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Holland, Edwin C.

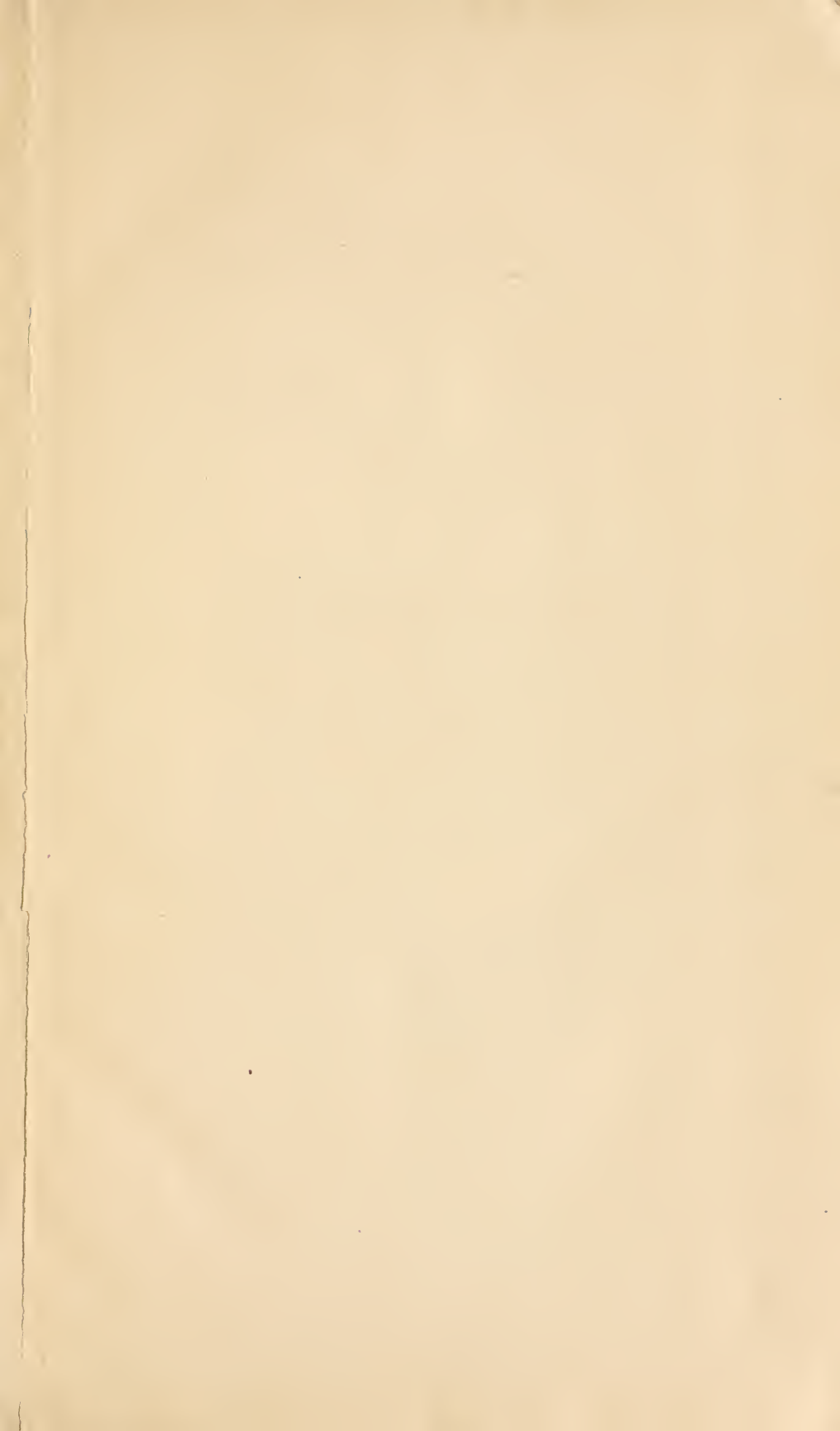
A Refutation of the calumnies circulated against the Southern and Western States respecting slavery. 1822.



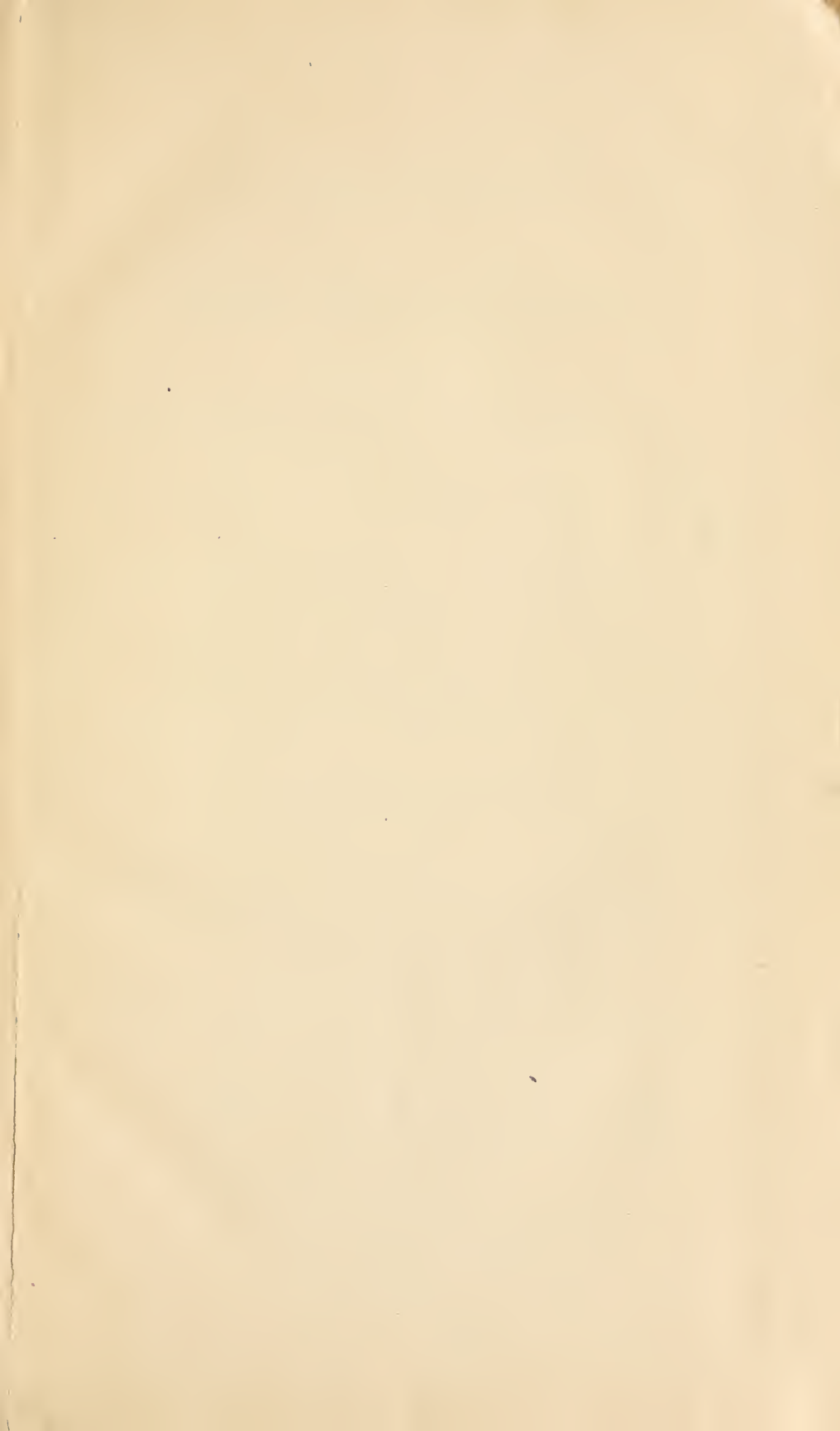


Class 245

Book 473









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A REFUTATION
OF
The Calumnies

CIRCULATED AGAINST

The SOUTHERN & WESTERN States,

RESPECTING THE INSTITUTION AND EXISTENCE

OF

S L A V E R Y

AMONG THEM.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A MINUTE AND PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE ACTUAL STATE
AND CONDITION OF THEIR

Negro Population.

TOGETHER WITH

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF ALL THE INSURRECTIONS

THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE THE SETTLEMENT OF
THE COUNTRY.

Facts are stubborn things.—SHAKESPEARE.

BY A SOUTH-CAROLINIAN.

Edwin to Garland.

CHARLESTON:
PRINTED BY A. E. MILLER,
No. 4, Broad street.

1822.

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District of South-Carolina, to wit :

§ 0000 § BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-ninth day of October, Anno Do-
0 SEAL. 0 mini, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, and in the forty-sixth year of
0 0 the Independence of the United States of America, Edwin C. Holland, Esq. de-
§ 0000 § posited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as author
and proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"A Refutation of the Calumnies circulated against the Southern and Western States, respecting the institution and existence of Slavery among them. To which is added, a minute and particular account of the actual state and condition of their Negro Population. Together with Historical Notices of all the Insurrections that have taken place since the Settlement of the Country. ——— Facts are stubborn things.—*Shakspeare.* By a South-Carolinian."

In conformity with the act of Congress of the United States, entitled "An act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned," and also to the act entitled "An act supplementary to an act, entitled, 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned', and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints."

JAMES JERVEY,
Clerk of the District of South-Carolina.

TO
The Honorable
THE MEMBERS OF THE SENATE
AND
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF
SOUTH-CAROLINA,
AND THE HONORABLE
The Members of the City Council of Charleston,
THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE VERY RESPECTFULLY
DEDICATED
BY THEIR FELLOW-CITIZEN,
THE AUTHOR.



PREFACE.



THE Author of the following discussion presents it to the Public with feelings of deep and solemn interest. However imperfectly his design may have been executed, the subject of his observations is of such momentous import as to arrest the attention of the most careless and indifferent. It embraces, in its various aspects, questions of the most profound and vital importance, affecting every one in all the different relations of life, and involving arguments and considerations that come home to the bosoms of all. He does not pretend to any thing very novel in his manner of treating the subject before him, as it has been, in a great measure, exhausted : But he hopes that many new and important facts, in relation to it, have been produced, which were not within the reach of ordinary industry, and for many of which he has been indebted to the kindness of some of the most intelligent members of the community. Several interesting public Documents, also, are, for the first time, published, which shed much light upon the Colonial History of the country, and present a faithful picture of the state of the Province at the different periods to which they respectively refer. He returns his sincere and unaffected thanks to those who have, incidentally, aided and assisted him in the collection of the materials necessary to have enabled him to proceed, and submits to the consideration of an enlightened

Public, the result of a laborious and painful investigation. The best of motives have actuated him, and his only object has been to combat errors wherever he has found them—to strangle the slanders that were wounding our reputation with a serpent tooth, and to place our character upon the elevated ground to which its honor and patriotism proudly entitle it.

A REFUTATION,

&c.



THE NORTHERN and EASTERN Sections of our Empire, to whose early and active participation in the SLAVE TRADE is to be attributed, in a great measure, the extension, if not the introduction of our NEGRO SLAVERY, are continually reproaching the people of the SOUTH and WEST with the existence of an evil, the barbarity of which they, at the same time, magnify with all the malignity of the most pertinacious hostility. The peculiar moral and political condition of that class of our population, who are pictured by them as groaning under the oppression of the most odious and afflicting tyranny, appears to be as little understood as it has been frequently misrepresented. It would be a matter of some difficulty, perhaps, considering our relative situation as members of the same great Republican family, were we not fully acquainted with the motives of those who have so industriously propagated the calumnies to which we have referred, to assign any competent reason for the devotional fidelity with which they have carried on their work of

defamation and slander. But the curtain is withdrawn, and the history of past events teaches us the philosophy of their conduct. The late discussions in Congress upon what has been popularly denominated the *Missouri Question*, have thrown so clear and distinct a light upon this subject, that no individual, who lays claim to a capacity of the most ordinary rectitude of observation, can mistake the true sources from which this current of feeling has proceeded. In the history of the agitation of that momentous question, involving, as it did, subjects of the most profound and afflictive concern, and which, but for the calm and temperate interposition of one of the most influential members on the floor of Congress, would have ended in shaking the UNION to its centre, we have abundant testimony of the hostile and unfriendly spirit with which the most vital interests of the people of the South and West were canvassed and discussed. Bound together as we are by one golden chain of affinity, and exhibiting to the eye of the civilized world the sublime and beautiful spectacle of an immense empire, composed of different sovereignties, revolving hitherto, in perfect harmony under the controlling power of a confederated Republican form of Government, it is deeply to be lamented that so much bitterness of feeling should have been engendered by the intemperate zeal of a few, or the profligate ambition of any.

It must be conceded that the people of the South and West have certain established constitutional rights and privileges contradistinguished, by their peculiar situation, from those of the North and East, the surrender of which would be worse than the wildest insanity, and for the safe enjoyment of which they

must and will contend to the last. If they are to be sacrificed by a system of legislation that strikes at the root of all their interests, the safety of their lives and the prosperity of their fortunes, they will not be sacrificed without a struggle. There is a point, beyond which, on the part of the *non-slave-holding* states, it will be the worst of insults to proceed, and at which, it will become the solemn and imperious duty of the *slave-holding states*, to resist. The UNION to the latter, is not worth preserving, if they are to fall victims to such a policy, the outlines of which have already been developed by so bold a pencil. The stupendous and colossal power of the North and East, is gradually shadowing that of the South and West, and it is time for us to take such a stand, as will preserve a proper equilibrium in our political relations to them, and secure to us, beyond the possibility of all future cavilling, the full and uncontrolled enjoyment of our rights. We deprecate, from the bottom of our hearts, any steps but those which are sanctioned and strengthened by a sound, patriotic and enlightened policy, but, at the same time, we cordially recommend such a coalition in the Representation of the South and West, in their places on the floor of Congress, as must effectually, in conjunction with other interests, defeat the flagitious and unholy ambition of those who would rise to power though the separation of the Union were to be their stepping stone. We are not conscious of having indulged a tone of feeling inconsistent with that which should, upon this subject, be felt deeply and strongly too; nor have we used any latitude of expression in our language, to which the conduct of those to whom it refers, is not, in every respect, obnoxious. The speeches of many of the most influential

members, both in the Senate, and in the House of Representatives in Congress, delivered, not in the heat of sudden excitement, but upon cool and deliberate reflection, breathe such a spirit of towering and unprincipled ambition, coupled with the most heartless apathy upon the subject of our *mutual* interests, that they fully justify the most severe reprobation. Our children will read them with amazement, our friends with the deepest regret, and our enemies will dwell upon this dark page in the history of our country with the liveliest satisfaction.

It is, by no means difficult, we think, to trace the sources of the rise, or to point out the final object of the progress of such feelings. The HARTFORD CONVENTION, that scorpion nest of sedition and intrigue; in which so many of the disturbed spirits of the Opposition exhibited such gigantic political effrontery, was, in all probability, the *origin* of those profound and flagitious schemes, the true character and color of which have been since so thoroughly developed. It was within the circle of that association of powerful, though misguided intellect, that the seeds of those feelings, of which we so justly complain, were first sown, and which have since gradually ripened into a bitterness of hostility as deep as it is lamentable.

