

NEGROES AND NEGRO SLAVERY;

THE FIRST, AN INFERIOR RACE—THE LATTER, ITS NORMAL CONDITION.

BY J. H. VAN EVRIE, M. D.

INTRODUCTORY NUMBER:

CAUSES OF POPULAR DELUSION ON THE SUBJECT.

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LETTERS TO THE AUTHOR.

From Hon. Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War.

WASHINGTON, 3d June, 1853.

DR. VAN EVRIE:

Dear Sir,—I have read the enclosed pages with great interest, and not as a Southern man merely, but as an American, I thank you for your able and manly exposure of a fallacy which more than any or all other causes has disturbed the tranquility of our people and endangered the perpetuity of our constitutional union. With high regard I am your obedient servant,

JEFFE'N DAVIS.

From Professor De Bow, Sup. U. S. Census.

WASHINGTON, June 16, 1853.

Dear Sir,—I agree in the principles which you assume in the conduct of the slavery argument, in the introductory chapter of your work. They are new and striking and considering the great and overruling importance of the question and the ability with which they are pressed must excite wide interest and attention.

Your obedient servant,

DR. J. H. VAN EVRIE.

I. D. B. DE BOW.

From Hon. D. S. Dickinson, Ex U. S. Senator.

BINGHAMTON, N. Y. July 28, 1853.

My Dear Sir,—I have perused with great interest and satisfaction your introductory chapter upon "Negroes and Negro Slavery" and rejoice in believing that a subject which has been so little understood is finally about to receive the exposition which the best interests of society demands. This specimen of your work gives evidence of deep ethnological research and consideration, and the bold and masterly hand with which you strip off the disguises furnished by the spurious philanthropist and true demagogue, renders it ten fold more acceptable and attractive. Such a work was demanded by all the friends of rational progress, for the influence it must exert in elevating the Caucasian race to a proper conception of their mission, and turning them from the contemplation of casting down barriers erected by the Almighty.

I am with high regard, yours truly,

DR. J. H. VAN EVRIE.

D. S. DICKINSON.

From New York National Democrat.

Dr. Van Evrie, of Washington, has in press a work of four hundred pages, entitled "Negroes and Negro Slavery," the introductory chapter of which we have received, in a neat pamphlet. This introduction discusses, with great ability and power, the causes of the popular delusion on the subject of slavery. Physiology and history are summoned as witnesses to prove the natural inferiority of the negro race, and to prove that it is incapable of existing under circumstances of entire equality with the Caucasian race. The learned author shows conclusively that the condition of the negro in our Southern States is much more natural than the condition of the working class of England, or of all Europe. We have been so much pleased with the following comparison between the English Nobleman and the Southern Planter, that we give it entire in our editorial columns:

PREFACE.

IF some one ignorant of the real nature of *epilepsy* should, on witnessing a case, go away and write a book describing the contortions of the muscles, foaming at the mouth, distortions of features, &c. that ordinarily attend a paroxysm of that complaint, those who might read it and were as ignorant of the disease, as the writer himself, would doubtless imagine it a condition of extreme suffering, when in reality, there is none whatever, for the simple reason that the patient is wholly unconscious: but such a book would as truly describe the real condition of the *epileptic* as the books attacking American Slavery, describe the *real* condition of the slave. And if some one were to reply to it, admitting that there was suffering in *epilepsy*, but that it was less, or of a different character from that assumed in such book, it would go just as far in explaining the real condition of the *epileptic* patient as the books written in defence of Southern Slavery do in explaining the real condition of the slave.

This may be still further illustrated by a certain famous or infamous negro novel recently written to describe Southern Society. The writer represents all her negro characters as white people, and their masters as Devils, or as extra human; one just as true to nature and fact as the other, for certain it is, if there are *beings* in our times capable of enslaving people like ourselves such *beings* must be extra human.

Southern writers, however, indignant at such false representations of Southern Society, attempt replies to this book, but admitting the theory of the writer that the negro is a black white man, or that Southern Slaves are people like ourselves, are,

of course, unable to point out its falsehoods to the rest of the world. Thus, the illusion, misconception, or false perception of fact goes on; like those ignorant of epilepsy, pity the imaginary sufferings of the patient, the North ignorant of the real nature of the negro, continues to pity the *imaginary* sufferings of the slave; while the South *knows* from actual experience that not only is there a total absence of suffering, but that this condition ensures to the race a greater measure of happiness than ever before known in its history. We are now in the middle of the nineteenth century, and as a purely scientific question, aside even from the momentous consequences wrapped up in it, it is time that the popular fallacy in regard to the negro was exploded.

Hitherto the *specific* character of the negro has not been investigated, indeed the whole question of the human races is yet to be explored.

To be sure, Buffon, Blumenback, Sömmering, the Cuviers, Lawrence, Pritchard, Agassiz, Hamilton Smith and others, have professed to investigate the subject, but their researches, however accurate or valuable have been limited to externals, or to mere zoological data, while the physiological and psychological facts which can alone determine the real character of the several races, and their true relations to each other, have not been enquired into.

The author of this publication has devoted several years to this enquiry, especially to that portion of the general subject, embracing the *specific* character of the negro, and the natural relations of whites and negroes; the results of which he is now prepared to lay before the public.

Stripping off the skin of the negro, he proposes to demonstrate to the senses, as well as the reason, that he is not a black white man, or a man merely with a black skin, but a different and inferior species of man;—that this difference is radical, and total, and relatively, as great in the primordial arrangement of elementary particles, or the single globule of blood, as in the color of the skin, or the grosser facts, palpable to the senses;—that it is original, invariable, and indestructible, as long as the present order of creation itself lasts;—that the physical structure of the race is necessarily and perpetually linked with corresponding faculties, capabilities, wants, necessities, in short, with a *specific*

nature, and is thus designed by the Almighty Creator for corresponding purposes, or a social position harmonizing with those wants, etc. ;—that therefore all the charges against the social system of the South, being based on false assumptions, are themselves necessarily false ;—that so-called slavery is neither a “wrong” or an “evil,” or its extension dangerous, but a normal condition, a natural relation, based upon the “higher law,” in harmony with the order, progress, and general well-being of the superior one, and absolutely essential to the very existence of the inferior race.

In the discussion of this subject, of course no issue is made with Abolitionism, or with abolitionists *per se*. They but embrace notions common throughout the North, and while made up of materials not likely to disturb the peace or order of society, unknown to themselves perform an important public service ; for their very efforts to *practicalize* what are generally admitted to be abstract truths, serve only to show that these abstractions are themselves falsehoods.

It was designed to publish in book form, but by the advice of friends the present mode has been adopted as the best and readiest means of getting the results of these investigations before the public. The present number, though giving a brief summary of all the points discussed, is merely preliminary, and will be followed by another, about the first of January, detailing the facts on which present assumptions are based. After that a number will be issued monthly, until the whole work, embracing some 400 pages octavo, is completed.

In conclusion, the writer begs to say to the reader, that he puts forward no claims to mere scholarship or fine writing, that in the exposition, the test and demonstration of *facts* of transcendent importance, not only to twenty millions of white men and the cause of civilization on this continent, but to the well-being, the very existence of the inferior race in our midst ; he is anxious only to be understood, while indifferent, perhaps even careless, as regards style or mere forms of expression. But however defective in a literary point of view, or however he may fail from want of ability to impress these facts, and the conclusions that legitimately belong to them, upon the minds of others, or

whatever resistance ignorance, superstition, popular credulity, or the mental habitudes of classes of men may oppose to their reception, he cannot doubt the final result,—for they are truths eternal and indestructible as time itself,—and moreover, it is the interest of every patriotic citizen and true American, North and South, to accept them.

NEGROES AND NEGRO SLAVERY.

THE FIRST, AN INFERIOR RACE—THE LATTER, ITS NORMAL CONDITION.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

CAUSES OF POPULAR DELUSION ON THE SUBJECT.

General ignorance of organization—Absurd notions of equality or “equal rights”—Mistaking the permanent condition of inferior for primitive or transition stages of superior Races—Ignorance of physiological law of inter-union; results of the law, American Democracy—Departures or evasions, European Royalism—Violations, Mulattoism or Hybridism—Confounding natural with artificial distinctions or the laws of nature with the results of social and governmental contrivances—Consequences—Conclusion.

THE origin of mankind, their descent from a single pair, (Adam and Eve,) thus constituting a single race or *species*; or whether in common with the animals and plants that surround them, they were (originally) created in several localities or centres of existence; and therefore are made up of several distinct *species*; though long a question of interest to a few scientific inquirers, has only quite recently been of general interest to mankind at large.

It suited the political interests of European governments to confound the distinctions of *classes* with those of *nature*—the results of social or political contrivances with the works of the Creator; while the general belief or the general *understanding* of the Mosaic account of Creation, together with the almost universal ignorance prevailing on this subject, has been sufficient to determine the question *theoretically* in favor of the common origin, and therefore the common *equality*, of all mankind, however widely separated in fact, or however contradictory to experience and common sense. Thus it has only been, within a few years past, that the accumulation of scientific facts have become so overwhelming, and their reconciliation with the single-pair theory so utterly impossible, that naturalists have been compelled to dissent from it altogether, and to follow the facts of science, with the confident assurance, however, that that which is really true is best, and should be known. Among those whose love of truth is sufficient to overcome preconceived opinion, is

an eminent Boston professor; but even this gentleman, with all his learning, furnishes another example so often witnessed among all classes of men, to shrink from declaring the whole truth, when such declaration contradicts received opinion, or conflicts with popular prejudice. While presenting facts and arguments that demonstrate, beyond doubt, that man forms no exception to those general laws that govern the organic world, and must therefore have come into being in several localities or centres of existence, like the animals and plants that surround him, Professor Agassiz yet seems especially anxious to declare that *diversity of origin* has no necessary connexion with *diversity of species*; or that while men were originally created in separate centres of existence, they may yet constitute only a single and uniform *race*. We do not desire to contest, or contradict, any opinion of so eminent a personage, or of a man who has done so much, and is still doing so much for the cause of science, and therefore for the cause of humanity; but we cannot avoid saying that such a supposition is as *unphilosophical* as it is untrue in fact. There are but few animals of the same *species*, of the higher organized classes, on different continents, or at remote distances, and those most probably carried there by man's migrations. Why create in separate localities at all, except to conform to and harmonize with the external world about them? Why, above all, create man a single and uniform *species* in separate localities, with ample powers of migration, which enables him to transfer himself from one of these centres of existence to another with perfect ease? Would not such be indeed a work of supererogation?

