

FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

"PROVE ALL THINGS."

New Series.]

CINCINNATI, O., MAY, 1843.

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ADDRESS,

TO THE NON-SLAVEHOLDERS OF THE SOUTH.

We have concluded at last to put this valuable document in our "Facts for the People." By leaving out one or two of the least important parts, and using small type, we can compress it within two numbers of the monthly.

After showing by a close calculation, that the slaveholders, cannot exceed 250,000, it proceeds thus, with the appeal to the non-slaveholders.

We are not forgetful that our enumeration must embrace some who are the sons of slaveholders, and who are therefore interested in upholding the system,—but we are fully convinced that our estimate of the number of slaveholders is far beyond the truth, and that we may therefore safely throw out of account the very moderate number of slaveholders' sons above 20 years of age, and not themselves possessing slaves.

Here, then, fellow citizens, you see your strength. You have a majority of 518,885 over the slaveholders; and now we repeat that with a numerical majority of more than half a million, slavery lives or dies at your behest.

We know that this result is so startling and unexpected, that you will scarcely credit the testimony of figures themselves. It is so commonly taken for granted, that every white man at the South is a slaveholder, that many will doubtfully inquire, where are these non-slaveholding citizens to be found? We answer, every where. Is poverty a rare occurrence in any country?—Has it ever happened that the mass of any people were rich enough to keep for their own convenience such expensive animals as southern slaves? Slavery; moreover, is monopolizing in its tendency, and leads to the accumulation of property in few hands. It is also to be observed, that the high price of slaves and the character of the labor in which they are employed, both conspire to concentrate this class of laborers on particular spots, and in the hands of large proprietors. Now the census shows that in some districts the slaves are collected in vast numbers; while in others they are necessarily few. Thus, for instance, in Georgetown district, South

Carolina, there are about 75 slaves to every white man, woman and child in the district. Now, if from the white population in this district we exclude all but the slaveholders themselves, the average number of slaves held by them would probably exceed one hundred. On the other hand, we find all through the slave States, many districts where the slaves bear a very small proportion to the whites, and where, of course, the non-slaveholders must form a vast and overwhelming majority. A few instances must suffice.

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| Whites are to slaves in Brook county, Virginia | as 85 to 1 |
| do do Yancy | N. Car. 25 to 1 |
| do do Union | Georgia 35 to 1 |
| do do De Kalb | Alabama 16 to 1 |
| do do Fentness | Tennessee 43 to 1 |
| do do Morgan | Kentucky 74 to 1 |
| do do Taney | Missouri 80 to 1 |
| do do Searcy | Arkansas 311 to 1 |

There is not a State or territory in the Union in which you, fellow-citizens, have not an overwhelming majority over the slaveholders,* and the majority is probably the greatest in those in which the slaves are the most numerous, because in such they are chiefly concentrated on large plantations.

It has been the policy of the slaveholders to keep entirely out of sight their own numerical inferiority, and to speak and act as if their interests were those of the whole community. They are the nobility of the South, and they find it expedient to forget that there are commoners.—Hence with them slavery is THE INSTITUTION of the South, while it is in fact the institution of only a portion of the people of the South. It is their craft to magnify and extol the importance and advantages of their institution; and hence we are told by Gov. McDuffie, that slavery "is the CORNERSTONE of our republican institutions." To defend this corner stone from the assaults of truth and reason, he audaciously proposed to the legislature that abolitionists should be punished "with death without benefit of clergy." This gentleman, like most demagogues, while professing great zeal for the PEOPLE, whose interests were for the most part adverse to slavery, was in fact looking to his own aggrandizement. He was at the very time he uttered these absurd and murderous sentiments, a great planter, and his large "force" was said to have raised in 1836, no less than 122,500 lbs. of cotton† In the same spirit, and with the same design, the report of a com-

* Mr. Nicholas, in a speech in the Kentucky legislature, in 1837, objected to calling a convention to alter the constitution, because in such a convention he believed the abolition of slavery would be agitated—and he reminded the House, that in the State "The slaveholders do not stand in the ratio of more than one to six or seven." Of course slavery is maintained in Kentucky through the consent of the non-slaveholders.

† See the newspapers of the day.

mittee of the South Carolina Legislature, made in 1842, speaks of slavery "as an ancient domestic institution *cherished in the hearts of the people at the South*, the eradication of which would demolish our whole system of policy, domestic, social and political.

The slaveholders form a powerful landed aristocracy, banded together for the preservation of their own privileges, and ever endeavoring, for obvious reasons, to identify their private interests with the public welfare. Thus have the landed proprietors of England declaimed loudly on the blessings of dear bread, because the corn laws keep up rents, and the price of land. The wealth and influence of your aristocracy, together with your own poverty, have led you to look up to them with a reverence bordering on that which is paid to a feudal nobility by their hereditary dependents. Hence it is, that, unconscious of your own power, you have permitted them to assume, as of right, the whole legislation and government of your respective States. We now propose to call your attention to the practical results of that control over *your* interests, which, by your sufferance, they have so long exercised. We ask you to join us in the inquiry, how far you have been benefited by the care of your guardians, when compared with the people of the North, who have been left to govern themselves. We will pursue this inquiry in the following order—viz: 1. "Increase of population." 2. "State of education." 3. "State of industry and enterprise." 4. "Feeling toward the laboring classes." 5. "State of religion." 6. "State of morals."—7. "Disregard for human life." 8. "Disregard for constitutional obligations." 9. "Liberty of speech." 10. "Liberty of the press." 11. "Military weakness."

