

REFLECTIONS,

Occasioned by the late Disturbances

IN

CHARLESTON.

BY

Achates.

CHARLESTON:

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*Ascribed to the pen of John Brown, Esq.
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Advertisement.



THE following Reflections are from the pen of a Soldier and a Patriot of the Revolution ; whose name (did we feel ourselves at liberty to use it) would stamp a peculiar weight and value on his opinions.

They were written after the public disturbances in this place, during an excursion into the interior, and have been transmitted to a few friends for their perusal, who have deemed them worthy of a more comprehensive dissemination than a single manuscript copy could possibly have afforded.—It will be sufficiently obvious that these Reflections are the result of much patient thinking on a subject well calculated to arouse the anxieties of patriotism, and to invoke all that the maturity of experience is capable of yielding.

Independently of the intrinsic interest of the subject, and the manner with which it is discussed, it is an exceedingly refreshing spectacle to witness the exigencies of the crisis summoning to the service of his country the zealous efforts and solicitude of a Patriot of other times, over whose impulses to public usefulness, age is absolutely powerless; and who yet feels, in unimpaired energy, the sentiments which animated his youthful exertions—
“*that we all have a Country to serve, to honour and defend.*”

Charleston, November 4, 1822.

REFLECTIONS.



THE vigor and decision which marked the conduct of the City Authorities in preventing the late meditated Insurrection of the Negroes in Charleston ; so ably supported by the patient investigation, sagacious conduct, and inflexible justice of the Court of Magistrates and Freeholders appointed for the trial of the criminals, has for the present terminated all cause of alarm : and the example made of those infatuated miscreants who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the severity of the law, will, probably, for sometime, preclude the danger of similar conspiracies. It is not to be doubted that the Legislative body, and the Magistrates, to whom the care of the public welfare is confided, will adopt such measures as their wisdom and patriotism can devise, to prevent forever the recurrence of such enormities. Hence it becomes the duty of every one, who has maturely reflected on the subject, to suggest, in aid of their consultations, such measures as may appear reasonable, and likely to be attended with success.— If these measures have already occurred to the

minds of those whose duty it is to provide for the public safety, the suggestion may tend to corroborate their opinion ; if it offers any thing new, the plan will be considered, and adopted or rejected according to its merit. Being deeply interested in whatever concerns the welfare of my native city, and tremblingly alive to the danger which may threaten the amicable and defenceless part of the community, who have, by their exemplary conduct at every crisis of our history, so richly merited all the protection which duty and affection can afford, I may probably mistake the desire for the ability to propose measures competent to promote that welfare and avert that danger. I will, notwithstanding, venture to offer my view of the subject.

Previous to the proposal of any plan for preventing the recurrence of similar danger, it may be useful to advert to the causes which produced the late conspiracy. The following may be assigned as some of the most obvious :—1st, The example of St. Domingo, and (probably) the encouragement received from thence.—2dly, The indiscreet zeal in favor of universal liberty, expressed by many of our fellow-citizens in the States north and east of Maryland ; aided by the Black population of those States.—3dly, The idleness, dissipation, and improper indulgencies permitted among all classes of the Negroes in Charleston, and particularly among the domestics : and, as the most dangerous of those indulgencies,

their being taught to read and write: the first bringing the powerful operation of the Press to act on their uninformed and easily deluded minds; and the latter furnishing them with an instrument to carry into execution the mischievous suggestions of the former.—4th, The facility of obtaining money afforded by the nature of their occupations to those employed as mechanics, draymen, fishermen, butchers, porters, hucksters, &c.—5th, The disparity of numbers between the white and black inhabitants of the City. No effort of ours can remove some of these causes, but over others we may exercise control.

1. Nothing effectual can be done by us to obviate the influence of the example of St. Domingo, so long as it retains its condition. It would be difficult also to prevent encouragement being offered from thence, because we cannot cut off the direct communication, neither, if this were practicable, would it avail while the circuitous intercourse through the Northern States must remain open.