Technically, or in a certain sense, the question of *origin*, it may be said, does not govern that of the *diversity* of the human *races*; but as the latter is the only one of practical importance, and the former of no consequence whatever, except as a means for determining these *diversities*, it is unfortunate that Professor Agassiz did not rise above the prejudices of Boston, and boldly grapple with the real question at once.

The question of the origin of mankind, isolated from that of races—the *specific* differences, and the relative capabilities of the several forms of man—is as perfectly useless to mankind at large, as would be a knowledge of the first moments of his own existence to the individual. The individual man needs to know who are his parents, his brethren, his relationship to those about him; for on this knowledge depends his duties, as it also involves his rights. While, where he was born, or when he was born; at what moment, or in what house; unless as the means for determining his individuality, is of no manner of consequence. So, too, with the several *races* of men: when they were created—whether six thousand years ago, or sixty thousand years ago—in the centre of Asia, or in the several localities where history finds them—is of no consequence whatever, except as the means of determining their *specific character*; while, on a knowledge of the latter depend the rights, as well as the duties, of the several races to each other; and with ourselves, surrounded or mixed up with two separate and distinct races, one interlaced, as it were, with our whole social fabric, and the other at no distant day *threatening* to become so, this knowledge is of transcendent importance.

The Creator has hidden from the individual both the beginning and the end of his existence. We see and feel the wisdom and beneficence of this provision. Were it otherwise, could we know the first moments of "puling infancy," and the last moments of "mortal agony," life would be divested of all its blessings; but while this knowledge is forever hidden from us, while the individual man can never know his actual origin, of himself, or by himself, such are the laws and relations, or conditions of human existence, that his actual identity, his family relationship, all that is necessary to his happiness, his rights, or the performance of his duties to those of his blood, is as perfectly attainable as if he had been endowed with matured reason at the moment of birth. The individual is a type of his race; and whatever is true, or natural, or inherent in the individual man, is also common to the race or equally true of the aggregate. Thus, while the race may never know its origin or starting point, any more than its death or final termination, it can, nevertheless, determine with as entire certainty its identity, its *specific* character, its relationship to other races, and the rights as well as responsibilities that are involved, as can the individual man his family relationship. And it is as entirely within the scope of our knowledge to understand and define our true relations to the other races of this continent, to determine what are our own rights, as well as what are our duties to the Negro or Indian inhabiting it with us, as can an individual those rights or duties that attach to his individual existence.

Commencing with the simpler forms of organized existence, and ascending in the scale till reaching the Caucasian man, (the most elaborate in his structure, and therefore the highest endowed in his faculties,) all intermediate in the series, whether human or brute, Mongolian or Negro, Ouran-Outan, or Chimpanzee, are alike subject to classification, as well as the lowest and simplest forms of organic life. Indeed a classification founded upon positive facts, and a true knowledge of the *specific* differences in human races, is a work of less difficulty than it is in the simpler forms; for the superadded moral nature of the former furnishes additional facts for our guidance. Throughout the whole world of organic existence there is a perfect adaptation of means and ends, and the structural arrangement of each *species*, or each original and permanent creation, is in perfect harmony with its faculties and the purposes assigned to it by the Creator. This is a truth equally palpable in the organization of the individual; those organs, most elaborate and complex in their structure, are those performing the most important functions. Thus the heart, the centre of the vital functions, is comparatively simple in its structure; while the brain, the centre of the animal, as well as the intellectual functions, is wonderfully complex. Thus, too, the sense of sight is performed through an exceedingly complex and exquisitely delicate apparatus, while the organism of locomotion is comparatively simple.

This great and fundamental law of organized life pervades the whole world of animated being, and serves as a positive and unmistakable test or admeasurement of the character and relations of all the innumerable series that compose it. In precise proportion to the complexity of an organ in the human

body is the importance of function; precisely too as is the complexity of structural arrangement in any *species*, whether human or animal, so, too, is the superiority of faculties in such *species*, and elevation of purposes assigned to it by the Creator. In nothing, perhaps, is this truth more palpable than in the case of woman; who, with a far more elaborate and exquisitely organized nervous system than man, has also finer moral perceptions, as well as more delicate sensibilities, while her muscular system and organs of locomotion, necessary alone to mere physical power, are infinitely inferior to the other sex. The facts of organic life, its laws of development, its necessities, and in the more elevated forms of the human races, its rights, as well as the duties that attach to it, that are indeed inseparable from it, are so little studied or understood even by educated persons, that nothing is more common than for such to lecture the public on the duty, of forcing their civilization or modes of action on other *races*. Thus an American Secretary of State will talk learnedly about some *races* who, amalgamating with others, beget a mongrel breed, utterly good for nothing, while others with an aptitude for amalgamation, beget a more vigorous and progressive race, than either of the originals. How near a truth, and yet what an immense distance from it! Had the orator of the Colonization Society said that amalgamation with separate *races* of men, as ourselves and the Negro, is followed by a mongrel brood, however superior mentally to the Negro, yet vastly inferior to the white, and as certain to perish as the mule, or any other hybrid generation; but that amalgamation with the Irishman or German, or any other variety of our own *species* or *race*, would be followed by a more vigorous stock than either of the originals, he would have declared an *eternal truth*. But we may also say, had he known this truth, he would not have been the orator of the Colonization Society, or if so, his lecture would have been very different indeed from that absurd effort to convince his audience that they were bound to go to work, and compel the different and *inferiorly* organized Negro perform the functions of the Caucasian; that two widely separated organizations, differently endowed and differently designed by Almighty power, should be compelled by *human force* to exercise the same faculties, and perform the same purposes: a supposition about as rational, and as much dependent on fact, as that a watch and saw-mill are equally designed to measure time, or that elephants and mice should catch their prey, or supply themselves with food in exactly the same manner.

Not many centuries since, ignorance of organization doomed women to a degraded, almost brutal position; and at this moment, throughout Christendom, with the exception of the United States, the rights, as also the duties of her sex, are imperfectly comprehended. Thus an English or European peasant will harness his wife with his donkey, or sell her at Smithfield with a rope around her neck; and a European *gentleman* will drive from her seat in the coach or car a delicate and fragile woman, and with equal readiness grovel in the dust before another, when he discovers that she is a Queen or a Duchess, though the first may be of his own *race* and the latter the wife of a Haytien Negro, or the daughter of a Musquito Indian. On the contrary, an American, no matter what his social position, or political importance, that

would refuse to give up his seat to a woman, however humble her condition, would be universally despised—indeed would lose caste as a man. This difference between an American and a European is no accident or caprice of public manners, but alone the result of higher intelligence in the case of the former. It is not to the individual woman that respect is paid, but to the sex—to that delicate and fragile organization which appeals to the noblest instincts of the rougher and stronger manhood, and is based on clearer conceptions, and a wider knowledge of the true relations that naturally exist between the sexes. It is often said that Christianity has changed the relations and elevated the position of the female sex; but it would be more correct to say that increased knowledge of her true *nature* has thus elevated her. In barbarous times, even among the Romans, she was but little better than a slave, doomed to perform the drudgery of labor: she was rarely permitted, even in the patrician class, to be the companion, and never the equal of man: but with the increase of knowledge, with clearer conceptions of her real nature, her delicately organized nervous system, and her feeble muscular powers, her relations to the other sex have undergone an important change: thus it may be said, that in precise proportion to the intelligence of a nation will be its regard and respect for its women. The same ignorance of organization, which in its blind fanaticism would compel the Negro, or would seek to compel the Negro, with his different and *inferior* organization, to perform the functions of the white man, also busies itself about “woman’s rights,” and true to the instincts of barbarism, would force her to perform the functions of the other sex—to be captains of steamboats and bricklayers, as well as housekeepers, or directors of the nursery—indeed the advocates of “human rights,” and “woman’s rights,” are from very necessity associated together, and the delusion in one case is certain also to exist in the other. In Europe, except perhaps in France, the masses, kept in profound ignorance of their own nature, look upon those who govern them, their Kings and nobles, as a superior creation; and many amongst ourselves with somewhat of the same notions hanging about their minds, think that equality or “equal rights” is some abstract principle that has been discovered in modern times, and capable of universal application: thus they are shocked at the (to them) seeming injustice of withholding it from negroes and women, and insist on its immediate application to them. Instead of “equality” being a principle, or modern discovery, it is simply a fact which has existed from the first creation of man. All men created equal, or all the forms of existence that are organized alike, *are equal*: thus “equality” is a fact, while those created unlike, are *unequal*; and to seek to contradict this, to force the Negro to an “equality” with the white man, or to compel the woman to exercise the rights, and consequently perform the duties of the other sex, is equally a violation of the fact of “equality,” as it is an outrage on nature.

Each *specific* organization or form of existence, with its distinct physical structure, is also endowed with specific or distinct faculties, and designed by the Creator for *specific* purposes. To disregard this, to demand the same rights, and compel the same duties, to say that the *inferiorly* organized and

inferiorly endowed Negro shall be a member of Congress, while the *superiorly* organized white man shall black boots; or the former a professor in college, while the latter hoes cotton; or that a system shall be brought to bear upon them to force an equality, when nature has made none, and permits none, is a contradiction of all the laws of organic existence, and as entirely beyond the power of man to effect, as the attempt to do so is repugnant to reason.