The people of the North and East, are, or they affect to be, totally ignorant of our situation, and yet they insist upon legislating for us upon subjects, with a knowledge of which they appear to be wholly unacquainted. This is neither fair, nor honorable, nor wise, nor prudent. It must be recollected, that every State is sovereign and independent within the circle of her own territory, and that her citizens have an indisputable right to frame whatever laws their intelligence

may deem necessary to its prosperity and happiness, provided they do not conflict with any of the great fundamental principles of the Federal Constitution. This proposition, so apparently self evident and just, is, nevertheless, in a manner, controverted, and that too in an age when the principles of State Sovereignty have been as fully admitted as they have been freely discussed. The people of the North and East, will, nevertheless, take the liberty of interfering in the designing of some of our most important local regulations and of directing the steps of our constituted authorities. We are not only dictated to, but we are slandered in their public prints, denounced in their pulpits, and calumniated in pamphlets and orations. We are exposed to still greater perils, by the swarm of MISSIONARIES, white and *black*, that are perpetually visiting us, who, with the Sacred Volume of God in one hand, breathing peace to the whole family of man, scatter, at the same time, with the other, the fire-brands of discord and destruction, and *secretly* disperse among our Negro Population, the seeds of discontent and sedition. It is an acknowledged fact, that some of these religious itinerants, these apostolic vagabonds, after receiving the charities which the philanthropy and open-hearted generosity of our people have bestowed, have, by the means of *Tracts* and other modes of instruction, all professedly *religious* in their character, excited among our Negroes such a spirit of dissatisfaction and revolt, as has, in the end, brought down upon them the vengeance of offended humanity, and given to the gallows and to exile, the deluded instigators of a most diabolical and unholy INSURRECTION. Those who are intimately acquainted with the efficient causes of the late intended Insurrection in

Charleston and the districts adjoining, which, from the testimony as well of many of those who have been executed, as from that of the hundreds who either knew of or were engaged in the plot, was to have been conducted with a ferocious barbarity, at which humanity shudders and turns pale; those, we repeat, who are acquainted with the rise and progress of that nefarious plot, know how blasphemously the word of God was tortured, in order to sanction the unholy butchery that was contemplated, and what a powerful agency was put into operation by the dispersion among our Negroes, of *religious magazines, news paper paragraphs and insulated texts of scripture*; all throwing such a delusive light upon their condition as was calculated to bewilder and deceive, and finally, to precipitate them into ruin. Religion was stripped of her pure and spotless robe, and, panoplied like a fury, was made to fight under the banners of the most frightful Conspiracy that imagination can conceive, and her voice was heard instigating the midnight ruffian and coward, to creep silently to the pillow of his unsuspecting master, and at one "fell swoop" to murder *him* in the unconscious hour of sleep, prostitute the partner of his bosom, violate the child of his affections, and dash out the brains of his innocent and unoffending infant. The measure of desolation was not even yet full; after robbing our banks, and seizing on our shipping, killing all but the *captains*, who were to be reserved as *pilots*, their atrocious footsteps were to have been lighted from our shores by a *general conflagration*, and our city, that proudly swells with life and with wealth, was to have been left an awful monument of the most ferocious guilt. Such are a few of the barbarities to which we would have been

exposed had the late intended INSURRECTION been crowned with success. But the activity and intelligence of a wise and efficient police, strengthened and enlightened as they were by the protecting interposition of a benificent Providence, have frustrated the wicked designs of our barbarous and inhuman enemies, and consigned to a bloody and ignominious fate the *muster spirits* of the Revolt. Notwithstanding all these projected atrocities, however, and with a full knowledge of the facts upon the subject, we have, nevertheless, been vilified and abused for having visited upon the heads of their stupid and flagitious instigators, the penalty which the Laws of our Country award, and which the vengeance of violated humanity required. We are sneeringly upbraided with a want of common justice in the framing, or a lamentable want of mercy in the execution of our laws. In many of the Northern and Eastern prints, there has been a great deal of that whining, canting, sickly kind of humanity, which is as disgraceful to the character of those journals, as it is contemptible in the eyes of all intelligent and reflecting men. Instead of meeting as we expected, and had a right to expect, the cordial and unaffected sympathy of those who wear the livery of our own color, who are connected to us by all the endearing affections of political brotherhood, whose hearts ought to beat with our own and whose hands ought to be the first to assist us in the hour of peril and of danger, we have too frequently encountered a heartless indifference or selfish apathy with respect to the horrors we have escaped, and what is still worse, the gibes and jeers of the idle and unfeeling, or the foul rebuke of the "*humane*" and the "*religious*." This then is the plain unvarnished statement of facts.

that, at a period of the deepest and most awful anxiety, when our whole community was thrown into the most anxious and painful suspense; when the mother, petrified with fear, "strained her infant closer to her breast," and the listening father held his breath to catch the first notes of that tocsin that was to summon him to the defence of all that was dear to him in life, against a merciless and vindictive foe; we have had our motives misrepresented, our character defamed, and our laws ridiculed and reviled. If this be *religion* or *humanity*, we must confess that we have learned the meaning of these two important terms from a nomenclature widely different from those who have assigned to them a signification so directly the reverse of our own.

We repeat, the people of the North and East are, or affect to be, totally ignorant of the actual state and character of our Negro Population; they represent the condition of their bondage as a perpetual revolution of labor and severity, rendered still more deplorable by an utter destitution of all the comforts of life. Our Negroes, according to these candid and accurate observers, are in every respect illy provided, badly fed and badly clothed; worked beyond their physical capacity while in health; neglected while in sickness; going always to their labor with the most dogged reluctance, confined to it by the severity of the cart-whip, and denied, in fine, all the ordinary enjoyments of existence. Now, the very reverse of this is the truth; and it is within the province of those who are continually defaming us, to ascertain it; yet, notwithstanding that the most abundant testimony is at hand to satisfy the most curious inquirer upon the subject, and every candid and enlightened observer

finds himself at every step furnished with the most ample refutation of these charges, the calumny has nevertheless been industriously propagated and upheld with a malignity of design, and an utter contempt of truth, at war with every thing like fair argument, or the most ordinary regard for our feelings.

We are told by these enlightened and *exclusive* patriots and philanthropists that the odious state of bondage among us is a libel on the character of our country, the very Constitution of which, declares all men to be born equal; that it lessens the reputation of the Republic in the eyes of the civilized world, renders us as a people less acceptable in those of Heaven, and that its abolition is necessary to the greater security and more perfect happiness of the Union; as if we were the original introducers of this system, or even, *now*, had it in our power, to sweep away, at one effort, the accumulated evils that have been the growth of centuries, and which will take more than centuries to remove.

These prefatory remarks will not, we trust, be considered as injudiciously introduced, when it is recollected that the principle object of the following pages is to present a candid and dispassionate refutation of these calumnies, and to develope, for the instruction of our Northern and Eastern brethren, the *actual state and condition* of that class of our population, respecting whom so much "sentimental rant and sonorous philanthropy" has been expended. In addition to this, we shall offer some general remarks upon the policy of altering and amending some of our laws touching the subject before us, and making such other statutory provisions, in relation to our greater

security, as will effectually save us from the dangers of a conspiracy at all times to be apprehended.

As it has become a matter of some curious inquiry, it may not be uninteresting, at this stage of our labor, to point out, in a brief and summary manner, the origin and progress of that odious and detestable commerce, by the introduction of which the civilized world has entailed upon itself so heavy and irrevocable a curse:—From the earliest historical lights by which we are enabled to guide ourselves, it appears, that the GENOESE were the first who commenced the traffic in human flesh. They derived their charter from Charles V, under which they enjoyed an exclusive patent of furnishing Negroes from the Portugese Settlements on the Coast of Africa, for “America and the West Indies.” The eagle eyes of commercial avarice in England, ever on the watch, were no sooner directed to this new and fruitful source of national wealth, than the government followed with the most active steps, the example of their enterprising predecessors. Such was the unbounded spirit of commercial speculation in this iniquitous traffic, that in a few years after its first exploration, millions were invested in its prosecution, and the shores of Africa were crowded with the sails of the English shipping to the comparative exclusion of the flags of all other nations. England, at this period, began her monopoly in a Trade, that, while it enriched her coffers, covered the glory of her history with disgrace.

The first Englishmen who embarked in the Slave Trade, were Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, and Sir William Winter, who, together with others, formed themselves into a Company, for the purpose of trading to the Coast of Africa. Subscriptions were

immediately after opened for the prosecution of what was represented an easy and certain source of wealth, and were, unhappily for the wretched race who were to be the subjects of the trade, too promptly and rapidly filled. Preparations were accordingly made for an expedition to the Coast; and in the year 1562, a fleet, consisting of three ships, under the direction and command of JOHN HAWKINS, set sail for the Coast of Africa. These Ships were manned by one hundred "*select Seamen*," who were induced to visit these distant and comparatively unknown shores, by liberal promises of "*good treatment, and great pay*." After a prosperous voyage of a few weeks, they made the Coast of SIERRA LEONE, and Hawkins immediately commenced a commerce with the natives. "While he trafficked with them," says HEWITT, in his valuable "*History of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South-Carolina and Georgia*," "he found some means of giving them a charming description of the country to which he was bound. The unsuspecting Africans listened to him with apparent joy and satisfaction, and seemed remarkably fond of his European trinkets, food and clothes. He pointed out to them the barrenness of their own country, and their naked and wretched condition, and promised them, if any were weary of their miserable circumstances, and would go along with him, he would carry them to a plentiful land, where they should live happy, and receive an abundant recompense for their labor. He told them, that the country was inhabited by such men as himself and his jovial companions, and assured them of kind usage and great friendship. In short, the Negroes were overcome by these flattering promises, and *three hundred stout fellows* accepted his offer, and con-

sented to embark along with him. The night before his departure, however, his Negroes were attacked by a large body from a different quarter, and Hawkins, being alarmed by the shrieks and cries of dying persons, ordered his men to the assistance of his *slaves*, and having surrounded the assailants, carried a number of them on board, as *prisoners of war*. The next day he set sail for *Hispaniola*, but, during the passage, he treated his *prisoners of war* in a different manner from his *volunteers*. Upon his arrival he disposed of his cargo to great advantage, and endeavoured to inculcate on the Spaniards, who bought the Negroes, the same distinction he had observed; but they having purchased all at the same rate, considered them as slaves of the same condition, and consequently, treated them all alike."—Hawkins soon after returned to England, with a rich and valuable cargo, which he had obtained in exchange for his slaves. Great curiosity was excited by the novelty of his adventure, and among the more rigid, some scruples of conscience began to be entertained of the propriety and humanity of the trade. ELIZABETH, during whose reign this expedition had been fitted out, ordered Hawkins to appear before her, and interrogated him as to his mode of conducting it. He assured her that his motives were those of the most disinterested humanity, and promised his Royal Mistress, "that in no expedition where *he had the command*, should any Africans be carried away without their own free will and consent, except such captives as were taken in war, and doomed to death; and that he had no scruples about the justice of bringing human creatures from that barren wilderness, to a condition where they might be both happy themselves, and beneficial to the world." ELIZABETH

expressed herself perfectly satisfied with the relation she had heard, and promised Hawkins her protection and assistance. Soon after this interview with the Queen, he projected a second voyage to the Coast, and she offered him the convoy of a man of war; but he declined the offer, alleging as a reason, that the profits arising from the trade were amply sufficient to remunerate him for the dangers and expense which attended it. "In his passage, however," says the historian, to whom we have already referred, "*he fell in with the Minion, man of war, which accompanied him to the Coast of Africa.* After his arrival he began, as formerly, to traffic with the Negroes, endeavouring by persuasion and promises, and the prospects of reward, to induce them to go with him; but now they were more reserved, and jealous of his designs, and as none of their neighbours had returned, they were apprehensive *he had killed and ate them.* The crew of the man of war, observing the Africans backward and suspicious, began to laugh at his gentle and dilatory method of proceeding, and proposed having recourse to force and compulsion; the sailors belonging to his own fleet joined those of the man of war, and applauded the proposal. But Hawkins, considered it as cruel and unjust, and tried by persuasion, promises and threats, to prevail on them, to desist, from a purpose, so unwarrantable and cruel, urging at the same time *his authority, and instructions from the Queen.* But the bold and headstrong sailors, would hear of no restraints; they pursued their violent design, and after several unsuccessful attacks, in which many of them lost their lives, *the cargo was completed by force and barbarity.*" Thus ended an enterprise in which avarice, clothed in the name of a saint, violated all the privileges

of humanity, while a keen and cunning policy, on the part of government, foreseeing the prodigious advantages that would necessarily arise from the prosecution of the trade, cautiously winked at, and secretly encouraged it. Hawkins, notwithstanding the elaborate effort of *Hewitt* to vindicate his motives, must stand adjudged in the eyes of the civilized world, a profound and impious hypocrite, and Elizabeth, the secret protector of a scheme of commercial barbarity, that must forever tarnish the glory of her reign. As a proof of the sincerity of both parties, we find Hawkins, upon his return to England from his second voyage, *knighted* by Elizabeth, and made Treasurer of the Navy; and in less than a twelve month after, he was appointed to the command of a man of war, which, with three other vessels of a lesser class, set sail for the Coast, on the same "*trading expedition.*" Whatever may have been the motives of the one, however, who undertook the prosecution of this newly discovered commerce, or of the other, who, by a refined and deep-sighted policy, protected and encouraged it; both are equally guilty of having paved the way to the violence, barbarity, and bloodshed, that have stained the subsequent history of the SLAVE TRADE.

When once the spirit of commercial avarice had been excited in England, there were no bounds to its voracious appetite. Justice was deaf and conscience itself was dumb. Private adventures multiplied and Africa swarmed with the thousands who were now engaged in the trade. In little more than *twenty* years from the date of Hawkins' first voyage to the Coast, it became so profitable a source of wealth, that the government no longer preserved the cautious attitude

it had hitherto assumed, but throwing off the mask, openly, by Patents from the Crown, sanctioned and encouraged it. In 1585 and 1588, two several Patents were granted to "certain rich merchants in London," to trade to the Coast of Guinea, within certain Latitudes. In 1592, a third Patent was granted to the same Company, greatly extending their privileges, and enlarging the territory of their trade. The Company, however, either from want of funds, ignorance of the mode of conducting the trade, or an expiration of their charter, became extinct, and the trade was in a great measure abandoned. It was revived and prosecuted with renewed activity in the reign of James I. In 1608, a Patent was granted to another company of merchants, with an extensive right to the trade, and "of more validity and extent than any of the former grants." During the period of the Commonwealth also, in 1651, similar privileges were granted to other merchants in London, but the unsettled state of the country, rendered the Patent of little or no advantage to them. The commerce fell into ruin, but was still prosecuted by some few private individuals.

In 1662, under the reign of Charles II, another Company was erected into a corporation, by a Patent from the Crown, under the name of the "Royal Company of England trading to Africa." The war which succeeded, with the Dutch, immediately after, utterly ruined the trade, and the Company surrendered their charter to the Crown, upon payment of a sum of money. The King immediately (1672) erected another corporation under the name of the "Royal African Company." This Company continued to exist from this period with a continual enlargement of its privileges, until the final abolition of the Slave Trade in England, in

the year 1807. We think it unnecessary to proceed any farther in our account of the progress of this detestable traffic. The Parliamentary History of the English Empire, since the year 1672, is so easy of access, that little or no difficulty can be encountered by those who are anxious to continue the chronology of the Trade. Our object, so far as it is connected with our general design, is sufficiently obtained by the abstract we have already given.

If then, we are unhappily afflicted with an evil, the curse of which is felt and acknowledged by every enlightened man in the Slave-holding States, it should be a matter of sympathy, rather than of rebuke, particularly when it is recollected that it was not of our own creation. It must be conceded by every fair and candid reasoner, who is at all acquainted with the history of our country, that the introduction of this mischievous and unhappy institution is not imputable to the present generation, nor are we answerable either to heaven, or to earth, for its existence. "Slavery" said Mr. King (*ami des noirs*) "unhappily exists in the United States; enlightened men *in the States, even where it is permitted*, and every where out of them, *regret its existence among us*, and seek for the means of mitigating it. The first introduction of Slaves is *not imputable to the present generation, nor to their ancestors*. Before the year 1642, the trade and ports of the Colonies were open to foreigners, equally as those of the mother country, and as early as the year 1620, a few years after planting the Colony of Virginia, and the same in which the first settlement was made in the old Colony of Plymouth, a cargo of Negroes was brought into and sold as *slaves*, in Virginia, by a *foreign ship*; from this beginning the importation was

continued for nearly two centuries. *To her honor, VIRGINIA, while a Colony, opposed the importation of slaves, and was the first State to prohibit the same by a law passed for this purpose in 1773, thirty years before the general prohibition, enacted by Congress in 1808.*" Admitting, for a moment, however, that the existence of slavery among us was an institution of our own voluntary adoption, and not forced upon us, let us inquire how far the people of the SOUTH and WEST can be called to the bar of public opinion, by those of the NORTH and EAST, and what proportionate or relative agency, each of these sections of our empire had, in the introduction of the very evil, of which both complain, and to the dangers of which the former are most sensibly alive.

