasting and mildew upon talent and energy, and sweeps with the besom of degeneracy over every country, where it may be allowed to prevail, and by its prostration of religious, political, and civil incentive to action, proves itself to be the greatest curse that can be inflicted upon any people. I make bold to give this position the most unqualified negation, and assert, without the fear of successful confutation, that nothing but a fanaticism near the borders of lunacy, can be so blind as to assume the above position, against God's institution of slavery, and attempt its defence in sincerity of heart.

The position I take is that which makes the institution worthy of God, its author and owner. I make it the broad platform from which the highest exhibitions of human improvement and greatness known to the world have hailed. And now to the proof. Facts are said to be stubborn things, and it is in such things we propose to deal in the management of this proposition. We refer then first to the Jewish nation. I suppose none but abolition atheists will venture to deny that the Israelites were the most enlightened nation, and the most elevated in moral condition, of any people of antiquity. For they were God's chosen nation, to whom he committed the lively oracles of revealed truth, and among whom he established the only earthly theocracy, he himself being at their helm of State.

Now we quote one of his laws to that people. "Both thy bond-men, and thy bond-maids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids. Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be in your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bond-men forever."

We quote this out of numerous passages, in proof that God appointed the institution among the Jews, because this is very comprehensive, showing that God constituted the institution both absolute and perpetual. Now look at a few of the great men of that nation. Go, if you please, to its founder, the patriarch Abraham, and you see a man with whom angels associate, and with whom God speaks face to face. With that truly great man God's covenants of promise are sealed, and he is constituted the friend of God, and the father of the faithful in all after ages. We suggested, in the outset of our remarks, that Abraham probably owned several thousand bond servants, which is inferable from the fact that he raised an army of his young slaves sufficient to conquer the combined forces of

several heathen kings, who had captured his nephew Lot. Moses, who, in the providence of God, was instructed educationally in all the wisdom of the age, was appointed of God, to be, under the divine authority, law-giver and leader to the Israelitish nation. He too held converse with angels and the God of heaven. To him from Mount Sinai was given the tables of stone, having the moral law engraved upon them by the finger of God himself, and intended, doubtless, to be of unchangeable perpetuity, adapted to all conditions of human society. In the fourth commandment, regulating the institution of the sabbath, we find, "thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man servant, nor thy maid servant." In the tenth commandment it is said, "thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man servant, nor his maid servant." The term servant means slave, subjected to perpetual bondage, when purchased from the neighboring Canaanites especially, and shows that slavery, by the appointment of God, was connected with the very foundation of society in the Jewish government.

Where is the evidence of its withering curse upon that most prosperous nation. Is it exhibited in the displays of most elevated talent, which shown in the lofty style both poetic and prosaic in the compositions of David, Solomon, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, or in the unexampled eloquence of Jesus Christ, and masterly arguments, of that truly great man, of whom Mr. Jefferson says of the band of dupes and imposters, "Paul was the great Corypheus." All Jewish greatness, then, stood upon the platform of God's benevolent institution of slavery, and Christ and all his apostles were cradled upon it, and matured in its bosom, and saw nothing in it but purest benevolence, because they not only experienced the constant proof of its blessing in the social and Church state, but they, under the inspiration of the divine spirit, could see it in its true character, as the foster child of the God of heaven, destined to minister to the poor of the earth, the surest protection and greatest amount of good which falls to their lot next to the soul's salvation.

Let us next take a peep into the history of the heathen world, and, as they derive all their blessings from the true God, though ignorant of his character, so they have in all ages, enjoyed the benefits of the institution of slavery, without knowing the author and owner of the institution.

When we ask who were the most enlightened heathen nations of antiquity, and among whom republican liberty and pure patriotism shone most conspicuously, every school boy answers Greece and Rome. When we further ask what evidence have you of the enlightenment and civil elevation of their social and political condition; of their progress in the sciences and arts, their advancement in agriculture and commerce, and their high refinement of language and manners? the answer of the tyro of the grammar school is, that such testimony is to be seen in every high school and classical library throughout the civilized world, which are depositories of the polished records of their historians, and those monuments of poetry and eloquence of their Bards and Orators, which, though enveloped in the superstitions of idolatry and heathenism, will pass unrivaled, except by the lofty strains of inspired poets, and the soul-thrilling eloquence of Paul, down to the end of time. Look into Grecian and Roman antiquities, and you learn this institution of God, slavery, so much abhorred by blind and invidious Northern Abolitionists, was the basement of their republican system of government, and the sustaining pillar of their social and political greatness. All their martial heroes, statesmen, poets, and orators were nurtured in the bosom of slavery in its most absolute form. Their slaves, however, enjoyed high advantage, in point of educational

instruction, over our slaves. There were no neighboring abolitionists for ever throwing among the slaves the firebrands of discontent and insurrection, and many were taught even in the higher branches of learning, and rendered as clerks and amanuenses, doubly and thrily useful to their owners.

In connexion with the above, another fact of moment may be added at this point. When the Apostle Paul, under his special appointment by Christ to preach the gospel to the Gentiles, proceeded with his gracious message to the Greek and Roman States, highly enlightened in literature and the arts, but deeply sunk in the darkness of idolatry and spiritual wickedness in high places, that inspired man, while leveling the shafts of eternal truth at every unholy practice, though at his personal risk, he was careful to guard the authority of civil institutions, saying, "let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God." He was especially circumspect in watching over the safety and sacredness of the institution of slavery, which every where prevailed to a large extent throughout those heathenish empires. He to the respective Churches, planted under his untiring labors, wrote lengthy epistles, enjoining uncompromising warfare against every species of sin, and every course of conduct incompatible with the character of the living and holy God. Against the sin of uncleanness, whether in the form of adultery, fornication or polygamy; against idolatry in all its shapes, though it were the religion in which the people had been trained and were attached with all the fondness of heathenish prepossessions, he animadverted with unmeasured denunciation, and all these did he require every soul that would find acceptance with God, to forsake at once and for ever.

But so far from giving the first hint at the least wrong connected with the institution of slavery, he was particular in specifically inculcating the minute reciprocal duties of masters and slaves. He every where enjoined upon the slaves submissive obedience and respect to the authority of their masters, and to perform labor in faithfulness, as serving God himself in so doing, and required them to be contented in their condition. Take one or two quotations: "Let every man abide in the same calling, wherein he was called; art thou called, being a servant, care not for it; 1 Cor. vii. 21. Servants be obedient to them that are your masters, according to the flesh, with fear and trembling in singleness of heart as unto Christ, not with eye service, as men pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart;" Eph. vi.—And when he found Onesimus at Rome, who had run away from Philemon, his master, in Greece, the apostle convinced him of his error in forsaking the service of his master, and having shown him that it was incompatible with the institution of slavery, and inconsistent with the service of God, whom he as a convert to christianity professed to love and serve, he gave him a letter conciliatory to his rightful owner, and sent him home.

I suppose this was some of the apostle's corruptness for which Mr. Jefferson so virulently denounced that most noble hearted and holy man of God. Doctor Wayland, however, instead of such unhesitating reprobacy of the apostle, attempts to hold him in fellowship, by putting his special interpretation upon the conduct of the man of God, and explains that though Paul knew clearly slavery to be the vilest sort of sin, yet he abstained from saying aught against it, because he feared it might offend public opinion. Surely this looks like trifling with sacred things.

Ah, that stern and uncompromising servant of God, who so fearlessly hurled the anathemas of God's vengeance against all the workers of ini-

quity, could never have quailed under threats of human tribunals, and thus have disqualified himself to speak the truth in his assertion, "I have not shunned to declare the whole counsel of God," and "I call you to record this day, that I am free from the blood of all men." That fearless servant of Christ was actuated by a more lofty view of the subject. He recognized the institution of slavery to be of divine appointment, and that it was God's merciful shield for the protection and safe-keeping of the poor in the lands of heathenism as well as that of Israel.

