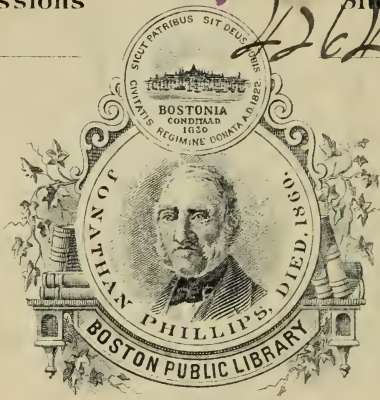


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TEXAS:

ITS

CLAIMS TO BE RECOGNISED

AS AN

INDEPENDENT POWER,

BY

GREAT BRITAIN;

EXAMINED IN

A SERIES OF LETTERS,

BY JOHN SCOBLE.

LONDON:

HARVEY AND DARTON, 55, GRACECHURCH STREET;

BALL, ARNOLD AND CO., 34, PATERNOSTER ROW; HATCHARD AND SON,
187, PICCADILLY; AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, 27, NEW BROAD STREET.

MDCCCXXXIX.

LONDON:
JOHNSTON AND BARRETT, PRINTERS,
MARK LANE.

TO THE
ABOLITIONISTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

THE extension of slavery and the slave-trade in lands which had been consecrated by a free people to liberty, cannot but be regarded with horror, by every man who venerates the free institutions of this country, who loves his species, and who admits the sacred principles of the Gospel to be binding upon his conscience. Texas, a splendid portion of the Mexican empire, was so consecrated, by the free Government which overthrew the despotism of Spain in the New World : and it is in Texas, that citizens of the United States have re-established slavery, and opened a new market for the purchase and sale of human beings ! Texas has been wrested from its parent State, without a single plea that could justify the nefarious proceeding. Thither the most abandoned of mankind had resorted, principally from the slave States of the Great Republic ; and after having defied the laws they were sworn to obey, broke out into rebellion, and triumphed in their iniquity.

The independence of this robber State has been acknowledged by the United States, and, we grieve to say, by France also. An appeal has been made to the Government of this great country, by the envoys she has sent hither, to follow their example ; and there are not wanting among us, men who publicly advocate the measure as of national importance. It has been my object to answer such, and to show that the national honour would be compromised by such an act.

It is said, that the commercial interests of the country would suffer by its non-recognition. That cannot be, for Texian vessels with their produce are allowed to enter British ports, on the same terms, as if they still belonged to the Mexican Empire, although I could wish they were

interdicted, as are Haitian ships at Jamaica, (most unwisely and unjustly in their case) until the rights of humanity are acknowledged, and the atrocious laws which at once establish slavery and the slave-trade, and provide for the expulsion of free people of colour, and the native tribes from the soil, be repealed.

Our present relations with Mexico are of a very promising nature; and with due precaution, energy and zeal on the part of the Government, supported as it ought to be by the mercantile community, they can be permanently secured to us as a *favoured* nation, notwithstanding the intrigues in play against us through American influence. SANTA ANNA is well known to be friendly to Great Britain; it, therefore, becomes a serious inquiry whether by recognising Texas, we may make Mexico less our friend and ally than she is at present, and injure those very interests we wish to extend and maintain.

It is further said, that the non-recognition of Texas would prevent this country from entering into treaty with her for the suppression of the African slave-trade. I question much whether Texas would enter into any treaty with Great Britain for this purpose. I am inclined to believe she would follow her great model, the United States, in this matter, and refuse, on constitutional grounds, to make a treaty with us for the mutual right of search, and the capture of slavers bearing her flag. And what if she did? Should we be any nearer the attainment of our object by that means? The experience we have had of the inefficiency of treaties to suppress the slave-trade, and of the untold miseries which have been inflicted on the enslaved Africans by the very treaties we have made, ought to teach us the folly of expecting to succeed in our efforts by that means. Besides, Texas has too deep a stake in the slave-trade to warrant the expectation that she would be more faithful to her engagements than Spain and Portugal, notwithstanding she has pronounced the *African* slave-trade to be piracy.

It is still further said, may not the recognition of Texas by this country prevent its annexation to the United States. Not, if that point be

already decided on, which I firmly believe it is. The only thing that will prevent annexation, is, the fear of war with this country, by the United States. As to her anxiety to clutch Texas, there can be no doubt ; and with the understanding that exists between the two powers, she will wait some favourable opportunity, when this country is absorbed, in what may be deemed more weighty matters, to make it her own. I should place no faith in any stipulations Texas might make to the contrary. It is not the recognition of Texas, but the power of England, that will prevent its annexation to the United States.

But supposing that the recognition of Texas were followed by an increase of commerce, by a treaty for the abolition of the slave-trade, and by stipulations that it should not be annexed to the United States, are there no considerations which would outweigh these advantages? Great Britain occupies a distinguished position in the family of nations ; and her moral power is not less felt, than her political power is dreaded. Has she not set a noble example to the nations of the earth in the abolition of the slave-trade, and in the emancipation of her enslaved population in the Colonies, and in the protection she has determined to afford to the Aborigines within her vast dominions? Her people are distinguished for their generous philanthropy and religious principles, and are not content that the interests of humanity, and the cause of universal freedom, shall be sacrificed to a Treaty of Commerce with the enemies of both ; and any Government, in this country, that would outrage the moral feelings of the people, by recognizing a State, which had in these days established the system of slavery, and provided for its perpetuation, which had unblushingly opened its markets for the slave-trade—which had doomed to destruction or expatriation, the Indians within its borders—and which had shown itself alike destitute of every human sympathy and principle of honour—must expect to hear the indignant rebuke of an insulted people. And further, should it so far forget the lofty position to which it has been raised, as to form an alliance with the liberty-destroying and slave-holding Texans, and thus compromise the moral

dignity and Christian sentiments of the nation ; it will then become you, the Abolitionists of the land, to enter your solemn protest against the Act, and to withdraw your confidence from such a Government. But we would look for better things from those who now sway the destinies of this mighty empire.

It is worthy of remark, that the Missouri compromise, as it is termed, defined the exact limits beyond which slavery should not extend in the United States. Mason and Dixon's line fixed its northern boundary, and the Mexican empire its western limits. It thus became hemmed in by the free States of the great federal republic, by Mexico, and by the sea, and although it occupied a vast region, it became clear, that, if it could not ultimately find an outlet it must be abolished, or the most terrific results would follow. Texas is that outlet, and hence the vast importance attached to it by the southern States. Having now passed, the Sabine, slavery will not pause in its career, until it has reached the Pacific, unless the great principles maintained by the abolitionists of this country, of France, and of the United States prevail ; or some signal visitation of Divine Providence overwhelm both it, and its supporters in one common ruin.

In view of these things the State of Texas should be as much discouraged by the Government of this country, as it is execrated by all good men. Let its cotton perish upon its fields, let its sugar never come to maturity, let its produce be covered with blight and mildew rather than slavery inflict its tortures on him who tills the grounds, and its degradation on him who calls himself his Lord.

NOTE.

The First and Second Letters in this Pamphlet, were inserted in the columns of the *Morning Chronicle*. The Third was forwarded to its Editor, but has not yet appeared in that Journal. In the present form in which these Letters are given to the public, I have supplied some additional matter, which appeared to be necessary and important to a clear understanding of the subject in question.

30th November, 1839.

J. S.

T E X A S.

Slavery is the infringement of all Laws—a Law having a tendency to preserve Slavery, would be the greatest sacrilege. I beg as fervently of my country as I would for the lives of my children, that you will never consent that CLIME, or COLOUR, or CREED, should make any distinction in your Republic.—BOLIVAR.

(*To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.*)

SIR,—There can be but little doubt that the letter which recently appeared in the *Hull Observer*, signed “WM. KENNEDY,” and which was afterwards transferred to your columns, as well as the article which you have copied from that paper, into your journal of the 3rd inst., owe their origin to the same pen; they both breathe the same spirit, and are directed to the same end, viz., the recognition of Texas as a sovereign and independent State by the Government of this country. In fact, the latter article is a defence of the former, and intended to be a reply to the letter of Mr. JOSEPH STURGE, which appeared in the *Chronicle* of the 21st ult.

The arrogant assumption of the writer of these articles of superior knowledge on the subject on which he writes, is unsustained either by facts or by reasoning. Compared with Mr. JOSEPH STURGE, whose sources of information are as various as they are accurate, the Texian advocate will permit me to say, his are both limited and valueless; whilst, in the love of his fellow-man, and of that liberty, which is at once his birth-right and his glory, he falls immeasurably below the man whom he affects to despise.

It would appear that the writer in the *Hull Observer*, has travelled through Texas, as well as through the slave States of North America, and, as the result of his observations, he states that the

Texians are an intelligent and enterprising people, "whose object it is to establish free institutions on a congenial soil;" that "persons who have travelled with unprejudiced minds through the southern States of the American Union, cannot conscientiously assert that the negroes are subjected to ill-treatment, or that their masters deserve to be held up as monsters to the rest of the world;" that the rude interference of a "zeal without knowledge" . . . "has prevented the emancipation of the slaves in Maryland and Virginia," and that to oppose the recognition of the independence of Texas "is to play the game of the pro-tariff Americans, in order to gratify a few crotchetty enthusiasts, who would plunge us into a war with the people of our own blood, without attaining the desired end, but, on the contrary, creating new obstacles to its attainment."

I challenge Mr. WILLIAM KENNEDY, or the writer in the *Hull Observer*, to the discussion and proof of these several points. Let him produce his facts—let him marshal his arguments in support of his opinions and statements; but let him not suppose that to designate JOSEPH STURGE as a "credulous man, whose mind is possessed of one predominating idea," and those with whom he acts, as a "few crotchetty enthusiasts"—will accomplish his purpose, or prove that "the Texian land pirates," or "the southern slave-holders and slave-breeders," are worthy of honour, or that himself is the wisest and most unprejudiced of men.

At present, I have done with Mr. WILLIAM KENNEDY and the *Hull Observer*, but with permission, Sir, I would venture a few remarks on the claims of Texas to be recognised as a free and independent State by this country; and of the consequences which would inevitably follow.

The ostensible ground on which Texas appealed to the United States for the recognition of her sovereignty was, that she was fully justified in her revolt against Mexico, and that she had achieved her independence, and was enabled to maintain it by force of arms; but the real ground on which she was recognised, with such indecent haste, by that Government, was with the view to her ultimate, if not immediate, annexation to the union.

The evidence on this point is complete: and were it not that it

would occupy too large a space in your columns, I would ask permission to present it to the attention of the British public through that medium. Thus much, however, may be predicted with certainty, that should State reasons, of paramount importance, so far influence the cabinet of Washington, as to render it inexpedient to annex Texas to the United States at present, the time is not far distant, when that glorious land will become an integral part of the great republic by cession, or failing that, the southern States will assuredly annex themselves to Texas.

It may be proper to remark here, that the Government of the United States has not peremptorily and finally refused the proposal of annexation made by the Texian legislature, and that subsequently to the suspension of the negotiations on this important subject, the Texian legislature, upon the motion to withdraw the proposal, decided in the negative; so that they may effect its renewal as soon as a favourable opportunity arrives.

Texas is of vital importance to the southern slave States. Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky will find there a vast market for their surplus slave population, and the detestable and loathsome business of slave-breeding will be the most profitable of all speculations. "Give us Texas," say the slave-holders and slave-breeders, and you will increase the value of our property fifty per cent!" Governor M'DUFFIE, J. C. CALHOUN, and HENRY CLAY, the most eminent of southern politicians and statesmen, have all advocated the acquisition of Texas as of vital importance to the slave States; and there will not be found, south of the line which separates the free from the slave States, a single man, of any importance, who is not of the same opinion, and who is not prepared to make the greatest sacrifices for its attainment.