2d. Still less can we prevent evils arising from injustice, impolicy, and indiscriminating cruelty of many citizens of the Northern States, who directly or indirectly instigate our Black population to such scenes as they lately meditated.) It is termed injustice, because it is a violation of the Federal compact. Impolicy, because if there be a single cause which can dissolve the Union, it would be the attempt to reverse the conditions

(and no other alternative could in our situation take place) of the present master and slave. It would be, moreover, impolicy as it respects their own interest; because if they could, even without bloodshed, effect a general emancipation, the influence of the Southern States in the General Government would be augmented, and that of the Northern States comparatively depressed, in the ratio of five to three. It is indiscriminately cruel, because, from the nature of the contest their measures tend to excite, if the party they favor should succeed, it would be a war of extermination to their white fellow-citizens, their wives and children; as was the case in St. Domingo. If detected, as in the present instance, they see how many of those whose conditions they wished to ameliorate, must necessarily be the victims of the law of self-defence;—victims of their misguided interference! But such is the state of political enthusiasm among many of the less informed inhabitants of those States, extended by the agitation of the Missouri question to some who formerly held more moderate opinions, and had taken juster views of our situation, that all we can now do is to be vigilant to detect any emissaries, and to stop all incendiary publications which may be sent from that quarter.

3d. Over the indulgencies which have so pampered the enormous number of domestics, entertained by the inhabitants, the State Laws and City Ordinances may have considerable control; but the execution of these laws may be so frus-

trated by public inattention, and more by the particular way of thinking and weakness of many proprietors, that it is to be feared this evil will not be effectually checked, particularly as it respects the dangerous instrument of learning, which many of them have acquired; for it is not only impracticable to deprive them of what they have attained, but as it is easily communicated, it is probable that, spite of all endeavors to the contrary, this evil will rather increase than diminish.

4th. Neither will it be practicable to prevent those who are permitted to engross the occupations of draymen, fishermen, hucksters, butchers, barbers, porters, &c. from coming into the possession of much money, which being almost invariably spent in drunkenness and debauchery, prepares them to be willing instruments of any delusive plan of mischief which may be presented to them; while the instruments of their employments with which they are usually intrusted, such as horses, tools, &c. and the knowledge they acquire by their occupations, increase their ability to do mischief. It seems evident, therefore, that we cannot effectually obviate the ill effects of the causes assigned. Hence it is the more urgent that we should apply the remedy, which appears to be completely within our control, to the remaining cause, the disparity of numbers.

5th. If we examine the last census, and refer to that taken twenty years previous, we shall find

that this evil is rapidly increasing ; for at the former period the white population of Charleston exceeded the other, while in the last census the black population was to the white nearly as 22 to 14.— Now, as it must be admitted that this excess of physical force does diminish the great superiority which their means and qualifications give to our citizens, a reliance on this circumstance must have formed the principal encouragement to the late attempt ; for without it, mad and wild as they appear to have been, they would not have dared to venture on a contest of force. How imperative is then the policy of removing this rapidly increasing evil—this *sine qua non* of insurrection !

The next questions then, which naturally occur, are, to what degree will it be necessary to extend the reduction ? And what substitute can be obtained to occupy the employments now filled by the Negroes ?

With respect to the degree, some previous investigation may enable us to arrive at a just conclusion. It would, perhaps, appear sufficient, on a slight examination, to reduce the number of their effectives something below that of the active citizens ; because the various advantages of the latter, would, in time of action, give them a decided superiority over their adversaries ; but it should be considered that plots of this kind are always intended to be executed by treachery and surprise ; and that the case is not similar to that of

an openly opposing adversary, whose attempts at surprise, or insidious aggression, might by proper precautions be averted. But this is an intestine enemy, who by availing himself of his advantageous situation, and properly selecting the time of attack, might render it extremely formidable.— That in this case, or even in the case of his being greatly superior in numbers, he must ultimately fail, is certain; but the mere rumor of a conspiracy would occasion distressing alarm, and the attempt, though ultimately unsuccessful, would produce incalculable evils. It would be, therefore, prudent not only to reduce their force below what, upon a fair calculation, would afford no prospect of success to rational persons, but to place it so low as to deprive even the rash and desperate of all hope. Another consideration also points to the propriety of very considerable reduction, which is the great repugnance felt by freemen to be placed in any respect on the same footing with the slave; whereby many industrious white men, who cannot brook either the concurrence or the association of the blacks, are deterred from settling among us: wherefore, if we desire to see the places of journeymen in the various mechanic arts, occupied by a superior class, we must have no blacks in the same rank of society. And that it would be highly advantageous, in other respects also, to have this class occupied by freemen, will be evident from the following considerations: All the business of these occupations would be better performed. In the first place,