Let us proceed to reason further upon the sentimental language of your correspondent, on the particular subject of liberty. He says, "We place a just value upon the Union. But it may be obtained or preserved at a price far beyond its value. In our scale of value liberty is far more precious than Union. And, we honestly believe, that truth, justice, and conscience should take precedence of what the President's Message calls the harmony of the glorious Union." Again, he says: "But, much as we value the Union, we stand prepared to say, let it perish, if in order to preserve it, we must become the propagators of slavery in regions now free."

Now what can be the species of liberty so lovely in the eyes of a rabid abolitionist? It cannot evidently be rational liberty, based upon the Scriptures of eternal truth, and the concessions of the social compact—that liberty which is intended to restrain human corruptions, and to limit the privileges of one citizen by the rights of another—that liberty which essays to sustain the respective orders in society essential to the organization and maintenance of civil government in the social state—that liberty based upon the representative system, and the elective franchise, recognizing the right of trial by a jury of compeers, but which at the same time subjects children, during their minority, to the authority of parents, and places negro slaves under the guardianship and protection of their masters for life, except in criminal cases. For all these traits constitute precisely the character of the liberty vouchsafed to us by Jeffersonian republicanism—the species of true political and religious liberty, which the constitution and laws of this country, and the government of the great American Union, which the Charter of the Constitution cements, have for their object to establish and maintain. As this cannot be the species of liberty, so highly valued by the spirit of abolitionism, the question recurs, what is the kind of liberty for which the bosom of the fanatical abolitionist pants and heaves. Perhaps it is genuine negro liberty; such as fills the idea of a "Scipio Africanus." And what is the negro's notion of liberty? We think the following ingredients compose it viz: To be released from labor while God has made personal labor and active industry essential to the existence and happiness of the whole human race; To be permitted in idleness to revel in the enjoyment of the possessions and rights of others, while God abhors dishonesty and requires diligence in business as a means of support. And lastly, To glut foul passions without restraint, which abomination God will fearfully judge.

A Georgia editor, a few years since, when the question of annulling the license law for retailing spirituous liquors was agitated by the friends of Temperance, speaking of the liberty of which the drunken posse complained of being about to be disfranchized, called that species "mud-hole liberty," the liberty of first dethroning reason by voluntary intoxication, and then wallowing with the swine in every quagmire and ditch into which the self-dementated inebriate might happen to tumble. But the kind of liberty which abolitionists seem to depict to themselves, must be even more degraded and widely ruinous than the liberty of which the drunkard boasts. It is not only to authorize those in governmental office

having the majority to appropriate their neighbor's land to the exclusive use of their own faction; not only to grant to white men the privilege of dividing out their neighbor's possessions, without any equivalent; but it is, to the ruin of the negro race, to turn them from beneath the restraints of wholesome government, and let them loose to ravage and plunder, at option, among the white race at the south.

As to Mr. Jefferson's practical views of political government, I have ever been an admirer of them. We think it has been stated by him, if we mistake not, that he took for his model the regulations of a Baptist Church, somewhere in the mountains of Virginia. His system of republican government was therefore correct, because based upon the principles of the Bible, as every wholesome institution must be. We think it unfortunate, however, that Mr. Jefferson, doubtless without due exercise of his peculiar powers of ratiocination, issued the nonsensical and perfectly inexplicable dogma of the universality of liberty, and general equalization of human rights; which has been seized hold of not merely by abolitionists, but by many political and religious reformers, who under misconception of the principles of rational freedom, are really destroying, instead of establishing the foundation of right government: Whatever interpretation Mr. Jefferson would have given his very untrue dogma of inherent and unalienable liberty in all persons, and I suppose, in all ages and in all countries, it is evident he did not interpret it in the sense of modern abolitionists. For he, together with his compatriots, with whom these abolitionists claim brotherhood, were slaveholders, and gave their dying adherence to the institution of slavery, in never having, as we recollect, manumitted their slaves. Mr. Jefferson would, therefore, have disdained to be found in company with this fanatical gang of marauders and plunderers of other's rights, through perversion of the constitution, intended for the protection of those rights: and it would doubtless have disturbed his dying repose, had the first thought occurred to his mind that this fanatical crew would, after his death, claim him to be the founder and father of abolitionism.

Now a word as to the political and moral condition of the modern sons of Japheth and Shem, whom, in the divine Providence, through the instrumentality of England and the North, Canaan is made to serve in the Southern States. Here, like the Apostle Paul, who would rather glory in his infirmities than speak of his achievements and personal merits, we would prefer to lament over the facts of our folly, in living beneath our privileges, rather than state facts throwing back the numerous slanders which the abolitionists of New and Old England have heaped upon us. We would with shame-facedness confess, that we have lived too much at ease, and have not exerted to the extent of our ability the opportunities afforded for the culture of the genius and talents which God, and our climate and institutions have given us.

Southern literature has not thus attained the high degree of polish of which it is susceptible by the leisure afforded the whites, to cultivate science and learning, while our slaves cultivate the soil and do the drudgery labor in the departments of the more domestic service. We admit that we have engaged too exclusively in agricultural pursuits, and especially in the culture of cotton, the great and peculiar staple of the sunny South, and have thereby overproduced that important article which we have been almost giving to the North and other enterprising parts of the world, upon the manufacture and commerce of which their people are growing rich, while they, with shameless ingratitude, throw upon us the sneering taunt that the impoverishment of our soil and of ourselves is the curse of slavery upon us, which they say, "is a millstone

about our necks dragging us down to perdition," pecuniarily, morally, and politically. We would, instead of speaking of facts to silence such defamation of abolitionists, rather exhort our sister States of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Missouri, whose climate is not adapted to the culture of cotton, to establish factories for its manufacture, and railroads, and canals in every quarter for its transportation, and make their slaves enrich them through the manufacture and commerce of our great staple. We would entreat the cotton growing regions to continue the wise plan of rearing up factories in their midst, and also to divide their labor still more by raising in great abundance their provisions and stock. And were we to make only enough of the peculiar staple of the South to supply our own Southern manufacturing interests, we should not only see things working well for our unexampled prosperity, but we should see the abolitionists of New and Old England brought to their senses; and arrested in their abuse of us and our institutions.

Says the reviewer of the congressional orations: "It seems to us little less than miraculous that our Southern neighbors cling as with parental affection to a social and political state which is abhorrent to all our notions of happiness, goodness, and prosperity; that they cannot see, and do not feel, and will not confess, that slavery is a millstone about their necks, dragging them deeper and deeper into the abyss; that it is necessary for us to collect and array as evidence the facts which daily, and in detail, stare them in the face, and to overwhelm them with statistics; and that, even then, their prominent emotion seems to be an indignant surprise that we will impertinently meddle with mischiefs all their own."

The above shows that all the notions of happiness, goodness, and prosperity, which a rabid abolitionist entertains of slavery, is precisely the reverse of God's notions upon the same subject, for the omniscient Governor of the universe appointed the institution of slavery among his chosen and peculiar people, and under his divine goodness made it to that favored nation the great source of happiness and unexampled prosperity.

Now since abolitionists come so wide of the truth, on the abstract principle of slavery, God himself being judge, how does this conceited reviewer know to the contrary, but that his notions, and Mr. Mann's notions, and those of all that sort, may be equally founded in blind fanatical error, in regard to our social state, and political condition, which God has seen proper to assign us in the bosom of an institution to the authorship and ownership of which his high claim must not be disputed. If this divine institution does not amongst us set forth palpable evidence of the unspeakable goodness of its high author, and equal signs of political happiness and prosperity in the Southern commonwealth, it is because we have forfeited its benefits, by neglecting and misimproving its advantages.

But how shall we ascertain whether there is any redeeming trait in the character of Southern slavery, which bespeaks it worthy of its author, and makes it give the negation positive to the abolition slanders thrown upon us by your correspondent in the Review, and by his admired orators, who represent us bordering at least upon a state of barbarism? As the Apostle said to some brethren, rather wise in their own conceit, "Ye suffer fools gladly, seeing ye yourselves are wise." So we will refer our abolition opponents to a few of those stubborn things called facts, connected with our political, social, and religious condition, and which seem to have escaped their most astute observation.