The revolt in Texas owes its origin to the prevalence of this opinion and determination. Having failed by negotiation and fraud, during the last twenty years to secure Texas, the slave-holders of the south, and the land-jobbers of the north, have poured into that unhappy country, hordes of characterless villains, whose sole object has been to re-establish slavery and the slave-trade, and by the most infamous species of gambling to dupe the credulous, and to fill their own pockets with unrighteous gain. Taking

advantage of the intestine feuds of the Mexicans, they have, in the moment of their greatest weakness, wrested the fairest portion of their dominions from their grasp, and, in defiance of every principle of justice and honour, have availed themselves of the very privileges which were conferred to crush their power. The Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, ex-president of the United States, in his celebrated speech, delivered in the House of Representatives, the 25th of December, 1835, says, "That at the time the United States made the offensive overture to Mexico to cede a large portion of her territory, (Texas,) large enough to constitute nine States equal in extent to Kentucky," the "Colonists from these United States were covering the Mexican border with land-jobbing, and with slaves, introduced in defiance of the Mexican laws, by which slavery had been abolished throughout that republic. The war now raging in Texas," he further says, "is not a Mexican civil war; but a war for the re-establishment of slavery where it was abolished. It is not a servile war, but a war between slavery and emancipation." Another authority, not less eminent or well-informed, Dr. CHANNING, traces, with a master's hand, the causes which led to the revolt in Texas, and the character of the men who figured in the nefarious transaction. In his eloquent letter to the Honourable HENRY CLAY, written in August, 1837, he says, "the first great cause was the unbounded, unprincipled spirit of land speculation, which so tempting a prize as Texas, easily kindled in multitudes in the United States, where this mode of gambling is too often a vice." "Another cause of the revolt," he continues, was "the resolution to throw Texas open to slave-holders and slaves;" and again, he adds, "the settled invincible purpose of Mexico to exclude slaves from her limits, created as strong a purpose to annihilate her authority in Texas. By this prohibition, Texas was virtually shut against emigration from the southern and western portion of the United States, and it is well known, that the eyes of the south and west had for some time been turned to this province, as a "new market for slaves, as a new field for slave labour, and as a vast accession of political power to the slave-holding States." "By whom," Dr. CHANNING asks, "has Texas been conquered? By the Colonists? By hands which raised

the standard of revolt? By foreign Governments espousing their cause? No, it has been conquered by citizens of the United States, in violation of our laws and of the laws of nations. We have filled the ranks which have wrested Texas from Mexico. In the army of eight hundred men, who won the victory which scattered the Mexican force, and made its chief a prisoner, not more than fifty were citizens of Texas, having grievances of their own to seek relief from on that field. The Texians in this warfare are little more than a name—a cover under which selfish adventurers from another country have prosecuted their work of plunder.”

On this point, I may further quote the remarks of Mr. SWIFT, a member of the Texian legislature last year, in the debate on the expediency of withdrawing the proposition for the annexation of Texas to the United States. That gentleman, after having said his constituents “were opposed to the withdrawal of the proposition,” added, “there was another reason of some importance that had a bearing on the question. The withdrawal of the proposition would crush the hopes of thousands of emigrants from the United States, who were daily pouring in upon our shores, buoyed up by the anticipations of a speedy union of this country with the one they had left. Whence,” he emphatically asked, “in any future time of need, are we to look for that aid which had enabled us to roll back the tide of Mexican invasion, and hold out defiance to the tyrant of the west? Will it come from England? Will England marshal her chivalry on our prairies, or open her thunders upon the Gulf, in response to our call? No! To the people of the United States are we indebted for what we have achieved, and for being what we now are.” Here is a confession at once of the inherent weakness of Texas, the atrocious means by which it has been wrested from Mexico, and the pole-star which guides the citizen of the United States to that splendid country—annexation to the Union.

I shall say nothing of the characters of the principal men who have figured in this revolt, the HOUSTONS and BURNETS, the INGRAMS, and POTTERS, the FANNINS and BAKERS, the HAWKINSES and ROBINSONS, though I find them branded in the most respectable

papers of the United States, opposed to the abolitionists, as monsters of iniquity, as men who stood charged in their own country with the worst of crimes. Even the *Arkansas Advocate*, a southern paper, in referring to them, and to their followers, hesitates not to say, "We are very certain that the vicissitudes of fortune have transformed a multitude of cut-throats, desperadoes, outlaws, and criminals, into Texian heroes and statesmen."

But let us measure the men by their acts. What have these *soi-disant* Texians done to win renown, or to gain for themselves the honour of being numbered among the sovereign powers of the earth?

They have revolted from Mexico without any just cause for so doing. They had no injuries to redress and no claims to prefer, which would not have been honourably met. The emigrants in Texas were always treated with the greatest liberality by the parent State, whose sole object was to foster them, and to encourage the free, the industrious, and the enterprising, to seek a home within her borders; to acknowledge the independence of Texas, under these circumstances, is to sanction treason of the worst kind, and to fix a premium on unprovoked rebellion, simply because it has been successful.

I have already shown that the revolt in Texas was nurtured and sustained by the land-jobbers and slave-holders of the United States, who by the force of arms had conquered it, and that the Texians, few in number, and without any real grievances to redress, were made a cover to the villanous projects of these daring adventurers. To acknowledge its independence is to sanction an usurpation of the most unjustifiable character;—and a violation of the law of nations unparalleled in the history of civilized States.

But not only are these Texians to be regarded as rebels and usurpers, in reference to Mexico, and to be considered as such by powers in amity with that republic, but they stand before the world the confessed enemies of the human race, and of the sacred principles of freedom. Here, again, we refer to their acts.

It is well known that the Mexicans, as far back as the year 1824, totally abolished the slave-trade, and in the year 1829,

finally terminated the existence of slavery throughout their dominions. But the revolted Texians have re-established both. To place this matter beyond dispute, I make the following quotations from their laws, and place them in juxtaposition with those of Mexico, that their atrocious character may be the more conspicuous :—

LAWS OF MEXICO.

The Slave-Trade.

1. The commerce and traffic in slaves, *proceeding from whatever power, and under whatever flag, is for ever prohibited within the territories of the United Mexican States.*

2. "The slaves who may be introduced contrary to the tenor of the preceding article, shall remain free in consequence of treading the Mexican soil."
— Decree of July 13, 1834.

Slavery.

"The President of the United Mexican States to the inhabitants of the republic :—

"Be it known, that in the year 1829, being desirous of signaling the anniversary of our independence by an act of national justice and beneficence, which may contribute to the strength and support of such inestimable welfare, as to secure more and more the public tranquillity, and reinstate an unfortunate portion of our inhabitants in the sacred rights granted them by nature, and may be protected by the nation under wise and just laws, according to the provision in article 30 of the Constitutive Act; availing myself of the extraordinary faculties granted me, I have thought proper to decree :—

1. THAT SLAVERY BE EXTERMINATED IN THE REPUBLIC.

2. CONSEQUENTLY THOSE ARE FREE, WHO UP TO THIS DAY HAVE BEEN LOOKED UPON AS SLAVES."—

Decree of President GUERERO, 15th September, 1829.

LAWS OF TEXAS.

Slavery and the Slave-Trade.

Sec. 9. All persons of colour, who were slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who are now held in bondage, shall remain in the like state of servitude, provided the said slave shall be the bona fide property of the person so holding said slave as aforesaid. CONGRESS shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their slaves into the republic with them, and holding them by the same tenure by which such slaves were held in the United States, nor shall CONGRESS HAVE THE POWER TO EMANCIPATE SLAVES; NOR SHALL ANY SLAVE-HOLDER BE ALLOWED TO EMANCIPATE HIS OR HER SLAVES WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF CONGRESS, unless he or she shall send his or her slave or slaves without the limits of the republic. No free person of African descent, either in whole or in part, shall be permitted to reside permanently in the republic, without the consent of Congress; and the importation or admission of Africans or negroes into this republic, excepting from the United States of America, is for ever prohibited and declared to be piracy."

Note. The prohibition of the African slave-trade was designed to assimilate the Texian laws to those of the United States, and to give the slave-breeders of the Southern States the monopoly of the slave-market. But notwithstanding the prohibition, African slaves, *via* Cuba, are continually introduced.

Here then we have the atrocious fact unblushingly avowed in the solemn decisions of the Texian legislature, that Texas, one of the fairest portions of the world, is to be devoted in perpetuity to slaveholders and slaves! To acknowledge its independence in view of

this fact, would be to place the mark of honour on a despotism the most cruel and revolting that ever afflicted or disgraced mankind, and to consign millions of the human race to interminable bondage, instead of putting the brand of infamy on so flagrant a violation of the rights of man and the authority of God, and of holding up to universal execration the men who could “frame (such) iniquity by law.”

Still the whole tale of Texian perfidy and guilt is not told. Not only have these monsters desecrated the soil of Texas by the re-establishment of slavery and the slave-trade, but they have also provided for the exclusion from the rights of citizenship, and I would add, the final expulsion of the aboriginal tribes, and in this they have become more vile than their republican brethren in the United States. They have always sought some colourable pretext for removing the Indians from their borders, but the Texians intend to make short work of it. Here is the law:—See. 10. “All persons (Africans, the descendants of Africans, whether in whole or in part, and Indians excepted) who were residing in Texas on the day of the declaration of independence, shall be considered citizens of the republic, and be entitled to all the privileges of such.” Thus are they made aliens in the land of their fathers, and their fate will, undoubtedly, be that of the free coloured population, who, we have seen, will not be permitted to reside permanently in the republic.

And these are the men who have sent their envoys hither to obtain their recognition as a sovereign State! If there be any dignity in our rulers—any respect for the national honour—any regard for the rights and happiness of mankind—any devotion to the cause of liberty—any reverence for God, these envoys will be sent back with scorn and indignation to the base Government they represent. Let them bear back the message, that England, true to the great principles she professes, true to the interests of humanity, true to the cause of freedom, true to the sacred claims of religion, sends an emphatic negative to all her overtures.

I am, Sir, your very obedient humble servant,

JOHN SCOBLE.

Hounslow, Oct. 8th.

WAGES, OR THE WHIP?

Even the Earth itself, which teems profusion under the cultivating hand of the free-born labourer, shrinks into barrenness from the contaminating sweat of a Slave.—MONTESQUIEU.

(*To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.*)

SIR,—In an elaborate article which appeared in your paper of the 15th instant, copied from the *Colonial Gazette*, the writer has undertaken to advocate the recognition of Texas as an independent State by the Government of this country, on grounds which, while they reflect great credit on his honesty and candour, reflect none whatever on his judgment and principles.

With the philosophy of this writer on the subject of “free trade,” I have nothing to do: I leave him to the full glory of having demolished the great authorities, both living and dead, to which he; has referred, and whose theories he has denounced, and as he imagines, refuted! But, perhaps, I may be permitted to offer a few remarks on his theory in its application to Texas, whose “affectionate overtures,” it appears, have hitherto been “scornfully rejected” by this country, and whom he pronounces to have been “injured and deeply insulted by the nation which has the greatest interest in cultivating her good-will.”

The philosophy of this writer is comprehended in certain opinions, which he conceives to be truths, and these he endeavours to sustain by certain statements, which he thinks to be facts; but, as are his statements, such are his opinions, valueless, because they are unsupported by experience, and are at variance with all history.

1. His opinions: He says, “So long as land remains extremely cheap in Texas, or any where else, there it will be impossible to obtain a sufficient supply of labour for hire, or to raise much surplus produce for exchange, except by means of slavery.” And adds, The “crime” of slavery “will, probably, be repeated over and

over again in countries so situated, until the rationale of slavery shall come to be understood, and artificial means be devised of rendering land dear where it is naturally cheap."

2. His facts: He says that "in all ages and countries slavery has existed in some shape while land was very cheap, and has been as surely abolished when and wherever land became dear;" that the "efforts of abolitionists hitherto, it is not only admitted, but emphatically asserted by the most zealous of them, have done more harm than good—have greatly aggravated the evil which it was their object to cure;" that "England has ruined an important part of her Colonial empire by abolishing slavery there, without providing any substitute in the form of labour for hire;" and that "we have set free 800,000 negroes in the West Indies, and have *thereby* prompted Brazil to import as many fresh slaves from Africa."