The Northern and Eastern sections of our Union, then, in common with ourselves, Colonies of the British Empire, were *at a very early period*, actively and industriously engaged in the very traffic to which is to be attributed the introduction and existence of the *sin* of which they have since so loudly and clamorously complained. The "atrocious crime" of slavery among us as a people, of which, *their* own agency was, in a great degree, the proximate cause, ought, in strict justice, therefore to be attributed to them, or, as will be shown, is less imputable to us. Great Britain, and the then Northern and Eastern Colonies of her American possessions, were the first dealers in the odious and reproachful commerce that has entailed upon our country, the evil which we all lament, and if the *latter* made any early or obviously direct efforts, to abolish the trade, it was not so much from any "compunctious visitings" of conscience, or from any more enlightened feelings of philanthropy, as from the operation of the

acts of the British Parliament, which, from time to time granted peculiar and *exclusive* privileges to *British* merchants, that amounted to a virtual prohibition, and debarred her Colonies from any participation in the trade. When the latter found that they were to be inundated by a class of people, from the introduction of which, they no longer were to derive the commercial advantages they had hitherto possessed, exertions were then made to abolish the traffic, or to lay it under heavy imposts. It was not until the period to which we have referred, that any very serious disposition was shown by them to interrupt the stream of wealth that poured its riches into their laps, or to divert it from the channels in which it had hitherto flowed. The history of the times is emphatic upon this point. The first expression of the Legislation in the then North-American Colonies which took place upon this subject, was that of the "General Court of Massachusetts," in 1645, in which they prohibited the buying and selling of slaves, "except those who were condemned to servitude by the sentence of a court of justice, or *those who were taken in time of war.*" In 1703, more than *half a century* after the qualified provisions of the act which we have just quoted, another effort was made to restrict the importation of slaves, by subjecting it to a heavy impost, *which failed.* From the complexion of these historical documents, it would appear that it was from no very nice and scrupulous abhorrence of the "odious crime" of slavery, on the part of the Northern and Eastern Colonies, that they interdicted the trade in human flesh, but a necessary result of the commercial avarice of the mother country, which closed the door of the trade upon her Colonies, and shut up the gates of its African commerce to all but

native born British merchants, and consequently destroyed all prospects of advantage on the part of the Colonies in this respect. It was not, then, so much the generous result of a more enlarged and enlightened philanthropy on the part of these Colonies, as it was a calculating policy which dictated the steps that they took, in relation to the importation of slaves. If it were not, why delay the expression of their abhorrence of what they deemed a curse and a scourge upon the country, from the year 1645 to 1703, in the years intermediate between the two periods of which, the *exclusive* privileges to which we have referred were granted by the crown; or why the distinction between the situation of the individual who may have been fairly purchased on the Coast of Africa, and brought into the country, and that of him who was taken prisoner in lawful war, fighting boldly against the enemies of his race, and manfully exerting all the energies which God and nature gave him, to repel the notorious and uninterrupted aggressions of the Colonists upon his liberty and life. The *red* man of the woods, who was the original proprietor of the soil on which they had settled, if taken captive while resisting the encroachments of his more civilized and unwelcome neighbors, was declared to be a *slave*, and *could be bought and sold as such*, at the discretion or caprice of those into whose hands the fortune of war may have thrown him; while the *black* man was no sooner landed on their shores, than he became invested with the privileges of a higher and more fortunate condition. And yet these Colonies now arrogate to themselves, the proud and peculiar distinction of having first interdicted the traffic in human flesh, and of having, from the purest and most disinterested humanity, first exhibited to the world the

features of a system of legislation dignified by all that can ennoble humanity.

We claim, on the part of the Colonists of the South, no particular exemption from the charge of having participated in this commerce and in the reception in common with the Northern and Eastern Provinces, of the slaves that were imported in British ships; but they are certainly entitled to as much credit, on the score of humanity, as any portion of the Colonies, for the early and active exertions which were made to suppress the growth of an evil, the frightful character of which appeared so evident. *Virginia* began her system of legislation at a period almost at the same time with *Massachusetts*, and followed it up with the most unrelaxing assiduity. Long before the expiration of the seventeenth century, she had made great progress in restraining the importation of slaves into her territory, by laying such heavy imposts upon their introduction, as virtually amounted to a prohibition. No less than *twenty-three Acts*, imposing a duty of from *five* to *ten*, and finally to *twenty per cent.* may be found in her statute book, from the year 1699 to 1772, "the real design of all of which was not *revenue*, but the *repression of importation*." BROUGHAM, in his "Colonial Policy," has a passage upon this subject, that places the character of *Virginia* in an elevated and distinguished point of view.

"Every measure proposed by the Colonial Legislatures that did not meet the entire concurrence of the British Cabinet, was sure to be rejected in the last instance by the crown. If examples were required, we might refer to the history of the abolition of the slave trade in *Virginia*. A duty on the importation of negroes had been imposed *amounting to a prohibition*.

One Assembly, induced by a temporary peculiarity of circumstances, repealed this law by a bill which received the immediate sanction of the crown. But never afterwards could the Royal assent be obtained to a renewal of the duty, although as we are told by Mr. Jefferson, *all manner of expedients* were tried for this purpose by almost every subsequent Legislature that met under the Colonial Government. *The very first Assembly* that met under the new Constitution finally prohibited the traffic." In 1772, very active exertions were made by Virginia to repress the trade. The "duties previously imposed were re-enacted," and the Assembly, at the same time, in a petition to the throne, "earnestly implore" the interposition of the crown, in checking the importation of slaves from the Coast of Africa, representing that "*it had long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity,*" the future progress and encouragement of which would, in the end, endanger the security and happiness of the Colony. The language of the petition breathes a deep and emphatic tone of feeling upon the subject, that evidently demonstrates the sincerity with which it was presented. The petition, however, was unattended to, and the Colony was still stocked by the mother country, with a class of population, against the introduction of which, it had long previously declared its disgust and abhorrence. "That the *inclination* (says Mr. WALSH, in his "Appeal" from the Judgments of Great Britain, respecting the United States) to impose the yoke of perpetual bondage on any part of their fellow creatures *if it ever existed* among the majority of the Virginia planters *soon subsided*, is manifest from an Act which is traced to 1662, declaring that "no *Englishman*, trader, or other, who should bring

in any Indians as servants, and assign them over to any other, should sell them for slaves, nor for any other time than English of like age, could serve by Act of Assembly." *Thus early was the state of slavery prohibited*, where it was not exacted by the higher authority; and the first opportunity was taken after the Declaration of Independence, to extinguish the detestable commerce so long *forced* upon the Province. In October 1778, *during the tumult and anxiety of revolution*, the General Assembly passed a Law, prohibiting, under heavy penalties, the further importation of slaves, and declaring that every slave imported thereafter, should be immediately free. The *example* of Virginia was followed at different times before the date of the Federal Constitution by most of the other States." These historical facts, added to others that we shall produce, furnish the most abundant and unequivocal testimony of the early and sincere desire on the part of the Southern States to repress a traffic, to the dangers and inhumanity of which they were most sensibly alive. There is another valuable piece of Colonial history that gives additional weight to the argument. In the year 1711, Governor Gibbes, in his speech to the Assembly of the State of South-Carolina, after representing the flourishing condition of the Province, and its general happiness and prosperity, recommends to the serious and solemn consideration of the Assembly the necessity of interdicting the importation of slaves, and deprecates in the most emphatic manner, the further introduction of them. The following is an extract from his Speech, 15th May 1711. We give it with all the raciness of its ancient phraseology.

"And, Gentlemen, I desire you will consider the great quantities of negroes that are dayly brought into

' this government, and the small number of whites that
 ' comes amongst us, and how many are lately dead and
 ' gon off. How insolent and mischeivous the negroes
 ' are become, and to consider the Negro Act already
 ' made, doth not reach up to some of the crimes they
 ' have lately been guilty off; therefore it might be con-
 ' venient by some additional clause of said Negro Act
 ' to appoint either by gibbets, or some such like way,
 ' that, after executed, they may remain more exem-
 ' plary, than any punishment hitherto hath been in-
 ' flicted on them; and also that masters of negroes,
 ' may be obliged to provide and allow their negroes
 ' sufficient dyet and cloathing, and that their worke
 ' and correction may be with moderation, that they
 ' may be *comfortable*, which may the better encour-
 ' age them to live peaceably and honestly with their
 ' masters." We shall make further use of this docu-
 ment in a subsequent stage of our proceedings. In
 the mean time, however, we would remark, that
 from the testimony we have already produced, it is
 abundantly clear that the Colonies of the South were
 as eager as those of the North to suppress an evil of
 the enormity of which both were equally convinced,
 and to the dangers of which the former were more
 intimately exposed. While we appeal to the records
 of the several States, we would point also to the
 journals of Congress, to show, that the earliest oppor-
 tunities were warmly embraced by the people of the
 South, to express their abhorrence of this odious
 traffic. "In truth," says Mr. Walsh in the work
 which we have already quoted, "the Representatives
 from our *Southern* States, have been *foremost* in tes-
 tifying their abhorrence of the traffic; an abhorrence,
 springing from a deep sense, not merely, of its iniqui-

ty, but of the magnitude of the evil it has entailed upon their country. It was only at the last session of Congress, (1819) that *a member from Virginia* proposed the following regulation, to which the House of Representatives agreed, without a division."

"Every person, who shall import into the United States, or, knowingly, aid or abet the importation, into the United States, of any African Negro, or other person, with intent to sell or use such Negro, or other person, as a slave, or shall purchase any such slave, knowing him or her to be thus imported, shall, on conviction thereof, in any Circuit Court of the United States, *be punished with death.*"

Abundant testimony, then, we think, can be collected from the statements we have produced, that the Colonies at the South were at as early a period as those of the North, efficiently and actively engaged in legislating upon the introduction of Negro Slaves, and that since the Declaration of Independence, they have manifested the same disposition. They are, therefore, entitled to the same credit on the score of humanity.

We have now arrived at the period of the Declaration of Independence. Let us look into the history of the times, and observe the comparative agency of the different sections of the Union in the importation of slaves since the year 1776. In the year 1803, the State of South-Carolina opened her ports to the reception of slaves from the Coast of Africa, agreeably to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. In 1805, one of her members on the floor of Congress, submitted a resolution, censuring her conduct in thus throwing open her ports and inviting the importation of African Slaves into her

Territory; and, but for the interposition of Congress that repealed the Act of 1804, which prohibited the introduction of slaves into the Territory of Louisiana, by an Act at the succeeding session of 1805, the ports of the Southern States would have been closed against the trade. This repeal was effected by the influence of the Northern and Eastern States, who, while they affected to denounce the "inhumanity" of the trade, entered fully into it, and shared, from their immense amount of tonnage afloat, almost exclusively the profits of it. Possessing, as they did, so decided an advantage in the shipping interest, they became, in conjunction with foreigners, the carriers for the world, and stocked the Southern sections of the Union with a class of population, of the existence of which they now so unjustly complain. After they had reaped the profits of the trade from the year 1805 to the year 1807, when it was *interdicted*, it was then, and not until then, that the "odiousness" of it became so obnoxious to the "humanity" of the North and East, and that they began the cry against it. Unable any longer from the prohibitory statutes of the General Government to import, and having effected a sale of those they had already imported, they then became very fastidious, and their "*consciences*," very conveniently, took the alarm. All the opprobrium, therefore, that they have heaped upon us, must be returned double fold on the heads of our calumniators. They were unquestionably the most active in the traffic. Mr. Smith, a senator from this State, in the Congress of the United States, demonstrates in the most luminous manner the inferences drawn from this view of our subject. His speech upon the "Missouri Question," in the year 1820, is too valuable to pass unnoticed—it

presents the best *coup d'œil* of the nature of the "Question" that we remember to have seen.

"About the 20th December 1803, the Legislature of the State of South-Carolina, passed a law to open the African Slave Trade under the authority of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. About three months after Congress passed the law of 1804, and immediately adjourned. *This was a time that every thing was to bend to the TONNAGE of the United States,* and at the next session the Congress repealed this law (of 1804,) and the ordinance (of 1787,) and *opened* the ports of Louisiana, and our *Eastern* friends employed, *immediately*, a large portion of their shipping in the trade. Carolina had no ships of consequence, but an ample supply came from the North and East. RHODE-ISLAND furnished her full share; they sent there (to Carolina,) ships from PHILADELPHIA, and they were *obliging* enough to send some from Boston. This was the ground upon which Congress thought proper to repeal the law of 1804, and that part of the ordinance of 1787, at so early a period. This repeal too, must have been effected by the *Eastern* members. *He knew that the members from SOUTH-CAROLINA were all opposed to the Slave Trade.* One honorable member from that State, the same session, (1805) offered a resolution, in the Congress, concerning the Legislature of South-Carolina for opening her ports, *which was not acted upon.* But for this *repeal* of the Law of 1804, by Congress, the ports of South-Carolina would have been shut the next session of her Legislature. These ships cleared out from Charleston. That was necessary, because the ports in the other States were not open for this trade. The *Northern* slave traders, and the British, carried the business on with a high hand.

The profits of one man in Charleston, an agent for British merchants engaged in the traffic, were estimated at \$300,000, as *commissions*, besides others engaged in the same line. All these vessels were *obliged* to enter a South-Carolina port, but many of them immediately re-shipped the slaves to Louisiana. *As soon as this trade was cut off*, by the Act of Congress of 1807, the *sinfulness* of it presented itself in glaring colors, both to our *Eastern* brethren, and the British. They can ship no more *publicly*, and the Northern and Eastern States had *done selling* those already in their possession, and then the scheme for emancipation commenced. The cry against this sinful practice comes with an ill grace from that quarter."

Again.—Let us see who, of the two parties at issue upon this question, has exhibited the most prompt and active disposition to put a final stop to the Slave Trade. In the year 1818, a Committee, consisting of *three* members from the slave-holding, and *two* from the non-slave-holding States, were appointed by a resolution of Congress to suggest the most feasible and efficient mode of preventing the smuggling of slaves into the United States, which, in defiance of the existing laws, was carried on to the confusion both of the character and revenue of the country. The members of the Committee from the slave-holding States represented the necessity of laying the axe to the root of the evil and by one effective blow to cut it up altogether. They proposed to make the penalty a capital one, *death*. Those from the non-slave-holding States, however, "were willing to compromise the sin for fine and imprisonment," and the *Eastern* members, more particularly those of the Senate, were opposed to any thing even like "corporal punishment." Here "says

Mr. Smith "it ended, and *their* ships are yet (1820) engaged in carrying slaves under every flag and for every nation that indulges the trade." Similar efforts were again made in the last Session of the Congress of the year 1820, by a member from Louisiana, one of the slave-holding States, to repress the traffic, by compelling the captors of all ships trading to the Coast of Africa, and having slaves on board, to carry the ship and cargo to the port *to which they belonged*. But the Northern and Eastern portions of the Union saw at once the effect of such a bill, if passed into a law, and their "*interests*" overcame their "*consciences*." The bill, together with the amendments that had been proposed, more effectually to secure the Government from the peculation of those who were secretly violating its laws of revenue, as well as of humanity, *was opposed* by a member from the State of New-York, a non-slave-holding State. The measures proposed by this bill, would have instantly disclosed who were and who were not clandestinely engaged in the trade that had been inhibited by Government, but which was manifestly still carried on to a great extent by citizens of the United States, under the cover of other flags. The opponents of the Bill knew what would be the result of the disclosure contemplated by it, and ingeniously avoided it. A spirit of humanity so convenient as this, is at least somewhat doubtful in its character. The following valuable tables taken from the Speech of Mr. Smith of South-Carolina, upon the occasion referred to, exhibit at one glance a clear and comprehensive view of the relative agency exercised by the different States of the Union, in the importation of slaves from the Coast of Africa.

“Recapitulation of the African Trade, and by what Nations supported, from 1st January, 1804, to 1st December, 1807.

Vessels belonging to—

Charleston, - - -	61	Consignees, natives of	}	13
Rhode-Island, - - -	59	Charleston,		
Baltimore, - - -	4	Consignees, natives of	}	88
Boston, - - -	1	Rhode-Island,		
Norfolk, - - -	2	Consignees, natives of	}	91
Connecticut, - - -	1	Britain,		
Sweden, - - -	1	Consignees, natives of	}	10
British, - - -	70	France,		
French, - - -	3			
Total,				202

The following paper contains the whole number of slaves imported, and the particular number imported by each foreign nation, and each of the United States.—It is in words and figures, thus :

Slaves imported at Charleston, from 1st January, 1804, to 31st December, 1807, and by what nation :

British, - - - -	19,949
French, - - - -	1,078
	<hr/> 21,027

In American Vessels.

Charleston, (S. C.)	7,723
Of this number there were	} 5,717—5,717
belonging to foreigners,	
	<hr/> 26,744

Leaving, imported by merchants
and planters of Charleston } 2,006
and its vicinity,

Bristol, 3,914	} Rhode-Island,	7,958
Newport, 3,488		
Providence, 556		
Baltimore, - - -	- - -	750
Savannah, - - -	- - -	300
Norfolk, - - -	- - -	287
Warren, - - -	- - -	280
Hartford, - - -	- - -	250
Boston, - - -	- - -	200
Philadelphia, - - -	- - -	200
New-Orleans, - - -	- - -	100
		<hr/> 12,331
		<hr/> 39,075

Here ends the black catalogue.—It would show to the Senate that those people who most deprecate the evils of slavery and traffic in human flesh, when a *profitable* market can be found, can sell human flesh with as easy a conscience as they sell other articles. The whole number imported by the merchants and planters of Charleston and its vicinity was only *two thousand and six*. Nor were the slaves imported by the foreigners and other American vessels and owners, sold to the Carolinians, only in a small part. They were sold to the people of the Western States, Georgia, New-Orleans, and a considerable quantity were sent to the West Indies—especially when the market became dull in Carolina.”

