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*** START OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK A REVIEW OF UNCLE TOM'S CABIN; OR, AN ESSAY ON SLAVERY ***

**A REVIEW OF UNCLE TOM'S CABIN;
OR,
AN ESSAY ON SLAVERY,**

By

A. WOODWARD, M.D.

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PREFACE.

For the last two years a "still small voice" has constantly whispered to me, in private and in public, at home and abroad, saying, *write!* It was in vain that I strove to quiet this inward monitor by pleading incapacity, poverty, want of time, &c.; he heeded not my excuses. I inquired what would become of my dependant family, should I relinquish the practice of my profession and engage in other pursuits? He answered, "Put thy trust in the Lord, and *write!*" I yielded not to his monitions, but continued with unabated ardor the practice of my profession, until the latter part of autumn, 1852, when I was suddenly prostrated by disease, and forced to desist from the practice of medicine. I then commenced as soon as I was able, the preparation of a work, which I contemplated bringing before the public at some future period, provided I should live. In accordance with the plan of the proposed work, an essay on African slavery was to close the volume. After I had finished about a hundred pages manuscript, in order, the question of African slavery in the United States suddenly thrust itself upon my mind with such force, that I found it somewhat difficult to investigate any other subject. My mind at the time was enervated by disease, and by no means well disciplined. Hence I could not control it. For this reason, I at once concluded to draw up a skeleton or outline of my essay on slavery; after which I contemplated resuming

my work in regular order. It was about this time that my health rapidly declined, and I became so feeble that I could not sit at my table more than one or two hours in twenty-four. In this condition, by a slow process, I finished from chapter i, to the close of chapter xiii. The Introduction was written afterwards, to supply some obvious defects in that portion of the work alluded to.

None need tell me that there are defects and imperfections in the work. I am well aware of the fact, but could not remedy them without re-writing the whole, and that was impracticable under the circumstances. Critics need not trouble themselves about its defects as a literary production, as I lay no claim to merit on that ground. Having been actively engaged in the practice of an arduous and perplexing profession for the last twenty-five years, I am aware that my qualifications for authorship must be somewhat defective. I was moreover forced to write, when my corporeal system was exhausted, and my mental powers oppressed by a complication of diseases. There are not many, I conceive, who will find any difficulty in clearly comprehending the ideas I intended to convey; if so, my object is accomplished.

The work was written under disadvantageous circumstances; but such as it is, I cast it out on the great sea of public opinion to abide its fate. If good is accomplished thereby, I shall rejoice; but if it is destined to sink into oblivion, I shall console myself with the reflection that I had no other object in writing, but the correction of error and the welfare of my fellow creatures. I may err, but I appeal to "the searcher of all hearts" for the purity of my motives and intentions. Whatever may be the effects of this work on the public mind; light and truth were my aim, and the best interests of my fellow beings, my sole object.

I appear before the public with reluctance, and am exceedingly mortified that it has fallen to my lot to treat any portion of my fellow citizens with severity; but I am nevertheless prepared to meet the sneers and frowns of those implicated. I shall offer no apology for the harsh language which will be occasionally found in this volume; as a desperate disease requires an active remedy. If I could, however, have re-written the work, I would have changed, in some places, the phraseology. I have brought many and serious charges against the abolition faction in the United States, but those who are not guilty of the charges alleged, need not feel aggrieved thereby. My remarks, for the most part refer to what is called *ultra-abolitionism*.

It is probable that I have occasionally quoted the language of others, without marking the same as a quotation. If so, it was not intentional. I could not, in doubtful cases, refer to writers whose ideas I may have used, on account of ill health. In quoting from the Bible I relied almost entirely on my own memory; but I presume I am generally correct.

I have now finished a task—by no means a pleasant one—and I have done it with a trembling hand, for the subject is a delicate one—a subject of intense interest, under the existing circumstances, to every American citizen. To me, the signs of the times appear to be ominous—to forebode evil! I sometimes fear that our political sun has passed the zenith—lowering clouds intercept his rays, and at times obscure his former brightness, majesty and glory. The ship of State is tossed by furious winds, and threatened by boisterous waves—rocks and quicksands are on the right and left—an awful wreck awaits her, and can only be averted by vigilance, prudence, caution and circumspection on the part of her crew.

GREENCASTLE, IND., May, 1853.

Transcriber's Note: The **CONTENTS** are printed at the end of this book.

**REVIEW OF UNCLE TOM'S CABIN;
OR
AN ESSAY ON SLAVERY.**

INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

Since the following chapters were prepared for the press, my attention was directed by a friend, to a letter published in a Northern paper, which detailed some shocking things, that the writer had seen and heard in the South; and also some severe strictures on the institution of domestic slavery in the Southern States, &c.

I have in the following work, related an anecdote of a young lawyer, who being asked how he could stand up before the court, and with unblushing audacity state falsehoods; he very promptly answered, "I was well paid; I received a large fee, and could therefore afford to lie." I infer from the class of letters

referred to, that the writers are generally "well paid" for their services.

It has long been a practice of abolition editors in the Northern States, when they were likely to run short of matter, to employ some worthy brother, to travel South, and manufacture articles for their papers. Many of those articles are falsehoods; and most of them, if not all, are exaggerations.

No man who will consent to go south, and perform this dirty work, is capable of writing truth. And moreover, many of the letters published in abolition papers, purporting to have been written from some part of the South, were concocted by editors and others at home; the writers never having traveled fifty miles from their native villages. But some of them do travel South and write letters; and it is of but little consequence what they see, or what they hear; they have engaged to write letters, and letters they must write: letters too, of a certain character; and if they fail to find material in the South, it then devolves on them to manufacture it.

They have engaged to furnish food for the depraved appetites of a certain class of readers in the North; and furnish it they must, by some means. They truly, are an unlucky set of fellows, for I never yet heard of one of them, who was so fortunate as to find anything good or praiseworthy among Southern people. This is very strange indeed! They travel South with an understanding on the part of their employer, and with an intention on their part, to misrepresent the South, and to excite prejudice in Northern minds. How devoid of patriotism, truth and justice. The mischief done by these misrepresentations is inconceivable. If every abolitionist North of Mason and Dixon's line, were separately and individually asked, from whence he derived his opinions and prejudices in relation to Southern men, and Southern slavery, nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand would answer, that they had learned all that they knew about slavery and slaveholders from the publication of abolitionists: not one in a thousand among them having ever seen a southern slave or his master. "Truth is stranger than fiction;" and it is also becoming more rare. No wonder people are misled, when the country is flooded with abolition papers and Uncle Tom's Cabin. No one can read such publications without being misled by them, unless he is, or has been, a resident of a slave State. It is thus that materials are furnished for abolition papers and such publications as Uncle Tom's Cabin; and it is thus that the public mind is poisoned, public morals vitiated, and honest but ignorant men led to say and do many things, which must, sooner or later, result in deplorable consequences, unless something can be brought to bear on the public mind that will counteract the evil. The writer hopes, through the blessing of God, that the following pages will prove an efficient antidote.

Southern people have their faults; they err in many things: and far be it from me, under such circumstances, to become their apologist. It is not as a defender of the South I appear before the public, but in defense of my country, North and South. We are all brethren; we are all citizens of the same heaven-favored country; and how residents of one part of it can spend their lives in vilifying, traducing, and misrepresenting those of another portion of it, is, to me, unaccountable. It is strange, indeed! I entreat my countrymen to reflect soberly on these things; and in the name of all that is sacred I entreat you, my abolition friends, to pause a while, in your mad career, and review the whole ground. It may be that some of you may yet see the error of your course. I cannot give you all up. I trust in God that you are not all given over to "hardness of heart and reprobacy of mind." A word to the reader. Pass on—hear me through—never mind my harsh expressions and uncouth language. Truth is not very palatable, to any of us, at all times. Crack the nut; it may be that you will find a kernel within that will reward you for your trouble.

False impressions have been made, and continue to be made by the writers alluded to above; sectional hatred is engendered, North and South; and if this incessant warfare continues, it will, at no very distant day, produce a dissolution of this Union. This result is inevitable if the present state of things continues. Has the agitation and discussion of the question of African slavery, in the free States, resulted in any good, or is it ever likely to result in any? I flatter myself that I have clearly shown, in the following pages, that hitherto its consequences have been evil and only evil, and that nothing but evil can grow out of it in future. I think that I have adduced historical facts which clearly and indisputably prove that northern agitation has served but to rivet the chains of slavery; that it has retarded emancipation; that it has augmented the evils and hardships of slavery; that it has inflicted injury on both masters and servants; that it has engendered sectional hatred which endangers the peace, prosperity, and perpetuity of the Union. Why, then, will abolitionists persist in a course so inconsistent; so contrary to reason; so opposed to truth, righteousness, and justice? They need not tell me that slavery is an evil; that slavery is a curse; that slavery is a hardship, and that it ought to be extinguished. I admit it; but this is not the question. On this head I have no controversy with them. The question is, whether their course of procedure is ever likely to remove or mitigate the evils of slavery. Are we prepared, in our efforts to remove the evils of slavery, to incur the risk of subjecting ourselves to calamities infinitely worse than African slavery itself? Or rather, is there the remotest probability, supposing the plans and schemes of abolitionists should be carried out, the Union dissolved, and the country plunged into civil war, that slavery would thereby be abolished in the southern States?

These are the questions at issue between the abolition party and the writer; and these are among the prominent questions discussed in the following pages. It is true that I have hastily glanced at slavery in all its bearings, but it was the fell spirit of abolitionism which first attracted my attention, and induced me to investigate the subject. It was its revolutionary designs and tendencies, its contempt of all law, human and Divine, that first impressed my mind with the necessity of prompt and efficient action on the part of the friends of our country. It was the unparalleled circulation of Uncle Tom's Cabin that aroused my fears, and excited in my mind apprehensions of danger. If such productions as Uncle Tom's Cabin are to give tone to public sentiment in the North, then assuredly are we in danger. Should Mrs. Stowe's vile aspersion of southern character, and her loose, recklessly and wicked misrepresentations of the institution of slavery in the southern States ever become accredited in the northern section of the Union I fear the

consequence. I sometimes survey the condition of my country with consternation and dismay, and tremble in prospect of what may yet occur. History records the rise and fall of nations. We read of revolutions, butcheries, and blood. We have flattered ourselves that our beloved country for ages to come, and probably forever, is destined to escape these calamities. But, O God! how mortifying the reflection that there are now, in our midst, religious fanatics and political demagogues, who for a little paltry gain or notoriety would plunge us into all these evils!

I have repeatedly, in the following pages charged the abolition faction with revolutionary designs and tendencies. Some may doubt the truth and justice of the charge; but I beg such persons to recollect that abolition writers and orators have, times without number, avowed an intention to overthrow this government; but it matters not what their avowed designs and intentions are, for their lawless and seditious course leads directly to that result. If they ever succeed in carrying out their plans and schemes we know that revolution and disunion will be the consequence. It was remarked by Mr. Frelinghuysen, of New York, on a certain occasion, that "abolitionists are seeking to destroy our happy Union." Chancellor Walworth says, "They are contemplating a violation of the rights of property secured by the Constitution, and pursuing measures which must lead to civil war."

The union of these States is based on what has been called the slavery compromise; and the Union would have never taken place, had not the right to hold slave property been secured to the slave states, by a provision in the Federal Constitution. Had not the free states relinquished all right to interfere with slavery in the slave states, no union of the slave and free states could ever have taken place. The right to hold slave property, and to manage, control, and dispose of that property in their own way, and at their own discretion, was secured to the slave states by a solemn contract between the slave and non-slaveholding states, and that contract binds every individual in this nation, North and South. Slave property then, is held under the protection of the supreme law of the nation, and any citizen invading the rights of the South, is guilty of a civil trespass. Hence, all interference with slavery by northern men, is a violation of the spirit, if not of the letter of that constitutional compact, which binds these states together. Any attempt by northern men, either direct or indirect, to dispossess the South of her slave property, or in any way to endanger or injuriously to affect their interests therein, is a violation of the supreme law of the nation. It is an act of bad faith—of gross injustice, and none but bigoted corrupt fanatics, and low political demagogues, would be guilty of so base an act.

It is clear then, that the slave states never will yield to the requisitions of abolitionists, and should that faction ever become the dominant party in the free states, dissolution of the Union will be a necessary consequence *Intelligent men*, who will persist in a course of conduct so unjust, so illegal, with a perfect knowledge of the probable consequences; are to all intents and purposes, as truly traitors to their country, as was Benedict Arnold; and as such, they should be viewed and treated. Mark my words, reader, I say, *intelligent men*, for nine out of every ten among those who have been seduced into the abolition net, are objects of pity, and not of contempt or indignation. Poor souls, they are ignorant; it is, I suppose, their misfortune and not their fault.

In order that I may be clearly understood, I will reiterate the foregoing argument. Before the adoption of the Federal constitution, the states were to a great extent sovereign and independent, and of course were in a condition to settle terms on which to form a more perfect union. The North and the South, otherwise, the slave-holding and the non-slaveholding states met in convention to settle those *terms*. The North in convention conceded to the South the right to hold slave property; and the sole right of making all laws necessary for the regulation of slavery. It was thus, we see, by a solemn contract or agreement, that the South acquired exclusive right to control domestic slavery within her borders. What right then, have the citizens of free states, to intermeddle with it? They have none, as long as the Federal Constitution is the supreme law of the land. The union of these states is based on that instrument, and whenever we cease faithfully to observe its provisions, the Union must necessarily cease to exist. All interference then on the part of the North, endangering the rights or injuriously affecting the interests of the South in slave property, is a violation of the supreme law of the nation. I need not say more; the argument must be clear to every one; and I think the duty of all concerned equally clear.

Ralfe, referring to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, says, "It was no easy task to reconcile the local interests and discordant prepossessions of different sections of the United States, but it was accomplished by acts of concession." Madison says, "Mutual deference and concession were absolutely necessary," and that the Southern States never would have entered the Union, without concession as to slave property. And Governor Randolph informs us, "That the Southern States conceived their property in slaves to be secured by this arrangement?"

We are also informed by Patrick Henry, Chief Justice Tigman, Chancellor Kent, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Justice Shaw, Chief Justice Parker, Edward Everett and others, that no union of these states ever could have taken place, had not the right to hold slave property, and the sole right to control that property been conceded to the southern States. And, Edward Everett, moreover, tells us that the northern States "deemed it a point of the highest policy, to enter with the slave states into the present Union." The reader will observe, that a majority of the authorities referred to, are northern men of the highest distinction.

I remarked in the preceding pages, that whoever invades the rights of the South in her slave property, violates the law of the land, and is guilty of a civil trespass; and I will now prove from the sacred record, that in opposing the civil laws of their country, they violate the laws of God, and consequently are guilty of a moral trespass. The primitive church of Christ was, under all circumstances, and at all times, subordinate to the civil authorities. They never stopped to inquire whether the laws were good or bad, just or unjust; their business was to obey the laws and not to find fault with them.

Christ and his apostles enjoined on their followers unreserved obedience and submission to the civil authorities. I need not here quote the language of our Saviour; it must be familiar to every Bible reader. I will, however, quote the remarks of St. Paul and St. Peter, on this topic. The former says, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." "Whosoever therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation." He instructs Bishop Titus to put his flock "in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, and to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work." "To speak evil of no man, to be no brawlers, but gentle, showing meekness unto all men." St. Peter says, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of men for the Lord's sake; whether to the king as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers." There is neither precept nor precedent in the Bible, which will countenance opposition to the laws of our country. No, not one word in the sacred volume, that can be thus construed. Opposition and resistance to the civil authorities, is one of the many corruptions which have crept into the church of Christ. Men "have become wise above what is written;" and truly as our Saviour said unto the ancient scribes and pharisees, "they shall receive the greater damnation."

What a marked contrast between Christ and his apostles, and the apostles of modern reform, *alias* abolitionists. How dare they professing Christianity to fly in the face of the laws of their country? How dare they resist the execution of those laws? How dares Mrs. Stowe inculcate disobedience and open resistance to her country's laws? Great God! shall our country ever be freed from the dark and damnable deeds of religious fanatics? Shall our country ever be freed from the curse of curses, religious ultraism, bigotry, and delusion? Let those who profess to be the followers of the meek and lowly Jesus—those who profess to take the Bible as their guide, cease from their unwarrantable and seditious opposition to the laws of their country; or otherwise let them renounce the Bible, lay aside their Christian garb, and appear before us in their true colors, that we may know who they are, what they are, whom they serve, and under what standard they are fighting. Throw off your masks, gentlemen; don't try to deceive us any longer; some of us understand you, and we intend to expose you, and hold you up to the public gaze, as long as the good Lord will vouchsafe to us health and strength sufficient to sit in our seats, and hold a pen in our hands. Your conduct is a reproach to the Christian name, a stigma on the Christian character.

SECTION II.

There are nearly four millions of slaves in the United States; and the question now presents itself to every free born American citizen; what are we to do with them? The abolition party demand their immediate emancipation. Is it practicable, safe, or proper? What would be the consequences? What would be the consequence of turning loose upon ourselves four millions of human beings, to prowl about like wild beasts without restraint, or control, and commit depredations on the white population? Four millions of human beings without property or character, and utterly devoid of all sense of honor and shame, or any other restraining motive or influence whatever! And they too, under the ban of a prejudice, as firm, as fixed as the laws which govern the material universe. In that event, is it not probable; is it not almost certain, that there would be either a general massacre of the slaves, or otherwise that the white population would be forced to abandon the soil? Will any one pretend to deny that either entire extinction of the African race would be likely to result from universal emancipation, supposing the manumitted slaves should remain in our midst, or that otherwise the consequences would be disastrous to the white population? None, I presume. What then shall we do? The slaves are among us; they must be governed and provided for, and is it not our duty in making provisions for them, to act with reference to the general welfare of all concerned—white and black? Is there an intelligent man in this nation, who has reflected on the subject, that really believes that the condition of the African race in the United States, would be bettered or improved in any respect, by immediate emancipation? I have clearly shown in the following pages that it would not. Facts prove the contrary. Yes, stubborn undeniable facts, that none but a knave or a fool will gainsay. We know that improvidence, idleness, vagrancy, and crime, are the fruits of emancipation; not only in the United States, but also in the West Indies. We have already stated on good English authority, (Lord Brougham), that the West India free negroes, are rapidly retrograding into their original barbarism and brutality; and the London Times quite recently asserted, that the British emancipation experiment was a failure; that the negro would not work; that his freedom was little better than that of a brute; that the island was going to the dogs, and the negroes would have to be removed, &c. Have we any reason to believe, that a different result would follow emancipation in the United States? No, we have none, for it is a notorious fact, that free negroes are everywhere idle and vicious in this country, and that crime among them is ten-fold more common than it is among Southern slaves.

We hear a great deal about emancipation—the freedom of the African race—free negroes, &c. It is all sheer nonsense. Strictly speaking, there is not a free negro in the limits of the United States! There never has been, and there never will be. The white and the black races have never co-existed under the same government, on equal footing, and never can. Their liberty is only nominal! "It is all a lie and a cheat!" Is the negro free any where in the Northern States? No, he is not. There is no sympathy between the two races. Northern people loathe and despise free negroes. They cannot bear the sight or smell of them. The negro then is not free anywhere in the Northern States. Not only the prejudices, but also the laws of the free states proclaim it impossible: and the prejudices of the whites against the African race is stronger in the free states, than it is in the slave states. Every free state in this Union is disposed to cast them off as a nuisance. They cannot bear their presence. Their very color renders them odious; and this aversion to the African race, is daily becoming stronger and stronger in every free state in this union. Nothing can counteract it—nothing can overcome it. It is in the very nature of things impossible. No, no! Negro novels piled mountain high in every street and alley, in every city and village in this Union, will accomplish nothing for the poor despised African. "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots," then

may ye who are accustomed to loathe, shun, and cast off the African race, receive them to your kind embraces.

It is true that abolitionists affect to have a great deal of sympathy for them while they are slaves in the South, but they have none for the ignorant, degraded, half starved, ill clad, free negroes in the North. No wonder, for their Southern sympathy costs them nothing, but Northern sympathy might empty their purses. Show me the abolitionist who is willing to meet the free negro on terms of equality. No man can point to one—no, not one. The African is neglected, scorned, and trodden under foot every where; by abolitionists and every one else. This prejudice is invincible, irremediable. The poor African is hopelessly and irretrievably doomed to scorn, contempt and degradation while in the midst of the white race. Is the African allowed the ordinary privileges of the white man any where in all the liberty loving North? Show me the spot! Where is it? Show me the state—show me the neighborhood—the man—the woman among all the white race in all the North, who is willing to allow the despised African, the ordinary privileges of white men. Ah! you cannot do it. Shame! shame! Hold! cease,—for God's sake cease your hypocritical cant about Southern slavery. No! no! there is not a state in all this union where they enjoy the privileges of white men. There is not—there never has been—and there never will be! They are no where equal parties in an action at law. They are no where credible witnesses against white men. They are no where allowed the right of suffrage; or if the law allows it, they are not suffered to avail themselves of it. They are no where admitted as judge, juror, or counsellor. They are no where eligible to any office of profit, trust, or honor. Their children are no where admitted into the same school-room with the whites. They are no where protected, encouraged, and rewarded in all the North. They are victims of injustice, scorned and despised in every free state in this confederacy. And abolitionists are as far from making equals of them, or associating with them, as any one else.

The city of Baltimore presents the largest and most intelligent mass of free negroes found in the United States. These in an appeal to the citizens of Baltimore, and through them to the people of the United States, say, "we reside among you, and yet are strangers,—natives, yet not citizens—surrounded by the freest people and the most republican institutions in the world, and yet we enjoy none of the immunities of freedom. As long as we remain among you, we shall be a distinct race—an extraneous mass of men irrecoverably excluded from your institutions. Though we are not slaves—*we are not free.*"

Judge Blackford, speaking of free negroes, says, "They are of no service here, (in the free states,) to the community or themselves. They live in a country, the favorite abode of liberty, without the enjoyment of her rights."

Dr. Miller says, "if liberated and left among the whites, they would be a constant source of corruption, annoyance and danger. They could never be trusted as faithful citizens."

There is at last no sympathy between the two races, except in the slave states. There, for the most part, we find kind feelings and strong attachments between the slaves and the families in which they reside. I must, however, refer the reader to other parts of this volume for additional remarks on the subjects discussed in the preceding pages,—more particularly to chapters, 4, 5, 6, 7. But I would ask, in the name of all that is sacred, what advantage, what benefit under these circumstances is conferred on the Southern slaves by emancipation? I know from personal observation, that Southern slaves are better fed, better clothed, and better housed than are free negroes, either North or South; in short, they are better paid for their labor. The South is the only part of the United States, where ministers of the gospel are successful in Christianizing the African race—the only part of the United States where there is anything like good order, good morals, or Christianity among them. The only place at last, on this continent, where the African is cared for and provided for, and where there is any thing like sympathy, kindness or fellow-feeling between the two races.

It would be well for the people of the United States to inquire into the origin of this slavery agitation. It is of foreign origin! It was our old enemy England, that first sowed broadcast the seeds of dissension in our midst. Abolitionism in this country first originated in, and has been sustained by, foreign interference, and religious fanaticism. It is the last hope of European monarchies to destroy our republic. The fact is notorious, and is susceptible of proof, that the abolition excitement was first set on foot in this country by British influence. There has been a constant effort in England, to array the North against the South. "We have the best of reasons for believing, that her original object was the severance of this Union." One English journal says, "The people of England will never rest, till slavery is terminated in the United States;" and another says, "Slavery can only be reached through the Federal Constitution." That is, slavery can only be reached, by destroying our present form of government, and dissolving our Union. The English are well aware, that they cannot reach slavery in this country, except by dissolving our Union and involving us in civil war; in which war, of course, they expect to take an active part. In the name of God, are we prepared for all this? Have we ever counted the cost? I hope I shall be pardoned for using strong language, when I allude to this subject. It is enough. Who that loves his country, can keep cool, while reflecting on these things? Is it not almost enough to make a Christian swear? No my friends we will not swear about it; but I entreat you to keep your eyes upon that old rascal, John Bull. He needs watching, and his Northern allies in the United States, are as vile scamps as he is.

I might quote from English journals, and English statesmen, to show what her feelings, views, and intentions have been in relation to this country; but I forbear at present. We know that her unwarrantable interference with the civil institutions of our country, did not originate in any sympathy that she felt for the oppressed African in our midst. The idea is ridiculous. The whole history of the English government proves the contrary. Talk about the English government sympathizing with the oppressed of other nations. It is nonsense—a ridiculous inconsistency. No part of the English government can be pointed out, in which there is not worse slavery in some form or other, than there is in the United States:—yes, worse, far

worse, than negro-slavery in the Southern States. What says Southy, the English poet, of the great mass of the English poor? He says that "they are deprived, in childhood, of all instruction, and enjoyment. They grow up without decency—without comfort—without hope—without morals, and without shame." The North British Review expressed similar sentiments. If I am correctly informed, negro slavery, itself, is not extinct in the British dominions. I am aware that they call it an apprenticeship, but it is slavery notwithstanding. Yes, it is involuntary slavery and nothing else. But yet she would have us believe that she feels an intense interest in African slavery, in the United States. How does it happen that she is so interested about slavery among us, but is deaf to the cry of her own enslaved and starving millions, in British India, and other parts of her dominions? It is said that in 1838, five hundred thousand perished of famine, in a single district, in British India; and that too within the reach of English granaries locked up, and guarded by a military force! This is a fair sample of English benevolence; *alias*, English cupidity. And what says Allison the English historian of wretched Ireland? Her history and her sufferings are familiar to every one. He avows the opinion, in his History of Europe, "that it would be a real blessing to its inhabitants, in lieu of the destitution of freedom, to obtain the protection of slavery." And Murray the English traveler says of the slaves of the United States, "if they could forget that they are slaves, their condition is decidedly better than the great mass of European laborers." And what said Dr. Durbin a few years ago of the British nation? He told us that "the mass of the people were slaves, and the few were masters without the responsibility of masters." He proceeds to tell us, that the condition of the slaves of the United States, is in every respect better than millions in Ireland and England. This is the testimony of a distinguished minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, (North,) whom, nobody will suspect of any undue partiality for Southern slave-holders. When we look at the "degradation, the slavery, the exile, the hunger, the toil, the filth and the nakedness," of the English poor, we are astonished at the brazen impudence of that cruel, godless, and hypocritical nation! Nor are we less surprised, when we think of the ungodly crew of fools and fanatics in the United States, who are leagued with that monster England to overthrow their own government! I have said, and I boldly reiterate the assertion, that slavery exists in every part of the British dominions, in a form far worse than negro slavery in the United States! And I am able to corroborate the truth of the remark, by a volume of the most reliable testimony; and much of that might be drawn from the admissions of English Journals, and English statesmen. I will quote a few more English authorities, and dismiss the subject. The British Asiatic Journal says, "the whole of Hindostan, with the adjacent possessions, is one magnificent plantation, peopled by more than one hundred millions of slaves, belonging to a company of gentlemen in England, whose power is far more unlimited than any Southern planter over his slaves in the United States." And the same authority tells us, "that in Malabar, the islands of Ceylon, St. Helena and other places, the English government is a notorious slave-factor—a regular jobber in the purchase and sale of slaves; and that this system is carried on and perpetuated by the purses and bayonet of the English government." Dr. Bowering affirms of the British subjects in India, "that the entire population of that empire *are* subjected to the most degrading servitude—a deeper degradation than any produced by American slavery." The same writer declares "that a regular system of kidnapping is carried on by the English." The Duke of Wellington remarked in the House of Lords, that "slavery does exist in India—domestic slavery in particular." Sir Robert Peel made the charge and offered the evidence, "that British merchants are even now deeply and extensively engaged in the slave trade;" and that the English government was, at the time he spoke, "engaged in a new system of English negro slavery, by the forcible capture of negroes in Africa, &c." We are told by the London Times of Feb. 20, 1853, "that British slavery is ten thousand times worse than negro slavery of the United States," and that the condition of those, whom he denominated British slaves, "is a scandal and a reproach, not only to the government, but to the owners of every description of property in England." This is strong language, and the reader will please recollect, that it is the testimony of a leading English Journal, so late as February, 1853.