from the emulation to excel ; a strong motive among freemen, but scarcely felt by the slave :— next, because the rate of wages is necessarily in proportion to the skill and good conduct of the workman ; whence in the case of the freeman, a direct appeal is made to his interest ; while the slave, whose master receives his wages, has no inducement of this kind to exertion. Another spur to the industry of the freeman, is the hope that his earnings may be sufficient to support himself in time of sickness ; and, if he has a family, to assist in their maintenance. The slave knows that both himself and his family, in sickness and in health, must be supported by his master ; he is, therefore, perfectly indifferent on this score : the continuance of the industry and good conduct of the freeman, is cherished by the expectation that persevering success will advance him in the ranks of his occupation ; that from a journeyman he may in time become a master workman :—the slave can have no such expectation. A further advantage in the employment of freemen is, that with them much business may be executed by job work, a mode which of late years has been productive of great satisfaction and utility ; being found profitable to both parties ; because while the employer has his work completed according to his direction, without further superintendance, and in general, at a cheaper rate ; it operates as a stimulus to exertion by the workman whose earnings are in proportion thereto. Job-work by the slave who has no inducement

either to greater accuracy or expedition, would be of no advantage. In drawing the above comparison, no stress is placed upon the superiority of natural ingenuity, and comprehension of the white man over the black, although it is believed to be considerable ; for, though good imitators may be found among the blacks, it is very rare to find one who can plan or invent, even in the business in which he has been educated, and carefully instructed.

Enough has, probably, been adduced to convince our fellow-citizens, who are master-mechanics, that the employment of white men would, upon the whole, be more to their advantage than hiring at a lower rate of wages, these inferior workmen. Long experience has also proved to many owners of black tradesmen, who are not themselves mechanics, that they are not so profitable to them when hired out in town, as when working in the field, or at their trades, when required, in the country. The nominal rate of wages in town seems much in favor of employing them there ; but the sick days, the idle days, the doctor's bills, the work-house and guard-house fees, which are the results of that intemperance and debauchery so generally prevalent, diminish in an extraordinary degree the profits of his labor, while it ruins the constitution and morals of the slave. And if the master-mechanics who own any of this property were accurately to calculate the interest of their capital, the insurance of life, and the vari-

ous draw-backs of the nature of those above enumerated, they would find it not much to their advantage, to employ this species of workmen even as owners. Reasoning analogous to the above would show also that the employment of draymen, porters, fishermen, hucksters, butchers, barbers, &c. would be more advantageously filled by white men. It will likewise apply, with equal force, to the house-servants, or those employed immediately about the persons, and in the dwellings of the inhabitants. But it must be admitted, that these would be given up with more reluctance, and could be replaced with less facility; they are, however, certainly the most dangerous; their intimate acquaintance with all circumstances relating to the interior of the dwellings; the confidence reposed in them; and the information they unavoidably obtain, from hearing the conversation, and observing the habitual transactions of their owners, afford them the amplest means for treacherous bloodshed and devastation. The success, therefore, of servile conspiracies, mainly depends on this class, for taking off by midnight murder their unsuspecting owners; and the late trials, by exhibiting so large a proportion of this description among the ringleaders of the conspiracy, afford a melancholy proof of their promptitude to become prominent actors in such scenes. A conviction of the truth of these remarks would, probably, induce a disposition more willingly to relinquish the services of these dangerous dependants, if an adequate substitute could be procured: and this leads to a

consideration of the probability of our being able to procure substitutes for these several classes, whose disadvantages, as it respects pecuniary interest, has been shown, and from whom the danger is too manifest.

