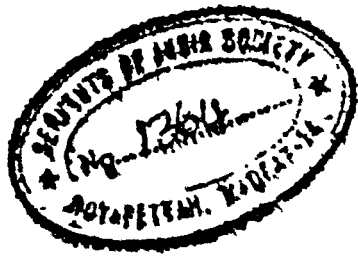
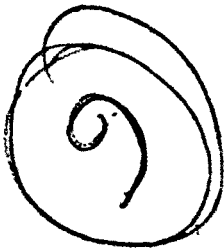
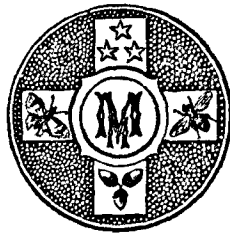


Rare section



THE SLAVE POWER.





Rare section

# THE SLAVE POWER :

ITS

CHARACTER, CAREER AND PROBABLE DESIGNS :

BEING

AN ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN THE REAL ISSUES INVOLVED  
IN THE AMERICAN CONTEST.

BY

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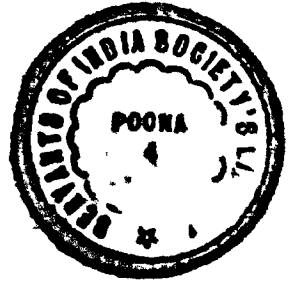
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“I could easily prove that almost all the differences which are observed between the characters of the Americans in the Southern and Northern States have had their origin in slavery.”—*Tocqueville.*

“If America ever undergoes great revolutions, they will be brought about by the presence of the blacks on the soil of the United States; that is to say, it will not be equality of conditions, but, on the contrary, inequality, which will produce them.”—*Ibid.*

“African slavery as it exists among us—the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization—this was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this as the ‘rock upon which the old Union would split.’ He was right. What was conjecture with him is now a realized fact.”—*A. H. Stephens, Vice-president of the Southern Confederacy.*



TO JOHN STUART MILL, ESQ.

Dear Sir,

I have great satisfaction in prefixing your name to the present work. Its appearance on my page will show that I have not engaged in speculation on an important subject without some qualification for the task. The sanction it gives to the views which I advocate will furnish an apology for the confidence with which they are urged—a confidence which, divided as opinion is on the subject of which I treat, might otherwise appear unbecoming. Lastly, the opportunity of connecting my name in public with that of one from whose works I have profited more largely than from those of any other living writer, was one which I could not easily forego.

Believe me, dear Sir,

With sincere respect,

Very truly yours,

J. E. CAIRNES.

1st May, 1862.





## PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

It is proper that I should state the circumstances under which the present volume is offered to the public. The substance of it formed the matter of a course of lectures delivered about a year since in the University of Dublin. In selecting the subject of North American slavery I was influenced in the first instance by considerations of a purely speculative kind—my object being to show that the course of history is largely determined by the action of economic causes. To causes of this description, it seemed to me, the fortunes of slavery in North America—its establishment in one half of the Union and its disappearance from the other—were directly to be ascribed; while to that institution, in turn, the leading differences in the character of the Northern and Southern people, as well as that antagonism of interests between the two sections which has issued in a series of political conflicts extending over half a century, were no less



distinctly traceable. The course of events, however, since I first took up the subject, has given to it an interest far other than speculative, and has rendered conclusions, of which the value (if they possessed any) was little more than scientific, directly applicable to problems of immediate and momentous interest. Under these circumstances I have been induced to extend considerably the original plan of my investigations, and to give the whole subject a popular and practical treatment, in the hope of contributing something to the elucidation of a question of vast importance, not only to America, but to the whole civilized world.

The rapid movement of events, accompanied by no less rapid fluctuations in public opinion, during the progress of the work, will explain, and, it is hoped, will procure indulgence for, some obvious imperfections. Some topics, it is probable, will be found to be treated with greater fulness, and some arguments to be urged with greater vehemence, than the present position of affairs or the present state of public feeling may appear to require. For example, I have been at some pains to show that the question at issue between North and South is not one of tariffs—a thesis prescribed to me by the state of the discussion six months ago, when the affirmative of this view was pertinaciously put forward by writers in the interest of the South, but

which, at the present time, when this explanation of the war appears to have been tacitly abandoned, cannot but appear a rather gratuitous task.

In a certain degree, indeed, the same remark applies to the main argument of the work; for, in spite of elaborate attempts at mystification, the real cause of the war and the real issue at stake are every day forcing themselves into prominence with a distinctness which cannot be much longer evaded. Whatever we may think of the tendencies of democratic institutions, or of the influence of territorial magnitude on the American character, no theory framed upon these or upon any other incidents of the contending parties, however ingeniously constructed, will suffice to conceal the fact, that it is slavery which is at the bottom of this quarrel, and that on its determination it depends whether the Power which derives its strength from slavery shall be set up with enlarged resources and increased prestige, or be now once for all effectually broken. This is the one view of the case which every fresh occurrence in the progress of events tends to strengthen; and it is this which it is the object of the present work to enforce.

But, although the development of the movement may have deprived the following speculations of some of that novelty which they might have possessed when they were first delivered, still it is hoped

that they will not be without their use—that, while they will assist honest enquirers to form a sound judgment upon a question which is still the subject of much designed and much unconscious misrepresentation, they may possess a more permanent interest, as illustrating by a striking example the value of a fruitful but little understood instrument of historical inquiry—that which investigates the influence of material interests on the destinies of mankind.

## P R E F A C E

TO

### T H E   S E C O N D   E D I T I O N .

THE remarkable change in the position of affairs in North America, alike military and political, since the first appearance of this work, now six months ago, suggests the expediency of some remarks on offering to the public a second edition. At that time the Federal armies were triumphant at nearly all points; the early surrender of the Confederate capital was generally looked for; and even those who were most anxious to believe in the hopelessness of the task which the North had undertaken placed their trust, rather in the heats of a Southern summer, in the extent of the country to be conquered, and in the resources of guerilla warfare when the Northern forces should have penetrated the Cotton states, than in the ability of the South to defeat its opponent by regular military operations. No one in England at that time expected what has since occurred—the evacuation of the Southern territory by the principal Northern army

as the consequence of defeats sustained in a series of pitched engagements. The writer of the present work was certainly little disposed to make light of the military qualifications of the new Confederacy ; so far from this, his main object had been to depict its formidable character—a task which he so performed as to have drawn upon him from some of his critics the charge of exaggeration ; yet it now appears that his error was of an opposite kind. The military capacity of the Slave Power has proved on trial to be greater than even those imagined who were most disposed to magnify its prowess. What is the bearing of this fact upon the following speculations ? It is this :—so far as those speculations have proceeded upon the assumption of an established military superiority in the Free States, so far they have for the present ceased to be applicable ; on the other hand, so far as their aim was to hold up to the world the new confederacy as the most formidable antagonist of civilized progress which has appeared in modern times—so far, that is to say, as the main purpose of the present work was concerned—so far, I apprehend, my position has been indefinitely strengthened by the tenor of events.

But the change in the posture of affairs has introduced a new consideration. Has the military success of the South been such as to justify us in

regarding its cause as definitively triumphant, and therefore in deprecating the further prosecution of the war by the North as a wanton waste of human life? Let us look at the facts. Notwithstanding the succession of defeats sustained by its principal armies, almost every position of importance which the North has at any time held since the war commenced, is still in its hands. At the present moment it holds, with the exception of eastern Virginia, all the Border States, and, with the exception of Vicksburgh, and Port Hudson, the whole course of the Mississippi. It holds besides most of the principal strongholds along the eastern and southern coast. On the other hand, not a foot of free soil is in possession of any Southern army. Were peace now established on the basis of *uti possidetis*, the North would gain, and the South would lose, nearly all the substantial objects for which the war has been waged. So much of Southern society as is susceptible of assimilation into the political system of the Northern people would be recovered; the Mississippi would be theirs; the Territories would be open for free colonization. On the other hand, the Slave Power would be thrown back into the corner of a continent; the field for its expansion would be cut off; and the cherished dream of a slave empire, "extending from the home of Washington to the palaces of Montezuma," would, at least for the present, have vanished. It would seem, then,

that, to secure the substantial objects of the struggle, little more is necessary than that the North should make good the position which it at present holds. But it will be said that the war is carried on by the North for the specific object of restoring the Union, and that towards this end at least no real progress has been made. I grant that the restoration of the Union is still in the programme of the North—how far it is in the minds of its most thoughtful men is a different question. But conceding that the North seeks to restore the Union, and conceding also that the task of restoration is beyond its power, does it follow that there is nothing to be gained by a further prosecution of the contest? I apprehend it is only those who have attended to the ostensible, to the neglect of the real, issues of the war who will think so. The rationale of the revolution—always plain enough to those who were acquainted with the antecedents of the struggle and not blinded by terror of democracy, but now obvious to all eyes—is, that, under the guise of a constitutional question, a great social problem is being worked out. “States’ rights,” says Mr. Russell, “means protection to slavery, extension of slavery, and free trade in slave products with the outer world;” and so, on the other hand, the restoration of the Union on Republican principles, means the limitation, and ultimate extinction of slavery. Whatever plausibility there might have been at one

time in denying this, there is none now. The social realities have burst the shell of constitutional figments in which they were incased; and the conflict between slave and free society has now been actually proclaimed. In view of this—the real issue at stake, will it be said that there is nothing to be gained by a prolongation of the contest? Let those who say so tell us upon what conditions peace would now be accepted by the South. With the actual military success which has attended its arms, with the liberal recognition which that success has met with from the nations of Europe, sustained as its cause has been by some of the leading journals of France and England,—is it to be supposed that the South, in this condition of its fortunes, would accept any terms short of those which would satisfy the known and plainly avowed purpose for which it has taken up arms? That purpose has been to establish a Slave empire, self-sustained and capable of free expansion; and the practical question now before the world is this—have matters arrived at that point at which this catastrophe has been proved to be inevitable—at which free society is bound to confess defeat?

Before accepting this conclusion, let us remember what has just been stated—that, effectually to baffle the designs of the Slave Power, it is only necessary that the North should permanently make good the position which it at present holds. Is there any-



thing in what has occurred to afford the slightest grounds for supposing that the North is not fully competent to accomplish this? In point of material resources its superiority to its opponent is undeniable; so that, if the contest becomes one of endurance, it is plain that physical exhaustion must first overtake the South. The struggle may indeed be abandoned from moral exhaustion; but the possibility of this only deepens the obligation of all who recognize in the Northern cause the cause of human freedom, to sustain by the clear expression of their sympathy and approval the spirit of the people to whom this great charge is committed. But the present aspect of affairs gives promise, I think, of a decision in favour of freedom, speedier, and therefore more humane, than that which would result from the absolute exhaustion of the weaker combatant. This will appear if we consider the peculiar character of the contest, and the conditions under which it has been waged up to the present time.

The contest is one between two forms of society, which though embodied in political systems technically identical, are in reality antithetical in all their essential qualities. In the North we find a government broadly democratic alike in form and spirit; in the South one democratic in form, but in spirit and essence a close oligarchy. For the purpose of war each of these political systems has its

peculiar excellences and defects, its characteristic virtues and infirmities. This being so, before the superiority of either to the other, as a military agency, can be pronounced to be established, the systems, as wholes, with all their attributes alike of strength and weakness, must be submitted to the test. Now the mode in which the war has been conducted in America up to a recent time has been such as to give all the benefit of its peculiar strength, apart from its weakness, to one of the combatants, while to the other no corresponding advantage has been permitted: the weak side of the North has been brought prominently forward; while to that of the South has been secured absolute immunity from attack. On the side of the North publicity, divided councils, popular dictation, jealousy felt by the civil towards the military power, and, what is the natural consequence of this, constant interference by the civil magistrate with the plans of the military chiefs,—the inevitable incidents of popular government—have all played their part. To these have been opposed on the side of the South, the secrecy, the unity of plan, and the absolute submission to the guidance of a few capable men, which are the natural and well-known features of an oligarchical rule. The result has been what might have been anticipated. At Bull Run General Scott was forced to sanction an advance against his better judgment

in deference to the popular will. The plans of MacClellan for the peninsular campaign were known to the enemy the day after they were first discussed in a council of war; and the combinations on which he had subsequently counted for the capture of Richmond—and which, in spite of the disadvantages under which he laboured from the premature disclosure of his plans, would, in the opinion of the best judges, have been successful, had he been permitted to carry them into effect—were all rendered nugatory by the pertinacious perversity with which the civil power interfered to defeat them. The disaster at Fredericksburgh was but a repetition of the old lesson. A movement, apparently well conceived, but which could only have been successful as a surprise, broke down through want of concert. It is neither to inferiority in the Northern soldier, nor to want of capacity in the Northern generals, that the miscarriages of the North up to the present time can fairly be attributed—the highest authority has borne testimony to the merits of both\*—but to causes

\* “Je sais bien qu’il fallait gagner cette bataille et qu’on ne l’a pas fait; mais ici la responsabilité est loin d’appartenir tout entière à l’armée et à son chef. Quels étaient les hommes qui, les obligeant à une entrée en campagne intempestive, avaient ainsi révélé à l’ennemi le secret des opérations préparées contre lui avant que l’on fût prêt à les exécuter ? Le général Mac-Clellan avait-il à répondre du manque d’unité dans le but et dans l’action qui avait entravé les mouvemens des armées fédérales depuis qu’on lui avait enlevé le commandement en chef et la direction supérieure de toutes ces

incidental to the social and political system of the Northern States. Indeed, looking at the extraordinary disadvantages under which the North has laboured in this respect in connexion with the actual

armées ? Mac-Clellan enfin était-il responsable de l'amoin-  
drissement systématique qui, en face de l'agglomération des forces ennemies lui avait enlevé successivement, depuis l'ouverture de la campagne, la division Blenker, donnée à Frémont, et les deux tiers du corps de Mac-Dowell, sans compensation aucune, sans l'envoi d'un seul homme pour combler les vides causés par le canon et les maladies ? En dépit de toutes ces contrariétés, il était parvenu à conduire son armée sous les murs de Richmond ; mais il n'avait plus les moyens de frapper le grand coup qui très probablement eût terminé la guerre." . . . "Evidemment on avait besoin d'être renforcé. Pouvait-on l'être ?" . . . "Les avant-postes de Mac-Dowell étaient auprès de Bowlinggreen, à quinze milles de ceux de Porter. Il n'eût fallu que le vouloir, les deux armées se réunissaient alors, et la possession de Richmond était assurée. Hélas ! on ne le voulut pas. Je ne puis penser à ces funestes momens sans un véritable serrement de cœur." . . . "Non-seulement les deux armées ne se réunirent pas et ne communiquèrent même pas ensemble, mais l'ordre arriva par le télégraphe de Washington de brûler les ponts dont on venait de se saisir." And, summing up the results of the five days' fighting before Richmond, the writer bears testimony to the conduct of the Federal troops :—"Sans doute il y avait eu, pendant le cours de cette difficile retraite, des momens de trouble et de désordre ; mais quelle est l'armée qui, en pareille circonstance, y pourrait échapper complètement ? Il restait toujours ce fait, qu'assailie, au milieu d'un pays qui ne lui offrait que des obstacles, par des forces au moins doubles des siennes, l'armée du Potomac avait réussi à gagner une position où elle était hors de péril, et d'où elle aurait pu, si elle avait été suffisamment renforcée, s'il avait été répondu à la concentration des forces ennemies par une concentration semblable, ne pas tarder à reprendre l'offensive."  
—*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 October, 1862, pp. 842, '43, '44, '63.