Here is an array of English testimony that cannot fail to convince every one that slavery exists to the present moment in the English dominions, in a form far more aggravated than African slavery in the United States. How is it then, that she has been, and is to the present time, making ceaseless and untiring efforts to exaggerate the sufferings and the disabilities of the African race in our midst, while there is so much suffering and oppression among her own subjects? Is it not an, extraordinary circumstance, that a nation who has expended so much blood and treasure in invading the rights of others—a nation that to the present hour tolerates and legalizes slavery in its worst possible forms—or rather, in every possible form; should affect so much solicitude about its extinction in a foreign government? In view of all these facts, is it not a humiliating circumstance; or rather, is it not an outrageous insult to the American people, that Madam Stowe, after having basely caricatured, slandered and misrepresented her own country, to flatter and please the English people, and their Northern allies in the United States; should with her ill-gotten gains fly across the ocean, to join the slanderers, denunciators and libelers of our beloved country? The world can't produce another instance of such insulting, arrogant, bare-faced knavery and hypocrisy! A thousand reflections force themselves on my mind, and had I a voice as seven-fold thunder, and could I congregate around me in one solid phalanx, every man, woman and child, on the North American portion of this continent; I would warn them of their danger. I would direct their attention to the history of nations wrecked, torn to pieces, and almost obliterated from the face of the earth by internal feuds and dissensions—by envy, jealousy and hatred; and that not unfrequently instigated by foreign powers. I would point to the catalogue of crimes—the commotions, the dissensions, the tumults, the strife—the envy, the jealousy, the hatred—the wars, the butcheries and bloodsheds, that have been incited by visionary, bigoted, fanatical religionists. I would inculcate the fear and love of God; the love of our country, and the love of our neighbor as paramount virtues; and meekness, gentleness and patience, as Christian graces of the first importance; and resignation to the will of God, and obedience and submission to civil authorities, as the duty of all good citizens. And to the ladies I would say, return home ladies, and love your husbands, nurse your babies, attend to your household affairs; and recollect, that nothing adorns your sex so much, as the ornament of a meek, a quiet spirit. I would also advise you to read your Bibles and other good books, and never again to read or write another novel. And, dear ladies, if you have hitherto worn either

bloomers or breeches, lay them aside. I must return from this digression to the subject under discussion.

SECTION III.

It was said a few years ago, that one of the nobility of England openly declared, that the sovereigns of Europe had determined upon the destruction of the government of the United States; and that they expected to accomplish their infamous designs by involving us in "discord, disunion, anarchy and civil war." He is reported moreover to have said, that they expected to accomplish this, by flooding our country with their vicious refuse pauper population, and by agitating the subject of slavery among us. Unfortunately for us, England in her nefarious designs upon our country, has always found too many allies, aiders and abettors, in our midst. I will not say, that Mrs. Stowe had designs upon the liberties of her country, when she wrote Uncle Tom's Cabin; but this I will say, that in writing that book, she performed an acceptable service for the enemies of her country, for which it seems, from recent demonstrations, they are profoundly thankful. Be it as it may, she wrote Uncle Tom's Cabin; the work was republished in England, and we are credibly informed, that it has almost supplanted the Bible in that country. Travelers tell us, that nothing else is talked about throughout the British dominions. They received it, I suppose, as a revelation from heaven—revelation of higher authority than the Bible, for the reason, that it is of more recent origin. Well, she is invited to England by the nation *en masse*; and if the Saviour of the world should perchance make his advent into the British Isles, on the day that she lands in that country, I think it highly probable, that he would be forced a second time to *take lodgings in a manger*. He might wander through the country unnoticed and unknown, while the whole nation were dragging after Mrs. Stowe's petticoat. He might again be forced to exclaim, "the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head" to rest. No Marthas and Marys would be found in that reprobate country, to minister to him. If so, they would be found among the "lowly," and we understand that they have no part or lot in Mrs. Stowe's visit. No! no! she has made money enough by her "*life among the lowly*" and now she is preparing to take her stand among the aristocracy of England.

We have had from time to time all sorts of *isms* and *schisms* in this world; and Yankee ingenuity has furnished us, withal, with a great variety of *notions* and *notable things*; among which, wooden nutmegs, wooden bacon hams, horn gun flints and wooden seeds of different kinds, are not the least remarkable. We certainly have had *isms* enough to indulge the whims and caprices, and to suit the peculiar predilections, prejudices and prepossessions of all concerned; but it appears from present indications, that we are about to have a new *ism* forced upon us, whether we will or no. I allude to Uncle *Tomism*, which I beg leave to call *Tomism*, as it will sound rather more euphonious. It is rumored that this new *sect*, viz., the Tomites, have spread with great rapidity through the New England States within the past year; and it is moreover reported, that they have many adherents in other parts of the Union. It must have been the rapid spread of Mormonism that first suggested the idea to Mrs. Stowe, the founder of this sect; for like Jo. Smith, she has furnished her adherents with a novel for their Bible; and it is said that a Key to its mysteries is forthcoming. In order that nothing should be wanting for their enlightenment, edification and comfort, a distinguished D.D. of a neighboring city, has furnished them with an elaborate Commentary. The Key and Commentary I have not seen, but their Bible, viz., Uncle Tom's Cabin, I have read. However popular *Tomism* may be in America, it is said to be more so in England. It appears that this *Woolyism*, alias, *Tomism*, has spread with unparalleled rapidity throughout, the British domains, and Mrs. Stowe has hastened to that country to instruct them in the doctrines and mysteries of this New Revelation. I would suggest to the English nation, that they suffer Mrs. Stowe to make her debut on the lord chancellor's *woolsack*. Black wool, of course, would be most appropriate on this occasion, and withal, most significant of her mission.

However the English nation may shed their crocodile tears over the woes and wrongs of the African race in our country; we know that they are a nation of murderers, thieves and robbers. Their religion is little else, but legalized hypocrisy. Justice and humanity never yet found a place in their moral code. It looks well in them to talk about oppression in other lands; but so it is the world over. Men as vile as crime can make them, will arrogate to themselves the right to judge and censure others. The history of England for centuries past, is but a record of crime—of wars, butcheries and bloodshed—rapine, injustice, oppression and inhumanity. But she will talk about negro slavery in the United States notwithstanding—and of liberty, and justice, and truth, and righteousness, and the rights of man! "Thou hypocrite, first cast the beam out of thine own eye."

Perhaps, my English friends, while Mrs. Stowe is in your midst, you had as well suffer her to look around among your "lowly." Perchance she might find material for another novel. Ah! that would be cruel indeed. Well, it would—but then it might turn out a good speculation "among the lowly;" and a Yankee is always ready for that. Well, seriously, my good friends across the water, you had better not trust this lady too far. We are aware that when you invited her to your country, it was no part of your design, that she should spend any portion of her time among your servants. Well, then, I would advise you as a friend, not to trust Yankee cupidity too far. Watch the lady well, otherwise she might yet make a little money by a "life" among your "lowly."

But the English nation have had another object in view, in fanning this flame of discord among us, by keeping up the slavery agitation. It was to conceal their own dark and damnable deeds. It is the universal practice of those who are guilty of criminal acts, to bring railing accusations against others, in order to divert public attention from themselves. So it has been with England. She has grown rich by injustice and oppression. Hence, her attempt to divert the attention of the world from herself to her rival, the United

States. We know that it is a common occurrence for persons to attempt to conceal their own crimes, by directing attention to the crimes of others—to justify themselves, by making the impression, that others are just as bad as they are. It has often brought to mind an altercation I once witnessed between a couple of boys. One remarked to the other, that he was a thief. "I don't care," (replied the little urchin,) "if I am a *tief*; you are a *tief* too." So it has been with old mother England, she knew well, that she was a "*tief*" but she did not care, provided she could make it appear that her daughter, the United States, was a "*tief*" too.

I will now dismiss John Bull and return to Mrs. Stowe and her abolition coadjutors in general—one and all. I am heartily sick and tired of this whole abolition clap-trap, catch-penny business. I cannot express my views on the subject better than in the language of Graham's Magazine. Alluding to Uncle Tom's Cabin, and other kindred publications, he very justly remarks, "that they are all together speculations in patriotism—a question of dollars and cents, not of slavery or liberty. Many persons who are urging on this negro crusade into the domain of letters, have palms with an infernal itch for gold. They would fire the whole republic, if they could but take the gems and precious stones from the ashes. They care nothing for principle, honor or right, &c." No, they care nothing about negro slavery, or negro oppression. Money is their sole object in all these publications. Sympathy for the poor benighted African, has no agency whatever in the matter. The object is to make money out of the woolly heads, and after that is accomplished they have no farther use for them. The same motives prompt them to write books on slavery—negro oppression and the negroes woes, that induce the cotton grower and the sugar planter to work slaves on their farms. Money is as truly the object of the former, as it is of the latter. And facts prove that the cotton growers and sugar planters, have more sympathy for the African race, than Northern abolitionists.

SECTION IV.

How mortifying the reflection, that such a work as Uncle Tom's Cabin, should have become so popular in England and America. As an American, we can but view it with shame and regret. Where is the Bible? Where are Shakespeare and Milton, and Addison and Johnson? And where are our own immortal poets and prose writers? Who reads the chaste and beautiful writings of Washington Irvin? What has become of our well written and instructive histories and biographies? Why is it that a filthy negro novel is found in every body's hand? Uncle Tom's Cabin! What is it? What can be expected from it? Will it improve the manners, the morals, or the literary tastes of our country-men, and fair country-women? No! Never! Its very touch is contaminating. Filth, pollution, and mental degradation, follow in the train of this class of writers. In what consists the merit of Uncle Tom's Cabin? It is hard to tell. Look at its dark design—its injustice—its falsehoods! Its vulgarisms, negroisms, localisms, and common place slang! Its tendency to pervert public taste, and corrupt public morals. How remarkable that a work of its character, should have been so much read and admired! We may boast of our intelligence and virtue to our hearts content, the reception of this work is a sad commentary on the age in which we live. We may boast of our religion; it is little else at last, but self-righteous phariseism! We throw around ourselves religion as a cloak; the more effectually to conceal our dark designs! Yes, verily, while we stab an erring, or unerring brother in the dark! We are all prostrate before the god of mammon, and there are but few of us, who would not sell our Saviour for less than thirty pieces of silver! Professedly we are Christians, but practically we are infidels! The Bible is no longer our guide. The fact is, we know but little about it, and care less! We profess to believe that it is the word of God; and yet it is laid aside for any impure negro novel, or other filthy tale, that may chance to fall in our way? Uncle Tom's Cabin has been read more within the past year, than the Bible had been for the last ten years, immediately preceding its appearance! Thousands of Christians have gloated over its pages with rapture and delight, from the rising till the setting sun, for days and nights in succession, who had not during their lives read a dozen chapters in the Bible! We will now remove the veil and look within. Its high time that the motives which prompt us to action were exposed to public gaze. Let us then take a peep at the "inward man."

A portion of our fellow citizens in another part of this Union, had, by no fault or agency of their own, become involved in the evils and calamities of slavery. We turned our eyes in that direction, and looked on the dark pictures. We felt that we were great sinners. Guilt pressed heavily upon us. "The sorrows of death compassed us: and the pains of hell got hold upon us;" and we "found trouble and sorrow." The anguish of our guilt was insupportable. We were in deep distress, and we longed for some thing to soothe and ease our troubled minds: but we did not, with the Psalmist, call upon the Lord to "deliver us." No! By no means, for we thought if we could find worse sinners than ourselves, it would afford us some relief.

Tw'as thus we sought, but sought in vain
A panacea for all our pain!
Are there not those more vile than we—
If baser mortal man can be!
We looked around—and looked again,
And searched the world—but searched in vain;
For more depraved—more vile than we
Sure there were none—none could there be!
Alas our souls are steeped in sin!
Though clean without—impure within—
As sepulchers adorned with paint
A devil within—without a saint!

Our condition was pitiable indeed. We said among ourselves, "What now shall we do?" "Where! O!

Where shall we find worse sinners than ourselves?" Our woe-begone looks betrayed the secret workings and intentions of our hearts; We again went forth in search of those more wicked than ourselves; but we were destined to disappointment, for we sought in vain,—they were hard to find. They were neither here—nor there—nor any where to be found in all the land of the living! Worse sinners than ourselves could not be found upon this terrestrial globe—among all the degenerate sons and daughters of Adam. When we had well nigh given up in despair, we again directed our eyes to the dark picture of African slavery. "Oh!" said we, to ourselves, "how it would soothe and tranquilize our troubled consciences, if we could but find worse sinners than ourselves." "We know that we are vile and depraved, but are not those slaveholders, a little worse than we are?" Anxiously and intensely we gazed on, but we were disappointed! The picture was dark, *to be sure*; but we failed to observe all that we expected! We then called for glasses that magnified a thousand fold, and again, and again, we surveyed the dark picture! Ah! we saw something at last! What was it? Well, we either saw something, or, otherwise, we thought we saw something. Chagrin and despair seized upon us, and we exclaimed in the bitter agonies of our souls, "merciful God, are we sinners above all sinners—are there none, so vile as we are?" "But stop—hold on," (said we), "we are not done with negroedom yet—we cannot let those rascally slaveholders off so lightly—we will yet make it appear, that they are more wicked than ourselves—or, at all events, we will not give them up yet." It was but seldom that we troubled the good old Bible, but as we were in a difficulty, we decided at once to consult her—perchance she might talk about right on the subject of slavery. After a long search we found the old book; brushed off the dust and opened it. Well, now, we felt quite certain, that the Bible would tell us, that we were better Christians than slaveholders; for we had already succeeded in persuading ourselves, that we were not quite so bad as we imagined at the outset; and we moreover thought, that we got a glimpse of some thing dreadful about these Southern folks, but hardly knew what it was. We then proceeded to examine the Bible. "Where is it," (said we), "that the Bible denounces these slaveholders, as the chief of sinners?" "Well, we don't know, but we think it says something dreadful about them; but we don't know where it is, or what it is." We searched, but searched in vain; almost ready to abuse the good Boob, because it refused to abuse slaveholders. We then soliloquized in the following words. "We don't like these slaveholders—never did—nor did our fathers before us. Our fathers told us that they were bad men—that they were guilty of many horrible things; and that they were not good Christians, like the people out here North." We were, nevertheless, still oppressed by a load of guilt, and felt the insupportable gnawings of a guilty conscience. We had oppressed the poor and robbed the widow and orphans! We had defrauded our neighbor and slandered our brother! We had lied to both God and man! "Can it be possible," (said we to ourselves), "that there are human beings living, who have been guilty of more abominable crimes?" "What is more odious?" "What could be more detestable?" "What could render a human being more obnoxious to eternal vengeance?" We were in this deplorable condition, when we first set about trying to deceive ourselves. We pondered the matter well, and could devise no means, that in our judgment, would be so likely to bring relief to our troubled minds, as to find that there were others who were as bad, or probably a little worse than ourselves. We flattered ourselves, that while we were talking about the sins of others, we might forget our own; and at length be able to persuade ourselves that we were Christians. But it was all of no avail. Our consciences said "nay"—the Bible said "nay." It was at this critical moment, that Uncle Tom's Cabin came to our relief, and it settled the difficulty. It proved to our satisfaction, that these Southern people were infinitely worse than ourselves. We now found but little difficulty in persuading ourselves that we were really Christians. We then had Southern men just where we had long been trying to place them. We had nothing then to do, but to compare ourselves with them; and the result of the whole matter was, Mrs. Stowe had made them out so much worse than ourselves, that we were forced to the conclusion, that we were good Christians at last.

Mrs. Stowe was a shrewd Yankee woman, and seeing the difficulties and embarrassments in which we were involved, and being in need of a little money, and knowing that we were willing to pay almost any price for something that would flatter ourselves, and blacken the characters of Southern people; she wrote her book. We received it with transports of joy, and cried aloud at the top of our voices, HUZZA FOR MADAM STOWE, *and her incomparable negro novel*; viz., Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life among the Lowly. And so we go, in England and America! This is a marvelous world, and it is inhabited by a wondrous species of animals, called man!

The conclusion of the whole matter is, abolitionism is little else at last, but hypocritical self-righteous phariseism, and Mrs. Stowe wrote her book to flatter their pride, indulge their whims, tickle their fancies, and pick their pockets. I have remarked, that this is a marvelous world, and among the many wondrous things that fall under our observation, there is nothing more remarkable than Yankee ingenuity! The Southern people, it is true, receive the proceeds of the labor of the slaves, but then, they must first expend money in raising them; feed and clothe them in health, nurse them in sickness, and provide for them in old age. But Mrs. Stowe without contributing anything for their support, has made more money out of them within the last year, than any half dozen sugar planters in the State of Louisiana! This is truly a wondrous speculation in negroes.

"But all their works they do," (says our Saviour,) "to be seen of men." "But God shall bring every work into judgment." And if our motives are selfish, or impure, we incur the risk of falling under the condemnation of a just and holy God. Too many "make clean the outside of the cup and platter, but within, they are full of extortion and excess."

There are a class among the abolition party, whose leading object is pecuniary gain. With them, "gain is godliness," and their pretended godliness is all for gain. That is, all is well, if they can make money; if not, they are off. When English emissaries are sent over to this country, to lecture on the subject of slavery, they are well paid for their services, either by the abolition party; or, probably, more frequently by the English government. In our own country, the editors of abolition papers, the writers of negro novels and other abolition productions; together with the numerous agents and other notable functionaries, that are

employed to carry out their diabolical schemes and machinations; are all well paid for their services. Like the young lawyer alluded to, in the preceding pages, they receive a "*large fee*," and can therefore "afford to *lie*." But by far the larger portion of them are operated on by different feelings, views and motives. I have already indicated certain motives that prompt the abolition party to action; but there are yet others, to which I have but incidentally alluded. Sympathy for the African race with them, is a mere pretence, or affectation of superior sanctity and philanthropy. Like the pharisees of old, they are always ready to thank God, that they are not as other men. I am holier than thou, is their universal cry to all that dissent from their peculiar views, or take exceptions to their conduct. Bigots, fools and fanatics of every class, grade and description, the world over, are guilty of the same; yes, I am holier than thou, is their universal exclamation.

Every man is conscious that he ought to be a Christian, or at least a philanthropist; and every man desires to be esteemed such. But as it does not, in all cases, accord with the interests and inclinations; or, is otherwise, incompatible with the beastly and sordidly corrupt natures of a large portion of the human family, to become either Christians or philanthropists; therefore, they can do no better than to affect to be either one or the other, or both. Plain, simple, old-fashioned *Bible Christianity* is not sufficient for them. It is too quiet—too lowly and unassuming for them. They would have us believe, that they are brim full of humanity and benevolence—so full, that they are constantly running over—surcharged with a superabundance of kind, generous and sympathetic feeling for their fellow creatures. They must, at least, make the world around them believe that they are such. This is their object—this their aim. To accomplish this, everything is brought into requisition—all their energies, all their efforts are directed to this end. They wish to deceive the world, and make the impression on the mind of mankind, that they are a superior order of beings—better Christians—better philanthropists—have more humanity—more benevolence, and a greater regard for the rights of man, than mankind in general. I say their object is to make the world believe all this. Nothing is found to answer their purpose so well, in the accomplishment of this object, as African slavery in the Southern States. They have talked about negro slavery—negro oppression, and the negro's woes, until they have really induced some to believe that they are persons of more than ordinary benevolence—that they are really humane, generous and just. But it is mere affectation—it is all hypocrisy. Facts prove it. England boasts of her philanthropy—talks about American oppression, and at the same time makes no effort to elevate her own miserable tenantry, whose conditions are far worse than American slaves. If she is really philanthropic, why refuse to do any thing for her own suffering poor throughout her vast dominions? This is proof positive, that John Bull is an old villain; a rotten, two-faced, bigoted, meddling old hypocrite. If abolitionists in the United States are really philanthropic, why have they not made some effort to relieve the suffering poor in their own midst; whose conditions in general, are far worse than Southern slaves? They have work enough at home, and it is an old and very true proverb, "that charity begins at home." It is certainly true, that home is the place where it should begin. What are they doing for the thousands of ignorant, ill-clad, half starved free negroes now in their midst? Nothing for either soul or body! They spurn them from their presence, or trample them under their feet, and turn around and wipe their mouths, and express the deepest sympathy for the poor slave in the Southern States; whose conditions are incomparably better than the free negroes, North! Ah! their benevolent souls are overflowing with sympathy for Southern slaves, who are generally well fed, well clothed, content and happy; but the poor, vicious, degraded and friendless free negroes, North, are left to shift for themselves. And what are they doing for the suffering poor of their own color? How many widows that they have defrauded, and orphans they have robbed, will confront them at the bar of God? I appeal to those among whom they live; to those who know them best; as citizens, as neighbors; are they humane, generous and just? Are they husbands to the widows; and fathers to the fatherless? Do they feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and visit the sick? Are they ever ready to relieve the poor, the needy and distressed? In every city, village and neighborhood, throughout the length and breadth of the North, there are poor, wretched, miserable objects of charity, and here they have an opportunity to give us practical proof of the sincerity of their professions; and until they furnish evidence that they are what they profess to be, we wish them to cease their hypocritical cant about Southern slavery.

SECTION V.

Abolitionists may affect as much sanctity and philanthropy, as they please, and pile their maledictions and execrations on the heads of slave holders mountain high! They can call them murderers, thieves and robbers to their hearts content! They can anathematize better men than themselves; and denounce slavery as a curse, an evil, a hardship! They can call slavery by what name they choose! For it matters but little what they call it; nor what it really is; nor in what it originated; nor yet, what perpetuates it; nor what our feelings and views may be; for slavery exists in our midst; and has existed in our world as a civil institution, for more than three thousand years: and when God in his amazing condescension, unbounded benevolence, and infinite mercy vouchsafed to us a revelation of his will; he informed us in language clear and explicit, how we should treat it. The duties and obligations of ministers, and churches—of masters and servants, are unfolded and enforced in the Sacred Record; and he that errs, is without excuse. "But men have become wise above what is written." God, alone, was competent to decide what was best for masters and servants, individuals, and nations. We are all the work of his hands, and it is his prerogative to dictate to us laws for the guidance and regulation of our conduct. Those, then, who receive the Bible as a revelation of the will of God, and take it as their guide and counsellor; cannot consistently do otherwise, than to treat slavery and slaveholders in accordance with its clear and unmistakable injunctions, warnings and admonitions, a precept or practice from the Sacred Oracles, is practical infidelity; and I here, openly and boldly assert, that no intelligent man, who reads and believes the Bible to be the word of God, ever did, or ever will embrace the extreme views of the abolition party in the United States. No! It is impossible: for they are in direct opposition to the plainest declarations of the inspired writers—to the

whole spirit and tenor of the Sacred Volume. I care not on whom this may fall; nor where it falls, it is true. I am well aware, that nine tenths of mankind, neither read nor think for themselves—particularly on subjects that relate to their duties and obligations to their Creator, or their fellow creatures! No! They suffer others to read and think for them; and by the by, they too often commit their consciences, and their souls, to the keeping of those whose object is to secure the fleece, though the devil take the flock!

I have said that God, alone, was competent to decide what was best under the circumstances for masters and servants, individuals and nations. I have clearly shown in the following chapters, that as masters and servants, and as a nation we cannot do better, than to faithfully observe and carry out the injunctions of Holy Writ—that the best interests of all concerned will be subserved thereby—that there is no other safe and practicable course—that the Bible, and the Bible alone, is a safe and sure guide in this emergency. We "may bite and devour each other;" speculate, wrangle and contend to no purpose. No good will ever grow out of it. I have shown that nothing is likely to mitigate the evils of slavery—or rather, its abuses; or in any reasonable time bring about its abolition, but a rigid adherence on the part of masters and servants, to the duties and obligations imposed on them in the Sacred Volume. That it is the duty of servants to love, serve and obey their masters, and that it is the duty of masters to enlighten the minds and elevate the characters of their slaves—to prepare them for self government and the enjoyment of liberty, and then to colonize them.

And I flatter myself, that I have clearly and indisputably demonstrated, that the African race in this country, are not yet prepared for freedom—and that they cannot enjoy freedom in our midst, provided they were prepared for it—and consequently that the African derives no benefit from emancipation if he remain among us. Hence, the propriety of manumitting slaves is, to say the least, doubtful, unless they are colonized. Every man of truth and candor, who is acquainted with the condition of slaves and free negroes, North and South, must admit, that the conditions of slaves is better, than that of free negroes.

Mrs. Stowe has labored hard to prove that there are evils and abuses in the treatment of slaves in the Southern States; but then she would have us substitute greater evils for lesser—according to the old proverb, "out of the frying pan into the fire." Many of the Southern people as deeply deplore these evils, and are as fully impressed with the necessity of removing them, as Mrs. Stowe or any one else; but hitherto they have been unable to decide upon any plan by which these evils could be removed—except, at least, to a very limited extent. They knew well, that if they manumitted their slaves, it would involve both the slaves and themselves in greater evils than African slavery itself, as it exists in the Southern States.

I beg leave to digress for a moment from the subject under discussion. Mrs. Stowe has told her tale about Southern slavery; and what a wondrous story it is! Remarkable indeed! She has told of deeds, dark and revolting! A tale of injustice and wrongs—oppression and woe! I admit there are, and ever have been, occasional and rare instances of acts of inhumanity and cruelty among Southern slaveholders; too shocking for recital! But if any one will be at the trouble to spend a few months in the Yankee States, and take for granted all that is related to him by busy-bodies, idlers and others that have nothing else to do but to talk about their neighbors; they will find no difficulty in gathering up material, out of which, they could manufacture as dark a tale as Uncle Tom's Cabin. The free negroes in the North could furnish material for a shocking story! But, ah! it is all a contemptibly low business; we had better quit talking about our neighbors. There are the best of reasons why we should not give full credence to village and neighborhood gossip, old women's stories, and free negroes tales. What we see, feel, taste and smell, we know to be true: and that is about all we do know. As for the remainder, it is as the breeze which plays around us, or passes over our heads. It is here, it is gone, and we know not from "whence it cometh, or whither it goeth?" nor yet what pestiferous emanations might perchance float in the current. The sooner we get rid of negro novels and village gossip, and neighborhood slander, and busy-bodies, and idlers, and loafers, and liars, and the whole crew, who have nothing else to do, but to meddle with people's business, the better. God speed the day when we shall all find better employment. But to return to the evils of slavery.

Slavery is not an evil to those involved in it, under all circumstances. There are circumstances, under which it may be a blessing to the slave—and a blessing it would have proved to the entire slave population in this country, if both masters and servants had complied with the requisitions of the Bible. None are so much to blame for the evils and hardships of slavery as the abolition party. No! none! Not the slaveholders themselves. They have incited the slaves to deeds for which they have been cruelly punished. In consequence of their unwarrantable interference, slaves that were, previous to such interference, pious, contented and happy, have become discontented, impertinent and perverse, and have been too often cruelly punished for their dereliction of duty. Ah! well do I recollect the time when the months of Southern clergyman were closed, when rigid laws were enacted—when so many restrictions were thrown around slaveholders. I then saw, and deplored the evil, and hoped, but hoped in vain, that Northern men would desist from a procedure, so fraught with mischief to masters and servants—so contrary to the laws of God—so opposed to every principle of humanity, justice, truth and righteousness. I must refer the reader to chapter three, and return to the proposition under investigation, that slavery is not, an evil under all circumstances.

The peculiar condition of an individual may be such, that he is fit for nothing but a slave. He maybe physically, mentally, and morally disqualified for any other condition or station in life. To such an individual slavery is not necessarily an evil; but, on the contrary, to him it may be a blessing and not a curse. He may be utterly incapable of making provision for his own wants. Servitude may be the only condition or station in life, in which he could be provided for, and enjoy happiness. The disabilities of such an individual is a misfortune; or, as it is generally termed, a curse, an evil; but the evil consists in the incompetence of the individual, and not in that condition or station in life, to which his incompetency subjects him. It is, (to use common parlance), a curse, or an evil, to be physically, mentally, and morally

disqualified to enjoy the rights, privileges and immunities of a free man; but if such be the condition of the individual, slavery to him is a blessing. It is, at least the only condition or station in life, adapted to his peculiar circumstances, and the only one in which he would be likely to enjoy happiness. I have shown in chapter eight, that African slavery originated in the inferiority of the African race, and that their inferiority originated in the transgression of God's laws.

Hence, the evils of slavery have their origin in its abuses. They have resulted from the cupidity, cruelty and inhumanity of masters, and the disobedience and perverseness of servants. Under the circumstances that the African race became servants to the citizens of the United States, servitude to them would have been a blessing, and not a curse, if both masters and servants had obeyed the commands of God. I have alluded to this elsewhere, to which I must refer the reader.

But in order to clearly comprehend the argument, we must contemplate the African in his native state, and survey the peculiar circumstances under which he became a slave. A large portion of the negroes that were transported to the United States, and sold as slaves, were captives taken in war, and if they had not been transported to the United States, they would have been subjected to slavery in their native country.

