South Carolina Hist: Society

A CONCISE VIEW

OF THE

CRITICAL SITUATION,

AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

OF THE

Slave-Holding States,

IN RELATION TO THEIR

COLOURED POPULATION.

BY WHITEMARSH B. SEABROOK:

READ BEFORE THE "AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY OF ST. JOHN'S COLLETON," ON THE 14TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1825,

AND PUBLISHED AT THEIR REQUEST.

CHARLESTON:
PRINTED BY A. E. MILLER,
4, Broad-street.

1825.

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A. H. Marÿck to S. C. H. Secy
1826

A CONCISE VIEW.

FROM the general aspect of the times, a momentous crisis in the history of our country, is rapidly approaching. In the absence of political excitements, sectional jealousies have arisen, which are destined to continue, so long as the Southern States shall cling to the charter of their rights, so long as they shall refuse to sacrifice their constitutional immunities on the altar of a sanguinary philosophy. It is now susceptible of the clearest demonstration, that the tenure by which we hold our slaves, is daily becoming less secure, and more the subject of acrimonious animadversion. The skeptic need not longer doubt of the proximity of danger. The affectionate admonitions of the Father of his country, have been recalled by the patriot—the philanthropist has appealed to the finer feelings of the heart, but the poisonous shaft is still grasped by the fanatic; the anticipations of the demagogue are yet cloudless and serene. Amidst the scenes that perpetually flit before us, obviously indicating an afflictive commotion of the political elements, the slave-holding States display a dereliction of duty and interest, but illy adapted to the exigencies of the occasion. As if some inexplicable delusion, some mysterious fascination had obscured their better judgment, no voice is heard in their behalf—the pen of remonstrance is permitted to repose on the desk an idle and an useless weapon. If these reflexions are not visionary and chimerical, then has the period arrived, when we should arouse from our lethargy, and speak a language

H. H. Weyick to S.C.H. Sept 1835

befitting the crisis. The preservation of our property, and the maintainance of the weight of Southern influence in the national councils, would now seem to depend on the adoption of that particular course of conduct, which prudence suggests, and patriotism sanctions.

Nothing is more clear, than that an open or forcible infringement of the constitutional rights of any one of the States, from whatever quarter it may proceed, would be a manifest usurpation, justifying a resort to self-defence. Hence too, whatever individual, or legislative acts, have a tendency to create or eternize the implacable feelings, usually incident to geographical distinctions, should be viewed, as positive attempts, *de facto*, to sap the foundation of our confederacy. Under the specious plea of aiding the cause of the free coloured population, and of effecting a reformation in the condition of this portion of the community, the pulpit and the bar, the press and the legislative hall, have vied in the delineation of a picture, around which, like the cross of olden time, the modern crusaders will be invited to rally. From these sources, it has been asserted, that slavery contradicts the primary principles of our government; that our slaves are wretched, and their wretchedness ought to be alleviated; that they are dangerous to the community, and this danger ought to be removed; and, that if the evils attendant on the circumstances of our black population, are not speedily eradicated, God, in his righteous judgment, will raise up a Touissaint, or a Spartacus, or an African Tecumseh, to demand by what authority we hold them in subjection. I am well aware, that with a view to the salutary accomplishment of a public scheme, an interchange of opinion is necessary, but may I be permitted to ask, why, on the simple question of transporting free negroes to Africa, is the subject of slavery agitated at all? Why is the system of domestic servitude, as it exists in our country, pourtrayed in such false and revolting colours? Is it done to promote the sacred cause of philanthropy? Is it a sincere desire to discharge a conscientious duty, or a murderous attempt to rid the soil of America from the

pollution of African industry? Let facts speak, and candour deduce the inference.

FIRSTLY:—In 1823, a resolution was passed by Ohio, proposing a gradual, but entire emancipation of slaves, and a system of foreign colonization. I cannot question the general power of the States to offer amendments to the constitution of the United States; but certainly it was never contemplated, that a State should possess the right of attempting to alter the conditions of our society, or fundamentally to change the form of our government. A proposal to constitute this republic a monarchy, it must be apparent, would be in direct contravention of the inherent principles of the national compact. It is equally true, that any attempt to destroy or modify the basis, on which alone many of the States consented to yield their most important powers of sovereignty, would be as notorious a violation of the express terms of the political contract. On this ground, I hold the legislative act of Ohio to be unconstitutional. Even should the assent of two-thirds of both houses of Congress, the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, and the signature of the President be obtained, it would not affect one tittle the unconstitutionality and injustice of the measure. By what authority can we be divested of *our whole property*—for, deprive us of our slaves, and you render our lands valueless? It is true, private property may be legally taken for public purposes, provided an equitable remuneration is allowed; but, is there an instance in the history of lawful governments, of an entire people being dissezed by one "fell swoop" of every article of their inheritance and industry. William, the conqueror, to gratify his passion for the pleasures of the chase, laid waste an extent of thirty miles in his dominions, expelled the inhabitants from their houses, and seized their possessions: but William was a tyrant. Between him and his subjects, there was no agreement. Physical force placed this usurper on the throne, and the same engine secured the exercise of his authority. We too, then, after the manner of the people of Hampshire, to indulge the delusive whims of quixotic projectors, are,

perhaps destined to be visited by a desolation, at the instance of a State, who but recently was associated with our political family. Guided by unsound considerations of national policy, she has permitted her feelings to usurp the place of more enlarged and beneficent principles. Ignorant of the true condition of our slaves, her judgment has been forced to yield to distorted and malicious representation. But Ohio is not the only State, that we are called on to arraign at the bar of public justice. Her proposal has been solemnly sanctioned by the States of Delaware, New-Jersey, Indiana, and Rhode-Island.