results of the war, one cannot but admire the pluck, the energy, the unflinching devotion and indomitable resolution, which have been sufficient to neutralize so many blunders, and which still maintain the Federal armies, in spite of constant reverses, in the very foreground of their most advanced conquests. The miscarriages of the North, then, are to be attributed to the inevitable weakness for war of the most popular form of government which the world has seen ; and herein, I apprehend, lies solid ground for hope ; for of the attributes of popular government none is more striking than its capacity to profit by disaster. A year's experience in the Crimea was sufficient to revolutionize our own military system ; and it is strange if the campaign in the peninsula, followed by the catastrophe at Fredericksburgh, has not sufficed to teach the North the lesson, that no extent of resources can, in military affairs, supply the place of discipline, concentration of strength, and submission to a single mind—qualities of which its opponent has furnished such admirable examples, and from the want of which it has itself so lamentably suffered.\* But there is a still surer ground of

\* The following from the *New York Times* shows that the lesson is beginning to be learned. "The rebels, notwithstanding all their trials and disappointments, have been patient. They have submitted with hardly a murmur to the management of their leaders, have not clamoured for intelligence, nor dictated plans, nor mourned over mishaps. They have exhibited remarkable trust and constancy."

hope. As I have just remarked, while the weak side of the North has been freely exposed, that of the South has hitherto remained secure against attack. The slaves, who would gladly have filled the ranks of the Federal armies, have hitherto, with the assent of those armies, been doing the work of their enemies. Those who should have been their allies have, as the war has been conducted, been driven into the ranks of their foes. We now see with what result. For a year the Slave Power has contended on equal terms with a nation of freemen, its match in soldierly qualities, numbering more than double its population, and commanding more than quadruple its wealth. But slave powers—great as is their capacity for war—have, fortunately for civilization and human freedom, also their vulnerable side. That side has hitherto been spared by the North: it now remains to see what will be the consequence of assailing it. The reasons which at the outset of the war restrained the Federal government from dealing this blow were natural and perhaps irresistible. The programme of the Republican party had never gone beyond the “limitation of slavery”; the conservative instincts of the Northern people were strong;\* the attitude

\* “J’entends dire qu’il est dans la nature et dans les habitudes des démocraties de changer à tout moment de sentiments et de pensées. Cela peut être vrai de petites nations démocratiques, comme celles de l’antiquité, qu’on réunissait tout entières sur une place publique et qu’on agitait ensuite au gré d’un orateur. Je n’ai

of the Border states suggested compromise; the strength and determination of the Slave Power had not yet been proved;—finally, the responsible leaders of the nation “shrunk, as human nature will shrink, even when most sincere, from accepting in a plain form a tremendous issue.”\* But the time for temporizing has passed. To delay the blow longer would be to trifle with the dearest interests of human freedom.

That the emancipation of slaves, as a belligerent measure, is thoroughly justifiable, is to my mind as clear as any proposition in the ethics of war. It is a weapon, of which every belligerent, to whom the chance has occurred, has in turn freely availed itself—England prominently among the number. The Constitution of the United States prohibits the emancipation of slaves, as a war measure, just as much and just as little as does the Constitution of England. In each case martial law is incompatible with the

rien vu de semblable dans le sein du grand peuple démocratique qui occupe les rivages opposés de notre Océan. Ce qui m’a frappé aux Etats-Unis, c’est la peine qu’on éprouve à désabuser la majorité d’une idée qu’elle a conçue et de la détacher d’un homme qu’elle adopte. Les écrits ni les discours ne sauraient guère y réussir; l’expérience seule en vient à bout, quelquefois encore faut-il qu’elle se répète.” . . . “j’entrevois aisément tel état politique qui, venant à se combiner avec l’égalité, rendrait la société plus stationnaire qu’elle ne l’a jamais été dans notre occident.”—*Tocqueville’s Démocratie en Amérique*, vol. ii. p. 290.

\* ANGLO-SAXON in the *Daily News*.

ordinary legal rights of the citizen, but in each case a temporary recurrence to martial law may nevertheless be the only effectual means of permanently preserving those legal rights. There is indeed a difference between the authority of the Federal government under the Constitution of the United States, and the authority of a purely national government like that of England ; but the difference is not one which affects the present argument. The authority of the Federal government covers but a portion of the national life of the American people : it is a government of "enumerated powers ;" but within the range of those powers it is supreme, and, in relation to the acts to which those powers apply, it stands in precisely the same position towards every individual within the thirty-four states of the Union, as does the government of Great Britain to the individuals who compose the British nation. "A government entrusted with such ample powers," says Chief Justice Marshall, delivering the judgment of the Supreme Court, "on the due execution of which the happiness and prosperity of the people vitally depend, must also be entrusted with ample means for their execution. . . . If the end be legitimate and within the scope of the Constitution, all means which are appropriate and plainly adapted to this end, and which are not prohibited by the Constitution, are lawful." The emancipation of the slaves of rebellious



citizens is not prohibited by the Constitution, but on the contrary by very plain implication permitted, since it is provided that Congress shall have power "to make all laws that may be necessary and proper to carry into execution the foregoing powers."\* As to the lurid pictures of servile risings which fill the visions of our pro-slavery seers, they have already been abundantly falsified by events. In many districts the white population, including the wives and children of the planters, have been absolutely at the mercy of the negroes, who, if they were the savages they are described, might have freely given the rein to their propensities; yet up to the present time not a single outrage of the slightest moment has occurred.† Nor is there the least probability that, if treated with ordinary humanity, the negroes will depart from the line of cautious moderation which they have hitherto followed. "They know," says one of themselves, "that naked hands are no match for broadswords, and that grubbing hoes will be sure to go down before cannon balls. The South

\* Art. I. sec. 8. On which the comment of Hamilton in the *Federalist* is as follows:—"These powers ought to exist *without limitation*, because it is impossible to foresee or define the extent and variety of national exigencies, and the correspondent extent and variety of the means necessary to satisfy them."

† "Even our contemporary the *Index*, with all its energy, can get together no evidence of any worse atrocity than that 'a Mrs. Mock, in Florida, was *threatened* by a negro with bayonetting.'"—*Spectator*, 27th Dec., 1862.

was never better prepared for insurrection than now—and the slaves know it. They have no need to prove their ability to fight, by rushing into the whirlwind of uncertain and irregular war. They are now taking their places in the ranks of regular troops, and distinguishing themselves for all the qualities which are valuable in the soldier.\* How long this moderation may last is another question, and one of not less than awful gravity. As we read the sanguinary recitals which now fill the telegrams from the Southern States, it is impossible not to recall the savage scenes which once followed similar atrocities. It is not inopportune to remark that the massacres of St. Domingo were preceded by a cold-blooded murder committed by the ruling caste on an unoffending man. A coloured officer, Colonel Ogé, the bearer from the Convention of a decree, not of emancipation to the slaves, but merely conferring citizenship on the free blacks, was for no other offence than this seized by the planters, and broken on the wheel.† Provocation far exceeding the murder of a single innocent man has already been given to the negroes of the Southern States. A recent telegram announces that twenty of these men had been deliberately slaughtered in cold blood by the commanders of the principal Confederate

\* *Douglass's Monthly.*

† *Alison's History of Europe*, vol. viii., p. 170.

army in the West, and for what crime?—simply because they were found in charge of waggons belonging to the Union army—a service, which, from the commencement of the war, the negroes have not ceased to perform for the armies of the South. We have seen torrents of vituperative eloquence directed against the author of the proclamation of emancipation because of the possible evils which may flow from a measure of justice; but against the perpetrators of this actual atrocity, and others no less black, not a single syllable of reprobation has yet been uttered by those indignant sticklers for the claims of humanity.\* Might it not be well if they were to remind their vigorous and brilliant friends of the fate of the murderers of Ogé?

The denial to a belligerent of the right to emancipate his enemies' slaves is a position so monstrous that to expose its absurdity the facts need only to be stated. To illustrate the principle by the case

\* The following are the terms in which the *Saturday Review* comments on the proclamation of Jefferson Davis, authorizing the wholesale murder of the negro population:—"That part of the proclamation, which refers to the negro insurgents, is more excusable [than that which orders the execution of General Butler and his officers], although it is *probably impolitic*." From another article under the same date it would seem that the objection to even the "least excusable portion" is rather of a technical than a moral nature:—"The portion of the document which denounces vengeance against officers serving under General Butler is *hardly reconcilable with the laws of war*."

before us, what is contended for is this:—it is claimed that the South shall be permitted to employ its slaves in forwarding in every conceivable way the business of the war—producing food and clothing for the army, raising earthworks and fortifications, transporting stores and munitions of war, doing generally the work of the camp—nay (for this has happened in some instances) actually taking part in hostile operations in the field; while the North shall be precluded from adopting the only course which can effectually deprive its enemy of this formidable means of maintaining the contest. Services which are permitted to slave powers, when taken unjustly and by force, are to be denied to free nations when voluntarily rendered. It is not enough that “a barbarous and barbarizing” Confederacy should have extended to it the usages of civilized warfare; a claim of privileged exemption from the liabilities of ordinary belligerents is set up on its behalf; and free nations are required to submit to the direst blows of their formidable antagonist without daring to wrest from its grasp the weapon which deals them.

But there is another aspect than any which has yet been adverted to, under which the new policy of the Northern government well deserves to be considered. The natural complement to the military emancipation of slaves is the formation of a negro

army ; and this, I apprehend, is the crowning result towards which the growing complications of the struggle are now rapidly converging. In a recent article in the *Spectator*, the policy of a negro army has been discussed in a manner which may well arrest the attention of American statesmen. Fully appreciating the abounding difficulties of the actual situation, the writer, with true political instinct, seizes upon the sole guiding clue from the bewildering maze.

“ In the first place, the negro would probably supply the North as good or even a better military *matériel* than the mean whites supply to the South. They are quite as strong and quite as hardy, apparently quite as courageous, nearly as intelligent, much more *faithful* if well treated, and much more deeply habituated to that obedient attitude of mind which is the essence of military discipline. The Northern army has always been a free and easy army ; fighting bravely it is said, but also determined to exercise the right of public opinion as to the moment when they have done their share. The notion seizes them in battle that they have accomplished all that *ought* to be expected of them, and then no officer can force them to do more.\* This

\* Describing the defeat at Gainshill (27 June, 1862), the writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (18 Octobre, 1862, p. 859), already quoted, says :—“ Il n’y a pas panique, on ne court pas avec l’effare-

is not *business* in military affairs. The Southern troops, accustomed to an aristocratic caste, do not judge for themselves in this way. They *spend* themselves at the command of their officers. And thus, too, it would, in all probability, be with a negro army. Their fidelity and their respect for the white race would alike keep tight the bonds of military authority, now so loose at the North. The negroes would be Sepoys without any disposition to treachery, and with more than the Sepoy physique. Moreover, they would be even less exposed to the malaria and exhaustion of the Southern climate than the Southerners themselves. Again, the negro just released from slavery would thankfully accept low *wages* in the Northern army, instead of the enormous bounty and pay now claimed by every white volunteer; and they would be as easy to satisfy with wholesome rations of any kind as the present army is hard. Every element of the soldier is to be found in the negro, unless it be natural military tastes, and this the *cause* now supplies. There is physical strength and a body used to unlimited hardships. There is deference of spirit, clanship as between man and man, and affectionate fidelity to superiors. There is

ment de la peur; mais, sourds à tout appel, les hommes s'en vont délibérément, le fusil sur l'épaule, comme des gens qui en ont assez et qui ne croient plus au succès."

the willing hand without the meddling head, and the greatest of all motives for desperate valour.

“ But next, a large auxiliary negro army would help to solve a great political problem. Under the President’s emancipation policy a great number of negroes must be attracted northwards, and the greatest jealousy is felt by the Northern labourer lest they should reduce his normal wages. By employing them freely in the army this danger would be partially averted, and a great boon conferred upon the Northern labourer, who dreads the drafting policy of the administration. In this way the half-reluctant States of the North would be *reconciled* to the first steps of the emancipation policy,—and if, as we hope, the regiments thus formed should prove the most effective and best-disciplined in the army, the military pride of the North would soon convert them to the President’s policy,—for no susceptibilities of caste would be hurt by the glory of black regiments with white commissioned officers,—the unjust rule of war being that all display of public gratitude is lavished on the leader, however much is due to the followers.

“ But not only would this policy enormously lower the cost of the army, spare the labour of the North, and reconcile the democrats to emancipation—but it might be made one of the most powerful elements

in what we may call the foreign policy of the war ; for there would be no better means of avoiding all the dangers of servile insurrection than passing the fugitive slaves through the discipline of a military *régime*. The least indulgence of private licence or vindictiveness might then be punished by instant death without any undue austerity. In no way could a severer control be kept over the risks of emancipation on a large scale. And thus the natural European suspicion of all sudden emancipation would be best removed. Nor would this be all. One result of such a measure would be still more important. A negro army once established would probably become the nucleus of the permanent military system of the North,—and so a most important check upon the South. Of course, we are assuming what all Englishmen now assume, that absolute subjugation of the South is a dream, that the war is a question of boundaries,—a question, as mathematicians would say, of the maximum or minimum extent of the Slave Power. Now, assuming this, what could be more important, more decisive for the slavery policy of the South, than the existence of a negro army across the border,—capable of large increase; and ready and eager to act in all causes directly involving the extension or limitation of slavery? The knowledge of such a



fact would be by far the most effective check on slavery propagandism that could be exerted by the agency of human fear.

“ In whatever light we contemplate the question, the principles involved in the creation of a negro army seem to us most pregnant of weighty result and gradual political transformations.”\*

With regard to the new matter in the present edition, I have a few words to say. It is, for the most part, introduced in expansion of topics which found a place in the former edition, but of which the course of events or of discussion, since its publication, has suggested the expediency of a fuller treatment. Besides additions of this nature, a considerable body of evidence will be found in the notes and appendices, chiefly, it will be observed, drawn from Southern sources. Much of this will doubtless be familiar to those who have already studied the social condition of the Southern States; but, in the present state of opinion concerning Southern institutions, it has been thought advisable to supply the reader, as far as possible, with the means of verifying the accuracy of statements of fact. To one document, which will be found in the Appendix, I wish particularly to call attention—The *Philosophy of Secession*, by the Hon. L. W.

\* *Spectator*, December 13, 1862.

•Spratt. Mr. Spratt is the editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, one of the most influential papers in the South. He represented Charleston in that South Carolina Convention which led the way in the secession movement; and the confidence reposed in him by the people of South Carolina may be inferred from the fact, that he was one of the commissioners appointed by that—the leading secession state—in the most critical juncture of its history to expound its views before the other insurgent conventions. We learn from the Hon. Andrew J. Hamilton, of Texas, that Mr. Spratt's essay has been "reproduced in the leading prints of the South, and spoken of in terms of commendation, and that up to this hour no man has lifted up his voice in criticism against any of the positions there assumed." "I have heard," adds Mr. Hamilton, "the echoes of these sentiments in the streets, in the hotels, and at the festive board." A statement of the central idea involved in secession proceeding from a writer occupying the position of Mr. Spratt, and which has received the sanction of the Southern press and of Southern society, cannot but deserve the attention of those who would understand the real meaning of the American revolution. I desire no better justification for all that I have said respecting the character and aims of the Slave Power than is furnished by Mr. Spratt's essay.