[1] Was it not better for those poor captives to have become the servants of intelligent and humane men, in the United States, than to have become the slaves of barbarians of their own race? It certainly was, for I observed while a resident of the South, that negro overseers were the most cruel, barbarous wretches, that ever were clothed with a little brief authority. Yes, they are the most barbarous relentless demons, that ever flourished a rod over a fellow being's back. Men in an ignorant, semi-savage state, when clothed with authority, (or otherwise when they have others in their power,) are universally cruel. Where we find most ignorance, there will we, as a general rule, find least humanity, for I observed while in the South, that intelligent men were seldom cruel to their slaves. Cruel masters in the South, are generally individuals of low birth, who, in early life, were white servants themselves; but by some lucky turn they got hold of a little money, and purchased a few negroes. These *mock* lords are the most cruel masters, and the most pompous gentlemen in all the sunny South. Such men are universally dreaded by the African race in the South. I wish here to impress the reader's mind with the fact, that a native semi-savage African, must necessarily be a cruel master. We need but reflect on their ignorance, barbarism and brutality, to satisfy ourselves of the truth of the remark. I have alluded to the fact in Chapter 8, that one portion of the African race have been slaves to another, ever since the earliest dawn of history; and it is said that by far the larger portion are slaves. It is then certain, that most of the native Africans who were originally enslaved in the United States, would have been slaves in their own country, if they had not been transported to this country. Wretched as the condition of slaves may be in this country, what is American, to African slavery? Slavery in the United States was but an exchange of African, for American slavery. The condition of the slaves of the South is better than the native African, formerly, or now; yes, it is better than that of African masters, and it must be infinitely better than the condition of African slaves. As a general rule, the native Africans who were originally subjected to slavery in this country; were not, as is generally supposed, deprived of their liberties; for they were for the most part captives, or slaves, when they were sold to the slave dealers. The reader will please recollect, that I am not justifying the slave trade. I am simply stating facts; and I deem it essential that these facts should be understood. Those who wish to know what my views are on the subject of slavery, will be under the necessity of reading this volume through.

Most of the native Africans that were transported to this country, were not only the lowest grade of barbarians, but they were the servants of barbarians. Here, in the United States, they have enjoyed to a considerable extent, the advantages of civilization, and so far as religious instruction is concerned; there is not, I suppose, four millions of human beings on earth, of what are called the lower classes of society, white or black, who have had superior religious advantages. I have remarked, however, at the close of chapter 11, that in consequence of their ignorance; religious instruction had failed to produce that decided, thorough and permanent influence, which otherwise it might have done. But I think it probable that there are not four millions of ignorant illiterate human beings living, on whom the doctrines of Christianity have exerted as salutary an influence; nor can there be found a body of ministers of the gospel in the world, who have made so great sacrifices to Christianize the "lowly," as Mrs. Stowe chooses to denominate them. The devotion of the Southern clergy to the best interests of the poor African, is worthy of all praise. Men without a tittle of their piety may calumniate and reproach them; but there is one who seeth not as man seeth, who has taken cognizance of their sacrifices and "labors of love." Ah! my friends, you may deceive yourselves, and deceive one another, but of one thing you may rest assured—you cannot deceive your God. Nor are you as successful in deceiving your fellow creatures, as some of you probably imagine. Some of us understand you.

SECTION VI.

Is it the duty of American slaveholders to liberate their slaves? I feel no hesitancy in replying to this interrogatory. It would be their duty, as Christians, to liberate their slaves, provided the condition of the slave would be improved thereby; otherwise it is their duty to retain them in bondage, and make that provision for them which their circumstances require. They should make ample provision for their physical wants—enlighten their minds; and so far as is practicable under existing circumstances, they should elevate their characters above that debasement and degradation, in which, ignorance, prejudice and vice has involved them. It is clearly the duty of slaveholders to place their slaves in that condition, which will conduce most to their happiness here and hereafter. But if this is their object, they could not, as a general rule, take a worse step, than to liberate them in their present condition and turn them loose among us. Nor do I consider the mass of the negro population in this country as yet prepared for

colonization: but I would rejoice to see all well-disposed and intelligent negroes manumitted and colonized.

The poverty, vice and degradation of free negroes is notorious, throughout the length and breadth of this country—North and South; but having so frequently alluded to it, I deem it unnecessary to say more on the subject. I will however remark, that if the entire African population were manumitted and turned loose among us; they would be forced to subsist almost entirely by theft, and all the county jails and state prisons in the Union, would not contain one in a hundred of the convicts. The fact is, such would be their depredations on the white population, that the whites would shoot them down with as little ceremony as they now shoot a mad dog; and their ultimate extermination would be the inevitable consequence! I appeal to facts. It was stated a few years ago by an able writer; that in Massachusetts the free negroes were 1 to 74, viz., there were 74 white persons for every free negro in the State; and yet one-sixth of all the convicts were free negroes. That in Connecticut the free negroes were 1 to 34; and that one-third of the convicts were free negroes. That in New York the free negroes were 1 to 35; but that one-fourth of the convicts were free negroes. That in New Jersey the free negroes were 1 to 13; negro convicts one-third. That in Pennsylvania the free negroes were 1 to 34, and that one-third of the convicts were free negroes. He moreover stated, that one-fourth of the whole expense connected with the prison system of the entire North was incurred by crime committed by free negroes; and that the same was true with regard to the pauper expenditures of the entire North. In view of these facts, we can feel but little surprise, that Indiana and Illinois have enacted laws to interdict the immigration of free negroes into those States.

It appears from the above named States, that in 1845, about *one-fortieth* of the entire population in the free States were colored persons; and yet about *one-fourth* of the convicts were free negroes; but notwithstanding that the colored and the white population are very nearly balanced in the slave States, I do not suppose that one in a hundred of the convicts are negroes! But there is another fact with regard to free negroes North, that is still more remarkable! Few, comparatively, very few, are members of any branch of the church—probably not one in twenty of the entire adult population. But, on the contrary, in the slave States, I think it probable that at least three-fourths of the entire adult slave population are church members; and I presume, that near one-half of the African professors of the Christian religion, in the slave States, are attached to the Methodist Episcopal Church South; and strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless true, that in the very hot-bed of abolitionism, viz., in the extensive territory of New England, Providence, Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire Conferences, there was not a solitary free negro in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church! Is not this a remarkable fact? Here, we have a territory of vast extent; embracing something more than a half dozen states, and containing within its limits multiplied thousands of free negroes; and not one! No! not a solitary free negro is found in the bosom of the Methodist Episcopal Church! Many of them left pious and humane masters in the South, and were withal pious themselves when they left their masters; or, otherwise, they were stolen from good men in the South by pseudo Christians of the North, *and taken to that free and happy land! the land of their dear friends*, and consigned to poverty, vice, degradation and the devil!!!

What does all this mean? How does it happen that the free blacks of the North are so little benefitted by the Christian ministry—particularly in those sections where a large portion of the ministers belong to the abolition faction? How does it happen that the African population are so little benefitted or influenced by them? Is it true, that the negroes have discernment enough to see, that their wordy benefactors have done nothing for either their souls or their bodies—that conscience and religious principle have but little to do with all this slavery agitation? It must be so! Hence, we can understand why it is, that the African population have more confidence in a slaveholding ministry in the South, than they have in an abolition ministry in the North.

My engagements are such, that I shall be forced for the present to pass over the argument mainly relied on by abolitionists of every grade, to prove the sinfulness of American slavery; or at least, I can give it but a cursory notice. I understand that a celebrated D.D., has published a work, in which, he labors hard to prove the sinfulness of American slavery from its evils. It was the design of the author of Uncle Tom's Cabin, to prove the sinfulness of slavery from its evils; or otherwise, its abuses. If this mode of reasoning is allowable in one case, it is so in another, and by this mode of reasoning I can prove the sinfulness of every institution beneath the sun, social, civil and religions. It is in fact the argument principally relied on by skeptics to invalidate the Christian religion. They will all point to its abuses, or in other words, to the evils growing out of its abuses. Every institution, social, civil and religious is subject to abuse—may be prostituted to the worst of purposes—the institution of Christianity not excepted. But it does not necessarily follow, because an institution is subject to abuse—because it is prostituted to vile purposes, that there is any thing wrong about the institution. The evil consists in the abuse or improper use, and not in the institution. Cupidity inhumanity, and the gratification of the animal passions and propensities, have incited slaveholders to the worst of crimes. But this does not prove that the holding of slaves is sinful, *per se*, under all circumstances. I have shown in the last chapter of this work, (Chap 13,) that men are too often prompted from selfish motives to attach themselves to churches, and that many of them are prostituting a Christian profession to the worst of purposes. But this does not prove that there is anything defective or wrong about the Christian religion. No, by no means. If clergymen descend from their sacred vocation to dabble with politics, and a thousand other things that a minister of Christ should not touch; or to use their ministerial influence to accomplish the most diabolical purposes, and thereby bring reproach on the Christian name, and a grievous curse on the nation—then assuredly, the institution of Christianity is not to blame for it; for its Author, both by precept and example taught the contrary. It was but a few days ago, that a skeptic remarked to me, "that the inconsistent conduct of professors of religion satisfied him that there was no truth in the Bible; or at all events, that there was something wrong about it." I must hasten to a close, as I cannot extend my remarks on this subject.

There now lies before me a paper, containing the following remarks: "There is, however, one admitted feature in American slavery of a character so shameful as to justify almost anything that can be said or imagined of the institution. Men live with their female slaves in a state of concubinage, beget children, raise them in their families with a perfect knowledge of their origin, and sell them or leave them to be sold by others in case of decease or reverses." It is strange that those who indulge in such opprobrious remarks about southern slaveholders, do not look after their own white bastards which are scattered over this entire country, east, west, north and south. Men are everywhere, (with a few exceptions,) the world over, utterly devoid of all parental affections for their illegitimate children; and the Southern man, no doubt, has fully as much concern about his mulatto bastards as the Northern man has about his white bastards. What is the Southern man to do with his brood of mulatto children? Suppose he liberates them, their condition is but little improved thereby, unless he sends them out of the country. It is, however, clearly his duty to educate and manumit such children; but what is the duty of the Northern man surrounded by a score of his illegitimate progeny? The condition of the children of the white concubines of the North are not a whit better, than that of the colored concubines of the South; and the Northern man who suffers his children to become the victims of poverty and vice—to sink into the very lowest depths of degradation!—hopelessly, irretrievably lost, is no better than the Southern man who suffers his mulatto children to be sold. One thing is clear; the Northerner can do much more to ameliorate the condition of his unfortunate offspring than the Southerner; and for this reason, he is probably the worst man of the two.

CHAPTER I.

While I was preparing the following work for the press, a friend called on me, and with apparent solicitude, inquired, "Which side of the question are you on, Sir?" I answered him, that I was on the side of truth, or at least, that I wished to be found on that side. Calling at a book-store, I purchased a work on slavery, returned immediately to my room, and was anxiously looking over its pages; a friend tapped at my door, "Come in, Sir; take a seat." He had scarcely seated himself, before he inquired, "What book are you reading, Sir?" A work on slavery, was my answer. "Which side of the question is it on?" It was but a short time before I purchased two other volumes on the same subject, and laid them on my table. A gentleman called on business, and observing the books, inquired what kind of books they were? I laughingly answered that they were novels. "Why," replied he, "I thought you did not read novels." I remarked (in substance), that they were novels on the subject of slavery, and that I had been for some time engaged in an investigation of the subject, and that it had produced in my mind a desire to consult some writers on slavery; and it appeared, that recent writers, preferred that their views upon it, should appear before the public in a fictitious garb. I have no doubt, that the first inquiry of most of those into whose hands this volume may chance to fall, will be, "*Which side of the question is it on?*" Thus, it appears that the question of African slavery has two sides; and that either interest, ignorance, or prejudice; or what is worse, a vain glorious desire on the part of some to be considered the champions of liberty, the guardians of the rights of man, has arrayed a large portion of this nation on one side, or the other. I utterly despair—I have no hope that my labors will meet the approbation of ultraists, North, or South. But there is yet another class in our country—a class of persons who are conservative in their views, honest in their intentions, and patriotic in their feelings; who are prepared to listen to the voice of reason, and the injunctions, admonitions and warnings of Divine Revelation. It is to them I appeal. Thank God, I believe that they constitute a large majority of the nation.

I have long beheld with regret and astonishment, the efforts that have been made by a certain class of writers, to disseminate erroneous views in the Northern section of the United States, with regard to Southern slavery.^[2] The recent publication by Mrs. Stowe, entitled "Uncle Tom's Cabin," is a work of that class. I have no wish to write anything harsh or unkind; for however ill-timed, ill-advised, or ill-judged the work may be, if her object was the alleviation of human woe, I can but respect the motive that prompted her to write, though I may differ with her in opinion as to the means most likely to accomplish the proposed object. The fair authoress may have meant well. I shall leave that, however, to the "Searcher of all hearts;" but I frankly confess that I fear that the book will result "in evil, and only evil." I cannot avoid here, quoting the language that she puts in the mouth of Chloe, the wife of Uncle Tom, who is the hero of her tale: "Wal any way, that's wrong about it somewhar, I can't jest make out whar it is, but thar's wrong somewhar." We all admit that there are wrongs, it is clear to every one, neither do we differ much as to what those wrongs are, nor yet as to their causes and effects; but unfortunately for us, we differ widely, when we undertake to propose remedies for the evil complained of. We have all need of that charity "which suffereth long and is kind; that thinketh no evil." It is as unreasonable and as wicked, to treat each other unkindly, because we differ in opinion, as it would be to treat each, other unkindly, because there is a difference in the features of our faces, and the expression of our countenances. The Author of our existence, for wise purposes, made us to differ mentally, as well as physically. The structures of our minds are different. The great Architect *willed* that it should be thus; why, we presume not to know, but so it is. And then moreover, our physical training, mental, moral and religious culture; together with climate and a variety of other external and internal causes, have all contributed more or less in shaping our opinions, and giving a peculiar cast to our minds. Thus it is, that we are all looking through different glasses, and it is no wonder that we do not all see objects just alike. Objects must necessarily present themselves to us, in different hues and colors. Some are so accustomed to view all objects through a microscope, that they have no just conception of the real magnitude of any body. Exaggeration is their *forte*—in this they excel. Their towering minds soar above common comprehension and common sense, and their fertile imaginations are ever ready to conjure up spectres, ghosts and hobgoblins; or otherwise, where others see a mouse, they behold an elephant; and to their distorted visions, a mole-hill is magnified into a

mountain. We look in vain to such writers for a plain, unvarnished, common sense statement of facts, for sound arguments, or logical deductions. Such authors have nothing to do with facts, or things as they exist among us. Their imaginations are ever ready to furnish facts, on which to base their preconceived inferences and conclusions. They were cast in a fictitious mould, and works of fiction they have read, until their minds can run in no other channel. Their mental vision seizes an object, and they pursue it with an enthusiasm that borders on insanity. Onward, and upward their flight; blind and deaf—utterly insensible to all surrounding objects. The object of pursuit is their "all in all;" and every thing must be sacrificed for its attainment. In their view, there is no other object or interest worthy of a moment's consideration in earth, or heaven. Their religion too, is of a peculiar cast. They are frequently very religious in their own way. In their estimation, the very essence of piety, the sum total of all religion consists in the advancement of some one benevolent object. Above, beneath, beyond the attainment of this, there is no religion, no virtue. Every thing must not only be brought into requisition, in order to its attainment; but the end must be attained in their own way, and according to their own notions; or otherwise it might as well be left undone. In nine eases out of ten, though the object of pursuit is a laudable one, yet so ill-judged and injudicious are their plans, that if carried out, they will result in more evil than good. The plainest and most obvious declarations of the Bible, if they contravene their favorite theories or doctrines, are to them unmeaning twaddle; though they are always ready to press the good book into their service, so far as they are able by forced constructions of detached passages, to give plausibility to their own visionary opinions and projects.

It is a dire calamity that this class of writers have taken hold of the subject of slavery. It is a misfortune that slavery should be presented in a fictitious garb. I fear the consequences. It portends no good to the nation. Slavery is among us, it is a solemn reality, and if we expect to get rid of it, we must look it full in the face; see it as it is, and treat it as a matter of fact business. We know that it is an evil—a deplorable evil; but what shall we do with it? The plague is on us—about us—in our midst. Where? Oh! where, shall we find a remedy? The great work is before us; who is competent to the task? Statesmen as wise and patriotic as any the world ever produced, have shrunk from the task, confounded and abashed. Where is Clay! Where is Webster? All that was earthly of them, is no more. Long did they grapple with the monster slavery, and by their wise councils, through many a dark and stormy period, did they safely conduct the ship of State. But they are gone, and shall we now confide the interests of this great nation, to the keeping of a few sickly sentimentalists? No, heaven forbid that we should be led blindfold to ruin! I entreat you, my fellow countrymen, to open your eyes and look around you, and be not deceived. Your all is at stake. Arise in your strength and crush the monster abolitionism, that threatens your blood-bought liberties.

Mrs. Stowe tells us that the object of her book is to awaken sympathy for the African race. If that, and that alone was her object, she probably had better not have written on the subject. Sympathy for the African race is right and proper, provided that it is properly directed; but blindfold sympathy in the North, is not likely to result in any good to the slaves of the South. The kindest and best feelings of the human heart, unless they are directed and controlled by prudence and discretion, frequently result in no good to the possessor, and too often in positive injury to the object of his solicitude. An excess of sympathy some times dethrones the judgment. Sympathy for the slave may prompt us to act in the right direction; but unless judgment and justice illumine our paths, and direct our steps, all our efforts to ameliorate his condition, will prove worse than useless. The slaves of the South are proper objects of our sympathy, and so are their masters, and so is every living and sensitive being in God's creation. Everything that lives and breathes upon the face of the earth, has demands upon our sympathies; and it would be well for us to provide ourselves with a large stock of it; but we should be careful in meting it out, to give every one his due. It is a gross error in the dispensation of our sympathies, to direct our attention solely to some one object, regardless of the wants and rights of others.

In order to accomplish anything for the benefit of the slave, we must have a Southern audience; to them we must speak, and for them we must write. With them we must reason, as brother holding familiar converse with brother. Mrs. Stowe's book is not likely to be generally read in the South; and provided it should be, it can excite no other than feelings of indignation and defiance in Southern minds. Hence the work can result in no good, and may possibly, unless its baneful influence is counteracted, originate much evil.

If we take the institution of slavery in the United States, as a whole, and view it correctly, Uncle Tom's Cabin is a gross misrepresentation. The book has placed the people of this country in a false position; in a ridiculous attitude before the world. There may be some truth in her statements—barely enough to give them plausibility among the thoughtless, inconsiderate and uninformed; and those whose minds are warped by prejudice. Horrid and revolting occurrences, such as are detailed in her book, have sometimes occurred among slaveholders, but they have been rare, and are now more rare than formerly. They are but exceptions to general rules; why then present them to the world under circumstances, and in a style and manner, that will make an impression on the minds of a majority of uninformed readers, that they are every day occurrences; that a large portion, if not a majority of the slaveholders are involved in the charges specified. How does such a procedure, on the part of Mrs. Stowe, comport with the great principles of truth and justice; which should have been her guide while writing on so grave a subject! Wherever man possesses power over his fellow man, throughout the length and breadth of the habitable globe, there are occasional instances of brutality and barbarism, too shocking for recital; and that deeds dark, dolorous and infamous, should sometimes be perpetrated by American slaveholders, is nothing strange. But is it just, is it right, for her to present slaveholders in the United States, *en masse*, to the whole civilized world, as a set of God-forsaken, heaven-daring, hell-deserving barbarians? That Uncle Tom's Cabin will make this impression on the minds of most of its readers, who are uninformed as to the institution of slavery in this country, is obvious to any one who will carefully read it. I resided in the slave States forty-four years, and can testify that few, comparatively very few, were guilty of separating wives

and husbands, parents and children, and that a majority—yes a very large majority of slaves were treated kindly; and generally there existed between slaves and their possessors kind feelings, and strong attachments. It is this attachment of slaves to their masters, that has frequently frustrated the evil designs set on foot by intermeddling, philanthropic cut-throats, *alias* abolitionists.

Mrs. Stowe will probably learn when it is too late, that she cannot work out the salvation of the slave population by misrepresenting slaveholders,—by exciting sympathy in the North, and by arousing feelings of wrath and defiance in the South. "The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." She may inculcate disobedience and open resistance to the laws of her country; but so did not Jesus Christ; so did not St. Paul. Go, woman, to your Bible and learn your duty to your Creator and your fellow creatures, before you write another book. They, (Jesus Christ and St. Paul,) enforced obedience to the ruling authorities, "Render unto Cæsar, the things that are Cæsars; and let every soul be subject to the higher powers;" is the language of Divine Inspiration. Mrs. Stowe belongs to that faction in the North, long known as the abolition party, and would not scruple to bring about the emancipation of the slaves by any means, regardless of consequences. She would not, I suppose, hesitate to force emancipation on the South, at the point of the bayonet, regardless of the murders, rapines, rapes—the indiscriminate butchery of unoffending women and children—the overthrow of the Union, and the introduction of lasting hates and civil wars, and the ultimate massacre and extinction of the entire African race!! Great God, what atrocious crimes have been perpetrated in the name of liberty!!! She does not, however, openly advocate these extreme measures in her book, but there is, nevertheless, a squinting in that direction in several places. In inculcating resistance to the laws of her country, she is virtually advocating a dissolution of the Union, with all its attendant consequences, results and horrors. For whenever we cease to observe the solemn compact that binds us together, then the Union must necessarily be dissolved, and civil wars, with all its calamities, must follow!! Mrs. Stowe will pardon me if I should perchance, inferentially saddle on her some things, that will make the vital fluid curdle in her veins; unless she is dead to all those emotions of soul which characterize her sex. As I find her in bad company, I am forced in the absence of better testimony, to judge her from the company in which I find her. The old Spanish proverb is as true as Holy Writ, viz., "Show me the company you keep, and I will tell you who you are." If she chooses to write novels, and bring grave charges against others by insinuation and innuendo, in order to evade the responsibility of defining her position clearly and openly, she will not, I hope, take offense if I define it for her.

Mrs. Stowe asserts that there are no laws in slave States to protect slaves, and to punish the cruel and brutal outrages of masters. That masters can cruelly beat their slaves, and also murder them with impunity! This is untrue—nothing could be more false. In the eye of the law, there is no difference between the man that murders his slave, and the man that murders his neighbor; and the laws not only punish men for cruel and unnecessary punishment inflicted on slaves, but there are penal statutes against the unnecessary and barbarous abuse and destruction of horses, and other species of property. She may tell us that the penal statutes, so far as slaves are concerned, are a dead letter; that they are inoperative; that they have no force or effect whatever. This also, I know to be untrue, from personal observation. I admit that slaveholders often evade the punishment due their crimes, and so do men everywhere. The crimes of men of wealth and influence too often go unpunished, not only in the slave States, but wherever the foot of man has trodden the soil. All will admit, that as a general rule, so far as free men are concerned, the laws are based on principles of justice and equality, and yet, the wealthy, the influential and the powerful, in many instances, find but little difficulty in evading the law, and perverting justice whenever they come in contact with the indigent and ignorant. From a superiority of knowledge, wealth and station, men derive advantages in legal transactions as well as in everything else. It is but one of the misfortunes incident to poverty and ignorance.

Much has been said, and much has been written about the harsh and cruel treatment of Southern slaves; but there is a vast deal of error and misconception among those unacquainted with the facts, and too much misrepresentation among those, who are, or ought to be better informed. The Southern slave is not amenable to the civil laws for his conduct, except in a qualified sense, and under certain circumstances. He is accountable to his master, and his master is amenable to the civil laws. If suit is instituted for damages, in consequence of depredations committed by a slave, it is brought against the master, and not against the slave. Hence, when a slave is guilty of a misdemeanor, the authority to punish is vested in the master, and not in the legal authorities. I do not pretend to say, that this is the exact letter of the law, but this I know, by common consent, is the practice in the South. The right to punish being vested in the master, he inflicts the punishment in his own way, and to some extent, at his own discretion. The master is judge, juror, and executioner. Whipping is the ordinary punishment inflicted on slaves for crime. Whether it is the punishment most likely to deter them from the commission of it, I know not; but I think it is probable, that under the circumstances, they can find no punishment better adapted to the proposed object. Be it as it may; custom has decided that it shall be the punishment of the slave. Theft is the most common crime among slaves, and for this they are whipped by their masters, and no further notice is taken of the crime. A slave is simply whipped for an offense, which would imprison a white man for several months, and then confine him in the State penitentiary for several years. The master may, if he chooses, surrender the offending slave to the legal authorities; but supposing that he does, the punishment is the same; he is simply whipped and sent back to his master. The crime may be theft, destruction of property, assault and battery; it matters but little what, if we except murder, rape and arson, the punishment is whipping; whether inflicted by the master or the legal authorities. Thus, we see, that the punishment of slaves is much more lenient, than the punishment of free white men for similar crimes. Hence, slaves escape punishment under circumstances, and for crimes, for which white men would be severely punished. Slaves are viewed, for certain reasons, to some extent, as irresponsible beings. "Oh! he is a poor negro, and knows no better," is an expression common in the South. The crimes of free negroes in the slave States, unless they are of the most flagrant kind, are seldom punished. I have known repeated instances, where stolen goods were found in their possession, and they were suffered to

escape unpunished; no one appearing willing to enforce the law against them. On the contrary, their crimes were winked at and tolerated, for the reason that they were considered a poor, unfortunate, depraved and ignorant class.

Transportation of slaves from Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, to the extreme Southern States, as a punishment for crime, is not an unfrequent occurrence. I believe that in most cases, where families have been separated, it has been in consequence of vile conduct on the part of slaves. Much of the selling of negroes to traders—the parting of wives and husbands, parents and children, which we hear and read of in Northern publications, had its origin in crime on the part of the slaves. They are frequently transported for crimes which would hang a white man; or otherwise confine him in the penitentiary for a series of years, or for life time. Negroes are frequently whipped and then transported to the extreme Southern States for murder; and that too, under circumstances, where the crime is one of a very aggravated character; for premeditated murder—murder committed with malice prepense. But in the eyes of abolitionists, it is dreadful to whip a slave for so small an offense; and yet they would stand by, and with exquisite pleasure see a white man hanged for the same crime. Kind souls! what a pity that white men could not come in for a share of their sympathies; but they have none for them; it is all for the woolly heads. But really, I should like to know what becomes of their sympathies, when some poor free negro is taken sick in their midst, and starves, and dies, and rots in his filth! Ah! don't touch my purse. No, by no means! We all know that it won't do to touch your purses. Your sympathies never leak out in that way. You are too shrewd for that. Fie! Fie! it is all wind, and it costs you but little to blow it out.

Slaveholders are called murderers, because in a few rare instances, a slave may have been worked to death; and they denounced as cruel and oppressive task-masters, because probably one in five hundred, under peculiar circumstances, may have been guilty of cruelty to his slaves. The same thing occurs everywhere, the world over. And it occurs as frequently in Yankeedom, the hot-bed of abolitionism, infidelity, and wooden nutmegs, as anywhere else. There are more white men and white women worked to death in the North, than there are slaves worked to death in the South. Oh! but, says an objector, those white people are free. Nobody forces them to work beyond their capabilities of endurance. The objection is without foundation, for indigence and liberty, never resided together in the same hovel or hut. Hunger and cold are hard masters, far worse than Southern slaveholders; and the penurious Yankee who inadequately pays the laborer, and thus suffers him to starve or freeze to death, is morally as bad as the man who whips his slave to death. If the latter is a murderer, so is the former. The generality of slaves are better paid for their labor, than the poorer classes of people North or South. They at least receive more in return for their labor. They are better fed, better clothed, and better housed. Most of them are happy and well provided for. Their appearance, their health, cheerfulness and fondness for music, give the lie to Northern representations. Masters are responsible for the maintenance of their slaves under all circumstances; in infancy and old age, in sickness as well as in health. But as soon, as Northern white slaves become incapacitated for labor, they are suffered to lie down in their filth and starve and die. Where then, are their lords and masters, who have grown wealthy from the proceeds of their labor?

Mrs. Stowe may write about slavery to her heart's content; but has she, or any one else, pointed out to us, any fair, open, practicable system of emancipation? No, they have not, and until that is done, they should be a little more modest in their denunciations of slaveholders. Suppose the South should manumit their slaves, will the North receive and educate them? No, by no means; and however ignorant Mrs. Stowe may be in relation to Southern slavery, she must be well aware of the universal prejudice in the North against free negroes. A very large majority of the blacks in the North, are in an impoverished and degraded condition; and there is no sympathy with them, or for them, among Northern men. Northern prejudice is much stronger than Southern prejudice, against these unfortunate creatures.

The whites cannot, and will not make equals of them any where. They are at the bottom of the social ladder, and there they must and will remain, so long as they are among the whites. They can never enjoy the blessings of freedom in the United States. The liberty of the free blacks is but nominal; they have no more rights and fewer comforts, as free men, (so called), than they have as slaves in the South. White freedom is one thing, and colored freedom is another. Most of the Northern states treat the African worse now, than they did a half century ago! They are in the North virtually slaves, without masters. The half starved, ill-clad free negro will soon have no foot hold in the North; for Irish and German laborers will supersede them; or otherwise Northern men will legislate them out of the free states. Pennsylvania has already taken from them the privilege of voting, and Indiana and Illinois will not suffer them to enter their borders; and I judge from present indications, that Ohio will soon follow the example of her younger sisters; and moreover, I venture to predict, that in less than twenty years from the present time; a free negro will not be suffered to enter a free state in this Union. This prejudice never can be removed. "Can the Ethiopian change his skin?" If he could, then might we have hope; till then, there is none for the poor African while he remains in the midst of the Anglo-Saxon race. Behold the negro quarters about the larger cities in the North; think of the riots and burning of African churches, &c., that have occurred within the last dozen years, and tell me, where is the hope of the African! Not in the United States. The African race in the United States, are not yet prepared for emancipation; they must first be educated; otherwise there is danger that they will sink into their original barbarism. England emancipated the West India slaves, and Lord Brougham tells us, that they are rapidly declining into barbarism.