Secondly :—At the very time, when the expediency of acceding to the Ohio resolve, was under discussion in the legislatures of the States, Mr. King, of New-York, laid on the table of the Senate of the United States, a resolution, that the whole of the public land of the United States, with the nett proceeds thereof, should constitute and form a fund to aid the removal of the emancipated slaves; and Mr. Tucker, of the House of Representatives, a proposal, to extinguish the Indian title to a portion of the country lying west of the Rocky Mountains, that may be suitable for colonizing the free people of colour. The propriety of a general emancipation has thus been gravely suggested by five States, while Congress has before it, two resolutions, one to locate the colored persons, who are or may be set free, in our own country, and the other, providing the ways and means. It would be idle to assert, that our rights would not be impaired, and that the efficacy of our police regulations would still remain unobstructed, by the two last contemplated provisions. The annual subduction of a portion of our population could not progress, without vitally affecting the safety of our property. Is it consonant with the principles of human nature to believe, that our slaves could witness the removal of their brethren, without an effort on their part to participate in the imaginary benefits of the congressional statute? Let the dazzling project of Messrs. King and Tucker be adopted; and it would not require our voluntary consent to cease to be the owners of slaves. The extinguishment of the rela-

tion of master and servant, would be the work of a day, and humanity would weep, while the hand of desolation registered the issue of the conflict. But admitting, that my apprehensions are illusory. When this grand scheme shall have been consummated, will the advocates of domestic or foreign colonization rest satisfied? Are their views bounded by the circle that encompasses the free negroes? Their avowed declarations contradict the presumption, as I hope fully to establish.

THIRDLY:—The executive of the United States, by his legal adviser, has deemed it expedient to promulge the alarming doctrine, that South-Carolina possesses no right to enact laws, guarding against the corruption and consequent insubordination of her slaves, if such laws tend to prohibit the free ingress and egress of the coloured citizens of Great Britain. The people of the United States are well aware of the causes which led to the adoption of this statutory provision, on the part of South-Carolina. The national government knew that it was an act of necessity, predicated on the immutable principles of self-preservation; and yet, on the petition of an obscure subject of George IV, and without a solitary argument in our defence, or an explanation of the reason of our conduct, we have been solicited to repeal a statute, at once one of the most wise and prudential measures to be found in the archives of our legislation. Although it is notorious, that for a series of years, we have had to contend with internal and external enemies, it is yet, it would seem, confidently expected, that we shall put to hazard our dearest privileges, rather than impair the self-styled liberties of a Hindoo, or a Malay. The determined opposition of South-Carolina, to this improvident Executive proceeding, and her opinion respecting the extent and bearing of the treaty-making power, it was fairly presumable to suppose would have induced the constituted authorities to pause and reflect. Little did we imagine, that the President so soon should have disregarded our remonstrance. By his ratification of the treaty with Colombia, another occasion has been furnished for the recurrence of the

case of Elkison, and hence, for a direct collision with us. In that republic, negroes are admitted to the privileges of citizenship. The treaty guarantees their admission into any port of these United States. Our laws forbid their entrance, under the penalty of seizure and imprisonment. The very serious evil then incident to the treaty with Great Britain, and of which we have so justly complained, is here renewed under circumstances, calculated to excite the regret of every lover of his country. Should a vessel from Colombia or Great Britain be seized by the sheriff, South-Carolina must either atone for the injury, or the national government must compel her to acquiesce in the imperative edict of the President and Senate. A remonstrance from either of the aggrieved parties, would infallibly create such an unfortunate dilemma, as to render the alternative to which I have alluded, unavoidable. The complaints of foreign powers cannot pass unheeded—the faith of the United States must not be questioned—the safety of South-Carolina—the welfare of the slave-holding States—we can never permit to be jeopardized. In the final adjustment of this anticipated controversy, respecting a right of jurisdiction, may wisdom guide our deliberations, and justice adjudge the verdict.

FOURTHLY: It is well known, that the African Colonization Society are about to petition Congress for pecuniary aid; and, with a view of substantiating their claim, and of quieting all apprehensions, they have officially stated, that the sole object of their association is "to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa; or such other place, as Congress shall deem most expedient." From the eighth annual report, it would appear, that this society was founded for the exclusive benefit of the slave-holding States, and that our friends at the East are unwilling to contribute by gift, or otherwise, their money to remove an evil with which they are not afflicted. "The impression at the East," say the Rev. George Boyd and Dr. Ayres, "appeared to be general, that the Colonization Society was an expedient devised

by the holders of slaves to get rid of the free black population; who being at liberty to inform themselves, became troublesome as they became enlightened." This declaration is made in the face of the fact, that the Colonization Society originated with a citizen of New-Jersey, and that its branches, with a few exceptions, are located exclusively in those sections of the country, where slavery is prohibited. It is a fact of general notoriety, that in the Northern and Eastern States, an uniformity of sentiment and of action has invariably prevailed in relation to the degraded condition of free negroes and mulattoes. With them, these people have ever been viewed as a nuisance of incalculable magnitude—as a cancerous affection that was corroding the vitals of their political body.* Yet, in despite of their ceaseless complaints on this subject, as expressed by legislative proceedings, grand jury recommendations, and the consentaneous voice of the press, we are calmly told, that the number of their free coloured population is too inconsiderable to merit their serious attention.† But do we, can we believe, that this association, was instituted for our benefit? Since its organization, have we exulted in its exaggerated success, or contributed our mite to further the avowed beneficence of its views? Consult its records, and see who are its admirers, its supporters. True, it wears a winning and a favourable aspect. "The free people of colour placed midway between freedom and slavery, they know neither the incentives of the one, nor the restraints of the other; but are alike injurious by their conduct and example, to all other classes of the community." Policy and humanity, therefore, strongly recommend their removal. Why then our hostility? Why attempt to frustrate a scheme, that is as honourable to the nation, as it must be acceptable to the Deity? To these questions, I would reply, by propounding other queries. Why have the advocates of colonization, with the constitution of

* See speech of Judge Smith, on the admission of Missouri.