Thus it would appear to every candid and reflecting mind, that the Southern and Western States, having but little shipping, were manifestly unable to compete with their Northern and Eastern brethren in the prosecution of the Slave Trade, and the latter indulged in it with an extravagance that has no parallel in the history of our country. Let them do us common justice, therefore, and we are willing to share the odium, if any there be, equally even with themselves; they should be the last to upbraid us when we can point to cases of clandestine commerce with Africa, on their part, *long after the abolition of the Trade*. The *Science*, the *Endymion* and the *Plattsburgh*, *all of them fitted out at New-York*, were taken possession of by the proper authorities of the United States in the year 1820, for a violation of their laws in this respect.

We have other causes of complaint. The Northern and Eastern sections of our Union have waged a perpetual and incessant war against the interests of the Southern and Western States; and, since our Confederacy, have by means direct and indirect, public and private, carried on a system of Legislation wholly destructive of our safety and prosperity. Under the mask of religion and humanity, of liberty and philanthropy, they have, within a few years past, assumed

an attitude in relation to us, that, if persisted in, must eventually drive us into measures that will necessarily result in a separation of the Union. Such ruinous encroachments have already been made, that we tremble for the security of our Confederacy. "Great-Britain," says Mr. Pinckney, of South-Carolina, in his place on the floor of Congress, "in the heat of the Revolutionary War, and when all her passions were roused by hatred and revenge to the highest pitch, never ventured to inflict upon them such measures as they" (the North and East) "are preparing for them" (the people of the South and West.) The Southern and Western States are too deeply interested in this course of policy to remain passive spectators of the scene. They feel that a bold and determined attack has been made upon their dearest rights, which, "if *successful*, must convince them that the Northern and Eastern States are their *greatest enemies*." Melancholy as this inference may be, it is not the less true.

Notwithstanding their boasted and ostentatious display of humanity, however, the true causes of all the clamor upon the part of the Northern and Eastern States upon the subject of slavery, can be referred to no other definite feeling than a desire to wrest from the Southern and Western States the ascendancy that their wealth and talents have given them in the councils of the nation ; and, by diminishing their representation, to secure to themselves the whole management of the affairs of Government. They complain that they are not equally represented with ourselves in Congress, and have insultingly arrogated to themselves, during the debate on the "Missouri Question," the right of cutting down, in future, any increase in the prospective representation of the South and West, because they

consider the "GREAT CONCESSION" which they made at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in allowing the slave-holding States to be represented in the proportion of *three-fifths* of the number of their slaves, as one that has put us under an obligation of gratitude that can never be cancelled on our own parts, or too deeply regretted by themselves. They represent this "concession" as a sacrifice by them to the affection which they had for the Union of the States, and their patriotic desire to preserve it from dissolution. This is a gross and manifest error. The history of that period presents us with a picture directly the reverse. Anterior to, and during the period of our Revolutionary War, all the States, indiscriminately, were in possession of slaves whose treatment and situation in every respect were precisely the same. In the Southern and Middle States, it is true, they were more numerous than in those of the Northern and Eastern, but the latter, nevertheless, had numbers of them. At the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the Northern and Eastern States, who then exhibited a sickly humanity on the introduction of the word *Slave* in the articles of Confederation, proposed, at their own instance, that the apportionment of taxation by the general Government should be graduated by the value of *lands* and their *improvements*. Ever alive, however, to their own interests, they soon discovered that they had surrendered too much to their "qualms of conscience" upon this subject, and instantly, at their own suggestion, substituted a resolution apportioning the amount of taxation by the number of inhabitants in each State, including *all the whites* and *three-fifths of the black* population. As a proof that the non-slave-holding States are not entitled

to the slightest degree of credit for what they have falsely termed a "sacrifice" in this particular we have only to refer to the annual reports of the Secretary of the Treasury. These documents will demonstrate at a single glance, that the Southern and Western States have, by this very "concession" on the part of the Northern and Eastern States, deprived themselves of a quota of representation to which they are legitimately, and by all the axioms of political economy, strictly entitled. The former pay a greater amount of taxes to the support of the General Government, and in fact, furnish nearly double of its annual revenue in comparison with the Northern and Eastern States; and this difference is created in a great measure by the *value of the labor of our slaves*. We will take the year 1820, when the "Missouri Question" was undergoing a full and fatal discussion. In that year, from a report of the Secretary, the *exports* from the States north of Pennsylvania, inclusive, were only about *eighteen millions*, while those of the States south of Pennsylvania exceeded *thirty-two millions*, enabling the latter to import *double* the value of foreign commodities necessary to our convenience or our luxury, and giving, of course, a double amount of revenue to the country. Thus, while the labor of our slaves is so materially efficient in the support of the Government, and the value of it is nearly double the amount of that of the inhabitants of the Northern and Eastern States, we are denied the liberty of being represented by but *three fifths* of that valuable class of our population, "while the whole of the comparatively *unproductive inhabitants* of the Northern and Eastern States are *fully* represented." The just and wholesome maxim, therefore, of the

most profound and enlightened political economists, that the representation of a State should be graduated and apportioned, not only by the number of its inhabitants, but, by the value of its products, and its direct agency in contributing to the revenue, is rendered, with regard to us, wholly nugatory; and the Northern and Eastern States are now in the full possession of an advantage that gives them greater strength on the floor of Congress than they are actually entitled to. Their complaints, therefore, are as unfounded as they are unfair. The profligacy of unprincipled ambition may do a great deal, but we hope there is integrity and good sense enough in the country to detect and expose its TARQUIN strides.

With regard to the general question, as it respects the right that one body of men may have of holding another in a state of bondage and of exacting from them any given amount of involuntary service, we have only one or two remarks to make. Very eminent and enlightened men of all countries have differed widely in their views of the subject. Certain it is, that we can trace the institution of slavery as far back as the existence of the world itself; not only in those dark and dismal ages of its infancy, when the lights of civilization glimmered feebly through the gloom of barbarism and ignorance, but in those bright and sunny periods of its history when literature and science poured out their full radiance to enlighten and liberalize the human mind. During the Augustan age of Imperial Rome, this institution was always recognised and protected; and the Jews even, the chosen people of God, during their *Theocracy*, when, according to the Holy Scriptures, the great Jehovah himself, reverentially be it spoken, directed and inform-

ed all their Councils, and inspired all their law givers and law makers, were expressly permitted the use of slavery, although they were restricted in its application to the services of any but the *Heathen*. The authorities upon the subject are numerous and were read by Mr. Smith in the Senate of the United States, in his Speech upon the "Bill for recovering fugitive slaves from labor." "We all know," said Mr. Smith, "that *Ham* sinned against his God and against his father, for which, Noah, the inspired patriarch, cursed Canan, the son of *Ham*, and said "*a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.*" NEWTON, who was perhaps as great a Divine as any in *New-England*, and as profound a scholar, in a book of great celebrity, called his Prophecies, in which he endeavors to prove the divinity of the bible, by the many prophecies that are now fulfilling, says that this very *African* race are the descendants of Canan, and have been the slaves of various nations, and are still expiating, in bondage, the curse upon themselves and their progenitors. But it may be said that this is only an opinion of Mr. Newton, and that we can see no reason in it. If the gentleman was unwilling to believe Mr. Newton, he would surely believe *Moses and the Prophets*; and if the Senate would indulge him, he would show from the bible itself that slavery was permitted by divine authority, and for that purpose he would open the XXV chap. of *Leviticus*, and read as follows. "And the Lord spake unto Moses in Mount Sinai, and said, speak unto the children of Israel and say unto them &c. (39.) If thy brother that dwelleth by thee, be waxen poor, and sold unto thee, thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond servant, (40) but as a hired servant and as a sojourner he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee

until the year of Jubilee: (44) both thy bond-men and 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. (45) 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 your *possession*, (46) 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 *for ever*." This, Mr. President, is the word of God, as given to us in the holy bible, delivered by the Lord himself to his chosen servant, Moses. It might be hoped this would satisfy the scruples of all who believe in the divinity of the bible, as the Honorable gentleman from New-Hampshire (Mr. Morrill) certainly does, as he has referred to that sacred volume for his creed. It might satisfy the scruples of Mr. Kenric,* and the Divines who appear to be so shocked at seeing a father dispose of his slaves to his children by his last will and testament; as they will perceive the scriptures direct them to go as an *inheritance*. The Honorable gentleman says he speaks not only his own, but the *universal sentiments of all those he represents*. If he and his friends of New-Hampshire have not turned aside after strange gods, it is hoped the authority I have quoted might satisfy them."

As to the particular question in relation to the convenience of the slave-holding States, it is much more easily decided than our opponents have been willing to admit. It is no longer a subject of problematical inquiry, whether the *white* population of

* The author of an inflammatory pamphlet entitled the "*Horrors of Slavery*," and laid upon the desk of each Senator during the discussion of the Bill.

the SOUTHERN States, more especially South-Carolina and Georgia, are capable, from their local situation and climate, and perhaps we might add to this, some peculiarity in their constitutional economy, of cultivating the soil upon which they live. The climate, in the first place, is inconceivably hostile to the white constitution, and the experience of more than a century has shown that this opinion is a correct one. Those who know any thing of the geographical situation of these States, and of their general surface, know that the very portions, from the cultivation of which the Planter derives most of his wealth, present a succession of deep flats and low bottoms, covered for the greater part of the year with extensive basins or reservoirs of stagnant water, which, under the influence of a tropical sun, throw out nothing but pestilence and disease. In breathing this pestilential atmosphere, the negro, whose constitution seems better adapted to it, subjects himself to the introduction of none of those fatal distempers, to which the white man falls a sure and certain victim. "*He is more tolerant of heat,*" says Mr. Jefferson, "*than the white man,* because of his greater transpiration, and less so of cold. Perhaps too a difference of structure in the pulmonary apparatus, which a late ingenious experimentalist (Crawford) has discovered to be the principal regulator of animal heat, may have disabled him from extricating in the act of inspiration, so much of that fluid from the outer air, or obliged him in expiration to part with more of it." Whatever physical or anatomical difficulty, however, there may be in accounting for the aptitude of the one, or the inaptitude of the constitution of the other, to the climate, one fact is certain, that there is this difference between the two,

that the same season of the year which carries on its wings the blessings of health to the negro, gives an early warning to the Planter to quit his estates and flee from the destruction that awaits him. We need not advert but to one solitary instance of the truth of this observation. It is well known to all who have ever been beyond the smoke of our city, that the poorer classes of our people, in those belts of land which are denominated the middle and low country, who are compelled to remain on their little farms, together with the Overseers, who, from duty to their employers' interests, must necessarily be upon their plantations during what are called the *sickly months*, are annually afflicted with the most distressing fevers, while the *negroes*, generally speaking, enjoy an uninterrupted exemption from them. Let those who, upon the return of frost, visit their country residences, testify what hundreds of pale and emaciated creatures, worn down by fevers and agues, and other diseases of which the country is so productive, meet them on their way and pass like shadows before them.

These remarks apply with double force and energy, when we take into consideration the tremendous exposures to which the cultivation of our great staple commodities, Cotton and Rice, necessarily subjects the laborer, particularly in the latter. The rich low lands and swamps which are so providentially calculated to furnish us with sources of food and riches, would have forever remained unredeemed, and where golden harvests now meet the eye of the grateful proprietor of the soil, nothing but dark and dismal swamps would have been seen. "With the introduction of *Rice Planting*," says Hewitt, who by the way, was abhorrent in the last degree, of slavery, "into

this country, (Carolina) and the fixing upon it as a staple commodity, the *necessity* of employing *Africans* for the purpose of cultivation, was *doubled*. The low lands of Carolina, which are unquestionably the richest in the country, must have long remained a wilderness, had not *Africans, whose natural constitutions were suited to the clime and work*, been employed in cultivating this useful article of food and commerce."

Here then is a candid acknowledgment from one of the most scrupulous writers upon the subject of slavery, and who never touches upon it but with feelings of bitter and determined hostility, even while he admits its necessity, under some circumstances. The same reasons urged by him at the period when he wrote as to the necessity, therefore, of the use of *Africans* in the cultivation of this valuable staple, may now be urged with redoubled force. The country owes almost all its wealth and prosperity, and the revenue of the Union an immense increase in its fund, to the labor of this strong and hardy race.

There is another revolting part of our subject to which we cannot turn but with mingled feelings of indignation and surprise. We refer to the charges made against us of the general inhumanity of slaveholders in their intercourse with them, and the total disregard which is commonly paid to their physical comforts and general happiness. We shall make it our especial duty to rebut this foul slander, indignant that it should have been preferred, yet proud that the refutation will be as full as it will be conclusive. The people of the slave-holding States are as high-minded, intelligent, humane and generous as those of any section of the Union, and they would disdain a system of discipline in relation to their domestics that would

offer the slightest violence to these proud and honorable feelings. We are insultingly told that the Master's authority over his slaves is a tyranny of the most odious character; that it is without bounds and extends to a point little short of the power of life and death; that the slave is subject, at all times, from his defenceless situation, to the most grinding oppression; liable to be ill treated and wantonly abused, and in short, that such is their deplorable condition that they drag out a miserable existence, the unhappy victims of a cruel and unfeeling tyrant. The authority of the venerable JEFFERSON has been quoted also to strengthen these bold and revolting calumnies. The passage is to be found in his "Notes on Virginia." "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions. Our children see this and learn to imitate it. I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just. The Almighty has no attribute that can take side with us in such a contest."

Mr. Smith, to whose valuable and important Speech we have so often referred, and in which, are continually exhibited such clear evidences of a profound and luminous understanding, answers the argument in such a manner as must dissipate the objections of the most prejudiced.

"Mr. Smith said, he had the highest regard for that venerable patriot; he was a great philosopher, and a statesman of the first order; he knew no words more appropriate in pronouncing his eulogy, than those used by him in delineating the character of the immortal Washington. 'His memory will be adored while liberty shall have votaries, his name will triumph over time, and will, in future ages, assume its just station among the most celebrated worthies of the world.' With all this tribute, and with all the veneration which he felt for that great man, he did not hesitate to contradict him in the most unequivocal terms. The Master has no motives for this boisterous hostility. It is at war with his interest, and it is at war with his comfort. The whole commerce between master and slave is patriarchal.

The master has every motive to impel him to it. *As to the effect on children*, it is quite the reverse; the black children are the constant associates of the white children; they eat together, they play together, and their affections are oftentimes so strongly formed in early life as never to be forgotten; so much so, that in thousands of instances there is nothing but the shadow of slavery left. These observations of Mr. Jefferson could not have been founded on facts; they were written to gratify a foreigner, at his own request, when every American was filled with *enthusiasm*. They are the effusions of the speculative philosophy of his young and ardent mind, and which his riper years have corrected. He wrote these notes *near forty years ago*, since which, his life has been devoted to that sort of practical philosophy, which enlarges the sphere of human happiness and contributes to the promotion of civil liberty; and *during the whole time his principal fortune has been in slaves, and he still continues to hold them*. It is impossible, when his mind became enlarged by reflection and informed by observation, that he could entertain such sentiments and *hold slaves at the same time*."

It is indeed humiliating to the last degree to listen even to such charges as those we have noticed; but it is due to the fair fame of these sections of the Union to demonstrate, that the condition of the slave, so far from partaking of the misery which has been attributed to it, is in every respect preferable to that of the poor laboring class of people of any Government on earth, and that if it were not for foreign, subsidiary causes, he would remain perfectly satisfied with his lot. It is true, indeed, that all slave-holders have laid down non-resistance and the most perfect and uniform obedience to their orders, as fundamental principles in the government of their slaves. This necessarily results from the relation in which they stand, and we might as well denounce that government a despotism, that punishes any infringement of its laws, as to call that a tyranny which is nothing more or less than an authority *unavoidably* arising from the very character of the connexion between master and slave. This authority unquestionably may be abused, but we deny that these abuses have ever been so frequent as

to justify the illiberal and unfeeling calumnies of which we complain. It is not true that the authority of the master over his slave is without limitation or restriction; but, on the contrary, we affirm that it is watched and guarded by some very jealous statutory provisions. He is protected, by the humanity of our laws, both in his life and his limbs, and from any brutal attack on either. If his life be sacrificed to the wild and furious passions of his master, or of any other individual, the law punishes the delinquent with *death*. If he be maimed, either by the cutting off of a limb, such as an arm or leg, &c. the law follows the offender with *death* also. While the poorer classes of laborers, in England, for instance, resort to theft or highway robbery, in order to supply the wants of themselves and of their famishing wives and children, and still their cries for bread, because the miserable pittance which they had received as the price of their labor was insufficient, the slave with his family, however numerous, looks confidently to his master, who, *by law*, is bound to supply them with good and sufficient food and clothing, (if his inhumanity chose to withhold it) and who by that law becomes obnoxious to a prosecution if he does not comply with its requisition. The master is also limited by law as to the duration and extent of their labor at the different periods of the year, and he cannot exact more; and it is a fact, such is the *maximum* of the labor of the slave, that an industrious, active negro will perform his task by twelve o'clock; many by two or three, and all, except the idle and inattentive, by four o'clock in the afternoon. When his task is done the rest of the time is his own, and he either spends it in cultivating his little spot of ground, in the enjoyment of sleep, or in a

friendly intercourse with his relations and fellow laborers on the plantation. As we are plain matter-of-fact men, and as this picture may perhaps, by some, be thought to partake a little of the romantic, we produce the following facts in confirmation of what we have stated; and we cannot here refrain to renew our cordial thanks to the gentlemen who have furnished them at our solicitation. They are known to be men of large and extensive planting interests, both in Rice and Cotton, as well as gentlemen of high standing in the community. Their authority is therefore conclusive. The subsequent facts were communicated by GEORGE EDWARDS ESQ.