What then is the testimony of history, as to the patriotism and unflinching valor of the Southern States? Is it not that her generals and soldiers have ever moved at the call of their country, and faced, with dauntless

courage, the invading foe, and that they have been celebrated for that skill and bravery upon the battle field, which have entitled them to the epithet "chivalric," not in abolition sarcasm, but in the best, the true import of the term?

What is the same kind of testimony concerning the statesmen and orators of the South? Is it not, to say the least, that a due proportion of those, whose skill in statesmanship and political economy, have assigned them high stations, either in the cabinet, at home, or in the departments of diplomacy abroad, have hailed from the South. And can it be denied that a very large proportion of the most polished orators and jurists, whose high-toned eloquence and powers of argumentation, have attracted admiring crowds, have taken their rise from the bosom of the institution appointed and owned of God, though hated and execrated by the spirit of abolitionism?

And if elevation to the highest office in the gift of the American republic can be considered indicative of superior order of intellect, then the proportion of talents at the south will be to that of the north as nine to three. For, while the north has furnished but three out of twelve Presidents, the other nine have been natives of slaveholding states of the south, and most of them have approved the institution, to which they have been indebted for their greatness under God, by not manumitting their own slaves! But if the occupancy of the Presidential chair be the basis, the proportion will be forty-eight to twelve for five southern Presidents, held it two terms. But whatever we may have been in days of yore, we are represented as being now a posse of degenerate ignoramuses and heroes of Bowie-kife memory. Is this true? Do not those stubborn things speak better testimony for the present generation? Did the skill and unexampled bravery of our Generals and Soldiers in the battle fields of the late Mexican war, denote a deterioration from the days of our Washingtons, and Jacksons, and Harrisons? And do the hightoned eloquence and legal skill of our Calhouns, and Berriens, and Clays, bespeak any falling off from the days of our Henrys, and Marshalls and Randolphs? Nor does the brilliant administration of the virtuous and energetic Polk, who has, with a masterly hand, directed our ship of state through a stormy voyage, exhibit any deficiency in the gubernatorial ability of the southern intellect? Whether we look at the skill in the selection of his cabinet, or in the choice and direction of his Generals, which skill crowned the arms of his country with imperishable renown; or whether we look at the style of composition, or tone of patriotism which characterizes his public messages or private instructions, shall we find any evidenee of degeneracy, from the times of his illustrious predecessors?

If we look into the department of religion, in point of pulpit eloquence, do our Manleys, and Fullers, and Howells, indicate a degeneracy since the days of our Furmans, and Mercers, and Brantleys? We wish to indulge in no invidious comparison with the north, as to any of these departments. But we think the bright galaxy of talents for which the south has long been, and is now distinguished, gives the negative to the defamatory ranting of northern abolitionists; and, to say the least bepeaks us to be a people capable of attending to our own affairs.

Your correspondent frequently speaks sneeringly of "the slave power." Perhaps he had as well call southern influence by its proper name, intellectual power. But we forbear on this point. As to religion, we confess we have none to spare. We, however, believe the Bible to be the Word of God, and to mean just what it says. Upon that principle we take it for the man of our counsel. Our slaves, in common with their owners, are

privileged to hear the Gospel, and participate in its ordinances. There are but few isms of a heretical or fanatical character amongst us. We are never, in the old settlements troubled with mobs and fanatical outbreaks. And though there may have gathered, upon the frontiers, many ruffians of Bowie-kife fame, both from the north and the south, yet thousands of southerners never saw such a thing as a Bowie-knife, and had a new accession of knowledge when Mr. Mann's speech, having made the circuit of New and Old England, gave the information, that such was the savage condition of the southern states, that the Bowie-knife was made the arbiter of disputes. We think that instead of such barbarism, truth and impartial history must concede to the society of the slaveholding states, the traits of noble-mindedness, kind-heartedness, benevolence, generosity, hospitality, politeness and polish of manners, as characteristic of the citizens of the south.

As to our social condition, there is as marked a difference of caste, between the two races among us, as exists between them at the north. And any white person putting himself upon a level with a negro, in any thing except religion, is considered, by the common consent of all parties, white and black, to be degraded; and perhaps to an equal extent with the degradation of him who acts in like manner with the free negro at the north. Yet there does exist a reciprocity of good feeling between the races with us, which in the nature of the case, cannot be known at the north. The Saviour, in the parable of the sheep-fold, represents his ownership, in his people, as constituting that strong attachment for them, which engaged for their protection and safe-keeping his attributes of omniscience and omnipotence. And the combined influence of interest and humanity, forms, in the master's bosom, that strange but noble regard for his slave, which recognizes any wanton injury done to his dependant as constituting an open insult to his own person; and the slave, looking to his master as his best earthly friend, feels toward him an affection, composed of deep gratitude and warm friendship. Is not the hand of God in such connexion?

Your correspondent says, "slavery has always been aggressive in its character and movements. Like sin entering Paradise, whenever and wherever it first appears it comes without law, in opposition to law, in defiance of law." This sweeping denunciation, I suppose, to the mind of a very mad abolitionist, would seem to constitute an argument beyond possibility of confutation. But, would it not be well for those writing for a *Christain Review*, to be careful to make some exceptions in their declaratory assertions, lest their positions might be suspected of being somewhat untrue in the absence of proof; as for instance, if he meant slavery in general, the Jews might remind him that slavery entered amongst the Israelites under a law of very high authority. I suppose the Greeks and Romans had a law for its entrance among them, though it might be the law of conquest. I even suppose that the slaves first entering this country, belonged to the importers, who had purchased them from the aborigines, who had likely gotten them under the law of conquest; and being the property of the importers, surely they introduced them into this country under the laws which protect the rights and property of citizens, and slavery has travelled no where in this country except under sanction of the constitution of the Union and the States. But we would ask if the gentleman's sweeping eloquence would not more decidedly apply to his abolition principles and books which sustain them, than to the institution which he condemns by the argument absolute, mere declamation. Those who attempt to carry out abolitionism by the law of God, must be compelled to do one of three things with the Bible, denounce it entirely, or in part, or

explain away its most obvious import. Garrison, if reports be true, pursued the first method, Mr. Jefferson, upon the showing of his letter, adopted the second, and Dr. Wayland the last. His principle of exigesis seems to be, if we have not mistaken his book on morals, that although the Bible recognizes the existence of slavery and legislates for it, yet God does not mean what the letter of his word evidently imports, but that there is some hidden principle concealed behind the word, we presume the leaven of abolitionism, which God intended to secretly undermine the foundation of slavery, and imperceptibly effect its removal, and thus avoid consequences of which God was afraid if he attacked it openly!!! Now we ask if this is not the very principle upon which sin entered Paradise? God had placed before its happy inmates, in plain language, a certain prohibition and annexed penalty, in case of transgression. "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." Now comes the devil and says to the innocent tenants of Paradise, ye shall not surely die; for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened: and ye shall be as gods knowing good and evil." In other words, the arch fiend told our first parents that God did not mean what he had said. They adopted the fearful error and proceeded to act upon it. The result was the infliction of the penalty, so far as to introduce sin into the world, which continues yet to fling a moral desolation over the works of God. And it is those books coming from some of the master spirits of the nation, which sophistically pervert the great principles of truth and fact, and which, by seeking to carry out the false notions of universal equality, are striking at the very vitals of the social compact, and must unhinge the foundations of law and government, and carry agrarianism, mobocracy and anarchy in their wake. Is it not time for Doctor Wayland to consider the present results to which his moral science, the school book of New England, has led, and hasten to recant its erroneous principles before they drench the land in blood!

APPENDIX.

The author begs leave to trouble the reader with a review of several of the positions taken in the letter to the Christian Review.