I. INCREASE OF POPULATION.

The ratio of increase of population, especially in this country, is one of the surest tests of public prosperity. Let us, then, again listen to the impartial testimony of the late census. From this we learn that the increase of population in the free States, from 1830 to 1840, was at the rate of 38 per cent. while the increase of the *free* population in the slave States was only 23 per cent. Why this difference of 15 in the two ratios? No other cause can be assigned than slavery, which drives from your borders many of the virtuous and enterprising, and at the same time deters emigrants from other States and from foreign countries from settling among you.

The influence of slavery on population is strikingly illustrated by a comparison between Kentucky and Ohio. These two States are of nearly equal areas. Kentucky, however, having about 3,000 square miles more than Ohio. They are separated only by a river, and are both remarkable for the fertility of their soil; but one has, from the beginning, been cursed with slavery, and the other blessed with freedom. New mark their respective careers. In 1792, Kentucky was erected into a State, and Ohio in 1802.

| | | |
|-------------------------|---------|----------------------------|
| 1790, Free pop. of Ky., | 61,227, | Ohio a wilderness. |
| 1800 | " " | 180,612 " free pop. 45,365 |
| 1810 | " " | 325,950 " 230,760 |
| 1820 | " " | 437,585 " 581,434 |
| 1830 | " " | 522,704 " 907,903 |
| 1840 | " " | 597,570 " 1,519,467 |

The representation of the two States in Congress, has been as follows :

| | | | |
|----------------|-----|------|----|
| 1802, Kentucky | 6, | Ohio | 1 |
| 1812, " | 9, | " | 6 |
| 1822, " | 12, | " | 14 |
| 1832, " | 13, | " | 19 |
| 1842, " | 10, | " | 21 |

The value of land, other things being equal, is in proportion to the density of population. Now the population of Ohio is 38.8 to a square mile, while the free population of Kentucky is but 14.2 to a square mile; and probably the price of land in the two States is much in the same proportion. You are told much of the wealth is invested in negroes; yet it obviously is a wealth that impoverishes, and no stronger evidence of the truth of this assertion is needed, than the comparative price of land in the free and slave States. The two principal cities of Kentucky and Ohio, are Louisville and Cincinnati; the former with a population of 21,210, the latter with a population of 46,338. Why this difference? The question is answered by the *Louisville Journal*. The editor, speaking of the two rival cities, remarks:

"The most potent cause of the more rapid advancement of Cincinnati than Louisville, is the ABSENCE OF SLAVERY. The same influences which made Ohio the young giant of the West, and is advancing Indiana to a grade higher than Kentucky, have operated in the *Queen* city. They have no *dead weight to carry*, and consequently have the advantage in the race."

In 1840, Mr. C. M. Clay, a member of the Kentucky legislature, published a pamphlet against the repeal of the law prohibiting the importation of slaves from the other States. We extract the following:

"The world is teeming with improved machinery, the combined development of science and art. To us, it is all lost; we are comparatively living in centuries that are gone; we cannot use it, when made. Ohio is many years younger, and possessed of fewer advantages than our State. Cincinnati has manufactories to sustain her; last year she put up one thousand houses. Louisville, with superior natural advantages, as all the world knows, wrote 'to rent,' upon many of her houses. OHIO IS A FREE STATE—KENTUCKY A SLAVE STATE."

Mr. Thomas F. Marshall, of Kentucky, in a pamphlet published the same year, and on the same subject, draws the following comparison between Virginia and New York:

"In 1790, Virginia, with 70,000 square miles of territory, contained a population of 749,308. New York, upon a surface of 45,658 square miles, contained a population of 344,120. This statement exhibits, in favor of Virginia, a difference of 34,242 square miles of territory, and 408,188 in population; which is the *double* of N. York, and 68,600 more. In 1830, after a race of forty years, Virginia is found to contain 1,211,405 souls, and New York 1,918,608, which exhibits a difference, in favor of New York, of 607,203. The increase, on the part of Virginia, will be perceived to be 453,187, starting from a basis more than double as large as that of New York."

The increase of New York, upon a basis of 340,120, has been 1,578,391 human beings. Virginia has increased in a ratio of 61 per cent.; and New-York, in that of 566 per cent.

The total amount of property in Virginia, under the assessment of 1838 was \$211,930,508. The aggregate value of real and personal property in New York, in 1839, was \$654,000,000; exhibiting an excess in New York over Virginia, of capital, of \$442,066,492.

Statesmen may differ about policy, or the means to be employed in the promotion of the public good; but surely they ought to be agreed as to what prosperity means. I think there can be no dispute that New York is a greater, richer, a more prosperous and powerful State than Virginia. What has occasioned the difference? There is but one explanation of the facts I have shown. The clog that has staid the march of her people, the incubus that has weighed down her enterprise, strangled her commerce, kept sealed her exhaustless fountains of mineral wealth, and paralyzed her arts, manufactures, and improvement, is **NEGRO SLAVERY.**"

These statements were made before the results of the last census were known. By the census of 1840, it appears that in the ten preceding years,

| | |
|--|----------------|
| The population of Virginia had increased | 23,392 |
| In the same time, the population of New York increased | 710,413 |
| The rate of increase in Virginia was | 2.3. per cent. |
| do do New York, | 33.7 do |
| Virginia has 12.6 free inhabitants to a square mile. | |
| New York, 52.7 do do do | |
| In 1790 Mass. with Maine, had but 378,717 inhabitants. | |
| do Maryland, | 319,728 do |
| In 1840 Massachusetts alone | 737,699 do |
| Maryland, | 469,222 do |

Now let it be recollected, that Maryland is nearly *double* the size of Massachusetts. In the last, there are 98.3 free inhabitants to the square mile; in the former, only 27.2.