One further remark I wish to make. Since the publication of the first edition of the present work, the aspect of affairs in America has undergone a vast change: in no instance have I attempted to meet this change by any modification of the positions originally assumed in this essay. If the course of events has tended in any degree to weaken the general force of my argument, I am prepared to accept the loss of credit which may on this account fairly attach to my speculations. It is my conviction, however, that experience has greatly strengthened all its principal positions. One fact will perhaps appear inconsistent with this statement—the triumph of the democratic party at the recent elections;—an occurrence which may be thought to militate against the expectation which I have expressed of a rapid growth of anti-slavery sentiment in the North. But in truth it warrants no inference of the kind. The significance of the democratic triumphs, as interpreted by the whole Northern press, is simply this—distrust of the competency of the administration, and dissatisfaction with the management of the war. The occurrence is one of the same kind as a change of government from the Whigs to the Tories would have been in this country during the agony of the Crimean conflict. Had this occurred, no one acquainted with political parties here would have regarded it as an indication

that liberal principles had retrograded in England. It would have signified simply a demand for a more energetic prosecution of the war; and this is also the explanation of the Republican defeats. There is moreover another consideration which should be taken account of in attempting to estimate the significance of these party gains and losses. Under the influence of the logic of events, opinion in America is rapidly moving away from the old political landmarks. In a pamphlet just issued from the New York press, which I have now before me, the emancipation proclamation is vigorously defended by a writer, "called by some a pro-slavery man," and who, as he tells us, "at the last state senatorial election voted for the democratic candidate." On the other hand, as we learn from the correspondent of the *Daily News*, there are "Republicans pure, who are heart and soul in the war, and ready to sacrifice their last son and last cent in order to bring it to an honourable conclusion, who have voted for Seymour in sheer weariness of disgust."\*

\* "With reference to the slavery question," said General Butler, in a recent speech at New York, "his views had undergone a radical change during his residence at New Orleans. . . . He thought he might say that the principal members of his staff, and the prominent officers of his regiments, without any exception, went out to New Orleans hunker [Americanese for extreme pro-slavery] Democrats of the hunkerest sort, for it was but natural that he

But it is idle to dwell upon such incidents as these with the broad facts of the past year before us. Let me here briefly enumerate them. Slavery has been abolished in the District of Columbia. It has been excluded from the Territories. An effective anti-slave-trade treaty has been negotiated with Great Britain. The President, for the first time in the history of the United States, has propounded a scheme for universal emancipation. Two slave states have returned members to Congress pledged to an emancipation policy. The legislature of one slave state has voted emancipation by immense majorities. Lastly, the President, in his capacity of commander-in-chief has proclaimed immediate emancipation in all the insurgent states, and has authorized the raising of a negro army. These are the grand achievements of the Northern States in the past year—the monuments of a revolution—fearful as is the cost at which its results have been obtained—as hopeful and as rapid as any which the history of mankind records.

should draw around him those whose views were similar to his own, and every individual of the number had come to precisely the same belief on the question of slavery as he had put forth in his farewell address to the people of New Orleans. This change came about from seeing what all of them saw, day by day.”

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# APPENDICES.

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## APPENDIX A.\*

### SOUTHERN TACTICS IN EUROPE.

THE *Richmond Inquirer* of December 20th, 1861, contained a document which throws a curious light on some of the causes which have been acting on public opinion in England during the past year. The writer had just returned to the South from a mission to London, in which he had been associated with Messrs. Yancey and Mann, and describes the state in which he found English opinion on American subjects on his arrival here in July, 1861, and the influences brought to bear by himself and his associates upon the members of the London Press, with a view to advancing the Southern cause with the English public. After stating the general expectation which prevailed in the South when he left it in June last, "that the manufacturing necessities of England and France would force them to a speedy recognition and interference with the Federal blockade;" and "the equally confident impression that the commercial enterprise of England would spring at once to the enjoyment of the high prices the blockade established, by sending forward cargoes of arms, ammunition, medicines, and other stores most needed in the Confederacy;" and after describing the causes in the public opinion of England which prevented these hopes being realized, the writer proceeds as follows:—"I have thus endeavoured, in this most hurried and imperfect manner, to sketch some of the difficulties which met our commissioners on the very threshold of their mission. That they have addressed themselves

\* See page 22.

to these difficulties with zeal and efficiency will not be doubted by the millions in the South to whom their abilities and character are as familiar as household words. During my stay in London I was frequently at the rooms of Colonel M——, and can thus bear personal testimony to his zeal and efficiency. He seemed to appreciate the necessity of educating the English mind to the proper view of the various difficulties in the way of his progress; and, with but limited means of effecting his objects, he worked with untiring industry for their accomplishment; and, as I have also written, a distinguished member of Congress is, I believe, doing all that talent, energy, and a peculiar fitness for his position can accomplish. Without any other aid than his intimate knowledge of English character, and that careful style of procedure which his thorough training as a diplomatist has given him, he has managed to make the acquaintance of most of the distinguished representatives of the London Press, whose powerful batteries thus influenced are brought to bear upon the American question. This of course involves an immense labour, which he stands up to unflinchingly. So much for his zeal. His efficiency, with that of his colleague, is manifested in the recognition of our rights as a belligerent, and in the wonderful revolution in the tone of the English Press. . . . The influence of this lever upon public opinion was manifest during my stay in Paris. When I first went there, there was not a single paper to speak out in our behalf. In a few days, however, three brochures were issued which seemed to take the Parisian Press by storm. One of them was the able and important letter of the Hon. T. Butler King to the Minister; another, 'The American Revolution Unveiled,' by Judge Pequet, formerly of New Orleans—whose charming and accomplished lady, by the way, is a native of Richmond; and a third, 'The American Question,' by Ernest Bellot des Minières, the agent of the French purchasers of the Virginia canals. These works each in turn created a great deal of attention, and their united effect upon the French mind shows the effective character of this appliance. Messrs. Bellot and Pequet deserve well of the Confederacy for their powerful and voluntary advocacy. I can, and with great pleasure do, bear testimony to the valuable and persevering efforts

of Mr. King both in Paris and London. Among the first acquaintances I had the pleasure of making while in London was Mr. Gregory, M.P., to whom I carried letters of introduction from a Virginia gentleman long resident in Paris, who very kindly either introduced or pointed out to me the distinguished members of parliament. He had been, I found, a traveller in Virginia, and inquired after several persons, among whom was Mr. John B. Rutherford, of Goochland. During an hour's walk upon the promenade between the new parliament houses and the Thames, he plied me with questions as to the 'situation' in the Confederacy, and seemed greatly encouraged by my replies; more so, he said, than at any time since the revolution commenced."

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## APPENDIX B.\*

### SLAVE LABOUR.

"I AM here shewn tools," says Mr. Olmsted, "that no man in his senses, with us, would allow a labourer, to whom he was paying wages, to be encumbered with; and the excessive weight and clumsiness of which, I would judge, would make work at least ten per cent. greater than with those ordinarily used with us. And I am assured that, in the careless and clumsy way they must be used by the slaves, anything lighter or less rude could not be furnished them with good economy, and that such tools as we constantly give our labourers, and find our profit in giving them, would not last out a day in a Virginia cornfield—much lighter and more free from stones though it be than ours.

"So, too, when I ask why mules are so universally substituted for horses on the farm, the first reason given, and confessedly the most conclusive one, is that horses cannot bear the treatment that they always *must* get from negroes; horses are always soon foun-

\* See page 53.



dered or crippled by them, while mules will bear cudgelling, and lose a meal or two now and then, and not be materially injured, and they do not take cold or get sick, if neglected or overworked. But I do not need to go further than to the window of the room in which I am writing, to see at almost any time, treatment of cattle that would insure the immediate discharge of the driver by almost any farmer owning them in the North." In another State, a Southern farmer describes to him "as a novelty, a plough 'with a sort of wing, like,' on one side, that pushed off and turned over a slice of the ground; from which it appeared that he had, until recently, never seen a mould-board; the common ploughs of this country being constructed on the same principle as those of the Chinese, and only rooting the ground like a hog or a mole—not cleaving and turning."—*Seaboard Slave States*, pp. 46, 47, 402.

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## APPENDIX C.\*

### FAILURE OF THE SOUTH IN MANUFACTURES.

It is not, of course, intended to be maintained that no mechanical or manufacturing industry of any sort is carried on in the Slave States—no society could exist on such terms, though how closely the Southern States approximate to this condition may be seen from the fact, that even for so simple a production as shoes Virginia has been dependent almost exclusively on the North (De Bow's *Industrial Resources*, vol. ii. p. 130). What I mean to assert is, that the amount of industry of this kind carried on in the South is so small, that in the computation of the national resources it may for practical purposes be disregarded; and this, notwithstanding the existence of a few factories in some of the Southern towns, Mr. De Bow admits as fully as I have stated it. Indeed, no inconsiderable portion of the four volumes of his *Industrial Resources* is taken up with lamentations over this very circumstance—the exclusive

\* See page 70.

devotion of the industry of the country to an exhaustive system of agriculture, to the almost entire neglect of manufactures, followed by exhortations to the introduction of the latter. Take, for example, the following passage. Replying to the question, what has become of the industrial profits of the South, the writer says:—

“Much of it has been paid to the neighbouring states for provisions, mules, horses, and implements of husbandry; much has been paid for clothing and other articles of manufacture, all induced by the system of applying all, or nearly all the labour of the country, to the production of one staple only, and by neglecting the encouragement of manufactures. . . . She is yearly wearing out her soil in the production of one great staple, which has become ruinously low in price by reason of its great supply. She parts with this staple at prime cost, and purchases almost all her necessary appliances of comfort from abroad, not at prime cost, but burdened with the profits of merchants, the costs of transportation, duties, commissions, exchange, and numerous other charges, all of which go to support and enrich others at her expense. This is the true reason that she is growing poorer while the rest of the world is growing rich, for it is easy for the world to enrich itself from such a customer on such terms. If she were wise, she would cease to carry on a traffic in which she always has been and always must be a loser; she will set up for herself, and instead of parting with the products of all her labour to support the balance of the world, she will manufacture her own clothing, and, not stopping at this, proceed to manufacture the whole of her crop, and thereby draw upon the world for a portion of her former losses.” Passages of this kind (and the economic literature of the South abounds with them) throw a curious light on the pretensions of the Southern States to enlightened views in political economy, and show upon what quicksands those persons are building who support the Confederacy in the expectation of its adopting a free commercial policy.

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## APPENDIX D.\*

## THE 'MEAN WHITES.'

A WRITER in the *Saturday Review* has denied the existence of any class in the South which answers to the description given in this passage. He denies that even the names, "mean white," "white trash," have any place—out of the negroes' quarters—in the Southern vocabulary; and he treats the impression which prevails in this country of the existence of such people as an example—to be classed with "the world-famous wife market in Smithfield"—of the delusions to which nations are liable respecting the social condition of other countries. This position the Reviewer seeks to establish, for the most part by strong assertion, but in some degree by an appeal to statistics. His argument from statistics I will examine: his assertions I will give the reader an opportunity of comparing with those of English and American visitors to the Southern States, as well as with the testimony of Southern men of position and character, addressing Southern audiences, and speaking in the presence of the facts which they describe.

And, first, as to the statistical argument—the *Saturday Reviewer* writes as follows:—"We know from the census that there were in 1850, 1,114,000 free families in the Southern States, and 563,000, farms; so that more than half the white population is employed in agriculture alone. And agriculture, in its statistical acceptance, does not by any means include all who derive their subsistence directly from the produce of the soil. We see, therefore, that there were of planters and farmers, strictly so-called, 563,000 families, each settled on land of its own, and possessing from fifty to five thousand acres of cleared and uncleared ground."

I must take leave to say that the Reviewer does not know these statements from the census. No such return as the second of those which he quotes is to be found in the census; but such a return is to be found in a partisan work, lately published by the Hon. James Williams, late American minister in Turkey—"The South Vindi-

\* See page 83.

cated;" and it is grossly incorrect. The number of farms in the Southern States in 1850, as given in Colton's Atlas, was not 563,000 but 373,106—that is to say, the Reviewer represents the number of farms in the South as more than one-half greater than it actually is. Assuming, as I suppose I am justified in doing, that the Reviewer's statistics are borrowed from the pages of Mr. Williams, it will be instructive to note the following facts. In the table from which the Reviewer quoted, the number of farms in Maryland is set down at 211,860, while the number in Virginia is set down at 77,013, that in Kentucky at 74,777, and that in Tennessee at 72,735. Now no one, who had the most superficial knowledge of the industrial condition, or even of the geography, of the South, could have looked at these figures, and not have seen that they contained an enormous error. The three chief farming states of the South are Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee; the smallest of them is three times as large as Maryland; and yet Maryland is represented as containing nearly as many farms as all these states combined.

• But, had there been any doubt upon this point, a comparison of this table with one immediately preceding it must have removed it. In a table given in the preceding page the agricultural population of Maryland is set down at 28,588; the number of farms, we have seen, is given at 211,860; whence it would follow, combining these numbers, that every member of the agricultural population of Maryland is on an average master of seven farms and a half! Such is the avidity with which any statements are swallowed by those who reason to support a foregone conclusion; and such is the notable conclusion, which this writer, who affects profound disdain for "those who derive their notions of the South from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Mr. Olmsted's *Journeys*," blindly accepts! No less unquestionable an authority than the Hon. James Williams in the *South Vindicated* will satisfy the severe requirements of the *Saturday Review*.

And now let us observe how this gigantic blunder affects the Reviewer's argument. The purpose of that argument is to dispose of the charge of idleness brought against the bulk of the Southern population by producing proof of the existence of industry in the

South sufficient in quantity to provide them with occupation. Thus from his imaginary premises of 563,000 farms, the Reviewer concludes that "there were of planters and farmers, strictly so called, 563,000 families, each settled on land of its own, and possessing from fifty to five thousand acres of cleared and uncleared land." We have seen, however, that the number of farms, instead of 563,000, was only 373,000; and this reduction at once throws on the Reviewer's hands 190,000 families, comprising according to the census proportion 1,092,000 individuals, for whom he has not even attempted to suggest any honest means of livelihood. But the case is in reality much stronger than this. The returns of farms include plantations, and we all know that it is common for a single planter to own several plantations. Nor does the census save us from this source of error; since Professor De Bow, the superintendent of the census of 1850, expressly informs us that "where the party owns several plantations in different counties or in different states, he will be entered more than once." It follows, then, that the 373,000 farms by no means represent 373,000 families. What the proportion of families to farms may be it is not possible to say with exactness, but we may arrive at it approximately as follows:—The Reviewer assumes (and the assumption is perhaps a fair one) that the owner of five slaves and upwards may be taken to represent the planting, as distinguished from the farming, interest. Adopting this view, and applying it to the census returns of slaveholders, we arrive at 173,022 as the number of planters in the South in 1850. It would probably be not more than a fair allowance for the case of pluralists to say that these 173,022 planters absorbed 200,000 plantations. Deducting these from the aggregate of farms and plantations we obtain 173,000 farms disposable for the remaining population; and what was its number? We arrive at this by deducting the number of planters' families from the aggregate number of families in the South.

Total of white and free coloured families in 1850	1,114,687
Deduct planters' families	173,022
	<hr/>
Remaining population, number of families	941,665

We have thus 173,000 farms, properly so called, disposable among a population of 941,665 families. The point to be determined is the number of families to which these may be supposed to have given employment. Of this the census affords us no direct evidence; but we know that the farming population in the Southern, as in the Northern, States, consists for the most part of peasant proprietors; the land held by such, as a general rule, not exceeding what a single family is competent to cultivate; and, secondly that, where the farms exceed this limit, slave labour is obtainable and is much preferred by Southern farmers to such free labour as the country can provide. Under these circumstances it is evident that the class of free farm labourers, who are not members of the farmer's family, must be exceedingly small. It will probably be a liberal estimate if we suppose that each farm, in addition to the farmer's family, gives employment on an average to one-fourth of a family of free labourers. This would bring the whole number of families absorbed by the 173,000 farms to 216,000. And this, I apprehend, represents approximately the position in which in 1850 the case actually stood. These 216,000 families, comprising, according to the census proportion, 1,242,000 individuals, are principally distributed over the Northern portion of the Border states, more especially through western Virginia, Kentucky, and eastern Tennessee; and this portion of the Southern population, as I have intimated in more than one passage in this volume, forms a substantially foreign element in the society of the South, having no affinities with the system in contact with which it finds itself, and being a source of weakness instead of strength to the Slave Power.