So too with woman: with a distinct organization, endowed with distinct and peculiar faculties, and designed for distinct and peculiar purposes, those who would seek to force her out of, or beyond her sphere—to compel her to study law, or command a steamboat, as well as nurse a baby, or cook a dinner—would equally violate nature, and inflict an outrage upon her. Each sex, like each *species*, has with its peculiar organization distinct duties and purposes to fulfil; and the harmony and well-being of all can only be accomplished when these are understood and acted upon; and when men become sufficiently acquainted with themselves to know that all of the same race or *species* are *equal* in fact, they will insist upon “equal rights;” or that the Negro or other inferior races are *unequal* to themselves, they will insist that they shall not have the same rights with themselves, and comprehending the *true* relations of the sexes, they will also demand that the rights and duties of each shall be in conformity with these relations.

To violate these laws—to say, because the Negro has certain general resemblances to the white man, or that the female has some qualities resembling the other sex, that the same rules shall apply to them universally; is not only to fight against progress and the nature of things, but would be a rapid stride towards barbarism. Indeed, in such an absurd application of inherent right or “*equality*,” there is no stopping place in the whole organism of nature. If women must exercise the “rights,” and perform the duties of men, (for the two things are inseparable,) why not children? Certainly a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age has as strong muscles, and is as capable of manual labor, and has a capacity to perform the duties of men, as well as most females. As a physiological fact, there is no *positive* boundary between men and animals; and though the Negro is further separated from the “Ouran-Outan” than he is from the white or Caucasian man, the actual difference between the latter is as distinct, or rather it is a *fact*, as well as the former. Again; the white, or Caucasian man, as well as the Negro, has some qualities in common, not only with the Simiadae, but with the whole Mammalia, and remotely even with still lower forms of organized life. Thus the whole world of organism is bound together in one continuous chain; though the links in that chain are distinct and *specific*, and as plain and comprehensible to human reason as they are wisely and beneficently designed by the Creator.

Where, with these facts before us, can we or should we stop? The Negro has not only more in common with us than he has with the Ouran-Outan, but really has nothing in common with the latter that we ourselves have not, except that he has these common qualities more prominently; but should we therefore attempt, in all respects, to make the Negro our equal, and deny to the Ouran-Outan everything? Or rather, should we not, in conformity with

the eternal and immutable facts of nature, grant to the Negro all that he possesses in common with us, and no more; and to the Ouran-Outan, and still inferior creatures, what belong to them, or have consideration for them to the extent that they approximate to us? Unfortunately, the distinctions that separate, yet bind closely together, all the *species* of men, have not been investigated or understood, and a few general resemblances have been confounded and mistaken, so that a very large portion of mankind are entirely ignorant of their true character.

For a long time the *specific* distinctions, and therefore the proper uses of animals, were similarly misunderstood. Even the Caucasian man once used the horse for food instead of labor; and yet among Mongolic nations horse meat is regularly sold in their markets. A few general resemblances, or accidental coincidences, have indeed governed the world. An ignorant old woman has found a patient to recover from chill-fever, though nothing has been done except to cut as many notches in a stick as the patient has had paroxysms, and straightway she becomes a great fever doctor, and her skill trusted in by respectable people. So, too, ignorance of organization, of the *specific* qualities, and therefore the proper uses of animals, and the *specific* qualities of human races, have been misunderstood; a few general resemblances or accidental circumstances are alone seen; and ignorant self-sufficiency jumps to the conclusion that notches in a stick will cure chill-fever as well as quinine; that the horse was made for food instead of labor; and that white men and negroes are designed for the exercise of the same rights, and the practice of the same duties.

If the Creator had designed the horse for food, he would have created it differently, and, instead of the tough and stringy muscles so appropriate to strength and swiftness, would have constructed it with reference to human digestion. And if he had designed the Negro for the same purpose as the white or Caucasian man, he would have given him the same faculties—or rather we should say, he would not have been created at all, for the single fact that he exists is decisive of the will and intention of the Creator. In Europe, where women are placed at the head of nations and rule over millions of men, and their husbands, whom *nature* places at the head of the household, stand behind their chairs, to receive their orders, and outraging common sense as much as nature herself, fathers kiss the hand of their own off-spring, as their slaves or subjects, “woman’s rights” should flourish in such congenial soil: for the more the laws of nature are violated and reason trampled under foot, the longer such a “system” may be continued. Or, when the millions in profound ignorance of their rights, are not permitted to enjoy the tenth part of the proceeds of their labor, while a mere fraction (men like themselves) live in idle and extravagant luxury at their expense, it may be expected that “human rights” or “negro rights,” or the elevation of the Negro to that same level which the millions occupy, would be actively advocated; for here too, as in the case of family relations, the more the laws of *nature* are trampled on, the longer those who profit by such a condition of things may hope to retain them.

But in the United States, among a people almost universally educated, and where the fact of "equality" is almost universally understood, and acted on personally as well as politically, the advocacy of woman's "equality" in the sense that they argue it, or "equality" of the Negro to the white man in any sense whatever, is inexcusable on the ground of ignorance; and those thus warring against the laws of nature and the progress of society deserve to be treated as its enemies—or as absolute maniacs, and irresponsible for the evils they seek to inflict upon it.

Unknown probably to themselves, they are the dupes and tools of the enemies of Democratic institutions; and if their monstrous crusade against the harmony of nature, as well as the progress of society could be successfully carried out, the nation would not only go back to the anti-progressive and brutalizing "systems" of Europe, and the masses degenerate again into the wretched serfs or slaves of kings and aristocrats, but intermingling their blood with an *inferior* race, and turning their men into women and their women into men, they would become the most degraded and contemptible assemblage of mongrels—of monster women and emasculated men, ever known upon the face of the earth.

To effect this result—at any rate to hold in check the tendency of democratic ideas, to sustain and prolong its own existence, its sway and control over the masses, European monarchism, especially the British portion of it, originated the "idea" of "free negroism," and a crusade in favor of *inferior* races. Its design was two-fold: first, as an antagonism for holding in check the progress of the American Democracy; and, in the second place as a false issue to its own oppressed masses. It began with Johnson, Wilberforce, Pitt, and others of the most bigoted school of British Tories; and though some well-meaning but deluded persons, like Fox and Sheridan, gave it their support, as a general thing, both in Europe and America, those most bigoted, and most hostile to the freedom and equality of their own race have been its especial advocates. The time perhaps has not yet arrived to estimate this "negro" movement at its true value; but it will come, and when it does, British "philanthropy," "human freedom," "emancipation," "abolition," or whatever it may be termed, will be known, as it is in *fact*, the widest spread *imposture*, and the vilest fraud ever practised on human credulity.

To carry on this imposture, the theory of a single race was absolutely essential; for on that alone hangs not only the merit of British "philanthropy," but the character of the British Government; indeed, the continued rule of the British aristocracy. Thus there has been brought to its support an extent or amount of literary ability, of perverted science, of political, social, moral, and even religious influence, unexampled in history; and the actual *facts*, so plain and simple that any one might investigate and thoroughly comprehend them in far less time than it would require to read a Negro novel or an abolition report, have been kept hidden from millions of men whose dearest interests are directly dependent on a true knowledge of them.

The reaction of these efforts is felt amongst ourselves. British books and British writers are standard authorities with a portion of our people. Thus,

the reasoning however absurd, or the assumption of facts however unfounded, are never disputed or inquired into. The very terms of *freedom* and *slavery* are wholly perverted, and in the eyes of this misguided portion of our people, the British aristocracy the most deadly, as the most powerful enemy of liberty, is believed to be its especial and reliable champion. Of the many absurd and far-fetched comparisons relied on to sustain their theory of a single race, and consequent "equality" of the negro, that which assumes an identity between the *infancy* of a *superior* race and the *present* condition of an *inferior* one, has been most resorted to. Thus, remembering that their ancestors were once savages or unbelieving Pagans—at any rate, according to Bulwer, got along without the aid of pantaloons—they assume that they were exactly in the same social condition as are now the woolly haired or typical tribes in the interior of Africa, and that circumstances or opportunities are alone needed to enable the latter to become the equals of the modern Britons.

Even Hamilton Smith, generally as sound in his reasonings, as correct in his facts, is constrained by the abolition sentiment of his countrymen to give in his adhesion to this ridiculous parallel; while Pritchard and others exalt it into a positive proof of their favorite theory of a single race; when in truth the *facts* which they thus rely upon, even if admitted to be true—that is, if the ancient Britons were, socially considered, in the exact condition of the typical Africans of our times—the fact would be a fatal objection to their theory. But there is not, nor can there be, any parallel between them. The ancient Britons were not *heathens*, in the sense given to that term in our times. The Romans called all other nations besides themselves barbarians, and thus applied that term to the Britons; but there could be but little, if any, resemblance between their condition and that of the typical Africans, or that of the dark races found on the islands of the Pacific. They were doubtless emigrants from the continent, and must have carried with them a portion of the art and intelligence of the continental communities; and the simple fact of working the metals, of having manufactures, of drawing huge chains across the entrances or outlets of their rivers to exclude the Roman invaders, shows conclusively that they were infinitely advanced beyond those wretched tribes in the interior of Africa, or the islands of the South Seas, who thousands of years after that event have not the slightest idea of working metals, and whose highest advancement in art is to fashion their spear-heads from wood or the bones of fishes.

Compared with the polished Romans, the primitive Celts of the British islands were doubtless only half civilized; but from the remains of Druidical monuments, and the accounts of Roman historians themselves, there is abundant evidence to show that they bore no resemblance to the black and brown races that under the name of *heathens* enlist such a large share of misguided benevolence in modern times. Indeed, from the very earliest moments of authentic history to the present day, there has never been an instance where any branch or portion of the white or Caucasian race has been found in a state of *heathenism*, in the modern sense of that term; and it may also be said that there has never been found any dark race except in that condition.