1st. The influence and purpose of the abolition faction in Congress, see page 6. To satisfy the reader of the truth of our position on this point, let us advert briefly to the history of Abolitionism in this country. That the spirit of this species of fanaticism existed previously to the formation of the United States Constitution is evinced by the safeguards to slavery, introduced into that instrument by its wise framers, for the protection of the Southern States, and without which they would not have entered into the compact. That this spirit was doing its work of fanaticism, even under the old Confederacy, is exhibited in the case of the celebrated ordinance of 1787, which excluded the South from all participation in the great North-western Territory ceded by Virginia to the United States; in which the Legislature of that State, without foreseeing the results, were the chief agents. It was seen prominently active for the first time we think, in opposition to the principles of the present Constitution, in the so called Missouri Compromise of 1820, which most unjustly excluded the South from much of the Louisiana country, purchased from France with the common funds of the United States, and where slavery existed at the time of its acquisition. Again did this spirit act out its unjust principles quite boldly in the Oregon bill of 1849, prohibiting the South for ever from the enjoyment of all privilege in that extensive domain, to which she had equal rights with the North. These vast countries having been rapidly populated from the North and by immigrants from Europe, of anti-slavery views, have been from time to time admitted into the Union as States, until their representatives now have the majority in Congress, and their Senators are equal with those of the South. This dishonest and selfish spirit has been turbulent in its demands to exclude, under the form of the Wilmot Proviso, the South as in the former cases from every acre of the extensive and rich territory acquired under the Mexican treaty at vast cost of blood and treasure, of which the South has most clearly furnished more than her medium share. The injustice in this is not alone in pecuniary loss, but by this predatory measure the political equilibrium between the North and South is sought to be destroyed, and the South henceforth to be deprived of equality in the councils of the country. And the fearful danger of submission on the part of the South to this last turn of the aggressive and insatiate screw is seen in the fact that it places us in the power of the abolition faction. Let us look our danger in the face, by adverting to the character and avowed purposes of Abolitionism, under whose final control we fall, if shut out of the new territory, and submit to it. The abolition spirit in its early career professed to be simply anti-slavery, and aimed only to prevent the extension of slavery, as avowed, in prohibiting the foreign slave trade, and in the aggressive measures of

excluding slave labor from the territories, as just referred to. But perhaps fanned by the flame of British fanaticism, under Clarkson and other enthusiasts of England, the spirit assumed a fanatical character in this country, and its votaries took the high ground that slavery is the greatest sin, and must be abolished at once, and at all hazards, and without regard to compensation. Dr. Channing, as quoted by Thornton, p. 136, says, "The slave cannot rightfully, and should not be owned by any body. "His master is educated in injustice, and has exercised a usurped power from his birth." Again he says, "There is but one obstacle to emancipation, and that is the want of that spirit in which Christians and freemen should resolve to exterminate slavery." With such authority as this New England Doctor of Divinity, and aided we believe by emissaries from the British Anti-slavery Society, the Northern abolitionists threw themselves into social combinations, and proceeded with their mad work of effecting the immediate liberation of all Southern slaves. They brought the press into requisition and attempted the use of the public mail to flood the South with the most inflammatory publications, intended to excite the slaves to insurrection. They were disappointed in this diabolical attempt by the vigilance of the South; in making bonfires of those incendiary works sent in this direction; they, however, filled the whole of the non-slaveholding States with their tracts and books designed to prejudice the entire public opinion against the South. They next determined to reach their object through the legislation of the country. They proceeded to load the tables of Congressional representatives with petitions against slavery; and as early as 1838 the American Anti-slavery Society passed this resolution, in order to secure the political ascendancy of their faction, so as to control the legislative departments of the States and of Congress: "*Resolved*, That we deprecate the organization of any political party; but that we recommend to abolitionists, throughout the country, to interrogate candidates for office, with reference to their opinions on subjects connected with the abolition of slavery: and to vote, irrespective of party, for those only who will advocate the principles of universal liberty." In the report of that year it is shown that they raised \$40,000. The same year they boasted of 40,000 voters in New York, which must carry the election in any State where the parties are nicely balanced; employed 38 travelling agents, and 75 local lecturers. The issues from their presses were 646,550 abolition publications, of which 12,954 were bound volumes! Their auxiliaries then numbered 1350, of which 13 were State societies. Their operations have been carried on ever since, it is presumed, with increasing vigor—and all this array of agitation to control public opinion, and get into office, and especially into the legislative councils of the country, those time-serving demagogues such as senator Seward who would be the more readily tempted to appear on the public arena for popular favor, because their election would be ensured to the almost exclusion of wise and honest politicians. It is thus the abolitionists now boast of holding in their hands the political power of the non-slaveholding State Legislatures, and of the Congress of the Union! Already have their majorities passed legislative acts in most of the free States, in direct defiance of the constitutional provision for the delivery of fugitive slaves, accompanied with the most insulting resolutions against the South, and for our exclusion from all the public territory. As they have a majority in the Representative branch of Congress, and by the pledges of several Southern Senators, are assured of their success in the Senate, they have dropped their Wilmot Proviso scheme of excluding the South from the New Territories, and are now seeking to mature the more insidious and speedy accomplishment of their purposes against the South, by bringing

California and New Mexico, as States, with the slavery prohibition annexed, at once into the Union. California's Senators are now knocking for admission, and as soon as they enter, the abolitionists will have the numerical strength in the councils of the nation, and will be prepared to carry out their ultimate purposes against the Southern States. Are we not, therefore, upon the verge of a fearful crisis, and the Union in the most imminent danger, either of being dissolved, or of becoming the instrument of unheard of oppression to the degraded and ruined people of the Southern States. And that this is not a mere picture of the imagination under false alarm may be judged of from the declaration of Mr. Seward in a late speech in the U. S. Senate that he was bound to act under an obligation higher than that imposed by his oath upon the Bible to support the American Constitution. Where then is the safety of that sacred instrument and the minority it was intended to protect when put under the keeping of a majority having consciences as elastic as that of Mr. Seward. What then are we to think of those Southern presses and Southern politicians who denounce that great statesman and honest politician, the late Mr. Calhoun, who, as a faithful sentinel of the South, has warned us of our danger, and the North of her responsibility? Are they irrecoverably blinded by party spirit, and determined to sanction the Southern treachery, which aims to bargain away their country? But we are here reminded of another position in the letter to the Christian Review: That any legislative act of Congress, which shall elbow us out of the New Territory, must thrust us out of the Union. See Page 10.

This sentiment, which perhaps a year ago was considered ultra, was uttered in reference to the Wilmot scheme. It was not then even anticipated by the abolitionists themselves, that a region of territory, large enough for seven or eight States could, with the anti-slavery proviso, attached, be smuggled into the Union as a State. Yet this extraordinary measure has been gotten up, and is sought to be carried out; and the most strange thing in the case is the melancholy truth that Southern agency, without which it could not be effected, is made by the abolitionists the sole instrumentality for doing this suicidal deed for the South. The President represents that he has taken a prominent part in this strange work, in order to secure peace to the country, by putting the vexatious question of slavery agitation to rest—a truly novel plan of settling a just claim of vital interest so as to quell the disquietude of the aggrieved party, by Delilah like tying them neck and heels, and committing them to the hands of triumphant enemies! And while most of our Southern members in the national legislature, having discovered the trick, are making opposition to it with laudable zeal, there are a few, blinded by party, or influenced from selfish ends, who are barefaced in conniving at the measure that is to bind the South in irrefragable chains and deliver her up shorn of her strength into the hands of relentless foes. Will she not at least be expected to writhe under the agitations of a wounded spirit which none can bear, and peradventure may, Sampson-like, in her death struggle, shake down the pillars of the Union, which the President thinks to sustain by the army, navy, and treasury of the country: such threat at least the Northern presses understand him to utter.

How could any person dream that the South would submit tamely to this abolition scheme, which not only deprives her of her pecuniary rights, and her political influence, but threatens her with absolute degradation and final desolation?