“A day’s work allotted to each of my negroes on my Plantations is done with so much ease, that I have often known them to have finished it by *eleven to two* o’clock in the day; the remainder of the day is at their own disposal, and they are never called upon either by myself or my managers after having finished their task, unless in cases of *great emergency*.

“I make it an invariable rule, and orders to that effect are strictly given to my managers, after my lands are prepared and the crop planted, to ascertain the number of my working negroes, and allow to each of them a quarter or a half acre of land, or more, if they wish it, to plant their own little crops. The drivers then take them off to the lands allotted to them, and, under the direction of my managers, put them to work, prepare the ground and plant it with corn from my own corn-houses, precisely in the same manner as they had prepared and planted my own fields. When it requires hoeing, after having gone over my fields once or twice, their own crops are as regularly hoed and attended to as my own. During the Summer, when the harvesting season commences, their crops are gathered in for them by my orders, at the same time with my own, and I often allow them the use of my boats to carry their produce to market. Independent of their crop, I permit them to raise hogs and poultry of every description, and many of them supply themselves with bacon during the winter, and have hogs also to dispose of. They appear perfectly happy and contented with their situation and the privileges allowed them.

At each of my Plantations there are Hospitals for the reception and accomodation of the sick, with every necessary article for their comfort and convenience. There are Nurses in each Hospital who attend upon them regularly and administer to their wants, and all the medical aid required called in at as early a period as possible. The children on the different Plantations have elderly wenches, whose business it is to do nothing else but to attend upon them and to supply their little wants. They are all well fed and well clothed, and in every respect seem cheerful, happy and contented."

The next communication that we present to the observation of our readers, is from BENJAMIN D. ROPER, ESQ.

"In conformity with your request, I send you a hasty and unconnected statement of the general management and treatment of negroes employed on Plantations, as far as my knowledge extends. In preparing a field for a crop, the usual labour required of each Negro is commonly to bed one task in a day, and a task comprises one hundred and five feet square; this task is generally accomplished by sun-set; many negroes perform it two or three hours before sun-set. As this subject might attract the attention of persons totally unacquainted with plantation work in South-Carolina, it might not be amiss to observe that the above mentioned task is required of prime or full hands; weak hands, commonly called quarter and half hands, have their task proportioned at the same ratio. A *prime* hand, in common, cultivates five acres of land including his own provisions; more can easily be planted and attended, but on a cotton plantation, with favourable seasons, it is as much as can be conveniently gathered and prepared for market. After the crop is planted, the subsequent attendance of it is, comparatively, much lighter work. It is not uncommon for an industrious negro to have finished his task by three or four o'clock. In common, each hand is allowed to cultivate a task on their own account, and time allowed them to prepare and plant their corn, peas, pom-pions, melons, &c. &c. In addition to this, sufficient ground contiguous to their dwellings is allowed them for gardens, from which many of them raise fruit and vegetables amply sufficient for their families. Many of the negroes raise hogs, ducks and fowls, and have their bee-hives, whence they indulge themselves in some of the luxuries as well as conveniences of life. It only requires, on their part, industry to

insure these advantages, as frequent opportunities are allowed them, of conveying to market the fruit of their labour.

“They are fed in common, one half the year, on corn, the other half the year on potatoes. At stated periods, meat and fish are given to them, and the advantages of the rivers, creeks and ponds, are by no means inconsiderable, whence oysters, crabs and fish are most amply afforded them. Their dwellings in common, are more commodious and comfortable than a large proportion of the white inhabitants of many parts of the interior parishes in this state. In sickness there is little distinction between them and their masters; the same medical attendance and every comfort necessary or desirable are invariably administered. They are clad, in winter with best woolen plains, and in summer with oznaburgs. In the parish where I reside, there is one Episcopal and one Presbyterian Church, regularly opened every Sabbath to every Negro, as well as white persons; and every Negro, that has produced satisfactory evidence of good character, and there are many such, has been invariably admitted to unite with the white communicants in celebrating the Lord’s Supper. In concluding this subject, it may not be hazarding too much to say, that with humane masters, the negroes are generally as happy a people as any laboring class, perhaps, under heaven; and if I may be allowed the expression, an *inhumane* master, is a very rare character; *such would be held in contempt and abhorrence.*”

We are indebted to the politeness of ROBERT J. TURNBULL ESQ. for the following communication. It is as full and as conclusive as the most bigoted sceptic could desire.

“The condition of our slaves, within the last thirty years, has been considerably ameliorated. Their labor has not only been diminished, but they have been treated with more indulgence and have had more attention paid to their comfort and accommodation than formerly. The introduction of mills and machinery for pounding and preparing the rice for market, which was previously accomplished by manual labor, forms a new era in the history of their state of labor. By this improvement, the reduction of hard work may be estimated at nearly one half, whilst the water culture in the management of the rice crop, practised by many planters, and the substitution of cotton

for indigo on the high lands, have also greatly contributed to lessen their toil.

"No culture for our country can be easier than that of the cotton plant. With the exception of the second and third hoeings, which generally take place in the month of May, there is, comparatively, *little or no labor* in attending to the crop, unless there be some defect in management; this sometimes occurs with careless Planters, or with those who over-plant. With cotton there is no cutting, or carrying, or heavy harvesting. The pods, ripening in succession, and continuing for four and five months, make the harvest slow and tedious, but the work is *light and easy*, so much so, that all the pregnant women even, on the plantation, and weak and sickly negroes incapable of other labor, and all the boys and girls above nine and ten years of age, are then in requisition to assist in gathering the wool which hangs from the pods. Children are in fact the most useful hands at this season. From the smallness of their fingers and their low stature, they daily pick in more than many adults. Nor is the cleaning and preparing the crop for market, attended with labor. The ginning* of the cotton by machines constructed for the purpose, impelled by treadles, would to some appear a laborious employment; but it is not so, for most able bodied negroes would prefer to work at these than to sit down and pick the moats from the wool. In short, from the time that the seed is put into the ground, which is in March, until Christmas when the crop is harvested, *there is not*, with the exception of the second and third hoeing, already stated, *any hard labor performed by our slaves*.

"The mechanics and artizans of Europe, and of some sections of our own country, labor in their employments, not only all day, but during part of the night. Our negroes on the contrary have their tasks allotted to them, and these are so apportioned, that *there are few who cannot perform them by mid-day, or within an hour or two afterwards*. No matter what the work is, which a slave is ordered to perform. If its nature be such as to admit of his being *tasked*, he works under this *task* arrangement and no other; whether it be listing† of the ground, banking, hoeing, thinning of the plants, gathering in of corn or blades, or ditching or draining, splitting of rails, making of fences or cutting wood; his work for the day is known to him before hand, long

*That is separating the wool from the seed.

† Taking off the sward with a hoe and drawing it together as a foundation for a bed for the plant.

custom having fixed it. It may be easily imagined that under such an arrangement, the slave goes to his work with cheerfulness, because when he accomplishes it, the rest of the day is at his own disposal, which he industriously applies to the cultivation of his own little garden or piece of ground allotted to him. It is in the season of *cotton picking* alone, that the slave labors (*if it can be called labor*) from sun-rise to sun-set. This is a species of employment, in which *no task* can be assigned for the quantity which a person can gather in a day; depends upon the state of the field, the weather, the warmth or coolness of the day, and many other circumstances. At all other seasons of the year, upon all well regulated plantations, the average time of laboring does not exceed *seven* or *eight hours* in the twenty-four. The working of our slaves by *task*, as it is called, distinguishes them from the laborers of other countries in an especial manner, when it is known, that the daily work allotted, is so *considerably within* that which it is in their power to perform. This daily task does not vary according to the arbitrary will and caprice of their owners, and although is not fixed by law, it is so well settled by long usage, that upon every plantation it is the *same*. Should any owner increase the work beyond what is customary, he subjects himself to the reproach of his neighbors, and to such discontent amongst his slaves as to make them of but little use to him.

The daily Tasks are these :

Cutting firewood,	-	-	-	one cord.
Splitting rails,	-	-	-	one hundred.
Listing ground,	-	-	-	{ a quarter of an acre, or 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, into 21 beds five feet a-part.
Breaking or Bedding,	-	-	-	
Hoeing of cotton or corn,	-	-	-	half an acre.
Ginning of cotton,	-	-	-	twenty-five lbs. clean.
Moating of do.	-	-	-	fifty lbs. clean.
Ditching, in light land,	-	-	-	420 cubic feet.
do. in clay do.	-	-	-	210 do. do.
Gathering blades,	-	-	-	half an acre.
Breaking in corn, ready for carting,	-	-	-	do. do.
Digging in potatoes,	-	-	-	do. do.

“ The subsistence of the slaves consists from March, until August of corn, ground into grists or meal, which made into what is called *hominny*, or baked into corn bread, furnishes a most substantial and

wholesome food. The other six months they are fed upon the sweet potatoe, which is boiled, baked or roasted, as their taste or fancy may direct. These articles are distributed in weekly allowances, and in sufficient quantity, together with a proper allowance of salt. The skim milk or clabber of the dairy is divided daily. It would be very desirable if regular rations of bacon or some other animal food could be furnished them; but as this cannot always be practicable, it is difficult to make it a matter of permanent regulation. Meat, therefore, when given, is only by way of indulgence or favor. In those seasons of the year, when they are exposed to the most labor, they receive *bacon, salt-fish, and occasionally fresh meat*. Those who live on creeks and rivers are at no loss for an abundance of fish and oysters, to say nothing of the little comforts which all negroes have by the raising and sale of their pigs, poultry, &c. which they are permitted to do. But take their subsistence as it is, without any allowance of meat, is it not infinitely preferable to the *oat-meal of Scotland*, and the *potatoes of Ireland*; a species of food very inferior to the *sweet potatoe* of a Southern soil? Our negroes could not work if fed upon the Irish potatoe.

“ Their clothing consists of a winter and a summer suit; the former of a jacket, waistcoat and overalls of Welsh plains, and the latter of *oz-naburg* or homespun, or other substitutes. They have shoes, hats and handkerchiefs, and other little articles, such as tobacco, pipes, rum &c. Their dwellings consist of good clay cabins, with clay chimneys, but so much attention has of late years been paid to their comfort in this particular, that it is now very common, particularly on the Sea Islands, to give them substantial framed houses on brick foundations and with brick chimneys. Many are of opinion that they enjoy more health in open temporary cabins with ground or dirt floors. But this does not correspond with the experience of those who willingly incur the expense of better buildings. In sickness they are taken care of, and on most plantations, there are sick houses, or hospitals, for the reception of those who do not go out to work; a practice which it would be well if it were more general. When the patient is *really* sick every comfort and attention may be dispensed by such an institution, whilst to such as enter it only to skulk from labor, (which is peculiar to some negroes,) it becomes a *penitentiary*.

“ To each head of a family is allotted a piece of ground around his house, as a garden spot. in addition to which, each laborer has fifty-

two and a half feet by one hundred and five, set apart for him in the field. To some, more is allowed.

“That the slaves in South-Carolina are humanely treated, and that they are better provided with food and clothing than are the poor in most countries, will appear to any impartial observer. No better evidence need be adduced than their cheerfulness and mirth at all times, both in *town* and *country*.

“With all their mirth and merriment, however, they do not seem more contented than they were thirty or forty years ago, when the discipline was more rigid, their labor more constant and their comforts fewer. This is undoubtedly owing to a *relaxation in discipline* which experience abundantly proves has been almost carried *too far*. The regulations that would be applicable to whites entirely fail when applied to the government of slaves. The only principle upon which any authority over them can be maintained is *fear*; and he who denies this, has but little knowledge of them. Where there is this principle in the bosom of a slave, coupled with a strong sense of his inferiority to his master, he is happy and contented, and this is almost universally the case with the *country Negroes*. In his dreams, no visions visit him to remind him of his servitude. Born a slave, he need only be assured that he will be well fed and clothed for life, and worked in moderation, and he will regard himself as the happiest of mortals.

“A proof of the humanity with which these people are treated, is their increase by natural population. There is no certainty as to what this increase is, because of the importation of slaves from Africa, until 1808, and the emigration into this, from other states. But it is believed to be infinitely greater, than the increase amongst the poor in any part of Europe. In some parts of the State where the country is healthy there is a *duplication* every fifteen years. In many, every twenty years, whilst in some portions there is but a trifling increase in the same period. But this is owing not to any fault in their treatment, but to the extreme insalubrity of the air in some portions of the State. A reference also to the diseases which afflict our negroes, would show, that their food is both more wholesome and more abundant than that of the laboring classes in other countries. Dropsies, rickets, scrofula, typhus fever, and the long train of diseases which attend upon want and poverty, are far less frequent amongst our slaves, than in England, Scotland and Ireland. The diseases most fatal are catarrhas, pleurisies, peripneumony, and other diseases of the chest

and lungs. These carry off numbers of prime negroes, annually, which may be owing to their carelessness and imprudence, and to their propensity to be out at nights, visiting the neighboring plantations.

“The foregoing remarks are principally applicable to the lower parts of South-Carolina and particularly to the *Sea-Islands*. The treatment of those in the *interior* and *upper* country differs no further, than that the animal food which they receive may be more liberal; the country affording more facilities in this respect. *Upon the whole, I think it may be affirmed with the greatest truth that so intimately blended are the considerations of humanity and interest at the present day, that few laborers in any part of the world, work easier and have more comfort, and are, upon the whole, more contented than our black population.*”

We are obligated to the attention of ELIAS HORRY, Esq. for the communication which follows:—

“With regard to the accommodation and general comfort of the slaves in this country, there is no question but that they enjoy a greater share of the blessings of life than falls to the lot of the laboring poor of most countries. Their dwellings, on my plantation, are built in such a manner as to afford them every protection and comfort, and are generally about forty feet in length and twenty feet wide, with a double brick chimney in the centre that forms two tenements; each tenement has two rooms and a hall.

Their food consists of hominy, potatoes, peas, and small-rice, and is regularly given out to them every week. The waters of the Santee, upon which I live, abound with the finest fish, and all the grown Negroes, and many of the children, are supplied with fish-hooks and lines by which they are enabled to get a regular supply of fish from the river. In the summer season salted fish is occasionally given to them. Each grown Negro is allowed a small field, say from a quarter to a half acre of land, or more if he desires it, which he plants, and the profits of which he appropriates exclusively to his own use. They are permitted to raise poultry of every description which they either sell to their master or send to market. In cases of sickness they have every medical attention necessary. Each plantation is supplied with medicines of every description; every attention is therefore paid to the sick, and as the diseases of our Negroes are of a simple nature if

is rarely necessary, except in cases where surgical aid is required, to send for a physician. There are nurses on every plantation, whose business it is to do nothing but attend to the sick and administer to their wants. In addition to which, in cases of severe illness, one or more of the family to which the invalids may belong are permitted to wait upon them. The nurses are also supplied with sugar, tea, rum, molasses and vinegar for the use of the sick.

Their clothing consists of white plains, and they are also furnished with London duffel blankets of the best quality, a pair of shoes, and a Coromantal Scotch cap. The blankets are given out once every three years; and it often occurs from the nature of his work, that a laborer may require another pair of shoes, which is given to him. Every woman has an additional blanket at the birth of every child, as well as cloties for her infant.

Their labor is, comparatively, *light and easy*, so that an industrious negro can very easily accomplish his task early in the afternoon, and the rest of the time is at his own disposal. A quarter of an acre is generally called a task, but the actual task given depends very much upon the nature of the work.—In digging land a quarter of an acre is always the task. In threshing rice the men thresh 600 sheaves, and the women 500, and never more. Those of my negroes who are mechanics labor in proportion, and if they are called upon to do any extra work, in their *own time*, they are regularly paid for it. In one instance I paid in one year to a carpenter belonging to me, \$150, for the *extra* services of himself and two sons, in rearing the frames of five negro houses, I finding the stuff. Each driver, blacksmith and bricklayer, has, every other year, a great coat, in addition to his clothing; and the nurses have also a cloak every third year, independent of their clothes. The head of every family has a small garden allowed him, contiguous to his dwelling, independent of the little field I have mentioned, from which he gathers as many vegetables as supply his wants. They appear happy and contented, and the discipline used to keep them in proper order is by no means severe, but is always consistent with feelings the of justice and of humanity.”