CHAPTER II.

It is no part of my design to offer apologies for, or by any means to conceal the faults of Southern slaveholders. But the reading of Uncle Tom's Cabin, has indelibly fixed the impression on my mind that

Mrs. Stowe's narrative is false. The question is, whether such, or similar occurrences, are *common* among Southern slaveholders. If they had been *rare*, she had no right to make the impression on the whole civilized world, that they are every-day occurrences. Nor had she any right unless she had been an eye witness of the leading facts detailed in her story, to publish a book which presents her country in such an ignoble attitude before the world; she had no right to base such calumnious charges on heresy, rumor, or common report. I shall proceed to show that her tale is improbable, and that it is likely that no such transactions as are detailed in her story, ever have transpired among Southern slaveholders.

It is doubtful whether one hundredth part of what has been published in abolition papers, during the last fifty years, in regard to Southern slavery, is true; and those who have received their impressions of African slavery in the South, from that source, are utterly incapable of expressing correct opinions on the subject. It was never the intention of abolition writers, to publish the truth on any subject, having reference to the Southern section of the United States. Their object was to make false impressions on the minds of Northern men, and thereby to originate and sustain a party, from whom, they expected to derive certain benefits. They worked for pay. Many years ago, I stepped into a court-house, in a small town in Tennessee, and immediately after I had seated myself, a lawyer arose, and made a very vehement speech in favor of some scape-gallows who was arraigned before the court. After he had taken his seat, another gentleman of the bar arose, and replied to him. The two gentlemen alternately speechified the judge and jury for several hours; after which the judge passed sentence on the culprit, and the two lawyers left the court-house. As they passed on in the direction of their residences, I overheard one remark to the other, "in the name of —, how can a man stand up before the court, and lie as you did to-day." "Oh!" said the gentleman in reply, "I was well paid, I received a large fee, and could afford to lie." Some of the abolition editors, I presume, are well paid for their services. But to return to Uncle Tom's Cabin. No other mental culture is necessary, in order to qualify an individual to write such a book as Uncle Tom's Cabin, except the reading of novels and abolition papers. Mrs. Stowe, I have no doubt, is well read in both. And she has performed her task in a manner that has excited the wonder, and elicited the admiration and applause of millions! Volumes of eulogiums have been lavished upon her! She is now the wonder and admiration of America, and a goddess in England; and woe to him who refuses to do her homage! This rare production bids fair to supplant the Bible in Sabbath Schools in some parts of our country! What next? This is an age of wonders and humbugs. For aught we know, Jo. Smith's Bible, Uncle Tom's Cabin, and the spiritual rappers, may yet revolutionize our world. It is, however, difficult to tell, what is in the womb of the future; for many new wonders and marvelous revelations may yet spring up in the land of Yankeedom! Nothing is too hard for them. The word impossible, has no place in their vocabulary.

Having remarked, that I considered the narrative of Mrs. Stowe untrue; it now devolves on me to show the improbability of some of her statements. An old negro man, whom she calls Uncle Tom, is the hero of her tale. Uncle Tom was the servant of a gentleman, by name Shelby, who resided in Kentucky. She represents this old negro, Uncle Tom, as a very remarkable character. She tells us that Tom was pious and honest; not simply so, indulgent reader, in the ordinary acceptation of these terms, but that he was really and truly a God-fearing man—a man of unimpeachable veracity, strict honesty, and ardent piety; above suspicion—above crime—a perfect man—a man of almost angelic purity. We, moreover, learn from her narrative, that good old Tom, (God bless his soul and preserve his dust), was a kind of overseer on Shelby's farm; that to him was committed the oversight and supervision, of whatever pertained to Shelby's farming operations and interests. And as a proof of Shelby's implicit confidence in him, she states, that he sent Tom alone at one time, to Cincinnati on business, and that he returned home with five hundred dollars in his pocket. Tom, according to her account, was a great favorite, not only with his master, but also with his mistress and the entire family. Shelby's son George was devotedly attached to him.

We learn also from the narrative, that Tom was an old man, not less than forty-five, and probably fifty years of age. She tells us that Shelby had a son, by name George, who was thirteen years of age; and that Tom was seven years older than his master Shelby. Supposing that Shelby was twenty-five years of age when his son George was born; and that George was thirteen years of age, and that Tom was seven years older than his master, it stands thus: seven added to twenty-five make thirty-two, and thirteen added to thirty-two, make forty-five. But supposing that Shelby was thirty, when George was born, the result would be fifty.

From the narrative, we infer, that Shelby was in possession of many slaves; for Mrs. Stowe speaks of a dozen black children perched on the veranda railings at one time; and it is not presumable, that all the little boys and girls in his possession, would happen to be perched on the veranda railings at the same time; and these children must have had fathers and mothers, and many of them of course, brothers and sisters, who were men and women. She also tells us, that there were various negro cabins on the place; each cabin must have contained one family of negroes at least, if not more. She speaks of a couple of negro men who went with Haley, the trader, in search of Eliza and her child.

The labor on Shelby's farm was performed by slaves, and it is a fair supposition, that there were from fifty to seventy-five slaves on the farm. This is common through the states of Kentucky and Tennessee, and farther South it is no uncommon occurrence, to find from one hundred to five hundred slaves on the same farm, or otherwise in the possession of the same man.

Hence, we learn that Tom was an old man; that he nursed Shelby when an infant; that he was a trusty servant; that he had charge of everything about the place; that he was a pious man, and that Shelby entertained for him the kindest feelings; and that Mrs. Shelby was warmly attached to him; and that their son George's attachment to the good old servant knew no bounds; and that he was the husband of Aunt Chloe, the old cook; who, (by the by,) is always a great favorite in a Southern family. But strange as it may appear to those who have never read Uncle Tom's Cabin, Mrs. Stowe tells us, notwithstanding, that Shelby sold good old Tom to a negro trader; and that he was again sold to a gentleman in New Orleans,

and that after the death of this gentleman, he was purchased by an inhumane wretch by the name of Legree.

This man Shelby, nevertheless, according to her tale, was a very gentlemanly, humane man. I suppose that she would have us to understand, that he was altogether a pretty fair character for the South.

I believe the statements of Mrs. Stowe to be untrue, for the following reasons. First, because Shelby had a number of slaves from whom he could select; and I know from personal observation, that it is a universal practice among slaveholders to sell their most worthless and vicious slaves to negro traders. If they are forced to sell such a negro as she represents Tom to be, some neighbor who is acquainted with the slave, will give a higher price for him than a negro trader will. A negro trader will give as much for a negro who is a rogue, as he will for one who is an honest man. The negro trader pays no attention to the character of a negro; for the very good reason that the character of the negro is unknown to those to whom he expects to sell. No representation or recommendation whatever, can have any influence with those to whom they sell. They know nothing about the character of the negroes whom they purchase, and they have no reliable means of learning anything about them. Tom was purchased in Kentucky and sold in New Orleans. Therefore, Haley, the negro trader, would not have given one dime more for Tom on account of his good qualities. But Mrs. Stowe tells us, that Shelby was indebted to Haley, and that he preferred to purchase Tom on account of his good qualities; and that Shelby expected a high price from him on that account. Haley would have given several hundred dollars more for a man who was about twenty-five years of age, than he would have given for poor old Tom; though the young man might have been as vile a rogue, as ever went unhung. No man of common sense can fail for one moment, to discover the truth and justness of the above reasoning. Thus we see that falsehood is indelibly stamped on Mrs. Stowe's narrative at the very outset. What is it that enhances the value of negroes in the estimation of the negro trader? And what is it that recommends them, or enhances their value in market? First, the age of the slave is taken into consideration. Nobody will give as much for an old negro as he will for a young one in the prime of life. Tom was an old man, and Shelby had in his possession a number of young negroes. These facts alone stamp falsehood on the face of Mrs. Stowe's tale. Secondly, the physical force or power of the negro, and his apparent health, are taken into consideration. The purchaser, if he knows nothing about the qualities of negroes, will give the highest price for those (judging from appearances) that can perform the most labor. Now, is it reasonable to suppose, that a purchaser would have given as much for poor old Tom, as he would have given for a negro who was twenty-five or thirty years of age? There are from twenty to twenty-five years difference in the ages of the negroes, and there is a proportionate difference in their values. Reader, what do you suppose is the value of twenty years' labor in dollars and cents? Well, whatever it is, poor old Tom was precisely that amount less valuable, than many other negroes in the possession of Shelby; and yet Mrs. Stowe tells us that Shelby sold Tom, because he could get a higher price for him than any other negro in his possession. Why? Because of his good qualities. I have clearly and indisputably shown that Tom's good qualities did not enhance his value one cent with Haley. And at the same time, Tom was worth more to Shelby than any half dozen negroes on the farm. How absurd! Was a more barefaced, palpable, glaring and malicious falsehood ever fabricated? I am sorry that justice to my countrymen, my friends and my relatives, requires at my hands, an expose of this low, scurrilous production, entitled "Uncle Tom's Cabin." This is a fair sample of abolitionism. But I am not done with Uncle Tom. Mrs. Stowe tells us that he was a great favorite with Mrs. Shelby, and Shelby knew of course that it would almost break his wife's heart, and that young master George would almost go beside himself; yet he sells poor old Tom to this infamous negro trader, notwithstanding! Ah! "murder will out," and falsehood will out, likewise. The statements of Mrs. Stowe are inconsistent; they are sheer fabrications: the figments of a diseased brain.

I will again remark, that strictly honest, upright negroes, those remarkable for their good qualities, and those who are withal, negroes of more than ordinary value, are never sold to negro traders. The statement that Shelby was guilty of such an act, under the circumstances, as detailed in the preceding pages, is too absurd, too futile, too foolish to deceive or mislead any one who knows anything about the institution of slavery in the South; or the customs, habits, or manners of slaveholders. The work, however, was prepared for those whose minds were warped by prejudice, whose judgments were beclouded and perverted by sectional hatred and bigotry, and whose imaginations were bewildered and distempered by the reading of abolition publications and novels. To such it has proved a treat, yea, they have read it with avidity and delight.

Mrs. Stowe, presuming on the gullibility of her readers, has made other statements that I will notice. The wife of this very kind-hearted, humane and gentlemanly man, Shelby, had a maid-servant, by name Eliza; and Eliza had an only child; a very remarkable boy indeed! probably about five or six years of age; if there is any truth in her tale. Eliza was a delicate bright mulatto girl; a great favorite with her mistress; and her child of course a great favorite with the entire family. But, as if determined to break his wife's heart, Shelby sells Eliza's child also, to the negro trader, Haley. Here is another, to say the least of it, very improbable statement. If Shelby was the man that she represents him, he would have sold the entire dozen woolly heads that were perched on the veranda railings, on the morning after the transaction, before he would have sold the only child of his wife's maid-servant. The estimation in which maid-servants and their children are held by Southern ladies, is probably unknown to most of my Northern readers. Unless driven to it by dire necessity, a Southern gentleman would almost as soon part with his own children, as with his wife's maid-servant, or her children, except for crime. Eliza is represented by Mrs. Stowe as all perfection and beauty, and her darling boy as a little angel. Maid-servants occupy a position in Southern families far above that of any other class of servants; but little below the white members of the family. I resided forty-four years in the Southern States, and it is with pride that I record the fact, that a Southern gentleman would dispose of anything—everything—carriages, horses, stocks, tenements and lands, before he would dispose of such servants as Uncle Tom, and his wife's maid-servant's child, and

thereby break his wife's heart. No! far be it from Southern men; their wives are their all; and far be it from them, to say or do aught in opposition to the will of their wives, anything that will deeply mortify or afflict them. A man would be hooted from genteel society in the Southern States, for such an ignoble act. Whatever the faults of Southern men may be, they feel themselves bound to treat their wives with consideration, respect and kindness. But I must return to Eliza and her boy. Eliza, overhearing the conversation between Mr. and Mrs. Shelby, on the night after the interview between Shelby and Haley, she cautiously and quietly takes her boy out of the bed, and elopes. She hastens with all possible speed to the State of Ohio. Haley returns to Shelby's on the succeeding morning for the purpose of taking possession of Tom, and Eliza's child; but Eliza having decamped with the child, he and a couple of Shelby's negro men go in pursuit of her. They overtook her at the river; and Mrs. Stowe tells us, that she fled precipitately across the river on floating fragments of ice, with her boy in her arms! She tells us, that the ice was floating, and that a boat was expected to pass over the river that night. Was ever a more glaring falsehood penned. As well might she have told us, that Eliza walked over the river on the water, with a boy who was probably five or six years of age, in her arms! How inconsistent! How foolish! How superlatively ridiculous are such tales!! It is enough; I need not wade through the entire work, in order to show the falsity of Mrs. Stowe's tale.

She has calumniated her countrymen, and the slander has gone with electric speed on the pinions of the press, to the ends of the earth. Her country lies bleeding at her feet; its institutions totter. But ah! if she can but luxuriate in her ill-gotten gains, but little does she care what becomes of her country. She, truly, has been well paid for her services. She has received a "large fee," and all this was done under the pretense of serving the cause of liberty! Yes, truly, she is serving the cause of liberty with a vengeance. Had all the despots of earth leagued themselves together, for the purpose of crushing civil liberty, they could not have given it such a shock, as has been done by the publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin. Well may the friends of republican institutions bow their heads with shame and regret. The moral influence of the great American republic is destroyed. The friends of liberty throughout the world, mourn the disaster.

Mrs. Stowe is the modern Eve. Old mother Eve said, "The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat." Mrs. Stowe may say, "The serpent beguiled me, and I did write." Yes, she did write. The daughter of a clergyman and the wife of a clergyman did write a novel; and other clergymen seem to think it a fit substitute for the Bible in Sabbath schools; and ere long, other clergymen will, I have no doubt, read their text from it in the pulpit. God preserve the world, from clerical knaves and fools. Of all the curses, that ever were permitted by Almighty God to fall on wicked and deluded nations, there are none so much to be dreaded, as corrupt, bigoted, fanatical clergymen. A clergyman—a minister of God—a minister of the gospel of peace and glad tidings to all—who with his eyes open, will countenance, aid, or abet, any thing that destroys the peace and harmony of this nation, or that threatens to result in disunion and civil war, ought to be hurled forty leagues deep into perdition.

I entreat you my fellow citizens, to open your eyes and look around you! Behold hydra-headed infidelity stalking over New England, in clerical robes. Behold *others*, who have so far lost sight of their calling, and the spirit of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, that they are opposing the execution of the laws of our common country! Sowing dissensions and exciting feelings of envy, jealousy and hatred among our citizens. Be not deceived by their clerical robes and assumed sanctity; it is all lighter than a feather in the balance. My friends, there is danger ahead. Beware lest you be led blindfold to ruin by canting hypocrites. These are the men that endanger our liberties. Stand aloof, give no support to religious bigotry and fanaticism. I call on you as Christians, as patriots, "to touch not, taste not, handle not the unclean thing."

Pardon me, my countrymen; I am an American citizen, and as such, I speak and write. I know that I shall incur the displeasure of many by the expression of such sentiments as the above; but shall the fear of man deter me from warning you of your danger? No! heaven forbid! My country is my pride; my country is my boast; my country is my all; and woe to him, that would dissolve this glorious and heaven favored Union, and stain her fair fields with the blood of her own citizens. He that rebels against the laws of his country, or bids defiance to the solemn compact which binds together these States, is a traitor to his country—a traitor to his God. He that would destroy the Constitution, which was framed by our revolutionary sires, let him be accursed of God, and driven forth from the habitations of civilized man. Let every Christian—every friend of our beloved country, respond, a hearty Amen.

Mrs. Stowe has slandered her countrymen; hence, the great popularity of her book! We listen with pleasure to a recital, of the vices of our neighbors; we roll it as a sweet morsel under our tongues; but oh! I don't tell us anything about their virtues; we don't want to hear them spoken of! Friend, speak evil only of your neighbors, or else, be silent! We don't wish to hear you speak well of any one. We have no taste for eulogy, but give us slander, by wholesale and retail, and we will gulph it down!

This is a dark picture of the human heart, but I believe a tolerably correct one!

CHAPTER III.

Having in the preceding chapter dismissed Mrs. Stowe's narrative; I shall in the following pages, confine my remarks, so far as they refer to "Uncle Tom's Cabin," to its evident design and manifest tendency.

It was about thirty-five years ago, that the great abolition excitement broke out in the North. The subject of course, was agitated previous to that time, but there must have been then, some additional, or new excitement, for it was at that memorable period, that the South took the alarm. Previous to that

period, as far back as I can recollect, the subject of slavery was freely discussed in the Southern States, by clergymen and politicians in public; and it was withal, a common topic of conversation in the social circle. Throughout the slave states, at that time, the necessity of enlightening the minds, and ameliorating the conditions of the slaves was generally seen, felt, and acknowledged. It was then enforced on church members as a duty, by ministers of all denominations; and the ministers of the Gospel rebuked, (sometimes with great severity), harshness, cruelty, or unkindness to slaves.

A spirit of emancipation was then common among slaveholders; many slaves were set at liberty, and Christians, and philanthropists, were anxiously looking forward to a period of universal emancipation. A gentleman, by name Benjamin Lundy, published at that time an anti-slavery paper in Greenville, East Tennessee; which paper had an extensive circulation. About that time, I gathered up my anti-slavery juvenile doggerel, corrected it, as well as I could,—selected poems from Cowper and others, on the subject; forwarded the manuscript to the aforesaid B. Lundy, and the result was, a little volume of anti-slavery poems. But the abolition excitement broke out in the North, and the South took the alarm. The mouths of clergymen were closed in the pulpit; for it was deemed inadvisable, in consequence of Northern interference, to discuss the subject of slavery in the pulpit, social circle, or under any circumstances, whatever. It was thus, we see, through the intermeddling of Northern abolitionists, that discussion was cut off in the South. Rigid laws were then enacted by the state Legislatures, for the suppression of public discussion; and there were also enactments which threw obstacles in the way of emancipation; and thus, the fetters of slavery have been drawn tighter, and tighter, from that day, to the present time.

A short time after the excitement commenced in the South, a committee of panic-stricken citizens called on Mr. Lundy, after expressing for him personally the highest regard, they politely requested him to discontinue his paper; expressing the opinion, at the time, that its publication was no longer consistent with public safety. Mr. Lundy complied with their request, and it was rumored, whether true or false, I know not, that he remarked, that it was a great pity that the Yankees could not mind their own business. Mr. Lundy, I believe, was a Yankee himself, but was said to be a gentlemanly, humane man. Some are no doubt ready to ask, Why was it, that the abolition excitement in the North, produced such a panic in the South? It was the revolting and shocking doctrines, which they openly promulgated. It was their notorious disregard of the laws of God and man, and all those ties which bind us together as one great nation; their denial of the right of the South to hold slave property, notwithstanding that right had been guaranteed to them by the Federal Constitution; their advocacy of the right of the slave to arise in the night and cut his master's throat; or, else, burn his house over his head; their advocacy of the right of the North to force emancipation on the South, at the point of the bayonet, &c.

It was these monstrous doctrines and assumptions, which were then, and are to the present day, avowed and defended by abolition orators, that alarmed the Southern people. It was not long before Northern abolitionists were detected in circulating through the South, exciting and incendiary publications, on the subject of slavery, and in some instances, intermeddling with slaves, and trying to incite insurrections among them. These things inflamed the public mind more and more in the South. Legislatures met, and enacted laws still more stringent for the punishment of such offenders; for the suppression of public discussion; and they, withal, threw so many restrictions around those who held slaves that in most of the states, emancipation became exceedingly difficult, and in some of them, absolutely impracticable. These are historical facts, and they are worth more than a volume of any man's speculations on the subject of slavery. They speak for themselves, and require but little comment from me. Who was it that crushed in embryo, the reform which was in progress thirty-five years ago? It was the abolitionists, and every one is aware of it, who is informed on the subject; and intelligent men among the abolitionists know it, as well as any one else. The officious inter-meddling of abolitionists with Southern slavery, never has, and never can effect anything for the slave; it has served but to retard emancipation, and to rivet the chains of slavery. This opinion has been expressed a thousand times, by the wisest and best men, that our nation has ever produced—men, who enjoyed the best opportunities for forming correct opinions on the subject. Henry Clay said, in a letter, written in 1845, "I firmly believe that the cause of the extinction of negro slavery, far from being advanced, has been retarded by the agitation of the subject at the North."

I believe slavery to be an individual and a national evil—a dire calamity—and would rejoice to see it extinguished by any means compatible with the safety, peace and prosperity of the nation, the best interests of master and slave; and in the fear of God Almighty, before whose bar I know that I must shortly appear, I sincerely, firmly and solemnly believe, that if the free states had stood aloof, and left the discussion and disposition of it entirely to the slave states, several states which are now slave states, and are likely to remain so, would have long since made provisions for the emancipation of their slaves. And I moreover believe, that if the North would now desist from all interference with it, the evil would be eradicated from the United States, some hundreds of years sooner than it will be, provided she persists in her present course. This is a legitimate conclusion from the foregoing historical facts. Abolitionists can do nothing, and men of intelligence well know it, that will mitigate the evils of slavery, or eradicate it from the South. It is entirely beyond their reach, they cannot control it; and if the object of intelligent men in the North was the abolition of slavery, they would cease to agitate the subject. But that is not their object. I allude to the leaders of that party—the politicians, and not the common people, for they are sincere. What then is their object? It is to produce a dissolution of the Union; a separation of the Northern and Southern sections of the United States, civil war, blood-shed, the sacking and burning of cities, devastations, brother imbruing his hands in the blood of brother, the father shedding the blood of his son, and the son that of the father! Yea, and ten thousand other evils and calamities, of which they, themselves, have never dreamed. Is this abolitionism? Great God! what a picture—and the half has not been told! From whence did it spring? "By whom begot?" It is an offspring of New England infidelity. It was born in fanaticism, and nurtured in violence and disorder. It opposes and violates the commands of

God, and is full of strife and pride. Its course is unchristian, impolitic and hypocritical; it is alike hostile to religion and republicanism; it rejects the Bible and the constitution of our country, and under the pretense of higher law, it abrogates all law! This is abolitionism, but all is not yet told. Be patient, reader, and perhaps before I bring this essay to a close, I shall succeed in disclosing its anti-christian and anti-republican tendencies; its seditious spirit; its self will, pride and contumacy; its duplicity and hypocrisy; its cruelties, horrors and woes.

Should they succeed in dissolving the Union, what would they accomplish thereby? Would they by dissolving the Union emancipate a solitary slave in the South? No, not one. The South would then set up for itself, and the North for itself.

We would then have a Southern confederacy, and a Northern confederacy; each separate and independent of the other. The North would then have no more control or influence over the South; nor yet the South over the North, than England has over America, or America over England. But what has now become of the institution of slavery in the South? There it is, just as it was, before the dissolution of the Union was accomplished. And the Northern portion of the Union has lost all her control—all her influence over the South; which influence, she might have exerted for the benefit of the slave, if the Union had not been dissolved, and her course towards the South had been kind, conciliatory and pacific. It is all very plain—so clear, that it requires but a little common sense to comprehend the whole matter. It is clear then—clear as the noon-day sun, that the object of the leaders of the abolition party is not the abolition of slavery. Office, is the god they worship. Elevation to office, and self aggrandizement, is their ultimate object. If they can strengthen their party, and agitate the subject of slavery, until they bring about a dissolution of the Union, then Hale will be president of the Northern confederacy, Julian, vice-president, and Giddings, I suppose, prime minister. Would not Joshua cut a sorry figure, in that high and responsible office! Prince John, I suppose, would be attorney general. The little magician, John's daddy, would be thrown overboard, for no party, I think, will ever trust him again.

But only once let them get snugly fixed in their fat offices, and we shall then hear nothing more about Southern slavery from them, for the very good reason, that they care nothing about it. They have tried various expedients, and fallen upon various plans, in order to accomplish their diabolical purposes, but they have made the discovery, that either the whig, or the democratic party must be dissolved—annihilated; before they can possibly succeed. They base this conclusion on the supposition, that the fragments of the demolished party will unite with them. Well, one of the two great parties must be dissolved; but the democratic party being strong, and well organized, it was vain for them to expect aid from that quarter; but, it was otherwise with the whig party; and from this source they had reason to hope for aid. Hence, they labored hard in the recent presidential canvass, to defeat the whig nominee; believing that it was at least probable, that if General Scott was defeated, the whig party would in that event dissolve, and a large majority of the voters belonging to that party would fall into their ranks. If the whig party should hang together, and God grant they may, if for no other reason, to avert a calamity so awful, then are they again destined to meet with defeat and discomfiture, as heretofore. It is true that the whig party may not have entire confidence in their rivals, the democratic party; they may doubt the propriety of some of the measures advocated by them—the purity of the motives of some of their leaders. They may raise many objections to the democratic party, but I assure you, my whig friends, that there is more patriotism in Col. Benton's or Gen. Cass's little finger, as well as some others of the same party, whom I could name, than there is in every abolition politician on this continent. If you must leave your own party, I pray you go over to the democratic ranks, or else, stand neutral; but for God's sake, and for the sake of our common country, never be found in the abolition ranks. Keep clear of them—stand aloof—come not near them—have nothing to do with them. I am not advising the whig party to disband; on the contrary, I believe that the interests of the country will be subserved by their hanging together as a band of brothers. It is only on the supposition, that you must and will bolt, that I give you this advice.

The formation and organization of parties must and will take place, in all governments; and under these circumstances, it becomes our duty to guard against those moral and political evils, which are generated or brought about by selfish or corrupt partisans. I think it probable, that the present organization of parties into whig and democratic, is the best and safest that we could have; and for this reason, I have no wish to see either party dissolved. I am well aware, that when party prejudices and prepossessions are carried to excess, a vast deal of evil may grow out of them; but keep party spirit within clue bounds, and parties exert a salutary influence on government.

It is true, that such men as Hale, Julian and Giddings, would be likely to receive office from the hands of any party to which they might choose to attach themselves; but it is not less true, that ambitious men are rarely satisfied, unless there is a prospect of their reaching the pinnacle of fame. Elect such men to a State legislature, and they fix their eyes on the lower house of Congress, elect them to the lower house of Congress, and they fix their eyes on the United States Senate; elect them to the upper house of Congress, and they fix their eyes on the presidency; elect them to the presidency, and they are not yet satisfied—yea, they would then dethrone the Eternal, if possible.

I will close my remarks for the present on abolitionism, with a summary of my leading objections to it. I am opposed to it, because it proposes to abolish slavery by any means, and at any cost, be the consequences what they may. Because it would abolish slavery at any cost, and at any hazard; though it plunges us into a thousand evils, infinitely worse than African slavery.

I am opposed to the abolitionists, because they trample under foot the Constitution and laws of their country. The following sentiment is found in a report, offered to an abolition convention, recently in session, in Boston: "Anti-slavery shall sweep over the ruins of the Constitution and the Union, when a fairer edifice, than our lathers knew how to build, shall rise."

I am opposed to them, because they have in some instances made attempts to foment insurrections, and to incite the slaves to indiscriminate murder and rapine.

I am opposed to them, because they have decoyed away slaves from their masters, and have at the same time encouraged slaves to steal from their masters and others.

I am opposed to them, because of their utter and notorious disregard of truth, in their representations of Southern slavery.

I am opposed to them, because they reject the Bible, and profess to be under the guidance of a higher law. I was at a loss for some time to know from what source they derived their higher law; but looking over a Cincinnati paper a few days since, I read as follows: "The infidels celebrated the birth-day of Thomas Paine on the night," &c. A gentleman remarked, "that it was through the spread of Paine's opinions, that he expected to see the colored race elevated, and through this instrumentality alone." Vain hope!

I am opposed to them, because their plans, so far from bringing about the abolition of slavery, will but rivet the chains on the slave, and bring disaster on both master and slave. Because it strews the paths of both master and slave with difficulties and dangers. Because their interference makes slaves more impertinent and unhappy, frequently subjecting them to harsh and cruel treatment.

I am opposed to their theories and views, because they are illogical, and because so far as there is any truth in them, it is abstract truth, and not real truth, as modified by circumstances. Because they refuse to view things as they are, but rather as they should be, and are utterly reckless as to results and consequences.

And finally, I am opposed to them, because there is no fairness, justice, truth, or righteousness in them. The following is from the Detroit Free Press; and I shall give it without comment. It is headed "THE MORALITY OF NEGRO-STEALING."

"A novice might suppose, in witnessing the chuckle of satisfaction that has been noticeable among a certain class of people hereabouts within a few days back, that stealing is a virtue, and that the receiver of stolen goods is, *par excellence*, a model Christian. And even a man of some experience in the world might doubt the morality of the precept "to do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you," in view of the effrontery and impudence of those who regard negro stealing as a Christian duty.

