

## ART. II.—NEGRO SLAVERY AT THE SOUTH.

EARLY HISTORY OF NEGRO SLAVERY; SLAVERY IN THE STATES; THE BIBLE QUESTION OF SLAVERY; PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEGRO; SAFETY OF THE SLAVE INSTITUTION; FIDELITY OF NEGRO SLAVES; SLAVERY COMPARED WITH ENGLISH POOR LABOR; MISERY OF BRITISH OPERATIVES, ETC.

[The following original paper we shall publish in two equal parts in the pages of our Review. Coming from the pen of a northern man, born and educated amid influences in the highest degree obnoxious to our institutions and policy, it has a peculiar value. The author has read almost every thing published upon the subject, and availed himself of the light afforded in one general acknowledgment. He has also traveled extensively at the South, on an agricultural tour, and proved himself in most respects an accurate observer and faithful witness. In a periodical like ours, it is important to give full and particular information in regard to the institution of slavery, so important, as it is, in the destinies of nearly half the States of the Union. When the present paper is concluded, we shall republish the admirable letters of Gov. Hammond, of South Carolina, to Thomas Clarkson, which are nearly out of print, and which are worthy of perpetual preservation.—Ed.]

I would premise, that my object is neither to advocate slavery or its abolition; but rather to give a plain narration of facts, from which every one may draw his own conclusions.

First, then, let me give a short historical view of the origin of what a majority of the citizens of the United States, as well where slavery exists as where it does not, regard a great evil.

Perhaps every one is aware that negro slavery commenced in this country while we were but a colony of Great Britain, and at a time when few, if any, thought it was such a heinous sin as it is now denounced in some quarters, or that it would ever reach its present magnitude. Could the wise fathers who framed our national constitution, have had a prospective vision of the present, it is probable they would have inserted some provision to prevent its extension.\* But so little did

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\* The first slaves introduced, were twenty in number, from a Dutch man-of-war from the coast of Guinea. They were landed for sale in the colony of Virginia, on James River, in August, 1620, 225 years ago. Negroes constituted an article of traffic, more or less, in all the colonies. At the time of the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, the whole number was estimated at 500,000, viz :

In Massachusetts, .....	3,500
Rhode Island, .....	4,373
Connecticut, .....	6,000
New Hampshire, .....	620
New York, .....	15,000
New Jersey, .....	7,600
Pennsylvania, .....	10,000
Delaware, .....	9,000
Maryland, .....	80,000
Virginia, .....	165,000
N. Carolina, .....	75,000
S. Carolina, .....	110,000
Georgia, .....	16,000
Total in 1776 .....	502,132

Since then slavery has been abolished in the first seven States above named.

they then fear, that the importation of slaves was permitted until the year 1808, about the time it was also prohibited by Great Britain. Although the citizens of that government are now harsh against us for permitting the existence of slavery in our republic, it ought to be borne in mind, that it was Britain who fixed the institution so indelibly upon us. She began the traffic in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, though slavery had undoubtedly existed in some form from the earliest history of that nation. In fact, it has existed from the earliest periods of history, and I have no doubt will continue to exist to its latest period. Notwithstanding the importation of negroes is prohibited by nearly all the civilized nations of the earth, it is still carried on in a contraband manner, to an enormous extent. It is estimated that 40,000 slaves annually leave the coast of Africa. It is not likely that many of them ever reach the United States. Cuba, Porto Rico and Brazil, being the great slave emporiums of the present day; but we undoubtedly feel the effects of the trade, for were it not for that source of supply, these countries would draw the surplus from ours, in spite of all laws that might be enacted to prevent it.

For my own part, I have no doubt that while the negro continues to exist, he will continue to be enslaved by the white man, as it has been for almost unknown ages; for it is a fact, that long before the time when European ships first visited the coast of Africa, the negroes had been carried away, by the Arabian caravans, to serve the pale faces of the North. Would it not be well to inquire why the negro race has always been subjected to the condition of slaves by the whites?

And to avoid the charge of plagiarism, let me here state that I shall quote many items from various authors who have treated upon this subject, and give them as authority, once for all.

“It has long been a favorite theory of many philosophers, that the negro races are naturally inferior in point of intellect, and do not possess the same capacity for improvement as the Europeans, or people of Caucasian variety. This supposition, however, has been vehemently denied, and it has been contended, over and over again, that the peculiar circumstances under which they have been placed sufficiently account for the condition of the Africans—for their want of a literature, and their degraded and low scale of civilization, and brutal and savage existence.

“That great weight should be attached to these circumstances, I am willing to admit, but wholly deny they have produced the existing state of things. It is a well known historical fact, that ancient Egypt was, at one period, the principal seat of science, literature, arts and civilization, and that the various nations or tribes of the African race were in close contact, and had a pretty extensive intercourse, not only with the Egyptians, but also with the Phœnicians, and afterward with the Romans. What did they profit by this association? Literally, nothing. For while the then almost equally barbarous people of Greece, Asia Minor and Magna Græcia, raised themselves, in a comparatively brief period, to the highest civilization and refinement, the negro race of Africa continues, with-

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The census of 1790 exhibited 697,897 slaves, and 59,460 free persons of color.

In 1800, slaves .....	893,041
1810, “ .....	1,191,364
1820, “ .....	1,538,064
1830, “ .....	2,009,031
1840, “ .....	2,487,455

The importation of slaves has been prohibited since 1808; consequently, the addition ascertained every census, is from natural increase.

but one single solitary exception, down even to the present day, immersed in the greatest barbarism.