Some branches of the former race have been at times more advanced than others, as some of the black or olivaceous races have been more barbarous than others; but giving the term *heathen* exactly its modern meaning, no *white heathens* have ever been known to exist, as no branch or tribe of the dark races has ever been discovered that was not such. This single fact is sufficient to show not only the original differences of the races, but the immense natural superiority of the white race, and to show also the blind, however well-meaning inhumanity, which prompts deluded persons to become missionaries to inferior races, under the mistaken notion that they are doing them a benefit, when, in fact, they are simply destroying them, by forcing upon them ideas and habitudes unnatural, and indeed impossible to them: the truth of which may now be seen in the Sandwich and other islands, where the inferior race has fallen a victim to this well-meaning but misguided proselytism. We do not desire to cast any unkind or ungenerous aspersions on those well-meaning but deluded persons who engage in what is termed missionary labor; but the truth must be out some time or other, and the sooner the better, especially for the *victims* of the delusion. It does not follow that the inferior races, or those in our times termed *heathens*, may not, under certain circumstances, receive Christianity. Its divine truths are suited for any and every degree of mental condition—to the feeble child, as well as the philosopher; but the civilization, the ideas, the mental habitudes of the Caucasian race, are as impossible to the Negro organization or the Negro faculties, or the multitudes of *heathens* of the Pacific islands, as the most abstruse problems of mathematics are to the capacities of an infant; and when forced upon them, or sought to be forced upon them, as certainly ends in their destruction, as it would destroy an animal to exercise faculties, or to force upon it the habits of another *specifically* different.

The results of missionary efforts demonstrate this truth beyond all doubt. In some parts of India or China, or elsewhere, where a portion of the population is Caucasian, they have made a few permanent converts; but in every single instance where these converts have been of a different race, they have relapsed into *heathenism*; or, (as in the Sandwich islands, and universally with our Indian tribes, where the *ideas* of the white man predominate,) the converts, or rather the victims, perish. Thus that mistaken and perverted benevolence, which, turning its back upon the mass of ignorance, and vice, and misery of its own race, traverses seas and continents to waste itself on impossibilities, has undoubtedly committed greater injuries than it has conferred benefits upon the objects of its labors.

While, however, there is no correspondence, and but little resemblance, between the condition of the ancient Britons and the present typical African, it is true that the latter is a *type* of the early, or supposed early, social condition of our own race. Although we do not possess any actual knowledge on the subject, it is believed that the hunter profession or condition was the commencing or starting-point of the Caucasian man; but this (to us) *transition* state is natural and permanent with the Negro. Thus, had the ancient Britons been the perfect *heathens* which their descendants, in order to make

up a case for the Negro, assumes them to have been, the fundamental differences between the races is strikingly manifested in the fact, that while the Briton has carried his name and power and civilization over a large portion of the earth, the Negro remains at this moment where both stood two thousand years ago. And while, if the British language and British ideas, or the results of British progress, were instantly annihilated or stricken out of being, the whole world would be left in comparative darkness; yet the entire Negro race might be stricken out of existence, without disturbing the intellectual welfare of mankind; or, beyond the mere human instinct that might shudder at this destruction of physical existence, have any more influence on the moral world than the destruction of all the horses, or of any race of animals.

Again: was the Negro of to-day like the Briton of two thousand years ago, why has the former stood still, while the latter has made such wonderful progress? The assertion that the Negro only requires opportunity to manifest capacity for progress, aside from the physiological impossibility in the case, is historically disproved; for whatever the degree or extent of British savageism at the time of the Roman invasion, the Britons were far less favored by circumstances than the Negro. Indeed it is difficult to find any race or nation so favored by circumstances as the typical African. He was in direct and immediate contact with Egyptian, Carthaginian, and Roman civilization—with the earliest forms and conditions of human improvement, and surrounded with art and intelligence, with the highest manifestations of the human intellect, centuries before the Anglo-Saxon, or indeed any modern branch of the Caucasian race, had emerged from barbarism. But while witnessing, he had no connexion with this early civilization, or, if he had, it was exactly such a connexion as he has with us at the present time. There is no instance to be found in all history, where any branch of the Negro race, or any tribe, or even an individual, has been *civilized*, in the sense we generally understand that term. Their relations to the Egyptians, and afterwards to the Carthaginians, were those of *involuntary*, or rather we should say *voluntary* servitude; for there is no instance where the race in its pure form ever fought a battle for its independence, or contested the natural supremacy of the Caucasian.

Centuries before the British islands became Christian, the Negro was under the full blaze and within the very focus of Christianity. Before there was a Pope of Rome, or a Bishop in Britain, African (Caucasian) Bishops might be counted by scores: thus, instead of requiring circumstances only or opportunities for manifesting equal capacity for progress with the descendants of the ancient Britons, the Negro has not only had greater opportunity for improvement than has the Briton, but infinitely more than any of the nations of modern Europe. The Negro has however remained throughout all these changes and mutations of other races exactly the same—either a *heathen* or a *servant*, either a nomad or wanderer of the desert, existing as an animal of prey on snails and bugs, or within the precincts of civilized life in that natural subordination to superior races assigned him by the hand of nature. And to say that because the white man may once (as a transition state) have been a

nomad or hunter, as well as the Negro, that therefore the latter only requires opportunity to manifest equal capacity for progress as the former, is as absurd as it would be to say that the Negro at the South may yet rival his master, because he has as much capacity now, as the former had when a child.

Another notion much more common, however, with Europeans than ourselves, attributes the differences in races, or those that distinguish whites and negroes to some such causes as those producing the Durham and other choice kinds of cattle. Pritchard the most eminent among the single-pair theorists, after much doubt and difficulty was compelled however to give this up, and in fact every other hypothesis on the subject, and finally to declare that the causes whatever they were, were beyond human detection; a sage conclusion truly, but made still more absurd by afterwards suggesting the possibility of some occult atmospheric chemistry. The crossing of varieties which produce improved stocks or breeds of cattle is a plain and simple affair. The more extensively the branches or varieties of the *same race* or *species* are crossed or amalgamated with others, the more perfect the product. This is a great physiological law, as true with man as with the inferior animals, thus those communities or nations who mingle their blood most extensively with other nations or branches of their own race will always be the most energetic and powerful.

The best example of this in ancient times is seen in the Romans, who, from a mere band of outlaws, became the most powerful people recorded in history. They were originally adventurers, fillibusters, vagabonds, from all the surrounding tribes or communities; who after laying the foundation of their city, stole their wives of the Sabines, and, thus still more extensively crossing their blood, built up that magnificent nationality that governed the world two thousand years, and which finally decayed and fell to pieces for the want of that very thing which originated their greatness, quite as much perhaps as from any other cause.

When conquering the surrounding nations, all of whom were of the same race as themselves, instead of amalgamating with them, and thus preserving their energy and power by crossing their blood, they made slaves of them. Thus, in the latter days of the empire, when all political power passed from the hands of the plebians, and the Roman nobility or patrician order, (like the European nobility of the present day,) became a sort of close corporation, intermingling their blood only within their *order*, the empire rapidly declined, and the name of Roman finally became as contemptible as it had once been formidable.

Never before, however, has the result of admixtures of the *same race* been so remarkably manifested as at the present moment in the United States. Here, all the *varieties* and *sub-varieties* of the Caucasian race—the Celtic, Germanic, Slavonic, and their off-shoots the English, Irish, French, Spanish, Prussian, Polish, Hungarians, etc., mingle their blood in a common reservoir, and have already laid the foundation of an empire unparalleled in its material growth, or the enterprise and energy of its people. Even with the purely native population, the results of admixture is strikingly displayed. Thus, New

York, with its extensive intermixture of Dutch and New England people, has the most vigorous and enterprising population of any of the old States; and the two vast columns of emigrants constantly moving westward from the old Puritan and Cavalier States, mingling their blood together in the valley of the Mississippi, has resulted in forming a population which, in all the essentials of true manhood, of bravery, enterprise, high and chivalrous sense of honor, of patriotism, and devotion to freedom, is unequalled and unapproachable on the face of the earth. While the results of extensive intermarrying or amalgamations of *varieties* are thus manifest, and conformity to the physiological law attended with such wide-spread benefits to the nations or communities, or indeed individuals, that obey it, a departure or a violation of it is equally marked in the punishment that nature always inflicts on those who disobey her laws.

In regard to the first or a mere departure from the law, European "royalism" presents a striking instance.

Assuming to be superior to the masses of their own race, they intermarry within their royal circle, and a time soon comes when, from being *equal*, they become absolutely *inferior* to those they govern. Thus, with the exception of the Bonapartes and Bernadottes, and possibly the royal family of Russia, all the kings and queens of the day are *naturally* considered inferior to the most degraded portion of the populations they rule over. It may be difficult, perhaps, to determine the precise point where this inferiority commences, or the extent of it; but of the fact itself there is no doubt whatever. Nor does the punishment stop with mere mental inferiority; the whole physical structure is equally involved; insanity, or more often perhaps idiocy, scrofula, epilepsy, the most frightful, as the most disgusting of human diseases, become heir-looms in royal families, and, like their crowns and sceptres, are transmitted to their contemptible offspring. Finally, as if to stamp upon them an inferiority beyond possibility of mistake, nature dooms them to *impotency*; and, like accidental, hybrid, or monstrous generations, they ultimately perish. The pretence so common in Europe of royal or noble persons tracing back their pedigree for countless generations, like everything else connected with this sham humanity, is all a fraud. There are doubtless persons among the English aristocracy, who fancy themselves the direct and lineal descendants of the companions of the conqueror, but who are far more likely to be the descendants of the peasants or yeomen of the times of Cromwell, and, by the way, have vastly deteriorated from that point since.