"A paper in this city, which professes that the free soil party do not aim to attack the institution of slavery in those states where it exists, unblushingly published a few days since the proceedings of a meeting of free negroes, held on the occasion of the arrival here of a quantity of runaway negroes from some of the Southern States. We say, unblushingly, because more than usual prominence was given to the proceedings in its columns.

"Now, there is no difference, under the Constitution and laws, between stealing negroes from Kentucky and stealing horses from Kentucky. The Constitution of the United States and the laws of Kentucky hold one not less criminal than the other; and a paper in this city would be just precisely as justifiable in publishing the proceedings of a horse stealing society as the proceedings of a negro stealing society. There is not less guilt involved in the one than the other.

"For our own part we are disposed to call things by their right names. We believe that he who would be guilty of aiding and abetting the escape of a negro from his master, would not hesitate to steal any other property if he could do it with equal safety to himself. The fact that slaveholding is a sin does not change the nature of the offense, because the Bible doctrine of submission to the powers that be, is a plain and unequivocal duty. Negro stealing is as much a violation of the law of God as of the law of a Southern State.

"But we have not much faith in the Christianity of those abolitionists who steal negroes. And the receiver of stolen goods is equally guilty with the thief. Tom Corwin was not far out of the way (and it must be conceded that Mr. Corwin has had abundant opportunities to know) when he declared that 'they (the abolitionists) are a whining, canting, praying set of fellows who keep regular books of debit and credit with the Almighty.' 'They will,' he says, 'lie and cheat all the week, and pray off their sins on Sunday. If they steal a negro, that makes a very large entry to their credit, and will cover a multitude of peccadilloes and frauds. This kind of entry they are always glad to make, because it costs them nothing.' 'But,' adds Mr. Corwin, and this is the severest cut of all, 'when they cannot steal a negro they give something in charity for the extension of the gospel, and then commence a system of fraud and cheating, till they think they have balanced accounts with their God.' For once we believe Mr. Corwin has told the truth."

CHAPTER IV.

Would the condition of the slaves be ameliorated by emancipation, under existing circumstances; supposing they continue, either in the slave, or free States? This is a grave question, and so far as I am capable, I shall endeavor to give it a candid and impartial answer. Having resided both in slave and free States, I presume that I have had as good an opportunity of forming a correct opinion on the subject as

most of others. It has long been my settled conviction, that the condition of the slaves in the United States, would be in no respect bettered by emancipation in their present condition, under existing circumstances; supposing that they continue residents of the United States. It is in my view, no longer problematical; for I consider it a settled question, that their condition would in no respect be improved by emancipation; but on the contrary, I contend, that the condition of the free negroes in both the slave and free States, is far worse than that of the Southern slave. I shall again appeal to historical facts—past experience—and universal observation. Throughout the slave States, ever since slavery has existed on this continent, conscientious and benevolent persons have, from time to time emancipated slaves; and that too, in many instances, under the most favorable circumstances. And what was the result? In nine cases out of ten, and I think it probable, that in ninety-nine out of a hundred, their conditions were evidently made worse thereby. This is an indisputable fact, well known throughout the South. I resided forty-four years in the slave States, and had as favorable opportunities as any man living, for forming correct opinions on the subject, and I do here most solemnly aver, that of the hundreds of manumitted slaves, that came under my immediate observation, few, comparatively very few, appeared to be benefited by the change. The condition of a large majority of the free blacks in Tennessee and Virginia, who fell under my observation, was deplorable, and farther South, I suppose, that it was still worse. I practiced medicine among them for twenty years, and conversed freely with them; in some instances on the subject of their emancipation, and they frequently admitted, that they were in a more comfortable condition while they were slaves.

A majority of the slaves in the Southern States are professedly pious; the free negroes more rarely so. A majority of the slaves appear to be honest; a majority of the free blacks are petty thieves, drunkards, liars and gamblers. I have frequently known slaves set at liberty on account of their piety and other good qualities, and within a few years most of them would undergo a change for the worse—frequently, in fact, become vicious in the extreme. One instance I will here record. A gentleman in Western Virginia, by name Carter, held a slave, Absalom by name. Absalom became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He began praying in public a short time after his admission into the church. Soon he was licensed to exhort, next to preach. All this occurred, I believe, within less than eighteen months. He was powerful in prayer, and eloquent in exhortation. No one doubted his piety. He was prospectively liberated by a will. Carter, however, told him verbally, about this time, that he had made provisions in his will for his liberation, and that henceforth he could go where he chose, and do as he pleased. That he was a free man. What was the consequence? It was not long before a young lady belonging to a respectable family, was delivered of a mulatto child. On being questioned as to the child's paternity, she stated that it was parson Absalom's. Those interested, immediately called on him, and he frankly confessed that he was the father of the child. Poor Absalom, he was promoted by the church, set at liberty by his master; caressed and eulogized by the white brethren—it was too much for him—he could not bear it—until finally, he was "lifted up with pride," and "fell into the condemnation of the devil." Then might the church mourn, "O Absalom, my son! how art thou fallen." This is not an isolated case; many similar ones fell under my observation, but I cannot stop here to record them. In the city of Knoxville, East Tennessee, where I last resided while in the South; there were several hundred free negroes, and I could readily distinguish a free negro from a slave when I met him in the street. The slaves, to use Southern parlance, looked fat, saucy, happy and contented, while the free blacks, with a few exceptions, had a miserable and dejected appearance. When slaves are liberated in the South they immediately become stupid, indolent and improvident, though they were previous to their liberation, industrious and economical. If previous to their liberation they were pious, they frequently become vicious; if temperate while slaves, they often become drunkards, after they obtain their freedom; if honest, thieves; if truthful, liars. There are exceptions, I admit, and they are but few exceptions. These are undeniable facts—melancholy truths—would to God that it had fallen to the lot of some one else to record them.

I have endeavored, in the preceding pages, to show that the condition of the slaves of the South; so far from being improved; is made worse by emancipation under existing circumstances. Free negroes meet with but little sympathy in the South, and with still less in the North. A residence of a few years in the slave and also in the free States, will satisfy anyone of the truth of this remark. Free negroes are more odious to Northern than to Southern people. In all the varied and multifarious relations of social life, they are told to stand aside. Under no circumstances, social, civil or religious, can the white man and the African, meet on terms of equality and reciprocity. They are debarred from social intercourse with the whites. They are not suffered to become, so far as I know, members of any secret society, association or organization, whatever. Beside the white man at the hospitable board, they cannot, they dare not sit; and to a seat in the white man's parlor, and social converse, they dare not aspire. The carpet of the white man was not spread for them, and around his cheerful hearth, before his crackling fire, there is no place for them. They are not suffered to participate in any of the festivities or amusements of their more highly favored white brethren. If they are admitted into the same crowd, they must not commingle with the whites; they are required to stand to one side. If they are admitted into the same house, a separate apartment is assigned to them, and if to the same table, they are taught to wait in patience until the white man is satiated; and then to be content with the fragments and crumbs. If they enter the same church, a separate bench, or a separate apartment in the church is allotted to them; for beside the white man they dare not sit, while engaged in devotional exercises. The black man's children are not gathered together in the same school room, with the white man's. They are denied in free, as well as in slave States, the right of suffrage, or any participation, whatever, in civil affairs. All this is true of free, as well as slave States, with a few exceptions. The free negro in no respect betters his condition, by taking up his residence in a free State. In some respects it is made worse by the change. They are offcasts from society—loathed and despised, wherever they go. Nature has interposed an impassable barrier, between the white and the black man. It is not alone the black skin, and the woolly hair of the African that render him so odious to the Anglo-Saxon. The two races are diverse, mentally and morally—in their social qualities, habits, tastes and feelings. I shall not stop here to draw a contrast in detail, but after a few remarks I shall pass on.

The African differs from the Anglo-Saxon in his physical conformation, by his black skin, his curly hair, his flat nose and broad flat foot. Nor is he less distinctly marked by his mental characteristics. Content to repose on the bosom of his mother *terra firma*, he is not disturbed by dreams of honor, wealth or fame. He does not with the white man possess that towering ambition, that soars aloft in climes ethereal. There is with the African no motive to spur him to action; no incentive to the acquisition of wealth; no aspiration for power; no desire for honor or fame. Self reliance and enterprise, are the peculiar characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon race; on the contrary, the African in his native state, is content with his hut and his palm-leaf shade, and he is now what he was centuries ago; there is no improvement or change whatever. The African under no circumstances, in any part of the habitable globe, has ever attained a high degree of civilization. "For centuries on centuries, Africa has remained stationary, and at the very lowest stage of civilization, but one remove indeed above brutishness." "Back to that merely animal existence too, the Jamaica blacks are fast retrograding." The African is constitutionally indolent and improvident. Work he will not, so far as he is able to avoid it, nor will he economize what falls into his hands, I do them no injustice. I appeal to facts. Look at the condition of the free negroes, North and South! Look at Africa—behold the African race the world over, and then tell me from whence come their universal poverty, ignorance and degradation. The African possesses none of that sensitiveness—that acuteness of sensibility—that delicacy and refinement of taste, which characterize the white race. There is with the African a predominance of the animal propensities, and with him, their gratification, constitutes the sum total of life and all its enjoyments. He knows no other enjoyment, he has no higher object, or aim. It is therefore, very clear, that abolitionists are contending for an impracticability; that the two races cannot amalgamate and become one people, and enjoy equal rights and privileges; that they cannot live together on terms of perfect equality. The white man has the pre-eminence; it is the gift of God; and the African is doomed to servitude, until he is removed beyond the white man's reach. The African is not fully prepared for the enjoyment of liberty. Hence, the universal emancipation of the race, supposing that they were colonized, would be very likely to throw them back into their original barbarism; and the idea of liberating the entire slave population of the Southern States, and letting them loose upon us, is so ridiculous, that it scarcely deserves notice. It would be to us as a moral pestilence; a plague, far worse than all the plagues of Egypt! Yes, far worse, than frogs and lice, and locusts, and flies, and murrain of beasts, and biles on man, and darkness all combined. Free negroes would then deluge the great Northern cities. It would be as tornadoes and volcanoes let loose upon us. Our country is already deluged with as many vagrants, as she is able to jog along with.

CHAPTER V.

I consider slavery an evil, an individual evil, a national calamity; but I believe that the evil falls more heavily on the master, than on the slave. In order to understand this subject correctly, we must contemplate the African in his native ignorance and destitution; his brutal barbarism and his savage ferocity. We need but contrast the African in his original state, with the well housed, well clothed, and well fed slave of the United States. I am well aware, that an objection will be urged against this view of the subject, on the ground, that when brought to this country they were deprived of their liberty; and this with some persons is proof positive, that their individual happiness was curtailed thereby. The argument then resolves itself into this; is the happiness of individuals, under all circumstances, diminished by depriving them of their liberty? I have already attempted to prove, that the happiness of slaves in this country is diminished by attempting to restore them to liberty, and I may again recur to this subject before I close this essay. For this reason, I shall waive, at the present time, the refutation of what I conceive a gross error, unless the objector is satisfied with a few general remarks on the subject. I assert, without fear of successful contradiction, that neither the happiness of individuals, nor yet of nations, is always augmented by what is sometimes falsely called liberty. It depends wholly on the virtue and intelligence of individuals, and nations, as to whether liberty or servitude will conduce to their happiness and general welfare. We have no doubt, that the condition of the Mexican Republic would be greatly bettered at this time, by placing over them, a humane and politic king. Whoever is incompetent to take care of himself, is fortunate indeed, when he finds a competent individual, who, will perform that office for him. Show me a nation who are so debased by vice and ignorance, that they are incapable of self-government, and you show me a nation who ought to be ruled by a king or an emperor. Show me an individual, who is incompetent to provide for, and take care of himself, and you show me an individual whose happiness would be augmented by subjecting him to a humane man. Abolitionists, propagandists, and filibusters, would do well to bear these facts in mind. Servitude is sometimes a grievous calamity to the unfortunate slave, for the cruelty and brutality of some masters, better entitle them to the appellation of demons than men. There are, and ever have been, and ever will be such, but I am happy to believe, that there are comparatively few such monsters among the slaveholders at the present time. I am well aware that but few masters, in the treatment of their slaves, have complied with the requisitions of Divine revelation, but cruelty to slaves is by no means common among slaveholders at the present time.

I have said that I regarded the evils of slavery as falling most heavily on the slaveholders; in other words, on the white population. Slavery begets idleness; idleness begets vice; and vice plunges individuals into wretchedness, degradation and infamy. In some of the slave States, the slaves perform most of the labor, consequently children are brought up in idleness. The inevitable consequence is, that a large majority of them, long before they arrive to adult age, are deplorably vicious. It is in the extreme Southern States, that this evil is most apparent.

The demoralizing influence of slavery is not so great in Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, and Western Virginia. The evil falls mostly on the male population; females not being exposed to the same temptations.

The boy is let loose at an early age, and runs into all manner of excesses; not so with the girl; for from childhood to adult age, she is ever under the eye of her mother; and I do not suppose, that for intelligence, beauty and refinement, the world can produce a set of females superior to the Southern ladies; though, the manner in which they are brought up, their habits and modes of life, too often incapacitate them for the active duties incumbent on mothers.

It has been stated as one of the effects of slavery, that it renders men proud, haughty and tyrannical. There may be some truth in the remark, but I am well satisfied, that there is not so much as some suppose. In contrasting the character of the white population in the slave and free states, it is somewhat difficult to ascertain the precise influence of the institution of slavery, in moulding and shaping Southern character. We must, in an investigation of the subject, take into consideration the influence of climate North and South, and various other influences less obvious, though not less certain to leave their impress on human character. I have neither time, nor space, for a thorough examination of the subject, and must, therefore, after stating some facts, leave the reader to arrive at his own conclusions. Southern people are proverbially liberal and hospitable. No Southerner can fail, after a short residence in the North, to observe opposite traits of character in Northern people; and the Southerner, after emigrating to the North, is soon forced, in self defence, or rather prompted by the laws of self preservation, to close up the avenues of his liberality, and assume an attitude, or rather take a position in society, unknown to him while a resident of a Southern clime. The liberality of Southern people too often leads them into recklessness in the management of their pecuniary transactions, which frequently results in embarrassment and ruin. A Southerner to his friend, never says *no*. He promptly and cheerfully complies with his request, and, truly, the giver, if not more "blessed," appears to be more happy than the receiver. Whatever they do, they seem to do it cheerfully. They act as if they esteemed it a singular favor, to have it in their power to relieve a friend. A Southern man will part with his last dime to aid a friend, though, he may be forced, in less than twenty four hours, to borrow money himself. I long lived among them, embarrassed by a series of unprecedented misfortunes, and their generosity I shall never forget. I shall carry the recollection of it to my grave; it will, no doubt, soothe me on my dying bed. Dear friends of the sunny South, in an evil hour I was separated from you, and what I have suffered since both in body and mind, God only knows. Ah! I could tell a *tale*, but I forbear. There is a marked contrast in the manner in which strangers are treated North and South. Every stranger in the South is presumed to be an honest man, until he proves himself to be a rogue. Every stranger in the North, is presumed to be a rogue, until he proves himself an honest man. Another Southern peculiarity is, that no one can attack the character of another, without incurring the risk of losing his life. The slanderer in the South is an outlaw, and the injured party incurs but little more risk in stabbing, or shooting him, than he would in shooting a mad dog; for public opinion justifies the deed, and a jury of his fellow citizens will acquit him. This is literally and emphatically true, if the female is the injured party. In the latter case, any relation or friend is at liberty, to silence forever the tongue of the slanderer. If he that slanders a female is in danger, he that seduces her runs a risk tenfold. A few days previous to my leaving the city of Knoxville, Tenn., an old man, by name M., walked into the court-house, (court in session) and deliberately shot down a gentleman, by name N. He lived after the discharge of thirty-six buckshot into his body, but a few minutes. N. was an official character, and one of the most popular men in the county, and though I remained in the city but a few days after the perpetration of the atrocious act, I discovered that nine-tenths of the community justified him in the horrible deed. It was not long before I received information, that the murderer of N. was acquitted. The crime of N. was seduction. Similar occurrences are frequent in the South.

Swearing, gambling and drunkenness, are the most common vices among Southern men; and slander, detraction, and a species of low detestable swindling in business transactions, are the vices most obvious in the North. The better part of Southern society are regulated and controlled, to a great extent, by certain laws of honor and rules of social etiquette. A Southerner is more likely to inquire, is it honorable or dishonorable, than is it morally right or wrong? They rigidly observe those rules and regulations which govern society, in their social intercourse. I will close this chapter with some remarks on slave labor; its effects on the agricultural interests of the South, &c.

It is a trite remark that slave labor is unproductive, when compared with labor performed by free white citizens; and that the agricultural interests of the country have suffered by the introduction of slave labor, &c.

The fact is admitted by all, but the reason is not very clear to every one. Many cannot comprehend, why it is, that the farmer who pays his laborers nothing, should be less prosperous than his neighbor, who pays his laborers from ten to fifteen dollars per month. The idea that those who work slaves, pay nothing for their labor; or in other words, that slave labor costs a man nothing, is incorrect. If a farmer breeds and raises slaves, it is at a cost of at least a thousand dollars per slave. If he purchases a slave with his money, the slave frequently costs him one thousand dollars. If we suppose his money worth ten per cent interest, per annum, the amount of the interest on the purchase money, is one hundred dollars per annum. Here is eight dollars and thirty-three and one-third cents per month, that the farmer is paying for labor. To this add fifty dollars per annum for clothing, viz., four dollars and sixteen and two-third cents per month; making an aggregate of twelve dollars and fifty cents per month, that the farmer expends for slave labor. During a residence of forty four years in the South, I never knew the time when white laborers could not be procured for that amount, and frequently for less. To this we may fairly add at least twenty-five per cent for loss of time by sickness, loss of slave property by death, physician's bills, &c., so that we may put down slave labor at fifteen dollars per month. Fifty per cent more, than white labor ordinarily costs in the slave states. This is a fair statement of the case. But the disadvantages of slave labor do not stop here. As a general rule, land cultivated by white laborers, will produce from twenty-five to fifty per cent more than land cultivated by slave labor. This is owing to the careless, slovenly manner in which slave labor is performed. To this we may add the destruction of farming utensils and implements of husbandry, over and

above what occurs in the hands of white laborers; and also the injury inflicted on horses, mules and oxen; the loss of stock for the want of proper attention, regular feeding, &c.

None can comprehend the force of my remarks so well, as the practical farmer. Well does he understand the vast expense incurred, and the loss that is sustained, by the careless and reckless wear and tear, and destruction of farming utensils and machinery—the improper treatment of horses—inattention to hogs, cattle, &c. Slaves are remarkable for their listlessness and indolence, and the little interest they manifest in anything. Many of them perform their round of labor with as little apparent concern or interest, as the horses or mules which they drive before them. There are, I admit, exceptions, but as a general rule, my remarks hold good. I never owned a negro, but I frequently employed them as cooks, washerwoman, &c., and many years observation satisfied me, that as a general rule, that when left to themselves, they consumed, or rather wasted, one-third more provisions than would have sufficed for my family under the management and supervision of an economical white woman.

It is a notorious fact, well known to every one who has had opportunities of making observations, that in those parts of the United States where the operations of farming have been confided mostly to slaves, the lands are exhausted of their fertility and have become barren and unproductive. Some lands are now in this condition, which were originally the finest in the United States. Eastern Virginia is a good sample of the effects of slave labor on the fertility of lands. This all results from the ignorance, carelessness and inattention of those to whom the operations of farming are confided. All soils are capable of improvement by judicious culture, and the interests of farmers, individually and collectively, as well as the interest of every American citizen, requires at their hands to so cultivate their lands as to augment their fertility; and not solely with a view to their present productiveness. It is a duty incumbent on them as good citizens; a duty they owe to themselves; to their posterity; to the nation; to the world.

CHAPTER VI.

There is yet another evil growing out of slavery which I must notice before I bring my remarks to a close on this topic. I allude to the degraded condition of a portion of the white population in the slave States. There are, throughout the slave States, a class of the white population who are so debased by ignorance and vice, that the slaves are in many respects their superiors. They are about on a par with the free negroes. About the larger cities in the North, a similar class may be found, a majority of whom are free negroes and foreigners. The poverty, vice, ignorance and degradation of this class of persons, in the South, is a sore evil, and demands the attention of every Christian philanthropist in the Southern States. This, I conceive, has originated partly from the competition of slave and free labor, but mainly, I presume, from the association of this class with the African population. There are other agencies, no doubt, which have contributed to debase and brutalize this class of the white population, but I judge, that the causes above indicated, are the principal ones. Some will, no doubt, attribute this in part to the disparity between the lower classes in the South, and what they choose to term the slaveholding aristocracy. They will contend, that the vast difference between the higher and lower classes in the South, results in the deterioration of the latter. There is some plausibility in the argument, and it may be that there is some truth in it, but such individuals have forgotten that the same agency is in active operation in the free as well as the slave States. I am aware that men of wealth do not feel themselves under any obligation to associate with their less fortunate neighbors, the world over. It is one of the characteristics of human nature. But men of wealth in the Southern part of the United States, are not more haughty, distant and overbearing, than the same class in other parts of the Union. On the contrary, there is an urbanity about Southern slaveholders, that enables the lower classes to approach them with less embarrassment than they feel when they attempt to approach the frigid, stiff, and less polite Northerner. Gentlemen and ladies, in the Southern part of the United States, are accustomed to treat every one that approaches them, rich or poor, with a degree of civility and courteous ease, that is unknown among the same class in any other part of the civilized world. Their blandness and kindness cannot fail to make the poor man feel happier and better. If he is forced to approach them for the purpose of soliciting aid, he is seldom turned away empty. They are universally liberal and hospitable. Having practiced medicine among them twenty years, I have no recollection of a solitary instance in which any of them made a long face, when I made out a long bill for services. I will here relate some anecdotes which will serve to illustrate Southern character. Being pressed at a certain time for two hundred dollars, and not having time at my disposal to collect it, and having rendered important services for a wealthy citizen near the town in which I resided; I seated myself at my table, with an intention of making out a bill against him that would liquidate the claim against myself. With considerable difficulty, I at length screwed up the bill to two hundred dollars, and off I posted to his house. I found him at home and presented the bill; not without some misgivings, that perchance he might take exceptions to the amount charged for services. But I was disappointed, for after looking over the bill a few moments, he remarked, "why sir, you have not charged me half enough; you ought to have charged me five hundred dollars." He paid the bill, made me a present of fifty dollars, and told me that if I needed money at any time to "call and get it." At another time I was employed by a gentleman to attend his son, who had been, for several years previous to that time, subject to epileptic attacks. The fee, per visit, was stipulated at the outset, and I was paid for each visit before leaving the house, according to contract. I attended the young gentleman near two years, and during the time was pressed for money and borrowed one hundred dollars of the old gentleman, and executed my note for that amount. Some years after I had dismissed my patient, I called for my note, and presented the amount, principal and interest. The gentleman handed me the note, but refused to receive the money, and when I pressed him to take it, he replied, "No sir, I shall not receive the money, I always intended to give it to you, provided that you cured my son, and I presume he is well."

On a bright sunny morning, when a boy, I was seated on a rock watching a flock of lambs, that were frisking and skipping about in a meadow. An old lady by name S., and a gentleman by name M., met within a few yards from where I sat. After the usual salutations; "Well, Mrs. S.," said the gentleman, "I understand that you have sustained a heavy loss by fire." "Yes," replied Mrs. S. "Well I am very sorry to hear it, and I intend to send you a wagon load of provisions, &c., shortly." "I thank you Mr. M., but don't trouble yourself about the matter, for we have already received twice as much as we lost by the fire." I will relate yet another.

A wealthy gentleman being informed that a poor Irish widow in his neighborhood was likely to suffer for provisions; went immediately to her cabin in order to ascertain her condition. When about taking his leave, he remarked to the widow, "if she would send over, she could have some Irish potatoes, and any other articles of food that her family needed."

"Bless your dear soul," replied the widow, "when you undertake to do a good and charitable deed, and sarve the Lord Jasus, if you expect a blessing on your soul, don't half do the thing, and leave a poor widow to do the other half. Go home and send the potatoes, and send some meat to cook with the potatoes, and send meal to make bread, to eat with the meat; and then may ye expect a blessing on yer soul." The gentleman returned home and complied with her request.

Whatever the faults of Southern slaveholders may be, and they are many, these are redeeming traits in their characters; nor are they so devoid of sympathy for their slaves, as is generally supposed in the North. I know that they are represented by a certain class in the North, as a set of tyrants, ruling their slaves with a rod of iron. All such representations are untrue, for a majority of them seldom correct an adult slave with the rod, except as a punishment for some flagitious crime, for which a white man would be fined or imprisoned, or else, confined in the State penitentiary.

Go to the field, and there you will find the aged slave and his master, busily engaged in the same employment; listen to their kind and familiar converse. Direct your steps from thence to the parlor, and there behold the aged house-woman and her mistress, seated side by side. Listen to the soothing and affectionate tones of this amiable lady, and behold the happy, joyful countenance, of this aged African. Cast your eyes around the splendid mansion, and behold the indiscriminate groups of white and black children, chattering, skipping, jumping, wrestling or rolling over the fine Turkey carpet. If freedom was tendered to these aged slaves, what think you, would they accept it? No, they would spurn the offer with indignation. They are happier than their masters or mistresses, and they well know it. They are provided for; partake of the same food, while they are exempt from the cares which perplex and embarrass, and too often embitter the lives of those who have charge of families. A large majority of the slaves in the Southern States are contented and happy. This will appear to many, no doubt, improbable. Nevertheless, it is true. If African character was generally better understood, it would silence much of that clamor and agitation of the subject, which is so annoying to all patriotic, peaceable and good citizens. The African desires but little, and aspires to but little; consequently it requires but little to render, him happy. Happiness consists in the gratification of our appetites, passions and propensities. Those of the African, occupy but a small space; therefore but little is necessary to satisfy him. On the contrary; the appetites, passions and propensities of the Anglo-Saxon are boundless; therefore, much is requisite for their happiness, or otherwise to satisfy them. For this reason, an individual may be miserable, though he possess all the comforts and luxuries that the world can afford; and he may be happy with a bare sufficiency of coarse food and coarse clothing. He that is satisfied with what he has, is happy; be it little or much. Slaves, as a general rule, are happy in a state of servitude, because in a state of servitude they have all that they desire—all to which they aspire. Hence the evils of slavery, so far as the slave is concerned, are more in appearance than reality, because the African is happy under circumstances, in which an Anglo-Saxon would be miserable.

In the present condition of the African race they are happier as slaves, than they would be as free men, because they are incapable of providing for themselves, and are therefore incompetent to enjoy the rights and privileges of free men.

I could fill a volume with anecdotes, which ought to make those who vilify and traduce slaveholders blush for shame; but I have neither time nor space at present. I will, however, relate one and pass on. I visited professionally, many years ago, an aged infidel. A more benevolent man I have seldom seen. Humanity appeared to be a constituent element in his composition, and kindness an innate principle of his heart. In one corner of the yard, in a log cabin, lived a pious old slave with his family. It was the custom of the old slave to pray in his family every night before retiring to bed. Old massa was never forgotten in his prayers. He never failed to present him before a throne of grace. The old infidel never doubted the sincerity of his slave, nor yet the purity of his motives, though he sincerely believed that it was all delusion. He had listened for many years to the prayers of this slave, and could distinctly hear the slave pray for "old massa." Some years after my first visit to this worthy old gentleman, he was suddenly taken very ill. I was again summoned to his aid. All my efforts availed nothing; he must die. All hopes of his recovery were abandoned. Then did the prayers of the poor old slave become long and loud. "Massa must die, and must he die unprepared? O Lord, spare him—O Lord, convert him—O Lord, save him," was the prayer of the slave. While the slave was praying an arrow pierced the infidel's heart, and he cried aloud for mercy. The slave was invited into the house, and he knelt at the bed-side of his dying master, and there petitioned a throne of grace in his behalf. The old infidel made a profession of religion, and shortly afterwards died happy.

CHAPTER VII.

There is another point of view, in which slavery must be viewed by every patriot, as a national curse. I allude to the agitation and sectional hatred, which it engenders. This is a grievous misfortune. It is folly to attempt to conceal the fact, that it has originated sectional jealousy and prejudice, which endangers the perpetuity of the Union. This is a serious view of the subject, and it demands the sober consideration of every friend of this glorious Union. *The Union must be preserved*; should be the motto of every one who has a spark of patriotism in his breast. All those questions of national policy, which have separated the great political parties in this country, when compared with this great question, sink into utter insignificance. Whatever endangers the perpetuity of this Union, demands the attention of every friend of his country; every man who is worthy the name of an American citizen. It calls loudly for prompt and effectual action, to avert the calamitous catastrophe. *God save the Union*, should be the prayer of every Christian. This petition, should begin and end their devotional exercises. *God save the Union*, should be the first lesson taught to the child in the cradle; and from infancy to old age, the reverential aspirations of our hearts should ascend to him who holds the destinies of nations in his hands; to save and bless our common country.