If we turn to the new states, we find that slavery and freedom have the same influence on population as in the old. Take, for instance, Michigan and Arkansas. They came into the Union about the same time:

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------|----------|---------|
| In 1830, pop. of Arkansas was | 30,388, | in 1840, | 97,574 |
| " " Michigan, | 31,639, | " " | 212,267 |

The ratio of increase of white inhabitants, for the last ten years, has been in Arkansas, at 200 per cent.; in Michigan, 574 per cent. In both instances, the increase has been chiefly owing to immigration; but the ratio shows the influence of slavery in retarding immigration. Compare, also, Alabama and Illinois:

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------|
| In 1840, the free pop. of Ala. was | 191,975 |
| " " Illinois, | 157,455 |

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---------|
| Excess in favor of Alabama, | 34,520 |
| In 1840, the free pop. of Illinois, | 476,183 |
| " " Alabama, | 337,224 |

| | |
|------------------------------|---------|
| Excess in favor of Illinois, | 138,959 |
|------------------------------|---------|

We surely need not detain you, with further details on this head, to convince you what an enormous sacrifice of happiness and prosperity you are offering on the altar of slavery. But of the character and extent of this sacrifice, you have as

yet had only a partial glimpse. Let us proceed to examine,

II. THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN THE SLAVE STATES.

The maxim that "knowledge is power," has ever more or less influenced the conduct of aristocracies. Education elevates the inferior classes of society, teaches them their rights, and points out the means of enforcing them. Of course, it tends to diminish the influence of wealth, birth, and rank. In 1671, Sir William Berkley, then governor of Virginia, in his answer to the inquiries of the committee of the colonies, remarked, "I thank God, that there are no free schools, nor printing presses, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years."

The spirit of Sir William seems still to preside in the councils of his own Virginia, and to actuate those of the other slave states.

The power of the slaveholders, as we have always showed you, depends on the acquiescence of the major part of the white inhabitants in their domination. It cannot be, therefore, the interest or the inclination of the sagacious and reflecting among them, to promote the intellectual improvement of the inferior class.

In the free states, on the contrary, where there is no caste answering to your slaveholders; where the *people* literally partake in the government, mighty efforts are made for general education; and in the most instances, elementary instruction is, through the public liberality, brought within the reach of the children of the poor.— You have lamentable experience, that such is not the case where slaveholders bear rule.

But you will receive with distrust whatever we may say as to the comparative ignorance of the free and slave states. Examine, then for yourselves the returns of the late census on this point. This document gives us the number of white persons over twenty years of age in each state, who cannot read *and* write. It appears that these persons are to the *whole* white population in the several states, as follows, viz:

| | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|------|------|
| Connecticut | 1 to every 568 | Louisiana | 1 do | 28.5 |
| Vermont | 1 do 473 | Maryland | 1 do | 27 |
| N. Hampshire | 1 do 310 | Mississippi | 1 do | 20 |
| Massachusetts | 1 do 166 | Delaware | 1 do | 18 |
| Maine | 1 do 108 | South Carolina | 1 do | 17 |
| Michigan | 1 do 97 | Missouri | 1 do | 16 |
| Rhode Island | 1 do 67 | Alabama | 1 do | 15 |
| New Jersey | 1 do 58 | Kentucky | 1 do | 13.5 |
| New York | 1 do 56 | Georgia | 1 do | 13 |
| Pennsylvania | 1 do 50 | Virginia | 1 do | 12.5 |
| Ohio | 1 do 43 | Arkansas | 1 do | 11.5 |
| Indiana | 1 do 18 | Tennessee | 1 do | 11 |
| Illinois | 1 do 17 | North Carolina | do | 7* |

It will be observed, by looking at this table, that Indiana and Illinois are the *only* free States, which, in point of education, are surpassed by *any* of the slave states; for this disgraceful circumstance, three causes may be assigned, viz: their recent settlement; the influx of foreigners; and emigration from the slave states. The returns from New York, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, are greatly affected by the vast number of foreigners congregated in their cities,

*This summary from the return of the census, is copied from the Richmond (Va.) Compiler.

and employed in their manufactories, and on their public works. In Ohio, also, there is a large foreign population, and it is well known that comparatively few emigrants from Europe seek a residence in the slave states, where there is little or no employment to invite them. But what a commentary on slavery and slaveholders is afforded by the gross ignorance prevailing in the old states of South Carolina, Virginia, and North Carolina! But let us proceed. The census gives us a return of "scholars at public charge." Of these, there are in the free states, 432,173; in the slave states, 35,580.