The territory to be appropriated exclusively to the use of others was acquired by the cost of blood and treasure, for the spilling of which blood the South

furnished nearly two-thirds of the brave soldiers to fight the battles, and about the same proportion of the public revenue which paid the expenses of the war, and the twenty millions of dollars for the purchase of the territory, and the settlement of claims on Mexico. And who are these Californians to whom the vast possession is assigned? Can they, to say the least, be recognized in any other light than squatters in the country? Whence their authority to seize upon the rich gold mines of California, and then organize themselves into a State, and say the people of the Southern States shall never participate in the benefits of this vast domain, for which we paid so dearly? Do they answer, the President authorized them to pursue such course? We again ask, whence his authority thus to direct them? And what is the character of the power under whose control this illegal and unconstitutional act precipitates the whole Southern States? To say nothing of pecuniary loss and political degradation, this predatory measure would at once throw us into the tyrant grasp of abolitionism—a species of fanaticism resembling the religious phrenzy of the Jews, after they had perverted the right ways of the Lord. The fanatical delusion under which they labored induced them in all good conscience to suppose, that in butchering the saints they did God service; nor could their fanaticism rest short of taking the life's blood of the innocent Saviour of the world—What could we expect on submitting tamely to such a spirit? It caused the majority in the French Government to pursue the course which covered the Island of St. Domingo with blood, and exterminated the white race, while it left the blacks to lapse back into a state of despotic barbarism, as their present condition presents to the world. In the British Parliament it caused the majority to ruin their flourishing West India colonies by freeing the negroes. For though they had the honesty to pay the owners, yet the free negro depredations, idleness, and dissipation have overspread those once productive lands with a state of comparative desolation. It is the spirit which prompted the majority of the Quaker Communion of this country to require their members not only to free their slaves, but to pay them back wages, which was equivalent to dividing out among them their other property. This latter is perhaps the most favorable result to which we might look from yielding in tame non-resistance to the measure of admitting California. Let us then with all candor say to the North, that as this abolition strategem would leave us to choose between the two alternatives of submission to a state of extermination, or at best degraded vassalage, or resort to our own resources for self-preservation; that she cannot mistake in judging which horn of the dilemma will be chosen, and that responsibility must rest upon themselves. Nor must we either be coaxed, or driven from this position. Many movements are now in agitation to effect our submission to this measure of robbery and oppression. Meetings have been held in some of the Northern cities whose vitality depends upon the arterial action of Southern commerce, professing friendship for their Southern brethren, and that they are willing to compromise with us most fairly; but lo! it is to be upon Mr. Clay's bid for the Presidency, to take from us California, and a large part of Texas into the bargain, and insult that gallant State by offering her a handsome bribe from the public treasury to reconcile them to the measure; Mr. Webster, too, has made in Congress his great pacification speech, in which we suppose he has gone about as far as any Northern man could venture, to escape repudiation by his constituents; and it yet remains to be seen whether he will not be sacrificed for his temerity in acknowledging that the South has been wronged, and in promising us better things for the future; that the North must secure us in our consti-

tational rights—in delivering up our fugitive slaves, and dividing up Texas into four slave States, and that the Wilmot Proviso is dead, and must not any longer interfere with God's proviso in keeping slavery out of the new territory. But mark all this honeyed sophistry is to justify his intended vote for the admission of California, with her present enormous boundaries, and slavery prohibition! Mr. Webster must excuse us for being reminded of the Grecian stratagem for the sacking of Troy, by the introduction within the walls, of the massive wooden horse, filled with armed Greeks, as a peace-offering, and that a foreseeing Trojan remonstrated against the deceptive trick in foreboding language, "*Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes.*" Let us beware of the syren song of Northern sophistry. Suppose upon consenting to the admission of California, that Texas be divided into four States, and admitted with California; the arrangement would seem to give us two majority. When lo! there are in waiting New Mexico, Desseret, Minnesota, Utah, and Oregon, to be immediately admitted, under the precedent of California, or upon the same principle, leaving us at once in the helpless and hopeless minority; and when California, New Mexico, and Oregon are divided up into a dozen States, filled with the dregs of Europe, with all their anti-slavery hatred to us, what will be our predicament! and when these add to their forces the Canadas, where will be our ability for self-protection!!

If the rational portion of the North be sincere in their pacific feelings and wishes toward the South, let them guaranty to us our constitutional rights. The great chart of the Union intended us to enjoy political equality in the councils of the nation; that is all we ask for. Let us then have our full share in the late acquisition of territory, and as the swindling process of the slavery prohibition, which has deprived us of our rights and political influence in the millions of acres of Western lands, to which the Constitution entitled us, may, as it certainly will, upon the ultimate settling-up of the territories, leave us in the minority in the electoral college, and in both departments of Congress, they must allow us an equal vote with them.

Let the North now give the South assurance by some rule of irrefragable certainty, that the basis of representation shall be such in the Southern states as to give us at all future times a number of votes equal to that of the North, both in the electoral college for the Presidency, and also in each branch of the National Congress so as to afford us equality of influence in the councils of the nation, by which the tariff is to be arranged for the raising and disbursing of the public revenue. Without this just and constitutional right, one of the original features of the Union, which was necessary to the South's entrance into the partnership, aside from having our institution of slavery crippled or destroyed by any fanatical majority, who might rule the destinies of the nation through Congress, they might grind us down into the dust by loading us with onerous burdens under an unjust tariff, and thus appropriate our products to the exclusive building up of those regions of vast territory, from which we have been so unrighteously shut out. We should not, therefore, be coaxed into any compromise which will not vouchsafe to us in perpetuity, equality of political influence in the Union. Perhaps, it was for the security to the South of such equal privilege with the North that Mr. Calhoun thought an amendment to the constitution necessary—and let the South be solemnly mindful of the fact that the daily increase of Northern strength by the filling up of these territories, from the participation in which we are barred, limits the time of this ultimate settlement to this special juncture in our history, while we have physical ability for self protection.

Nor should we be driven from this position by threats from any quarter.

Already has it been heralded abroad by abolition prints, that the President has given assurance that he will call for an army of abolition volunteers, and head them in person to suppress by the sword any Southern resistance to his abolition measure of depriving the whole Southern states of their territorial rights and national influence—equivalent to selling them to the abolition faction with yokes upon their necks! Surely it cannot be that the President has been so imprudent as to give that faction any direct ground for this foolish hectoring and bragadocio triumph. For he would fall too short of the knowledge of human nature, not to perceive that such adding of insult to injury could not fail to rouse the indignation and scorn of any gallant and high minded people. Several of the orators have made speeches in Congress in true keeping with the abolition spirit, to which we refer merely to show the atrocity and absurdity of that spirit. Those orators in brandishing style have threatened how many regiments of abolitionists will be marched upon us, and what bloody deeds their swords will achieve, if we dare to move while the President is binding his cords upon us. That is, they will, aid the President to compel us *vi et armis* to remain in the Union, (of course against our consent,) after all our constitutional rights are taken from us. What would they want with us, thus degraded and down trodden but to be their slaves. Yet they profess to be opposed to slavery. They charge it upon us to be a very aggravated sin to hold in servitude the descendants of those slaves which the North sold us, and whose condition is now better than that enjoyed by the negro race in any other part of the world—but in setting them free, those abolitionists would make their condition infinitely worse than it now is, as exemplified in the British Islands. And in their mad crusade against us to do that evil deed, they are to murder a part of us and make slaves of the rest! So that upon the showing of abolitionism, they are guilty of fourfold, while they only charge us with one sin: viz: 1 They worst the slaves condition. 2 They commit murder against us. 3 They reduce to slavery their brethren. 4 They hold us to service without our consent. May we not here suggest to those redoubtable heroes that their attempts to reduce the south to such extremity would compel us to form a foreign alliance and tempt us to go for the recovery of our lost Territory and the extension of slavery just where God might chose to carry it?