Such are his principles and his proofs. Proofs! I deny that he has or can prove the truth of his theory. He may invoke history in vain, philosophy in vain, in its support; they both repudiate it; and demonstrate, that, as far as the value of land is involved in the question of slavery, the reverse of this is true. Slavery depreciates the value of land by impoverishing it. Look at Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, with their immense districts of land, once fertile and flourishing, now entirely worn out and abandoned, notwithstanding the increase of the slave population in these States, and, consequently, increased means for its profitable cultivation. It is quite clear that, if the slave-holders in them could not find a vent for the sale of their surplus slave population in the markets of Louisiana, Mississippi, and one or two other States, RUIN OR EMANCIPATION would speedily take place. The fact is, only the most fertile lands—lands most intrinsically valuable—can sustain slavery. Hence we find that slavery is gradually receding southward and westward in the United States, leaving its curse upon the soil it has been compelled to abandon, a legacy for freemen! And now contrast Pennsylvania and Ohio, not to mention other free States bordering on the slave States, and we behold flourishing communities and a wealthy population, whose demand for manufactures such as Great Britain can supply, is ten-fold greater, in proportion to the population, than that of their neighbour States cursed by slavery.

In a community of slave-holders and slaves, as compared with a community of freemen, all other things being equal, the demand for manufactured goods will be infinitely less in the former than in the latter. The coarsest fabrics in the smallest quantities, for instance, will do for slaves ; and so with respect to food, habitations, and other comforts and luxuries. "But it is no use to reason," with such writers ; I will, therefore, turn to the testimony of slave-holders in Virginia and elsewhere, in opposition to his views. The Honourable THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH, of Virginia, formerly Governor of that State, in a speech before the Legislature in 1832, (while speaking of the surplus number of slaves annually sold from Virginia to the more southern slave States, in consequence of the necessities of the State,) said, "The exportation has averaged 8500 for the last twenty years. Forty years ago, the whites exceeded the coloured 25,000, the coloured now exceed the whites 81,000 ; and these results, too, during an exportation of nearly 260,000 slaves since the year 1790, now perhaps the fruitful progenitors of half a million in other States. *It is a practice, and an increasing practice, in parts of Virginia, to rear slaves for market.* How can an honourable mind, a patriot, and a lover of his country, bear to see *this ancient dominion converted into one grand menagerie, where men are to be reared for market like oxen for the shambles!*" In the same year, Mr. GHOLSON, of Virginia, in his speech in the legislature of that State, says, "It has, perhaps erroneously, been considered by steady and old-fashioned people that the owner of land had a reasonable right to its annual profits, the owner of orchards to their annual fruits, the owner of *brood mares* to their product, and the owner of *female slaves* to their increase. We have not the fine-spun intelligence nor legal acumen to discover the technical distinctions drawn by gentlemen. The legal maxim of *partus sequitur ventrem* is coeval with the existence of the rights of property itself, and is founded in wisdom and justice. It is on the justice and inviolability of this maxim that the master foregoes the service of the female slave ; has her nursed and attended during the period of her gestation, and raises the helpless and infant offspring. *The value of the*

property justifies the expense; and I do not hesitate to say, that *in its increase consists much of our wealth.*" I stop not to comment on this extract from the speech of the honourable member, it speaks for itself, but pass on to the speech of Mr. FAULKNER, another honourable member of the same legislature, from which I make the following extract:—"Mr. GHOLSON," says this gentleman, "has laboured to show that the abolition of slavery, were it practicable, would be impolitic; but as the drift of this argument runs, your slaves constitute the entire wealth of the State, all the productive capacity Virginia possesses. And, sir, as things are, I believe he is correct. He says (and in this he is sustained by the gentleman from Halifax, Mr. BRUCE) that the *slaves constitute the entire available wealth of Eastern Virginia.* Is it true, that for 200 years the only increase in the wealth and resources of Virginia has been a remnant of the natural increase of this miserable race? Can it be on this increase she places her sole dependence? I had always understood that indolence and extravagance were the necessary concomitants of slavery; but, until I heard these declarations, I had not fully conceived the horrible extent of this evil. These gentlemen state the fact, which the history and present aspect of the commonwealth but too well sustain. The gentleman's facts and arguments in support of his plea of impolicy, to me, seem rather unhappy. To me, such a state of things would itself be conclusive, at least, that something even as a measure of policy, should be done. What, sir, have you lived two hundred years without personal effort or productive industry, in extravagance and indolence, sustained alone by the return from sales of the increase of slaves, and *retaining merely such a number as your now impoverished lands can sustain as stock*, depending, too, upon a most uncertain market? When that market is closed, as in the nature of things it must be, what then will become of this gentleman's hundred millions' worth of slaves, and their annual product?" And well might Mr. FAULKNER say, "When that market is closed, (alluding to Louisiana and other States,) what will become of this gentleman's hundred millions' worth of slaves, and the annual product?" The key to the solution of this

difficult question is TEXAS : and that country was, in reference to this very difficulty, adverted to by Judge UPSHER, in his address to the Virginia convention. The learned judge said, “ The value of slaves as an article of property (and it is in that view only that they are legitimate subjects of taxation) depends much on the state of the market abroad. In this view, it is the value of land abroad, and not of land here, which furnishes the ratio. It is well known to us all that nothing is more fluctuating than the value of slaves. A late law of Louisiana, reduced their value 25 per cent. in two hours after its passage was known. *If it should be our lot, as I trust it will be, to acquire the country of TEXAS, their price will rise again.*” For some years past, all the slave States, with the exception of Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Missouri, as I am informed, have passed laws to prevent the further importation of slaves from other States into them, and as the time must come when they will be closed also against a further supply of slaves, Texas is the last hope, the *dernier resort* of the slave holders of the older slave States, against irretrievable ruin, or the liberation of their bondsmen.

In Judge UPSHER's views the Honourable PHILIP DODDRIDGE fully concurred. He said, “ The acquisition of Texas will greatly enhance the value of the property (slaves) in question.” Mr. GHOLSON, to whom I have before referred, “ believed the acquisition of Texas would raise their price *fifty per cent.* at least.” Such is the view taken by Virginians of the institution of slavery, not only in the impoverishment of land, the tortures which it inflicts on the servile population, and the deep degradation which it brings on all connected with it, but in the certain ruin which follows in its train. Virginia, in a period of two centuries, in some of its most extensive and fertile districts, has become a wilderness ; and we have the confession wrung from the lips of some of her most accomplished sons, that the salvation of the “ ancient dominion” depends upon a foreign market for the sale of her slave population, and that she looks to TEXAS to sustain her in the hour of her extremity and peril. What said the Honourable HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, one of the present aspirants after the presidential chair,

as far back as 1829? In a speech before the Colonization Society he remarked: "It is believed that *no where* in the farming portion of the United States would slave labour be generally employed, if the proprietor were not tempted to *raise* slaves by the high price of the southern market, which keeps it up in his own." This is the testimony of experience, and is most valuable from the lips of such a man.

If we may believe the statements contained in the American Papers, it is quite clear, that the Cotton Planters are in an agony at the present moment. The most talented amongst them have been devising schemes at a great convention in Georgia, to regulate the price of cotton-wool, in the British Market, through the medium of the Banks. Like the planters in the British Colonies, during the period of slavery, they are unable to sustain themselves, independently of foreign aid. They cannot afford to keep their stocks—they have no spare capital—hence, the struggle in which they are at present engaged, to sustain their interests, and to avert, if it be possible, that ruin which appears to be inevitable. From Mississippi alone, no less than 15,000 slaves were run out last year by their masters, who were unable to pay their debts, into Texas and Arkansas; and large numbers were in prison under executions, awaiting sales to meet demands on their owners. The *New Orleans Bulletin*, quoted in a New York Paper of the 26th October last, adverting to the great distress which is felt in Mississippi, observes, that "Good plantations with every improvement and convenience, such as Houses, Gins, and Negro Cabins, have often been sold at from two to five dollars per acre. In Madison County, some superior plantations have been sacrificed in the same way." In commenting on this, and similar statements, the Editor says:—"The slave system is full of wretchedness. Its abettors pluck forbidden fruit, and the ground brings forth her thorns and briars. So may we expect it to be in an age like this, wherever that system is retained."

In a very able report drawn up and published by WILLIAM KENRICK, Esq., of Portsmouth, Virginia, on the present state of agriculture, and its future prospects in that State, bearing date the

1st April, 1839, I find the following remarks:—“In Lower Virginia, you have indeed, a vast and fine tract of country, from 60 to 80 miles broad, along the whole Atlantic coast. This vast country is now, in a considerable measure, without population, the abandoned lands being again covered with forests, as they were in the former days, in the times of the red men. The land once so fertile, having been progressively overrun, and in a great measure worn out or ruined by a system of perpetual cropping, and exhaustion for ages; little or nothing being restored to a soil never ungrateful, in return for all that was taken away, the earth thus cruelly injured and robbed of its fertility refuses its increase.” Having thus stated the causes which led to its abandonment, and, which Mr. KENRICK states, are ‘still continuing,’ in other parts of the State, he inquires, how those lands which have now been restored to fertility, by the renovating processes of nature may be reclaimed and turned to profit. After observing that lands in Virginia can be purchased for five dollars per acre, which would cost one hundred dollars in Massachusetts: after having stated that the advantages from an abundant supply of manure, the length of the summer, and a variety of other circumstances are all in favour of Virginia, he shows his brother planters, that the abolition of slavery would lead to that result, and proposes a scheme for effecting it. These are his words: ‘One great obstacle or objection with many northern men to a permanent residence in this country, is the state of slavery which here exists. For *slavery in Virginia, not only has a tendency to lower and degrade the wages of the free labourer, but to degrade also the profession of labour itself, by conforming the condition of the labourer to that of the slave.*’ The State contains about 500,000 slaves, which are probably valued at 400 dollars each, or 200,000,000 dollars for the whole. *Now, can any one doubt, that if all these slaves were emancipated, the lands of Virginia would rise five dollars per acre?* This rise of five dollars an acre would be equivalent to the estimated value of all the slaves. “I am persuaded, however,” he adds, “that the *rise of lands from this cause, would be far greater than is here estimated; and that were all the slaves emancipated this day, the state of Virginia would expe-*

rience a clear gain of more than 500,000,000 dollars, in *the rise of lands alone*. *Emigration to the south would then take place to a great extent*, from all the northern States. Instead of emigrating to the west, where labour is scarce, the Yankees would then flock hither, and hire up, at advanced wages, *the freed slaves, and ere long, the whole of Eastern Virginia might become a perfect garden.*"

Still further to show the exhausting effects of slavery, and the mighty power of freedom in developing the resources of a people, take the following comparative Tables of Imports into the States of Virginia, South Carolina, and New York, at successive epochs :—

YEAR.	Virginia.	S. Carolina.	N. York.
1760	£851,140 ster.	£555,000	£189,000
	DOLLARS.	DOLLARS.	DOLLARS.
1791	2,486,000	1,520,000	3,222,900
1821	1,078,000	3,000,000	23,000,000
1832	550,000	1,213,000	57,000,000

Thus, it will appear, that New York imported, in 1832, nearly fifty times as much as South Carolina, and about one hundred and ten times as much as Virginia, and that she imported about seven times less in 1832 than in 1760.

In 1835, the United States, debt was extinguished, after having absorbed about 422,000,000 dollars. The larger portion of this sum was paid to Citizens of the United States—of whom, those residing in the free States, were to those residing in the Slave States, as one hundred and sixty-five to eleven! And it further appears from the Tables before me, that the three States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachussetts, loaned to the Government thirteen times as much as all the southern States put together—a clear proof, if any were were wanting, that Wealth and Freedom co-exist; and that Slavery and Poverty are near akin.