† See Note A. at the end.

their society before them, said to Congress, "lend us your aid to strike the fetters from the slave, and to spread the enjoyment of unfettered freedom over the whole of our favoured and happy land."* Why have they entered into a calculation to show, that $2,000,000, or a capitation tax of less than 25 cents on all the citizens of the United States, would transport the whole annual increase of *bond* and free; and that if 30,000 of the black population be annually removed, the whole could be removed, within 50 years, at the yearly expense of $1,800,000? Why have they declared, that our slaves cannot long be kept in ignorance—that they are surrounded by the memorials of freedom—that the air which they breathe, and the land which they water with their tears is a land of liberty; that they are never slow in learning that they are fettered, and that freedom is the birth right of humanity.† Under the operation of such feelings, they hypocritically inform us, that they will never consent to impair our rights by an unsolicited intercession. As if we were buried in the labyrinth of Ethiopian stupidity, they kindly assure us, that our good is the impelling power of their hearts.‡ But there is one other view of this subject which is more acutely interesting, and vastly more important. The adopted report of their committee sets forth, "that Congress ought to be requested to take under its protection the colony already planted; to make provision for its increase, by suitable appropriations of money, and by authorizing the President to make further purchases of land from the natives, as it may be wanted; to provide for its security, internal and external, by such regulations for its temporary government, as may be deemed advisable, and by authorizing the President to employ a suitable naval force on the coast, as well for the more

* Extract from G. W. P. Custis' speech before the African Colonization Society.

† See an article from the Christian Spectator, in the 8th annual report of the African Colonization Society.

‡ See the speeches of the Members of the African Colonization Society.

effectual suppression of the slave trade, as for the purpose of impressing the natives with respect for the establishment; and to make provision for the purchase, from time to time, of suitable territories, on the south-western coast of Africa, for the establishment of other similar colonies, as far as they can be formed, with a due regard to the national resources, and the public good." There is perhaps not one line of this extract, that is not susceptible of the most conclusive objections. Is it the policy of this government to adopt the colonial system? Is no danger, to the colonies that may be planted, to be apprehended from the numerical superiority and intrigue of the natives? None from the commercial avidity of Great Britain? Is it not more than problematical, that force alone will be able to preserve our establishments from the grasping ambition of foreign powers? These, and a thousand other considerations, may be adduced, to prove the many causes that will conspire to frustrate the design of the friends of foreign colonization. But to accomplish even the legitimate views of the Society, it must be apparent, is not within the reach of their fiscal ability. The concentrated energies of all the States, and the active practical efforts of the national government may possibly ameliorate, but can never effectually eradicate the existing evil, without the introduction of a concomitant, a hundred fold more disastrous to individual and national prosperity and happiness.* Let, however, the States be governed by their own sublimated notions of policy, let them extend the hand of patronage, in a manner compatible with the rights of the several members of the confederacy, but any act of legislation by Congress, on this topic of painful import, the Southern States must view as portending the most alarming results. Whoever has watched the progress of our political events for the last twenty years, whoever remembers the inflammatory speeches on the Missouri bill, must be aware, that no subject, in which the question of slavery may be directly or incidentally introduced, can be canvassed, without

* See the remarks under the second division.

the most malevolent and serious excitement. Will not the constitutionality of appropriating the national resources for the purpose of forming and aiding foreign establishments, be naturally questioned? Will not the avowed design of the Colonization Societies, although covered with the sacred mantles of humanity and patriotism, be scrutinized and investigated? And can we believe, that this investigation will not tend to engender animosities, and to arouse all the latent passions of the mind? Can we hope to witness a pacific examination of any measure, when one party is prompted by the powerful dictates of self-preservation, and the other animated by a fanatical zeal? The character of man forbids the presumption—the history of sectional divisions negatives the inference. But should the petition under consideration, in despite of the spirit of the constitution, and the plainest dictates of reason, of justice and policy, be granted, other consequences, involving the resources and safety of the Union, will inevitably ensue. Once the Colony of Liberia is taken under the protection of the national government, by the assent of Congress, the moral and physical force of the country must be devoted to its support and protection. No invasion of its territory can be permitted, and every obstacle in the way of its prosperity, we shall be solemnly bound to remove, even at the expense of the blood of our citizens. Is it then an improbable conjecture, that Great Britain, prompted by mercantile avidity, and her well known jealousy of the rising strength and greatness of our navy, will use every effort, that intrigue may suggest, to involve us in a defensive war: and that too, to be waged by a force, that from its concentration, will be liable to be crushed in a day, by the numerical superiority of her marine? This event may not occur for a series of years—the records of her diplomacy may still continue to bear the impress of political good faith and friendship. But as soon as the commerce of the Colony shall be of sufficient value to attract her attention, an assumed national grievance will not be wanting, forcibly to wrest it from our hands. To this alarming consideration, predicated

on the history of Great Britain, I would add, that the Colony at Liberia will annually require increased appropriations; taxation will insensibly become more burthensome, and perhaps ultimately levied on those States, for whose benefit, it is said, the system of colonization has been established.