Taking now the farming and planting population together, as it stood in 1850, it might, according to the above calculation, be distributed as follows:—

Families engaged in farming	. . . . .	216,000
Planters' families	. . . . .	173,022

Total of farming and planting families . . . . . 389,022  
 But the total number of families in the South at this time was 1,114,687. Deducting the former from the latter, there remained

725,665 families, which, according to the census proportion, would comprise 4,172,574 individuals. Here was a vast population existing in the Southern States over and above what the planting and farming industry, on the most liberal computation of its resources, gave employment to. The question is how did this vast population find the means of support? The Reviewer replies as follows:—"There is a very numerous class employed, at enormous wages, in the internal carrying trade of the South. There is the working population of the cities, also numerous and exceedingly well-paid. There are the traders of every sort—those of the cities and small villages, and those who establish their 'stores' at cross-roads, and supply the farming population of large districts with everything which they consume that cannot be grown on their own farms. None of these classes are poor or degraded; and these altogether embrace no inconsiderable proportion of the non-agricultural population. Besides or below these, and the class of farmers, comes a numerous body which is not reckoned among the agriculturists. The collection of rosin or turpentine affords employment to thousands; and the class of backwoodsmen is also large."

The answer of the Reviewer, stated generally, amounts to this, that the white population, who are neither planters nor farmers, nor engaged in farming operations, find employment in distributing the produce which the planters and farmers raise. Now I maintain that this is a palpable absurdity. The whole productive population in the Southern States in 1850, including under this head all the plantation slaves, the white farming population with such slaves as they employ, and the small number of whites and blacks engaged in productive operations in the towns, could scarcely have exceeded in all four million persons; but, assuming them to have numbered five millions, we are asked to believe that the mere business of distributing the products raised by this population would give employment to a population nearly as large. In no considerable country in the world does the population engaged in distributing wealth nearly equal the population engaged in producing it. In Ireland the proportion borne by the former to the latter department of the population was in 1850 about one to three; but probably nowhere

does the distributive population stand in so small a ratio to the productive as in the Southern States ; and this for obvious reasons. In the first place the largest class of consumers in the South is that of negro slaves—a stationary population, without surplus expenditure, whose wants are restricted to a few invariable commodities which are supplied with routine regularity. Again, the magnificent river system of the South affords unparalleled facilities for internal transport, reducing in a proportional degree the quantity of industry required for carrying it on ;\* and, lastly, a considerable portion of the expenditure of the Southern wealthy class has always taken place in Northern towns. These causes, tending at once to simplify and facilitate the work of distribution, concur to render the proportion which this department of industry bears to that engaged in production greatly smaller in the South than elsewhere ; and I shall therefore probably overstate the case, if I take this proportion as one to four. But assuming this to be the proportion, and assuming that five millions in the South are engaged in production—also I am convinced an exaggeration—a million and a quarter of persons would suffice for the whole business of distribution. But the population available for this purpose was, in 1850, not a million and a quarter, but upwards of four millions. How did the vast remaining population of nearly three millions find employment ?

The truth is, the distributive industry of the South, which has been suggested by the Reviewer as furnishing the means of regular employment to the mass of the white population, and which, as we have just seen, would be altogether insufficient for this purpose, is in reality performed in a very slight degree by the native white people, but mainly by negroes and foreign immigrants, many of the latter being occasional residents, who would not find their place in the census at all. I shall now proceed to adduce some evidence bearing upon this point ; and I shall take the several occupations in the order in which they occur in the passage of the *Saturday Review* which I have quoted.

\* "Minnesota is 1500 miles above New Orleans, but the wheat of Minnesota can be brought down the whole distance without change of the vessel in which it is first deposited."—Trollope's *North America*, vol. ii., p. 127.



And, first, as to the allegation that "there is a very numerous class employed at enormous wages in the internal carrying trade of the South"—the following passage from Mr. Stirling's *Letters from the Slave States* throws some light upon this as well as upon some others of the Reviewer's suggestions. "On the Georgian railway Irish labourers were lately employed; now they have slaves. The American railway officials prefer the latter, but only, I suspect, because Irishmen refuse to be driven. On the Mississippi and Alabama rivers Irish and negroes are employed indiscriminately. On the St. John's only slaves are employed; few or no Irish go so far South. The captain of the Charleston steamer told me he paid eighteen dollars per month for slaves, and sixteen and seventeen for Irish; but he prefers the former, 'for,' said he, naively, 'if an Irishman misbehaves, I can only send him ashore.' The alternative in the case of the nigger was 'understood.' Then, as to waiters,—at the St. Charles Hotel, New Orleans, they were all Irish; at the Pulaski House, Savannah, they are all slaves; at the Charleston Hotel, Charleston, they are partly Irish and partly slaves."\* And to precisely the same effect is the testimony of Mr. Russell of Kilwhiss:—"I got on board a steamer at Natchez for New Orleans, this afternoon, and found it full of passengers, and the accommodation as good as in the one in which I had ascended the river. Calls at different plantations were frequently made to take in cotton and sugar. As many as forty labourers, one half Irishmen, the other half negroes, are kept on board to save time in taking in the produce of the plantations." "We have here no mention of white natives: the only workmen spoken of are Irish and negroes. It is quite possible indeed that the 'mean white' may do an occasional job in this way; and Mr. Olmsted tells us that this is the case in some parts of Virginia, in one district of which he says "they mostly follow boating—hiring as hands on the bateaus that navigate the small streams and canals, but never for a longer term at once than a single trip of a boat, whether that might be long or short. At the end of the trip they were paid by the day,"† Are these the

\* pp. 229-30.

† *Seaboard Slave States*, p. 82.

people that the planters and their agents would be likely to trust to as the main resource for conducting the internal carrying trade of the South ?

Again, we are told "there is the working population of the cities also numerous and exceedingly well-paid. There are traders of every sort," &c. Now, in the first place, the white city population of the South, if we exclude a few towns such as Baltimore and St. Louis, which are on the borders of the Free States, and owe their prosperity far more to Northern than to Southern influences, is by no means large ; and secondly that portion of the city population to which the South is indebted for such urban industry and enterprise as it possesses is principally of foreign origin. "Of those Southern towns which I have named," says Mr. Trollope [New Orleans, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, Richmond and Memphis] the commercial wealth is of Northern creation. The success of New Orleans as a city can be no more attributed to the Louisianians than can that of the Havana to the men of Cuba, or of Calcutta to the natives of India."\* But the following account from a Southern journal, the *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin*, respecting the founding of a Southern town, will perhaps convey a better idea than any general statements how little the prosperity, such as it is, of Southern towns owes to the industry or enterprise of the inhabitants of the South. The description refers to the laying out of the new town of Brashear on Berwick Bay, on the route between New Orleans and Galveston. "No more favourable site," says the *Bulletin*, "could have been selected for a town, which in a few years may become a flourishing city. . . . Nearly the whole of this property has been sold to mechanics, artizans, and store-keepers. . . . A feature or two in this sale is worthy of notice. *The purchasers, with a few exceptions, not exceeding five or six, are naturalized citizens, principally Germans, with some Spaniards and Frenchmen, and a few Irish.*"† On which Mr. Weston, from whom I have borrowed the quotation, remarks—"These 'mechanics,

\* And see Stirling's *Letters from the Slave States*, pp. 320, 321.

† *Progress of Slavery*, pp. 48, 49.

artizans, and storekeepers,' who 'appreciated' the advantages of Brashear, and who had the means wherewithal to buy and pay for lots in it, were, it seems, scarcely any of them native white citizens of Louisiana. At that point, so remote from the free States, it is not easy to see of what materials the new town could have been constituted, *but for the fortunate presence of Europeans*, 'principally Germans,' who stood ready, with well-filled pockets and skilful hands, to lay the foundations of a 'flourishing city.'"<sup>\*</sup>

But, lastly, "the collection of rosin and turpentine affords employment to thousands." It may be true that a small number of the white people find in a few localities a desultory occupation in this way; but it is certain that the bulk of the industry in the pine forests is carried on by negroes. In a detailed account, extending over ten pages, given by Mr. Olmsted of the process of collecting turpentine and rosin in North Carolina,† the only workmen spoken of are negroes. . Of the poor whites he gives the following description :—"The negroes are decidedly superior in every moral and intellectual respect to the great mass of the white people inhabiting the turpentine forest. Among the latter there is a large number, I should think a majority, of entirely uneducated, poverty-stricken vagabonds. I mean by vagabonds, simply, people without habitual, definite occupation or reliable means of livelihood. They are poor, having almost no property but their own bodies; and the use of these, that is, their labour, they are not accustomed to hire out stately and regularly, so as to obtain capital by wages, but only occasionally by the day or job, when driven to it by necessity. A family of these people will commonly hire, or 'squat' and build, a little log cabin, so made that it is only a shelter from rain, the sides not being chinked, and having no more furniture or pretension to comfort than is commonly provided for a criminal in the cell of a prison. They will cultivate a little corn, and possibly a few roods of potatoes, cow-peas and coleworts. They will own a few swine, that find their living in the forest; and pretty certainly, also, a rifle

<sup>\*</sup> *Progress of Slavery*, pp. 49-50.

† *Seaboard Slave States*, pp. 338-348.

and dogs; and the men, ostensibly, occupy most of their time in hunting."\*

But lastly, "the class of backwoodsmen is large." And "here at least" the Reviewer admits that an untravelled visitor "might be excused for supposing that he had found that 'mean white' species which is supposed to be a growth of slave soil peculiar to the South;" but here again he would be mistaken. Backwoodsmen, we are reminded, are to be found also in the North. There is, however, the Reviewer admits, a difference between the two cases, "owing," as he tells us, "to the different character of Northern and Southern cultivation, and the different laws of their progress. In the North, civilization advances evenly, like the wave of a tide slowly but continually gaining on the western shore. In the South it has overflowed the land like an inundation, taking possession of those soils which suited it, and leaving an island of wilderness here and there in the midst of a settled and busy people. And the wilderness forms a great part of the country, abounding even in the oldest and richest states. Alabama is the only state in which the acreage of 'unimproved' farm land is not at least double that of 'improved;' and improved and unimproved together amount to only a little more than one-fifth of the whole area of the Southern States.† Everywhere there may be found forests abounding in game, and presenting all the facilities and temptations of savage life. Within twenty miles of Mobile, you may meet with herds of deer; and so generally is this the case, that in most parts of the South venison is cheaper than beef. Nowhere is it an unheard-of thing for a villager to shoot a wild turkey in his own barnyard. Everywhere—in the midst of cultivation, and in the neighbourhood of cities—may be found the backwoods and the backwoodsman."

I think it must be admitted that the field provided by the Re-

\* *Seaboard Slave States*, pp. 348, 349.

† This statement does not give a favourable idea of the state of agriculture in the South, yet in truth the impression it leaves falls immensely short of the reality. Of the four million acres of "improved land" in South Carolina, Mr. Russell tells us that but a million and a half are in cultivation.—See *North America*, &c. p. 294.

viewer for his backwoodsmen is a sufficiently spacious one ; and that it is therefore not without reason he has told us that "the class of backwoodsmen is large." He speaks indeed of "civilization overflowing" the South like an "inundation," "leaving an island of wilderness here and there in the midst of a busy and settled people ;" but from his subsequent description, it seems plain that his metaphor has by some accident been inverted, and that it is the wilderness which should represent the "inundation," and civilization the occasional "island ;" for he tells us that of what is in the census called "land in farms" in the South not one-third is "improved," while "improved and unimproved together amount to only one-fifth of the area of the Southern States." There can therefore be no doubt that the backwoodsmen of the South are furnished with an ample range. Now, no one has ever ventured to say that there is anything corresponding to this in the Northern States. It is only, according to the Reviewer's own account, on the extreme margin of the advancing tide of civilization that there is any place for the species, which is, consequently, in the Northern States numerically insignificant. But there is another difference between the Northern and Southern backwoodsmen, which the Reviewer has failed to point out, but which is nevertheless pertinent to our inquiry. The backwoodsman of the Northern States performs for the society to which he belongs a really useful, nay an indispensable office. He is the pioneer of progress. Without his assistance the expanding wave of civilization would be arrested. Will the Reviewer inform us what social ends are served by the Southern backwoodsman ?

We see, then, that in the functions which they perform, no less than in number, the Northern and the Southern species stand upon a different footing. The backwoodsman of the North represents an insignificant fraction of the whole population existing on the outskirts of civilization, where he discharges a task indispensable to Northern society : the backwoodsman of the South exists over the whole area of the Southern States, discharges no useful office, but preys upon the wealth which surrounds him. Is it true, as the Reviewer asserts, that these two men "represent precisely the same

variety of the human race"? The following descriptions of the two classes, proceed, I think it will not be denied, from competent hands :—

"Florida is the Paradise of an idle man. Shooting and fishing will easily supply him with food; and, if he wishes to be very luxurious, by scratching the ground he may have a few sweet potatoes, or a little Indian corn. Land has been bought in Florida at a cent per acre; but for that matter our 'cracker' need not buy land at all—he may squat, and take his chance of being turned out. It is not every one who would wish to dispossess a 'cracker' so long as the 'cracker' had his rifle and an ounce of lead. Having thus established himself on land of his own, or a patch of Uncle Sam's, he may also, if he pleases, become a grazier at small expense of labour or money. Having bought, borrowed, or stolen a few head of cattle, he simply marks them, and turns them out into the woods. In the spring he collects the calves, and puts his brand upon them; and this, absolutely, is all the care or trouble he takes, except catching them when a purchaser appears. In this way some of these Florida squatters accumulate vast herds of cattle, without any exertion on their part. Nay, so lazy and careless of comfort are they, that I am assured there are men in these forests, owning 5,000, or 6,000 head of cattle, who have not even milk to their coffee; 'and that,' said Captain B——, 'I call pretty damned shiftless.'

"This easy, lazy, good-for-nothing kind of life is very common among all the 'poor whites' of the seaboard slave states, but it seems to have reached its climax in Florida. Here the plentiness of game and cheapness of land attract many idlers from the neighbouring states; and many a man squats in Florida who has made other states too hot to hold him. Florida is the Alsatia of the Union."\*

So much for the Southern backwoodsman: now for his analogue in the North :—

"The primary settler, therefore, who, however, will not usually have been the primary owner,—goes to work upon his land amidst

\* Stirling's *Letters from the Slave States*, pp. 224, 225.

all the wildness of nature. He levels and burns the first trees, and raises his first crop of corn amidst stumps still standing four or five feet above the soil; but he does not do so till some mode of conveyance has been found for him. So much I have said hoping to explain the mode in which the frontier speculator paves the way for the frontier agriculturist. But the permanent farmer generally comes on the land as the third owner. The first settler is a rough fellow, and seems to be so wedded to his rough life, that he leaves his land after his first wild work is done, and goes again further off to some untouched allotment. He finds that he can sell his improvements at a profitable rate, and takes the price. He is a preparer of farms rather than a farmer. He has no love for the soil which his hand has first turned. He regards it merely as an investment; and when things about him are beginning to wear an aspect of comfort,—when his property has become valuable, he sells it, packs up his wife and his little ones, and goes again into the woods. The western American has no love for his own soil, or his own house. The matter with him is simply one of dollars. To keep a farm which he could sell at an advantage from any feeling of affection,—from what we should call an association of ideas,—would be to him as ridiculous as the keeping of a family pig would be in an English farmer's establishment. The pig is a part of the farmer's stock in trade, and must go the way of all pigs. And so it is with house and land in the life of the frontier man in the western states.