Ohio alone has 51,812 such scholars, more than are to be found in the thirteen slave states! Her neighbor, Kentucky, has 429!! Let us compare, in this particular, the *largest* and the *smallest* State in the Union—Virginia has scholars at public charge, 9,791; Rhode Island, 10,912.†

But we have some *official* confessions, which give a still more deplorable account of southern ignorance. In 1837, Governor Clarke, in his message to the Kentucky legislature, remarked, "By the computation of those most familiar with the subject, ONE THIRD OF THE ADULT POPULATION OF THE STATE ARE UNABLE TO WRITE THEIR NAMES."

Governor Campbell reported to the Virginia legislature, that from the returns of ninety-eight clerks, it appeared that of 4,614 *applicants for marriage licenses in 1837, no less than 1,047 were made by men unable to write.* These details will enable you to estimate the impudence of the following plea in behalf of slavery:

"It is by the existence of slavery exempting so large a portion of our citizens from the necessity of bodily labor, that we have leisure for *intellectual* pursuits, and the means of attaining a liberal education." *Chancellor Harper, of South Carolina, on Slavery—Southern Literary Messenger, Oct. 1838.*

Whatever may be the leisure enjoyed by the slaveholders, they are careful not to afford the means of literary improvement to their fellow-citizens who are too poor to possess slaves, and who are, by their very ignorance, rendered more fit instruments for doing the will, and guarding the human property of the wealthier class.

III INDUSTRY AND ENTERPRISE.

In a community so unenlightened as yours, it is a matter of course, that the arts and sciences must languish; and the industry and enterprise of the country be oppressed by a general torpor. Hence, multitudes will be without regular and profitable employment, and be condemned to poverty and numberless privations. The very advertisements in your newspapers, show that for a vast proportion of the comforts and conveniences of life, you are dependent on northern manufacturers and mechanics. You both know and feel that slavery has rendered labor disgraceful among you; and where this is the case, industry is necessarily discouraged. The great staple of the South is cotton; and we have no desire to undervalue its importance.—It, however, is worthy of remark, that its cul-

tivation affords a livelihood to only a small portion of the free inhabitants; and scarcely to any of those we are now addressing. Cotton is the product of slave-labor, and its profits at home are confined almost exclusively to the slaveholders. Yet, on account of this article, we hear frequent vaunts of the agricultural riches of the South. With the exception of cotton, it is difficult to distinguish your agricultural products arising from slave, and from free labor. But admitting, what we know is not the fact, that all the other productions of the soil are raised exclusively by free labor, we learn from the census that the agricultural products of the North exceed those of the South, cotton excepted, \$226,219,714. Here, then, we have an appalling proof of the paralyzing influence of slavery on the industry of the whites.

In every community a large portion of the inhabitants are debarred from their maintenance directly from the cultivation of the earth. Other and lucrative employments are reserved for them. If the slaveholders chiefly engross the soil, let us see how you are compensated by the encouragement afforded to mechanical skill and industry.

In 1839 the secretary of the treasury reported to Congress, that the tonnage of vessels built in the United States was 120,988

Built in the slave States and territories, 23,600

Or less than one-fifth of the whole! But the difference is still more striking, when we take into consideration the comparative value of the shipping built in the two regions;

In the free States the value is \$6,311,805

In the slave do 704,291

It would be tedious and unprofitable to compare the results of the different branches of manufacture carried on at the North and the South. It is sufficient to state that according to the census the value of the manufactures

In the free States is \$334,139,690

In the slave States 83,935,742

Having already compared Ohio and Kentucky in reference to population and education, we will pursue the comparison as to agricultural and mechanical industry. On account of contiguity, and similarity of extent, soil and climate, no two states can perhaps be so aptly contrasted for the purpose of illustrating the influence of slavery. It should also be borne in mind that Kentucky can scarcely be called a cotton State, having in 1840 raised only 607,456lbs. of that article. Hence the deficiency of agricultural and other products in Kentucky arises not from a peculiar species of cultivation, but solely from the withering effects of slavery.

| | Ohio. | Kentucky. |
|--|------------------|-----------|
| Wool, | 3,685,315lbs. | 1,786,842 |
| Wheat, | 16,571,661 bush. | 4,803,152 |
| Hay, | 1,022,037 tons, | 88,306 |
| Fulling mills, | 205 | 5 |
| Printing offices, | 159 | 34 |
| Tanneries, | 862 | 387 |
| Commercial houses } in foreign trade, } | 53 | 5 |
| Value of machinery } manufactured, } | \$875,731 | \$46,074 |

†See American Almanac, for 1842, p. 266.

In one species of manufacture the South apparently excels the North, but unfortunately, it is in appearance only. Of 9,657 distilleries in the United States, no less than 7,665 are found in the slave states, and territories; but for want of skill and capital, these yield fewer gallons than the other 1,992.

Where there is so much ignorance and idleness, we may well suppose that the inventive faculties will be but little exercised; and accordingly we find that of the 495 patents granted for new inventions in 1841, only 70 were received by citizens of the slave states. We have thus, fellow-citizens, offered you the testimony of figures as to the different state of society under freedom and slavery; suffer us now to present you pictures of the two regions, drawn not by abolitionists, but by southern artists, in unguarded hours. Mr. Clowney, of South Carolina, thus portrayed his native state, in the ardor of debate on the floor of Congress:

"Look at South Carolina now, with her houses deserted and falling to decay, her once fruitful fields worn out and abandoned for want of timely improvement, or skillful cultivation; and her thousands of acres of inexhaustible lands still promising an abundant harvest to the *industrious* husbandman, lying idle and neglected. In the interior of the State, where I was born, and where I now live, although a country possessing all the advantages of soil, climate and health, abounding in arable land, unreclaimed from the first rude state of nature, there can now be found many neighborhoods where the population is too sparse to support a common elementary school for children. Such is the deplorable condition of one of the oldest members of this Union, that dates back its settlement more than a century and a half, while other states, born as it were but yesterday, already surpass what Carolina is or ever has been in the happiest and proudest day of her prosperity."