Fifthly:—Admitting, however, that the petition of the African Colonization Society, and the resolutions of Ohio, and Messrs. King and Tucker, shall meet with the merited disapprobation of Congress, and yet, the abolitionists will have gained one essential point. The notoriety of these legislative proceedings, and the fact that emancipation has assumed a popular aspect, will, independent of incidental circumstances, generate a state of feeling, hostile to our tranquillity and interests. The abolitionists cannot hope, nor perhaps, do they desire, that all of their proposals should be immediately sanctioned. Any sudden effort, fundamentally to alter the conditions of a society, they are aware, is unwise, and invariably attended by desolating convulsions. It is their policy then, that one cautious and apparently innocent measure shall insensibly succeed another—the judgment will continue to be racked to devise new expedients; and when their grand scheme shall have been sufficiently matured, the veil of hypocricy will be unmasked, and another fanatical anchorite, like Peter of old, shall declare to us, at the head of his myrmidons, that their cause is the voice of God. Our history has verified the melancholy truth, that one educated slave, or coloured freeman, with an insinuating address, is capable of infusing the poison of insubordination into the whole body of the black population. Possessing our means of information, it cannot be supposed, that he will be unacquainted with our domestic and political transactions. Is it not likely too, that he will intentionally misrepresent facts, and draw with a deeper colouring the lineaments of those baneful pictures, with which he may be furnished? Was not this really done by the leaders of what is termed the Gullah war in this State—of the insurrection at Stono in 1740, and of the contemplated risings of the negroes

at Camden in 1816, and in Charleston, in 1821?—Did not the unreflecting zeal of the North and East, and the injudicious speeches on the Missouri question animate Vesey in his hellish efforts? Were there not indirectly tendered to him for his guidance, by self-styled patriots, and by those whom we have been accustomed to respect as the faithful expounders of the word of God, the most "wild and frantic ideas of the rights of man, the mis-conceived injunctions and examples of Holy Writ? This manifestly indiscreet conduct of the abolitionists constitutes an evil, against which, from its essential nature, we cannot guard. If then such are the anticipated results attendant on the discussion of any question incidentally relating to slavery, what have we not to expect, when our right to our slaves shall be disputed. And can this ever be done? The abolitionists have said, that the dictates of truth and of justice, precede all the enactments of man. They might turn to the 8th Sec. of the 1st Article of the Constitution of the United States, as confirmatory of the power of Congress to extirpate slavery, should the welfare of the nation damand it.—This remark is not an idle chimera of the brain, but was once suggested by as profound a politician as our country has ever boasted, and before an auditory of as wise legislators, as ever graced the Senate Chamber of Greece and Rome. The eloquent Patrick Henry, in his celebrated speech before the Virginia Convention, on the question of ratifying the Constitution of the United States, held this prophetic language. "If you give power to the general government to provide for the general welfare; the means must be commensurate to the end." All the means in the possession of the people must be given to the government which is intrusted with the public defence. In this State (Virginia) there are 236,000 blacks, and there are many in several other States. But there are few or none in the Northern States, and yet if the Northern States shall be of opinion, that our numbers are numberless, they may call forth every national resource. May Congress not say, that every black man must fight? Did we not see a little of this

in the last war? We were not so hard pushed, as to make emancipation general. But acts of assembly passed, that every one who would go to the army should be free. Another thing will contribute to bring this event about—slavery is detested—we feel its fatal effects—we abhor, we deplore it ourselves with all the pity of humanity. Let these considerations, at some future period, press with full force on the minds of Congress. Let that urbanity, which I trust will distinguish America, let the necessity of national defence: let all things I say operate upon their minds, and they will search that paper to see if they have power of manumission. And have they not that power, Sir? Have they not power to provide for the general defence and welfare? May they not think that these call for the abolition of slavery? May they not pronounce all slaves free, and will they not be warranted by that power? There is no ambiguous implication, or logical deduction in this part. The paper speaks to the point. *They have the power in clear unequivocal terms; and they will clearly and certainly exercise it.*" This appalling prediction is about to be verified. Every breeze from the East and North, wafts the intelligence of its speedy consummation. The movements of the public proclaim its fulfilment.*

SIXTHLY:—The press has been emphatically called the palladium of our rights. If shackled by legislative provisions, freedom cannot exist. Although, I do most broadly subscribe to this well known maxim of political truth; yet, should the conductors of our public journals prompted by an unbridled fanaticism promulge opinions, that tend to generate geographical distinctions, fatal to the repose and permanency of

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* Among probably fifty newspapers, see National Intelligencer of August 3d, 1825—Article—Dewey's letters—National Intelligencer, writer, Lycurgus the Younger—National Journal of 13th August, 1825—writer, Philo Lycurgus the Younger—Newark (Ohio) Advocate for July—Boston Recorder for six months past, and Portsmouth (N.H.) Journal of August 27th. From these sources, the reader will find, that the power of Congress to interfere with the rights of the people of the Southern States, over the slave population, is maintained by a large portion of the citizens of the North and East.