“But yet this man has his romance, his high poetic feeling, and above all his manly dignity. Visit him, and you will find him without coat or waistcoat, unshorn, in ragged blue trousers and old flannel shirt, too often bearing on his lantern jaws the signs of ague and sickness; but he will stand upright before you and speak to you with all the ease of a lettered gentleman in his own library. All the odious incivility of the republican servant has been banished. He is his own master, standing on his own threshold, and finds no need to assert his equality by rudeness. He is delighted to see you, and bids you sit down on his battered bench without dreaming of any such apology as an English cottier offers to a Lady

Bountiful when she calls. He has worked out his independence, and shows it in every easy movement of his body. He tells you of it unconsciously in every tone of his voice. You will always find in his cabin some newspaper, some book, some token of advance in education. When he questions you about the old country he astonishes you by the extent of his knowledge. I defy you not to feel that he is superior to the race from which he has sprung in England or in Ireland. To me I confess that the manliness of such a man is very charming. He is dirty and perhaps squalid. His children are sick, and he is without comforts. His wife is pale, and you think you see shortness of life written in the faces of all the family. But over and above it all there is an independence which sits gracefully on their shoulders, and teaches you at the first glance that the man has a right to assume himself to be your equal." \*

The reader may look on this picture and on that. If these two men "represent precisely the same variety of the human race," it must be allowed that the limits within which a variety may vary without losing its identity are tolerably extensive.

I have now examined in turn the several modes of industry which have been suggested as possible means of employment for the five millions and a half of population in the South, whose pursuits are unascertained, and I submit that the assumptions of the Reviewer are utterly overthrown by the evidence which has been adduced. The whole distributive industry of the South would not suffice to absorb more than one-fourth of the available population; and we find that, in point of fact, the white natives of the South take little part in it. The internal carrying trade is conducted principally by negroes and Irish immigrants; three-fourths of the commerce of the country are in the hands of foreigners; in their hands also are most of the mechanical and other trades of the cities; and the work of the pine forests is performed, at all events principally, by negroes. On the other hand, it is admitted that four-fifths of the whole Southern country are little better than wilderness, and offer strong attractions to those whose tastes lead them towards a wild life. These facts alone, even in the absence of all positive evidence as to the character

\* *North America*, by Anthony Trollope, vol. i. pp. 197-199.



and pursuits of the bulk of the Southern people, would go far, I think, to justify the popular impression which the Reviewer treats with such scorn ; but, in truth, the case does not rest upon presumptive grounds. We have the most distinct and unequivocal testimony, both from Southerners themselves, and from impartial English writers, as to the point in question ; and this testimony, of which I shall now adduce some specimens, is, I submit, fully adequate to sustain the description of the Southern population which I have given in the text.

In a paper read before the South Carolina Institute in 1851 by Mr. William Gregg, the following passages occur :—

“ From the best estimates which I have been able to make I put down the white people, who ought to work, and who do not, or who are so employed as to be wholly unproductive to the state, at one hundred and twenty-five thousand. . . . The appropriation annually made by our legislature for our school fund every one must be aware, so far as the country is concerned, has been little better than a waste of money. . . . While we are aware that the Northern and Eastern states find no difficulty in educating their poor, we are ready to despair of success in this matter, for even penal laws against the neglect of education would fail to bring many of our country people to send their children to school. . . . Any man who is an observer of things could hardly pass our country without being struck with the fact that all the capital, enterprise, and intelligence is employed in directing slave labour ; and the consequence is that a large proportion of our poor white people are wholly neglected, and are suffered to while away an existence in a state but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest.” It is an evil of vast magnitude.” The whole population of South Carolina, by the census of 1850, numbered 274,563 persons ; and of these Mr. Gregg tells us that there are 125,000 “ who ought to work and do not,” whose condition is “ but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest.” Now 125,000 persons are not far from half of the whole population of the State : they would probably be three-fourths of the population who are capable of working.

Again, in a paper advocating the introduction of “ domestic manufactures in the South and West,” published by Mr. Tarver of

Missouri, I find the following :—“The free population of the South may be divided into two classes—the slaveholder and the non-slaveholder. I am not aware that the relative numbers of these two classes have ever been ascertained in any of the states, but I am satisfied that the non-slaveholders far outnumber the slaveholders—perhaps by three to one. In the more southern portion of this region, the non-slaveholders possess, generally, but very small means, and the land which they possess is almost universally poor, and so sterile that a scanty subsistence is all that can be derived from its cultivation ; and the more fertile soil, being in the possession of the slaveholder, must ever remain out of the power of those who have none. This state of things is a great drawback, and bears heavily upon and depresses the moral energies of the poorer classes. . . . The acquisition of a respectable position in the scale of wealth appears so difficult, that they decline the hopeless pursuit, and many of them settle down into habits of idleness, and become the almost passive subjects of all its consequences. And I lament to say that I have observed of late years that an evident deterioration is taking place in this part of the population, the younger portion of it being less educated, less industrious, and in every point of view less respectable than their ancestors. . . . To the slaveholding class of the population of the south-west, the introduction of manufactures is not less interesting than to the non-slaveholding class. The former possess almost all the wealth of the country.” In a paper written with the same view by the Hon. J. H. Lumpkin of Georgia, we find the following description of the whites of that State :—“It is objected that these manufacturing establishments will become the hot-beds of crime.\* . . . But I am by no means ready to concede that our poor, degraded, half-fed, half-clothed, and ignorant population—without Sabbath schools or any other kind of instruction, mental or moral—will be injured by giving them employment, which will bring them under the oversight of employers, who will inspire them with self-respect by taking an interest in their welfare.”

I shall conclude these quotations by the following from an English writer of unimpeachable authority :—“The white inhabitants of Florida, as of all the Slave States more or less, constitute but two classes—the planters or rich class, and the poor class, variously

denominated 'crackers,' 'white trash,' 'poor whites,' 'mean whites.' . . . This social characteristic I consider the most remarkable and important feature of Southern civilization. It is only by keeping this clearly and constantly in mind, that we can at all understand the social and political organization of the South; and only thus can we duly appreciate the amazing difference between Northern and Southern development. The essence of Northern, as of English civilization, is the *progressiveness* of the labouring class, and the consequent rapid rise of an easy, affluent, well-educated, and law-abiding class, recruited from day to day, and from hour to hour, from the ranks of the lower class; the individuals raised being, from the nature of things, those most remarkable for energy, foresight, and self-reliance. Where men of industry, integrity, and intelligence can easily rise to a condition of independence, a nation is in a good condition, even though the improvident and sinful find their deserved portion of misery. On the contrary, where the labouring class forms a stereotyped, unprogressive caste, stagnation is the necessary characteristic of the community. The richer class may accumulate wealth, but there can be no dissemination of comfortable existence, no healthy growth of an independent, self-made, self-reliant class. Society is divided into a wealthy dominant class, and a wretched, ignorant class, at once insubordinate and servile. Such is essentially the social condition of the Slave States of this Union; and the cause obviously is the discouragement thrown over free labour by the institution of slavery. The white poor man disdains to 'work like a nigger;' he tries, instead, to live by his rifle or his fishing-rod. If these fail, he plants a few sweet potatoes, or loafs about the town, doing odd jobs which have not the restraint of regular labour. He hates a trade; he will not be a smith or a carpenter, to compete with his rich neighbour's slaves, and probably be beaten by them. How, then, can such a man rise? How can he ever escape from his dependent and degraded position? How shall a man become a capitalist who will not first be a labourer? This is the secret of the 'white trash' of the Southern States. Hence the political rowdyism of slave communities, where an ignorant and idle mob, accustomed to the use of deadly weapons, is

constantly prowling about the country, and congregating in the cities. Hence, too, the want of material progress: there is neither efficient labour nor abundant capital. The very elements of civilization are wanting.”\*

It would be easy to multiply these quotations, but the reader will probably consider what I have given to be sufficient. I must, however, make one short quotation more. The *Saturday Reviewer*, not content with questioning my general description, affects to sneer at my language. He quotes as absurd my statement that the “‘mean white’ ekes out a wretched subsistence by hunting, by fishing, by hiring himself out for occasional jobs, by plunder.” The Reviewer, in his entire ignorance of Southern literature, is not aware that these words are not mine, but those of Southern as well as Northern writers, and that it is owing to their triteness alone that they have not been placed in quotation marks. For example, Governor Hammond of South Carolina thus describes the same class:—“They obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs • by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or folds, and too often by what is in its effects far worse—trading with slaves, and seducing them to plunder for their benefit.”† The reader can now judge if my picture has been overcharged.

But what is the probable number of this “mean white” population of the Southern States? It is from the nature of the case impossible to ascertain this with any degree of precision. In the first edition of this work I set it down at five millions. I think it possible that this may be an over-statement. The proportion of these people to the whole population has been stated by several trustworthy •writers as about seven-tenths; and, after a careful examination of the subject, I am inclined to think that this is about the true proportion; but, in applying it, we must confine the aggregate with which we compare the “white trash” to slave society strictly so called. In writing the passage as it stood in the first edition, I did not sufficiently attend to—what, however, I had

\* Stirling's *Letters from the Slave States*, pp. 221–3: and see to the same effect Russell's *North America*, pp. 156, 296, 301, 302.

† De Bow's *Industrial Resources*, vol. iii. p. 35.

distinctly pointed out in other passages—the considerable foreign element of free society existing in the Southern States. Deducting this element, and taking the “white trash” as constituting seven-tenths of the remainder, we should arrive at somewhat over four millions as the probable number of these people at the present time.\* I have therefore in the present edition set down the number at this sum. I need scarcely say that the change does not in the least degree affect the general argument of my work. Four millions of people, such as we know the “mean whites” to be, existing in a community of which the aggregate (excluding, as I have just explained, that portion which is properly foreign) does not exceed six millions, must form a sufficiently formidable element of mischief.

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## APPENDIX E.†

### THE SLAVE ARISTOCRACY IN BRAZIL.

A PRECISELY similar phenomenon—such, to borrow the words of M. Elisée Reclus, is the “*étroite solidarité du mal*”—is presented by Brazil:—“*Au milieu de tous ses satellites, le propriétaire féodal, qui du reste a le plus souvent titre de comte ou de baron et possède toute l'autorité politique et judiciaire, est en réalité roi dans son domaine ; il a ses vassaux et ne reconnaît pour suzerains que l'empereur et le congrès de Rio-Janeiro, composé pour la plus grande part de planteurs comme lui. La non-existence du majorat et la constitution si libérale du Brésil ne peuvent rien contre cette féoda-*

\* It will be remembered that between 1850—the period to which the reasoning in the early portion of this note applies—and 1860, the date of the last United States census, the total white population in the Southern States had increased from 6,184,000 to 8,039,000. Of these 8,039,000 rather more than 2,000,000 would probably represent the foreign element of free society in the South: there would thus remain of whites, identified industrially and morally with the institution, about 6,000,000. It is to this number, and not to the aggregate white population of the South, that the proportion indicated above should be applied in order to obtain the probable number of the ‘mean white’ population.

† See page 96.

lité territoriale que la nature même des choses a fait naître, et qui devient chaque jour plus puissante, car, dans tous les pays où il existe, l'esclavage est le fait primordial et crée une société qui lui ressemble. C'est ainsi qu'aux Etats-Unis des institutions bien plus démocratiques encore que celles de l'empire brésilien n'ont pas empêché la formation d'une oligarchie de planteurs qui a fini par mener la république aux abîmes."

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## APPENDIX F.\*

### INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN VIRGINIA.

THE progress of this movement is thus described by the *Southern Planter*:—"Every farm was greatly impoverished—almost every estate was seriously impaired—and some were involved in debt to nearly their value. Most of the proprietors had died, leaving families in reduced circumstances, and in some cases in great straits. No farm whether of a rich or a poor proprietor had escaped great exhaustion, and no property great dilapidation, unless because the proprietor had at first been too poor to join in the former expensive habits of his wealthier neighbours. There was nothing left to waste, but time and labour; and these continued to be wasted in the now fruitless efforts to cultivate to profit, or to replace the fertility of soil which had been destroyed. Luxury and expense had been greatly lessened, But on that account the universal prostration was even the more apparent. Many mansions were falling into decay. Few received any but trivial and indispensable repairs. No new mansion was erected, and rarely any other farm-building of value. There was still generally prevailing idleness among proprietors; and also an abandonment of hope, which made every one desirous to sell his land and move to the fertile and far West, and a general emigration and dispersion was only prevented by the impossibility of finding purchasers for the lands, even at half the then low estimate of

\* See page 125.

market prices." The consequences are further described by Mr. Olmsted :—" Notwithstanding a constant emigration of the decayed families, and of the more enterprising of the poor, the population steadily augmented. . . . If the apparent wealth of the country was not increasing, the foundation of a greater material prosperity was being laid in the increase of the number of small but intelligent proprietors, and in the constantly growing necessity to abandon tobacco, and substitute grains, or varied crops, as the staple productions of the country. The very circumstance that reduced the old pseudo-wealthy proprietors was favourable to this change, and to the application of intelligence to a more profitable disposal of the remaining elements of wealth in the land. While multitudes abandoned their ancestral acres in despair, or were driven from them by the recoil of their fathers' inconsiderate expenditures they were taken possession of by 'new men,' endowed with more hopefulness and energy if not more intelligence than the old."—*Seaboard Slave States*, pp. 274-275.

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### APPENDIX G.\*

#### COMPETITION OF FREE AND SLAVE LABOUR IN THE SOUTH.

A WRITER in the *Saturday Review* (Nov. 2, 1861), in noticing a work of Mr. Olmsted's, reasons as follows :—" It would be hasty to infer, as a great many philanthropists have done, that free labour would answer better than slave labour in the South. The Southern planters are keen enough speculators to have discovered the fact if it were true. In reality the experiment has been tried and resulted in favour of *slave* labour." The experiment no doubt has been tried, and with the result alleged ; but how far the experiment, as it has been conducted, is conclusive, the reader will be enabled to judge when he reads the following passage from Mr. Olmsted, in a review of one of whose works the above argument occurred :—" The

\* See page 146.

labourer, who in New York gave a certain amount of labour for his wages in a day, soon finds in Virginia that the ordinary measure of labour is smaller than in New York: a 'day's work' or a month's does not mean the same that it did in New York. He naturally adapts his wares to the market. . . . The labourer, finding that the capitalists of Virginia are accustomed to pay for a poor article at a high price, prefers to furnish them with the poor article at their usual price, rather than a better article, unless at a more than correspondingly better price. . . . Now let the white labourer come here from the North or from Europe—his nature demands a social life—shall he associate with the poor, slavish, degraded negro, with whom labour and punishment are almost synonymous? or shall he be the friend and companion of the white man? . . . Associating with either or both, is it not inevitable that he will be rapidly demoralized—that he will soon learn to hate labour, give as little of it for his hire as he can, become base, cowardly, faithless,—'worse than a nigger'?" The case is simple. The moral atmosphere generated by slavery in the South corrupts the free labourer, whether native or imported: thus corrupted, he fails in competition with the slave; but does it follow from this that, if slavery no longer existed, free labour would be less efficient in the South than slave labour is at present? For that is the point.

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## APPENDIX H.\*

### POPULAR EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA.

THE following extract is from a review of Howison's *History of Virginia*, published in De Bow's *Industrial Resources*, &c., vol. iii. p. 460:—"Before drawing our article to a conclusion, we will give a few extracts from the work of Mr. Howison, which we have had under review. He writes with good sense and much candour, which we admire; but we must beg leave to differ with him in the matter

\* See page 153.



of *slavery*—to which he seems mainly to attribute the decline, and perhaps the extinction of his native state. We coincide with him entirely in the importance of a more thorough system of education. He says:—‘It is with pain we are compelled to speak of the horrible cloud of ignorance that rests upon Virginia. In the eastern section there are 29,863, and in the western, 28,924—making a total of 58,787 white persons, over 20 years of age, who cannot read or write. This, however, is not all. It is computed that there are in the state 166,000 children, between 7 and 16 years of age, and therefore fit for school. Of these, about 28,000 poor children attend the Free and Lancasterian schools an average of twelve weeks in the year for each child. 12,000 more children are sent to colleges, academies, and classical schools. The remaining 126,000 attend no school at all, except what can be imparted by poor and ignorant parents!