But the anti-southern course of General Taylor is not only matter of disappointment and deep regret to the writer and others, who advocated his election on the ground of his being a southern slaveholder, but to every true friend of the south. We were not surprised that Mr. Clay should volunteer to be the Mouth-piece for the abolition party in Congress, as he made a strong effort to effect the abolition of slavery in his own state after his election to the Senate of the United States; we did not wonder at Mr. Benton's movements in Congress from his course at home, and his known character; nor did we feel much astonished at General Scott's bid for the Presidency in suggesting to the abolitionists the hope of his services to subdue southern rebels: as he wished to be the competitor of Gen. Taylor in the last canvass but failed to get the nomination. But when we saw our southern President to whose administration we had looked for justice to be accorded to the south, select for his advisers in the Executive Department, several abolitionists died in the wool, and gave the country to understand that he would rest the chief responsibility of the executive upon his cabinet, we feared the consequences. And when to shun the necessity of vetoing the Wilmot proviso he lent to the abolition faction all his influence of martial fame and elevation of station to accomplish by stratagem, and in the shortest time their

mad designs against the dearest interest of his native South, we could-but be reminded of one of old, who on seeing his trusty friend among his betrayers, exclaimed in the tone of despairing courage "*Et tu Brute.*" I have alluded to this anti-southern course in these leading southern men not to be thought uncourteous in impeaching their motives, but to expose to view the danger of divisions among ourselves, and to show the necessity of having the important question of Southern interests and rights at once settled upon principles of constitutional equality. For, if we submit to any compromise depriving us of equal standing in the nation, we shall be liable to the great evil among ourselves of being speedily overrun with demagogues of the South, who aspiring to the Presidency or other high offices will sacrifice us for Northern votes, and we, as a divided house, will be doomed to fall. Let this fearful fact, therefore stimulate the South now to contend for her constitutional rights and to persist in her claims and rest satisfied with nothing short of her appropriate political influence in the nation.

Although this article is about to reach an unintended length, we must remark somewhat at large upon the resources of Southern independence.

And how is our separate nationality to be achieved and maintained in case of all redress of grievances being refused by the general government.

We answer the first point—by peaceful secession—if possible. Where the necessity of bloodshed and carnage in the case? The South aims not to hurt a hair of the head of a single Northern man. The South desires not to encroach upon any right of the North, and intends not to set a foot in the spirit of hostile invasion upon an inch of the North's territorial provinces. She has no disposition to retaliate for the wrongs of which we so justly complain. Nor does the South ask at the hands of the North to make the least sacrifice of their just and constitutional rights in the measure of compromise which will satisfy us. For we have simply asked them to let us remain in the Union with them under the original intentions of the Constitution upon the equality of brotherhood. If then the North have no fellowship with us, and refuse to allow us the standing of political equality with them, we shall have exhausted the argument by presenting in respectful terms our request, that they will allow us to depart in peace—a request based upon the great principle that two cannot walk together except they be agreed.

But Mr. Webster scouts the idea of a peaceful separation and alledges that no instance in history could be presented in proof of the political ties of any great government having been dissolved without revolutionary blood shed and civil commotion: But if he will take the trouble to look into the case of the disruption of the Jewish Kingdom after the death of Solomon, he will see at least one instance of a bloodless separation, with the single exception of a revenue officer being stoned to death by the seceding party. This interesting case is recorded in the first book of Kings, 12th chapter, and ought to afford instruction to our President and his advisers in the present crisis of our country's affairs. Certain tribes of Israel who felt themselves aggrieved by the unjust action of the government, asked respectfully to be relieved from their insufferable burdens. The King promised to take their case under advisement for three days, at the expiration of which short period they were to return for an answer. The King was advised by aged and discreet men to return an answer fraught with gentle words and promises of just treatment. But certain young upstarts advised the return of a rough answer delivered in threatening attitude, very much like the abolitionists advise our President to give the Southern complainants. Accordingly the inexperienced Rehoboam adhering to the rash counsellors, answered, "My father made your yoke

heavy and I will add to your yoke: My father chastised you with whips but I will chastise you with scorpions." The aggrieved party unhesitatingly replied, "What portion have we in David, neither have we any inheritance in the son of Jesse. To your tents O Israel: now see to thine own house David."

When they had slain the officer sent to collect the accustomed taxes, King Rehoboam raised an army of 180,000 chosen warriors to reduce them by force to submission; an army I suppose fully as large as the abolitionists could raise from the dregs of Europe, which have been disgorged among them, for a similar purpose against their Southern brethren. But God interposed by one of his prophets and forbade them to engage in the dirty and criminal work of butchering "their brethren" and they were doubtless ashamed and concluded to let the matter drop. Now with this positive expression of Gods disapprobation and significant rebuke against a similar course of procedure, how would the President, through his indiscreet advisers have the temerity to array against us all the means within his control to forcibly deny our right of peaceful secession, and compel us to yield submissive obedience to the arbitrament of tyranny and oppression assigned us under the dictation of abolitionism? But let us look at the worst feature of this possible case. Then suppose that the President adhering to the fanatical counsel of his wrong advisers were in disregard to the divine forbidding to order out the national forces against us, could he expect to prosper in such an onslaught upon an innocent and brave people with God and his word as their bulwark of defence? would he not have reason to apprehend the fate of the combined heathenish hosts, who for predatory purposes invaded the land of Judea, during the reign of Jehoshaphat, and whom God turned against themselves and caused to destroy one another, without a blow being struck by the Israelites, 11 chron. xx. We recollect, too, the signal victory under the protection of God, Gideon gained with 300 men over the numerous hosts of Midianites, by the simple use of trumpets and broken pitchers, accompanied by the shout of "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon," Judges, vii. We remember too, that the same God enabled the stripling shepherd boy, the young David to smite with a pebble, the vaunting giant who "defied the armies of the living God." and sever his head from his shoulders with his own sword. It is this God whom we wish to obey and in whose protection we trust. But although God invariably protected his Israel against the surrounding heathen nations, while they obeyed and honored him, yet he suffered their enemies to triumph over them for their punishment when they sinned against him. I know not but that God may be offended against us, even of the South, for the part which our fathers acted in the arrest of the divine Providence which was bettering the condition of the poor African slaves by transferring them from their condition of savage servitude to be the servants of Japheth, occupying the tents of Shem in this gospel land, according to God's purpose concerning Canaan, see Gen. ix 28. Had not the foreign slave trade been broken up in this country and the slave forbidden to enter, the millions of acres of western territory of which we have suffered ourselves to be robbed of all participation, the greater part of this whole continent would be now filled with slaveholders and their civilized and christianized African slaves, constituting the best state of society, and the country would instead of its present state of turmoil, exhibit to the world the grand spectacle of the most powerful nation resting in harmony, under the banner of the God of heaven. May we repent in dust and obtain forgiveness for the offensive part we may have acted directly or indirectly, ignorantly or knowingly in preventing the divine Providence from blessing our whole country with such har-

mony and prosperity, and the poor sons of benighted Africa with such a condition of gracious protection under the gospel standard.