From morn till eve, our hearts should breathe,
Father of mercies, God of love preserve—
Oh! preserve, our blood bought liberties;
Preserve them unalloyed, unimpaired While time shall last.

If we all could be animated by this spirit, then would peace, prosperity and good will, abound more and more, throughout the length and breadth of our land. Bound together by cords of love; as a band of brothers; we should know "no North, no South;" the prime object of all would then be, the prosperity and preservation of our common country. We are the conservators of liberty. We hold it as a trust, and the oppressed of all nations expect here to find a refuge from tyranny; and here they may find it, so long as we preserve our Federal Union unimpaired.

But unfortunately for us, ambitious demagogues have seized upon the subject of slavery, and are convulsing the country from one end to the other. Slavery is the demagogue's hobby, and he mounts it, raises his hat, kicks and spurs, as if the salvation of the universe was suspended on his elevation, to some petty, insignificant office. Slavery is to us, as a great subterranean fire, which is ever ready to burst upon us with volcanic violence, deluging our country with boiling lava, red hot stones, smoke and flames; carrying devastation, death and destruction in its train. But the subject will be agitated, more or less, and unless the people of this country become better informed on this subject, and peaceably adopt some practicable means for its final extirpation; sooner or later the Union will be endangered thereby. The North should cease to vex the South, and the South should cease to vex the North, and patriotic men North and South, should devise some means, by which the end might be accomplished at some future day. The question now presents itself to every friend of humanity—to every philanthropist; is there no remedy for these evils, or must we groan under their pestilential influence forever?

I know that the subject of slavery is a perplexing question, and that its abolition will be attended with dangers and difficulties, take what course we may; but shall we for that reason, fold our arms, sit still and do nothing? Or else flee from its hydra-headed ghost in dismay? No, my friends and fellow citizens; to those who put their trust in God, and have the wisdom to plan, and the will to work, all things are possible. It is, however, folly for us to flatter ourselves, that slavery can be extirpated in the United States in a short time. It will require time and patience to attain an object, so desirable. Hasty and inconsiderate action will be likely to prove abortive, and result in no good to either master or slave; if not in irretrievable ruin to both. We should avoid everything in word or deed, which has a tendency to irritate the South and arouse them to resistance. Abolitionists by their low abuse and vile misrepresentations, have done everything in their power to excite and irritate them; hence, there is an impassable gulf between them and Southern men. We should beware lest we fall into the same error. The course of the North towards the South, should be kind and conciliatory. We should consult her interests, and appeal to her patriotism, and thus may the North and South as a band of brothers, heartily co-operate in the great and glorious work, of restoring liberty to the enslaved Africans, and of enlightening their minds and thereby qualifying them for the enjoyment of freedom. What patriot, what philanthropist, does not respond a hearty Amen? Not one. Show me the man who says no, and you show me a man in whose bosom a patriotic, or philanthropic sentiment never found a resting place—a man who is an entire stranger to every sentiment of humanity—to every tender and sympathetic emotion of the soul—to all the kindlier and better feelings of our nature.

I have in the preceding pages endeavored to show, that the visionary schemes of abolitionists can never accomplish anything for the slave; but that they are on the contrary, potent for evil, and powerless for good. It is therefore incumbent on me to reply to the interrogatory, what can be done? By what means can slavery be abolished in the United States? Is it practicable? Yes; it can be done; and the only means by which it can be accomplished, is by colonization. There is no other safe and practicable method, or way, by which slavery can be abolished in the United States. It is probable that an objector will point to the African colonization society, and ask, what has it accomplished towards the abolition of slavery? But little, I admit. The reason is obvious. It grows out of the immense distance of Africa from the United States and the vast difficulties, and expenditures, consequent upon the transportation of free blacks from the United States, to the colony in Africa, and also the unwillingness of a majority of the free blacks to leave this country, or at least, to be transported to Africa.

Those philanthropists, who originated the African colonization society, had another object in view. Their prime object was, the regeneration of Africa; and in this they will probably succeed. We must colonize the free blacks nearer home. We must have territory set apart for that purpose, somewhere on this continent; if we expect to accomplish anything toward the abolition of slavery by colonization. Slaveholders must get

their eyes open. They must have light on the subject. They must become satisfied that it is not only their duty, but their interest, to prepare and qualify the rising generation of slaves for the enjoyment of freedom. Slaves must be educated and enlightened before they are liberated.

We of the North must approach our Southern brethren in a spirit of kindness, conciliation and concession; and talk to them as brothers, and not denounce and stigmatize them as murderers, rogues, rascals, slave-catchers and kidnappers. We have mistaken Southern men and Southern character.

We may lead Southern men, but we cannot drive them. We must treat them as gentlemen; we must approach them as friends, holding the olive branch of peace in our hands, and treat them with that civility, kindness and condescension, to which they are accustomed, and to which they think themselves entitled. Don't talk to Southern men about liberating slaves, until some provision is made for manumitted slaves—an asylum provided where they can quietly repose in peace, and enjoy the blessings of freedom. Don't urge them to liberate their slaves, when both the condition of the master and the slave is made worse thereby. 'Tis folly—'tis sheer nonsense; and well informed men ought to be ashamed thus to conduct themselves. If you know anything, you ought to know better; and if you know nothing, you ought to say nothing, until you are better informed. Congress should be memorialized in every town, city, and village in the United States, to set apart territory for the colonization of free blacks. It should be done speedily. It matters not what it might cost this government, it should be done. Talk not of dollars and cents. Mountains of gold are lighter than a feather, if thrown into the balance against a cause which disturbs the peace, and endangers the perpetuity of this Union. Territory should be secured and set apart, near the Southern border of the United States. I repeat that it should be done speedily. Humanity and justice demand it at our hands. What can the free blacks do? Where can they go? They will soon be legislated out of the free states, and their condition in the slave states, must necessarily be one of wretchedness and degradation. Reader, what say you to the above proposition? It is offered for your sober and prayerful consideration. Does it commend itself to your judgment? Is it safe? Is it practicable? Is it suitable, proper and right? Consult that inward monitor conscience. Ask him if all is right; if all is well within you? Ask him if something should not be done for the African.

Thousands of slaveholders at this time would cheerfully liberate their slaves, if they could be removed beyond the limits of the United States, and provision made for them, that would conduce to their peace, happiness, and well being. Knowing, as I do, the feelings and views of Southern men; I here confidently assert, that if our national legislature will colonize the free blacks somewhere on this continent, contiguous to the Southern border of the United States, and make suitable provision for them; in less than twenty years from this time, at least one fourth of the slaves, now in bondage in the United States, will be manumitted and colonized. Don't talk to us about colonizing the free blacks in Africa; it can't be done; it never will be done; the majority of them are unwilling to go to Africa. They prefer bondage in the United States, to transportation to Africa. During my residence in the States of Virginia and Tennessee, I had knowledge of several instances, in which masters proposed to liberate slaves, provided they were willing to be removed to the colony in Africa, and in most cases they refused, declaring that they preferred bondage in the United States to a removal to Africa. I interrogated at different times hundreds of slaves, old and young, male and female, as to whether they would consent to a removal to Africa; provided their masters would liberate them, and in at least, nine cases out of ten, they would promptly and emphatically answer, No; they would not go to Africa—they would rather continue slaves—they would rather die, &c.

Make provision then for liberated slaves, and cease, oh! cease, ye fanatics and fools, to agitate the country by your clamor; and then shall we behold the noble and generous sons and daughters of Kentucky and Tennessee, conferring the boon of freedom on the African race, within their borders. Missouri and Maryland will soon follow their example; nor will North Carolina and Virginia long lag behind; South Carolina will straggle long and hard, but she must ultimately yield; and the soft zephyr of freedom will then fan the fair fields of Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas; Louisiana will feel its refreshing influence; and the Lone Star, (Texas), cannot long stand alone, in her opposition, to the rights of man, and the impulsive calls of humanity. The shades of Washington and Clay will then hover over the states of Virginia and Kentucky, and around them will cluster, a convoy of angels, and the spirits of the fathers of American freedom; all watching with intense interest the great and godlike movement.

CHAPTER VIII.

I shall now proceed to show, that the holding of slaves is not necessarily sinful under all circumstances; or in other words, that the relation of master and slave is not, under all circumstances, inconsistent with, or in opposition to the revealed will of God. In the discussion of this question it will be necessary, first to glance at the origin and history of African slavery. I am apprised of the difficulties which I shall encounter in the investigation of this subject; and I am by no means blind, or insensible to my own incompetency; but I set out with the determination to look the subject of slavery full in the face, and fearlessly to express my opinions, regardless of consequences; at least so far as my own personal ease, interest, or reputation is involved; I shall, therefore, take the responsibility of openly expressing such opinions and views, as I conceive to be in accordance with the Holy Bible, and leave consequences to a just, wise and righteous God. To Him, and to Him alone, am I responsible for what I write.

God in his infinite benevolence and wisdom, and for the manifestation of his own glory, created man in his own image, and placed him in the garden of Eden, holy and happy. And he commanded him, "of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." Adam disobeyed the high mandate of

heaven; he ate of the forbidden fruit, and thus he fell by transgression from his high and holy estate. He was our federal head; and he fell not alone, for on all his posterity fell the withering curse of Almighty God. "Curst is the ground for thy sake." "Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth unto thee." "In the sweat of thy face, shalt thou eat thy bread, till thou return unto the ground:—for dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return." The posterity of Adam soon forgot God. Gross wickedness soon covered the earth. Vile and depraved, the descendants of Adam went forth, perpetrating every act of wickedness, every abomination that the heart of man could devise. The world was soon filled with brutality, lust, and violence. "And God looked down upon the earth and behold it was corrupt." "And God said unto Noah, the end of all flesh is come before me." "And behold I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh." Righteous Noah and his wife, and his son's and his son's wives were preserved in the ark; "and the winds blew, and the rains descended and the floods came;" "and all flesh died that moved upon earth;" and God said unto Noah, "go forth of the ark, thou and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy son's wives with thee." And God said unto Noah, "be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth."

The sons of Noah were Shem, Ham, and Japheth; and Ham was the father of Canaan. And Noah drank wine and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent; and Ham saw the nakedness of his father and told his two brethren, Shem and Japheth; and they took a garment and covered their father, without beholding his nakedness; "And Noah awoke from his wine," and after being correctly informed as to the conduct of his sons while he was intoxicated, "He said, cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren."

We learn from the Sacred Record, that the curse of slavery fell on the posterity of Ham in consequence of his dishonoring his aged father. Every Bible reader must have noted the severe punishment of children, under the Mosaic dispensation, for disobedience and disrespect to parents. It appears to have been classed amongst the worst of crimes, and death was the penalty. "Cursed be he," (said Moses on Mount Ebal,) "that setteth light by his father or his mother." "Every one that curseth father or mother, shall die the death." The children of Israel were commanded to "stone a stubborn or rebellious son to death." "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days maybe long in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee," is one of the commands which was delivered to Moses on Mount Sinai. Here is a command with a promise of long life annexed to it on condition of obedience, and it is but a fair inference, that those who disobey the command, will be cut off in the prime of life. It appears that the punishment for disobedience to parents, is the same under the gospel dispensation; for St. Paul says; "Honor thy father and thy mother, that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long upon the earth." The language of Moses and St. Paul suggests some solemn reflections, and I entreat my juvenile readers to observe well the language; it is the voice of God that speaks. Beware, lest you are brought to an untimely end, and the curse of a sin-avenging God falls upon you. I cannot dwell on this subject, but I entreat you, my young friends, to pause for a moment, and reflect on the awful, the calamitous consequences of disobeying, or otherwise dishonoring your parents. I must pass on.

We have no reason to believe that Noah was moved by resentment to denounce the curse of slavery on the posterity of Canaan, in consequence of the disrespect shown toward him by Ham. We have no reason to suppose that there was any abatement of parental solicitude, for the future welfare of this ungodly son and his posterity. He was moved by the Holy Ghost, and uttered but a prophecy, which entailed slavery on the posterity of Ham, as a consequence of wilful disobedience of God's just and righteous laws. He uttered but a fact *in futuro*, which had been revealed to him by an omniscient God. How fully the above prediction has been verified, is familiar to every historian. The continent of Africa was principally peopled by the descendants of Ham; and for ages, the better part of that country was under the dominion of the Romans; then of the Saracens; and more recently of the Turks; and the fact, that the slave trade has been carried on for hundreds of years with all its horrors, iniquities, cruelties and abominations, is familiar to every one. A large portion of the children of Ham have existed in a state of slavery for more than three thousand years. It is said that more than nine-tenths of the whole sixty millions of Africa are slaves. Negro slavery existed in the colonies of Greece for ages before the Christian era. All other races of mankind have enslaved the African. The phraseology of Noah's prediction is a little remarkable. The children of Ham were not only to be servants, but "a servant of servants." It is true that unconnected with all other races, one portion of the negro race have been enslaved to another, ever since the earliest dawn of history, and that in a greater proportion too, than to any other race. It is recorded by historians, that there are perhaps twenty negro masters in Africa to every white one in the United States, and that they hold in bondage at least ten times as many slaves. It is moreover stated, that those portions of Africa where the slave trade with the white man is unknown, are the most inveterate slave regions. In the negro islands of the Indian Archipelago, the negro is enslaved to the negro.

Some are, no doubt, ready to ask, how is it that Africans became slaves to their own race? Many of them were taken captives in war and subjected to slavery. The different tribes in Africa have in all ages engaged in predatory warfare, and the captives taken in those wars became slaves. Necessity may have forced many of them to subject themselves to servitude. Negroes have not that aversion to slavery, that many suppose who are unacquainted with the peculiarities of negro character. They are ignorant, indolent and improvident, and in many instances are neither competent nor willing to provide for themselves; and, therefore, they probably frequently became slaves to the more highly gifted and fortunate of their own race from necessity, and it may be from choice.

How is it that one nation acquires dominion over another? that one nation falls a prey to another? that one nation makes slaves of another? By what means were the posterity of Shem and Japheth enabled to enslave the posterity of Ham? Some will say that God willed it thus, and so it is. I consider the phraseology of this answer faulty. It would, in my view, be more appropriate to say, God suffered it; or permitted it; and so it is. I do not believe that Ham's crimes were in accordance with the benevolent

designs of Providence. The degradation and slavery entailed upon his posterity, was but a necessary consequence of his crimes, a just judgment, which a righteous God suffered to fall on his posterity. It was a violation of God's laws, which involved the African race in accursed slavery. God has attached certain punishments to the violation of certain laws, in other words, to the commission of certain crimes. The law is violated, otherwise, the crime is committed, and the penalty, or punishment falls on the head of the offender. Now all this is brought about in opposition to the will of God; for when God gave laws, he willed that man should obey those laws. If he says, "son honor thy father," and the son dishonors his father, he acts in opposition to God's will. And to secure obedience to his laws, and uphold moral order, he has attached to every crime its appropriate punishment.

But every effect has a cause, and if one nation acquires an ascendancy over another, there is a reason in the nature of things, *why it is so*. There are reasons why individuals differ, and why they are found under different circumstances and conditions in this world. Why one becomes poor and another rich; why one acquires wealth and influence, while another becomes poor, indigent and miserable—it may be a slave to his wealthy neighbor. There is an internal cause; a constitutional difference in individuals, physically, mentally, and morally. So it is with nations. Locality, climate and other external causes have also had much agency in shaping and moulding the characters, and determining the destinies of nations. Nothing is more true than the trite saying, "that knowledge is power." The Author of our existence, "the giver of every good and perfect gift," conferred on Shem and Japheth, or rather, on their posterity, superior mental endowments. The African and the Anglo-Saxon races differ widely in their physical organizations; their mental susceptibilities, and their moral natures; and the advantages are in favor of the Anglo-Saxon. The Anglo-Saxons are a superior race. They are the best specimens of humanity—the noblest work of God. They excel in all those qualities and endowments that raise man above his fellow man. The whole posterity of Shem and Japheth are intellectually superior to the posterity of Ham. Locality has had its influence. The human species degenerate mentally and morally in a tropical climate.

Vice saps the foundation, and gradually impairs and undermines the mental and moral constitutions of mankind. Ham being more vicious than his brothers, the mental and moral deterioration of his race, commenced in his own person, and was transmitted by him to his posterity. A man transmits his intellectual powers, his moral nature, or sentiments, as well as his physical organization to his progeny; and this he does with positive certainty, unless the mother possesses opposite qualities and properties. The children of the vicious are by nature more vicious than the children of the virtuous. Hence, we see that men by ordinary generation, transmit their own peculiar vices to their offspring. Every innate principle, passion and propensity of soul, body and mind, is transmitted from parent to child. This view of the subject need strike us with no surprise, if we would reflect, that men beget the souls, as well as the bodies of their children. I read in Genesis, that God breathed into Adam's nostrils the breath of life, "and that he became a living soul;" but I am not aware, that the Divine Being has breathed a soul into any other living being since the day he created Adam. No! When he breathed a soul into Adam he invested him with the power to procreate the souls as well as the bodies of his progeny. Hence, every man begets a soul and a body like his own, except so far as his own qualities and properties come in contact with opposite ones in the female; then, of course, some modification of the foetus may be expected. If an acid and an alkali are brought in contact, the result will be a neutral salt. We will generally find, however, that in what are called neutral mixtures, there is either a predominance of the acid, or the alkali. So it is with the children of parents possessing opposite propensities and qualities, either those of the father or the mother, are likely to predominate in the offspring.

Slavery was entailed on Ham's posterity, in consequence of the indignity with which he treated his aged and pious father. Ham was a free agent; it was an act of his own. The Divine Being suffered him to transgress his laws; and foreseeing that it would involve his posterity in the curse of slavery, he foretold the result of the transgression, by the mouth of Noah, Ham's father.

I have remarked in the preceding pages, that Ham was more wicked than his brothers; and that he transmitted his own corrupt nature to his offspring; and that in consequence of sin, his descendants sank into ignorance, barbarism and brutality which subjected them to the dominion of their more enlightened and virtuous brethren. Thus, we see, that it was the wickedness of Ham, which involved his race in ignorance, degradation and slavery. I repeat, that Ham entailed slavery on his own race; it was an effect of the violation of Jehovah's righteous laws; a just and righteous judgment. It is clear, from the foregoing remarks, that Ham transmitted the germs of slavery to his posterity, by ordinary generation.

God permitted the transgression, and he also permitted the penalty to fall on the transgressors; and it then devolved on him, as Supreme Ruler of the universe, to regulate, govern, and control the transgressors, and the calamitous consequences of their transgression according to his own righteous will. "Justice and judgment are the habitation of his throne, and righteousness goeth before him." "The wrath of man shall praise thee, and the remainder of wrath wilt thou restrain." That the almighty and all-wise God governs both men and devils, and the consequences of their acts, in accordance with the strictest principles of righteousness, judgment and justice, we have no right to doubt. He, in his amazing condescension, illimitable goodness, and boundless mercy, has given us a revelation of his will, to regulate, govern, and control our actions; and all that comports with our best interests, or that is essential for us to know concerning himself and his government of our world, is revealed in this Holy Volume; and if there are some things in the moral government of God, which we cannot comprehend, we have no right to cavil. "The Judge of all the earth will do right."

If either masters or servants wish to know the will of God concerning slavery—if they would learn their respective relations and duties, as masters, and servants, I must refer them to the Bible. There they will find a revelation of the will of God in relation to slavery, clearly set forth. If we have any other authority, or guide, I am not aware of it. I know of none. It is true, that I have heard something about a *higher law*

but from whence it came, "to whom related, or by whom begot," I know not. It is enough for us to know, that it did not come from God. Christians must take the Bible as their guide, and God as their master; and if others think that they can do better, let them try. Poor old Ham, I suppose, thought that he could do better; and he deserted the source of all mercy, goodness, truth, light and knowledge; and what was the consequence? Ignorance, barbarism, degradation and woe; ending in the accursed slavery of his race. Accursed of God! A curse entailed on sin—an individual curse—national curse! Too often, a curse to him that serves, and him that rules! God be merciful to the slave and his master. The master, as well as the slave, is entitled to our sympathies, and not to our maledictions.

Whether the mental powers of Shem and Japheth, were originally superior to those of Ham, we know not. We know that the posterity of Shem and Japheth, are mentally superior to the posterity of Ham, at the present day. To me, it seems probable, that Ham came from the hands of his Creator, in every respect equal to Shem and Japheth; and that his mental and moral powers were debased by sin, and they thus acquired a superiority over him. But, supposing that Ham was originally inferior to his more fortunate brothers, he had no right to complain. Suppose that the Divine Being gave Ham one talent, Japheth two, and Shem four; he, in so doing, inflicted no wrong on Ham. To whom much is given, of the same much is required. In order to secure the blessing of God, it was only necessary for Ham to improve what he had received. God required no more at his hands. But it is evident, from the manner in which he conducted himself toward his heaven favored and pious father, that he was an egregious sinner, and the curse of God fell upon him, and his progeny. "The curse causeless shall not come."

When the Almighty in his providence suffers a punishment to fall on a man, or a race of men, he has a good and sufficient reason for it. If He hides his face, or withhold his blessings, we may search for the cause in our own hearts. "It is your iniquities," (said the prophet), "that have separated you and your God." But to return to the sovereignty of God. He has the power.—He has the right. He, alone, is competent to decide what is best for us. "Hath not the potter power over the same lump of clay, to make one vessel to honor, and another to dishonor." He is under no obligation to any one; the best of us having forfeited all right, title, or claim to his mercy. Whatever mercies or blessings we may receive at the hands of Divine Benificence, are unmerited; undeserved on our part. The Divine Being is debtor to no one. There is no merit on our part, there can be none. God nevertheless has respect to character. Shem and Japheth, acted in accordance with Divine will, and He chose to confer on them certain favors and benefits. Ham incurred his displeasure, by violating his laws; and He left his posterity to those temporal misfortunes, which must necessarily grow out of moral infirmities, and mental disabilities.

I think I have clearly shown that African slavery originated in the inferiority of the African race; and that the inferiority of the African race, originated in the violation of God's laws. Slavery is perpetuated by the cause that brought it into existence. I have alluded in the preceding pages to the mental disabilities and the moral defects and infirmities of the posterity of Ham; as subjecting them to degradation and slavery. Physical conformation and color, viz., the curly hair, the black skin, the flat nose, the broad flat foot, &c., have had no small share in subjecting the negro race to degradation and slavery. All other races of men shun and despise them on account of their physical peculiarities. This is the key to that universal prejudice against the African race, the world over. The negro race are then, slaves from necessity, viz., they are slaves because they are incapable of attaining to the rights and privilege of free men. And those rights and privileges they never can enjoy in the midst of the Anglo-Saxon race.

We have seen in the preceding pages, that slavery and all the evils and calamities appertaining thereto, were entailed on Ham's posterity, as a penalty for the wilful violation of God's laws; and, I shall attempt to show before I bring this essay to a close, that in consequence of disobedience on the part of masters, as well as servants, that the evils and calamities of slavery fall not alone on him who serves, but also on him who rules. Therefore, the evils of slavery can only be mitigated, or removed by obedience to the requisitions of Divine revelations, on the part of masters and servants. This is the only remedy. There is no other. Here is a great principle of God's moral government of the world, which we should never lose sight of. It is a principle of universal application. All those evils that befall mankind in consequence of transgression, may be mitigated, or removed, or otherwise the penalty may be averted, by repentance and obedience to the requisitions of the Holy Bible.

CHAPTER IX.

I shall now take a glance at slavery under the Mosaic dispensation. Whatever our views may be on the subject of slavery, if we have read our Bibles, we know that it was tolerated and regulated by the Divine Being among the children of Israel; no doubt for wise and beneficent purposes. I know that it is vain for us to attempt to elevate our minds to a clear comprehension of the moral government of God. There is much, I admit, that to us is incomprehensible. Finite beings, cannot fathom the Infinite mind of Jehovah. We can, however, if we will read our Bibles, learn the will of God concerning ourselves and our fellow creatures; at least so far as our respective duties are concerned. This may be learned from the Old, as well as the New Testament. Forms and ceremonies may change; but the eternal principles of truth, righteousness and justice, change not.

Prior to the Mosaic dispensation, we read that Abraham held servants, and that when Sarai treated her maid-servant unkindly, and she fled from her face, the angel of the Lord said unto her, "Return to thy mistress, and subject thyself under her hands." It is a notable fact, that when the law was delivered to Moses on Mount Sinai, he received from the hands of God Almighty the following words: "In it," (the Sabbath,) "thou shalt not do any work; thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant nor thy maid-

servant." It appears that the Hebrews under peculiar circumstances became servants; and they were released, or went free on the seventh year. If, however, they preferred to remain with their masters, they then became servants forever. The Hebrews were not suffered to enslave each other, except for a limited time; their servants were taken from the heathen nations around them. See Leviticus, 25th Chapter, from the 39th to the 55th verses inclusive. Mention is frequently made of servants throughout the Old Testament. Men women and children were held in bondage by patriarchs, prophets, kings, and others. Moses delivered various laws to the children of Israel, for the guidance and regulation of both masters and servants. The holding of slaves is nowhere denounced as sinful in the Old Testament; on the contrary, the Hebrews were *permitted* to buy slaves from the surrounding heathen nations. Masters were commanded in the Old as well as in the New Testament, to treat servants with kindness and humanity. Inhumanity, cruelty, and oppression being every where forbidden in the Bible.

Having briefly alluded to the revealed will of God under the old dispensation, we will now hastily glance at the position occupied by Christ and his apostles in relation to this institution, and at their instructions and admonitions to masters and servants.

It is clearly and indisputably true that their course with reference to masters and servants, and the doctrine which they taught, give no countenance to the wild and visionary views of the faction, known in the United States by the name of abolitionists. I cannot, however, stop here to draw fully the contrast, but it will be found in other parts of this work.

Christ came to preach the gospel, and not abolitionism. Christ came to preach peace, and not to foment strife. He and his apostles taught servants to love and obey their masters, to serve them freely and cheerfully, and not to run away from them. No! No! They never incited servants to murder their masters, nor to murmur at their service; nor yet to steal all they could get, and then leave them. But there are those among us who have been guilty of all these things; and yet, notwithstanding, they have the audacity to tell us, at least those who have not embraced the views of Tom Paine, that they are Christians. The more consistent ones, I believe, are open infidels.

Our Saviour said nothing that could be construed into a condemnation of the institution of slavery; nor yet did he invest his apostles with any authority to interfere with it. It was no part of their commission. Our Saviour preached the gospel of peace and glad tidings to the bond and the free, to masters and servants, to the poor, the maimed, the halt and the blind. He intermeddled not with the civil institutions of the day. On the contrary, he inculcated, both by precept and example, submission to the ruling authorities. His apostles followed in his footsteps, for they likewise enjoined on their followers, to be subject to the higher powers—to those in authority. They too, preached the gospel to the bond and the free, masters and servants; and gathered them together in the same fold, as brethren beloved—the sheep of one common shepherd, the servants of one common master—members of the same church—partakers of the same joys. But they did not in a solitary instance denounce the holding of slaves as sinful; nor yet enjoin it on masters to release their slaves. They carefully instructed both masters and servants in their relative duties, as masters and servants; and otherwise left the institution of slavery as they found it. How unlike the great apostles of modern reform! Many will no doubt be ready to ask, if slavery is an evil, why did not Christ and his apostles strike directly at its root, and eradicate it from the face of the earth? Others may impiously ask if it is an evil, why did the Almighty permit it, or why does he tolerate it? The latter interrogatory is fully considered in the preceding Chapter; but I will for obvious reasons make a few additional remarks in reply. I again beg such persons to recollect that we are but finite beings, and cannot, therefore, fully comprehend the Infinite Mind; and that God is moreover the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and that to Him belongs the right to govern and dispose of the work of his own hands, as he, in his infinite wisdom, sees fit and proper. We may observe His dealings with man, but we cannot in all cases say why he acts thus; nor have we any right to ask him, why hast them done thus? Slavery is a consequence of sin, and God, in his providence, suffered it to fall on the posterity of Ham as a just and righteous judgment—as a punishment suitable and proper—as a punishment proportioned to the magnitude of the crime. The Divine Being, no doubt, intended that the signal punishment inflicted on Ham's posterity, should be a warning to all future generations, in all future time, to warn them of the danger of violating his commands, and deter them from the commission of crime. God, no doubt, willed that it should continue until the crime was adequately punished, and future generations warned of the danger of violating his laws; and his own honor vindicated. We have reason to believe that God moreover willed, that in his own good time, this evil, as well as all other evils should be eradicated; and that the sons and daughters of Adam should enjoy universal freedom; and that "righteousness should cover the earth, as the waters cover the great deep." But God willed to bring about this result, not only in his own time, but in his own way. By his own appointed means as revealed in his Holy Word; and that we as co-workers with him, in the accomplishment of his designs, should be guided by his revealed will. So far as we deviate from the revealed will of God in the use of means, we sin against him, and are destined to disappointment. The Holy Scriptures justify the conclusion, that in the process of time, the Almighty disposer of events, will root out all evil from the face of the earth. "Every plant," (says Jesus Christ,) "that my heavenly father hath not planted shall be rooted up." But there are many evils so interwoven with the institutions of society, that they can only be rooted out by the general spread of the benign and purifying influences of the Gospel.