Need I refer for further proof to our own West India Colonies? As far back as 1750, LONG, the historian of Jamaica, established the fact, that the planters of that island were labouring under

severe distress; and BRYAN EDWARDS, the historian of the West Indies, himself a planter, referring to a subsequent period, said—“The great mass of planters are men of oppressed fortunes, consigned by debt to unremitting drudgery in the Colonies, with a hope—which eternally mocks their grasp—of happier days, and a release from their embarrassments.”

In 1792, a Report was prepared on the sugar trade in Jamaica, by a Committee of the House of Assembly, and confirmed and printed by its order, which contains the following passage: “In the course of twenty years, 177 estates in Jamaica have been sold for the payment of debts, 55 estates have been thrown up, and 92 are still in the hands of creditors; and it appears from a return made by the *Provost Marshal*, that 80,121 executions, amounting to £22,563,786 sterling, have been lodged in his office in the course of twenty years.”

In 1805, the Assembly reported again, and, after details of the most melancholy kind, conclude the sum of their miseries by stating that “*a faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful caricature.*” “Again, in 1807, they report that “within the last four or five years, 65 estates had been abandoned, 32 sold under decrees of chancery, and 115 more respecting which, suits in chancery were depending, and many more bills preparing.” From these facts, they go on to say, “the House will be able to judge to what an alarming extent the distresses of the sugar planters have already reached, and with what accelerated rapidity they are now increasing, for the sugar estates lately brought to sale, and now in the Court of Chancery in this island and in England, amount to about *one-fourth of the whole number of the Colony.*” In 1812, after stating that “estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors, absent from the island, until there are large districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single proprietor of a sugar plantation resident; they add, “*the distress cannot be well aggravated.*” And again, in 1831, we have them complaining to the nation and to the parliament, of “*The alarming and unprecedented state of distress in which the whole West India interest is involved;*” which they said, justified them in asking for

measures of relief, “*in order to preserve them from inevitable ruin.*” Thus, almost from year to year, the Home Government and the House of Commons, were informed of the distress of the planters, of the transfer of properties, of the abandonment of estates, of execution sales, and the extensive ruin and beggary resulting therefrom, notwithstanding loans of money from the Government, protecting duties, and bounties on exported sugar, which gave the planters the monopoly of the home market, and put immense sums of money into their pockets on all the sugars exported to foreign States.

In December 1831, Viscount GODERICH, then Colonial Secretary, advertng to “the existence of severe commercial distress among all classes of society connected with the West Indies,” said, “It is obvious that the great and permanent source of that distress, which almost every page of the history of the West Indies records, is to be found in the institution of slavery. It is in vain to look for long-continued prosperity in any country in which the people are not dependent on their own voluntary labour for support, in which labour is not prompted by legitimate motives, and does not earn its natural reward.” And again, “*I cannot but regard the system itself as the perennial spring of those distresses of which, not at present merely, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints have been so frequent and so just.*” When will the advocates of slavery learn wisdom? When will they learn this great truth, that the natural course of the moral government of the world is framed with a singular aptitude to disappoint the designs of those, whose object it is to enrich themselves by the rigorous exaction of the uncompensated labour of their fellow-creatures?

But, perhaps, the writer in the *Colonial Gazette* will favour the public with his proofs from “all ages and countries,” in support of his theory. For my own part, I must confess my ignorance of such proofs being in existence. He may prove, indeed, that slavery has existed in forms, more or less modified by the genius and institutions of the people, among whom it has been found; but this is not the question: The point to be decided is, whether slavery enriches the land, and renders it so costly, that it cannot sustain

itself, in other words, whether it renders "lands naturally cheap," by some peculiar process of its own "dear," and thus paves the way for free Institutions to the destruction of itself! In no part of the world has this been its ultimate effect. It is freedom, and freedom alone which gives value to land; and in the application of the skill, industry, and energy it calls forth, makes even the poorest lands valuable; and, by the noble motives which it presents to action, can change a sterile region into fruitful fields. The bare statement of the proposition of this writer, carries with it its own refutation.

With respect to the assertion that the efforts of abolitionists, on their own admission, have failed, nothing can be more untrue. The abolitionists have never made such a confession. On the contrary, they have had the greatest cause to rejoice that their labours have been crowned with success, both in the abolition of the African slave-trade, and of slavery in the British Colonies; and that their own country stands absolved from the guilt of sanctioning the continuance of these twin abominations. They have deeply lamented the continuance of the foreign slave-trade, over which they had no control; and, that through the perfidy, cupidity, and inhumanity of the powers in treaty with Great Britain for its suppression, the means which have been resorted to have increased its horrors, without diminishing its extent. This they deplore; but it is an affair which belongs to the Government. In the meantime, they are using their best efforts to destroy it by the universal abolition of slavery.

Not less opposed to fact is the assertion, that "England has ruined an important part of her Colonial empire by abolishing slavery there, without providing any substitute in the form of labour for hire." In confutation of his statement, I refer to the pages of the *Colonial Gazette*, by which it will be seen that the imports of sugar and other staples in the year 1838, the year of transition from slavery to freedom, and of crisis to the Colonies, were greater than the average of the two preceding years! In the very act for the abolition of slavery, the Government substituted a body of free labourers for slaves; and wherever fair wages have been

given, and honourable treatment shown to the liberated bondsman, they have manifested the greatest alacrity to perform a fair amount of labour, and have exhibited a spirit and temper, under the most trying circumstances, which it would be well if their masters appreciated, if they did not imitate.

Akin to his other assertions is that in which he states that "we have set free 800,000 negroes in the West Indies, and have *thereby* prompted Brazil to import as many fresh slaves from Africa." The Brazilian slave-trade has been great for many years, and the causes which sustain it are far different from those assigned. The slave produce from Brazil is shut out from the British market; and I should like to know what other market we have created for its products which it did not enjoy before?

And what has been the aim of this writer in the unjustifiable statements he has made? To exalt Texas, which has had the wisdom, he says, to establish slavery and the slave-trade; and to depreciate Great Britain, which has had the honesty to terminate both! In his estimation, the Texians are "men of the highest energy and the strongest commercial propensities;" and he warns this great country against wounding "the pride of as proud a set of men as ever lived," by refusing to acknowledge their independence. One would suppose that this country depends upon Texas as a market for her manufactures. But the writers in the *Colonial Gazette* are inconsistent with themselves. In the articles under review we are told, that by refusing to recognize Texas, "we make France a present of her trade with Europe;" but in the editorial part of the paper issued on the 2nd instant, it is said, "If Texas takes British manufactures in exchange for cotton, there will be a thriving and growing trade between the two countries, with or without 'recognition;'" and it is added, "suppose commerce with the new republic prohibited, English vessels would discharge their cargoes at New Orleans, thence to be forwarded to the proscribed territory." I have no doubt that commerce with this country, if that be the thing desired, will be carried on between the two countries, whether there be slavery or no slavery in Texas, and whether it be recognized or not, as an independent State: but there are grounds both

moral and political, which should prevent this Government from listening for one moment to the overtures of the Texian envoys to secure its recognition as a sovereign State. Its recognition by France is considered by the *Constitutionnel* and other influential papers in that country, as of very questionable policy, and the event will show whether she will be a gainer by it. I much doubt it.

On moral grounds the question of its recognition ought not to be entertained; but as I have already addressed you somewhat at length on that point, in concluding this letter I will throw out a few remarks, why I conceive that, on political grounds, this country should refuse to entertain the proposition.

1. OUR RELATION WITH MEXICO. I am no politician—I profess not to be learned in the lore of international law—I do not understand the moral code of statesmen; but this I can conceive, that the recognition of Texas, under present circumstances, is likely to inflict a deep injury and insult on a friendly power in league with us. It is a well-established fact that Texas has been wrested from Mexico, not by her own subjects in the redress of their grievances and the vindication of their rights, but by the citizens of the United States, whose object has either been plunder; or the re-establishment of slavery and the slave-trade, evils which Mexico had, to her great honour, abolished throughout her dominions. And it was in the honest attempt to cause her laws to be respected in this particular, and to break up a contraband trade which had been extensively carried on by American adventurers, that she sent General Cos, and subsequently SANTA ANNA, with troops into Texas: they were both defeated; and, in consequence of the supply of men and the munitions of war from the United States, coupled with her own intestine feuds, Mexico has not hitherto been able to regain her authority in that province. These are the facts of the case.

It strikes me as of the greatest importance that the integrity of the Mexican empire should be preserved in tact, as a check upon the Anglo-Saxon Americans, whose intriguing spirit and encroaching ambition we have much reason to fear. It should be remembered also, that, by diminishing the territory of Mexico, we curtail her means of paying the debts she owes our merchants, and thus

throw unnecessary obstacles in the way of their final adjustment. The least thing we can do is to remain neutral in the affair, especially as we have not yet acknowledged the independence of Haiti, with her million of freemen, who richly deserve the liberty they have won, and who have shown themselves able to defend the freedom they have achieved. Is it because Haiti is a republic of blacks that she has been thus treated, or was it in compliment to France that we have thus acted towards her? Whatever may have been the reason, of this I am certain, that Texas, has no claims that can be at all compared with her's in the matter under consideration.

2. **THE POSITION OF TEXAS.** What is that position? Is it one of strength or weakness? Unsustained by the United States, she is powerless. She looks to the arm which sustained her in rebellion to defend her in future. And that assistance will be refused the moment it is understood that Texas abandons the project of annexation to the Union. Should she set up for an Independent State, she will be the rival of the southern States in the British markets, and be able to undersell them; for, according to General HAMILTON's statement, she can, not only raise a superior article in cotton, but can raise it at 30 per cent *less* than they can grow it. Will the South, which has made Texas what she is, allow her to be a competitor and rival? It is absurd to suppose so.

In the early part of last year, a proposition was made in the Texian legislature to withdraw the proposition for annexation which had been formally made to the United States, and the great argument used was this, "that England would never recognise the independence of Texas so long as they continued to request annexation to the United States." From the report of the proceedings of the Texian legislature, on discussing the proposition alluded to, I make the following extracts:—

"MR. JONES read extracts of a letter from our minister at the Court of St. James, setting forth the friendly feeling on the part of the British Government towards this republic, whose ability, however, to maintain her independence, the letter observed, was doubted in England." "MR. HILL doubted the right of Congress

to withdraw the proposition. The people directed it to be made, and would, if necessary, direct it to be withdrawn." Mr. BRANCH was in favour of annexation. A large portion of the people of the United States were also in favour of it. Mr. SWIFT observed:—"The withdrawal of the proposition would crush the hopes of thousands of emigrants from the United States, who were daily pouring in upon our shores, buoyed up by the anticipation of a speedy union of this country with the one they had left. Whence, he asked, in any future time of need, are we to look for that aid which had enabled us to roll back the tide of Mexican invasion, and hold out defiance to the tyrant of the west? Will it come from England? No! *To the people of the United States are we indebted for what we have achieved, and for being what we now are.*" This, then, is the position of Texas; and can we, in the face of acknowledged facts, with such a confession of her own weakness, and the admission that she relies on external aid to support her pretensions to independence, recognize her as a sovereign State? If the reasons adduced last year were valid for non-recognition, they are valid now; the position of Texas is in reality unchanged.