We might easily multiply the evidence upon this subject, but enough has been already produced to show the utter destitution of truth in the statements of those who have audaciously traduced us, and repre-

sented our system of discipline with regard to our slaves in so false a light. The corresponding testimony of the gentlemen of whose communications we have availed ourselves, is as full and conclusive, as if we were to produce a volume. They are all of them Planters of liberal and enlightened minds—possessing large and independent fortunes—owning an immense number of slaves—and from their perfect knowledge of the general state and condition of that class of our population, eminently qualified to give us the best possible information.

If the negroes on our *plantations* live in the manner we have shewn, those immediately around our persons have still greater facilities of rendering themselves more happy and contented. Most of the latter are fed from the same table at which their masters dine, or are daily supplied with the greatest abundance of both animal and vegetable food—clothed in a superior manner—occupying rooms in the out buildings, as good nearly as those in the family mansion itself—and in every respect treated more like children than servants. They have no wants that are not immediately supplied. Independent of all this, they are allowed the privileges of moral and religious instruction, and every Church has a portion of its galleries set apart for their accommodation. Here they may resort and listen to the word of God, and partake, with their masters and mistresses, and under the same benedictions, of the Holy Sacrament.

The negroes in the *interior* of the State live equally well, and in some respects they are more upon a *level* with their masters. They work by the side of their owners while in the field, and we ourselves have

seen some of them in the upper districts sitting at the same table with them, using, at the same time, however, such circumspection as denoted their inferiority—just as the clansmen of the feudal ages sat at the social board of their high and bannered lord, yet preserved that distance of behaviour which the most boisterous hospitality could never make them forget. In the interior of the State the negroes are not *allowanced* in food, but have as much corn, potatoes and bacon, as they can possibly consume. The barns are open to all, and each takes what he requires. If it be asked why those in the lower country are *allowanced*, while those in the interior are not, the answer is, that, such are the facilities of transportation to market, and the disposition to thievery, so innate to the blacks, that a Planter's barn would in a very short time become bankrupt of its wealth, and the whole of his substance vanish like unsubstantial moonshine.

We have no reason to blush, therefore, either for the existence or toleration of NEGRO SLAVERY among us, nor need we dread any fair and candid comparison that may be made between their physical and moral comforts, and those of the laboring poor in England, or any other part of the World. Contrast their condition with that of the poor in England, the mother of our religion—the boasted land of freedom and of glory—and the pride of ancient and of modern Europe.

Mr. SOUTHEY, an *Englishman*, as much bigoted as any man who ever bent his knee to royalty, in speaking of the English poor, sums up the misery of their condition with the following climax of human wretchedness :

"To talk of English happiness is like talking of Spartan freedom : the Helots are overlooked. In no country can such riches be acquired by commerce, but it is the *one* who grows rich by the labor of the *hundred*. The hundred human beings like himself, as wonderfully fashioned by Nature, gifted with the like capacities and equally made for immortality, are *sacrificed, body and soul*. Horrible as it must needs appear, the assertion is true to the very letter. *They are deprived in childhood of all instruction, and all enjoyment of the sports in which childhood instinctively indulges, of fresh air by day and of natural sleep by night. Their health, physical and moral, is alike destroyed. They die of diseases induced by unremitting task work, by confinement in the impure atmosphere of crowded rooms, by the particles of metallic or vegetable dust which they are continually inhaling, or they live to grow up without decency, without comfort, and without hope; without morals, without religion, and without shame; and bring forth SLAVES like themselves to tread in the same path of misery.*"

Such was the condition of the English poor, particularly of the manufacturing class, in the year 1807. Those who know any thing of their present state, are aware that their hopelessness and despair have rendered it ten thousand times worse. Of the miseries of the IRISH it would be a mockery of humanity to speak.

In summing up the arguments which we have adduced in the foregoing pages, we cannot but form, among others, the following conclusions. Melancholy and painful as some of them are in their character, they are, nevertheless, we think, clearly deducible from the propositions we have discussed—

1—'The United States are *one* for national purposes, but they are separate for their internal regulation and government—acknowledging and clinging to the Union as the common centre of attraction, they have still their appropriate and peculiar orbits, like the stars.'

* CRAFTS' Oration on the Lunatic Asylum, p. 21.

2—That the people of the North and East have always exhibited a most unfriendly feeling on subjects deeply affecting the most vital interests of the South and West—and that they have been, in their mode of legislation, uniformly hostile to the happiness and security of these sections of the Union.

3—That the existence of slavery among us was not an institution of our own voluntary adoption—and ought not, in justice, therefore, to be attributed to us.

4—That the Southern sections of the Union, before and after the Declaration of Independence, uniformly exhibited a disposition to restrict the extension of the evil—and have always manifested as cordial a disposition to ameliorate it as those of the Northern and Eastern divisions of our Empire.

5—That the actual state and condition of our slave population are such as reflect no disgrace whatever upon the character of the country—that our slaves are in every respect infinitely better provided with food and clothing, and all the other comforts of life, than the laboring poor of any country in the world—and share, in general, a greater proportion of happiness than falls to the lot of millions of our own color.

There are one or two remaining branches of our design which carry with them a weight of interest too important to be slightly discussed or imperfectly explored.

We regard our negroes as the “*Jacobins*” of the country, against whom we should always be upon our guard, and who, although we fear no permanent effects from any insurrectionary movements on their part, should be watched with an eye of steady and unremitted observation.

The disposition to insurrection and plunder, the united result of ignorance and sloth, exhibited itself among the negroes of the colony of Carolina at a very early period, and was persisted in, from year to year, until it ripened into open rebellion. This was promptly and immediately put down—for with our ancestors there existed no temporising feeling upon this subject, nor did they sacrifice to a *protracted* course of proceeding the lives and security of the people of the country. They used their strength as that of their bloody opponents would have been used against them; and they were indubitably justified by every principle of the first and great law of nature—SELF-PRESERVATION.

The earliest insurrectionary movements among the negroes of Carolina, of which we have been able to trace any very authentic record, may be referred to the year 1711, when Governor Gibbes presided over the Colonial Assembly. This was about *forty years only after the first settlement of the country*. Governor Gibbes appears to have fulfilled the duties of his responsible situation with great fidelity and zeal, and neglected no opportunity to guard the Colony against the growing evils to which it was likely to be subjected from these convulsions. In 1711, as will be recollected, he proposed to the Assembly a restriction on the importation of negroes that were daily brought into the Colony, and recommended an enlargement of the penalties of the *Negro Act*, in as much as “*it did not reach up to some crimes*” that they had already committed, and represented, at the same time, “*how insolent and mischievous*” they had grown. He was so deeply impressed with the necessity of high handed measures in relation to them, that in the *June session*

of the same year, he expresses himself in still stronger terms—"We further recommend unto you the repairs
 ' of the fortifications about Charles Town, and the
 ' amending of the *Negro Act*, who are, of late, grown
 ' to that *hight of impudence* that there is scarce a day
 ' passes without some robbery or insolence committed
 ' by them in one part or other of this Province."

It appears from the following Extracts, which we have made from the Journals of that period, that the House of Assembly actively co-operated with the Patriarchal feelings of their Governor, and entered into Resolutions strongly expressive of the dangers to which they were exposed and of the necessity of the most active measures to remove them.

"June 20th, 1711—The House being informed that
 ' there are several **N**egroes run away from their masters,
 ' and keep out, armed, and robbing and plundering
 ' houses and plantations, and putting the inhabitants of
 ' this Province in great fear and terror. Resolved, by
 ' this House that the Governor be addressed to take
 ' effectual care to apprehend, take and suppress the
 ' said run-aways, and to assure his Honor that this
 ' House will, at all times, be ready to concur with the
 ' Governor and Council in defraying the expenses of
 ' soe good and necessary a designe." In the *October*
session of the same year, though the Colony was threatened with invasion by a large Fleet that had been fitted out by the French, to scour and devastate the shores of the Southern States, and notwithstanding all the apprehensions necessarily attendant upon the receipt of such information, still, the dangers to which they were exposed from the existence of an internal enemy, more to be dreaded, because he fought like an assassin and a coward, seem to have occupied

the largest space in the Public Councils. Governor GIBBES appears to have looked to the latter with uncommon and increasing vigilance.

“On the constant complaint, since your last meeting, of divers persons of this Province, of the *barbarities, felonies and abuses*, committed by some run-away Negroes on our inhabitants, we desired such of the members of your House as was then in Town to meet us, and we agreed to give unto any person who should take or bring dead or alive *Sebastian*, the Spanish, or Hidling’s Negroe, as an encouragement, Fifty Pounds—or to such as should take up any other Negroe, runaway for forty days, Five Pounds, for the confirmation whereof, we want the concurrence of your House—and since we are on this subject do think it *a matter worthy of your highest consideration, immediately to draw up a bill for their better ordering, that effectually may prevent the fears and jealousies wee now lye under from the insolence of the Negroes, wee have already in this Province and the numbers that are daily brought unto us.*”

This *Sebastian* was a notorious villain and outlaw; and the reason of his having had this price set upon his head was for the wanton and cold blooded atrocities he had committed, in the burning and destruction of all the substance of several persons, inhabitants of the Province. Among others, we find the Assembly of the same year, granting “Thirty Pounds out of the public Treasury, for the reliefe of Elizabeth Dutch and her poor family, the said Elizabeth *having her house and all her substance burned by Sebastian, the Spanish Negroe*”—and “to Sarah Perry, widdow, the sum of Ten Pounds, in consideration of the great loss she sustained by the *death of her Indian*

who was *killed by Sebastian* the Spanish Indian." The reward offered for Sebastian soon stimulated the avarice of the Indians who literally hunted him down like a wild beast, took him in triumph to Charles Town, where he met the fate to which his villainies so richly entitled him.

There is one more remaining paragraph, from a subsequent Speech of the Governor to the Assembly in the same year, in which he again reiterates the absolute and paramount necessity, to have the "*Negro Act corrected.*" All these, united, present us with the first and early operations of a spirit of dissatisfaction and revolt, which, although it has in subsequent periods been more widely disclosed, has nevertheless, always, *like all other domestic Insurrections*, been promptly and effectually quelled.

With regard to any very serious or permanent effects resulting from the insurrectionary movements of our negroes, we must confess that we feel little or no apprehension. The superior advantages with which nature has gifted, and art strengthened and fortified our condition, render any practicability of success on their part utterly out of the question. The struggle, it is true, might be a bloody and an awful one; but it would be limited to a very short period. A few hours would decide the conflict, and the *utter extermination* of the black race would be the inevitable consequence. In such an event, it would be difficult to discriminate. The innocent, as well as the guilty, would alike fall a sacrifice to the vengeance of violated humanity. We feel the more confirmed in this opinion, not only from an intimate knowledge of the genius and disposition of that class of our population, but from a variety of other sources of information. all

of which justify its accuracy. In the first place—the history of every nation that has ever been afflicted with domestic rebellions of this description, furnishes the most satisfactory evidence with what little success they have been attended, and how happily the spirit of murder and of rapine has been defeated in its unholy office. “We recollect” says the Edinburgh Review of 1802, in an article on the “*Crisis of the Sugar Colonies*,” “the history of the Peruvian Revolt and of the *Servile* wars in Campania and Sicily, and consider that insurrections of colonies and provinces, as well as *domestic rebellions*, may be quelled. But above all, when we cast our eyes over the very scene where the great drama that we are now contemplating is displayed, we find various facts, which, more strongly than a thousand fine spun reasonings, clearly evince the possibility of reducing to their cane pieces, coffee grounds and spice walks, *the most fierce and licentious of the African race*.”

“The constant state of warfare in which the *Maroons* (a species of *Negroes*) of Dutch Guyana have remained with the *whites* for above a century, has caused the colony to be surrounded with a regular cordon of troops, and a chain of military posts. Various insurrections have disturbed the peace of the settlements. Sometimes the *Negroes* have been completely successful, as in the year 1763, when the colony of Berbice was wholly in their possession; *it was quickly restored, however*, and the revolters *actually submitted, before the arrival of the force destined to reduce them*.”

“The formidable rebellion of the Jamaica slaves, in 1762, is well known; and in almost every island in the Archipelago have repeated insurrections broken out; sometimes the result of plans laid with the utmost secrecy, and very widely extended, always accom-

panied by the horrors of African warfare, but *uniformly* quelled after a short struggle, in which, the discipline and policy of the Europeans overcame the vast numbers and ferocious strength of a savage people, and reduced them to their accustomed habits of fear and labor. It is in vain, that our author paints to us the instinctive dread of the slaves, as a peculiar principle, a mysterious charm, which, if once broken, cannot be restored. We believe it to be the same kind of spell which keeps men in obedience to absolute governments; which is latent in the magic rod of a Prussian or Austrian officer; and which may, indeed, be *suspended by accidental occurrences*; but, if arising from the relative situation and peculiar circumstances of the rulers and the governed, will speedily be replaced, and regain its powerful influence.

“In short, of whatever nature that principle may be which keeps the African laborers in subordination to the white inhabitants, whether, as our author describes it, it is of a peculiar nature, *sui-genus*, or, as we are rather disposed to believe, arising from the influence of superior policy, and closer union among the masters: we have adduced examples of its being suspended, and to all appearance destroyed. *Its restoration in all those cases, is no less certain.*”

Again—the Edinburgh Review, vol. 2, (1805,) on “*Dallas' History of the Maroons*,” in speaking of the little prospect of success on their part, when conflicting with the decided superiority of the whites whom they were to oppose, furnishes a conclusion as clear as it is reconcilable to the testimony of all other historical facts.

“The Maroons,” says the article in question, “had various advantages in their knowledge of the country,

their acute senses, and their perseverance under hardships and privation. These are the only advantages of savages, and to counterbalance them, we apprehend the advantages peculiar to civilized warriors *are abundantly sufficient*. We conceive that *discipline, artillery and regular supplies of provisions will generally render acuteness of sense superfluous, patience and perseverance unnecessary, and acquaintance with the fastnesses of the country of little avail.*"

There is still more abundant testimony at command in the history of *our own State*, to shew the utter fallacy of any attempt to revolutionize the present condition of our negro population, and which puts at rest all hopes of success in this particular. Valuable lives, it is true, may be lost, and blood may run in torrents for an hour, but defeat in such an insane project must be the inevitable result.

The following historical facts are of too valuable a nature to be omitted. They throw a light upon this subject, by which any one who runs may read; and, while they give confidence to those who are naturally timid, they strengthen the courage of those who are born to be their protectors. Our wives and daughters need not indulge any serious apprehensions so long as we possess the powerful and efficient means which we do of giving them the safety they require, *and for which no sacrifice can be too great.*

The first *open* rebellion which took place in Carolina where the Negroes were actually armed and embodied, is traceable as far back as the year 1730. In the month of August of that year, a conspiracy was detected, the plan of which had been long secretly agitated. Two methods had been proposed in order to carry it into execution; one, that the ne-

groes in each family, in the dead of the night, were to murder all their masters and the white men of every family, in the neighborhood in which there were no Negroes. *There was so much distrust and want of confidence*, however, among them, that they resolved to adopt the other proposition, which was, that they should assemble in the neighborhood of the town, under the pretence of a "DANCING-BOUT," and, when proper preparations were made, to rush into the heart of the city, take possession of all the arms and ammunition they could find, and murder all the white men, and then turn their forces to the different plantations. Such was the secrecy with which this conspiracy was conducted, that it was discovered only a short time previous to its projected explosion, and many of the negroes had actually assembled. As soon as the discovery was made, the citizens, by "*private orders and without noise*," rendezvoused at their respective points of alarm, and immediately marched to the place where the Negroes were collected, and *without the slightest opposition* took the whole of them prisoners. The *ringleaders* of the rebellion were immediately executed, and the remainder returned to their daily labor and obedience.

In the year 1739, there were no less than THREE formidable insurrections among our slaves, in which many valuable lives were lost, and, during the fury and devastation of which, the most detestable outrages were committed. They were all, however, instantly quelled, and the measure of retribution was full to overflowing. These insurrections were all fomented by the Spaniards in St. Augustine, who clandestinely gave protection to all the fugitive slaves from this colony, and by sending their *Priests* as emissaries

among our Negroes, created among them such wild and visionary ideas of liberty and freedom, as finally plunged them into open rebellion.

HEWITT gives us the following interesting account of this Insurrection.

“At this time, (about the year 1740,) there were above 40,000 Negroes in the Province. Long had *liberty and protection* been promised and proclaimed to them by the *Spaniards at Augustine*, nor were all the negroes in the province strangers to the proclamation. At different times Spanish emissaries had been found *secretly tampering with them*, and persuading them to fly from slavery. Five negroes, who were cattle hunters, at Indian Land, some of whom belonged to Captain McPherson, after wounding his son and killing another man, made their escape. Several more attempting to get away were *taken, tried, and hanged at Charles Town*.