“ ‘This deplorable condition has been long felt and deplored by Virginia’s most virtuous sons. Efforts have been made to ameliorate it. Education conventions have assembled, and many animated debates have taken place. The legislature has moved from time to time, and during the session of 1845–6 its movement was decided and beneficial. Nevertheless, the evil remains almost untouched. We pretend not to suggest any remedy. But it will be pertinent to the subject to add, that in the whole State of Massachusetts—containing, in 1840, 737,699 persons, there were but 4,448 white persons, over 20 years of age, who could neither read nor write.’ ”

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## APPENDIX I.\*

### MR. STIRLING’S ARGUMENT FOR THE EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY THROUGH ECONOMIC CAUSES.

MR. STIRLING relies upon the following considerations as containing the solution of the problem. “Within the last ten or fifteen

\* See page 158.

years the value of slaves has risen fifty per cent. at least. During the same time the price of bacon has risen 100 to 200 per cent. Let this process only be continued for ten years longer, and where will be the profits of the cotton-planter? And here we may perhaps find the long-looked-for solution of the nigger question. When slave labour becomes unprofitable, the slave will be emancipated. South Carolina herself will turn abolitionist when slavery ceases to pay. When she finds that a brutalized race cannot and will not give as much efficient labour for the money as a hired class of superior workers, it is possible that she may lay aside the cowhide, and offer wages to her niggers."—*Letters from Slave States*, pp. 182, 183. The argument is palpably fallacious. It is the same as if one were to argue that the high rent of land must ultimately destroy agriculture. In each case the high price of the natural agent—land or slaves—results from the comparative profitableness of capital invested in the employment of one or the other. When the high price of land leads landlords to throw up their estates, an analogous course of conduct may be expected from slaveholders from an analogous inducement. The high price of the slave's food is scarcely to the point, since this must tell also against the free labourer; at all events, so long as the slave fetches any price, it is a proof that he is considered to be worth at least more than his keep.

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## APPENDIX J.\*

### ECONOMIC STRENGTH OF SLAVERY.

"So long," says Mr. Merivale, "as there is new soil to break up so long the continuance of slavery is secured; because workmen must be had at all hazards, and it is more profitable to cultivate a fresh soil by the dear labour of slaves, than an exhausted one by the cheap labour of freemen. It is secured, I mean, so far as the immediate interests of the masters can prevail in maintaining it.

\* See page 162.

. . . It seems but too evident, [assuming that there is 'new soil to break up'] that no economical cause can be assigned on which we may rely for the extinction of slavery, and that those who have persuaded themselves that nations will gradually attain a conviction that its maintenance is unfavourable to their interests are under a delusion."—*Colonization and the Colonies*, pp. 307-309. New edition.

"Until the institution of slavery," says one of the most accurate observers of the economical phenomena of North America, "be weakened, as it was in Europe, by the redundancy of the predial population, I have as little hope of slavery relaxing its grasp in the United States for many years to come as of people denying themselves the luxuries of cotton, sugar, and tobacco. I have failed to discover a single element in active operation which points to a different conclusion."—Russell's *North America*, p. 293.

Nor does M. Elisée Reclus, judging the question from the experience of Brazil, regard the case as more hopeful. "Certains optimistes ont encore la naïveté de croire que la servitude involontaire finira par s'éteindre d'elle-même au Brésil. Le mal ne meurt pas ainsi : sa nature est d'empirer sans cesse, de gagner de proche en proche, de corrompre tout ce qui l'entoure, et de disparaître seulement à la suite d'une crise violente où toutes les forces vitales se réunissent pour l'expulser."

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## APPENDIX K \*

### SPIRIT OF THE SLAVE LAWS.

It is true that, "the wilful, malicious, and premeditated" killing of a slave is now by law a capital offence in all the Slave States; but, putting aside the difficulty, which often amounts to an impossibility, of establishing the facts, owing to the exclusion of the evidence of coloured persons, what is a "wilful, malicious, and premeditated

\* See page 172.

killing?" We may infer at least what it is *not* from the provisos added to most of the statutes which legislate for the crime. Thus the statute of Tennessee subjoins the proviso:—"provided this act shall not be extended to any person killing any slave in the act of resistance to his lawful owner or master, or any slave *dying under moderate correction*"; and that of Georgia, the following:—"unless such death should happen by accident in giving such slave moderate correction." If the reader would appreciate the spirit which pervades the Black Code of the South, let him reflect on the contrast afforded by the following laws of South Carolina. By an act of 1754, it is made a capital felony, without benefit of clergy, "to inveigle, steal, and carry away, or to hire, aid or counsel any person or persons to inveigle, steal or carry away any slave or slaves, or to aid any slave in running away, or departing from his master's or employer's service." "This law," says the Hon. J. O'Neil, "has remained ever since unchanged, and has been sternly enforced as a most valuable safeguard to property." On the other hand, by the 37th section of the act of 1740—also still in force—it is provided that "if any person shall wilfully cut out the tongue, put out the eye, castrate, or cruelly scald, burn, or deprive any slave of any limb or member, or shall inflict any other cruel punishment, *other than by whipping, or beating with a horse-whip, cow-skin, switch or small stick, or by putting irons on or confining or imprisoning such slave*, every such person shall for every such offence forfeit the sum of £100 current money, equal to 61 dollars, 23 cents," or £14 13s. 4d. sterling. Thus, while for performing a simple act of humanity—the rendering of assistance to an unfortunate creature seeking to escape from his tormentors—the law awards the punishment of death, it gives, on the other hand, its direct sanction to the act of beating without limit a fellow creature with a horse-whip or cow-skin, and the infliction of any torture which the ingenuity or malignity of man may invent, in the application of irons to the human body, or, if the master wills it, the perpetual incarceration of the slave; and, in case this does not satisfy the master's propensity for cruelty, it provides that he may indulge it still further to almost any conceivable extent at the low cost of £14 13s. 4d.; this sum to

be enforced in the rare case in which the act would be performed in the presence of a white man who is willing to give evidence against the criminal, otherwise the act to receive absolute impunity. •

I subjoin the celebrated judgment of Judge Ruffin of North Carolina, which sets the legal position of slavery in the South in a clearer light than any other statement I have met with.

“The defendant was indicted for an assault and battery upon Lydia, the slave of one *Elizabeth Jones*. On the trial it appeared, that the defendant had hired the slave for a year; that during the term the slave had committed some small offence, for which the defendant undertook to chastise her; that while in the act of so doing, the slave ran off; whereupon the defendant called upon her to stop, which being refused, he shot at and wounded her. The judge in the court below charged the jury, that if they believed the punishment inflicted by the defendant was cruel and unwarrantable, and disproportionate to the offence committed by the slave, that in law the defendant was guilty, as he had only a special property in the slave. A verdict was returned for the slave, and the defendant appealed.

*Ruffin, J.* A judge cannot but lament, when such cases as the present are brought into judgment. It is impossible that the reasons on which they go can be appreciated but where institutions similar to our own exist, and are thoroughly understood. The struggle, too, in the judge's own breast between the feelings of the man and the duty of the magistrate is a severe one, presenting strong temptation to put aside such questions, if it be possible. It is useless, however, to complain of things inherent in our political state. And it is criminal in a court to avoid any responsibility which the laws impose. With whatever reluctance, therefore, it is done, the court is compelled to express an opinion upon the extent of the dominion of the master over the slave in North Carolina. . . . The question before the court has indeed been assimilated at the bar to the other domestic relations; and arguments drawn from the well-established principles which confer and restrain the authority of the parent over the child, the tutor over the pupil, the master over the apprentice, have been pressed on us. The court does not

recognise their application. There is no likeness between the cases. They are in opposition to each other, and there is an impassable gulf between them. The difference is, that which exists between freedom and slavery—and a greater cannot be imagined. In the one, the end in view is the happiness of the youth, born to equal rights with that governor, on whom the duty devolves of training the young to usefulness in a station which he is afterwards to assume among freemen. To such an end, and with such a subject, moral and intellectual instruction seem the natural means; and for the most part they are found to suffice. Moderate force is superadded, only to make the others effectual. If that fail, it is better to leave the party to his own headstrong passions, and the ultimate correction of the law, than to allow it to be immoderately inflicted by a private person. With slavery it is far otherwise. The end is the profit of the master, his security, and the public safety; the subject, one doomed in his own person and his posterity to live without knowledge, and without the capacity to make any thing his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits. What moral considerations shall be addressed to such a being, to convince him what it is impossible but that the most stupid must feel and know can never be true,—that he is thus to labour upon a principle of natural duty, or for the sake of his own personal happiness; such services can only be expected from one who has no will of his own, who surrenders his will in implicit obedience to that of another. Such obedience is the consequence only of uncontrolled authority over the body. There is nothing else which can operate to produce the effect. The power of the master must be absolute, to render the submission of the slave perfect. I must freely confess my sense of the harshness of this proposition. I feel it as deeply as any man can. And as a principle of moral right, every person in his retirement must repudiate it. But in the actual condition of things it must be so. There is no remedy. This discipline belongs to the state of slavery. They cannot be disunited, without abrogating at once the rights of the master, and absolving the slave from his subjection. It constitutes the curse of slavery to both the bond and the free portions of our population. But it is inherent in the relation of master and slave.

That there may be particular instances of cruelty and deliberate barbarity, where in conscience the law might properly interfere, is most probable. The difficulty is to determine, where *a court* may properly begin. Merely in the abstract it may well be asked, which power of the master accords with right. The answer will probably sweep away all of them. But we cannot look at the matter in that light. The truth is, that we are forbidden to enter upon a train of general reasoning on the subject. We cannot allow the right of the master to be brought into discussion in the courts of justice. The slave, to remain a slave, must be made sensible that there is no appeal from his master; that his person is in no instance usurped, but is conferred by the laws of man at least, if not by the law of God . . .

“Judgment below reversed; and judgment entered for the defendant.”—Wheeler’s *Practical Treatise on the Law of Slavery*, pp. 244-8.

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## APPENDIX L.\*

### RECENT IMPORTATION OF AFRICAN SLAVES INTO THE SOUTH.

IN the *Saturday Review* (Oct. 18, 1862, p. 471) it is asserted that “not one hundred Africans have, since 1808, been landed on the Southern coast.” The following evidence, which I extract from the *Reports of the American Anti-Slavery Society*, will enable the reader to form an opinion on the accuracy of this statement:—

“About the first of December last, the yacht *Wanderer*, (which, after a temporary detention in New York, last June, on suspicion of being destined for the Slave Trade, was released, for want of proof satisfactory to the cautious authorities), came in from the African coast, and landed several hundred Slaves, near Brunswick, Georgia; whence they were speedily distributed in that and other States. The *Augusta Chronicle*, of December 16th (opposed to the

\* See page 245.

• traffic), says that 'about 270 of the cargo are now on a plantation in South Carolina, two or three miles below this city, on the Savannah river, and we suppose will soon be offered for sale. . . . The success of this enterprise by the owners of the *Wanderer* establishes the fact that if the Southern people intend to suppress this traffic they must rely upon themselves. The coast of the Slaveholding States is so extensive that the entire navy of the United States cannot maintain the law inviolable.' The *Augusta-Despatch* says, 'we learn on good authority, that the cargo consisted of 420. . . . Citizens of our city are probably interested in the enterprise. It is hinted that this is the third cargo landed by the same company, during the last six months. . . . One of our citizens has bought from the lot a stout boy, about fourteen years old, for 250 dollars.' To show 'what practical good can result from the agitation of the revival of the slave-trade, we point to this cargo of sturdy labourers, delivered from the darkness and barbarism of Africa, to be elevated and Christianized on our soil;' and 'to the price paid for this son of the jungles, compared with the exorbitant prices paid for less valuable negroes here; and we claim that these results are the beginning of the blessings to flow in upon the South' from that agitation. 'This trade may be called piracy, by a false construction of a foolish law, but the day will come when the South will make it the right arm of her legitimate commerce.' A writer in the *Edgefield* (South Carolina) *Advertiser* makes 'an authorized announcement that the slaves brought by the *Wanderer* have been landed in Edgefield District, and most of them are now within its confines. This act has been done by a combination of many of the first families in Georgia and South Carolina, from purely patriotic motives.' A correspondent of the *New York Times* writes from Montgomery (Alabama), on December 24th, that he has 'just seen the negroes brought from Africa by Captain Corrie,' of the *Wanderer*. 'They are real Congo negroes. They came here from Macon, Georgia. . . . So far as a successful landing of a cargo of native Africans on our Southern coast can effect that result, the African slave-trade has actually been re-opened.' The *Atlanta* (Georgia) *Intelligencer* states that 'forty negroes said to be direct



from Africa,' and believed to be part of the Wanderer's cargo, passed through Atlanta by railroad, going west, on the 23rd of December. A little later, a despatch from Savannah says, that 'scores have been transported by railroads and steamers throughout the South.' The Vicksburg (Mississippi) *Sun* speaks of two of them as 'smuggled into Mississippi,' and living 'on a plantation bordering on the Mississippi central railroad, between Canton and Durant.' Other papers, in different parts of the South, mention parties of them as having been in their respective neighbourhoods. With all this publicity as to where they were, we hear of no earnest effort of the government to get possession of the captives, and restore them to freedom and home. One of them was 'arrested' on the coast, a few days after the landing, but was soon after 'abducted' at night from the place where he had been put for safe keeping; no pains having been taken to guard him securely, though the marshal had been warned of a probable attempt at abduction. Two others were taken in Macon, and sent to Savannah, where they were kept several weeks in jail, and then given up by a justice of the peace to C. A. L. Lamar (the openly avowed owner of the Wanderer), who claimed them as his property, supporting his claim by proof that they had been seen in his possession. This, it seems is, by Georgia law, presumptive proof of good title to black men. The United States attorney and the marshal had notice of the proceedings, but declined to interfere, the latter expressly disclaiming any right to detain the Africans. A deputy-marshal, in Telfair County, arrested thirty-six on their way to Alabama in charge of one or two men, put them in the county jail, and reported to the marshal at Savannah what he had done. The marshal replied that he 'had telegraphed and written to the authorities at Washington, and had received no answer respecting the Africans known to be in the country, and his advice was to turn them loose and let them go on their way.' The deputy did so; the persons from whom they had been taken resumed the charge of them, and pursued their journey. A few weeks after this, some persons from Worth County, who had assisted in the arrest, having visited Savannah, Lamar made oath, before a justice of the peace, that they had stolen from

him certain negroes of the value of at least 2,000 dollars; whereupon they were arrested and bound over for trial at the October term of the Worth superior court, on a charge of larceny.

“ We do not hear of even an attempt to secure any of the remaining hundreds of the imported Africans, and the whole cargo seems now to have sunk into the mass of the slave population and disappeared.

“ On the first public knowledge of the Wanderer’s arrival, three of her crew were arrested, and, after examination, bound over to answer at the next term of the United States District Court, in Savannah. Six weeks later, the captain surrendered himself to the United States marshal, in Charleston (South Carolina), and was held to bail in 5,000 dollars. Indictments were found against him in Savannah, but warrants for his arrest were refused by the judge of the South Carolina District, on the ground that, having been bound over to appear in that District, it was there he ought to be indicted. As yet we have heard of no further proceedings in these cases.

“ The vessel was condemned as a slaver, and sold at auction, on the 12th of March, but to Lamar himself, and, it is said, for less than a quarter of its value. He claimed it as his property, unjustly taken from him; and appealed to the crowd not to bid against him. Very few did so; only one, it seems, to any considerable amount; and him he knocked down, amid general applause. It is affirmed that ‘the marshal seemed to favour Lamar, not dwelling an instant after his last bid. Thus, instead of promptly taking measures to hold him to account for the piracy in which his own repeated public avowals prove him to have been the real principal, the government restored to him, with a legal title, and at a price little more than nominal, the forfeited instrument of its perpetration; very probably to be used in repeating the crime. He has since, however, been indicted for aiding and abetting in the slave-trade, and for having in his possession, and for claiming, Africans recently imported; but, as a Savannah jury will try him, he is in little danger of conviction.