3. AND WHAT IS THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES IN REFERENCE TO THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS. I need not here recal to the recollection of your readers the repeated attempts of the federal government to get possession of that fine country, and that they would have accomplished their purpose long since, but for fear of a double war with Great Britain and Mexico. But they bide their time. The great Northern Republic is watching like the eagle for her prey; and will again entertain the proposal of the Texian republic and its legislature, for annexation. This is the common opinion held in the United States, and so great is the alarm felt by the friends of liberty in New York on the subject, that a circular has been issued by them, calling upon the public to pour in petitions to Congress against it. After having adverted to the consequences of annexation, that it would involve war with Mexico, if not with this country; that it would open a large slave market, and thus give a new spring to slavery in the old

States ; that it would give the slave holding interest a fearful predominance in the nation, and would enable the south to trample down the freedom of speech and of the press, the right of petition, &c. &c., it is added, "*As to the prospect of success, we fear the danger was never so great as at this moment. A cautious, plausible scheme is on foot to take the opponents of the measure by surprise. Prompt action will alone save the nation.*"

The policy of this country, to place the subject on no higher ground, ought to be the same now that it was in 1830. *The Times* of that period made the following remarks on the debate in the House of Commons, upon the presentation of the Liverpool petition respecting our relations with Spain and Mexico:—
 "Mr. HUSKISSON, in presenting the Liverpool petition, urged with great force the propriety of preventing Spain from making further attacks from the side of Cuba, on the now liberated republic of Mexico.

"There was a farther subject, and one of extreme importance, discussed by Mr. HUSKISSON, in the course of his speech—we mean the general prevalence of an opinion that the United States covet a fine province of Mexico, called Texas, and are disposed to have recourse to violence, if necessary, for the purpose of getting it into their hands. The province of Texas extends southwards from the United States along the coast of Mexico, and, as such, the seizure of it by the former power could not be a matter of indifference to Great Britain. The possession of the Floridas by the United States, has long since given rational cause of uneasiness to England, from regard to the safety of her West India Islands ; and we agree with Mr. HUSKISSON, that when the Government of Washington intimated its repugnance to seeing Cuba transferred from the feeble grasp of Ferdinand to that of this country, the United States should have been informed that, if Cuba were to continue permanently Spanish, so *Texas, and in general the whole shore along the Gulf, should be insured to the Mexican republic.*

"The reference made by the right honourable gentleman to communications, official as well as private, from the late Mr. JEFFERSON, descriptive of the eager and deep-rooted longings of the

American statesmen for slices of Mexico, and, above all things, for the island of Cuba, will not, we are sure, be lost upon the memory of his Majesty's Government in its future transactions with the Spanish Cabinet, with that of Mexico, and of the United States. With Spain we have a defensive alliance, ready made and consolidated by the most obvious interest, to prevent Cuba from falling a prey to the systematic aggrandisement of the United States. *With Mexico we are equally identified in resistance to the attempts of the same States upon Texas.*"

That the United States should have acknowledged the independence of Texas, was to be expected; that France has followed her example may be accounted for by recent events; but that Great Britain should do so, in view of all the circumstances of the case, would argue an infatuation perfectly suicidal to her influence and power in the Gulf of Mexico and the West Indies, as well as a reckless disregard of human happiness, and the onward progress of freedom.

I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

JOHN SCOBLE.

London, October 18th.

TEXAS AND ITS ADVOCATES.

Not only the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, but NATURE herself cries out against a state of slavery.—LEO X.

Slavery is INJUSTICE, which no consideration of policy can extenuate.—HORSLEY.

(*To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.*)

SIR,—The Editor the *Colonial Gazette*, and Mr. WILLIAM KENNEDY, of Hull, appear to have the Texas mania strong upon them. They both labour with assiduity and address, to obtain the recognition of the "Young Republic," as an independent State. I

earnestly wish that talents, such as theirs, were devoted to the support of a better cause! Whatever be their *motives* for the course they have judged it convenient to pursue, the one claims to be considered a *philosopher*, and the other a *patriot*, and to argue the question in view of the character each has assumed. The philosophy, however, which would teach me that slavery is the parent of civilization—that, in every country, where land is naturally cheap, as in Texas, the labouring class, whether white or black, must and will be held and used as slaves, until land becomes dear, and that, however “shocking to our sensibility,” compulsion to labour from “the fear of the lash” is really not worse than that which arises from “the fear of hunger,” is too sublime for my comprehension; and the patriotism which would enrich the merchant princes of this country at the expense of the freedom and happiness of millions of mankind, is too exalted for my imitation! I say, if the fertile lands of Texas cannot be cultivated except under the infliction of the lash—if its magnificent forests and boundless prairies cannot be reclaimed but by the tears, and blood, and toil of slaves,—let them remain in all their solitary grandeur, a pasturage and a shelter for the buffalo and the deer. And I further say, if the savage tribes of mankind cannot be civilized, but by their degradation into the condition of “chattels personal” of their fellow-men, let them remain untouched by its withering influence, and undestroyed by its murderous effects. But it were impiety to suppose that the most beautiful and fertile portions of the earth were created for tyrants and slaves; and that the benign influence of education and religion were not able to elevate the most abject of our race to the same height of refinement with ourselves.

In one point I most cordially agree with our philosopher and patriot, namely, in stigmatizing slavery as a “crime:” they both deplore its existence, as the great “blot” on the fair fame of Texas. Enough of humanity, of English feeling, and the love of liberty remains in them to do this; but I have yet to learn how the philosopher can reconcile this opinion, with his justification of Texas for refusing to bring herself “into the condition,” of what he terms,

“an impoverished and barbarized West Indian Colony of England,” by following her great example. Perhaps, however, the philosopher sometimes merges into the *man*, and this may account for his inconsistency in branding slavery as a “crime,” while, at the same time, he justifies the *criminals* who maintain it! And the patriot is equally inconsistent with the philosopher. He claims to be regarded as one whose “humble endeavours have been uniformly devoted to the abolition of slavery in the British Colonies,” and yet he pleads the cause of the Texian slave-holders with all the zeal of a feed advocate. But he merges the *man* in the patriot!

The points I propose to bring under review, in refutation of the statements of the Editor of the *Colonial Gazette*, and Mr. KENNEDY, is the true cause of the Texian revolt; the absurdity of supposing that the Texians can maintain their boasted independence, unaided by the United States;—and to show that the annexation of Texas to that great republic, though relinquished in form, is not abandoned in fact.

The Texian Advocates both affirm that, “The violation of a constitutional compact, and reiterated acts of injustice on the part of Mexico,” was the cause of the revolt. In support of this view, the Editor of the *Colonial Gazette*, asserts, that AUSTIN’S Colony, (Fredonia,) was settled in 1824, “upon the express invitation of the Mexican Government, and after reciprocal stipulations had been solemnly guaranteed on both sides”—that successive bands of emigrants were allured by the Mexican Government, from that period down to 1832.—That this body of emigrants became “Mexican subjects;” and, in return, were promised “entire religious freedom, and a Republican Government on the basis of a number of federated States:”—That SANTA ANNA, subverted their rights, by altering the Constitution of the Empire, and by the new Government enacting, that “The Roman Catholic Religion, should be the exclusive religion of the State:”—That AUSTIN and MILAM, were sent to Mexico in 1835, to remonstrate against this, but were arrested and thrown into prison, and “after months of incarceration,” were “allowed to return, only to tell that all was lost:”—That in the autumn of 1835, the garrisons in

the pay of the Central Government, were driven out of every port in Texas; and that in the early part of 1836, the Texians annihilated the troops, under the command of Cos and SANTA ANNA, and established their independence. Mr. KENNEDY, in confirmation of his views, cites the Colonization Law of Coahuila and Texas, of the 26th of March, 1825, and observes in consequence of this law, "the citizens of the United States, with their accustomed enterprize and daring, entered the country, protected, as they supposed, by a constitution, and frame of Government similar to the one under which they had lived:"—That "these adventurous strangers, soon grew into a community powerful enough to excite the jealousy of Mexico, whose federal Government, in 1830, passed the following Decree:—"That the Citizens of Foreign Countries, lying adjacent to the Mexican Territory, are prohibited from settling, as Colonists, in the States or Territories of the Republic adjoining such countries:"—That "this violation of faith on the part of Mexico, produced great discontent, and subjected the emigrants to injury and loss;" but that they bore peaceably this "violation of right," until "1834, when the Prohibitory Law was repealed," by SANTA ANNA:—That after this, "matters proceeded quietly in Texas—population increased—titles for land were freely conceded—agriculture flourished, and the people were too contented to dream of Revolution:"—That in 1835, Coahuila and Texas, their legislature being in session, though "destitute of resources," remonstrated "against SANTA ANNA's usurpations, and declared their fixed resolve never to submit to them:"—That in 1835, he sent Cos into Texas, (Coahuila having submitted to his authority,) who was defeated and captured, that in this struggle they applied "for assistance to their kindred in the United States;" and that "in March, 1836, they dissolved their connexion with Mexico, and promulgated a declaration of independence, "which their bravery has nobly maintained."

The Editor of the *Colonial Gazette*, will permit me to say, that however sound in his philosophy, he is not correct in his facts; and Mr. WILLIAM KENNEDY, must allow me to add, that the *suppressio veri et suggestio falsi*, were never more conspicuous in

the writings of the notorious PETER BORTHWICK, the great Pro-Slavery advocate, than in his.

Now for the facts of the case. Previously to the year 1820, a few citizens of the United States, temporarily established themselves in the eastern part of Texas, as Indian Traders. These were unauthorized adventurers; but in that year, a large grant of land was made to MOSES AUSTIN, of Missouri, on condition that he would introduce, within a given time, three hundred families of industrious, orderly settlers, professing the *Roman Catholic Religion*. Before completing his arrangements he suddenly died, and his son, STEPHEN F. AUSTIN, took the matter into his hands, as the legal heir and representative of his father. He repaired to Texas with a considerable number of settlers from Tennessee, Missouri, and Louisiana; but, prior to his obtaining legal possession of the grant made to his father, the revolution in Mexico broke out, which terminated in its separation from the Spanish Crown. AUSTIN applied to the new Government for a confirmation of the grant made to his father, which he obtained with little difficulty, in a modified form. The Contractor and the Settlers were liberally supplied with lands gratis, on the condition of occupying them, and pledging themselves to be obedient to the laws of the country; yet the settlement of the Colony, was still restricted to persons of the Roman Catholic faith. Thus, the plan of Colonizing Texas was regularly commenced by the Government, and laws were enacted settling the terms, and plans of Colonization. And when the Provinces of Coahuila and Texas, were united under a State Government, special regulations were made by the Legislature, in conformity with those of the General Congress, all of which were submitted to by the Colonists, as binding upon them.

The Slave Trade was abolished throughout the Mexican Dominions on the 13th of July, 1824, in the following terms:—"1. The commerce and traffic in slaves, proceeding from *whatever power*, and under *whatever flag*, is for ever prohibited within the territories of the United Mexican States. 2. The slaves who may be introduced contrary to the tenor of the preceding article, shall remain free in consequence of treading the Mexican soil."

The constitution of Coahuila and Texas was promulgated on the 11th March, 1827, and contained the following important article, in conformity with the declaration of the constitution of the Mexican Republic, adopted in 1824, viz :—“In this State no person shall be born a slave after this constitution is published in the capital of each district; * * * * neither will the introduction of slaves be permitted under any pretext.”

Under the stipulations and restrictions adverted to, settlements were rapidly formed, AUSTIN fulfilled his contract, and received the *fee simple* of large tracts of land as a reward for his trouble.

The spirit of adventure and *speculation* was thus aroused ; and divers persons applied for grants of land, and obtained them on the most liberal terms. For instance, the Grantees were not only authorised to select large tracts of land, and hold the same in *fee simple*, on condition of settlement, but were also permitted to introduce all articles necessary for their own accommodation, for the space of ten years, free of the customary duties paid by the citizens of the Republic, the Government requiring of them, only, submission to the fundamental laws of the empire. Among the most prominent contractors with the Mexican Government for lands, were ZAVALA and FILASOLA, of Mexico ; DE WITT, of Missouri ; ROSS and LEFTWICH, of Tennessee ; MILAM, of Kentucky ; BURNET, of Ohio ; THORN, of New York ; WAVEL and BEALES, of England ; CAMERON, of Scotland ; VEHLEIN, of Germany ; and M'MULLEN, POWERS, and HEWITSON, of Ireland. Of all these, only DE WITT, POWERS, and HEWITSON, succeeded in fulfilling their contracts. Most of the others disposed of their “grants” to Joint Stock Companies, organised for the purpose, in New York and Nashville.