That, if we get rid of the blacks, who now occupy these employments, we may easily supply their places by free white men, will be evident when we reflect that the advantages of commerce are become so extensively beneficial, that wherever it has a free course, the supply of all transferable articles is equal to the demand; so that if it be once known, that Charleston requires any number of mechanics, draymen, &c. who will be liberally paid for their services, as many as can be so remunerated will find their way thither, provided there be no impediment to their exercising their business with safety and satisfaction to themselves. Two objections have hitherto formed this impediment;—the reported unhealthiness of the climate; and the competition of the blacks.—This last, which is believed, for the reasons assigned, to be the most powerful, will of course cease with their removal. With respect to the climate, the frequent recurrence of the yellow fever within the last thirty years, has undoubtably given an unfavorable impression of the salubrity of our City; but, as its ravages have not been so extensive, nor so certainly fatal, in its last accessions, as it has not appeared here for several years; and as the increased attention to cleauli-

ness may, by Divine permission, avert for a protracted period, this scourge of the cities of hot summer climates, we may reasonably hope that it will not be an insuperable objection in the emigration of the persons required; but that they will readily offer their services, when they are informed, as they may be with truth, that a considerable portion of our population consists of acclimatised foreigners; that the general salubrity of Charleston is scarcely surpassed by any city of great population, when not visited by yellow fever; and when they learn the superior encouragement given to industry in active employments.—Who that contemplates the unhappy condition of Ireland, where impolitic regulations, and the enormously unequal distribution of property have reduced a brave, industrious, and honest peasantry to perish by famine in a fruitful country, when at the time there is no real scarcity of provisions, can doubt that from that ill-fated Island alone an accession might soon be received, of active, industrious mechanics and labourers, to a City, where are already comfortably established, so many of their countrymen, who having passed through their seasoning, and now understanding the precautions necessary to be taken on change of climate, would with their accustomed benevolence and hospitality, effectually advise and assist the new-comers to establish themselves with safety and advantage.—Nor is Ireland the only part of the globe whence indigence and oppression compel the industrious to emigrate; but we might

reasonably expect to see the destitute of various countries, resorting to a place where they would be certain of profitable employment.

Nor would the supply be limited to foreign countries, for in this part of the United States, encouragement to industrious occupation is so great, that we every autumn witness the importation of a considerable number of industrious mechanics and fishermen from the Northern and Eastern States, where neither oppression nor regulations tending to create inequality of property exist. And it is probable, that many of them would bring their families and establish themselves among us, were it not for the humiliating consideration, that they would, in some respects, be placed so nearly on a level with the slave. Their present practice of returning home in the summer, proves how encouraging must be that reward of industry, which can profitably defray the expense of two sea voyages in a few months. That no climate will deter from emigration to it, is proved by the disregard daily shown to the dangers arising therefrom ; a disregard founded on the hope of individual exemption, so natural to the human mind. Hence the immense population of Constantinople, the head-quarters of the plague ; and of Havanna, Batavia, and other cities, which, though the constant seats of fatal disease, are so thickly inhabited, that their population seems to be in an inverse ratio to their salubrity. It may, therefore, be fairly concluded, that no fear of our

climate will prevent us from receiving as large a supply as our exigencies may require, of industrious mechanics, draymen, &c. That a sufficient number of white persons would readily come to undertake also, the domestic or menial offices, were the blacks totally dismissed, must be evident from their being no scarcity of such persons, wherever their services are required ; but repeated experiments have proved that they cannot, with advantage, be mixed with the black domestics.— It is true, also, that the habits of our inhabitants render them averse to employing such domestics ; having seen these offices constantly occupied by slaves, they would, with reluctance, exact similar services from those whom nature, as well as the law, have made their equals : and, it must be admitted, that this same perception of equality renders hired domestic servants less obsequious, and in some measure, more independent in the United States, than those occupying similar stations in Europe. In order, therefore, to command the services required, it will be necessary that they should be liberally remunerated. With this incitement to obedience and orderly conduct, aided by the desire of insuring good employment, by keeping a good character ; and encouraged by that humane consideration for their condition, which will be here generally prevalent, it is probable that the essential part of their services would be more efficient than that of those now employed. The expense, also, of liberal encouragement, would not be beyond the present rate ; for, al-