“ Two parties of the newly-imported Africans having been brought to Mobile, Judge Campbell, of the United States Circuit Court for

the Southern District of Alabama, took occasion from that fact, in charging the grand jury, at Mobile, on the 12th of April, to expound very distinctly the law concerning the slave-trade; denouncing in emphatic terms the 'piratical efforts lately made to make slaves of Africans, *in despite of the treaties and laws of the United States;*' and 'invoking the active and diligent efforts of the grand jury to bring the malefactors to justice.' We do not yet hear of any remarkable 'diligent efforts' to that end. But the news may not have had time to reach us."—Annual Report for the year ending May 1, 1859, pp. 45-48.

"The St. Augustine (Florida) *Examiner*, of July 21, gives an account of a case in Florida, in which the Federal authorities had notice of a slaver's being off the coast, but, upon going to the region indicated, were told that the vessel (schooner *Experiment*), had landed her cargo near Jupiter's Inlet, six weeks before, and of course the 'birds had flown.' 'We understand more are expected shortly,' adds the *Examiner*, coolly taking it for granted that caution is needless, and censure uncalled for, in speaking of the business. The Pensacola (Florida) *Observer* confirms, on the authority of Colonel Blackburn, United States Marshal, a statement sent from Jacksonville, on the 16th of last July, that 'a cargo of six hundred Africans has been landed on the Florida coast, near Smyrna;' and says, that 'as soon as the landing was effected, the vessel was set on fire and abandoned to the elements.'"—Annual Report for the year 1861, p. 22.

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## APPENDIX M.

### THE PHILOSOPHY OF SECESSION.

By the Hon. L. W. SPRATT.

BEING A PROTEST AGAINST A DECISION OF THE SOUTHERN CONGRESS.

From the *Charleston Mercury*, 13th February, 1861.

To the Hon. John Perkins, Delegate from Louisiana :

From the abstract of the Constitution for the Provisional Govern-

ment, published in the papers of this morning, it appears that the slave trade, except with the Slave States of North America, shall be prohibited. The Congress, therefore, not content with the laws of the late United States against it, which, it is to be presumed, were re-adopted, have unalterably fixed the subject by a provision of the Constitution. That provision, for reasons equally conclusive, will doubtless pass into the Constitution of the permanent government. The prohibition, therefore, will no longer be a question of policy, but will be a cardinal principle of the Southern Confederacy. It will not be a question for the several States, in view of any peculiarity in their circumstances and condition, but will be fixed by a paramount power, which nothing but another revolution can overturn. If Texas shall want labour she must elect whether it shall be hiring labour or slave labour; and if she shall elect slave labour she must be content with that only which comes from other States on this continent, and at such prices as the States on this continent shall see proper to exact. If Virginia shall not join the Confederacy of the South, she is at least assured of a market for her slaves at undiminished prices; and if there shall be, as there unquestionably is, a vast demand for labour at the South; and if there shall be, as there unquestionably will be, a vast supply of pauper labour from the North and Europe, and the States of the South shall be in danger of being overrun and abolitionized, as the States of the North have been overrun and abolitionized, there must be no power in any State to counteract the evil. Democracy is right, for it has the approval of the world; slavery wrong, and only to be tolerated in consideration of the property involved; and while the one is to be encouraged, therefore the other is to be presented in such attitude as to be as little offensive as it may be to the better sentiment of an enlightened world.

Such I take to be a fair statement of the principles announced in the earliest utterance of the Southern Republic; and I need scarcely say that I deprecate them greatly. I fear their effects upon the present harmony of feeling; I fear their effects upon the fortunes of the Republic; and I will take the liberty of intervening and of presenting reasons why I think we should not take such

action at the present time. I may seem presumptuous, but I have a stake too great to scruple at the measures necessary to preserve it. I take a liberty, without permission, in making you the object of this letter; but our personal relations will assure you that I have but the simple purpose, if possible, to be of service to my country; and if, in representing a measure so offensive, I may seem wanting in respect for the "spirit of the age," I have but to say that I have been connected with the slave trade measure from the start. I have incurred whatever of odium could come from its initiation; I have been trusted by its friends with a leading part in its advancement; and so situated, at a time when prejudice or a mistaken policy would seem to shape our action to a course inconsistent with our dignity and interests, I have no personal considerations to restrain me, and feel that it is within my province to interpose and offer what I can of reasons to arrest it.

Nor will I be justly chargeable with an unreasonable agitation of this question. We were truly solicitous to postpone it to another time; we were willing to acquiesce in whatever policy the States themselves might see proper to adopt. But when it is proposed to take advantage of our silence, to enter judgment by default, to tie the hands of States, and so propitiate a foreign sentiment by a concession inconsiderate and gratuitous, it is our privilege to intervene; and I am in error if your clear conception of the questions at issue, and your devotion to the paramount cause of the South, will not induce you to admit that the odium is not on us of introducing a distracting issue.

The South is now in the formation of a Slave Republic. This, perhaps, is not admitted generally. There are many contented to believe that the South as a geographical section is in mere assertion of its independence; that it is instinct with no especial truth—pregnant of no distinct social nature; that for some unaccountable reason the two sections have become opposed to each other; that for reasons equally insufficient there is disagreement between the peoples that direct them; and that from no overruling necessity, no impossibility of coexistence, but as mere matter of policy, it has been considered best for the South to strike out for herself

and establish an independence of her own. This, I fear, is an inadequate conception of the controversy.

The contest is not between the North and South as geographical sections, for between such sections merely there can be no contest; nor between the people of the North and the people of the South, for our relations have been pleasant, and on neutral grounds there is still nothing to estrange us. We eat together, trade together, and practise yet, in intercourse, with great respect, the courtesies of common life. But the real contest is between the two forms of society which have become established, the one at the North, and the other at the South. Society is essentially different from government—as different as is the nut from the bur, or the nervous body of the shell-fish from the bony structure which surrounds it; and within this government two societies had become developed as variant in structure and distinct in form as any two beings in animated nature. The one is a society composed of one race, the other of two races. The one is bound together but by the two great social relations of husband and wife and parent and child; the other by the three relations of husband and wife, and parent and child, and master and slave. The one embodies in its political structure the principle that equality is the right of man; the other that it is the right of equals only. The one embodying the principle that equality is the right of man, expands upon the horizontal plane of pure democracy; the other embodying the principle that it is not the right of man, but of equals only, has taken to itself the rounded form of a social aristocracy. In the one there is hireling labour, in the other slave labour; in the one, therefore, in theory at least, labour is voluntary, in the other involuntary; in the labour of the one there is the elective franchise, in the other there is not; and, as labour is always in excess of direction, in the one the power of government is only with the lower classes; in the other the upper. In the one therefore, the reins of government come from the heels, in the other from the head of the society; in the one it is guided by the worst, in the other by the best, intelligence; in the one it is from those who have the least, in the other from those who have the greatest, stake in the continuance of existing order. In the one

the pauper labourer has the power to rise and appropriate by law the goods protected by the State—when pressure comes, as come it must, there will be the motive to exert it—and thus the ship of State turns bottom upwards. In the other there is no pauper labour with power of rising; the ship of State has the ballast of a disfranchised class: there is no possibility of political upheaval, therefore, and it is reasonably certain that, so steadied, it will sail erect and onward to an indefinitely distant period.

Such are some of the more obvious differences in form and constitution between these two societies which had come into contact within the limits of the recent Union. And perhaps it is not the least remarkable, in this connection, that while the one, a shapeless, organless, mere mass of social elements in no definite relation to each other, is loved and eulogized, and stands the ideal of the age; the other comely, and proportioned with labour and direction, mind and matter in just relation to each other, presenting analogy to the very highest developments in animated nature, is condemned and reprobated. Even we ourselves have hardly ventured to affirm it—while the cock crows, in fact, are ready to deny it; and if it shall not perish on the cross of human judgment, it must be for the reason that the Great Eternal has not purposed that still another agent of his will shall come to such excess of human ignominy.

Such are the two forms of society which had come to contest within the structure of the recent Union. And the contest for existence was inevitable. Neither could concur in the requisitions of the other; neither could expand within the forms of a single government without encroachment on the other. Like twin lobsters in a single shell, if such a thing were possible, the natural expansion of the one must be inconsistent with the existence of the other; or, like an eagle and a fish, joined by an indissoluble bond, which for no reason of its propriety could act together, where the eagle could not share the fluid suited to the fish and live, where the fish could not share the fluid suited to the bird and live, and where one must perish that the other may survive, unless the unnatural Union shall be severed—so these societies could not, if they would, concur.

The principle that races are unequal, and that among unequals inequality is right, would have been destructive to the form of pure democracy at the North. The principle that all men are equal and equally right, would have been destructive of slavery at the South. Each required the element suited to its social nature. Each must strive to make the government expressive of its social nature. The natural expansion of the one must become encroachment on the other, and so the contest was inevitable. Seward and Lincoln, in theory at least, whatever be their aim, are right. I realized the fact and so declared the conflict irrepressible years before either ventured to advance that proposition. Upon that declaration I have always acted, and the recent experience of my country has not induced me to question the correctness of that first conception.

Nor is indignation at such leaders becoming the statesmen of the South. The tendency of social action was against us. The speaker, to be heard, must speak against slavery; the preacher, to retain his charge, must preach against slavery; the author, to be read, must write against slavery; the candidate, to attain office, must pledge himself against slavery; the office-holder, to continue, must redeem the pledges of the candidate. They did not originate the policy, but they pandered to it; they did not start the current, but they floated on it; and were as powerless as drift-wood to control its course. The great tendency to social conflict pre-existed; it was in the heart of the North—it was in the very structure of Northern society. It was not a matter of choice but of necessity that such society should disaffirm a society in contradiction of it. It was not a matter of choice but of necessity that it should approve of acts against it. In possession of power, it flowed to political action on the South, as fluids flow to lower levels. The acts of individuals were unimportant. If I had possessed the power to change the mind of every Republican in Congress, I would not have been at the pains to do so. They would have fallen before an indignant constituency, and men would have been sent to their places whose minds could never change. Nor, in fact, have they been without their use. As the conflict was irrepressible, as they were urged on by an inexorable power, it was important we should know it. Our



own political leaders refused to realize the fact. The zealots of the North alone could force the recognition ; and I am bound to own that Giddings, and Greeley, and Seward, and Lincoln, parasites as they are, panderers to popular taste as they are, the instruments, and the mere instruments, of aggression, have done more to rouse us to the vindication of our rights than the bravest and best among us.

Such, then, was the nature of this contest. It was inevitable. It was inaugurated with the government. It began at the beginning, and almost at the start the chances of the game were turned against us. If the foreign slave trade had never been suppressed, slave society must have triumphed. It would have extended to the limits of New England.

*Pari passu* with emigrants from Europe came slaves from Africa. Step by step the two in union marched upon the West, and it is reasonably certain had the means to further union been admitted, that so they would have continued to march upon the West, that slave labour would have been cheaper than hiring labour, that, transcending agriculture, it would have expanded to the arts ; and that thus one homogeneous form of labor and one homogeneous form of society, unquestioned by one single dreamer, and cherished at home and honoured abroad, would have overspread the entire available surface of the late United States. But the slave-trade suppressed, democratic society has triumphed. The States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware found an attractive market for their slaves. They found a cheaper pauper labour to replace it ; that pauper labour poured in from Europe ; while it replaced the slave, it increased the political power of the Northern States. More than five millions from abroad have been added to their number ; that addition has enabled them to grasp and hold the government. That government, from the very necessities of their nature they are forced to use against us. Slavery was within its grasp, and forced to the option of extinction in the Union, or of independence out, it dares to strike, and it asserts its claim to nationality and its right to recognition among the leading social systems of the world.

Such, then, being the nature of the contest, *this Union has been disrupted in the effort of slave society to emancipate itself*; and the momentous question now to be determined is, shall that effort be successful? That the Republic of the South shall sustain her independence, there is little question. The form of our society is too pregnant of intellectual resources and military strength to be subdued, if, in its products, it did not hold the bonds of amity and peace upon all the leading nations of the world. But in the independence of the South is there surely the emancipation of domestic slavery? That is greatly to be doubted. Our property in slaves will be established. If it has stood in a government more than half of which has been pledged to its destruction, it will surely stand in a government every member of which will be pledged in its defence. But will it be established as a normal institution of society, and stand the sole exclusive social system of the South? That is the impending question, and the fact is yet to be recorded. That it will so stand somewhere at the South I do not entertain the slightest question. It may be overlooked or disregarded now. *It has been the vital agent of this great controversy.* It has energized the arm of every man who acts a part in this great drama. We may shrink from recognition of the fact; we may decline to admit the source of our authority; refuse to slavery an invitation to the table which she herself has so bountifully spread; but not for that will it remain powerless or unhonoured. It may be abandoned by Virginia, Maryland, Missouri; South Carolina herself may refuse to espouse it. The hireling labourer from the North and Europe may drive it from our seaboard. As the South shall become the centre of her own trade, the metropolis of her own commerce, the pauper population of the world will pour upon us. It may replace our slaves upon the seaboard, as it has replaced them in the Northern States; but concentrated in the States upon the Gulf it will make its stand, condensed to the point at which the labour of the slave transcends the want of agriculture, it will flow to other objects; it will lay its giant grasp upon still other departments of industry; its every step will be exclusive; it will be unquestioned lord of each domain on which it enters. With

that perfect economy of resources, that just application of power, that concentration of forces, that security of order which results to slavery from the permanent direction of its best intelligence, there is no other form of human labour that can stand against it, and it will build itself a home and erect for itself, at some point within the present limits of the Southern States, a structure of imperial power and grandeur—a glorious Confederacy of States that will stand aloft and serene for ages amid the anarchy of democracies that will reel around it.

But it may be that to this end another revolution may be necessary. It is to be apprehended that this contest between democracy and slavery is not yet over. It is certain that both forms of society exist within the limits of the Southern States; both are distinctly developed within the limits of Virginia; and there, whether we perceive the fact or not, the war already rages. In that State there are about 500,000 slaves to about 1,000,000 whites; and as at least as many slaves as masters are necessary to the constitution of slave society, about 500,000 of the white population are in legitimate relation to the slaves, and the rest are in excess. Like an excess of alkali or acid in chemical experiments, they are unfixen in social compound. Without legitimate connection with the slave, they are in competition with him. They constitute not a part of slave society, but a democratic society. In so far as there is this connection, the State is slave; in so far as there is not, it is democratic; and as States speak only from their social condition, as interests, not intellect, determine their political action, it is thus that Virginia has been undecided—that she does not truly know whether she is of the North or South in this great movement. Her people are individually noble, brave, and patriotic, and they will strike for the South in resistance to physical aggression; but her political action is, at present, paralyzed by this unnatural contest, and as causes of disintegration may continue—must continue, if the slave trade be not re-opened—as there will still be a market at the South for her slaves—as there will still be pauper labour from abroad to supply their places, and more abundant from industrial dissolutions at the North, and the one race must increase as the other is diminished—it

is to be feared that there the slave must ultimately fail, and that this great state must lose the institution, and bend her proud spirit to the yoke of another democratic triumph. In Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, and even Tennessee and North Carolina, the same facts exist, with chances of the like result.