“While Carolina was kept in a state of constant fear and agitation from this quarter, an insurrection openly broke out in the heart of the settlement which alarmed the whole province. A number of negroes having assembled together at Stono, first surprised and killed two young men in a ware-house, and then plundered it of guns and ammunition. Being thus provided with arms, they elected one of their number captain, and agreed to follow him, marching towards the south-west, with colours flying and drums beating, like a disciplined company. They forcibly entered the house of Mr. Godfrey, and having *murdered him, his wife, and children, they took all the arms he had in it, set fire to the house, and then proceeded towards Jacksonborough*. In their way they *plundered and burnt every house, killing every white person they found in them, and compelling the Negroes to join them*. Governor Bull returning to Charleston from the southward, met them, and, observing them armed, spread the alarm, which soon reached the Presbyterian Church at Wiltown, where Archibald Stobo was preaching to a numerous congregation of Planters in that quarter. By a law of the province, all Planters were obliged to carry their arms to Church, which at this critical juncture proved a very useful and necessary regulation. The women were left in Church trembling with fear, while the militia, under the command of Captain Bee, marched in quest of the Negroes, who by this time had become formidable, from the number that joined them. They had marched about twelve miles, and *spread desolation through all the plantations in their way*. They halted in an open field, and began to sing and dance, by way of triumph. During these rejoicings, the militia discovered them, and stationed themselves in different places around them, to prevent them from making their escape. One party advanced into the open field and attacked them, and, having killed some Negroes, the remainder took to the woods and were dispersed. Many ran back to their plantations, in

hopes of escaping suspicion from the absence of their masters; but *the greater part were taken and tried*. Such as had been compelled to join them, contrary to their inclination, were pardoned, but *all the chosen leaders and first insurgents suffered death*.

"All Carolina was struck with terror and consternation by this Insurrection, in which *above twenty persons were murdered* before it was quelled."

We cannot omit to give place to the very valuable Document which follows. It presents a faithful and afflicting picture of the Province at this period, and details with heart-rending accuracy the sufferings through which it had passed. What greater or more honorable proof can we have of the bold and persevering spirit of our ancestors. Notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers which surrounded them on all sides and the afflictions with which they were visited, they manfully breasted the storm and triumphed over every obstacle.

We have preserved both the style and punctuation of the original, a copy of which we have taken from the Secretary of State's Office in Charleston:

PETITION and REPRESENTATION to His Majesty of the present state of the Province.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The Humble Petition and Representation of the Council and Assembly of your Majesty's Province of South-Carolina upon the present state of the said Province:

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and Loyal Subjects the Members of your Majesty's Council, and the Members of the Commons House of Assembly of this your Majesty's Province of South-Carolina, now met together in General Assembly, to take under consideration *the dangerous situation in which the Province now is*, Most humbly beg leave to represent to your Majesty, that it is with the utmost grief and concern we find this Province greatly reduced and weakened, by a series of Calamities and Misfortunes which have attended it for some time past. The *Small Pox*, in the year 1738, succeeded by a *Pestilential Fever*, in the year 1739, whereby numbers who had escaped the first were carried off by the last. That again succeeded by an *Insurrection of our slaves in which many of the Inhabitants were murdered in a barbarous and cruel manner*; and that no sooner quelled than another projected in *Charles Town*, and a third lately in the very heart of the Settlements, but happily discovered time enough to be prevented. Wrestling with difficultys at home, we see ourselves at the same time exposed to dangers from abroad, to Enemies very near, and by far too nume-

rons and powerful for us ; and that the many succours which your Majesty has been graciously pleased from time to time to give us, and what we, weak as we are, have been able to do for ourselves, comes far short of your Majesty's Royal Intention and Expectations from thence.

It is with great reason, we apprehend, that That part of our Calamity, proceeding from the frequent attempts of our Slaves, arises from the designs and intrigues of our Enemies, the Spaniards in St. Augustine and Florida, who have had the ruin and destruction of these your Majesty's Colonys of South-Carolina and Georgia long in view. Witness the great preparations made at the Havanna, and St. Augustine, about three years ago, for a powerful descent on these Provinces ; and since that, in time of profound peace also, a proclamation published at St. Augustine, in his Catholic Majesty's name, *promising freedom and other encouragement to all slaves that should desert from your Majesty's subjects of this Province and join them.* In consequence of which Proclamation, many have already deserted, and others encouraged daily to do the same ; and even those who have committed the most inhuman murders are there harboured, entertained and caressed. Such, may it please your Majesty, was the situation of this Province when General Oglethorpe applied to us to assist your Majesty's Forces in attacking St. Augustine. Induced by the assurances we had from that General, and the Commodore of your Majesty's Ships of War, met together in the Harbour of Charleston, of the great probability there was of success, and by the advantage, we were sensible would thereby accrue to your Majesty's subjects of this Province and Georgia, and for the Glory of your Majesty's arms, in reducing a Fortress which stands an Eye-sore to the British Dominions in North America ; and as such has been before attempted by this Province, but without success, we exerted ourselves and cheerfully voted such a supply of Forces as that General thought sufficient to succeed in that expedition ; together with a great quantity of Provisions, Artillery, Warlike Stores, Vessels for transportation, Arms and Presents for 500 Indians, and many other necessaries : But considering the uncertainty of Warlike Events, and that the Enemy might be stronger than the General had represented them to be, we added 200 men more : The whole expence amounting to a greater sum than our present Circumstance could well bear. With this additional reinforcement, we had the greatest reason to hope for success ; and more especially, as to all this, was afterwards added, your Majesty's great supply sent to the General, of Warlike Stores proper for such an undertaking. But so it has fallen out, that with hearts full of sorrow and anxiety, are we now obliged to represent to your Majesty, that this attempt proved altogether unsuccessful, and the Troops sent from this Province, by express orders dated the 4th instant, from General Oglethorpe to their Commanding Officer, ordered to withdraw from before St. Augustine, and to carry off or destroy the Cannon made use of by them against the Enemy. Whether the bad success of this expedition proceeds from Misconduct, or from any other cause, we shall not presume to judge. But, may it please your Majesty, such being the issue and event of this unhappy Expedition, in which all our hopes were placed, we are now exposed to a powerful Enemy, roused with resentment, and encouraged by our disappointment, are become more formidable than ever, and if not speedily prevented by a superior force, may soon turn their Arms against us. And what a Tragical scene an attack from a Foreign Enemy must produce, when at the same time *our whole force will be scarce sufficient to guard against that within us,* is but too apparent.

Exposed as we are to present danger from the Spaniards, Consequences more fatal to us, as well as to the whole of your Majesty's Dominions in America, are to be apprehended in case of a rupture with France, from the wonderful Progress made in these few years by that Nation in their grand and long projected scheme, of opening a communication between their Canada and Quebec Settlements and those on the great River Mississippi to the Bay of Mexico. A Scheme, great to them, but dangerous to the British Dominions, as has been heretofore set forth by two several Representations made to your Majesty from this Province since the year 1734. This communication being now opened, by that means, they have an Army of between 3, & 4,000 men on our backs ; and have of late built new Forts and Reinforced those formerly built ; by which there is great reason to apprehend, that they are able not only to prevent the progress and extension of the British Settlements in North America, but to invade some of what is already settled.

As we have heretofore humbly represented to your Majesty, this Province and that of Georgia have the most to fear, not only on account of their being the weakest and most exposed to their Enemies, but on account of their situation, and the great advantage which the French must consequently have by becoming Masters of them. The Country between these Colonys and the French Settlements and Garrisons on the Rivers Mississippi and Mobile, being plain, flat and open, not intersected by the large Appalachian Mountains; we have therefore no other Barrier but a few Nations of Indians, far inferior in number to theirs. Next to them are the Chickesaws; a Bold and Brave People. Strict friends to your Majesty's subjects of this Province; but not now in number above 400 men; with them the French have lately made an insidious peace; And in their security thereupon, many of them have been cut off by the Choctaw Indians. These Choctaws are very numerous, and under the immediate influence and direction of the French. This together with the many former attacks upon that brave Nation of the Chickesaws, leave no room to doubt of their intention to exterminate that People, as they have already done the Notches, with a view manifestly to make their next attempt on the Creeks, the only remaining Barrier, in that case, between us and the French. In that Nation the French have long had a Fort, called the Alabama Fort; which they have lately reinforced; and by repeated intelligence from our Traders are now using their utmost endeavours, by offers of great Presents as well as threats, to withdraw our People from our Interest, and to engage them to destroy our Traders now amongst them. In which, were they to succeed, terrible must be the fate of these your Majesty's Provinces of South-Carolina and Georgia; who unless supported must fall a Prey to them and their numerous Indians, whose devastations and crueltys this Province has heretofore fatally experienced: and they in that case become Masters of what they have had long in view, *to wit* a settlement and Ports on this Eastern part of the American Continent, so absolutely necessary for the support and advantage of their back Settlements, and of great use to their Sugar Islands in America, which at present depend almost wholly upon the English Colonys for Lumber and Provisions: But as they are now situated have no other opening but from the Rivers Mobile and Mississippi, at the extremity of the Bay Appalatchee, in the Entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, which renders their traffic from these Colonys not only tedious but dangerous; and then once having secured a settlement on this shore, and a communication opened to their settlements on those Rivers; we have reason to apprehend they may become Masters of all Florida and its Coasts quite down to these great Rivers, including St Augustine itself, if it remains unconquered by your Majesty, and that large tract of fertile and rich soil called the Appalatchees, formerly conquered by the Inhabitants of this Province from the Spaniards. Such. May it please your Majesty, seems to be the great schemes of the French, part of which are already executed and performed; and what are to come, we can easily foresee, but are of too high and extensive a nature for us to prevent.

Expectations and hopes arising at first from the settlement of Georgia being now vanished and gone by, the drooping and languid condition of the few Inhabitants which still remain there, our own Inhabitants and fortunes greatly reduced and impoverished by a long Series of Calamitys and Misfortunes heretofore unknown, we have nothing left but to fly to your Majesty for protection. And full of gratitude for the many favours heretofore conferred in this Province, and confiding in that glorious disposition and spirit so lately evidenced and made appear to us by your Majesty in the early care taken of these your remotest subjects in America, by the assistance of so many of your Majesty's Ships of War, the good effects of which we have already, in many instances, experienced.

We most humbly and earnestly implore your Majesty's most Royal and paternal protection and assistance against our Enemies by Land, and particularly those in St. Augustine; who, no doubt, by our disappointment now bid defiance to the power and force of this Province: and from whence we have sustained so many losses and injuries, *by the reception from time to time of our deserted Slaves, and even of those who have committed the most barbarous and cruel Murders of their Masters.* And we most humbly pray your Majesty that in case this Fortress should remain unconquered, then in any future Peace to

be concluded, between your Majesty and the King of Spain, provision may be made for the restoration of our Slaves already deserted, and for our security against such Evils for the future, as also for the great expence which has attended this Province in consequence thereof.

All which we most humbly and earnestly submit to your Majesty's Royal Consideration."

In the Upper House of Assembly the 26 day of July 1740.

JOHN FENWICKE.

In the Commons House of Assembly the 26 day of July 1740.

By Order of the House

WILLM. BULL, Junr. *Speaker.*

In consequence of these repeated effervescences among our slaves, it was found expedient to the safety of the Colony, to circumscribe their privileges, and to adopt such measures as would prevent any possibility of *concert* among them. The Negro Act of the year 1740, (still in the Statute Book, though not actually *in force*) passed with a view of avoiding the dangers inseparably connected with the institution of slavery among us, was actively and efficiently enforced, and all its penalties and provisions carried into full effect. The rigid policy of the Act, when faithfully pursued, corrected the evil for many years, and, by visiting with prompt and exemplary punishment every act of insubordination, preserved the tranquility of the public mind and quieted all its apprehensions. As soon as this security and confidence were restored, however, a general relaxation in the execution of the salutary provisions of the Act took place, and the Negroes, progressively, step by step, regained that confidence and concert among themselves that always follow the absence of proper discipline. They recovered the ground they had lost—re-assumed the privileges of which they had been hitherto deprived—corresponded more intimately with each other, both in their public and private associations—and finally

projected the plan of *another* Insurrection, in Camden and its vicinity. This was, perhaps, plotted with more secrecy and ingenuity of design than even that of the late intended Insurrection in Charleston; and was to have been attended with a corresponding result. Part of the Town was to have been set on fire—all the male white inhabitants indiscriminately massacred, and the females reserved for a destiny still more horrible and revolting.

We have been unable to procure a copy of the minutes of the Town Council of Camden, in relation to this event; but we have been obligingly favored with the following Narrative, by FRANCIS G. DELIESSELINE, Esq. who was in Camden *at the time*. Some few particulars may have faded in his recollection, but the important features of the transaction are presented with perfect accuracy. The memory clings with too great a tenacity to these to allow any possibility of a want of fidelity.

“In compliance with your request I send you a Narrative of the projected conspiracy of the blacks in CAMDEN, and its neighborhood, in the year 1816—the professed design of which, was to *murder all the whites, and free themselves*. A long lapse of time has erased from my memory many of the particulars, but I am enabled to give you the following outline :

“About the middle of June, 1816, Col. CHESNUT, a citizen of Camden, and an aid-de-camp to Gov. WILLIAMS, was informed by a favorite and confidential slave, that propositions of a dangerous character had been made to him, in relation to a projected insurrection among the blacks—and that the time and place of rendezvous had been already appointed. His master, placing the most unreserved confidence in his fidelity, directed him to attend the meetings of the conspirators, previous to the developement of the plot, and, at the same time, to conduct himself with the most guarded discretion.—A communication was immediately had with Governor WILLIAMS, and Colonel CHESNUT received the necessary instructions with re-

gard to the defeat of the conspiracy. These were communicated to none other than the Town Council; and such was the *secrecy with which the whole affair was conducted*, that on the morning of the 1st or 2nd of July, the young men chosen to arrest the ringleaders of the conspiracy were assembled under the pretence of a fox chase, and despatched under the command of leaders, who were enjoined to the *utmost secrecy*. They were perfectly ignorant of the nature of the service they were on, until the moment they were ordered to arrest the conspirators, most of whom were at work in the fields, many miles apart. Their movements were so secret and simultaneous, that the arrests were made almost at the same instant of time, and without any intimation on the part of those respectively arrested, of the fate of their confederates. The same caution was subsequently used, at their trial, to conceal the name of the informer, who was likewise in custody. The most satisfactory testimony, independent of that of the informer, and *regulated by the most rigid rules of evidence*, sufficiently established their guilt; and the first gang who were executed died ignorant of the informer. They all confessed their crimes, and the most intelligent of them acknowledged that they had no causes of complaint against their individual masters, and *advised their surviving brethren of the futility of any further attempt*. They expressed themselves surprised with the *mild and humane* manner of the proceedings instituted against them, and freely acknowledged that they had anticipated *immediate death* in case of a discovery. Two brothers engaged in this rebellion could read and write, and were hitherto of unexceptional characters. They were *religious*, and had always been regarded in the light of faithful servants. A few appeared to have been actuated solely by the instinct of the most brutal licentiousness, and by the lust of plunder—but most of them by wild and frantic ideas of the rights of man, and *the misconceived injunctions and examples of Holy writ*.

“The scheme had for its object the conflagration of a part of the town—the massacre of all the white male inhabitants, and the more brutal sacrifice of the female. Their plan was entrusted to a few only, and they left its developement and consummation to *chance*; relying on the presumed disposition to rebellion on the part of the blacks of every description.

“The night of the 4th of July was appointed for the explosion.—Great anxiety had been exhibited among the younger and more ar-

gent associates in the revolt, in the different meetings that were held, to precipitate the period of attack, and begin the work of desolation and slaughter some time before. But the cautious and calculating judgment of the more cunning and elder urged as reasons for deferring it, that there was a scarcity of provisions—that the crops not yet made would be lost in the confusion that would ensue, and that famine would accomplish what force might not be able to effect. They confidently relied, also, upon the usual indulgences among us on a day celebrated as a great national jubilee ; and it was finally determined, that the night of the 4th of July should be appointed as the time for the re-enactment of the horrors of the *Scicilian Vespers*. The different commands had been regularly assigned to particular leaders, and all had been allotted, except that of Commander-in-Chief. This was reserved for him who should first force the gates of the *Arsenal*. To strengthen the possibility of success, the Negroes from the circum-jacent country were invited, under various pretences, to Camden that night. The fidelity of a favorite domestic, as I have already stated, defeated their flagitious scheme, and consined the ring-leaders of the revolt to a premature and ignominious grave. *The Legislature of the State purchased the freedom of the INFORMER, and settled a PENSION upon him for life.*

“ Although many were known to have been concerned in the Insurrection, none but the *chiefs* of the revolt were executed. As well as I can recollect, the whole number hung was six.”