though the wages paid to each hired servant might exceed the interest of capital, insurance of life, and maintenance of a slave in the same situation, yet, it should be considered, that the families of the hired servants would be no incumbrance on the employer ; that he would not have to maintain the superannuated, the infirm, or the indolent, who are now so heavy a tax on the proprietor ; he would then contract for efficient service, which, if the person employed, should be incapable or unwilling to perform, he would be discharged, and a more suitable subject engaged. It may be fairly presumed, from what has been adduced, that hired service would be most efficient ; considerable saving would result from the reduction which might be made in the number of servants employed:—and on examining the domestic establishments of persons of similar property and stations in society, in the Northern Cities of the United States, we shall find that the domestics there are not so numerous, by one half, as those in Charleston ; and as persons of the same description might be employed here, no good reason can be assigned why the same reduction in number should not take place in Charleston ; in which case, the employment of white servants would be more economical than the work of the slaves.

If the proper authorities should be of opinion that it will be advantageous and practicable, to make for the City, this exchange of the black for a white population, they will, of course, proceed

with that prudent deliberation, which will ensure its execution to be attended with as little loss and inconvenience to the proprietors as possible ; time being allowed for the sale, hire, or other disposal, out of town, of the coloured people ; and notice given, in proper places, of the employments for which occupants will be required. The details for the execution of such a plan will require much practical information, sound judgment, and discretion : and even when conducted in the most judicious manner, will, probably, be attended with much temporary inconvenience and expense. The question then, to be decided is, whether the object be worth the cost ? To solve the doubt, it may be proper to review some of the most prominent disadvantages of the present system, and the benefits to be expected from the change.

The disadvantages are principally the result of the condition of the slave, which depriving him of all interest in the success of his exertions, removes the most powerful stimulus to industry and good conduct. The terror of punishment is not an adequate substitute for this all-powerful motive. That may be easily eluded by falsehood and cunning, and is often averted by compassion ; indeed the infliction of corporal punishment is so repugnant to human feelings, that its effect is the reverse of "twice bless'd mercy," punishing him who inflicts as well as him who receives. It is, therefore, rarely applied with effect. Hence every thing consigned to the management of the

slave, who has neither the incitement of interest, nor the fear of certain punishment, is neglected or abused,—Horses, and all inferior animals left to their charge, are badly attended ; their provender finds its way to the dram-shops, and they are used frequently without discretion or mercy ; their carriages and harness are slightly and badly cleaned ; the tools of the mechanics are broken and lost through neglect ; their very clothing becomes more expensive through their carelessness, arising from the knowledge that they must be supplied with all these articles, as well as their subsistence, at their master's expense ; and waste, that moth of domestic establishments, universally prevails.

Another disadvantage is, that the morals of the slave, from the want of education, and the absence of self-respect, are more depraved than those of the freeman in similar stations : it cannot be denied, that the latter, in some situations, are at a low ebb ; but it will always be found where that is the case, that the depravity is the result of great inequality of conditions, and other unjust political institutions, where the lower order are reduced more nearly to the condition of slaves.— But, it is in the nature of things, that any class of white men, possessing the privileges enjoyed by all in the United States, must, generally, be exempt from the degrading vices of the slave. Hence, in addition to the various other benefits to be derived from this superiority, the morals of our children would be more safe, and less liable to

contaminaton by that intercourse with servants, which, in early youth, is unavoidable : and this objection to a continuance of the use of black domestics, must alone have a preponderating influence with considerate parents. But, the greatest of all their disadvantages, is, certainly, that of which Charleston has lately experienced the terror.