our happy institutions, it will become the solemn duty of every citizen to expose their machinations, and to arrest the tendency of their culpable labours. The period then has arrived, for a more powerful and systematic attack on personal and state rights, than it would be easy to find in the records of any nation. Religious and political phrenzy has lighted the torch of desolation in many an unhappy country. It now remains for a moral mania to exhibit the destructiveness of its power. In the newspapers of the North and East, the question of emancipation is as calmly and soberly discussed, as if it were a subject, on the decision of which, the interests of a few individuals alone were concerned. There are but few numbers of their numerous periodical works, that have not an article on this copious topic—scarcely a book, whose pages are not sullied by the most distorted representations of the state of domestic servitude at the South. Whatever may be the nature of the subject, whatever the design of the publication, whether to sketch the characters of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence,* or to instruct the youthful mind in the first rudiments of knowledge,† slavery, slavery, slavery is there. Against the constitutional privileges of the slave-holder, to use the horrible and savage language of the Edinburgh Review, it would seem as if they had "declared interminable war, war for themselves, and for their children, and for their grand-children—war without peace—war without truce—war without quarter."‡

SEVENTHLY:—But the press is but one powerful item in the long catalogue of our grievances. History confirms my assertion, that the Clergy have in all ages exercised an almost boundless sway over the minds and actions of mankind. At the era of superstition and bigotry, they controled exclusively both spiritual and temporal matters. Although from the general diffusion of knowledge, and the ascendant power of education, their influence has been considerably diminished, it is yet of vast and potent magnitude. So long as this influence shall be confined to its legitimate sphere, the revolutions of the sacred wheel of truth and religion, will be constant, regular, salutary. But whenever some direful cause shall propel it beyond its proper orbit, its characteristic traits will be obliterated, and obedience to its admonitions shall cease to be a virtue. Far from the scenes of the merits of which, many of the Clergymen of the non-slave holding states are incited by false philanthropy to decide, abstract moral principles alone constituting their guide. The perverted tenets of the gospel are arrayed against the existence of an established order of polity, which no power but that of God, or the slow progress of time, can ever ameliorate, without bloodshed. A fellow-being is lawfully held in servitude. To unfetter him, they would trample on the bodies of their friends and neighbours, nay, would apply the match of conflagration to that sacred political edifice, which secures their rights—which vigilantly guards that very religion, that teaches peace on earth, and good will to all mankind. "Our slaves," says the Rev. Dr. Lindsley, "are here doomed under Christian masters, to drink the bitterest cup ever presented to the lips of humanity. The very tenderest mercies which they experience at our hands, are cruelty and mockery, compared with the harshest treatment which the Mussulman has ever shown to a Christian subject in time of peace." "Our slaves must be emancipated upon the soil which they cultivate. There is no alternative. And here they will be emancipated, either by the fears, the interest, or the Christian kindness of their oppressors; or they will, by violence, wrest the rod from the tyrant's grasp, and drench in the white man's blood that soil which has so long been watered by their tears." "One daring effort will break their chains forever." "Twenty white men might live very

* Sanderson's Lives.

† The author has read several books for youth, manufactured at Boston and New-York, with a page or two devoted to the description of the horrors and sin of negro slavery.

‡ Edinburgh Review, No 82—Article, West-Indies—a Philadelphia paper, speaks of "fighting" for emancipation.

obedient to their masters' pleasure in Algiers; but twenty thousand, however Christian they might be, would not hesitate to regain their liberty at the hazard of destroying the whole city, and of burying in its ruins the entire population."* Is there in our vocabulary, words of a more insulting and sanguinary import? Is it within the grasp of a Milton's graphic pencil to delineate a picture more satanical, and so faithfully typical of the diabolical hand that sketched it? These declarations were promulged from the site, where but a few moments previous, he had implored, on bended knees, the mercy of Jehovah for himself, and his fellow-men. And who constituted his auditory? Young men from the Slave-holding States,† by whose means, he was supplied with the bread on his table—young men, on whose susceptible minds, this accomplished hyprocrite, hoped to stamp an impression, adverse to the security of their rights and property. The following remarks, it is said, show the grounds of clerical interference, with regard to our slave population. "It is grievous," observes Mr. Gray, in one of his late sermons, "to witness the protracted struggle that right principle has still to maintain with cupidity and power, in regard to the final abolition of slavery—a contest, that on the one side supports itself by no better arguments than a claim of pretended right on the part of the strong to tyrannize over the weak, to perpetuate robbery and violence, and to profit to the utmost by these; to exclude from the rights of humanity, and to embitter with hard bondage, the lives of a certain race of men, and that through interminable generations—a right, like that of Pharaoh, to usurp possession of the persons and services of foreigners, and these foreigners not, as they were in that instance, voluntary settlers in the land—a right, in short, secured by purchase money, *to commit enormous crimes.*" "It seems to me manifest, in a religious point of view, that we have arrived, or are arriving nation-

* Dr Lindsley's farewell sermon, delivered at Princeton, August 15th, 1824.

† Numbers of the students at Princeton, are and have ever been from the Southern states.

ally, at a great crisis as to this question, (emancipation) and that high moral interests are at stake in the decision it is to meet with." If the ends of religion and morality are to be attained by the wanton sacrifice of human victims—if the works of Providence are accomplished by other than slow and beneficent means, then, indeed, such arguments are founded on "right principle;" then is the Bible a creature of fiction, and experience of no value or profit.