Such a thing as lineal descent, or descent of blood instead of name or title, beyond a certain point or extent of time, is a physiological impossibility. Thus, the present hereditary royalty and nobility of Europe, feeble and emasculated as it is, is entirely dependent for what little vitality it actually possesses, to legitimate or *illegitimate* intermarrying with the blood of the people; and if the present royal houses would strictly and in fact, confine their *inter-unions* within their own *royal* circle, but very few years would elapse before they would become totally extinct.

The *violation* of the physiological law we are considering, is equally mani-

fest, as evasion or departures from it; indeed, intermingling the blood of races essentially different, is, in respect to the superior race, at least, attended with wider spread mischief than the decay or destruction of royalty, or a class, as it involves the destruction of a whole people. It is, in fact, social suicide; and can only under favorable circumstances, or where the superior race vastly predominate in numbers, be practised without ending in complete social destruction. Its consequences are now to be seen in Mexico, Central America, Lower Canada, or wherever amalgamation with the native race has occurred. The Spanish conquerers, Cortez, Pizzaro, and the Alvarados, the proudest and noblest of the great race to which they belonged, are in our times represented by the wretched hybrids and mongrels of the South—more intelligent, perhaps, but yet in many respects actually inferior to the inferior race itself. By this amalgamation the Spaniards parted with their own superiority, while the inferior race has only temporarily gained what the former lost. It is a fundamental law, that hybridism must perish; and no mixed race or accidental generation can exist beyond a determinate period: thus the mongrel population of Mexico and Central America, located mainly in the cities, since the supply of white blood has been cut off by independence of Spain, rapidly declines and falls behind the native race of the rural districts; and a time must come when the former totally disappearing, the native race will return to the condition it was at the time of the Spanish conquest, and every thing impressed on this continent by the Spaniards as utterly and entirely disappear as if it had never existed. The same results, though modified somewhat, may be seen in Canada. Here, however, unlike the case of Mexico, the superior race predominate in numbers; and though embarrassed, and, for the time being debased by absorbing the inferior one, ultimately recovers from it; while Mexico—indeed all Spanish America—is only protracting a sickly existence to end in death, so far as Spanish blood, and Spanish ideas, and Spanish civilization are involved. On the contrary, the Anglo-American, with that high instinct of superiority that so remarkably distinguishes it from all other branches of the Caucasian race, utterly refused all admixture with the aboriginals; and this great fact, instead of Puritan sermons or Puritan morals, or any other or all other causes, alone or mainly explains its present superiority. It made no compromise with the native race: in deeds, if not in words, they said to the natives they must be as they were, or die; and as the latter would not, and indeed could not, be only as God and nature had made them, they are driven first over the Alleghanies, then the Mississippi, again into the recesses of the Rocky Mountains; and now, met by fresh invaders on the Pacific coast, the time is probably not distant when they will totally disappear within the boundaries of the Union,—*a fate universal with all inferior races, when in contact with superior ones, unless saved by the protection of servitude, as at the South, or through the ruin of the latter by amalgamation, as in Mexico.* Thus, of the twenty or twenty-five millions, of American citizens that form the nation, all are of pure blood, though interlaced with two other distinct races; and while these twenty millions of pure Caucasians are giving the greatest possible development to the physiological law of extended

crossings or interunion with their own race, that only portion of it (European royalism and hereditary aristocracy) which is tainted and impoverished, is, together with the inferior races, totally excluded; and none but the noblest and healthiest blood of the most elevated of all the human races throbs in the mighty heart of the American Democracy.

Instead, then, of the Negro being, as some English and European writers have supposed, a product of some kind of amalgamation, or that our own race is the result of some remote admixture of other forms of men, it is plain to the most unthinking, when they contemplate for a moment the results of admixture on this continent, that, while our national energy and greatness is mainly the result of wide spread intermixtures with branches or *varieties* of our own race, that energy and that greatness has been alone preserved by our refusal to amalgamate with the Negro or Indian. And it is equally clear if we ever lose the instinct of superiority, so as to dilute our blood, and descend to the level of the inferior races; especially, if we ever become so deteriorated as to seek to realize Negro "equality," that the same results will follow us; and though vastly predominating in numbers we may never actually die out, as the Spaniards are destined to do, yet the physical pollution would be followed by moral debasement, fatal to the nation, and finally end in our conquest and subjection to some purer branch of our own race.

The actual condition of European society, however; the extreme poverty, misery, ignorance, and brutishness of the laboring classes; the enormous wealth, luxury, titles, and artificial superiority of the aristocracy—the long continuance of this state of things from century to century, and generation after generation—has become so fixed, so impressed upon the mind, almost upon the very nature of the people, that they believe it perfectly natural; and having no other *standard* by which to judge, suppose the Negro, in some way or other, to be as much a product of oppression, of accident, or external circumstances, as their own peasantry, or any other depressed and brutalized *class* among themselves.

Thus nothing is more common than English writers boasting of the liberality of British institutions, because the English peasant, with all his admitted degradation, is still superior to Negro "slaves;" and the English laboring classes are often seen to contribute, from their scanty support, to glorify some abolition hero or heroine, under the deplorable delusion that the condition of the negroes being worse than their own, they are bound to sympathize with them, and do honor to those who would *elevate* them, or, in other words, who would change the nature which the Almighty has given them.

Utterly ignorant of the Negro—of his nature, of his wants, his capacities—assuming him to be like themselves; that centuries of oppression, of slavery, of outrage, has not only crushed his intellect, but blackened his skin and twisted his hair—in a word, transformed and deformed his physical as well as intellectual nature, American "slavery" is, to their ignorant minds and distorted imaginations, a frightful monstrosity. Thus there are, doubtless, multitudes of over-worked, famishing wretches, swarming in British factories and British mines, who feel profound gratitude to their kings and nobles who have

not yet reduced *them* to the same deplorable condition. There are in England four millions of paupers, and ten millions of laborers, to whom the ownership of property, whatever may be the theories or abstractions about British freedom, &c., is just as impossible, as a *fact*, as it is in the case of Southern negroes. Most of them are also in a far less favorable position for acquiring intelligence than those same southern "slaves;" and there are multitudes of men and women and children, whose joints and muscles and skeletons are so distorted by excessive labor, by privation and physical suffering, as almost to seem to belong to another race. But all these results of wrong and oppression, frightful and monstrous as they are, are nothing in the minds of Englishmen when compared with American "slavery," or to the oppressions and wrongs supposed to be inflicted on the negro, which, according to *their* notions, have not only crushed his intellect below that of the most degraded *class* of their own population, but, in some incomprehensible manner, changed his physical structure, and blackened his skin, as well as degraded his mind. Thus are two things, or two conditions, totally dissimilar, confounded with each other; and the single fact, that the British peasant is vastly superior to the Southern negro, is assumed as conclusive proof that he is less oppressed or less wronged; and British and American abolitionists rely mainly upon this fact as the basis of their hostility to negro slavery. The delusion in the case consists in confounding the results of human contrivances, or of man's oppressions, with the works of the Creator. The English peasant is the work of British institutions; the negro the creation of nature. The former *artificially* degraded; the latter *naturally* inferior.

Of the multitudes of stolid and debased peasants that till the lands of a British "noble," there is probably not a single one who, if taken when in his cradle, and bred as the offspring of a Sutherland, but would be his equal; indeed, in view of the physiological deterioration of *hereditary* aristocracy, most probably superior to the standard of the noble order; while the offspring of Sutherland, bred in the hovel of the laborer, would, in no respect whatever vary from the ordinary standard of peasant life.

Among the thousands of deformed and brutalized women of the mines of Cornwall, except those deformed by scrofulous diseases, and this, by the way, amid all their filth, and want, and suffering, is not as often the case as among the "noble" order—there is not a single one who, had she been exchanged with Mrs. Sutherland while in their cradles, but would exhibit all the personal graces and mental capacities, if not the "philanthropy," of that interesting person. Nor would the latter, excluded from the light of day from very childhood, and compelled to perform the labor of the other sex, as is the fate of these unfortunates, differ from them in the slightest particular.

The law of reparation, or restoration, perpetually in action in the human body, which counteracting accidents or external circumstances restores health and preserves individual existence, is also in constant action to preserve *species* or original creations; and no matter what the external circumstances, or what the oppression of a ruling class, it is utterly beyond its power to alter the laws of nature. It may enact laws of primogeniture, and hedge itself

about with all manner of fictitious rules or usages; it may oppress, and starve, and murder, even as it has some three millions of Irishmen; but it cannot change the eternal laws of nature in a single particular. The English peasant, and the woman of the mines, however deformed or distorted their limbs, or however repulsive in their brutal physiognomy, as well as their moral habitudes, only become so after their birth, and through the operation of the artificial system under which they live. Thus, of all that horde of brutalized womanhood in the mines of Cornwall, there is probably not a single one that does not bring into the world as perfectly formed children, with all the inherent and natural capacity of intellect and of physical beauty, as the females of the ruling class. Nature is always true to herself, and permits no departure from that eternal *type* stamped upon the race by the hand of the Almighty. A man may lose a limb, or both, or all his limbs, and his offspring will be as perfect as ever; even congenital deformities are not propagated; monstrosities usually perish, or at any rate are incapable of begetting offspring. This law is invariable and immutable; and no morbid or abnormal growth, or departure from the original *type*, is ever permanently possible. Those instances of the transmission of disease sometimes seen in families or individuals is no exception. A man may violate the physical laws of his own being; he may be a glutton, a drunkard, or lecher, and his tainted and diseased blood be transmitted to his offspring; but this is a condition of disease throughout—it is the punishment that nature inflicts on those who violate her laws—a process even for restoring the normal and healthy order. The descendants of such suffer for the sins of their fathers; but avoiding these sins themselves, and intermingling their own with purer blood, all taint or trace of the original sin disappears in a generation or two; or if, as in the case of “royalty,” they mingle their blood within a limited circle with those as tainted and diseased as themselves, they become idiotic and impotent, and totally perish. Thus it is, that the original form, stamped upon a race or *species*, is perpetual and invariable. The rule or oppression of a class, or of one nation over another, can never, in the slightest degree, change or modify its actual nature. It may pervert or cultivate, degrade or elevate, brutalize or improve, a single generation, but all this terminates with such generation, and the succeeding one again comes into being just as it came from the hand of God on the morning of creation.