The above are some of the disadvantages of the present system : the benefits which will be derived from the change, will be, in the first place, security : not merely that we and our families shall be safe from these horrors, but, that we and they shall feel, and be perfectly assured that we are so ; that we may retire to our repose at night, with the certain knowledge of our immunity from the dagger of the treacherous internal assassin, and all the horrors which were so fatally exhibited at St. Domingo, and were distinctly threatened here. Another advantage is, that all the labor and domestic business of the City, will be better performed, and all articles committed to the charge of subordinate agents more carefully preserved.

But, it is not merely exemption from the disadvantages attending the employment of slaves, that will result from the change of system, but great positive benefits will attend the introduction and employment of so many white inhabitants. The most obvious, is the effective force which will thereby be added to the militia of the City. If,

in the place of 22,432 coloured persons now maintained there, only half the number of white inhabitants were introduced ; as all the mechanics, the draymen, the fishermen, and the porters, would of course be males, more than five thousand effective men would be added to our muster-roll ; whereby, not only Charleston would be perfectly secure, but all thoughts of servile insurrection in the country, would be forever banished ; for with a militia force of seven or eight thousand men, well armed and accoutred, which would then compose the militia of Charleston, on one side, and the numerous white population of the upper country, on the other ; it would be more than madness for any portion of the country slaves to meditate an insurrection, destitute as they are of most of the advantages and facilities for such an enterprize, of which those in Charleston might have availed themselves.

What an additional protection to our City, also, in time of war, would this augmentation of force afford ? Little occasion would then exist to harass our fellow-citizens of the interior, to come down as militia-men to our assistance ; nor would there be any reason for distressing those of the low country, by the incessant duties of the patrol, now so indispensably necessary for safety, but which then would have only for its object the prevention of minor irregularities.—Charleston would also acquire an increase of political importance, both in the State and in the Union ; her pure po-

pulation would, probably, in a few years, exceed the number of mixed inhabitants she now possesses ; for the slow progress that has been made both in number of people, and value of property, when compared with other cities of the United States, may fairly be attributed, in a great measure, to the nature of her lower population ; to a residence among whom, such general and well-founded repugnance is prevalent.

It is generally admitted, even in these Southern States, that the slavery which here prevails, is an evil entailed upon us by our former British rulers, and difficult to be averted from its extensive influence, being amalgamated with most of the property of the country ; as well as on account of the nature of our climate, and a part of our soil : but all must agree, that it would be compatible, both with our interest and our principles, to get rid of it where it can be done without endangering the welfare of the community. Here then, is the place, where this desirable purpose may be effected, without material injury to the interests of any party, and not only with safety, but, where it will be the parent of security. The interests of the owners will not be injured, because they may, by sale, by hire, or by employment on their own lands in the country, obtain nearly an equal interest on their capital, to what it now produces. It may, also, be fairly assumed, that it would, in some points of view, be beneficial to the slaves ; for by annihilating all pros-

pects of success, every temptation to revolt would be removed, and they could never be again subjected to the horrors and calamities, in which an attempt at insurrection, whether at first successful or not, must inevitably involve them. Besides, while they continue in any degree, objects of apprehension to their proprietors, which in their present position must be the case, it is in human nature that they will be viewed with distrust, and considered as hostile to their safety; and the benevolence and humanity, which their services and situation would otherwise command, will be repressed. But place them where, not being dangerous, they cannot give rise to unfriendly emotions, and they will again be considered as the victims of former policy, as the unfortunate instruments of our comforts and our prosperity; and the kindlier feelings of nature will freely operate in ameliorating their condition. For the probability of this result an appeal may be made to the recollection of those who have observed the favorable alteration in the condition of these people, since the termination of the revolutionary war. But an excess of these humane feelings, combining with other causes, accumulated in Charleston, but which can never exist in the country, rendered them in the late instance, instead of a blessing, a curse to both parties. If then, the existence of the present system be attended with inconveniences so great, with dangers so formidable; and the alteration proposed will

not only avert them, but be productive of further benefits ; if all experience proves that nothing good and valuable can be obtained without exertion and expense, no reasonable person will object to the price or inconvenience attending the exchange. The expense will be nothing more than the difference of price between the labour of freemen and of slaves ; the inconvenience will only be severely felt, while the alteration is carrying into effect. It is to be lamented that the greatest part of this will be experienced in the domestic line, and fall heaviest on that class whom every man would wish to exempt from the burden.— But, when it is considered that they, and the objects of their tender solicitude, their young children, will be, in some respects, the most benefited by the measure ; and that habit and judicious treatment, will render their future domestics more suitable to their views ; while they will themselves, by custom, become reconciled to such deficiencies as may be found in their new attendants ; it is hoped they will, with their accustomed self-devotion, make the sacrifice which their own and the public welfare so urgently requires.