Out of these transactions, sprung “The Galvezton Bay and Texas Land Company,”—“The Arkansas and Texas Land Company,”—“The Rio Grande Company,” &c. &c. &c. In connexion with these Companies, gambling speculations to an incredible extent took place. Immense quantities of “scrip” were sold ; and the “scrip,” being transferable, fell into the hands of needy adventurers, who hesitated at no measures, however base, to promote their pecuniary interests.

In the mean time, emigrants poured into Texas from the slave States, carrying their slaves with them, in defiance of the Colonization laws. Beside these, a large number of *squatters*, consisting of fraudulent debtors and fugitives from justice, intruded themselves from the United States; and not a few took lands, professedly with the view of settlement, but really to carry on a traffic in contraband goods, such as arms, ammunition, &c. &c., which they supplied to the Indians, as well as to others. In point of fact, the laws of Mexico were grossly violated by the emigrants, both in the introduction of slaves, and the frauds practised on the revenue by the extensive smuggling trade carried on. Such was the disturbed state of the Mexican Government at that time, that these abuses could not be checked; and the slave-holders, land-speculators, and smugglers, had it all their own way.

At length, however, the Government determined to put a stop to emigration from the United States, not less because of the daring violation of the laws by these adventurers, than on account of the disgraceful conduct of Mr. POINSETT, at Mexico, where he was charged with intriguing with its enemies, for the purpose of securing Texas to the United States. Under these circumstances, it was, that, in 1830, the Government passed the decree:—"That the citizens of foreign countries, lying adjacent to the Mexican territory, are prohibited from settling, as Colonists, in the States or territories of the Republic adjoining such countries." This law is, however, admitted not to have been rigidly enforced, inasmuch as sea-borne emigrants, were, for a time, allowed to enter Texas, and go whithersoever they pleased.

The Texian advocates would make it appear, that this prohibitory law was an infraction of the rights of the Colonists, and a "violation of faith" on the part of Mexico, when, in point of fact, it was imperatively called for, in support of the general laws of the country, and to protect Texas from the designs of the southerners now become apparent, who were longing to have it within their grasp, and who had determined, if they could not obtain it by fraud, to secure it by force.

In 1832, the law prohibiting emigration to Texas from the United States, was repealed, and the Supreme State of Coahuila and Texas passed a Colonization law, similar to that passed in 1825, with a few trifling alterations in its details, without changing its general features or principles. In that law, it is again provided, that "*the new settlers, in regard to the introduction of slaves, shall be subject to the laws which now exist, and which shall hereafter be made on the subject.*" The Supreme Government had decreed, on the 14th of October, 1823, that "foreigners who bring slaves with them, shall obey the laws established upon the matter, or which shall *hereafter* be established." In 1824, as we have before seen, Mexico entirely abolished the slave trade, whether from Africa, or from the United States, or elsewhere; and on the 15th of September, 1829, it consummated its noble designs by the total overthrow of slavery throughout the country.

On what pretence, then, can it be argued that the Anglo-Saxon Americans from the United States have been wronged? Did they not voluntarily place themselves under the Government and laws of Mexico, whether it respected religion or slavery? The Colonists well knew that none but the established religion could be tolerated *constitutionally* by the Mexican Government, when they took the oath of allegiance to it. But the Mexicans, notwithstanding, allowed the Colonists the free exercise of their religion, and both Methodists and Presbyterians held their meetings openly, without molestation or hindrance from the Government or from individuals. The Colonists also knew, that slaves would on no account whatever be allowed to be introduced into Texas, and yet they introduced them, in large numbers, and, calculating upon the sympathy and assistance of the slave-holding south, they defied the general Government, and finally rebelled against it. The opposition of the Mexican laws to the re-establishment of slavery and the slave-trade in Texas was the origin of the revolt. On this point, there is but one opinion, in the United States, and, though the Texian advocates affect to speak slightly of the authority of the celebrated Dr. CHANNING, no man who knows that eminent individual will for a moment question the accuracy of his

statements on matters of fact. He states, and he demonstrates what he states, "that the eyes of the south and west had for some time been turned to this province (Texas) as a *new market for slaves, as a new field for slave-labour, and as a vast accession of political power to the slave-holding States.* That such views were prevalent," he adds, "we know; for, nefarious as they are, they found their way into the public prints. The project of dismembering a neighbouring republic, that slave-holders and slaves might overspread a region which had been consecrated to a free population, *was discussed in newspapers as coolly as if it were a matter of obvious and unquestionable humanity.*" Nor less valuable and emphatic was the declaration made in Congress, by the Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, in December, 1835, that "the war now raging in Texas is not a Mexican civil war, but *a war for the re-establishment of slavery where it was abolished.*" The late BENJAMIN LUNDY, than whom a more devoted philanthropist never lived, who had travelled through Texas, and made himself entire master of its history and pretensions, observes, in a pamphlet published at Philadelphia in 1836, "It is susceptible of the clearest demonstration, that the immediate cause and the leading object of this contest, originated in a settled design among the slave-holders of this country, *to wrest the large and valuable territory of Texas from the Mexican republic, in order to re-establish the system of slavery; and to open a vast and profitable slave-market therein; and ultimately to annex it to the United States.*"

From the time that senator BENTON wrote his celebrated articles on the acquisition of Texas to the United States, down to the period when the Texian Government made the formal proposal to annex it to the great republic, no one ever questioned the facts which the Texian advocates in this country now affect to deny. HENRY CLAY, J. C. CALHOUN, and a multitude of inferior names, have all publicly advocated the acquisition of Texas to the United States, on the ground that it would give stability to the south, and perpetuate its "peculiar institutions."

AUSTIN and MILAM, it is asserted, were sent to Mexico in 1835, to remonstrate against the establishment of the Roman Catholic

religion as a "violation of faith" on the part of Mexico; but they were arrested and thrown into prison, where they were kept for several months, and liberated only to return to Texas, to say, that "all was lost." It was in 1833, that AUSTIN went to Mexico, and on this point, I propose to let him speak for himself, in refutation of the Texian advocates. In a letter which he addressed "to the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, the 2nd of January, 1834, he says:—"I have been arrested by an order from the Minister of War * * * * * for writing an officio to the Ayuntamiento of Texas, dated 21st October last, advising, or rather *recommending* that they should consult amongst themselves for the purpose of organizing a local Government for Texas, in the event that no remedies could be obtained for the evils that threatened the country with ruin. I do not in any manner blame the Government for arresting me. * * * * * I give the advice to the people there, that I have always given, keep quiet, discountenance all *revolutionary measures or men.* * * * * * Petition through the legal channels," &c. He adds, "The national revolution is ended, a constitutional Government exists, the people are obedient to the Government and law everywhere. Be the same in Texas and have no more excitements, *tolerate no more violent measures, and you will prosper and obtain from the Government, all that reasonable men ought to ask for.*" The fact is, the Texians wanted to organize a State Government, independent of Coahuila, that they might accomplish their long-cherished schemes, but in this they were for the moment defeated; and we have the public testimony of AUSTIN himself, in the letter from which I have already quoted, "that the general Government are disposed to do everything for Texas that can be done to promote its prosperity and welfare, that is *consistent with the Constitution and Laws;*" and he adds, "I have no doubt the State Government will do the same if they are applied to in a proper manner." The idea was entertained by the Texians, that an "independent State," under the confederated system, might stand upon its "sovereignty," and nullify the decrees of the General Government to suit its purposes, and this led to the calling

of a Convention in 1833, to draft a State Constitution for Texas. A draft of a Constitution was prepared by that illegal Assembly, and AUSTIN was deputed to be its bearer to the capital of the republic, to apply for its ratification by the general Congress. The then existing Constitution of Coahuila and Texas, as I have before shown, contained an express prohibition of slavery, *but no reference whatever was made to it in the one proposed for Texas*. For this, and other important reasons, it was promptly rejected. AUSTIN then recommended an immediate organization, which was an act of treason in itself, and for this, as he himself confesses, he was properly arrested. He then, having discovered his folly, recommended the adoption of conciliatory measures, and at length was liberated, upon his engagement that he would exert himself to secure obedience to the laws. AUSTIN visited New Orleans on his way home to Texas, and there, forgetting his solemn promises, the future plans of operation against Mexico were concocted. He was accompanied to Texas by some daring adventurers. An army was immediately organized, and the Mexican revenue-cutters were seized. The troops under the command of General Cos, who had been sent thither to enforce the laws, were defeated. Expeditions were fitted out from Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, &c., to assist the revolted Texians. And the rest is soon told: a convention was called, a constitution voted, SANTA ANNA was defeated, and Texas declared independent. Slavery was re-established: a new slave-market opened; and annexation to the United States immediately proposed.

I scarcely think it necessary to show the course which the Government of the United States pursued in reference to Texas, beyond stating the fact, that it was claimed, when Mr. ADAMS was President, as part of Louisiana, which had been ceded to the United States by France; that this preposterous claim was abandoned, and that Mr. POINSETT, then in Mexico, was instructed to offer the Mexican Government, impoverished by intestine quarrels, 10,000,000 dollars as a loan,—Texas being held as a mortgage for its re-payment. This proposition was rejected with indignation, and the intriguing POINSETT obliged to flee from Mexico,

to avoid the vengeance of the people. Colonel BUTLER succeeded him, and was instructed to negotiate for its purchase for 5,000,000 dollars, but the Mexicans would not part with it, tempting as was the bait. The chivalrous southerners finding they could not obtain it by intrigue or by purchase, hesitated not to obtain it by force, when they were invited to do so by their worthless countrymen, who had found an asylum there, under the sheltering wings of the Republic, on taking the oath of allegiance to the Government, and promising obedience to the laws.

It is supremely absurd for Mr. KENNEDY to affirm, that the Texians fought for the Constitution of 1824 against SANTA ANNA. That Constitution expressly forbade the introduction of slaves from any country whatever; and the decree which General Cos issued on the 20th March, 1836, when he entered Texas, had special reference to this point, and was intended to secure obedience to the laws, as the following extract from that document will prove:—"Whereas a great number of Colonists, in contravention of the laws and institutions of the Mexican Republic, which expressly forbids slavery and the slave-trade in all its possessions and territories—availing themselves of the state of bondage, ignorance, and almost destitution in which slaves are generally to be found in some of the States of the United States—found the means of importing by sea and by land, and keeping in slavery a great number of coloured people, thus entailing that disgraceful system upon our country:—

RESOLVED—The laws and institutions of the Mexican Republic on Slavery and the Slave-trade, shall, from this day, remain in full force in the whole Territory of Texas.

2. In compliance with the said laws, the persons of all coloured people, of both sexes, are from this moment, declared free. Coloured people who may present themselves to the Military Governors or Commanders, claiming the protection of the Mexican Laws, shall be protected, allowing them their freedom, as well as the faculty of settling in whatever section of the Republic they choose, providing them with the necessary passports.

But, it appears, that the Texians are now in a position to defend themselves from the attacks of the Mexicans, and to maintain

the independence they have achieved ; and that, so conscious are they of their strength, that they even threaten Mexico itself with invasion, if she presume much longer to refuse the acknowledgment of their independence ! This bravado is quite in the Anglo-Saxon-American style, but it can impose on no man acquainted with the inherent weakness of Texas, its scanty resources, and the discordant elements of which its population is composed. One vigorous and well-directed effort on the part of Mexico would crush the Republic of Texas, and reduce it to obedience.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of the population of Texas at the present time. In 1832-3 the population of Coahuila and Texas was said to be 84,672, but as it was known that a considerable number of Colonists were not included in the Census, it was supposed by those competent to form a judgment, to be about 97,000 in all, of whom 18,000 or 20,000 were foreigners, Texas is now separated from Coahuila, and the greater portion of its inhabitants are emigrants from the United States with their slaves. Leaving the slave population entirely out of the question, the number of whites, recognized as citizens entitled to all the privileges and immunities of freemen, cannot greatly exceed, if indeed it reach, 5000. The number of citizens entitled to vote for representatives in the Congress of 1836, was scarcely 3500. A considerable part of these were men of desperate fortunes, or persons who had been allured into Texas by the expectation of plunder. Unassisted by the supplies of men, and money, and the munitions of war, from Louisiana, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and other of the southern States, Texas could never have been formidable ; and I again repeat, in case of any properly organized attempt on the part of Mexico to recover the revolted province, the Texian republic, would cease to be, unaided by the citizens of the United States.