The artificial difference between a British “noble” and a British peasant *seems*, to be sure, immense: the law of primogeniture, and the ten thousand other contrivances which produce these differences, can go no farther, however, than the life of each. Their offspring again comes into being exactly alike, exactly equal; and again the *machinery* must be resorted to, to make them artificially unlike and unequal. One, from the moment of birth, is surrounded with every appliance for developing all the mental capabilities; the other, from the moment of birth, is surrounded with all the influences that prevent this development. This *machinery*, worked for centuries, is now brought to such perfection, that should some outside power—some Louis Napoleon, or American Democracy—invade the country, and retaining the

system, only change the *persons*—place the Palmerstons, Stanleys, and Mrs. Sutherlands, in the factories and mines, and an equal number of mining women and laborers in the castles and palaces of the former, the only perceptible difference in the succeeding generations would be a more vigorous and energetic nobility, thus renovated by the stronger and healthier blood of the people.

Ignorant of this eternal and immutable law of *equality*, which God has impressed upon all those who belong to the *race* or *species*; and the only departure from which is in the very class that assumes to be superior—(and even that is only temporarily inferior, for the constant tendencies to idiocy and impotency in *hereditary* royalty or aristocracy, is the process that nature employs to get rid of them altogether, and restore the natural order, or healthy standard of the *species*;) Europeans, accustomed to such an artificial and unnatural condition of society, actually believe that the “noble” (so called) is *naturally* superior to the peasant. Thus, though they also probably think the planter superior to the negro servant in some similar manner, yet the peasant, being vastly superior to the negro, is, to them, conclusive proof that the oppression of the latter is infinitely greater; and negro “slavery” a greater outrage on the natural rights of men than monarchism or the rule of an aristocracy.

But the condition of things at the South has no resemblance whatever to the artificial one confounded with it. The negro servant, or “slave,” taken from some Uncle Tom’s Cabin, when an infant, and bred in the mansion of the planter, unlike the case of the British peasant, remains the same. He may be taken North—to England—may be educated at Oxford, or bred in the family of the Sutherlands, and supplied with all the wealth of the Rothschilds; yet the whole combined power of mankind will be utterly incompetent to change him the millionth part of an atom.

To be sure, his intellect will be, or may be, cultivated beyond that usually manifested by his race; but with the same color, the same hair, the same formed limbs, the same animalized pelvis, the same small and receding brain—in a word, with the same physical inferiority, will be the same mental inferiority that the Creator has stamped upon the race. He may, with the fullest development of the faculties inherent in his race, together with the imitated or borrowed intelligence of the superior one thus forced upon him, *seem* superior to vast multitudes of uncultivated white men. But if of pure negro blood, it is as impossible for him to reach the *standard* capacity of the white man, as it is to change any other order or form of nature, and as wholly beyond the power of human force to accomplish, as it would be to change a cow into a horse, or to raise the dead, or, in a word, as to change the color of his skin.

The British “noble,” the Sutherlands, and people of that kind, with all the wealth in their hands, with the thing called government—a mere machine for manufacturing paupers; with the entire Shopocracy, or middle class, as police agents to watch and guard the people; with a large standing army, while the latter are totally disarmed—are yet compelled to resort to fraud and fiction

to keep up the delusion that they are superior, or that their assumed superiority is real. Thus they paint and decorate themselves something after the fashion of our Indian "medicine men," and with high sounding titles, keep themselves at an immense distance, and employ flunkies, or middle men, who affect a profound awe and reverence for this painted and bespangled humanity, and thus impress their ignorant dupes with the notion that it is indeed what it pretends to be. On the contrary, the southern planter, with a consciousness of superiority that would be ashamed to resort to fiction or imposture of any kind, takes off his coat, and works in the same field and at the same labor as his slave. The thought of the latter contesting his superiority never once enters his mind. As said by as sound a statesman as gallant soldier of the South, "we no more think of a negro insurrection than we do of a rebellion of our cows or horses." The planter rules as *naturally* as the negro obeys *instinctively*; the relation between them is natural, harmonious, and necessary, and their interests, being indivisible, there can be no cause or motive, either for the abuse of power on the part of the master, or of rebellion on the part of the servant. Of course there are instances of brutal masters, as in all the conditions of life, however natural and harmonious; there will also be instances or exceptions to the contrary. But the fact that there has never been an attempt at insurrection of the blacks (for the few instances of murders and outrages on some plantations have nothing of the character of an insurrection,) and that not a single soldier has ever been employed to preserve order in the slave States—with nothing, indeed, but the ordinary constabulary force, and that even less than in the free States—is a sufficient proof of the *naturalness* of the relations which unite so harmoniously two such widely separated *races*.

In all the countries of Europe, nearly half the people are armed to keep down the other half. England is no exception; for though her standing army is less, in perfect keeping with the fraud and hypocrisy of her whole system, an armed police, equal to the regular soldiery of the more manly despotisms of the continent is kept in pay and constant, unsleeping activity to keep down the people. Was the European aristocracy to place itself in the same position towards the people that the planters of the South do, in respect to their negroes—were kings and nobles to disband their armies, to present themselves stripped of all *artificial* support, face to face with their subjects, as the planter does daily and constantly to his negroes—to trust to their assumed and *fictitious* superiority, as the planter does to his *real* and natural superiority, the entire crew of fictitious and painted humanity would be received with a roar of derision from the Volga to the Thames; and their actual inferiority and utter insignificance would be so palpably revealed to the people, that the latter would scarcely condescend to punish them for their past transgressions.

Even as things are now, if some Sutherland, for instance, should go among his peasants, and, taking off his coat, go to work with them, and trust to his supposed or assumed superiority, where would he be at the end of a single week? The men who only see him at a distance, living in a castle surround-

ed with hordes of miserable menials, and followed by lordly retinues, thus brought in actual contact with him; thus discovering the cheat and imposture that is imposed on them; thus able to see what it is that rules and governs them;—however ignorant these men, the illusion would vanish forever, and from this single point would commence, in all probability, a movement that would end in revolutionizing the country. The southern planter, on the contrary, needs no artificial support to sustain *his* authority—no fraud or fiction, or intermediate flunkery, to work on the imagination of *his* slaves—no paint and feathers, or high-sounding titles, nor any part or parcel whatever of that vast and complicated machinery of fraud and force, so universal in Europe—to keep down *his* inferiors. *His* authority is stamped upon his nature by the hand of God, instead of being the work of laws of primogeniture or the creature of human contrivances.

These two things, which have no resemblance whatever—which are as far apart as truth and falsehood, as right and wrong, as the laws of nature and the results of human contrivances, are confounded continually, and the ignorant and deluded masses in Europe are constantly prompted by the agents and hirelings of aristocracy to consider the condition of the negro and their own to be the same in principle—indeed to look upon themselves as even far less oppressed than the negro. They have not the most distant idea that the negro is in a perfectly *natural* condition, while theirs is wholly *artificial*; nor a single glimpse of the eternal truth, that it is a greater crime against nature to force the negro to an *equality* with them, than to make even a class of their own race *artificially* superior to themselves. All the combinations of human force are indeed incompetent to affect either in fact; yet the effort to elevate the inferior *species* to an equality with that which God has placed above it, would be vastly more criminal than even the artificial superiority of a class of the same race. But we repeat, both alike are impossible in reality. No matter what the action of Parliaments, or the laws of primogeniture, or other efforts, the *artificial* superiority ends with the single generation; and the succeeding one again comes into existence with the *eternal* and inherent “equality” that God has stamped upon the *race*, complete and perfect as ever. So, too, should efforts be made to violate nature in respect to different races or *species*—should Virginia pass laws *equalizing* the planter and his slave, it would only be a *fiction*—should external force be resorted to, to accomplish the impossibility—should the whites of Virginia refuse to learn to read, or cultivate their faculties, and devote themselves wholly to the mental elevation of the blacks, all their efforts would end with the present generation, and in the succeeding one, Nature, true to herself, would vindicate her laws. The white would be again just as *superior*, and the negro just as *inferior*, as if the natural order and harmony had never been disturbed. No mental *equality*, short of physical *equality*, could be possible; nor, indeed, could *social* suicide, amalgamation itself, realize the abolition idea of *equality*. To the extent that it occurred, there would be only *extinction* of the *specific* character of both parties; while beyond that, the *specific* character and the eternal “inequality” of the races, would remain undisturbed, the integrity of each perfect as ever.

The continued ascendancy of an aristocracy, or ruling class, on the contrary, instead of the laws of nature, rests wholly on the ignorance of the masses. With the Government, the wealth, all the forces of the State in its possession, it cultivates its own intelligence, and withholds the means of mental improvement from the people. Thus the same Parliament in England which voted forty thousand pounds to educate the people, appropriated eighty thousand to repair the queen's stables; making the physical comfort of the dumb animals of double importance to the moral well-being of the people. Thus, too, while plundering the laboring classes of some five millions annually to pay the interest on money squandered to *elevate* the Negro to a common level with the former, they annually appropriate about a hundred thousand pounds for education, or allow the people to use about the fiftieth part of the former amount to *elevate* themselves; or, when robbing a British laborer of *fifty* cents to *elevate* the negro to his own level, permit him to use *one* cent to *elevate* himself to the level of those with whom God and Nature has made him equal. Yet strange indeed this atrocious imposture and unapproachable villany passes for "philanthropy;" and there are even Americans so debauched by Britishism, and so stultified in their moral perceptions, as to glorify it as an act of *humanity*, and a great "national effort" in behalf of "*liberty*." Nor is this misconception or confusion between *artificially* degraded classes of a superior race, and the *natural* condition of an inferior one, confined to Europe. Throughout the northern States, those with whom British books and British writers are standard authorities, universally adopt the same notion. And it will always be found that those most in favor of class distinctions in their own race, or most in favor of special legislation, or those schemes or contrivances that foster artificial distinctions amongst the whites, are those, too, most hostile to what is termed "southern slavery."