But there is another aspect in which we must view our prospects in the act of secession. Beside other peculiarly critical points, which make this the special conjuncture of events, urging upon us the pressure of our claims, and the necessity of secession in case of refusal, and the almost only probability of that necessary work being done peacefully, is the fact that we have a Southern President, and a few Southern men of his Cabinet at the helm of the general Government. Now, although they may from party blindness have been deluded into the unrighteous abolition measure intended to shut us out of the new territory by urging California to assume the attitude of a state for admission into the Union, yet they cannot be lost utterly to the recognition of the welfare of their native South. And upon the review of the palpable disadvantages to us and our property resulting from carrying the measure of admitting California with a Constitution forever excluding the South, into effect, must compel them under the convictions of truth and justice to accord to us, at least, the justness of our complaints. Look at the case, not so much in view of the necessities of the present generation as the interest of future generations. The least unfavorable aspect in the purposes of the abolitionists, in excluding us from participation in the new territories as was boasted by, at least, one of their Orators in the congressional debates of last session and by several of them the present session, is, to cripple our institution of slavery by hemming us into so narrow a compass, that the future increase of our slaves would render the institution a burden to us, and by destroying their value, compel us from interest to free our negroes. And were California admitted as a state, and new Mexico to follow, as intended by the administration scheme, thus excluding us from the great outlet to the Pacific Ocean, what, sure enough, would be the condition of our posterity a few generations hence. The slave population under their unexampled increase caused by the health and happiness secured to the race under the protection of God's gracious and merciful institution slavery, in a few half centuries would fill to crowding our present bounds. Does not justice therefore to posterity require us to secede from the Union, if elbowed out of the territorial acquisition under the Mexican treaty. For this high handed measure of robbery against us would not only inflict upon us personal oppression in depriving us of our just rights and degrading our political standing in the nation, but it would bind our posterity in chains, as well as destroy billions of dollars of their heritage, and lay desolate the fairest region of God's creation. We must then make the admission of California as contemplated, the irrevocable cause of secession from the Union in order to be at liberty to procure an outlet for our institution, by purchasing up lower Colifornia, Tamaulapas, and other comparatively waste territory of Mexico, and from doing which, we should be prohibited by continuing in that Union, whose plundering rapacity has not only said we shall have no part nor lot in the present New Territories, but has decreed that our institution of slavery shall never extend beyond its present limits. Let us then breast up for the protection of the rights of ourselves and our posterity, which were secured to us by the blood of our forefathers, and say to the general government at whose helm is a Southern President, that they must grant us our territorial privileges and equal standing in the national councils, or the memory of our revolutionary sires, our own self respect and the welfare of our posterity combine in impelling us to leave the Union, which has departed from its original design and pledge, to secure our rights and protect our persons and pro-

perty, and has become converted into a machine for the untold oppression of ourselves and our children and their descendants.

But again the question recurs where the necessity, or even probability of bloodshed and civil commotion being the result of the South's dernier resort to secession? Were they not sovereign States exercising freedom of choice in entering the compact, whose great chart of agreement pledged the assurance of higher safety and protection to their rights as the ground of inducement to the South to enter the Union. But since such protection is not only denied, but her rights filched from her, and her equality of brotherhood destroyed under the legislation of the General Government, why should we not claim the exercise of free choice in withdrawing peacefully from the Union, which has become faithless to its pledges? We propose to lay no burden upon the North in taking this step, to which her aggressions drive us. We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel, and bear the expenses of our own support in our separate position. And what would be the consummate folly of an attempt to force us into submission. Could an administration of a majority of Southern men, under any circumstances, be infatuated as to make such an attempt? Would not the Southern President at their head ask the abolitionists, if they should even prove adequate to effect the conquest of the South, how long would we stay conquered? Would not General Taylor, from his personal knowledge of Southern chivalry, say to them, that a large proportion of Southerners, both men and women, would die in their tracks before submitting to be made slaves, and that their conquest could only be effected by extermination. For although a few Southerners may have been blinded through party leaders and presses, suborned to abolition service, the great mass of the people are alive to their injuries from the encroachments of abolition depredations, and stand in readiness for the defence of their rights. And even if those presses and politicians who have labored to make the South hug the chains which abolitionists are fastening upon us, may have so divided the Southern ranks, as to enable our assailants to effect their fell purposes, and the swords of Messrs. Seward and Bissell should be commissioned to drink up the blood of the leading patriots who have set their faces for the rescue of their beloved South, what still would be the absurd spectacle presented to the world, even in case of their success—a republic, one half of which is made hewers of wood and drawers of water to their brethren of the other, and held in union to their oppressors at the point of the bayonet. It cannot be that a Southern President would lend his sanction to a course of opposition to our peaceful secession, which must lead to such criminal and shameful results.

And in the Executive proclamation against us what ground would be taken showing the authority of the General Government to deny our right of peaceable secession, and to enforce our submission at the mouth of the cannon and the point of the bayonet. Would an appeal, such as is harped on in the slang of abolitionism, be made to the glory and worth of the Union? when that Union already had stripped us of our just territorial rights, and national equality, and having rejected our respectful petition for the relief of our grievances, had put us upon the alternative of being down trodden in all future to a condition of abject vassalage, or the resort to our own means of self-protection and preservation from the inevitable ruin plotted against us and our descendants to latest generations?

Would changes be rung upon the farewell address of Washington to teach us the duty of submission to a course of oppression, which is not equalled by the combined acts of British aggression, in resistance to which Washington and his compatriots, constituting the Colonial Congress, led

our forefathers to victory, and independence? We should have to reply that in the last resort, our forefathers, under the right of revolutionary resistance to less wanton aggressions, at the expense of blood and treasure, of seven years' struggling warfare, purchased for themselves, and us their posterity, the constitutional independence and national equality, for which we contend; and that were we to part with it at a less dear rate than they obtained it, we should prove unworthy of our noble sires, and become a disgrace to our posterity.

But it is time to say something of our resources for maintaining a separate independence and nationality.

We shall not commence with the bravery of our people, as history bears better testimony on this point than ours—nor on the extent of our territorial bounds which are, at least, larger than what has fallen to the possession of most nations of the earth. But as allusion was just made to the institution of slavery as a source of national blessing, we will proceed to remark upon this as one of the highest resources of our national prosperity.

It is remarkable that professed Bible readers have not judged of the redeeming character of this institution from the prominence which God has assigned it in society. Perhaps few have noticed the fact that the Bible recognizes no state of society into which slavery is not incorporated as its basis. It was incorporated indissolubly into God's law intended for the regulation of all human society as seen republished from Mount Sinai in the decalogue engraved by God himself upon the tables of stone. And all the regulations of Christ and his apostles for the prescription and discharge of reciprocal duties of man recognised no other state of society than that at the base of which slavery occupies its position. Any state of society, therefore, from which slavery is attempted to be excluded is unknown to the word of God, and must be an artificial state, to which the regulations of the Bible cannot be fairly applicable. How can the prescriptions of mutual duties to masters and slaves be applicable in Old or New England, when they profess to have no slavery; and how could the illustrations of social obligation drawn from the relations between master and slave, in which the Savior's instructions abound, be comprehended where no such relations are known? As God instituted slavery as early as the time of Noah, and decreed that the descendants of one of his three sons should serve those of the other two; and as God, in the laws and ordinances of his word approves only that state of society which is formed upon the model of the Law and Gospel, viz: having slavery as its base, we might expect the divine blessing to be especially vouchsafed to any community having the institution of slavery interwoven into its civil and municipal regulations as presented in the Southern States; and, accordingly, facts affirm that while riotous outbreaks, dangerous to the safeguards of life and property, are of frequent occurrence at the North, they are to the people of the South almost unknown. This may be accounted for on two principles, each showing the institution of slavery, to be a main pillar to the peace and safety of a republic. The one is that it unites labor and capital, and prevents the alienation of feeling and strife, of opposing interests, experienced where labor and capital stand in antagonistic relation to each other. In the slave-holding community the laborers, with the materials for operation, constitute the capital, and of course no opposite interests are arrayed in the attitude of contending parties; whereas the hiring laborer and the employer, having no personal and common relation to each other, are actuated each by an interest which is antagonistic to that of the other; it is to the interest of the laborer to get high