Much has been said and written about slavery as an evil—a curse—a misfortune, &c. It is admitted on all hands that slavery is an evil; but it would be well for those who undertake to propose remedies for it, first to ascertain wherein the evil consists; or in other words, what are the circumstances which give rise to it. It is essential to the success in medical practice, that the physician correctly understands the disease which he proposes to treat. I have shown in the preceding Chapter that slavery originated in sin; or otherwise, that Ham entailed it on his posterity by violating the laws of God. The evils of slavery, to the

present day, originate in the same cause, viz, a violation of God's commands; a failure on the part of masters and servants to comply with the requisitions of the Holy Bible. It is disobedience to God's commands, that makes slavery an evil and a curse. The curse of slavery originates in the disobedience of slaves, and the cruelty of masters. "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters—masters give unto your servants that which is just and equal." Here, in a sentence of twenty words, the Apostle Paul prescribes a remedy for the evils of slavery, a remedy too, that has never failed—a remedy that will remove the curse of slavery; and under some circumstances, make it a blessing to both masters and servants. A compliance on the part of masters and servants with the requisitions of God's word, will disarm slavery of all its evils and terrors. It will bring peace and consolation to masters and servants. Herein is manifest, the wisdom and goodness of God. When the gospel was first promulgated slavery existed in the world, in a form, no doubt, which made it a sore evil—a grievous curse. The cries of the oppressed had come up before the throne of God. He was moved with compassion for masters and servants. Go, said He, to his beloved son, to yonder world, and remove the curse of slavery. Instruct servants to love and obey their masters, to serve them freely and cheerfully—without murmuring or repining—and to be content with their lot. Instruct masters to give unto their servants that which is just and equal. To never loose sight, in the treatment of their slaves, of the great principles of love, justice and humanity.

Jesus Christ and his apostles went forth to preach the gospel of peace and glad tidings. Their object was to confer the largest possible amount of happiness on the bond and free, that they were capable of enjoying under the circumstances. The gospel contemplated the present happiness of the human race, as well as their future interests. It had no design of detracting anything from the happiness of masters or servants; on the contrary, it contemplated the augmentation of the happiness of all who should be brought under its influence. Slavery existed. Masters were cruel and oppressive, and slaves were disobedient. This condition of slavery made it a sore evil—a grievous calamity, to both masters and servants. The duty of the apostles was clear. It was to remove those evils as far as practicable. It was to instruct masters and servants in their relative duties; well knowing, that obedience on their part, would remove the evils of slavery, and make both masters and servants better and happier. Having done this, they could do no more. Any other course would have entailed misery on masters and servants; or otherwise would have deprived them of all access to both servants and masters. The apostles adopted and carried out the only practicable and effective means within their reach, of ameliorating the condition of servants. Go, ye ministers of Jesus Christ, and follow in their footsteps. And ye apostles of modern reform, from whence did ye derive your authority to speak evil of rulers? To oppose the execution of the laws of your country? to foment strife? to sow the seeds of discontent and rebellion among the slaves, and thereby incite masters to acts of cruelty and oppression? "Woe to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites."

We may speculate, wrangle, and contend about slavery in the United States for centuries to come, without bringing relief to the slave; for after all, there is but one course which can ensure relief to the servant, the master, and the nation—but one course by which we can bring about universal emancipation, and secure at the same time the peace, happiness and prosperity of the Union; and that is obedience on the part of ministers of the gospel, masters and servants, to the requisitions of God's word. Let ministers of the gospel imitate the example of Jesus Christ and his apostles; let masters and servants strictly observe what is enjoined on them in the New Testament; and let those not immediately interested, look around, and see if they cannot find objects of charity nearer home; and then will slavery soon cease to exist as an institution in this nation. This is the only safe and practicable means of accomplishing an object so desirable; and those who attempt to extirpate slavery in any other way, are openly, knowingly, wilfully and deliberately violating God's laws; and can expect nothing but the curse of Almighty God on their devoted heads. If they sow the whirlwind, they may expect to reap the storm. They will learn, when it is too late, that no good can result from fraud, falsehood and force.

Hence, we see, why it is that the interference of abolitionists with slavery in the United States, has resulted in injury to masters and servants. They have refused to act in accordance with God's revealed will; consequently, they have augmented the evils, hardships and calamities of slavery. Thus it has been; thus it is; and thus it ever will be. God is immutable; his laws are unchangeable; and he that expects to accomplish good, must do it by His appointed means. "Ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein." Follow the example of Jesus Christ and his apostles, and then may ye expect to accomplish good for your fellow creatures, and enjoy the approving smiles of heaven.

I shall close the present chapter with some quotations from the Bible.

"THUS SAITH THE LORD."

"And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his youngest son had done unto him. And he said, cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." *Genesis ix, 24, 25.*

"But Abram said unto Sarai, Behold thy maid is in thy hand; do to her as it pleaseth thee. And when Sarai dealt hardly with her, she fled from her face. And the angel of the Lord found her by a fountain of water in the wilderness, by the fountain in the way to Shur. And he said, Hagar, Sarai's maid, whence comest thou? and whither wilt thou go? And she said, I flee from the face of my mistress, Sarai. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands." *Genesis xvi, 6-10.*

"But in it (the Sabbath,) thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates." *Exodus xx, 10.*

"Both thy bond-men, and thy bond-maids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them ye shall buy bond-men and bond-maids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession, they shall be your bond-men forever." *Leviticus xxv. 44-47.*

"Art thou called being a servant? care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather." *1 Cor. vii, 21.*

"Servants, be obedient to them who are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ. Not with eye service, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; With good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men: Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. And ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening; knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him." *Ephesians vi, 5-10.*

"Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not with eye service, as men-pleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God; And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord and not unto men." *Col. iii, 22, 23.*

"Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven." *Col. iv, 1.*

"Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort. If any man teach otherwise and consent not to wholesome words even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, He is proud, knowing nothing but dotting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings." *1 Timothy vi, 1-5.*

"Exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters and to please them well in all things; not answering again; Not purloining, but showing all good fidelity; that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things." *Titus ii, 9, 10.*

"Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward." *1 Peter ii, 18.*

CHAPTER X.

We have proof positive, that the relation of master and servant is not inconsistent with the word of God. "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh." "Masters, give unto your servants, that which is just and equal." This is the language of Holy Writ. Among the converts of the apostles were slaveholders. They were converted as slaveholders; admitted into the church as slaveholders; and as such, retained in the church in full fellowship, enjoying all the privileges and immunities of the church. They were not required so far as we know, in any instance, to manumit their slaves. It is highly probable, that the best thing that they could do for them, for the time being, was to retain them as servants, and treat them according to the injunctions of the apostle; "Give unto your servants that which is just and equal."

The case of Philemon and Onesimus, his servant, is fully to the point. Philemon, a convert of St. Paul, appears to have been a devoted Christian; and I infer, from the language of St. Paul, a teacher or preacher of the Gospel. He had a wicked servant, by name Onesimus. Onesimus, (if I may use modern parlance), ran away from his master, Philemon. St. Paul found him at Rome, and converted him. What then became of this fugitive slave? Did St. Paul conceal him, or did he advise him to flee still farther from his master, in order to elude pursuit and apprehension? Did he say to Onesimus, why brother Onesimus, you are now a Christian; Philemon, your master is a Christian; we are all Christians; and one Christian has no right, under any circumstances, to retain another in bondage? No! Thank God, St. Paul promulgated no such doctrine. What then did he say to Onesimus? Go home, and be subject to your master, Philemon. Love him and serve him, in the singleness of your heart. Do it freely and cheerfully; without murmuring or repining; and whatever service them shalt render unto thy master, Philemon, it shall be accounted unto thee, as service rendered unto the God of heaven. Dear brother Onesimus, thy condition is now changed; for, whereas Philemon was formerly thy master; he is now thy master and thy brother, and thou shalt obey him and love him as such. Go home brother; and here is a letter I have written to brother Philemon, your master. Onesimus returns home with this letter in his pocket. Anxious I have no doubt, to see his good old master. His feelings and views had undergone a change. He loved his master then; whereas, he formerly hated him, and fled from his service. No time is lost; he returns home in haste to his master. They meet. He approaches Philemon and extends his hand, while tears trickle down his cheeks. Master, (says he to Philemon), I have been a wicked and unfaithful servant; but thank God, I found St. Paul at Rome and he has converted me to Christianity; and here is a letter from brother Paul. And did you see brother Paul, exclaimed Philemon? Oh! yes, said Onesimus; his countenance lighting up and his eyes dancing in their

sockets for joy. And is dear brother Paul well? How does he do? Oh! very well master, very well, indeed. Philemon then proceeds to open the letter, and what does he read therein?

"I, Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ—unto Philemon, our dearly beloved brother—Grace to you and peace from God—Hearing of thy love and faith—Which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus Christ; I beseech thee for my son, Onesimus, That thou shouldst receive him forever."

Receive him, said St. Paul, not only as a good and faithful servant, now profitable to thee; but receive him as a brother beloved—an heir of salvation. Here is clearly set forth the duty of ministers, masters, and servants; but, as I shall again and again refer to this subject, I will now proceed to show reasons why, the holding of slaves is not necessarily sinful under all circumstances.

A slaveholder is under no obligation to emancipate his slave, provided the condition of the slave is made worse thereby. And it is obvious, that there are many cases, in which both master and slave would sustain injury, by the emancipation of the slave. Under such circumstances, there are as good reasons, why a slave should be retained in bondage, as there are, that a minor should be subject to his parents until he is twenty-one years of age; or that an idiot should be placed under the supervision and control of some one, during his natural life. The reason is based on inability and incompetency of the slave, the minor and the idiot. They are not qualified to reason and to judge, and are therefore incompetent to act; hence, it devolves on some one to reason and to judge for them, and to supervise and control their actions. The welfare of the slave, the minor, and the idiot, is subserved by subjecting them to the control of competent persons; and the peace, prosperity, and general good of all are promoted thereby.

Before I proceed farther with the respective duties of masters and servants, I beg leave to present some solemn thoughts, for the consideration of Christian slaveholders. I have endeavored to show, that the holding of slaves is not sinful, *per se*; but if slaveholders fail to discharge the duties enjoined on them, the Divine Being will hold them accountable for their dereliction of duty. Such is the deceitfulness of our hearts, and such the proneness of our corrupt natures to wander from the path of duty, that it is necessary for us at all times to scrutinize well, the motives which prompt us to act, and to test all our actions by the only standard of truth, the Holy Scriptures. Our Saviour tells us, that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. Not that the possession and enjoyment of riches is necessarily sinful; but if those who have wealth, fail as good stewards, to use it according to the requisitions of the Bible, then are they guilty in the sight of God. So it is with slavery. Slaveholding is not necessarily sinful, but if slaveholders fail to discharge the duties enjoined on them in the New Testament; then are they guilty in the sight of God. And here lies the difficulty; when we point out to a rich man his duty, his corrupt and avaricious heart interposes and says, no; you would rob me of my goods, you would damage my pecuniary interests; I cannot, I will not yield to your requisitions. We sometimes encounter the same difficulty with slaveholders. They sometimes imagine that duty and interest, are antagonistic principles. They imagine, that if they discharge their duty to the slaves, their pecuniary interests will suffer thereby; and for this reason, I have sometimes thought, that it might be as difficult for a slaveholder to enter the kingdom of heaven, as for a rich man. "The love of money, the root of all evil," stands in the way in both cases. If duty and our worldly interest could always run in the same channel, then should we find it no difficult task to be Christians; but as they are sometimes opposing forces, antagonistic principles, the contest is difficult, and the result sometimes doubtful.^[3] Duty, commands the rich man to feed the hungry and clothe the naked; but the rich man says, nay, Lord, my goods are my own; I procured them by honest labor, and must I now appropriate them to feeding the hungry and clothing the naked? What right have they to enjoy the fruits of my labor? Your requisition Lord, is unreasonable. I cannot, I will not comply. Duty, says to the slaveholder, "Give unto your servants that which is just and equal, forbearing threatening;" but the slaveholder says, nay Lord, my slave is my own property, I purchased him with my own money, and what right have you to dictate to me, how I shall treat my slave? Is he not my own, have I not the right to feed, clothe, work, and otherwise treat him, as seemeth good in mine own eyes; and who has the right to interfere? A compliance with your unreasonable demands will materially affect my pecuniary interests. My object is to amass wealth, to hoard up silver and gold; and I shall therefore so manage my affairs as to accomplish this object.

He that sets up for himself, regardless of the peace, happiness, and comfort of his fellow creatures—he that hath a will of his own, and will not yield to the requisitions of God's word—he that will take his own way, regardless of the dictates of his better informed judgment—he that will go his own course, it matters not on whose rights he infringes—he that will consult his own interests, and at the same time trample under foot the dearest interests of others, has no right, or title, to the name of a Christian. If the Bible says do this, or abstain from that, the Christian has no right to demur; it matters not how repugnant it may be to the feelings and inclinations of his heart. He must cheerfully and heartily at all times, and under all circumstances, acquiesce in the will of a superior intelligence. He must be willing to sacrifice all; not only his earthly goods, but life itself, if God requires it at his hands. This is the doctrine of the Bible, and well did the Saviour say, "Strait is the gate and narrow is the way, that leadeth to life; and few there are that find it." "Many are called, but few are chosen." The Christian is not at liberty to consult his own personal interests and inclinations, when they are in opposition to the will of God. "Ye are not your own, (says the apostle), ye are bought with a price."

It was impressed on my mind in early life, that there was much error and misconception among Christian slaveholders in general, in reference to their obligations to their slaves, and a long residence among them has but strengthened and confirmed those convictions. I have no reference here to those who view slave property in the same light, that they do every other species of property; but to conscientious and humane men. I allude to you, who profess to be the followers of the meek and lowly Jesus—you, who take the Bible for the man of your council—you, who profess to be the servants of that God who is not

respector of persons—you, who profess to be under the influence of that religion which recognizes every man as a brother beloved, for whom Christ shed his precious blood.

I beg leave to impress on your minds the solemn truth, that your slaves are human beings of like passions, feelings, and propensities as yourselves; that they have immortal souls; that their joys and their sorrows, their happiness, and their misery, are suspended on the treatment which they receive at your hands; and that not only their present happiness and misery, but in all probability, their eternal destiny may be influenced by your course of conduct toward them. These are weighty considerations—would to God I could impress their importance on your minds; and that you would give them that prayerful and serious attention which they demand at your hands.

In assuming the right to direct and control fellow beings, from their cradles to their graves, you have taken on yourselves responsibilities, onerous indeed; and whatever may be your feelings,—whatever may be your views—whatever may be your course toward these unfortunate beings, of one thing you may be assured, that you are destined to meet them at the bar of judgment, and that if you have failed to discharge the duties obligatory on you, God Almighty will require their souls at your hands.

It is there that the rich and the poor, the bond and the free, the slave and his master, shall meet on a common level before a just and Almighty Judge; who, without respect of persons, colors, grades, or conditions in life, shall render unto every man according to his works, whether they be good or evil. In that dread day, it will avail you nothing, that in this world you were men of renown; that in this world the indigent and the ignorant, cowered in your presence, or were awed into submission by your superiority; or, that the summits of your superb and beautiful mansions vied with the clouds—that you added house to house, and field to field—that you amassed silver and gold as the dust of the earth—and that you were surrounded by all the elegancies and enjoyed all the comforts of life—rioted in excess and reveled in luxury. There you will stand before a just and scrutinizing God, divested of all those superfluities, and stripped of all that drapery, and those fascinating accomplishments, which attracted the attention and commanded the respect and admiration of your dependants and inferiors in this world.

Having in the preceding pages, but incidentally alluded to the duties of servants, I will close the present chapter with a few remarks on that subject. "Servants obey in all things your masters according to the flesh," &c. Servants are taught in the New Testament, not only to obey their masters, but to do it in the fear of God, cheerfully, freely, and actively; not simply with a view to please their masters, but as a service or duty, which God requires of them and for which he will hold them accountable.

It is a little remarkable, that so much should have been said and written about the cruel and harsh treatment of servants, and the duties of masters, and that the duties of servants should have been overlooked. Servants are commanded to be subject to their masters, "not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward." The non-observance of this command on the part of servants, has frequently engendered that peevishness and perverseness in masters to which the apostles allude, viz. forwardness among servants, has engendered frowardness in masters. It is the duty of servants, to oppose the evil tempers and dispositions, and the inhumanity of masters, by opposite tempers and dispositions, and by an opposite course of conduct. This is the command of God; and by yielding obedience to this command, they would to some extent, at least, reform their masters, and secure to themselves kind treatment. It is their only hope; it is all they can do, that will be likely to ameliorate their conditions as slaves. If servants would obey the injunctions of Holy Writ, they would seldom be treated cruelly or unkindly. It is their own disobedience and perverseness that subjects them, for the most part, to cruel treatment. I know, from personal observation, that the unkind, the harsh, the cruel treatment of slaves, in a large majority of cases, originates in their failure to observe the injunctions of the inspired writers.

I have shown that it is the duty of servants to "love" and "obey" their "masters," to "count them worthy of all honor," and "to please them well in all things;" and it now devolves on those who have taught a contrary doctrine, to either admit their error, or otherwise to throw away their Bibles. It is folly for persons to persist in a course so contrary to the word of God, and notwithstanding, to call themselves Christians. I know that there are many who will plead ignorance, when they are arraigned for their unscriptural views, and their unwarrantable interference with slavery. It is too true—poor souls, they are ignorant—deplorably ignorant; but in all seriousness I would ask, how is it in this land of Bibles, that a majority of those professing Christianity, should know but little more about the Sacred Scriptures, than the heathen who never saw a Bible? But they have no time to read the Bible, and what is worse, they have no taste for it. All their leisure moment are devoted to the reading abolition papers, Uncle Tom's Cabin, and other contemptible low, filthy novels!

But how is it, that there are ministers of the gospel of all denominations of Christians, who are guilty of inculcating doctrines on the subject of slavery, that are directly opposed to teachings of Divine inspiration? Are they ignorant of the fact, "that slavery pervaded the whole Eastern world, at the introduction of Christianity;" and yet not one word was uttered by our Saviour and his apostles, in condemnation of it as a civil institution? Are they ignorant of the fact, that both masters and servants were admitted into the church of Christ, and that masters were required in no instance, so far as we know, to manumit their slaves? Are they ignorant of the fact, that Christ and his apostles taught masters and servants their relative duties, and otherwise left the institution of slavery as they found it? Have they ever read Paul's letter to Timothy? "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren? but rather do them service, &c. These things teach and exhort. *If any man teach otherwise, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth. From such withdraw thyself.*"

A more graphic description of the abolition clergymen of the present day could not be drawn. It is a picture of modern abolition drawn by the Omniscient God; and every word of it was originally applied to the subject of slavery and abolitionism. We have had strife, we have had railings, evil surmisings and perverse disputings; and we are indebted to corrupt fanatical clergymen for all these evils—for all this contention and slavery agitation—for all this envy, jealousy, hatred and sectional feeling—for all that endangers our peace and prosperity—our liberty, our happiness—and the perpetuity of this glorious Union. Yes, my fellow citizens, we are indebted to the emissaries of England, and native born American citizens, who from sinister motives have cloaked themselves with ministerial garb, for all the contention, all the evils, all the crime that has accrued or grown out of African slavery in the United States! St. Paul says, that they are "men of corrupt minds," and that they are "destitute of the truth;" and he moreover commands Timothy to "withdraw from such" characters. And in the name of God, I command every Christian, every patriot, every friend of republicanism, every gentleman of honor, to "withdraw" from such men. Excommunicate them, cast them off,—cast them out as evil spirits—have no fellowship with them, until they repent of their crimes and cease from the evil of their ways. They are enemies to "pure and undefiled religion," and traitors to their country; and as such, they should be viewed and treated by every good citizen.

Many persons suppose that abolitionism is of modern origin; but it is an error, for we learn from the Epistle of Paul to Timothy, that it was agitating the church of Christ in the apostolic ages. St. Paul denounces those agitators as "men of corrupt minds;" and he moreover says unto Timothy, "from such withdraw thyself;" viz., excommunicate them—exclude them from the church, and have no fellowship with them. It is a fact, worthy of note, that primitive Christians never meddled with the civil institutions of the countries in which they resided. They were under all circumstances good and loyal subjects. But the efforts of the apostle Paul, to crush the monster abolitionism, did not entirely succeed, for it has continued to agitate the church, from that day to the present hour. Yes, the foul fiend, with head erect, and brazen front, is stalking over our beloved country to the present day!

It appears that portions of the church, notwithstanding the solemn injunctions and admonitions of St. Paul, continued to interfere with the civil and domestic relations of master and servant. But the practice was condemned as unchristian, by nearly all the principal *fathers*. Particularly, Ignatius, Chrysostom and Jerome. Ignatius says, "let them (servants), serve their masters with greater diligence, and not be puffed up—and let them not desire their liberty to be purchased by the church." It was decreed by one of the ancient councils of the church,—"if any teach, that by virtue of religion or Christian instruction, that the slave may despise his master, or may withhold his service, let him be anathema," viz., let him be accursed of God, and separated or excommunicated from the church of Christ. Let the church have no fellowship, union, or communion with him, and let him be an off-cast from society.

Mark the above, reader! It is the language of the apostle Paul, and the voice of the primitive church of Christ with reference to abolitionism. I have said nothing worse—I have not said more—I shall not say less. It is God's truth; harsh and severe as it may appear to some of you. And to abolitionists, I have only to say in conclusion, poor deluded souls, I sincerely pity you. Bow your heads with shame and grief—it may be, the Lord will have mercy upon you.

CHAPTER XI.

I am not yet done with the obligations of masters to their slaves. I cannot hastily dismiss the subject. In it I feel an intense interest. Bear with me, my beloved friends and fellow citizens of the South. For I assure you, that if I know anything of my own heart, I am prompted to write by the best of motives and the kindest of feelings. To many of you I am personally known; and I flatter myself, that those who know me best, will not suspect me of improper motives or feelings. I have for you the highest respect, and for you I entertain the kindest feelings. I long resided in your midst, and was treated with kindness by you, in all the relations of life, whether private or public; and I feel myself bound to you by ties of gratitude, which neither time nor space can separate; by all those tender and endearing associations and relations in life, which must necessarily grow out of a long residence in the midst of a generous, humane and hospitable people. My regard and solicitude for my Southern friends is now a thousand fold greater than at any previous period of my life. And my anxiety for your peace, happiness, and permanent prosperity, becomes more and more ardent. But I must come directly to the point under investigation.

Masters, I conceive, are under obligations to act with reference to the comfort and happiness of their slaves; and not solely with a view to their own pecuniary interests. If they fail to provide for their slaves comfortable houses, clothing suited to their various wants, and adapted to the varying and changeable seasons of the year, together with a supply of wholesome and nutritious food, they violate the commands of God. Their own interests, as well as duty, demand it at their hands. I do not contend that the master is bound to furnish the slave with clothing of the same material with which he clothes himself; nor do I contend, that in all cases, he is bound to provide for him the precise articles of food, on which he himself subsists. The occupations of the master and the slave may be different; and supposing that they are engaged in the same occupation, their feelings, views, appetites and propensities differ. In other words, their *wants* differ. Hence, what would conduce to comfort in the case of the slave, would not, at all times, suffice for the master's happiness and comfort.

Here is a fact which is not understood in the free States. Slaves are happy and content under circumstances in which a white man would be miserable. They are satisfied and content with food, on which the better portion of the white race can hardly subsist. Nor would soft beds and fine houses

conduce to their comfort. There are many of them, who, if they were provided with downy beds, would prefer to repose on the hearth or the floor. They are by nature a happier people than the Anglo-Saxon race, and of course, less will suffice for their happiness and comfort. All that I contend for is, that the health, comfort and convenience of the slave, should be amply provided for by the master; or at least as far as practicable. I wish here, as well as elsewhere, to avoid the error of asking too much, for I have generally observed through life, that those who ask too much are likely to get nothing. I shall, therefore, contend for nothing more than the clear, obvious, and indisputable duty of slaveholders.

Slaves do not, as a general rule, receive that attention in sickness from their masters, to which they are entitled. Humanity, as well as interest, should prompt their masters to be a little more attentive to them, under the afflictive dispensations of Providence. And the necessity is more apparent from the consideration of the fact, that slaves are ignorant, and universally entertain opinions in regard to dieting the sick, which, if practically carried out, will in all cases, endanger their lives. I allude to the notion prevalent among them, that the sick are in no danger, so long as they can by any means induce them to take food. The same error is common among the more ignorant class of white people; and it constitutes the worst difficulty that the physician encounters in the treatment of disease. I once remarked to an ignorant, drunken, degraded son of Belial, that if he was not a little more cautious in the use of certain articles of food, he would sooner or later destroy himself. "Oh! there is no danger," said he, "I shall never die while I can get plenty of fat 'possum to eat, and whiskey to drink." So it is with ignorant persons; they know that food sustains life, and for that reason they believe, that as long as they are able to cram it down their throats, there is no danger.

It is a little remarkable that the proprietors of slaves do not more generally enforce cleanliness among them. This is the more to be regretted, as cleanliness conduces not only to the health and comfort of the body, but also to the purity of the mind. I am aware that it would in most cases be difficult to enforce cleanliness among them, as they seem to be constitutionally a filthy race. This may originate partly, however, from, the peculiar circumstances under which they live, their ignorance, degradation, &c.

But there are yet duties obligatory on slaveholders, to which I have not directly alluded, which bear heavily on my mind. Oh! that I could in appropriate language, impress their importance on the minds of my Southern friends. Oh! that in view of their responsibility to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, they would calmly, patiently, soberly, seriously and prayerfully reflect on the following remarks. Aid a worm of the dust, O God, to plead the cause of humanity. "Paul may plant, and Apollos may water," but thou, O God, "must give the increase." Thou knowest that in vain I admonish my Southern brethren, unless thy Spirit attends the warnings and admonitions herein given. May thy Spirit attend this little volume in its Southern tour. Give the hearing ear, and the understanding heart. May they hear, and give ear; and not only hear and give ear, but may they "work, while it is called day, for the night cometh, when no man can work."

I allude to the mental and moral culture of the African population in the Southern States. I feel intensely on this subject; and could I arouse the Southern States to reflection and action, I should then feel as if the great work of my life was accomplished. I could then repose in peace and quiet on my dying pillow; assured, that ere long, my beloved country would, be redeemed from the curse of slavery.

In whatever aspect we may view slavery, the ignorance of slaves presents itself to us, as the darkest spot in the picture. It is humiliating—a national reproach—an omission of duty, for which Almighty God will hold us accountable, that so little effort has been made to enlighten the minds, and elevate the characters of the African population in our midst. Here lies our great delinquency. "O shame! where is thy blush?" In the name of all that is sacred, how long is this state of things to continue? When, Oh! when will we arouse to a sense of our vast responsibilities to God, and our obligations to the African race? Several millions of fellow beings in our midst, not one in twenty of whom can read the Holy Bible! And yet it is our boast, that we are the most enlightened nation under the sun—the most virtuous and intelligent people under the canopy of heaven—a nation of Christians. God help us; for when I reflect on these things, I cannot avoid asking myself, is there any probability, that we shall ever get our eyes open, and help ourselves? It is the duty of every slaveholder to instruct his slaves so far as to enable them to read the Bible; and to furnish every slave with a copy of the will and word of God; to encourage them to read the same; and not only read it, but to make it the "man of their council." This, friendly slaveholder, is your obvious and indispensable duty, and you well know it. If you have neglected or overlooked this duty in time past, for your own sakes, for the sakes of your slaves, defer it no longer. There is no time to be lost; it is a matter of infinite importance, both to yourselves and your slaves. Commence it in good earnest, and may success attend your efforts. You are under moral obligations to enlighten the minds and elevate the characters of your slaves, as far as practicable. You should spare no pains, and no consideration whatever, of expediency, convenience or self-interest, should deter you from the faithful discharge of your duty.

It appears clear to my mind that, in a qualified sense, a master sustains the same relation to a young slave, that he sustains to an orphan as a guardian; and that his relation and obligation to an orphan as guardian, does not differ materially from his obligations to a son or daughter. Suppose that he purchases a young slave with his money; he is legally his property during his natural life. Suppose that he becomes guardian to an orphan child; he acquires a legal right to control the child until he is twenty-one years of age. Let him ask himself, what are his obligations to the orphan? Whatever they are, he is under the same obligations to the slave. But if he is at a loss as to what are his obligations to the orphan, let him ask himself what are his obligations to a son or a daughter? In a qualified sense, he is under the same obligations to the orphan that he is to a child, and he is under the same obligations to the slave that he is to the orphan. They may differ in degree, but they cannot differ in kind. They are of the same kind, of the same quality, for the reason that the temporal wants and the eternal interests of the slave, the orphan, and the child are the same; and he, as master, guardian and father, is bound to make provision for them.