Thus it is, that the false theory of a single race, applied to the social condition of the South, assumes the presence of facts that only exist in the *diseased* imaginations of those who apply it; and these imaginary facts thus generated by the theory become in turn its main support. And while the actual condition of the negro, which infinitely better than any other portion of his race, proves conclusively that that condition is a normal or natural one; the fact that he is mentally *inferior* to the European peasant, which simply proves that he belongs to a different race or *species*, is by a monstrous lie, and so far as the welfare of both races is concerned, a deplorable delusion, perverted into proof that he is suffering under still greater oppression than the former. Thus, too, with the notion of a common wrong and a common cause, from the very necessities of falsehood is also associated the idea or notion of a common origin, and a single race.

Such are the causes, or such the leading causes of popular delusion on this subject, and which for half a century or more have been wielded to work out more mischief, more evils, indeed, to "perpetrate more outrage on humanity" than ever before known in any similar period in the whole history of mankind.

We can in this place only briefly refer to some of the more prominent consequences resulting from this delusion, but shall in a subsequent chapter give the facts and details that sustain the present assumptions.

It is estimated that the British government has expended six hundred mil-

lions to put down the African slave trade, to abolish slavery, or rather, to call things by their right names, to destroy the natural relations of the races in the West India Islands—in short, under the pretence of benefiting the Negro, to break down the distinctions of nature, and *equalize* those that the Almighty has made *unequal*.

This enormous sum is of course laid upon the already over-burdened shoulders of the British laboring and producing classes, and, incredible as it will appear to posterity, at the very moment that a hundred millions, the proceeds of the sweat and toil of the over-worked and often half-famished British laborer, was thus squandered on a distant and unknown people, the latter was better fed and infinitely less worked than the former. And it is reasonable to suppose that for every idle and vagabond Negro now basking in tropical suns or revelling in pumpkin in Jamaica, there is a poor worn out, maimed and defaced British laborer perishing in the prison almshouses of England, a necessary victim of “philanthropic” imposture, and “humane” rascality.

There are eight millions in the British islands unable to read, yet these dumb, voiceless beings, instead of using the proceeds of their *own* labor to educate their own offspring, to save their own children from that most hideous of all savageisms, the ignorance of a superior race in the midst of high civilization, are compelled by a despotic and irresponsible oligarchy to surrender the proceeds of their toil to be wasted on a distant, and to them an utterly unknown race.

Within the past ten years several millions of British subjects have perished of famine, every one of whom might have been saved if the money squandered on the Negro had been employed for that purpose, indeed it is reasonable to suppose that the proceeds of labor wrung alone from the bones and sinews of these murdered Irishmen themselves, for the benefit, or the pretended benefit of the Negro, would have been sufficient to save every man of them.

The monstrous imposture which has so long deceived the world under the cloak of philanthropy and a pretended desire to benefit humanity, has been sustained and kept up by the lying assumption that it was the British nation, the totality of the British people who carried on this Negro policy, but it is the work alone of the governing class, the oligarchy, the half million or so of the British population embodied in the Parliament, while the unrepresented millions, the people proper, those whose labor furnishes the means, who bear the burthens and suffer the sacrifices, have no more to do with it, indeed are as utterly ignorant of it, as the people of Kamschatka or the inhabitants of the moon.

To suppose such a thing that these eight millions of benighted heathens, existing in the heart of British society would give their sweat and toil and labor for such purposes, that the poor emaciated artizan, the over-worked and often half-famished multitudes shut out from the light of earth as well as heaven, in British mines, would, of their own volition, labor and toil and suffer, to enable the Negro to live in idleness in Jamaica—to suppose such a thing we repeat, is an atrocious blasphemy, a libel upon the Almighty, who has beneficently as wisely ordained to the contrary, and made self-preservation a primary instinct of our nature.

The immediate, practical, inevitable result of this vast expenditure on the Negro is to rivet more surely the slavery of the British millions, to compel every laborer in England to work an hour longer every day of his life, and to snatch a portion of the food from the mouths of his children, often earned by the very life-blood of the father, to be wasted on the Negro. It is the robbery and plunder of the disfranchised millions, the ignorant, helpless, starving multitudes of British laborers by a heartless and brutal oligarchy to accomplish its own ulterior designs and effect schemes of transcendent villany under the mask and cover of philanthropy.

It is a mortgage on the bones and muscles, the bodies and souls of future generations of their own flesh and blood, under the hypocritical pretence of benefiting humanity.

The actual wrong thus inflicted upon the unrepresented masses of Britain, would have been the same if every manumitted Negro had been *elevated* to the standard of a Wilberforce or made the literary equal of old Johnson himself; but the results upon the Negro have been scarcely less disastrous.

It is now admitted by the tools as well as the dupes of the imposture that while the mortality of the slave traffic has advanced from 14 to 25 per cent. as the direct result of British interference, *not one single African the less has been imported!*

The world, civilization, the wants of society, the comfort and well-being of the millions of Christendom required the products of the tropics and of the West India Islands. The Creator has ordained that these products can only be forthcoming through the labor of the negro;—the demand was imperative, and the labor was furnished. It is not necessary to enquire whether the mode of furnishing this labor was right or wrong, whether the necessities of human well-being demanded only its regulation on principles of humanity or, whether it was or is inherently and absolutely wrong; British interference with it has only brought suffering and death to the, in this connection, “unhappy negro.” If British citizens, the people of London and Liverpool required a certain amount of coffee, sugar, and other tropical products, the labor necessary to meet these demands was always furnished. Thus, if the labor of fifty thousand negroes was required, eighty thousand was shipped on the African coast, as thirty thousand of them would be *sacrificed* by British interference.

What number of negroes have thus, within the last sixty years been destroyed, actually murdered, in the name of philanthropy may not be known, but it must be enormous; and for every one of these, for all the hideous diabolaries of the middle passage, for all this human suffering, immeasurable and illimitable, the British aristocracy and their tools and dupes in Europe and America are justly responsible. In Jamaica, and the other islands, the natural relations of the races broken up, the Negro of course refuses to labor, and rapidly returning to the African standard of the race, these islands, which lie in the very bosom of the American Continent, and should be the very garden of American civilization, now promise to become the seat and centre of an African barbarism.

Now all these consequences, these results, the mortgaging of the bones and muscles of future generations of British laborers, and the indefinite

postponement of their own liberation under pretence of liberating the Negro—the hypocritical and false issue presented to the credulous friends of liberty every where—the evils worked out on the Negro himself—the destruction of life and increased sufferings of the middle passage—the rapidly approaching savageism of those forced from their normal condition in Jamaica and other West India Islands—the false hopes, mistaken notions, and prospective extinction of the Negro populations at the North—the overthrow of civilization, and threatened establishment of an African barbarism on our Southern border, the ally and instrument of European aristocracy in any future collision with American Democracy—above all the effects upon ourselves—the wide spread delusion that Southern institutions are an “evil” and their extension dangerous—the notion so prevalent at the North, that there is a real antagonism, or that the system of the South is hostile to Northern *interests*—the weakened union sentiment, and the utter debauchment, the absolute traitorism of a portion of the Northern people, not only to the Union, but to Democratic institutions, and the cause of civilization on this Continent—all these, with the minor and almost innumerable mischiefs that this vast delusion, this mighty world wide imposture has engendered, or drags in its train, rest upon the dogma, the single assumption, the sole elementary foundation—falsehood, that the Negro is a black white man, and that two widely separated, unmistakably marked, and perpetually different things are the same thing!! This single fallacy, which is in reality an absurdity, as well as a lie, once exploded, and the mighty edifice which fraud and imposture, and popular credulity, have united to magnify into such fearful proportions, instantly collapses and disappears forever. The Negro once comprehended, as he is, as God has made him, as he must perpetually remain, and instantly, “philanthropy,” “humanity,” that which men have worshipped as a divinity, becomes like the unveiled prophet of Khorassan—a hideous monstrosity.

Never before has a single dogma or doctrine done so much mischief as that of a single race; and yet, totally unlike the dogma of the “divine” right of kings, or “infallibility” of Priests or other *abstractions*, which in times past have deceived the credulous multitude, its falsehood has always been susceptible of exposure, its fallacy of downright unmistakable demonstration to the senses as well as to the reason.

The Negro is a man, but a different and inferior *species* of man, who could no more originate from the same source as ourselves, than the owl could from the eagle, or the shad from the salmon, or the cat from the tiger; and who can no more be forced by *human power* to manifest the faculties, or perform the purposes assigned by the Almighty Creator to the Caucasian man, than can either of these forms of life be made to manifest faculties other than those inherent, *specific*, and eternally impressed upon their organization.

We are no defender of “materialism,” and utterly reject the impious doctrine, that the human soul is the *result* of organization, and therefore, perishes with it; but the identity of organism and functions, of structure and faculties, of form and capabilities, in short of *specific* organization and a *specific* nature, is a *fact* universal, invariable and indestructible.

The Caucasian brain measures 92 cubic inches—with the cerebrum, the

centre of the intellectual functions, relatively predominating over the cerebellum, the centre of the animal instincts; thus, it is capable of indefinite progression, and transmits the knowledge or experience acquired by one generation to subsequent generations—the record of which is history.