At the present moment, she has enough to do with the deeply injured Indian population within her borders, and is likely to have as much difficulty in expelling the tribes of which it is composed, from the land of their fathers, as the citizens of the United States have had, and still have, to subjugate the Seminoles in Florida. Last year, her legislature voted

600 troops for the detestable purpose of destroying the Indians, and the last packet from the United States brought the intelligence that she is still fiercely engaged with the Native Tribes. Mr. WILLIAM KENNEDY informs us, that in the year 1825, when “the citizens of the United States with their accustomed enterprize and daring, entered the country, “they found Texas was overrun with bands of wild Indians, some of them cannibals, and *the whole a terror to the Mexicans*; and that his brave Anglo-Saxon-Americans accomplished what Mexico acknowledged her inability to effect, they “subdued the country by the *rifle*, &c. In other words, they slaughtered the poor Indians wherever they found them, contrary to the laws they were bound to obey! The “savages”—“the Cannibals,” who were a terror to the Mexicans,” were thus protected by the very laws under which Texas was colonized. Act 27, “The Indians of all nations bordering upon the State, as well as the wandering tribes within it, shall be received in the markets without exacting from them any commercial duties upon their trade in articles of the country. And if thus drawn *by the gentleness and confidence with which they shall also be treated*, they shall, declaring themselves first in favour of our religion and institutions, establish themselves in any part of the settlements which shall be formed, they shall be *admitted and allowed the same terms as other settlers, treated of in this law*, distinguishing the natives as Mexicans, and the borderers as foreigners, without exacting from the first any number of cattle.” Instead of being drawn by “gentleness and confidence,” they were shot down by the *rifle*; and instead of being admitted to settle on “the same terms as others,” provision is now made by the Texian laws for their entire expulsion from the Country, and armaments are fitted out from year to year to carry their destruction or extirpation into effect! Can Mr. KENNEDY seriously justify this?

At present the Indians are a source of *great weakness*, as well as terror to the Texians, and will remain so, whilst they continue their wicked policy. Talk of “savages!” Every right principled mind will not fail to apply the term to the Texian buccaneers, rather than to the victims of their atrocious cruelty!

The correspondence of General HOUSTON with General DUNLAP, in 1836, and the revelations made in the Texian legislature last year, clearly prove that Texas is dependent upon the United States for its emigrants, for its slave population, and for its defence, in case Mexico should determine to recover it. Texas is, moreover, without capital: her resources were wasted in the late revolt, and one of the chief objects she has in view in urging upon the British Government the question of her recognition, is that she may be able to negotiate a loan with this country, to the extent it is said, of 2,000,000 to 5,000,000 dollars! Thus, if we consider that her military means are small—that her infamous conduct to the Indians has made them her enemies, and that already they keep her soldiers continually on the alert—that her labouring population is composed of slaves, who may, on the first favourable opportunity presented to them, take vengeance for the deep injuries and wrongs which they have suffered—and that she is without resources and in debt, I ask on what pretence it can be affirmed, that she is in a position to defend herself against Mexico, when that power shall determine to reduce her to obedience? At all events, I ask, whether the British Government, under these circumstances, would not compromise its dignity, and greatly lessen itself in the opinion of the people of England, of Mexico, and of the world, were it seriously to entertain the proposal of its recognition?

There is another point of immense importance to this country, in connexion with the separation of Texas from Mexico: I refer to its annexation to the United States. The slave-breeding States want Texas as a slave market, to which they can send their surplus population for sale. To give some idea of the traffic in slaves in the southern States, I quote a passage from the *New Orleans Courier*, February 16th, 1839. In speaking of the prohibition of the African slave-trade, while the inter State slave-trade is permitted, it says:—"The United States' law may, and probably does, put MILLIONS into the pockets of the people living between Roanoke and Mason and Dixon's line; still we think it would require some casuistry to show, that the present slave-trade from that quarter, is a

whit better than the one from Africa ;” and the *Virginia Times*, of 1836, has the following statement:—“ Intelligent men estimate the number of slaves exported from Virginia within the last twelve months, at 120,000—each slave averaging at least 600 dollars, making an aggregate of 72,000,000 dollars. Of the number of slaves exported, not more than one-third have been sold (the others have been carried away by their owners, who have removed into other States,) which would leave in the State the sum of 24,000,000 dollars, *arising from the sale of slaves.*” The *Natchez Courier*, (Mississippi,) says, “ That the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas, imported two hundred and fifty thousand slaves from the more northern States, in the year 1836.” These statements from southern papers will show of how great importance Texas is to the slave-breeders, and what a horrible impetus will be given to the slave traffic, if it be permitted to carry into effect its infamous designs.

The southern politicians have for years past regarded Texas as necessary to the salvation of the southern States and the security of their “ peculiar institutions,” and have openly advocated its acquisition and annexation to the union.—Texas will give them *nine* additional States, equal in extent to Kentucky, and will secure to them in perpetuity, their preponderance in the politics and Government of the republic. In 1837, the legislature of Mississippi passed the following among other resolutions:—“ *Resolved*, That the annexation of Texas to this Republic, is essential to the future safety and repose of the southern States of this confederacy.” Nor was Tennessee behind in the wish to acquire Texas. In her general assembly it was *resolved*, “ That we desire most anxiously that Texas be acquired by the United States,” &c. and Alabama was not a whit less desirous than her sister States to possess this fine province ; she *resolved* in her general assembly, “ That the overture on the part of the Republic of Texas, for annexation to the United States of America, ought to be met by the Federal Authorities in the most friendly manner,” &c. Arkansas, Georgia, the Carolinas, Kentucky, and indeed the whole of the slave States deeply sympathised with the Texians in

their revolt—having their eyes constantly directed to that splendid land, as the consummation of their brightest hopes. I know not that I can better display the feeling of the entire south on the question of annexation, than by quoting the following paragraph from the *Frankfort Commonwealth*, a leading paper in Kentucky, in the interest of MR. CLAY. It bears date May 2nd, 1838. “For ourselves we have never for a moment,” says the Editor, “doubted the policy which our Government should have pursued in relation to Texas. We have heretofore asserted, and we repeat it again, that *Texas should be made a component part of our country* AT ALL HAZARDS—*peaceably if she was willing, and FORCIBLY IF SHE WAS RELUCTANT.*” In addition, it may be mentioned, that the annexation of Texas to the United States had a warm and earnest supporter in General JACKSON, the late President of the United States, and his colleagues in office; and that when the question was formally propounded to the Government at Washington, by General HUNT, Mr. Secretary FORSYTH, after admitting the “powerful and weighty” reasons urged by Mr. HUNT for its annexation, put only a qualified negative on the proposition, so that it became a reserved question. The ground upon which the overture of Texas was not then accepted, was, that its premature annexation to the United States would be equivalent to a declaration of war against Mexico.

And now let us ascertain the sentiments of the Texians themselves, on this important point. In the celebrated letter which General HOUSTON wrote to General DUNLAP, of Tennessee, calling for military aid, he said, “There is but *one feeling in Texas*, in my opinion, and that is, *to establish the independence of Texas*, AND TO BE ATTACHED TO THE UNITED STATES. In August, 1836, the election of officers to carry on the Texian Government was held. S. F. AUSTIN was one of the candidates for the Presidency. In a letter addressed to the Texian constituency, dated 4th August, 1836, he says—“I perceive by the proclamation of the President, (BURNET) ordering the election, that the people are, requested to say whether they are in favour or not of annexing

Texas to the United States. On this point, I shall feel myself bound, if elected, to obey the will of the people. As a citizen, however, I am free to say, that *I am in favour of annexation, and will do all in my power to effect it with the least possible delay.*" Mr. H. JACK, who for a time officiated as Secretary of State, and was then proposed as a candidate for the legislature, in a letter dated 5th August, said,—“ I am decidedly and anxiously in favour of annexing Texas to the United States—I consider it the ‘*rock of our salvation,*’ and a consummation of happiness most devoutly to be wished for.”

The question of annexation was then submitted to the people and decided by a vote of 3279 to 91 in its favour. Accordingly, we find President HOUSTON, who had been just elected to office, holding the following language in his inaugural address:—“ A circumstance of the highest import will claim the attention of the Court of Washington. In the election which has just transpired, the important subject of annexation to the United States of America was submitted to the consideration of the people. They have expressed their feelings and their wishes on that momentous subject. *They have, with a unanimity unparalleled, declared that they will be reunited to the great republican family of the north.* “The appeal is made,” he continued, “ to a willing people. Will our friends disregard it? They have already bestowed upon us their warmest sympathies. Their manly and generous feelings have been enlisted in our behalf. We have been cheered by the hope that they will receive us to a participancy of their civil, political, and religious rights, and hail us welcome into the great family of freemen. Our misfortunes have been their misfortunes; our sorrows, too, have been theirs, and their joy at our success has been irrepressible.”

On the 4th of August 1837, General HUNT, in conformity with his instructions from the Texian Government, addressed a letter to the Secretary of the United States’ Government, proposing the annexation of Texas to that Republic; and on the 25th of the same month received its reply which, like most other State documents, might be read any way. The Texian Legislature

in its session in 1838, declined to withdraw the proposition for annexation, which fact, Mr. KENNEDY grossly perverts. The resolution submitted to the Legislature was as follows: viz. — “Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Texas, in Congress assembled, That the President be, and is hereby instructed, to cause the proposition heretofore made by the Government to the Government of the United States for the annexation, to be respectfully and unconditionally withdrawn,” &c. This resolution was negatived, and the President had, therefore, no power to withdraw it. But it appears that General LAMAR undertook on his own responsibility to withdraw the proposition for annexation, and has been sustained by the Legislature in its session this year, but in this matter both he and the Legislature have acted unconstitutionally, for the powers which he has assumed were not delegated to him under the constitution; and with the evidence before me, I am satisfied the Texians as a body are in favour of annexation. For the *motives* which have governed the “high-minded” LAMAR in this proceeding, I quote a passage from a speech delivered by him at a dinner *given in his honour* at Mobile, in the latter part of 1837, on that occasion, he said:—“Rather than have his own free, noble, generous, beloved Texas joined to this union, with the turbulent and incendiary fanatics, the infuriated abolitionists with Mr. ADAMS at the head, he would pray that it might, by some sudden convulsion of nature, by some mighty earthquake, be cast out upon the ocean, a lone island, and rather than be joined himself in a union with such fanatical enemies of the *liberty, freedom and RIGHTS OF THE SOUTH*, he would prefer to be chained like Prometheus, to a rock, to be devoured by vultures, or like Mazeppa, bound to a wild horse to be dashed down precipices until life should be extinct. *Get rid of these fanatics*, gentlemen, said he, *and Texas is yours, with all my heart.*”

The withdrawal of the proposition to annex Texas to the United States, is a mere *ruse*. Texas wants its recognition by this country, TO RAISE MONEY; and her leading men, with the Southern Politicians, are playing a deep game at the present moment, for the

purpose of blinding the eyes of the abolitionists of the northern States, and of the Government of this country, to secure their object. But the friends of human happiness and liberty are on the alert, and I trust, will be enabled to frustrate their designs. I again affirm that Texas is doomed to become an integral part of the United States by cession, or failing that, that the southern States will annex themselves to Texas; and if the Government does not wish to compromise British interests in the Gulph of Mexico, it must pause before it elevates Texas to the dignity of an independent State.