The foregoing considerations are the result of much anxious reflection on the late occurrences in Charleston ; this reflection has convinced the writer that, as most of the causes of the late misfortune are beyond our control, the best way to remove the evil is to abolish that which is com-

pletely within our power :—He has endeavored to show that this total substitution of a free white population, for that now employed, will not only afford security, but will be attended with other important advantages. For the purpose of showing to every description of the employers of slaves, the benefits which will probably result to them respectively, from the substitution proposed, he has enumerated the most obvious disadvantages of several classes of the black population, contrasted with the advantages to be derived from free-men in the same vocation : it has also been shown that while the change cannot be materially detrimental to the owners, it will, in some respects, benefit the slaves themselves.

The calculations made in this investigation, relate merely to the pecuniary interest of the proprietors or employers, independently of the great objects of security, strength, and importance ; the value of the first of these objects cannot easily be made the subject of calculation ; it will be best appreciated by those who have felt the apprehension of its absence : no effort has been made to depict in glowing colors the blessings of its presence, or the horrors of the reverse ; for on a subject so serious, attempts at eloquence would be misplaced. The appeal is made to the sober reason and judgment of those who have so valuable a stake in the decision. An attempt has been made to show that the measure recommended is

not only highly beneficial, but, that it is also practicable; and the whole is, with due deference, submitted to the consideration of those to whom are confided the safety and the welfare of the public.

ACHATES.

NOTE.

AS some persons, interested in the decision of this question, may not be accurately informed of the expense attending the employment of Negro Slaves, the following statement is submitted :

The average annual expense of plantation slaves in the lower country of South-Carolina, extracted from the account of several executors and attornies, for four successive years, amounts to \$35 per head. The chief items of expense are provisions, clothing, taxes, overseer's wages, medicines, doctors bills, sugar, molasses, spirits, tobacco, salt-fish, ploughs, tools, nails, locks, hinges, fish-hooks, pipes, salt, &c. &c. The average value of such slaves, rated at what they have usually sold for at auction, during many years preceeding 1820, may be stated at \$500, *annual interest* \$35.—No charge is made for the insurance of life, because, with attention and good usage, the natural increase will about keep up the numbers, even on rice plantations, which are considered the most unhealthy.

The average expense, therefore, of each negro, being \$35, and the interest of capital, also \$35 ; the whole charge against each head is \$70. But it is found, that in general, not more than one half the number are effective workers ; that is, that the daily tasks which are performed on each plantation do not exceed in number one half the negroes maintained thereon ; so, that for every worker, the interest and expences of two persons must be charged, which will make the annual cost of each working-hand amount to \$140.

In Charleston, the expense must be considerably greater, because there are, in general, clothed more expensively, and more daintily fed. In the above expences of country negroes, the provisions purchased do not usually form a charge for more than two-thirds of the year, because on every plantation, where a full market crop is planted, about one-third of the provisions is raised thereon: in Charleston the whole must be purchased.— The City tax forms an additional charge against the town slave. The average price of tradesmen and others, bought and sold in Charleston, is also considerably higher than that of field slaves, whereby the interest on capital is proportionably enhanced.— Where they have not families to keep up the stock, the maintenance of two, for one efficient workman, should not be charged against them, but the insurance on life must be substituted, which, it is presumed, would there be very high. Sufficient data are not at hand to form a precise estimate of the whole expense of a Charleston black mechanic or house servant. But from the above statement, it must greatly exceed that of the field slaves. And when the draw-backs from his efficiency are considered, it is probable that the labour of white men will, on the whole, be as cheap as that of the slave.

FINIS.