We have no account in the history of the country of any other Insurrection from the year 1816 until the present year (1822.) The particulars of this are too fresh in the memory of all to need any repetition. It was a subject of deep and breathless anxiety, and its features are preserved with the most scrupulous accuracy in the memory of those who were to have been the victims of its diabolical brutality. *Thirty-five* of the detestable miscreants, who were the *ring-leaders* of the meditated rebellion, have expiated their crime on the gallows—and have been hung up as an awful warning to those who remain. The

humanity of our laws has spared others who were implicated in the plot—but driven them into perpetual exile, to suffer death in the event of their returning to our shores.

Thus has perished, and thus will forever perish, the hopes of all misguided and deluded incendiaries. It is utterly impossible for them to affect any revolution in the state and condition of society in which they stand, nor can all their stratagems avail them in such a design. Their treachery, though it walks only in the gloom and shadow of midnight, and shows its “dark and dangerous brow,” at that dead hour, so suited to its evil machinations, *will always be detected*; nor can the most elaborate ingenuity “hide it from prevention.” There is no secrecy profound enough to conceal such a Heaven-offending sin.

The utter impracticability of succeeding in any meditated Insurrection on the part of our black population is sufficiently demonstrable, we think, from the evidence we have collected and produced. Their general inferiority in the gifts of nature—the imbecility of spirit, necessarily superinduced by their condition—the fidelity and attachment of some—want of confidence among themselves—a principle of duty on the part of many, and reason among the more reflecting—coupled with other auxiliary causes—will forever baffle all prospects of successful rebellion. The facts and observations which follow, strengthen the proposition we have discussed, and present a luminous arrangement of arguments fully conclusive upon the subject. The article at the same time comprehends, in a condensed form, most of the views of which the subject is capable of being illustrated. It is from the pen of BENJA-

MIN ELLIOTT, Esq. a gentlemen, well known and estimated for his general information, as well as for his intimate and accurate knowledge of the particular history of our country. We have been greatly indebted to him in the prosecution of our design, and have frequently drawn our information, upon some interesting topics, from the fountain of his own memory and reflection.

TO OUR NORTHERN BRETHREN.

FELLOW CITIZENS—

Were we to misjudge you from the vile paragraphs of some of your editors, we should almost believe that you would delight to see Charleston another Wyoming, and could behold without emotion, Virginia and Kentucky smoking like the first Isle of the Antilles. We, however, hold no such unworthy opinion of you. It is the lot of all countries to produce beings, who, like the depredators in the diseased district of the City of New-York, would prosper on the affliction of their fellow creatures. But, while we must expect to find characters who would foment commotion to advance themselves, we should be satisfied that the American people are too sound to inculcate treachery and justify assassination. It is, therefore, I would suppose, that you were not aware of the deep atrocity of the late machinations in our city, or you would declare that we have felt as you would have felt, and in our proceedings have but obeyed the dictates of nature and of wisdom. We would, therefore, invite you temperately to survey the various circumstances of this event.

This description of our population had been allowed to assemble for *religious* instruction.—The designing leaders in the scheme of villainy, availed themselves of these occasions to instill sentiments of ferocity, by *falsifying the Bible*. All the severe penal laws of the Israelites were quoted to mislead them, and the denunciations in the prophecies, which were intended to deter men *from* evil, were declared to be divine commands which they were to *execute*. To confirm this doctrine, they were told that Heshbon, that Bashan with its sixty cities had been destroyed, man, woman and child; that in the desolation of Midian, only the males were destroyed, at which Moses was displeased, and deliberately ordered the death of the boys and their mothers. That Joshua levelled the walls of Jericho, and regarded neither age nor sex; and that David vanquished empires and left not man, woman or infant alive. Not content with this execrable perversion—with exhibiting the God of Mercy as another Jaggernaut, they were informed of what *their* color had perpetrated abroad. Such was their *religion*—such the examples to be imitated.

After having rendered them fiends in principle, they were prepared to be fiends in action. A regular plan was formed to annihilate us

and our abodes; the arsenals and strong holds were to have been seized, and the leaders were nominated for each attack. Besides the instruments which many of them possessed as mechanics, villains were engaged in manufacturing arms; several pike-handles were discovered; Pharoah and Peter had swords; Ned Bennett had a sword *to kill wolves*, but which he designed first to try upon his master, of whom he had received every indulgence. The places of rendezvous, the night, the hour were determined—and the imps of rebellion were to have made Charleston one scene of flames and carnage, had they been able. It is no diminution of their crime to say they were not able;—guilt is in the intention and not in the act.

“Under such circumstances of just exasperation, what did the citizens of Charleston? Did they yield to their passions and commit an indiscriminate massacre, as would have been done, in many places, under less excitement? Nothing like it. A court was organized of distinguished integrity, respectability and intelligence; the members of which felt their own high reputation involved with the untarnished reputation of their State and Country. So far from being precipitate, they were occupied several days in investigating the nature of the conspiracy, before they put the individuals accused upon their trials.—The cases of the criminals were conducted with that liberality, justice and impartiality, which characterise American jurisprudence, which is no where more conspicuous than in South-Carolina, and was never more pure than on this painful occasion. Their guilt was demonstrated, and what ought to have been done? Disregard the law—unleash them upon society, and encourage a repetition of their projects? No one, I hope, in our extensive empire, would intimate such a wish. What was done?—That which duty enjoined and precedent justified. These culprits meditated against us, fire, pillage, treason, treachery to their masters, with outrages not to be named. Thus they blended *four capital offences* in *one* crime. Ought not capital punishment then to have been awarded? It is certainly not unexampled.—In the Spanish conspiracy against Venice, which partakes of the character of this, *three hundred and fifty were put to death*. George II. executed *fifty-four* of the first men in Britain for the rebellion of 1745. Nor are we without domestic precedent. An insurrection occurred in the city of New-York in 1712. As soon as the alarm-gun was fired, and a detachment of the guards appeared, the insurgents fled to the woods, where they were surrounded; several through desperation *shot themselves*, the rest were captured, and nineteen executed.

“Another was meditated in 1741, when there were two thousand Negroes and twelve thousand whites in the city of New-York. It was then found necessary to *burn thirteen* and to hang eighteen negroes with four whites, to transport eighty negroes and five whites.

In New-York.					In Charleston.				
Executed,	35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35
Transported,	85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	87
	<hr/>								<hr/>
	120	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	72

"Now—a short period before the negro plot was discovered in New York, an insurrection broke out in Carolina. Many of the ring-leaders were shot or hanged, but none punished *in any other mode*. There can then be no ground to imagine that we ever, under the same circumstances, would be more severe than our Northern brethren. Every measure essential to our self-protection, will be, and, I think, you will not dispute, ought to be adopted. It would, therefore, be philanthropy to impress upon the more intelligent portion of this population the wisdom of *good conduct*. Schemes of insurrection, such as the present, cannot succeed. The white population of each State alone, *is adequate to suppress them*. From the first settlement of Carolina, we have been accustomed to these *abortive* efforts. Under our Proprietary government, there was a notorious out-law by the name of Sebastian; Governor Gibbs issued his proclamation, and the Indians soon entitled themselves to the reward.

"In 1730, a plan was conceived against Charleston. They were allowed to assemble, were then taken, and *proper examples made*. Some years afterwards, what we dominate *the Gullah war*, occurred. This was more general—In St. Paul's Parish they appeared in arms; the greater part were killed, and not more than two or three escaped. In St. John's Parish they were discovered by Major Cordes' faithful driver, Peter, and in Charleston, they were also discovered, suppressed and punished. The negro law of 1740, was enacted in consequence of the last, and has proved our security from that period, notwithstanding the occasional effervescences of insubordination. The history of South-Carolina, in this particular, has been the history of every State in the Union.

"Another impediment to the progress of conspiracy will ever be found in the *fidelity* of *some* of our negroes. The servant who is false to his master, would be false to his God. One act of perfidy is but the first step in the road of corruption and of baseness; and those who on this occasion, have proved ungrateful to their owners, have also been *hypocrites in religion*. But it is a reputable *truth*, that on every such occasion, servants have been found who were worthy the kindness and confidence of their Masters.

"Besides, when the moment of trial comes, among large bodies of men, some will tremble, some will be shocked at what they are about to perpetrate, and others will remember that by disclosure, may be obtained more than they seek through perils. JAFFIER saved Venice, and most conspiracies own men inferior to JAFFIER. We must also remember that the majority of mankind would avoid dangerous enterprises.—Therefore the great body of these people would prefer safety and quiet with their present comforts, to a hazardous commotion with an issue so fearful as it always has been, and ever will be.

"Superadded to these intrinsic securities, we have the proportion of *two to one* in the aggregate population of States situated like ourselves. Our sister and neighbor, Tennessee, has *four to one*, and the heroes of Orleans have but to know that we are in danger to be with us at the first tap of the drum.

"The National Government, also can preserve the peace of the country. It was established expressly to ensure domestic tranquillity and suppress insurrection. It has been tried, and found efficient. The President may summon upwards of *five to one*. The old French government with three thousand regulars, protected their largest colony, and a small military force is found adequate in the British West Indies. Surely the American government could, and would do as much, were it necessary. A change cannot then be effected by force, nor would it be beneficial to the United States. Our roads would swarm with paupers, and every wood be infested with banditti. But, under the existing regulations, they contribute to general wealth, and are preserved from want, misery and crime. The States in which they are located have been fully as instrumental in originating and defending our political independence as those without them; and at every crisis have equally illustrated the valor and power of our common country. During the Revolution, we frustrated and repelled the enemy for four years, from 1776 to '80; during which period our Northern brethren were over-run and under their feet. What nation—what *portion* of this great nation has surpassed in splendor and in conduct, the victories of MOULTRIE and of JACKSON? In civil talents—in devotion to the Republic—in the most ennobling sentiments of the heart—in charity—in hospitality—when has the South or the West been deficient? *Never*—you will voluntarily acknowledge.

"From these observations, then, I trust you will feel that our Court have done their duty, and merit the gratitude not only of their immediate fellow citizens, but of their fellow citizens throughout the Union. You will also, I think, perceive that the happiness of this population will be measured and decided by their own *good conduct*, and, that to *support subordination*, is a duty enjoined by philanthropy, patriotism, and the best interests of America.

"I submit the above facts and observations to my fellow citizens generally; and trust that the voice of animadversion will be forever hushed, in the universal good feeling of our sister States."

Although the utter impracticability of effecting any permanent change in their condition, by an insurrection among our Slaves, has been, we think, fully demonstrated, it is nevertheless indispensable to our safety to watch all their motions with a careful and scrutinising eye—and to pursue such a system of policy, in relation to them, as will effectually prevent all secret combinations among them, hostile to our peace. Every possible precaution should be adopted, that is calculated, in the remotest degree, to save us from a catastrophe which at all times threatens us, and of the horrors

of which, the imagination can form no definite idea. The Crisis through which we have so recently and providentially passed, had long been anticipated by those who were minute observers of the passing events of the times. A general spirit of insubordination among our slaves and free negroes—springing from the relaxation of discipline on the part of the whites—had been long discernable—nor are the other auxilliary causes so occult that they cannot be easily pointed out.

We look upon the existence of our FREE BLACKS among us, as the greatest and most deplorable evil with which we are unhappily afflicted. They are, generally speaking, an idle, lazy, insolent set of vagabonds, who live by theft or gambling, or other means equally vicious and demoralising. And who, from their general carriage and insolent behaviour in the community, are a perpetual source of irritation to ourselves, and a fruitful cause of dissatisfaction to our slaves. Our slaves, when they look around them and see persons of their *own color* enjoying a comparative degree of *freedom*, and assuming privileges beyond their own condition, naturally become dissatisfied with their lot, until the feverish restlessness of this disposition foment itself into insurrection, and the “black flood of long-retained spleen” breaks down every principle of duty and obedience. We would respectfully recommend to the Legislature, therefore, *the expediency of removing this evil, and of rooting it out of the land.* A law, banishing them, male and female, from the State, under the penalty of death, or of perpetual servitude, upon their return—or placing such a tax upon them, as, from its severity, would render it impracticable for them to remain among us—is desirable. Either of these modes presents a feasible and easy

method of clearing the country of this detestable *caste*. The example of a sister State* in this latter particular, gives us a wholesome lesson of instruction. Our philanthropic brethren at the North and East, will, no doubt, afford them an asylum, and *we* have every disposition to get rid of them—Under such a dispensation, therefore, all parties might be satisfied. Should the necessity of such an expedient appear obvious to the Legislature, we ought, in common humanity, to see that their departure from our shores should be attended with every necessary comfort and convenience.—An appropriation of funds, therefore, to meet the exigencies of such an event, and to provide for those who might be incapable of providing for themselves, would be necessary. If we are compelled, from our situation, to pass over some of the more rigid and fundamental principles of *abstract* justice, let the encroachment be made with as little individual distress as possible.

There are many enlightened and intelligent men who are of opinion, that the same measures should be adopted in relation to our FREE MULATTOES—and that they are as serious an affliction, both to the morals and security of the State, as the Free Blacks themselves. We are, however, of an opinion, directly the reverse, and are decidedly opposed to any system of legislation that would end in banishing *them*. They are, in our estimation, (but perhaps we have viewed the subject in an improper light) a *barrier* between our own color and that of the black—and, in cases of *insurrection*, are more likely to enlist themselves under the banners of the whites. Most of them are industrious, sober, hard-working mechanics, who have large families and considerable property : and as far as we are acquainted with their temper, and disposition of their feelings,

* Georgia.

abhor the idea of an association with the *blacks* in any enterprise that may have for its object the revolution of their condition. It must be recollected also, that the greater part of them own slaves themselves, and are, therefore, so far interested in this species of property, as to keep them on the watch, and induce them to disclose any plans that may be injurious to our peace.—Experience justifies this conclusion. The important discoveries, in most instances of insurrection, particularly in the last, have been made through the immediate instrumentality and advice of this class. Would it be generous then to drive them from the comforts of their present situation, and exile them from our shores, when we at the same time acknowledge the value of the services they have performed? We think not.—But it is for wiser and better heads to determine.—We feel satisfied that whatever will be done in this respect, will be dictated by a sound and wholesome judgment. It is politic and proper at the same time, however, to preserve such a system of discipline in relation to them as will effectually mark their *distinctive* condition in society, and regulate their *degree*, when placed in opposition to that of our own. If this principle of prudent Legislation be once lost sight of, the barriers between us must necessarily become nothing more than a mere rope of sand.

“Take but DEGREE—away untune that string,
And, hark, what discord follows, each thing meets
In mere oppugnancy.

SHAKESPEARE.

We had projected a further discussion of several other topics intimately connected with our present design, but the length to which our remarks have already been extended, renders it impracticable at present. We may, perhaps, at some future period,

not far distant, renew our speculations, and gather from other authorities than those we have already used, additional evidences of the propriety of the views we have taken. The subject is so vitally important that it cannot be too often agitated or discussed. Every one who has a *home* amongst us—and more particularly those whose happiness is rendered still more felicitous by the endearing connexions that spring from the relations of domestic life—who have wives that look up to them for protection—and children who cling to them for safety and security—feel that it is one that visits their hearts with the utmost intensity of interest—There are no pulses in such bosoms that palpitate with more active vivacity—We ought not to circumscribe our prospects to the present, or limit it to the contracted period when the hour-glasses of our own existence run out. Our thoughts should be more expanded—We ought to legislate for our *children*—we ought to legislate for POSTERITY. Let it never be forgotten, that “our NEGROES are truly the *Jacobins* of the country; that they are the *anarchists* and the *domestic enemy*; the *common enemy of civilized society*, and the barbarians who would, IF THEY COULD, become the DESTROYERS of our race.”

FINIS.

ERRATA.

** The rapidity with which the foregoing pages have been put to press, obliges us to request the reader to correct a few *Errata* that have been unavoidably overlooked.

- Page 10 line 18 for "*probability*" read "*probability.*"
- | | | | |
|-------|---------|---|---------------------------------|
| .. 15 | .. 23 | .. " <i>principle</i> " | .. " <i>principal.</i> " |
| .. 2 | 1 .. 15 | .. " <i>extensive</i> " | .. " <i>exclusive.</i> " |
| .. 24 | .. 21 | .. " <i>tho</i> " | .. " <i>the.</i> " |
| .. 32 | .. 26 | .. " <i>concerning</i> " | .. " <i>censuring.</i> " |
| .. 53 | .. 18 | .. " <i>although is not fixed by law</i> " read " <i>although it is not fixed by law.</i> " | |
| .. 57 | .. 34 | .. " <i>the of justice</i> " | read " <i>of the justice.</i> " |
| .. 67 | .. 20 | .. " <i>sui genus</i> " | .. " <i>sui generis.</i> " |
| .. 68 | .. 1 | .. " <i>acutes ensens</i> " | .. " <i>acute senses.</i> " |
| .. 78 | .. 6 | .. " <i>affect</i> " | .. " <i>effect.</i> " |
| .. 78 | .. 33 | .. " <i>of which</i> " | .. " <i>in which.</i> " |



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