And even in this State [South Carolina] the ultimate result is not determined. The slave condition here would seem to be established. There is here an excess of 120,000 slaves, and here is fairly exhibited the normal nature of the institution. The officers of the State are slave-owners and the representatives of slave-owners. In their public acts they exhibit the consciousness of a superior position. Without unusual individual ability, they exhibit the elevation of tone and composure of public sentiment proper to a master class. There is no appeal to the mass, for there is no mass to appeal to ; there are no demagogues, for there is no populace to breed them ; judges are not forced upon the stump ; governors are not dragged before the people ; and when there is cause to act upon the fortunes of our social institution, there is perhaps an unusual readiness to meet it. The large majority of our people are in legitimate connection with the institution—in legitimate dependence on the slave ; and it were to be supposed that here at least the system of slave society would be permanent and pure. But even here the process of disintegration has commenced. In our larger towns it just begins to be apparent. Within ten years past as many as 10,000 slaves have been drawn away from Charleston by the attractive prices of the West, and labourers from abroad have come to take their places. These labourers have every disposition to work above the slave, and if there were opportunity would be glad to do so ; but without such opportunity they come to competition with him ; they are necessarily resistive to the contact. Already there is the disposition to exclude him ; from the trades, from public works, from drays, and the tables of hotels, he is even now excluded to a great extent. And when enterprises at the North are broken up ; when more labourers are thrown from employment ; when they shall come in greater numbers to the South they will still more increase the tendency to exclusion ; they will question the right of masters to employ their slaves in any works

that they may wish for ; they will invoke the aid of legislation ; they will use the elective franchise to that end ; they may acquire the power to determine municipal elections ; they will inexorably use it ; and thus this town of Charleston, at the very heart of slavery, may become a fortress of democratic power against it. As it is in Charleston, so also is it to a less extent in the interior towns.

Nor is it only in the towns the tendency appears. The slaves, from lighter lands within the State, have been drawn away for years for higher prices in the West. They are now being drawn away from rice culture. Thousands are sold from rice fields every year. None are brought to them. They have already been drawn from the culture of indigo and all manufacturing employments. They are yet retained by cotton and the culture incident to cotton ; but as almost every negro offered in our markets is bid for by the West the drain is likely to continue. It is probable that more abundant pauper labor may pour in, and it is to be feared that even in this State, the purest in its slave condition, democracy may gain a foothold, and that here also the contest for existence may be waged between them.

It thus appears that the contest is not ended with a dissolution of the Union, and that the agents of that contest still exist within the limits of the Southern States. The causes that have contributed to the defeat of slavery still occur ; our slaves are still drawn off by higher prices to the West. There is still foreign pauper labor ready to supply their place. Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, possibly Tennessee and North Carolina, may lose their slaves, as New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey have done. In that condition they must recommence the contest. There is no avoiding that necessity. The systems cannot mix ; and thus it is that slavery, like the Thracian horse returning from the field of victory, still bears a master on his back ; and, having achieved one revolution to escape democracy at the North, it must still achieve another to escape it at the South. That it will ultimately triumph none can doubt. It will become redeemed and vindicated, and the only question now to be determined is, shall there be another revolution to that end ? It is not necessary. Slavery within the seceding States at least is now

emancipated if men put forward as its agents have intrepidity to realize the fact and act upon it. It is free to choose its constitution and its policy, and you and others are now elected to the high office of that determination. If you shall elect slavery, avow it and affirm it not as an existing fact, but as a living principle of social order, and assert its right, not to toleration only, but to extension and political recognition among the nations of the earth. If, in short, you shall own slavery as the source of your authority, and act for it, and erect as you are commissioned to erect, not only a Southern, but a Slave Republic, the work will be accomplished. Those States intending to espouse and perpetuate the institution will enter your Confederacy; those that do not, will not. Your Republic will not require the pruning process of another revolution; but, poised upon its institution, will move on to a career of greatness and of glory unapproached by any other nation in the world.

But if you shall not; if you shall commence by ignoring slavery, or shall be content to edge it on by indirection; if you shall exhibit care but for a Republic, respect but for a democracy; if you shall stipulate for the toleration of slavery as an existing evil by admitting assumptions to its prejudice and restrictions to its power and progress, re-inaugurate the blunder of 1789; you will combine States, whether true or not, to slavery; you will have no tests of faith; some will find it to their interest to abandon it; slave labor will be fettered; hireling labor will be free; your Confederacy is again divided into antagonist societies; the irrepressible conflict is again commenced; and as slavery can sustain the structure of a stable government, and will sustain such structure, and as it will sustain no structure but its own, another revolution comes—but whether in the order and propriety of this, is gravely to be doubted.

Is it, then, in the just performance of your office, that you would impose a constitutional restriction against the foreign slave trade? Will you affirm slavery by reprobating the means of its formation? Will you extend slavery by introducing the means to its extinction? Will you declare to Virginia if she shall join, that under no circumstances shall she be at liberty to restore the integrity of her slave condition? that her five hundred thousand masters without slaves

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assurance that when they shall sell them they will fall under the rule of a democracy which must unfit them for association in a slave confederacy—the people of these States may not solicit an increase of slaves! And is it policy to preclude the possibility of such an increase? But admit the change may never come, yet against all the evils to result from the slave trade these States are competent to protect themselves. The failure of the general government to preclude that trade by constitutional provision by no means precludes them from such a prohibition. If they may never want them, they may keep them out, without the application of a Procrustean policy to all the other States of the Confederacy. It may be said that without such general restriction the value of their slaves will be diminished in the markets of the West. They have no right to ask that their slaves, or any other products, shall be protected to unnatural value in the markets of the West. If they persist in regarding the negro but as a thing of trade—a thing which they are too good to use, but only can produce for others' uses—and join the Confederacy, as Pennsylvania or Massachusetts might do, not to support the structure, but to profit by it, it were as well they should not join, and we can find no interest in such association.

Is it that the Cotton States themselves require it? If so, each for itself may adopt the prohibition. But they do not. The political leaders of the country are not ready for the proposition, as they were not ready for the measure of secession. Many leaders of the South, many men who meet you in Convention, have been forced to that position by a popular movement they had never the political courage to direct; and so, perhaps, in any case the whole machinery of society must start before the political hands upon the dial-plate can indicate its progress; and so, therefore, as this question is not moved—as the members of this Congress are charged to perfect the dissolution of the old government, but have not been instructed as to this permanent requisition of the new—they may be mistaken, as they would have been mistaken, if by chance they had met six months ago and spoken upon the question of secession. And they are mistaken, if, from any reference to popular feeling,



they inaugurate the action now proposed. The people of the Cotton States want labour; they know that whites and slaves cannot work together. They have no thought of abandoning their slaves that they may get white labour; and they want slaves, therefore, and they will have them—from the Seaboard States, if the slave trade be not opened, and they cannot heartily embrace a policy which, while it will tend to degrade the Seaboard States to the condition of a democracy, will compel them to pay double and treble prices for their labour.

It may be said in this connection that, though the Cotton States might tolerate the slave trade, it would overstock the country and induce a kind of social suffocation. It is one of the most grievous evils of the time that men have persisted in legislating on domestic slavery with what would seem to be an industrious misapprehension of its requisities. It is assumed that it is ready to explode, while it is in an ordinary state of martial law, (*sic*) as perfect as that which, in times of popular outbreak, is the last and surest provision for security and order. It is assumed that the negro is unfit for mechanical employments, when he exhibits an imitative power of manipulation unsurpassed by any other creature in the world; and when, as a matter of fact, we see him daily in the successful prosecution of the trades, and are forced to know that he is not more generally employed for reason of the higher prices offered for him by our fields of cotton. It is assumed that he cannot endure the cold of Northern States, when he dies not more readily in Canada than Domingo, and when the finest specimens of negro character and negro form to be met with in the world are on the northern borders of Maryland and Missouri. It is assumed that whenever he comes in contact with free society we must quail before it, when it is evident that the question which shall prevail is dependent on the question which can work the cheapest; and when it is evident that with slaves at starvation prices—slaves at prices to which they will be reduced by the question whether we shall give them up or feed them—at prices to which they will be reduced when the question comes whether they shall starve the

hireling or the hireling the slave, the system of domestic slavery, guided always by its best intelligence, directed always by the strictest economy, with few invalids and few inefficient, can underwork the world. And it is assumed that, hemmed in as we will be, but a slight addition to our slaves will induce disastrous consequences. But it is demonstrable that negroes are more easily held to slavery than white men; and that more in proportion, therefore, can be held in subjection by the same masters; and yet in the Republic of Athens of white slaves there were four to one; and in portions of the Roman Empire the proportion was greater still; and upon this ratio the slaves might be increased to forty millions, without a corresponding increase among the whites, and yet occur no disaster; but on our rice lands, isolated to a great extent where negroes are employed in thousands, there is often not one white man to one hundred slaves. Nor is there greater danger of an overcrowded population. Slaves may be held to greater density than freemen; order will be greater, and the economy of resources will be greater. Athens had seven hundred to the square mile, while Belgium, the most densely populated state of modern Europe, has but about three hundred and eighty-eight to the square mile; and with a population only as dense as Belgium, South Carolina could hold the population of the Southern States, and Texas three times the present population of the Union.

Is it that foreign nations will require it? As a matter of taste they might perhaps. There is a mode upon the subject of human rights at present, and England, France, and other states that are leaders of the mode, might be pleased to see the South comply with the standard of requirement, and, provided only no serious inconvenience or injury resulted, would be pleased to see the South suppress not only the slave trade, but slavery itself. But will our failure to do so make any greater difference in our relations with those states? Men may assume it if they will, but it argues a pitiable want of intelligence and independence, an abject want of political spirit to suppose it. France and England trade in coolies, and neither will have the hardihood to affirm that between that

and the slave trade, there is an essential difference, and practising the one they cannot war with us for practising the others. Nor, in fact, do they wage war upon the slave trade. Spain permits the trade in Cuba, though she acknowledges the mode by professing to prohibit it. Portugal and Turkey do not even so much. Even England lends her ships to keep the slave trade open in the Black Sea; and almost every slave bought in Africa is paid for in English fabrics, to the profit of the English merchant, and with the knowledge of the British government. In view of these facts, it were simple to suppose that European states will practise sentiment, at the expense of interest. And have they interest in the suppression of the slave trade? Three years ago in my report to the Commercial Convention at Montgomery, I said that European states are hostile to the Union. Perhaps "they see in it a threatening rival in every branch of art, and they see that rival armed with one of the most potent productive institutions the world has ever seen: they would crush India and Algeria to make an equal supply of cotton with the North; and, failing in this, they would crush slavery to bring the North to a footing with them, but to slavery without the North they have no repugnance; on the contrary, if it were to stand out for itself, free from the control of any other power, and were to offer to European states, upon fair terms, a full supply of its commodities, it would not only not be warred upon, but the South would be singularly favoured—crowns would bend before her; kingdoms and empires would break a lance to win the smile of her approval; and, quitting her free estate, it would be in her option to become the bride of the world, rather than, as now, the miserable mistress of the North."

This opinion seemed then almost absurd, but recent indications have rendered it the common opinion of the country; and as, therefore, they have no repugnance to slavery in accordance with their interests, so also can they have none to the extension of it. They will submit to any terms of intercourse with the Slave Republic in consideration of its markets and its products. An increase of slaves will increase the market and supply. They will pocket their

philanthropy and the profits together. And so solicitude as to the feeling of foreign States upon this subject is gratuitous: and so it is that our suppression of the slave trade is warranted by no necessity to respect the sentiment of foreign States. We may abnegate ourselves if we will, defer to others if we will, but every such act is a confession of a weakness, the less excusable that it does not exist, and we but industriously provoke the contempt of States we are desirous to propitiate. Is it that we debase our great movement by letting it down to the end of getting slaves? We do not propose to reopen the slave trade; we merely propose to take no action on the subject. I truly think we want more slaves. We want them to the proper cultivation of our soil, to the just development of our resources, and to the proper constitution of society. Even in this State I think we want them; of eighteen million acres of land, less than four million are in cultivation. We have no seamen for our commerce, if we had it, and no operatives for the arts; but it is not for that I now oppose restrictions on the slave trade. I oppose them from the wish to emancipate our institution. *I regard the slave trade as the test of its integrity. If that be right, then slavery is right, but not without;* and I have been too clear in my perceptions of the claims of that great institution—too assured of the failure of antagonist democracy, too convinced the one presents the conditions of social order, too convinced the other does not, and too convinced, therefore, that the one must stand while the other falls, to abate my efforts or pretermitt the means by which it may be brought to recognition and establishment.

Believing, then, that this is a test of slavery, and that the institution cannot be right if the trade be not, I regard the constitutional prohibition as a great calamity. If the trade be only wrong in policy it would be enough to leave its exclusion to the several States that would feel the evils of that policy; but it is only upon the supposition that it is wrong in principle, wrong radically, and therefore never to be rendered proper by any change of circumstances which may make it to our interest, that it is becoming in the general government to take organic action to

arrest. The action of the confederacy is, then, a declaration of that fact, and it were vain to sustain the institution in the face of such admissions to its prejudice.

It will be said that at the outset of our career it were wise to exhibit deference to the moral sentiment of the world; the obligation is as perfect to respect the moral sentiment of the world against the institution. The world is just as instant to assert that slavery itself is wrong, and if we forego the slave trade in consideration of the moral feeling of the world, then why not slavery also? It were madness now to blink the question. We are entering at last upon a daring innovation upon the social constitutions of the world. We are erecting a nationality upon a union of races, where other nations have but one. We cannot dodge the issue; we cannot disguise the issue; we cannot safely change our front in the face of a vigilant adversary. Every attempt to do so, every refusal to assist ourselves, every intellectual or political evasion, is a point against us. We may postpone the crisis by disguises, but the slave republic must forego its nature and its destiny, or it must meet the issue, and our assertion of ourselves will not be easier for admissions made against us. And is it not in fact from a sense of weakness that there is such admission? Is there a man who votes for this measure but from misgivings as to slavery, and as to the propriety of its extension? Therefore is there not the feeling that the finger of scorn will be pointed at him without; and is he who doubts the institution, or he who has no higher standard of the right than what the world may say about it, the proper man to build the structure of a slave republic? The members of that Convention are elected to important posts in the grand drama of human history. Such opportunity but seldom comes of moulding the destiny of men and nations. If they shall rise to the occasion, they shall realize their work and do it, they will leave a record that will never be effaced; but if they shall not—if they shall shrink from truth, for reason that it is unhonored; if they shall cling to error, for reason that it is approved, and so let down their character, and act some other part than that before them, they will leave a record which

their successors will be anxious to efface—names which posterity will be delighted to honor.

Opinions, when merely true, move slowly; but when approved, acquire proclivity. Those as to the right of slavery have been true, merely so far, but they came rapidly to culmination. *I was the single advocate of the slave trade in 1853; it is now the question of the time.* Many of us remember when we heard slavery first declared to be of the normal constitution of society; few now will dare to disaffirm it. Those opinions now roll on; they are now not only true but are coming to be trusted; they have moved the structure of the State, and men who will not take the impulse and advance must perish in the track of their advancement. The members of your Convention may misdirect the movement—they may impede the movement—they may so divert it that another revolution may be necessary; but if necessarily that other revolution comes, slavery will stand serene, erect, aloft, unquestioned as to its rights or its integrity at some points within the present limits of the Southern States, and it is only for present actors to determine whether they will contribute or be crushed to that result.

I hope you will pardon this communication; it is too long, but I have not had time to make it shorter. I hope also you will find it consistent with your views to urge the policy I have endeavoured to advance. If the clause be carried into the permanent government, our whole movement is defeated. It will abolitionize the Border Slave States—it will brand our institution. Slavery cannot share a government with democracy—it cannot bear a brand upon it; thence another revolution. It may be painful, but we must make it. The Constitution cannot be changed without. The Border States, discharged of slavery, will oppose it. They are to be included by the concession; they will be sufficient to defeat it. It is doubtful if another movement will be so peaceful; but no matter, no power but the Convention can avert the necessity. The clause need not necessarily be carried into the permanent government, but I fear it will be. The belief that it is agreeable to popular feeling will continue. The popular mind cannot now be worked up to the

task of dispelling the belief; the same men who have prepared the provisional will prepare the permanent constitution; the same influence will affect them. It will be difficult to reverse their judgment in the conventions of the several States. The effort will, at least distract us, and so it is to be feared this fatal action may be consummated; but that it may not is the most earnest wish I now can entertain.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

L. W. SPRATT.

THE END