This gentleman chose to attribute the decline of South Carolina to the tariff; rather than to the obvious cause, that one half of the PEOPLE of South Carolina, are poor, ignorant, degraded SLAVES, and the other half suffering in all their faculties and energies from a moral pestilence, which they insanely regard as a blessing and not a curse. Surely it is not owing to the tariff, that in this ancient member of the Union, 20,615 white citizens, over 20 years of age, do not know their letters; while Maine, with double her population, has only 3,241.

Now look upon a very different picture. Mr. Preston, of South Carolina, not long since delivered a speech at Columbia in reference to a proposed railroad. In this speech, in order to stimulate the efforts of the friends of the road, he indulged in the following strain:

"No Southern man can journey (as he had lately done) through the Northern States, and witness the prosperity, the industry, the spirit which they exhibit—the sedulous cultivation of all those arts by which life is rendered comfortable and respectable; without feelings of deep sadness and shame as he remembers *his own neglected and desolate home*. There no dwelling is to be seen

abandoned—not a farm uncultivated. Every person and everything performs a part toward the grand result; and the whole land is covered with fertile fields, with manufactories, and canals and railroads, and edifices, and towns, and cities. We of the South are mistaken in the character of these people when we think of them only as pedlers in horn flints and bark nutmegs. Their energy and enterprise are directed to all objects great and small, within their reach. The number of railroads and other modes of expeditious intercommunication knit the whole country into a closely compacted mass, through which the productions of commerce and of the press, the efforts of life and the means of knowledge, are universally diffused; while the close intercourse of travel and of business makes all neighbors, and promotes a common interest and a common sympathy. How different the condition of things in the South! *Here* the face of the country wears the aspect of premature old age and decay. NO IMPROVEMENT IS SEEN GOING ON; nothing is done for posterity. No man thinks of anything beyond the present moment."

Yet this same Mr. Preston, thus sensitive to the superior happiness and prosperity of the free States, declared in the United States Senate, "Let an abolitionist come within the borders of South Carolina, if we can catch him we will try him, and notwithstanding all the interference of all the governments of the earth including the federal government, we will hang him."† In other words the slaveholders, rather than part with their slaves, are ready to multiply with all the formalities of law, the very men who are laboring to confer on them the envied blessings of the North.

IV. FEELINGS OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS TOWARDS THE LABORING CLASSES

Whenever the great mass of the laboring population of a country are reduced to beasts of burden, and toil under the lash, "bodily labor" as Chancellor Harper expresses it, must be distasteful, from the mere influence of association. Hence you know *white* laborers at the south styled "mean whites." At the north, on the contrary, labor is regarded as the proper and commendable means of acquiring wealth; and most influential men would in no degree suffer in public estimation, for holding the plough or even repairing the highways. Hence no man is deterred from seeking a livelihood by the most arduous labor from a dread of personal degradation. The different light in which labor is viewed at the north and the south is one cause of the depression of industry in the latter.

Another cause is the ever wakeful jealousy of your aristocracy. They fear the PEOPLE; they are alarmed at the very idea of power and influence being possessed by any portion of the community not directly interested in slave property. Visions of emancipation, of agrarianism and

† We are well aware that Mr. Preston has denied no one asserted, that he had said an abolitionist came into South Carolina, would be executed by law. He used the words we have quoted. (See New York Journal of Commerce, January 6th, 1838.)

ular resistance to their authority, are ever greater in their distempered and excited imaginations. They know their own weakness, and are afraid you should know it also. Hence it is their policy to keep down the "mean whites."—Hence their philippics against the lower classes. Hence their constant comparison of the laborers of the north, with their own slaves; and hence in a small degree the absence among you of those institutions which confer upon the poor that knowledge which is power. Do you deem these exertions uncharitable? Listen to their own denunciations.

"We believe the servitude which prevails in the south is preferable to that of the north, or in Europe. Slavery exists in all communities. There is a class which may nominally free, but they will be virtually slaves."—MISSISSIPPIAN, July 16th, 1838.

"Those who depend on their daily labor for their daily sustenance can never enter into political affairs, they never will, never can." B. W. Leigh in Virginia Convention, 1839.

"All society settles down into a classification of capital and laborers. The former will own the latter, either collectively through the government, or individually in a form of domestic servitude as exists in the southern States in confederacy. If LABORERS ever obtain the political power of a country, it is in fact in a state of REVOLUTION. The capitalists north of Mason and Dixon's line, precisely the same interest in the labor of the country as the capitalists of England have in their labor.—It is, that they must have a strong federal government (!) to control the labor of the nation. Precisely the same with us. We have already not only a right to the pockets of our laborers, but we OWN a class of laborers ourselves. But let me say to gentlemen who represent a great class of capitalists in the north, beware that you do not drive us into a separate system, for if you do, as sure as the decrees of heaven, you will be compelled to draw to the sword to maintain yourselves at home. It will not come in your day; but your children's children will be covered with the blood of domestic factions, and a warring mob contending for power and conquest."—PICKENS OF SOUTH CAROLINA IN CONGRESS, 21st Dec. 1836.