He is morally bound to act with reference to the present happiness and eternal interests of the child, the orphan and the slave. As a general rule, whatever conduces to the happiness of the child, conduces to the happiness of the orphan, and whatever conduces to the happiness of the orphan, conduces to the happiness of the slave. They are each persons of like feelings, passions and propensities; requiring at his hands the same kind of training; the same moral and mental culture. I admit that the profession or occupation which they are destined to follow through life, may render it necessary that there should be some difference in their scholastic training and attainments; but it does not follow because a son is destined for the medical profession, and therefore requires a smattering of Latin and Greek, that an orphan who is expected to follow the occupation of farming, should not be a tolerable English scholar; nor, that a slave, though he remain a slave during his life, should not receive at his hands that amount of mental culture which is requisite to expand his mind, and elevate his character above that ignorance, superstition, degradation and vice, in which the African race are involved.

The laws in conferring the right to hold slaves as property, did not invest any one with the right to act the tyrant. Every father is invested with the right to control his family; but he has no right to treat any member of his family harshly or unkindly. It is the duty of the father so to demean himself, and so to govern his family as to secure the good order, and promote the peace and happiness of every member of his household. A man's slaves are members of his household; and the same rules, laws and great cardinal principles, which regulate his conduct as a husband, father and guardian, should regulate his conduct as a master. He has a right to control every member of his family; it is a Divine right, conferred on him for the good of the whole; but in the exercise of this delegated authority, meekness, patience and forbearance should characterize every act of his life; and in his intercourse with every member of his family, white or black, his countenance in their presence, should be as the revivifying influence of the sun on the down-trodden vegetation of the earth, infusing hope, life and animation into all around him; and his words, yea, his commands, should descend as the gentle and genial showers on a parched and thirsty soil, and not in torrents of wrath, anger and indignation. Anger, clamor and strife should be banished from his household. His commands should be mild but firm; and unconditional submission and prompt obedience should be strictly enjoined on his children, dependants and slaves. Beloved by all, he would then move in the midst of his family with that dignity and grace which becometh the true Christian gentleman. Beloved, respected and venerated by every member of his family, he would find it no difficult task to enforce obedience, and thus to govern them according to the requisitions of God's word.

Masters, I conceive, by pursuing the course indicated in the preceding pages, would discharge their duty to their slaves, and stand guiltless in the sight of God. The condition of the slaves would be ameliorated; their minds expanded and their manners improved; and thus, at some future period, if in the providence of God it should be their happy lot to attain the rights of freemen, then would they be qualified to appreciate the blessings of freedom, and not sink again into their original barbarism. Thus would they, as freemen, be competent to exercise the rights and privileges of free citizens; and, while rising in the scale of nations, they would point to our government as their great benefactor, who raised them from the lowest depths of savage barbarism and brutality, and conferred on them light, liberty and science, and inducted them into the doctrines of the Christian religion. Then would they view our nation as their great donor, from whom they received light, science and religion, and not as their oppressor.

It is incumbent on me to state, in conclusion, that the clergy of the slave States have done all that was practicable, under the circumstances, to confer on the slaves the benefits and advantages of religious instruction. I doubt whether the poorer class of people, white or black, have had superior religious advantages in any part of Christendom, at least so far as it relates to the preaching of the gospel, and the ordinances of the church. The clergy of the different denominations have been untiring in their efforts to Christianize the African population. And it is a little remarkable that, in many instances, irreligious men,—men who make no pretensions to religion, men who rarely attend the preaching of the gospel themselves, should encourage their slaves to attend divine service, and, in some instances build churches and employ ministers for the benefit of their own slaves. Strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless true. But admitting the fact, and I cheerfully admit it, that all has been done that was practicable, under the circumstances, to Christianize the African race in the Southern States, yet the principles of Christianity have exerted on them but a partial influence, in consequence of their ignorance. No people can be brought fully under the influence of the Christian religion, unless their minds are at the same time enlightened and expanded by literature. Religion and literature are twin sisters; bound together by indissoluble ties, and the Divine Being never intended that they should be separated. Religious instruction without literary culture, can produce but a partial and superficial effect on the human mind; it can produce no strong, permanent and abiding influence. When the gospel is preached to an ignorant, illiterate, semi-savage people, the seed is sown in an incongenial soil, and the product will be in accordance with the soil in which the seed is sown. This accounts for a fact stated in the preceding pages, that slaves apparently pious, when liberated and exposed to certain temptations, were very likely to fall into their former habits and vices. It also accounts for the fact, that but few Africans can bear flattery and attention from the white race, it matters not how virtuous and pious they may be; it is certain to elate them, and to excite them to acts of indiscretion, and sometimes to acts grossly vicious. It is so common for Southern slaves who are apparently pious, when exposed to temptation to fall into acts of gross immorality, that many unthinking persons in the South have come to the conclusion that there is no sincere piety among them; that they are insincere and hypocritical in their professions and pretensions. A gentleman once remarked to me, that he had never seen an African in whose piety he had entire confidence. It was a remark, I believe of Doctor Nelson, (the author of the celebrated work on infidelity,) that he had never seen but one or two consistently pious slaves. The doctor was long a resident of Tennessee, a practitioner of medicine and a minister of the gospel, and certainly had good opportunities for forming correct opinions on the subject; but it appears to me that such views are not only uncharitable, but also unphilosophical. Professors of the Christian religion of the African race are not less

sincere than are the same class of persons among the white race. On the contrary a slave is more likely than his master to attach himself to a church from pure motives. Many considerations may induce a white man to make a profession of religion, which have no bearing, force, or influence whatever, on an African. But the slave is ignorant and degraded; and consequently he lacks moral stamina. He lacks that firmness and stability of character which result from mental culture. And moreover, his views of the Divine Being, of his attributes and his works are erroneous. He knows but little of his Creator or his works; but little about himself and his relations to his fellow creatures. He desires to do right, but he is too often unable to distinguish between right and wrong. But this is not all; for slaves are, to a great extent, devoid of what, (in ordinary parlance,) is called a sense of honor and shame; and too many white Christians, as well as black ones, require all the restraining motives and influences, that can be brought to bear on them, to keep them in the paths of rectitude. What is called the moral sense alone, would fail in a large majority of cases. The above remarks are as applicable to an ignorant, depraved and vicious class of white persons, which may be found every where, as they are to the Southern slaves and free negroes. I will here remark that all that is indispensably necessary to enable an individual to cultivate his mind, is a tolerable knowledge of his mother tongue, so far at least, as to be able to read and write it; and a few well selected books. It is neither necessary nor advisable to read many books; for most of reading men have read too many books, and have studied none. It is a little remarkable that Christians know so little about the Bible. I do not suppose that there is one in a hundred among them who ever read the sacred volume through; and a large majority of them know very little about it, except some very incorrect notions which they have gathered from sermons. It seems that some people imagine that attending church, and hearing sermons comprises the "whole duty of man." This is all very well so far as it goes; but I beg leave to remind such persons that our Saviour preached a sermon on the mount, near two thousand years ago, which is far superior to any sermon that has been preached from that day to the present time; and that they would do well to read it at least once a month.

It is but an act of justice to slaveholders for me to state, that the education of slaves in most of the slave States is barred by prohibitory laws. This is one of the fruits of abolition interference with slavery. I have remarked in Chapter 3, of this volume, that the abolition excitement in the North, about thirty-five years ago, cut off discussion in the South on the subject of slavery; and that the legislatures of the slave States in self-defence, or otherwise, in obedience to the imperious demands of self-preservation, enacted stringent laws in reference to the slave population, &c.; and that among them will be found enactments making the education of slaves a penal offense. It was the circulation of abolition tracts and papers among the slaves by Northern men, that first suggested this idea to the Southern legislatures. Previous to that time, many Christian slaveholders were educating their slaves. These laws are inoperative in many places in the South; and it affords me pleasure here to record the fact, that most of the slaves in Knoxville, Tennessee, the city in which I last resided while a citizen of the South, are able to read, and many of them can write. Well done, ye noble and generous sons and daughters of Knoxville.

CHAPTER XII.

The subject of slavery for the last thirty-five years has been an exciting one in the United States. There has been much discussion, and what is worse, much angry contention on the subject. It has been a hobby for demagogues, and a fire-brand in the hands of factious disorganizers. Fanatics and false philanthropists have rolled it as a sweet morsel under their tongues. It has furnished them with a pretext to cry liberty! liberty! from the rising to the setting sun. Their whole souls, bodies, and minds, appear to have been absorbed in the contemplation of African slavery. They appeared to be wholly engrossed with this one idea, to be engulfed! swallowed up! lost! confounded and bewildered in visionary abstractions, and ever and anon, their plaintive notes were heard throughout the hills and dales, liberty and oppression, the burden of their songs. They seemed to consider all crime, all oppression, all injustice, all wrong, as merged in African slavery and its concomitant evils, and themselves the peculiar, the special guardians of the rights of man. The North and the South have been hissed on each other with demoniac fury, and have glutted their vengeance in attempts to "bite and devour each other." Truth, justice, and righteousness have been lost sight of, and a fair and impartial statement of facts has seldom been placed before the public; but in its stead, crimination and recrimination have been hurled from North to South, and from South to North.

The North has arraigned the South, and the South has hurled defiance at the North; or, if the former set up a defense, it was little better than special pleading. Those who have read the foregoing pages are apprised, that it was no part of my design in this work, to exonerate either North or South, there is guilt enough everywhere to humble us all. But I have long considered the attacks of abolitionists on slaveholders, as devoid of truth and justice, and that their views on slavery, were in direct opposition to the revealed will of God. Abolitionism cannot be of God, because its views, plans, and machinations, are in direct opposition to the revealed will of God. Whosoever sows dissension or excites discontent among the slaves, and influences them to dishonor, despise, or forsake the service of their masters, in so doing, violates the positive injunctions of the Bible. Servants are commanded in the New Testament to obey, love, and serve their masters, and to resign themselves to the will of God, and be content with their lot. Servants are not only taught to obey their masters, but to account them worthy of all honor, and to endeavor to please them in all things. "If any man teach otherwise, (says the apostle), he is proud, knowing nothing." But abolitionists do teach otherwise; hence, we find many of the leaders of that party repudiating the Bible.

I do not suppose that Northern people, where slavery is not legalized, are any better than the Southern people where it is legalized. Each section of the Union has its virtues and vices. I do not suppose that

England, where slavery is not legalized, is any better than America where it is legalized. There is more or less injustice and oppression everywhere. It looks well in England to talk about oppression in the United States. "Thou hypocrite, first cast the beam out of thine own eye." Look at down trodden Ireland, thou despotic tyrant. And ye dukes and lords, ye pinks of mortality, professing to be Christians, have ye forgotten the words of Divine inspiration? "He that hath of this worlds goods, and seeth his brother have need, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" Look at your tenantry, the millions of miserable wretches on your own soil, whose condition is far worse than that of the African slaves in the United States? And ye bishops! ye overseers of the flock of Christ? with your princely salaries! surrounded by wealth, splendor, and luxury! Have ye ever thought of the millions, that are starving around you, not only for the bread of eternal life, but also for that which is essential to the sustenance of animal life! Woe to you, ye hypocrites. Ye wolves in sheep's clothing! Bow your heads with shame, and repent in sack-cloth, or else as surely as there is a God in heaven, you will have "your portion in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone."

Some people at the North are constantly harping on the subject of slavery, and yet lo! when some one emancipates a slave in the South, and he straggles off to the North, every one with whom he meets gives him a kick. Benevolent souls, look at the treatment which the Randolph negroes received in the state of Ohio. If slaves are emancipated where are they to go? Where will they find an asylum? Not in the North? For Northern legislatures are already telling them by prohibitory enactments, here, you cannot come. "O consistency! thou art a jewel, a pearl of great price," a virtue rarely met with.

Abolitionists make a great noise about slavery, some of them, no doubt, conscientious and sincere; but there are many among them, should they remove to the South, that would in less than five years own a cotton farm or a sugar plantation well stocked with negroes. Facts have in many instances verified the truth of this assertion. Men have frequently emigrated from the free states to the South, professedly abolitionists, and after getting into one or two difficulties with the excitable Southerners, they would all at once throw off their garb of abolitionism, and then, they too, must have slaves. Perhaps they thought that a change of location justified a change of opinion; or, it may be, that they reasoned thus: poor creatures, they are in bondage, and why should they not as well belong to us as to any one else? We can treat them as well as any one. The Southern slaves, however, tell a different tale. They say that Northern men have no business with slaves, for the reason, that they are very hard masters. The negroes of the South have as little sympathy for the Yankees, as their pro-slavery masters.

I have said that we all are guilty; yes, England is guilty! America is guilty! The Northern states are guilty! The Southern states are guilty! There is guilt everywhere! We should therefore beware how we censure one another. Mother England furnished her American colonies with slaves, and pocketed the money, and now she tells us, that we have no right to that property which she forced on us, when we were a weak and defenceless people, and could not do otherwise than obey her commands. The eagle eyed, shrewd, and sagacious Yankees, ever alive to all that pertains to their own pecuniary interests, with that keen-witted penetration and over-reaching foresight, for which they are remarkable, soon made the discovery, that slave labor in a Northern latitude, and on a comparatively barren soil, must prove unproductive. Hence, they strike a bargain with their Southern neighbors. The Yankees say to the Southern planters, gentlemen, you can employ these slaves profitably in the cultivation of tobacco and cotton. Your climate and soil is adapted to slave labor, ours is not, take our slaves, and let us have in return, gold and silver. It will be a profitable investment on your part, and will relieve us of a species of property, which, to us, is unprofitable. The Southern planters accept their offer and purchase their slaves, and what next? The Yankees turn around and say to the Southern men, you have no right to hold these slaves as property. Kentucky and Tennessee might now, with equal propriety and consistency sell their slaves to the Texan planters, pocket the money, turn on their heels and say, why gentlemen, it is true that we sold you these slaves, and you have paid us for them; but you have no right to hold them in bondage. Refund our money, cry the Texan planters. If you have sold us property which we have no right to hold as property, refund our money? No, say the sturdy Kentuckian and the stalwart Tennessean, not we. Help yourselves the best way you can, we have got your money, and we shall hold on to it. We make no children's bargains, and thus the matter ends.

If slave labor had been profitable in the North, Northern men would have remained in possession of their slaves to the present day. No one, I suppose, doubts it, and it is a good and sufficient reason why they should be a little more modest in their denunciation of their Southern brethren. Slavery is perpetuated by selfishness. Northern men, to say the least, are as selfish as Southern men; and it would require nothing, but a change of location, to make them as oppressive task-masters. Where there is most selfishness, there we will find most oppression; provided, that surrounding circumstances are favorable. Most men, in this world, consult their own pecuniary interests. If they are enhanced by African slavery, African slaves they will have, provided they can get them; but if they cannot get African slaves, they will make slaves of unfortunate and ignorant individuals of their own color. It is the same dominant principle the world over. The Northern man with his leagues of land, surrounded by ignorant, indigent and impoverished families, is virtually a slaveholder. He gets all their labor, and what do they receive in return? A bare subsistence. Southern slaves get that. These tenants spend their lives in laboring for their landlords, and receive in return, barely a sufficiency of coarse food and coarse clothing, to keep soul and body together through a protracted and miserable existence; the condition of many of them being worse than that of a majority of Southern slaves. Most of operatives who live on their daily wages, do nothing more than earn their victuals and clothes, and slaves are generally as well clothed, and better fed than they are. It is clear to my mind, that a majority of slaves are better compensated for their labor, than the poorer class of people, North or South. I base this conclusion on the fact, that neither the one, nor the other, receive any thing more than their victuals and clothes, and the slave is better fed, and better clothed than the poor white man. This is neither a far-fetched conclusion, nor yet an exaggeration. It is literally true. I repeat, that the slaves of the South are generally better provided for, than the generality of

the tenantry, North or South. Hence, the slave is better paid for his labor than the white man, under these circumstances, slaves are also exempt from those corroding cares, perplexities and anxieties, which embitter the lives of the poorer class of white people. He has but to finish his task, and eat and sleep; the cares of the family devolve on master and mistress. The storms of adversity, the losses and crosses incident to all families, pass over his humble hut. The poor white man has bread and meat to-day, but God only knows from whence it will come to-morrow. Not so with the slave, he knows well from whence his bread and meat is to come "for the morrow." Master is bound to make provision for him, and he feels no concern about the matter. "He takes no thought for the morrow." Well, but says one, the white man has liberty, poor as he may be. He can work to-day, and forbear to-morrow, if it suits his ease, convenience, or inclination. Very true, and the misfortune is, that he too often works to-day, and gets drunk to-morrow; or, otherwise, squanders away his time foolishly. Indigence and ignorance subject men to oppression in all countries, and under all circumstances, it matters not whether you call them slaves or freemen. There is oppression and injustice everywhere. It originates in the supreme selfishness of our natures—our self-love. It was the original design of Christianity to eradicate this principle from the human heart. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." This is the language of the author of our religion. The great apostle had direct reference to the selfishness of our hearts when he said, "the love of money is the root of all evil." While selfishness is the dominant principle of our hearts, we can neither love God, nor yet our neighbor. The Holy spirit can never enter our hearts, while this principle reigns supreme within. He has been trying to expel the monster from the hearts of the human family, for nearly two thousand years; but as yet he has accomplished his object but partially. He pleads for entrance, but too often pleads in vain. We must relinquish our self-love, before we can love God supremely, and our neighbor as ourselves.

Selfishness, self-love, or the love of money, as the apostle terms it, stands in the way of all that is noble, generous, and just, in our intercourse with our fellow creatures. It is "the root of all evil," all injustice, all oppression, all unrighteousness, all that mars our peace and happiness in this world, all tumults, all strife, all contention, all war, all blood-shed, all hatred, all misery in time, and all our woes to all eternity.

There are times when my heart sickens within me. I feel, I know that there is oppression and wrong in our world, and that millions of my fellow creatures are interested in perpetuating those wrongs. I know that wherever the human foot has trodden the soil, that *might triumphs over right*, that the strong oppress the weak, that the poor and dependent too often become the servants of the rich; that the man of quick discernment, too often overreaches and takes advantage of his simple, less gifted, and unsuspecting neighbor. That the master, the land-lord, those who are endowed with superior knowledge, those who are in possession of wealth, power, and influence, too often become oppressive, tyrannical and cruel to their inferiors, servants and dependants. I know that these evil exist, and that many believe that they would sustain damage by any attempt to mitigate, or remove them. Self-love, self-interest, the love of money, the love of ease, the love of wealth, splendor, and power, stand in the way of any reformation. Their prejudices, too, that have grown with their growth, and ripened with their years, must be removed. They moreover imagine that not only their self-interests, but their honor, their ease and convenience, their all—all that they hold dear in the world, will be endangered by any attempt to eradicate the evils alluded to. Will they, under these circumstances, listen to the calls of suffering humanity, the voice of reason, the laws of Divine revelation, and the stern dictates of conscience? Can we expect it, when so many interests are involved, when so many prejudices must be broken down, and old institutions rooted up, and a new order of things introduced? Can moral obligation, a sense of duty, the dictates of conscience, overcome that instinctive passion of the human soul, the love of gain? Oh! the love of money, that mighty leveller of power, the golden serpent that beguiles us to transgress the laws of God, to disregard the rights of man, and to burst asunder the common ties of humanity, which were designed in the wisdom and beneficence of the adorable Creator to bind us all together—the world, every member of the human family of all nations, kindred, and tongues, high and low, rich and poor, bond and free, into one common brotherhood. Will men ever reflect, that we are all brothers, descendants of the same earthly parent, children of the same heavenly father, having common interests, alike the subjects of joy and sorrow; that the author of our existence is no respecter of persons; and, finally, that we must all stand before a just and righteous Judge, and give an account of the deeds done in the body, "whether they be good or evil." These are solemn thoughts, and we look in vain for a correction of the evils under which the world groans, unless the minds of men can be disentangled from worldly pursuits, and can be impressed with their responsibility to the Author of their existence, and the obligation to each other. Here all our hopes must center, and to this end must all our efforts tend, if our object is the regeneration of the human race. Men must understand their true interests, their relations and obligations to each other, and their accountability to God, before they will "cease to do evil and learn to do well." If either the writer or the reader, expects to do anything in behalf of suffering humanity, he must never lose sight of the corruption of our natures, and the great fountain of error and misconception, self-love, as the source of all that mars the peace and happiness of the human family. And what is of paramount importance, we must bear in mind, that without Divine aid, we write in vain, we read in vain, that God alone can accomplish the great work, and that we are but instruments in his hands. We must then, with unwearied patience and diligence, do our duty, and leave the event to him who has all power in heaven and earth.

CHAPTER XIII.

The memorable words of our Saviour, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself," comprise the whole duty of man. God requires nothing more of any man. He that loves God will yield a ready and cheerful obedience to all his commands; and he that loves his neighbor, cannot, under any circumstances, or in any condition of life, do

his neighbor injustice or wrong. I have shown in the preceding Chapter, that all oppression, all injustice, that all the evils and calamities which befall the human family, originate in, or are perpetuated by our self-love. Selfishness, self-interest, or otherwise self-aggrandizement, is the mainspring of all our actions if we are devoid of love to God and man. This innate principle of our hearts, the love of money, the love of ease, wealth, power and fame, must be overcome before we can love God and our neighbor; or otherwise discharge those duties incumbent on us as Christians, good citizens, and philanthropists. While self-love or selfishness is the dominant principle in our hearts, we can be neither humane, just, nor generous in our intercourse with our fellow creatures. It is impossible. Under these circumstances we must and will invade their rights; provided that our interests are enhanced thereby. I have said that this innate principle of cupidity must be overcome before we can love God or our neighbor. The question presents itself, how? By what means or agency? The gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was promulgated for this special purpose. By what agency? Through the pervading influence of the Holy Ghost shed abroad in our hearts, purifying our corrupt natures. To whom was this gospel committed? The church of Christ. We look then to the church of Christ for its promulgation, and an application of its principles. But some branches of the church are so corrupt that we can no longer look to them as the depositories of truth, righteousness and justice. Our Saviour sowed good seed, and the devil sowed tares; and the tares have grown and multiplied until they have nearly superseded the product of the good seed. But the difficulty does not stop here, for we find, at this time, multitudes who have crept into every branch of Christ's church, who give incontestible evidence that they are under the influence of the worst passions and propensities of the human heart. Who are devoid of every principle of the Christian religion. What is their object? What are the motives of such persons when they attach themselves to the different branches of Christ's church? Search your hearts ye whitened sepulchers, and tell me what was your leading object when you became church members? Tell me, was it to serve God? No, for ye continue to serve the devil with more alacrity than formerly. Shall I hold you up, naked and deformed as ye are, or shall I forbear? The truth must be told, be the consequence what it may. It was not your intention when ye entered the pale of the church, to place yourselves in such a position as would enable you more effectually to serve either the Author of your existence, or the father of lies. You made a profession of religion in order to serve yourselves. You designed nothing more nor less than to make a profession of religion subserve your business, profession or avocation; or else, give you character and notoriety in the world. Here now is the principle of self-love, selfishness, self-aggrandizement, prompting men to attach themselves to the different branches of Christ's church.

The politician contemplated, no doubt, that by becoming a church member he would secure the suffrages and the influence of a large portion of the members of that church to which he attached himself. The merchant by the same manoeuvre, expected to sell more goods; and the physician was aware that it would afford him an excellent opportunity to *brother and sister* himself into a better practice. The lawyer expected to get large fees from avaricious and contentious church litigants. For church members will engage in lawsuits, the authority of John Wesley, and the still higher authority of St. Paul to the contrary, notwithstanding. The mechanic too, must have the patronage and influence of the church. Neighbor B., over the way, is a regular church member in good standing; and I must become one too, in order to compete with him in business. Dear me, says the farmer to his beloved spouse, don't you see that we are raising a large and promising family of children; and we must make them respectable. How, my dear, says the good lady; by dressing our daughters in silks, and our sons in broadcloth? No, no, says the close-fisted farmer, there is a cheaper and readier way to accomplish it; though I have no objection to seeing the children decently clothed. Have you not observed that all the respectable families in this neighborhood are Methodist, Presbyterians, or Baptists, (as the case may be,) and in order to become respectable, we too must go and join the church. These are the corrupt, the impure, the abominable motives, which too often lead men to attach themselves to churches; and these are the considerations which are too often presented to non-professors by ministers, as well as private members. I regret to say it—I blush while I record it: I have frequently seen professors of religion approach non-professors with all the sanctimoniousness which they could possibly assume, and abruptly address them in the following words: "Come, my friend, you must be religious; you must get religion and join the church." The poor sinner objected—difficulties interposed—he could not, at least at the present time; begs leave to be excused until a more convenient season. "Well, but—come my friend, you may find it greatly to your advantage. We are numerous, we are respectable, we are influential, we can aid you in your business, and elevate your character in society." This is no fancy sketch, I have seen it with my own eyes, and heard it with my own ears, a thousand times; and I beg those who honor this work with a perusal, to reflect for one moment, and I think that they can call to mind similar circumstances. I am loathe to wound the feelings of any one, but a practice so well calculated to corrupt the church of Christ, so contrary to the spirit of Christianity, must and shall be exposed. It is thus that men are frequently drawn into churches, by appeals to the worst passions and propensities that characterize the human heart. By appeals to their cupidity! their love of fame! their love of power! By touching the mainspring or the root of all evil—love of money! What can be expected of those on whom such unhallowed means are brought to bear? They were begotten by unrighteousness, "conceived in sin, and brought forth in iniquity." No wonder churches are corrupt.

It behoves us to inquire in what, this ungodly procedure, on the part of professors of the Christian religion, originates. It originates in an undue desire on the part of ministers and church members to strengthen their party. It is the same spirit that actuated the Pharisees of old, when our Saviour told them, "ye compass sea and land to make a proselyte;" and what then, after they had succeeded, why he is then "seven-fold more a child of hell than yourselves." No wonder, nothing else can be expected, when people are induced to attach themselves to churches from such impure motives. I never yet saw such extra efforts made to get some poor, indigent, ignorant, insignificant individual into a church. But if the man has wealth or influence we generally find all hands at the bellows.

There are a class of religionists in the world, and there are more or less of them among all

denominations of Christians, who are never easy, never satisfied, never content, unless they are cramming their own peculiar notions down other people's throats. Their object is not to change men's hearts, but to change their opinions. They take up the New Testament and read Christ's sermon on the Mount; but they find nothing in it to answer their purpose. It is but an ordinary production in their estimation. They pass on through Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. How stale, how dull, how uninteresting these gospels, they are led to exclaim. They see but little beauty in the God-like teaching; or the inimitable example of Christ. His last agonies, his death on the cross is insufficient to move their callous hearts. But on they pass through the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Romans; but, oh! stop, they have found it at last? Reader, what do you suppose that they have found? What were they in search of? Why some text of Scripture which seem to support their own peculiar notions on the subject of Baptism, Election, Predestination, the Final Perseverance of the saints, &c. The zeal of such persons to propagate their opinions is not more remarkable than the confident, dogmatic manner in which they express them. It is remarkable that professors of religion who are most ignorant and depraved, those who have embraced the grossest errors, are the most confident, arrogant and intolerant in their efforts to force their opinions on others. It may be set down as a maxim, that where there is most ignorance and error—that those whose creeds contain the least truth, are under all circumstances the most forward to engage in controversy with others.

Truth is quiet—error is noisy and boisterous; truth is meek—error is proud and self-sufficient; truth is modest—error is bold and forward; truth is diffident—error is confident and assuming; truth is resigned to the will of God—error is self-willed. To arrive at the truth is not the design of such persons. It is not their eternal interests, nor those of their fellow creatures that stimulate them to effort. They read the Scriptures, not as honest inquirers after truth, but with a view of finding something that will give support to some preconceived opinion, doctrine, creed or ceremony. That will give support to some abstruse doctrine, form or ceremony, which has no direct reference, whatever, to their eternal interests, nor to their duty and obligations to their Creator, nor yet to their fellow creatures. Their motives and intentions are dishonest, their professions insincere and hypocritical, and it is not in the power of their bigoted and corrupt minds to comprehend, "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report."

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Footnotes

[1]

The reader will see Chapter 8; where the subject of slavery in Africa is treated at length.

[2]

I had read but a few pages of Uncle Tom's Cabin, when the following sentences were written. Before I had passed through the work, my opinions underwent a change as to the merit of the work and the designs of the writer in bringing it before the public. The present chapter contains my first reflections on the subject of slavery, after I determined to write on the subject.

[3]

By *worldly interest*, I wish to be understood, the accumulation of wealth by any and every means, and the hoarding it up, regardless of the wants and sufferings of those around us.

*** END OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK A REVIEW OF UNCLE TOM'S CABIN; OR, AN ESSAY ON SLAVERY ***

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