wages, and to the interest of the capitalist to get cheap labor. The result is a strife between the parties, and each seeks the advantage of his antagonist, often to the engendering of excitements unfavorable to the peace and safety of the whole community. It is thus when operatives are scarce, advantage is taken for a strike for exorbitant wages, which must be yielded, or the costly machinery of the employer become idle. On the other hand, when there is competition between operatives, because of their great number, advantage is taken by capitalists to reduce the price of labor to a point which will hardly afford a support; and the inferior operative, turned off, has to become a candidate for public charity, or resort to dishonest measures for his bread. It is thus pauperism and crime abound as the counterpart to excessive and ill gotten gain, when the scale turns to the advantage of the capitalist in most non-slaveholding countries; while slaves are seldom seen in penitentiaries, and never in a poorhouse. But the worst feature in this antagonist principle between labor and capital is not all seen in its subjecting a non-slaveholding community to the dangers of occasional outbreaks against law and all good order. Such a principle actually contains the elements of agrarianism and anarchy, and proves that no social state, without slavery as its basis, can permanently maintain a republican form of government. It is a startling truth, that whenever the lower stratum of society is entitled to the elective franchise, as in the non-slaveholding States of this Republic, and should become, or suppose themselves oppressed by the holders of capital, they can even by the ballot box control, through demagogue leaders, the legislative counsels of the State, and make laws to suit their taste. Who does not see, then, that any non-slaveholding State can, when put up to it either by necessity or knavery, carry by law the agrarian system, and without apparent mobocracy, divide the capital amongst the rabble, thus producing the equalization of condition, which Mr. Jefferson's ultra sentiment, may by some be construed to make the basis of republicanism. And this startling conclusion shows, we think irrefutably, that none other than a monarchical and military despotism can ultimately control the populace, and secure the rights of the property-holders, where slavery is not the basis of society. The non-slaveholding States, then, of this republic evidently contain in their social system the elements of their destruction; and fanaticism need not raise its bold front much higher to reveal to the property-holders of the North the danger to which they are exposed from the hords of the dregs of society, which the despotisms of the Old World have thrown out upon them; and this fearful fact too makes it the more necessary to our safety that we now be secured in our constitutional equality in the councils of the nation, or set up for ourselves, in order to be disconnected with the general wreck which threatens to befall the destiny of the country.

But the other principle upon which slavery is a strong safeguard to a republican government, is the mutual good feeling amounting to even strong attachment between the parties in the relation of master and servant. The master's ownership in his slave brings a powerful personal interest into active exercise in behalf of that slave as his property; which calls into requisition all the powerful means within his control to effect the protection and secure the life and health of his servant. Add to this the exercise of the common principle of humanity towards the disobedient, and the attachment resulting from friendship toward the trust worthy together with the public garrantees of law in behalf of slaves, and the slaves condition is rendered enviable to those who in any non-slaveholding country have to fill the slave's place. For there must exist a position in every civilized society equivalent in character, but not in advantage of servitude to that which the institution of slavery appoints. In return for labor (and labor is God's appointment for master and slave, and is the chief instrumentality of health and happiness) the slave receives ample and wholesome food with comfortable rayment and housing for himself and family, and Sabbath and Gospel privileges, with a portion of time for the most part to work for himself and land to cultivate, from the proceeds of which the more industrious part of them procure even the luxuries of life. It is thus many of the slaves dress as well as whites and most of them appear neat on the Sabbath. With this participation in the benefit of his labor, the slave not only looks to his owner as his protector, but feels attached to him and his family, under the spirit of a grateful friendship, and in no instance would the slave think of secretly absconding from his servitude or

violently dissolving those obligations imposed under the institution of slavery, were he not deluded into such measures by diabolical inter-meddlers, who either ignorantly or designedly transgress God's law and must be held to fearful responsibility. It is thus the slaves of the Southern states as a body present the best known condition of the class of poor and are the most contented and happy people on earth. While this institution of God has provided thus bountifully for the sons of Canaan amongst us, its marked distinction of caste, places the whites to themselves in the upper stratum of society, and upon a greater equality of social and political intercourse, than known in the civilized world. While the slave attends to the most drudgery portions of labor, the laboring class of whites perform the less toilsome part of work and those in better condition discharge the official duties of government in which talent and merit are the criteria for promotion, and those who by wealth are exempted from personal labor, necessary for the support of themselves and families, have favorable opportunity to cultivate literary and political studies. With these elements of society, any country under God's blessing must be destined to human aggrandizement, if free to carry out their industrial pursuits and appropriate with proper economy, the results of their agricultural and commercial energies. But beside this advantageous condition of society, the Southern states are blessed with the most favorable climate and soil, especially and almost exclusively adapted to the production of almost all the great staples of commerce. Her soil is adapted in common with other sections of the earth, to the plentiful growth of bread stuffs and animals for food, while it almost exclusively grows live oak for ship timber, yellow pine and cypress for architectural purposes, turpentine, tobacco, indigo, sweet potatoes, rice, sugar and cotton: and her exports must amount to nearly three fourths of the whole exports of the United States. The single article of Cotton was a fraction over half the whole of the country's exports last year. If to that one article be added her others of exclusive growth and her surplusage of grain, we presume it will come not much short of three-fourths of the whole. But it is with the exports that the imports are purchased, and it is upon the imports that the tariff is laid for raising government revenue. It, therefore, follows that the South are and have long been furnishing the means for raising about three-fourths of the public revenue of the whole United States. And to say nothing of the protecting tariffs which have taken millions of the products of Southern labor and put it into the pockets of Northern manufacturers, by an unjust and partial action of the general Government, much of the revenue for the support of government, has been in a manner imperceptible to the Southern people, so appropriated and disbursed as to build up Northern cities and improve those vast western regions of Territory from which the general government by congressional legislation have deprived us of all participation. Now if those resources of our industrial products were appropriated to the support of our separate nationality, it would in ten years attract a large part of the whole commerce of the world to our shores, and bring much of the world's capital to the building up of our cities and establishing manufactures of every description, in every State; and to the intersecting of the whole south with Railroads, Plank roads and Canals; and with a light additional tax, we could build around us if thought necessary, a Chinese wall which would defy the depredations of abolitionism.

Now, with these obvious facilities for independence and national aggrandisement, what would the world think of our further submission to Northern aggression. Let us, then, distinctly and in unmistakeable terms, say to the North that our position is taken, and that unless she give us our rightful participation in the New Territories, and restore to us our political equality in the government of the country, we must set up for ourselves—peaceably if possible—forcibly if we must.

Were we to be driven from this purpose by the contemptible threats already issued we might expect to be forsaken by the God of Abraham, Gideon Jehosaphat and David; for it would be a wanton spurning from us of the high behests of God and nature to us, to use the means providentially, committed to us for self preservation from threatened ruin, and for self exaltation to national greatness and political distinction; and were we to be persuaded to abandon our claims by the voice of Northern sophistry without being at once restored fully to our equilibrium of power in the national Councils, our conduct would resemble the case of the Lion, which,

under the charms of the Boa Constructor, should rest at ease in his lair, till that monster serpent could so arrange about him its massive folds as to crush without assistance its secured and helpless prey.

In conclusion, we should deprecate party ties and party prejudices at the South, and warn the people of the Southern States that unless they repudiate partizan politics and politicians that we must fall under the ban of abolitionism. It has been mainly through the collusion of Southern politicians to procure Northern patronage that the anti-slavery faction have heretofore been enabled to fix upon unjust tariffs, and to appropriate our portion of the public lands to themselves; and it is now chiefly through Southern influence that they aim to take from us the last foothold of Southern power in the nation. We greet with grateful approval those honest Southern men who have nobly stood in the defence of our rights and institutions, but let us begin to dig the political graves of those who aim traitorously to sell their country, and for the paltry price of Northern promotion spread dissolution over their bleeding native South.

Let us then drop party names and party intrigues, and rally without division to the standard of Southern rights and Southern institutions. Let us hail with high satisfaction the arrangement for assembling the collected wisdom of the South in the great Southern Convention to be held in June. Let not the people think that the Convention unnecessary, because of any prospect of having their rights adjusted in Congress. The fanatics of that body have only suspended their mad doings, and assumed a more pacific attitude, to lull us to apathy, and prevent the meeting of the Convention; and, that effected, they intend to carry their proscriptive measures against us. Let us then encourage the meeting of our Convention, and strengthen our hands, and animate their hearts to take such measures as will convince the North, that we are determined to have our rights, or leave the Union; and the North will readily grant our just demands rather than push us to a separation.

April, 1850.

ERRATA.--The first 12 pages should begin with 6 instead of 2, and so to 16. In address to the reader, 11th line from the bottom read descendants. On page 2, line 22d, read after for (before). On page 21, 17th line from top read rave. On page 22, 12th line from top, read mobocracy. On page 26, 17th line from top, omit the words, (not only): on the same page, 2d line from the bottom, insert thousand between several and bond.

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