"The way to prevent plundering mobs, is to give the poor! We shall see presently, how this expedient has been successful in preventing murdering mobs.

"The very nature of things there must be classes of men to discharge all the different offices of society from the highest to the lowest: Some of these offices are regarded as degraded, although they must & will be performed by those who manifest forms of dependent servitude which produce a sense of superiority in the masters or employers, and of inferiority on the part of the servants,—and these offices are performed by members of the poor community, a DANGEROUS ELEMENT is obviously introduced into the body politic. Hence the alarming tendency to violate the rights of property by agrarian legislation which is beginning to be manifest in the older states where UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE prevails without DOMESTIC SLAVERY.

"In a word, the institution of domestic slavery supercedes the necessity of AN ORDER OF NOBILITY AND ALL THE APPENDAGES OF A HEREDITARY SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT." Gov. McDuffie's Message to the South Carolina Legislature, 1836.

"I regard SLAVERY as the most safe and stable basis for institutions in the world. It is impossible with us that a conflict can take place between labor and capital, and it makes it so difficult to establish and maintain free institutions in all wealthy and highly civilized nations where such institutions do not exist. Every plantation is a community with the master at its head, who concentrates in himself the united interests of capital and labor, which he is the common representative." (Mr. Calhoun in South Carolina, in the United States Senate, Jan. 1840.

"We of the south have cause now, and shall soon have greater, to congratulate ourselves on the existence of a population among us which excludes the POPULACE which in effect rules some of our northern neighbors, and is rapidly gaining strength wherever slavery does not exist—a populace made up of the dregs of Europe, and the most worthless portion of the native population." (Richmond Whig, 1838.)

"Would you do a benefit to the horse or the ox by giving him a cultivated understanding, a fine feeling? So far as the MERE LABORER has the pride, the knowledge or the aspiration of a freeman, he is unfitted for his situation. If there are sordid servile laborious offices to be performed, is it not better that there should be sordid servile laborious beings to perform them.

"Odium has been cast upon our legislation on account of its forbidding the elements of education being communicated to slaves. But in truth what injury is done them by this? He who works during the day with his hands, does not read in the intervals of leisure for his amusement, or the improvement of his mind, or the exception is so very rare as scarcely to need the being provided for." Chancellor Harper of South Carolina, Southern Literary Messenger.)

This same gentleman delivered an oration on the 4th July, 1840, reviewing the principles of the two great political parties, and supporting Mr. Van Buren's administration for its devotion to the slave interest. He says,

"Is there any thing in the principles and opinions of the other party, the great democratic rabble as it has been justly called, which should induce us to identify ourselves with that? Here you may find every possible grade and hue of opinion which has ever existed in the country. Here you may find loafer and loco-foco and agrarian, and all the rabble of the city of New York, the most corrupt and depraved of rabbles, and which controls, in a great degree the city itself, and through that as being the commercial metropolis, exercises much influence over the State at large.

"What are the essential principles of democracy as distinguished from republicanism? The first consists in the dogma so portentous to us of the natural equality and unalienable right to liberty of every human being. Our allies (!) no doubt, are willing at present to modify the doctrine in our favor.* But the spirit of democracy at large makes no such exceptions, nor will these (our allies, the northern democrats) continue to make it longer than necessity or interest may require. The second consists in the doctrine of the divine right of majorities; a doctrine not less false and slavish, and absurd, than the ancient doctrine of the divine right of kings."

*Chancellor Harper certainly evinces great sagacity in explaining the discrepancy between the principles and the practice of the "allies." Their principles do indeed lead to the extermination of slavery root and branch. According to the highest authorities in the democratic school at the north, limited suffrage is an outrage on natural right, and civil war and the slaughter of our fellow citizens the patriotic and democratic mode of acquiring universal suffrage. This doctrine reduced to practice in the chancellor's own state, would not a little interrupt the literary leisure of the gentlemen planters. At a late public meeting in the city of New York, of some of the most radical of the "allies," it was resolved, "man's chief duty upon this earth is to RESIST evil; for if there were NO SLAVES TO SUBMIT TO WRONG there could be no TYRANTS to practice wrong." Certainly we do not wonder that the slaveholders are not entirely satisfied with the principles sported by their "allies;" but how comes it that northern democrats, holding such principles, should be the humble tools of the slaveholders; and ever ready, at their mandate, to trample upon the freedom of petition, of speech, and of the press? The chancellor truly tells us that the democrats at present modify their principles in favor of the south from interest. They receive wages in southern votes. Mr. Van Buren did as he was ordered, and was made President, and his partisans at home got a good share of the loaves and fishes. Not a few of his political opponents have followed his prudent example.

Mr. Robert Wickliffe, of Kentucky, in a speech published in the Louisville Advertiser, in opposition to those who were adverse to the importation of slaves from the states, thus discourseth.

"Gentlemen wanted to drive out the black population that they may obtain WHITE NEGROES in their place. WHITE NEGROES have this advantage over black negroes, they can be converted into voters; and the men who live upon the sweat of their brow, and pay them but a dependent and scanty subsistence, can, if able to keep ten thousand of them in employment, come up to the polls and change the destiny of the country.