EIGHTHLY:—In Great Britain there are 220 Abolition Societies.* In the United States the number is already large (about 50) and daily increasing. Between these societies, a constant interchange of sentiments and of plans is sedulously preserved. Here then is an engine of sufficient moral power to move, and in time to propel the whole force of public opinion, contrary to the plainest dictates of reason, of policy, and of justice, so far as it must vitally affect the permanent interests of our country. The exertions of the British associations are impelled by the wealth and aristocracy of the nation, supported by the two best edited Reviews in the world. The efforts of our societies are animated by visionary political and commercial motives, aided by religious fanaticism. Should the first succeed in the accomplishment of their object, Great Britain will yet be an undivided empire. Her present West-India possessions, whether independent, or subordinate to her jurisdiction,—whether governed by a white or a black population, will ever be to her a source of wealth and power. The numerical superiority of her marine, her boundless pecuniary resources, and the unrivalled extent and perfection of her manufacturing establishments, warrant this inference. But should the day ever dawn, when the slave-holding states shall be obligated by a congressional statute, or any other power, to yield their property, and as a necessary result, their influence in the national councils, farewell to our happy institutions. Once successfully assailed by the demon of division, neither the eloquence of the patriot, nor the prayers of the

* Christian Spectator for September, 1824—page 562.

philanthropist will ever restore the moral cement that united us as a nation.

How often has Great Britain insidiously attempted to sow among these States the seeds of disunion, and to cut the gordian knot that binds them to the confederacy. To her, but more especially to the "Holy Alliance," our institutions are a bane and a curse. From their arms we have naught to fear. The congregated physical force of the world we defy, but we dread secret attacks—the dagger of the night assassin, we cannot evade. Symptoms of an alarming intestine division exist among us. The despots of Europe know, that if judiciously encouraged, a disruption of our union may reward their labours. Great Britain tells us, of what avail is it to abolish the slave trade, if our own citizens are invited to elude the prohibition, by the domestic servitude that our laws confirm. She points to her parliamentary records, as presumptive evidence of her final object relative to her West India possessions; and, if by such arguments and appeals to our honor, our patriotism, and our sympathy, she can fan the flame of emancipation, lighted by the Northern and Eastern States, to a wide spreading conflagration, the true motive of her present extraordinary movement, in the cause of humanity, will be unveiled.

Having thus cursorily noticed a few of the prominent dangers, that threaten the peace and tranquillity of the slave-holding states, it remains for me to investigate their causes. As a preparatory inquiry, I would ask, have the Southern States violated the constitution of the Union? Have they attempted to infringe on state rights? Since the organization of the government, have they done any act to merit the rebuke of the other members of the confederacy? No! They have not been thus accused. Then why this extraordinary and unnatural excitement? Why these cruel efforts to despoil them of their heritage, and to jeopardize the safety of the republic? A satisfactory answer it at hand, and would to God, the necessity of recording it had never existed. At the time of the adoption

of the Federal Constitution, every state in the Union had a slave population. Although the Eastern States prohibited the introduction of slaves into their territories, at a very early period of our history,* they felt no conscientious scruples, in continuing to pour into the Southern ports the fruits of their African expeditions. Their citizens did not then refuse to live on the "price of blood," and to accumulate wealth by "sinews bought and sold."† At this interesting crisis, was the sentinel of humanity asleep, or was the word philanthropy unknown to our lexicographers? So long as their temporal interests were promoted, the sacred principles of Puritanism could not be brought to oppugn a traffic, offensive to God, and dishonourable to human nature. No dogma of their system of ethics was then incongruous with the feelings and the genius of individual enterprize. Congress, at length, at the recommendation of President Jefferson, interposed its protecting shield, and the slave trade ceased to exist. Then, and not till then, were the Northern and Eastern speculators, seemingly aware, of the enormity of the traffic in human flesh. They could no longer glide down the rapid stream of illicit wealth—the sand-bar of public opinion obstructed their guilty progress, and radically changed the course of their principles and their feelings. From this epoch, do I date the origin of those nefarious attacks on our rights and property, which now have assumed so alarming an aspect.—This permanent interruption to their fiscal operations, was the primary cause of that unhappy excitement, on which self-preservation invites me to animadvert. But the original motive which generated this dissatisfaction, would probably soon have been buried in the womb of time, had not a political mania, furnished a new and a more copious vent for the display of sectional bickerings, and unmanly jealousies. I allude to the adopted deliberations of the Hartford Conven-

* Virginia abolished the slave trade in 1778, two years before Massachusetts, and nine years before any other State.—*Walsh's Appeal.*

† See Note B. at the end.

tion, and their annunciation of the unwarranted assertion, that the war against Great Britain was brought about by the influence of the Southern States to trammel the growing commerce of their Eastern neighbours. These extraordinary and unfriendly feelings, originating with, and propelled by commercial avarice, have at length assumed a political shape, that bids fair to realize the flagitious hope of the demagogue and the fanatic. The measure of their dernier resort is now exhibited in a tangible form, free from all obscurity and doubt, and an expose of its character and bearing is justified by every consideration of duty and interest. The 3d clause of the 2d section of the 1st article of the Constitution of the United States, declares, that "representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, *three fifths of all other persons.*" It is now, for the first time asserted, that in framing the Constitution of the United States, the representation of three fifths of our slaves was a "great concession" on the part of the Northern and Eastern States; that it was "wrung from them by their affection to the Union, and their wish to preserve it from dissolution." By a reference to the Journals of the old Congress, it will appear, that this assertion has no foundation in truth. No compromise was ever made—none was ever suggested, and the declaration to the contrary is advanced only to mislead public opinion, with a view to secure to the non-slave holding states a fixed ascendancy in the representation in Congress. Our slaves now are, and have ever been as valuable a part of the population of the Union, as any other equal number of inhabitants, and on true political principles are entitled to be *fully represented* in the national councils. During the Revolution, "they were in numerous instances the Pioneers, and in all, the labourers of our armies. To their hands were owing the erection of the greatest part of the fortifications raised for the protection