The Negro brain measures from 65 to 70 cubic inches—with the cerebellum, the centre of the animal instincts relatively predominating over the cerebrum, the centre of the intellectual powers; thus, its acquisition of knowledge is limited to a single generation, and incapable of transmitting this to subsequent ones, *it can have no history*. A single glance at eternal and immutable *facts*, which perpetually separate these forms of human existence will be sufficient to cover the whole ground—thus, could the deluded people who propose to improve on the works of the Creator, and *elevate* the Negro to the standard of the white, actually perform an act of omnipotence, and, add 25 or 30 per cent. to the totality of the Negro brain, they would still be at as great a distance as ever from their final object, while the relations of the anterior and posterior portions of the brain remained as at present.

And were they capable of performing a second act of creative power, to diminish the posterior portion, and add to the anterior portion of the Negro brain, to make it in form, as well as size, correspond to that of the Caucasian man, they would even then, after all this effort, and all this display of omnipotent force, come back again to the starting point, for such a brain could no more be born of a negress, than can an elephant pass through the eye of a needle. Historical fact is in perfect accordance with these physiological facts, thus, while there are portions, nationalities or branches of the Caucasian race that have relapsed, become effete, decayed, lost—the *race* has steadily progressed, and from the banks of the Nile, to those of the Mississippi, civilization, progress, intellectual development, the *specific* characteristics of the Caucasian have alone changed locations. The Negro on the contrary is at this moment just where the race was four thousand years ago, when sculptured on Egyptian monuments. Portions of it in contact with the superior race have been temporarily advanced, but invariably, without exception, they have returned to the African standard as soon as this contact has ceased, or as soon as the results of amalgamation between them have disappeared.

The Abyssinians originally pure Caucasian, the Lybians, the Numidians of Roman history, and Ethiopians, the two latter, and possibly the Lybians also of mixed Caucasian blood are often confounded with the Negro or the typical woolly haired, and thus it has been claimed that the latter were capable of progress; but it is a historical truth beyond contradiction or doubt even that the typical African, *the race now in our midst*, has never of its own volition passed beyond the hunter condition, that condition which it now occupies in Africa, when isolated from all other races.

The Creator has beneficently as wisely permitted amalgamation to a certain extent between the extremes of “humanity,” the Caucasian and Negro—otherwise there would be slavery, oppression, brutality, death, but this is limited within fixed boundaries; thus, the Mulatto or Hybrid of the fourth generation, is as sterile as the mule or most *animal* hybrids are in the first generation.

These two races thus widely diverging, one the most superior and the other the most inferior of all the human races, exist at the South in juxtaposition.

What does fact, reason, common sense, the evident design of the Almighty as written upon the structure of each indicate as their true social relations?

Why precisely those *peculiar* institutions which actually do exist. The superior and predominating race adopt for themselves a system of Democracy—that is those that are equal by nature are declared equal by the law—those organized alike and endowed alike, and thus, evidently designed by the Creator for like purposes, for the exercise of the same rights and performance of the same duties, are protected in these rights and compelled to perform these duties. For the inferior race inferiorly organized and inferiorly endowed, as incapable of fulfilling the purposes assigned to the superior organization by the Almighty Creator of all as it is to change the color of its skin, a *peculiar* system adapted to its *specific* nature, and that provides for that eternal subordination to the Caucasian man, fixed from the beginning, is not merely a necessity of human existence but an imperative duty devolving on the superior race.

This system, these *peculiar* institutions, ignorance, popular credulity and the followers of European opinion confound with Roman and other systems of *slavery*, to which it has just as complete a resemblance as black has to white; but this term unfortunately fixed upon it, has deceived millions of men—thus we see multitudes among ourselves impotently as blindly butting their brains against a present, normal, vital, organization of Southern society with the confident belief that they are battling with monstrosities dead and buried centuries ago! To be sure it does not necessarily follow because the white is superior and the Negro inferior, that therefore the present relations of the races or the social system of the South is exactly right or in precise conformity to the wants or the natural rights of both, but it is a *fact*, that this condition assures to the Negro a greater amount of happiness than any other ever known; therefore for precisely the same reasons that New York claims her institutions to be founded in truth, may Mississippi do the same, and if the “greatest good to the greatest number” proves that “equality” is a natural relation where white men exist only, a similar result wherever whites and Negroes exist together, equally proves that the relation of master and “slave” is a fundamental law of human existence.

The Negroes at the South are even acknowledged by the dupes of delusion to be in a good material condition, which in truth is acknowledging every thing, for it is true in all cases with whites as well as blacks that those in the best physical condition are also in the best moral condition.

Material and moral well being is an inseparable unity and can no more be separated or isolated than can mind and body, or life and organized matter, therefore the Negro in Mississippi who has plenty to eat, who is not overworked, who rapidly multiplies is also from the necessity of things in the best moral condition possible for *him*.

Those writers among us who sometimes undertake to defend Southern institutions by comparing the condition of the Negro with the condition of the British laborer, and who think they have made out their case when they shew it to be no *worse* than the latter, thus make a vital mistake. The fact is no comparison is allowable or possible. The Negro is governed by those *naturally* superior, and is in the *best* condition of any portion or branch of his

race, while the British laborer, governed by those *naturally* his equals, and *even* sometimes his inferiors, is in the *worst* condition of any portion or branch of *his* race. The first is secure in all the rights that nature gives him, the latter is *practically* denied all or nearly all of his—the first is protected and provided for by those the Creator has designed should govern him, the latter is kept in ignorance, brutalized, over worked and plundered by those who it is designed should only *govern themselves*—*one is a normal condition, the other an infamous usurpation.*

The notion that so-called slavery is an “evil” is equally a fallacy as that which supposes it a wrong. It arises to a great extent from confounding two very different things—the presence of a Negro population with the *peculiar* institutions necessary for its governance; thus, while it might be desirable in certain localities to get rid of the former, to destroy the latter would be as absurd and indeed as *wrong* as it would be to tear all the boys of a certain age from their parents and guardians and turn them loose upon the world.

Instead of an “evil” in any sense whatever it is an unmixed good to the Negro, to the master, to the North, to civilization, to the world; it is “the best relation between capital and labor ever known,” the “corner stone of our Republican edifice,” and the presence of the inferior race on this continent, the most fortunate conjuncture that has ever happened in human affairs.

It has called into being a class of men, who for ability, for accomplished statesmanship, for all the higher and more generous qualities of true manhood, are unequalled either now or at any time in history.

These men, these so-called “slaveholders,” are the originators of Democratic institutions on this continent, the founders of our Republican system, and its main and *always* reliable defenders ever since, and as a class have done more to advance freedom, progress, true ideas of Government, and the cause of civilization, than all other men together, that have ever lived upon the earth. From Jefferson to Polk, all our foreign wars or national defences, all our annexations of territory, the extension of our system, the expansion of Democratic ideas, all the ameliorations of the condition of the laboring classes, in short, with one single exception,* every thing grand and beneficent in our national history is the work of American “slaveholders.”

And it is just as true that every thing tending to corrupt our system, to debauch the Democratic sentiment of the nation, to check its progress, and force it back into the adoption of the slavish maxims of Europe; in short, every thing hostile to the interests of the masses, and at war with the dignity and manhood of the laboring man, has either originated with or been advocated by the so-called “friends of liberty,” the anti-slavery statesmen of the North.

The public lives of two eminent men fairly illustrate this truth.

Jackson, the slaveholder, devoted his whole life to the service of the laboring classes, and struck down “Britishism” wherever he found it, whether in the battle field or the still more dangerous arena of legislation. Adams, the abolitionist, the exponent of “anti-slavery,” spent the best years of his life in propagating and defending the most abject and debasing maxims of “Britishism.”

* Mr. Van Buren’s Independent Treasury measure.

Nine-tenths of the votes in Congress against National Banks and other contrivances for defrauding labor, have been those of slaveholders; all the vetoes striking down these schemes when worked through Congress have been those of slaveholding Presidents; every additional foot of slave territory has been an increased weight in the scale on the side of labor against capital—the annexation of Texas and the votes of her slaveholding Senators alone broke down the infamous tariff of 1842, and gave to the farmers of the North and West the beneficent free trade tariff of 1846—in short, every page and line in our national history, bears witness to the truth of the declaration already made, that the presence of the inferior race, (which originating the *peculiar institutions* of the South, has called this class of men into being) is indeed the most fortunate conjuncture of circumstances that has ever happened in human affairs.

And in view of these historical facts and our present condition, and that of the down trodden millions of Europe, (the victims of the infamous systems or contrivances that enable the few to plunder and degrade the many) it is equally true that the abolition of “Negro Slavery,” aside from all other consequences and viewed only as annihilating or striking this class of men out of existence, these “slaveholders” these Jeffersons, Jacksons, Calhouns and Tylers of the South, would itself be the greatest misfortune that could happen to mankind.

For this purpose, and the accomplishment of this end, British aristocracy, and European monarchists, their tools and instruments all over, everywhere, openly or covertly labor incessantly.

They know *instinctively* the danger and the men, the ideas and the representative of ideas, that threatens to destroy their own vile “systems” of oppression; and from the day that the brutal old tory, Dr. Johnson, declared that “the Negro drivers of America were the loudest yelpers after liberty” to the present moment, all their efforts have been directed to break down a system in deadly hostility to their own—to crush ideas destined to revolutionize Europe—to destroy a class, the founders and true defenders of Democratic institutions.

But delusion and imposture have most probably reached their limits. The fraud, indeed the monstrous impiety of the British aristocracy, who pretending to benefit, labor to deface “humanity,” to force an inferior race to a level with their own flesh and blood, and to blot out the distinctions of the Almighty, that they may preserve those of their own creation—will be understood.

The mask that has so long concealed the hideous features of British “philanthropy,” is destined ere long to be torn aside forever, and all men, even the benighted and besotted beings in our midst, who have so faithfully labored to propagate its lies and to spread its delusions, will yet agree in denouncing it—as the mightiest imposture and the most deplorable delusion that has ever darkened the understanding or perverted the moral instincts of mankind.