"How improved will be our condition when we have such white negroes as perform the servile labors of Europe, of Old England, and he would add now of New England, when our body servants and our cart drivers, and our street sweepers, are white negroes instead of black. Where will be the independence, the proud spirit, and the chivalry of Kentuckians then?"

Had the gentleman looked across the river, he might have found an answer to this question, in the wealth, power, intelligence and happiness of Ohio.

In reading the foregoing extracts, it is amusing to observe how adroitly the slaveholders avoid all recognition of any other classes among them than masters and slaves. Who would suspect from their language, that they were themselves a small minority of the white inhabitants, and that their own "white negroes" could, if united and so disposed, outvote them at the polls? It is worthy of remark that in their denunciations of the *populace*, the *rabble*, *those who work with their hands*, they refer not to complexion, but to condition; not to slaves, but to the poor and laborious of their own color. It is these haughty aristocrats who find in northern democrats "allies," who in Congress and out of it are zealous in obeying their mandates, and who may justly be termed their "white negroes."

Slavery, although considered by Mr. Calhoun "the most stable basis of free institutions in the world," has, as we shall presently show you, in fact led to grosser outrages in the social compact, to more alarming violations of constitutional liberty, to more bold and reckless assaults upon "free institutions" than have ever been even attempted by the much-dreaded agrarianism of the North.

V. STATE OF RELIGION.

The deplorable ignorance and want of industry at the South, together with the disrepute in which honest industry is held, cannot but exercise, in connection with other causes, a most unhappy influence on the morals of the inhabitants. You have among you between two and three millions of slaves who are kept by law in brutal ignorance, and who, with few exceptions, are virtually heathens.*

You have also among you more than 200,000 free negroes, thus described by Mr. Clay:—"Contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them."†

*"From long continued and close observation, we believe that their (the slaves') moral and religious condition is such that they may justly be considered the HEATHEN of this christian country, and will bear comparison with heathen in any country in the world. The negroes are destitute of the Gospel, and ever will be under the present state of things." (Report published by the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, Dec. 3, 1833.)

†Speech before the American Colonization Society.

If evil communications corrupt good manners, the intimate intercourse of the whites with the people must be depraving; nor can the exercise of despotic power by the masters, their wives and children, be otherwise than unfavorable to the benevolent affections.

It is with pain we are compelled to add, that the conduct and avowed sentiments of the Southern clergy in relation to slavery, necessarily exert an unhappy influence. Most of the clergy are themselves slaveholders, and are thus personally interested in the system, and are consequently bold and active in justifying it from the Scriptures, representing it as an institution enjoying the divine sanction. An English author, in referring to these efforts of your clergy, forcibly remarks:—"Whatever may have been the unutterable wickedness of slavery in the West Indies, *there it never was baptized in the Redeemer's hallowed name, and its corruptions were not concealed in the garb of religion. That acme of piratical turbulence was reserved for the professed disciples of Jesus in America.*" And well has John Quincy Adams said, "The spirit of slavery has acquired not only an overruling ascendancy, but it has come at once intolerant, proscriptive and sophistical. It has crept into the philosophical chairs of the schools. Its cloven hoof has ascended the pulpits of the churches—Professors of Coleridge teach it as a lesson of morals—ministers of the Gospel seek and profess to find sanctions for it in the Word of God."

Your ministers live in the midst of slavery, and they *know* that the system on which they bestow their benedictions, is, in the language of Wilberforce, "a system of the grossest injustice, of the most heathenish irreligion and immorality; of the most unprecedented degradation and unrelenting cruelty." Surely, we have reason to fear that the denunciation of the Scripture against false prophets of old, will be accomplished against the southern clergy, "Because they ministered unto them before their idols, and caused the House of Israel to fall into iniquity, therefore have I lifted up mine hand against them, saith the Lord God, and they shall bear their iniquity."—*Ezek. 44.*

Under such ministrations it cannot be expected that Christian zeal and benevolence will take deep root and bear very abundant fruit. This is a subject on which few statistics can be obtained. We have no means of ascertaining the number of churches and ministers throughout the U. States of the various denominations. Some opinion, however, may be formed of the religious character of a people by their efforts for the moral improvement of the community. In the United States there are numerous voluntary associations for religious and benevolent purposes, receiving large contributions and exercising a wide moral influence. Now of all the large benevolent societies professing to promote the welfare of the whole country, and asking and receiving contributions from all parts of it, we recollect but one that had its origin in the slave region, and the business of which is transacted in it, and this is the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY. Of the real object and practical tendency of this society it is unnecessary to speak—you understand them.

In the 10th Report of the American Sunday School Union [p. 50] is a table showing the number of Sunday School scholars in each state for the year 1834. From this table we learn that

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------|
| scholars. | |
| there were in the free states | 504,835 |
| “ slave “ | 82,532 |
| the single state of N. York had | 161,768 |

About twice as many as in the thirteen slave states!

And is it possible that the literary and religious destitution you are suffering, together with the vicious habits of your colored population, could have no effect on the moral character of the whites?

We entreat your patient and dispassionate attention to the remarks and facts we are about to submit to you on the next subject of inquiry.