On this point, let the Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS be again heard. In a public letter addressed to his constituents, which appeared in the Boston papers in June last, that distinguished individual says:—"The policy of the South, with regard to the affairs of the Union, is exclusively devoted to that object"—the maintenance of their peculiar institution, slavery. "That was the impulse under which they effected the dismemberment of Mexico, and the establishment of the Republic of Texas. A part of that plan, as you know, was to annex to this Union the New Republic, with an additional belt of five degrees of latitude across Continent to the South Sea. Had that plan been consummated, a territory sufficient for the foundation of ten States with the new brand of irrevocable slavery upon their brows, would have been brought to sit like an incubus upon the nation, and nothing less than the unextinguishable energies of freedom could have saved you from the re-instated curse of slavery upon yourselves. It may serve as a consolation and encouragement to you, under the contemptuous treatment of your petitions, that, slighted as they were, they averted *for a time* that impending ruin. I say *FOR A TIME*; for you will do well not to trust that *ostensible withdrawal* by the Republic of Texas of her solicitation for the annexation of herself to this Union. The fraud and duplicity with which the whole project was conducted, from the first mission of Mr. ANTHONY BUTLER to Mexico, and the confidential letters of the late President (JACKSON) to the Secretaries of Arkansas and Florida, down to the last session of Congress, when all your petitions

against this meretricious amalgamation were laid *unheard and unread*, upon the table, *are still at work, and with exertions as active as ever*. At the late Congress *the whole South, and the Administration part of the North, combined to suppress all debate—and all discussion upon the subject of Texas*; but if the projected annexation had been honestly and fairly abandoned, there could have been no possible motive for refusing to hear, to consider, and to answer, the petitions against it." These are the words of a sagacious and observant politician, and they contain a warning which no wise man in this country will disregard.

There are but two points more in the letter of Mr. WILLIAM KENNEDY which require attention: the first is, the extent to which the African slave-trade has been carried on in Texas, under its present Government; and the second, has reference to the reputed character of his Texian heroes and statesmen.

Mr. KENNEDY utterly denies that African slaves, *via Cuba*, have been introduced into Texas, under its present Government, and defies me to prove the fact. My lamented friend, the late BENJAMIN LUNDY, in his comments on the perfidy and hypocrisy of the Texians in the matter under consideration, and which I have now before me, says:—"Even while the Texian Convention was in session, (drafting its constitution, &c.) a slave-trader boldly landed a cargo of slaves in Texas from Africa, *via Cuba*, and nothing was done to punish the "pirate," although it was publicly known that he was for a length of time in the country, making sale of his slaves, not far distant from where the convention met. A short time after, another similar cargo was introduced, and disposed of with like impunity.

In a communication made from the Havanna to the British Government in the early part of 1836, I find the following reference to this subject:—"In the spring of last year, an American agent from Texas purchased in the Havanna 250 newly imported Africans, at 270 dollars a-head, and carried them away with him to that district in Mexico—*having first procured from the American Consul here, certificates of their freedom*." It is added, "Within the last six weeks, considerable sums of money have been

deposited by the American citizens in certain mercantile houses here, for the purpose of making additional purchases of bozal negroes for Texas. * * * * “a great impulse is thus given to this illicit traffic of the *Havanna*.” An article appeared in the *Albany Argus*, in July, 1837, which contained the following statement:—“The fate of HENRY BARTOW, (a swindler,) late of the Commercial Bank of this city, has at length been definitely ascertained. The agent sent out by the Bank has returned, and states that BARTOW died at Marianna, near Columbus, in Texas in June last, of the fever of the country. He had purchased a farm on the Brassos, and in company with a native of the country, had commenced an extensive plantation, and sent 10,000 dollars to Cuba for the purchase of slaves?” In the *New Orleans Bulletin*, December 10th, 1836, there is the following reference to the same subject:—“We are informed from high authority, that the Texian Government intends entering a formal complaint before the cabinet of Washington, against the practice pursued by American citizens, of introducing into their territory, in vessels belonging to the United States, negroes coming from other quarters than this Union; and further, that their minister at Washington will be instructed to ask our Government, that a vessel may be ordered to cruise along their coast, to prevent the introduction of such unlawful slaves; and, also, that a small force be stationed at the mouth of the Sabine, to guard against their being landed on the coast of the United States, and immediately transferred to the Texian territory. Adjacent to the mouth of the Sabine are numerous inlets and coves, where small vessels may easily be concealed, and from these points, at present, very remote from settlements or garrisons, it is easy, without the fear of detection, to transport slaves across the Sabine, and thereby escape the laws of both countries.”

To what extent African slaves have been introduced into Texas, since the Government, as it is called, has been formed, it is impossible to say, but when we consider the facilities which its creeks and coves, its rivers and inlets, afford for carrying on the nefarious traffic; the inability of the Government to prevent it;

and the fact, that prime negroes can be had for 300 to 500 dollars, *via* Cuba, which would cost 600 to 1000 dollars, imported from the United States, we may feel confident that a large number is annually introduced; and that the law which declares it to be piracy, is scarcely better than waste paper. I have a communication from Dr. M. THOMPSON, of H. M. S. Sappho, before me, dated 14th August, 1838, in which he states, that “slaves are still imported into Texas from Cuba, and the African coast;” and adds, that the captain of one of the slavers, which had been recently captured by that vessel, had assured him that his next vessel would be taken to Texas. Wherever there is a market for slaves, there slaves will be taken in defiance of all laws, especially when the law makers, and the law administrators, as in the case of the Texians, are slave-holders.

On the other point, on which the Texian advocates feel so sore—the reputed character of their worthies—I would observe, that vituperation and abuse, I abhor and repudiate as much as my censors. There are, however, some men who may be properly designated by their crimes, and in my opinion, the Texians are of that number. It is no offence against truth or charity, in my judgment, to call a slave-holder, a man-thief, though the term may appear harsh to those who know nothing of the degradation and horrors of slavery, and the violation of every righteous and holy principle which it involves. I certainly do not feel condemned by the terms I have applied to the leaders of the Texian revolt, and to the infamous principles on which they have founded their Government.

The *Boston Atlas* of April 16th, 1837, a paper opposed to the Abolitionists, asks:—“Who are the LEADERS in this heroic struggle?” And the reply is, “General HOUSTON, once Governor of Tennessee, but since that, a Chief of the Cherokees, a miserable vagabond and brawler, lately enacting Lynch’s Law at Washington, now the apostle of Texian freedom. ROBERT POTTER, once a member of Congress, but infamous throughout the Union, for his bloody brutality and universal scoundrelism—lately the tenant of the State prison; expelled with scorn and contempt from the Legisla-

ture of North Carolina ; now "a great character" in Texas. "Add to these," the Editor goes on to say, "all the murderers, swindlers, and horse-thieves, who have fled from the southern States for the last ten years, and the list of Texian heroes will be complete!"

IRA INGRAM, late speaker of the Texian House of Representatives, was "in 1812 or 1813, a school teacher, in the village of Utica, where he committed a forgery, for which he was sentenced to imprisonment in the State of New York." "CHARLES E. HAWKINS, late Commodore of the Texian Navy, was the same individual who, some eight or ten years ago, committed a most savage, cold-blooded, and deliberate murder, in Key, West Florida, upon W. A. McREA, Esq., the talented, high-minded, and honourable attorney, of the United States district." R. P. ROBINSON, "the undoubted murderer of HELEN JEWETT, is an officer in the Texian army." BAKER "was once at the head of the State rights party in Alabama. While a member of the Legislature, he committed forgery, was thrown into prison, broke jail, fled to Texas, and was a leading politician in the Republic." The gentlemen who led the Kentucky Volunteers into Texas, in 1836, on their return published a long account of their expedition, and in it, they say :—"That the mass of the people, from the highest functionary of their pretended Government to the humblest citizen, with but few exceptions, are animated alone by a desire of *plunder*, and appear totally indifferent whom they plunder, friends or foes." They further state :—"We could but sicken and wonder at the vile deceptions which had been practised upon us ; yet, we are told that this people have risen up in their might, to vindicate the cause of civil and religious liberty. It is a mockery of the very name of liberty. They are stimulated by *that motive*, which such men can only appreciate, *the hope of plunder*;" and they add, by way of caution to their countrymen :—"We say listen not to the deceitful and hypocritical allurements of LAND SPECULATORS, *who wish you to fight for their benefit, and who are as liberal of their promises, as they are faithless in performance.*" And what do these Texian worthies say of each other? HENRY SMITH, the first

Governor, before the adoption of the existing Constitution, sent a message to his Council, in which he himself denounced them as *a set* of vagabonds and fugitives from justice. HOUSTON himself has repeatedly and publicly spoken of BURNET and his cabinet, as a set of corrupt and greedy rogues, not fitted to be trusted; and LAMAR has written and published letters, in which he more than hints that HOUSTON suffered himself to be bribed. These be your “gentlemen of religious habits” and “fair average domestic characters!” But supposing they were not the “cut-throats, desperadoes, outlaws, and criminals” which the *Arkansas Advocate* asserts them to be; and were adorned with all the virtues and graces which the Anglo-Texian advocates say they possess, would it not be sufficient to condemn them to the execration of all good men that they have deliberately re-established slavery and the slave-trade in Texas, and provided for the permanency of these institutions; and that they have further provided by law, for the expatriation of all free persons of colour from the soil, and for the destruction or expulsion of the native Indians?

I may be “pre-eminently ignorant” in the opinion of Mr. WILLIAM KENNEDY, and a mere “sentimental abolitionist” in the judgment of the Editor of the *Colonial Gazette*, but I rejoice that I can say, that I have never uttered a syllable, or written a sentence in defence of tyrants, or which could tend to the degradation and affliction of my fellow-man; and my earnest prayer is, that the British Government will have virtue enough to refuse the overtures of the Texian envoys, and treat with the disdain they merit the insidious counsels of their advocates.

I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

JOHN SCOBLE.

London, November 18th.

P.S.—I should like to have inserted here, as an appropriate close to these Letters, the whole of an exceedingly important document, presented to the United States’ Government by the Mexican Minister, immediately on its having become officially known, that it had recognized the

Independence of Texas. I must, however, content myself with a single extract from it, viz. :—

“The Mexican Government deems that of the United States too just, to suppose that ignoble views, and purposes of aggrandizement, can have induced it to take the premature step alluded to: but as it is an unquestionable fact, that this step has been taken, since it has been announced in an Official Journal of the United States, the undersigned has received an express order from H. E., the President, *ad interim*, of the Mexican Republic, to protest, as he does in effect protest, in the most solemn manner, before all civilized nations, against the acknowledgment of the Independence of the Pretended Republic of Texas, made by the United States of America, declaring that this acknowledgment, cannot in any way whatever, neither now, nor at any future time, weaken, diminish, or invalidate, in the least degree, the rights of the Mexican Republic, to the Territory of Texas, as well as those which it unquestionably has to employ, all the means that are or may be, in her power to recover it.”

In the following caution to Emigrants, I most cordially concur.

CAUTION TO EMIGRANTS.

“All persons inclined to Emigrate to TEXAS, are earnestly recommended, well and seriously to consider, the provisions of the Texian law in relation to Emigrants.

The grants of land to Emigrants, are only made on condition of permanent residence,—the performance of all duties required of other Citizens, for the term of three years, *to the satisfaction of those in power!!*—they must be ready to bear arms against the Parent State of MEXICO and the Native Indians, for the purpose of subjugation and expulsion, and to sustain the twin abominations of SLAVERY and the SLAVE-TRADE, which the Mexican Empire to its great honour, had totally and for ever abolished. Will any Englishman, Irishman, or Scotchman, subject himself and his family to degrading contact with the atrocious system of Slavery; Will he take arms in its support, and to sustain the domination of men, alike destitute of conscience, and of honour? Can any man, voluntarily placing himself in such circumstances, expect the blessing of God on his undertaking?

(On behalf of the Committee.)

J. H. TREDGOLD,
Secretary.

*Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
27, New Broad Street.*

THE END.