of our country—some of which, particularly Fort Moultrie, gave, at that early period of the inexperience and untried valor of our country, immortality to the American army. And in the Northern States, numerous bodies of them were enrolled into, and fought by the sides of the whites, the battles of the revolution." "Who raise your armies—equip your navies—pay your public debt—enable you to erect forts, and arsenals, and block-houses—who nerve the arm of the government, and enable you to lift it for the protection, the honor, and extension of our beloved republic into regions where none but brutes, and savages more brutish than them, have before roamed? Who are your real sources in war; and the best, I had almost said nearly the only sources of your commerce in peace? Who pays the expenses, and who, in fact, enable you to go on with your government at all, and prevent it from stopping? I will shew you by the papers I hold in my hand, who does it. This, sir, is your Secretary of the Treasury's report, made a few weeks ago, by which it appears all the exports of native products, from Maine to Pennsylvania inclusive, for the last year, (1819) amounted to only about *eighteen millions of dollars*, while those among the slave-holding states, to the southward of Pennsylvania, amounted to *thirty-two millions or thereabouts*—thereby enabling themselves to import as much as the others, and furnishing the Treasury with double the amount the Northern and Eastern States do. And here let me ask from whence these exports arise? By whose hands are they made? And I answer, certainly by the slaves—and yet these valuable inhabitants, without whom your very government could not go on, and the labour of two of whom in the Southern States is more valuable to it, than the labour of five in the Eastern States—the States owning and possessing them, are denied a representation but for 3-5ths on this floor; while the whole of the comparatively unproductive inhabitants of the Northern and Eastern States, are fully represented here. Is this just; is it fair; is it equal. And yet they have the modesty to complain that the representation is unjust and unequal; and that they have

not the return made them they expected, by taxing the slaves, and making them bear a proportion of the public burthen."* Such are the sentiments of a distinguished member of the old Congress, and the only member of the general Convention, which framed the Constitution of the United States in the Sixteenth Congress. To their truth every Southern bosom, at least, faithfully responds, and their legitimacy has been questioned only by those feverish and dissatisfied spirits, who delight eternally to wander in quest of delusive sectional benefits. My political philosophy teaches me, that whatever measures tend to further the interests of a part of a nation, tend equally to advance its general welfare. Our Republic, *imperium in imperio*, is an anomaly in the history of governments. Each State is emphatically a distinct power, with all the necessary powers of sovereignty, and it is not to be expected, nor desired, that its citizens should divest themselves of the feelings incident to a generous rivalship. But to this rivalship there are prescribed limits, beyond which it cannot pass, without a train of untoward consequences. Our pseudo-patriots are fully aware, that the tide of emigration sets fast westward, and that new States are rapidly springing up in that quarter. To check this portentous evil is a desideratum of too vast a magnitude ever to be abandoned, more especially when it is remembered, that new States cannot rise in the East, and that the territorial limits of the North are inconceivably circumscribed, when compared with the vast expanse of the West. But will domestic servitude be permitted in the territories that may be admitted into the Union? Has not Congress assumed the power "of cutting down, in future, any increase in the prospective representation of the South and West?" The present number of the Slave-holding States is eleven, to which add East and West Florida, (although it is probable a great effort will be made to constitute these territories one State) and Arkansaw, and we then shall have a majority in the Se-

* Mr. Charles Pinckney's speech on the Missouri Bill, delivered February, 1820.

nate.* To the Southern States, this ascendancy in one branch of the Legislature will be of incalculable advantage, for although the Congressional Act that set limits to our emigration will not thereby be repealed, it will yet tend, perhaps forever, to prevent further encroachments on our chartered rights. Under the influence of these impressions, which the Abolitionists cannot but view as adverse to the consummation of their schemes, no available resource is now unemployed to induce Congress, prior to the incorporation of Florida and Arkansaw into the confederacy, to legislate on the topic of slavery, and "whenever this subject," says the New-York Review, "shall be constitutionally before the National Legislature, their (the Northern) votes and voices will be always consonant with the principles of that declaration which first gave birth to the Republic."

But the alleged grievance, of the undue representation of the Southern States in the National Legislature, has no existence, as will fully appear from the following statistical facts:—

CENSUS OF 1820.

	Free Persons.	*Senators.*
Massachusetts,	523,287	2
Maine,	298,335	2
New-Hampshire,	244,161	2
Vermont,	235,764	2
Connecticut,	275,187	2
Rhode-Island,	83,011	2
	1,659,745	12

	Free Persons.	*Senators.*
Maryland,	299,952	2
Virginia,	640,213	2
North-Carolina,	433,812	2
South-Carolina,	250,958	2
Kentucky,	437,585	2
Tennessee,	342,706	2
Georgia,	191,333	2
	2,596,559	14

* Should but one State be formed of the Florida Territory, the non-slave-holding States, after the admission of Michigan will regain their ascendancy in the Senate.

	Free Persons.	Senators.
New-Hampshire,	244,161	2
Vermont,	235,764	2
Rhode-Island,	83,011	2
	562,936	6

	Free Persons.	Senators.
Virginia,	640,213	2

It is thus apparent, that in the Senate, the Eastern States have one Representative for every 138,312 free persons, and that the Southern have one for every 185,468. Whilst three of the Eastern States, with 562,936 free persons have six Senators, Virginia with 640,213, has but two.

Population of the United States at the late Census,	9,660,265
Deduct Slaves,	1,531,436
White population,	8,128,829
Total population of the Eastern States,	1,659,890
Deduct Slaves,	145
White population,	1,659,745

Total number of Senators, 48.

As 8,128,829 : 48 : : 1,659,745 : 9.

House of Representatives.