VI. STATE OF MORALS.

Christianity, by controlling the malignant passions of her nature, and exciting its benevolent affections, gives a credence to the rights of others, and especially does it guard human life. But where her blessed influence is withdrawn, or greatly impaired, the passions resume their sway, and violence and cruelty become the characteristics of every community in which the civil authority is too feeble to afford protection.

No society is free from vices and crime, and we well know that human depravity springs from another source than slavery. It will not, however, be denied that circumstances and institutions may check those evil propensities which we are all prone; and it will, we presume, be admitted that in forming an opinion of the moral condition and advancement of any community, we are to be guided by our judgment, not by insulated facts, but by the tone of public opinion. Atrocities occur in the best regulated and most virtuous States, but in such they excite indignation and are visited with punishment; while in vicious communities they are treated with levity and impunity.

In a country where suffrage is universal, the representatives will but reflect the general character of their constituents. If we are permitted to apply this rule in testing the moral condition of the South, the result will not be favorable.

In noticing the public conduct of public men, we are not sensible of violating any principle of courtesy or delicacy—we touch not their private character, or their private acts—we refer to their language and sentiments merely as one indication of the standard of the morals among their constituents, not as conclusive proof apart from other evidence.

On the 15th of February, 1837, R. M. Whitney was arraigned before the House of Representatives for contempt in refusing to attend when required before a committee. His apology was that he was afraid of his life, and he called as a witness in his behalf, one of the committee, Mr. Fairfield, since Governor of the State of Maine. It appeared that in the Committee Mr. Peyton of Virginia had put some interrogatory to Whitney, who had returned a written answer which was deemed offensive. On this, as Mr. Fairfield testified, Peyton addressed the Chairman in these terms, “Mr. Chairman, I wish you to inform this witness, that he is not to ~~quit me in his affairs~~.” “Yes, God damn him! I will take his life on the spot!” Whitney rose and said he claimed the protection of the committee, on which Peyton exclaimed, “God damn you, you shan't speak, you shan't say one word while you are in this room, if you do I will put you to death!” Soon after, Peyton observing that Whitney was looking at him cried out, “Damn him, his eyes are on me—God damn him, he is looking at me—he shan't do it—damn him, he shan't look at me!”

The newspaper reports of the proceedings of Congress informed us, that in a late session of the House, Mr. Dawson, a member from Louisiana, went up to Mr. Arnold, another member, and said to him, “If you attempt to speak, or rise from your seat, sir, by God I'll cut your throat!”

In a debate on the Florida war, Mr. Cooper having taken offence at Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, for some remarks relative to slavery, said in his reply, “If the gentleman from Ohio will come among my constituents and promulgate his doctrines there, he will find that Lynch law will be inflicted, and that the gentleman will reach an elevation which he little dreams of.”

In the session of 1841, Mr. Payne, of Alabama, in debate, alluding to the abolitionists, among whom he insisted the Postmaster General ought to be included, declared that he would proscribe all abolitionists, he “would put the brand of Cain upon them—yes, the mark of HELL, and if they came to the South he would HANG THEM LIKE DOGS!”

Mr. Hammond, of South Carolina, at an early period thus expressed himself in the House: “I warn the abolitionists, ignorant, infatuated barbarians as they are, that if chance shall throw any of them into our hands, he may expect a FELON'S DEATH!”

And now, fellow citizens, do these men, with all their profanity and vulgarity, breathing out threatenings and slaughters, represent the feelings, and manners, and morals of the slaveholding community? We have seen no evidence that they have lost a particle of popular favor in consequence of their ferocious violence. Alas! their language has been re-echoed again and again by public meetings in the slave States; and we proceed to lay before you overwhelming proof that in the expression of their murderous feelings towards the abolitionists, they faithfully represented the sentiments of their constituents.

VII. DISREGARD FOR HUMAN LIFE.

We have already seen that one of the blessings which the slaveholders attribute to their favorite institution, is exemption from popular tumults, and from encroachments by the democracy upon the rights of property. Their argument is, that political power in the hands of the poor and laboring classes is always attended with danger, and that this danger is averted when these classes are kept in bondage. With these gentlemen, life and liberty seem to be accounted as the small dust of the balance when weighed against slavery and plantations; hence, to preserve the latter they are ever ready to sacrifice the former, in utter defiance of the laws and constitutions.

We have already noticed the murderous proposition in relation to abolitionists, made by Gov. M'Duffie to the South Carolina Legislature in 1835. “It is my deliberate opinion that the laws of every community should punish this species of interference by DEATH without benefit of clergy.” In an address to a legislative assembly, Governor M'Duffie refrained from the indecency of recommending illegal murder: but we shall soon find that the public sentiment of the South by no means requires that abolitionists shall be put to death with legal formalities—but on the contrary, the slaveholders are ready, in the language of Mr. Payne, to “hang them like dogs.”

We hazard little in the assertion, that in no civilized Christian community on earth, is human life less protected by law, or more frequently taken with impunity, than in the slave States of the Federal union. We wish to impress upon you the danger and corruption to which you and your children are exposed from the institution, which, as we have shown you, exists by your sufferance. But you have been taught to distrust and discredit us—and hence it becomes necessary to enter into details, however painful, and to present you with authorities which you cannot reject. What we have just said of the insecurity of human life will probably be deemed by you and others, as abolition slander. Listen, to slaveholders themselves.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

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