White population of the U. States at the late Census,	8,128,829
That of the Eastern States,	1,659,745

Total number of Members, 212.

Actual Representatives of the six Eastern States, 39.

As 8,128,829 : 212 : : 1,659,745 : 43.

Thus, if we were to discard all the Slaves of the United States in the apportionment of Members of Congress, the difference in favour of the Eastern States would be but four Members in a body of 212, whilst in the Senate, a body of 48 Members, they have three more than they are fairly entitled to.*

* In 1815, calculations, with nearly similar results, were made by Mathew Carey, founded on the Census of 1810.

The value of our Slaves to the Union, is shown by the following comparative statistical Table:

STATES.	Amount annually exported from 1802 to 1812.	Proportion of the annual value exported to the total annual value exported from all the States.	Amount annually exported.	Proportion of the annual value exported to the total annual value exported from all the States.
	DOMESTIC PRODUCE.		FOREIGN MERCHANDIZE.	
N. Hampshire,	312,225	0. 83 pr. ct	139,072	0. 45 pr. ct
Vermont,	185,246	0. 49 " "	45,110	0. 14 " "
Massachusetts incl'y Maine,	5,347,764	14. 28 " "	8,103,476	26. 51 " "
Rhode-Island,	756,157	2. 01 " "	695,574	2. 27 " "
Connecticut,	1,065,148	2. 84 " "	49,048	0. 16 " "
Maryland,	3,385,378	9. 03 " "	4,867,300	15. 92 " "
Virginia,	4,101,923	10. 95 " "	256,135	0. 83 " "
N. Carolina,	626,488	1. 67 " "	6,235	0. 02 " "
S. Carolina,	4,771,258	12. 74 " "	1,437,348	4. 70 " "
*Georgia,**	1,745,889	4. 66 " "	19,299	0. 06 " "

* Seybert's Statistics.

"It appears," says Mathew Carey, in his *Olive Branch*, "beyond the possibility of doubt or denial, that the five (six) Eastern States, since the formation of the Government to 1810, have exported of foreign and domestic articles, including an immense amount of Southern productions, only about $299,000,000, of which a vast proportion was of foreign productions. But that the Southern States have in the same period exported to foreign countries no less a sum than $509,000,000, principally of their own productions, or manufactures, exclusive of the prodigious amount of their cotton, tobacco, rice, naval stores, &c. &c. &c. exported by the Eastern States."

For the year ending the 30th September, 1823, (Niles' Register, vol. 27th,) the value of the exports of the growth, produce and manufacture of the United States, was $47,155,408, of which the Southern States exported of cotton, rice and tobacco alone, $28,549,177.

Cotton, - - - - -	$20,445,520
Rice, - - - - - -	1,820,985
Tobacco, - - - - - -	6,282,672
	$28,549,177

This statement strikingly demonstrates the folly and injustice of the ceaseless clamour of the North and East, relative to the gross inequality of the representative system, so far as it affects their political interests; and exhibits the support that the different States give to the Union.

The value of our slaves is at least $300,000,000, and if the deterioration of our real property, consequent on a premature emancipation is considered, their real value may be stated at $600,000,000. "If we lose them, the value of the lands they cultivate will be diminished, in all cases one half, and in many they will become wholly useless, and an annual income of at least forty millions of dollars will be lost to the government—the loss of which, will not only be felt by the non-slave-holding States, but by the whole Union—for to whom at present do the Eastern States most particularly, and the Eastern and Northern generally, look for the employment of their shipping in transporting our bulky and valuable products, and bringing us the manufactures and merchandize of Europe. Another thing, in case of these losses being brought on us, and our being forced into a division of the Union, what becomes of your public debt, *who* are to pay this and how will it be paid?"* "If justice, says Judge Tucker, "demands the emancipation of the slave, she also, seems to plead for the owner, and for his creditor. 'Tis true, the claims of nature are stronger than those which arise from social institutions, but nature also dictates to us to provide for our own safety, and authorizes all *necessary* measures for that purpose." "*Nature*, *time* and *sound policy* must co-operate with each other to produce such a change as is contemplated: if either be neglected, the work will be incomplete, dangerous, and not improbably *destructive*." These considerations should sink deep into the minds of my countrymen. I cannot believe them unjust, or that they would willingly jeopardize the safety of their domestic altars. I cannot believe, that they will ever permit sectional feelings to betray them into the prosecution of measures, calculated to raze the foundation of our splendid political edifice.

* Mr. C. Pinckney's speech on the Missouri Bill.

I have now done with this painful investigation.—The facts here recorded, cannot be controverted, tho' the reasoning predicated on their notoriety may be invalid and unsound—the welfare of my country may have hurried me into improvident conjectures. God grant, that the pen of the historian may never register the realization of my apprehensions, and with reference to the Constitution of these United States, from the bottom of my heart, I echo with Blackstone, the petition of Paulo, *Esto Perpetua!*

NOTE A.

Number of Free coloured Persons in the non-slave-holding States, at the late census.

	Col'd. persons.
Eastern States,	20,079
Middle do.	84,899
Western do.	6,410
	111,388
Number of free coloured persons in the slave-holding States, at the late census,	116,646,
or, 5,258 more than in the above States.	

NOTE B.

From the 1st of January, 1804, to the 31st December, 1807, there were imported at Charleston 39,075 slaves.

OF THIS NUMBER,

	Slaves.
Rhode-Island imported	7,958
Hartford,	250
Boston,	200
Baltimore,	750
Savannah,	300
Merchants and Planters of Charleston and vicinity,	2,006*

*Smith's speech on the Missouri Bill.