“It is not possible that, during the space of 3 or 4,000 years, opportunities have not been afforded some of them to make some slight advances in the scale of human improvement. Is there any proof that they have had the sagacity that is inherent in the Caucasian family, to profit by contact with more favored nations?”

“It appears to me a fact, that Africa has not produced a single name worthy to rank with the heroes and sages of the world.

“Although wrapt in the darkest superstition and worship of idols, we look in vain for the honors and public gratitude which other rude, though improving, nations are wont to bestow upon departed heroes, legislators, and authors of important discoveries in the arts.”

Because a few of the negroes among us do occasionally exhibit bright intellectual qualities, many good philanthropists have been led to believe that the whole race might be elevated to the same standard, and have come blindly to the opinion that the first great necessary step to bring about this wonderful result, will be to declare them FREE, and insist that they are EQUAL to the white race.

Are these good but erring men aware, that there is almost as much difference between the different tribes of the negro race as there is between the blacks and whites?

For instance, the Jolofs seem to be almost a distinct race of negroes, and have been a comparatively civilized people from the era of their first discovery by the Portuguese.

“Those of Guber and Hausa, where a considerable degree of civilization has long existed, are, perhaps, the finest race of genuine negroes in Africa, unless the Jolofs are such, and should be excepted.”

By slaveholders, the Coromantees are esteemed the most intelligent and most capable of being taught; making trusty and good drivers to urge on those of a more sluggish nature; but very impatient and turbulent at being driven themselves. These negroes are of a dingy copper color; their lips and high cheek bones, like the North American Indians. Some of them will lay down and die, rather than yield to be driven to work by the whip. In their native land they are never kept as slaves, on account of their sulkiness.

The next in the scale of value, or perhaps they are equal, are the Congos. They are tall, straight, bright copper-colored, smooth skin, small round hands, and make good imitating mechanics; in that respect, like the Chinese. They are from the south coast of West Africa, between south latitude 4° and 15°; a district of country that contains the kingdoms of Loango, Congo, Angola, Matamba, and Buengula, which was discovered by the Portuguese, in 1481, ever since which they have made slaves and converts of the inhabitants, the greater portion of whom, notwithstanding their contact with the numerous Portuguese settlements in their country, and the strenuous efforts of the missionaries for more than three centuries, still remain sunk in the grossest barbarism and idolatry, going almost naked, living like beasts, and worshiping, if worship it can be called, the sun, moon, stars and hideous beasts and reptiles. Much of the country, back from the coast, is desert and inhabited by elephants, leopards, monkeys, monstrous serpents, and terrible crocodiles.

This country is sometimes called Lower Guinea, and was formerly a great slave mart for Christians engaged in the traffic, and is the coast

from which the great trade of the present day is still carried on—*sometimes* by citizens of the United States.

It is from this country that abominable, noisy domestic fowl, known as the Guinea hen, was brought. It is a country so infested with venomous serpents, some of which are more than thirty feet in length, and reptiles, and insects, that it is unfit for the residence of human beings. The negroes from that coast, when brought here and left in a state of slavery, are not found sighing to return to their own native land.

We are sometimes wont to complain of the little ant in this country, while in Guinea they exist in such quantities that they drive the inhabitants from their huts, and have been known to destroy the carcass of an ox in one night, and often would destroy the debilitated sick, if not guarded against.

The Eboes and Mongullas are jet black, medium height, chuckle-headed, thick lips, hearty eaters, inclined to grow fat, seldom possessing any mechanical skill, though generally tractable and patient, lazy slaves, needing to be driven to work, and, unlike the Coromantees, only to be kept at it by driving. They are capable of great endurance under a burning sun.

The Ashantees, who inhabit an interior portion of the north of Africa, have ever been the most powerful and warlike tribe of negroes on that continent. They have frequently defied the scientific and destructive means of European warfare, and during the prevalence of the uncontrolled slave trade, were the principal instruments to supply the hordes of slaves that were shipped from the upper Guinea coast. It was through the agency of this tribe that Spain derived her supplies to fill the celebrated Assiento Contracts she made with Portugal, France and England, to supply their American colonies with negro slaves.

But notwithstanding their power and warlike disposition, many of them suffered the same fate they were so anxious to inflict upon their weaker neighbors—their Christian allies never hesitating to purchase whatever was offered with a black skin, without inquiring whether he was friend or foe.

The Ashantees, Foutis, Sulemas and Dahomans, are similar in leading characteristics as slaves to the Eboes and Mongullas.

There are also some tribes of African negroes that are so low in the scale of civilization, that they are rejected as worthless, even by the West India planter, where they are not even required to learn the art of any thing more scientific than digging up the ground with a hoe, to prepare it for the crop of sugar-cane; for thus thousands of acres are prepared where the use of a plow is unknown.

These beings—I can hardly call them human—in their native country, live in the wild jungles, without fire, without clothing of any kind and without habitations, and upon such food as nature provides for them without labor. They are about four feet high, the head strongly resembling in shape that of the ourang-outang, and having a profusion of hair on the body and limbs.

I was lately told by an intelligent gentleman, that he knew three of them on one plantation in the West Indies, who never could be learned to perform any labor, and their whole employment was catching rats; which they did in their own way; and the strongest incitement to

which was the fact that they were allowed the privilege of living most luxuriantly upon all they caught—actually rejecting their regular allowance of good bread and meat for the more palatable dish of roasted rats. So much for taste.

Another instance was related to me by a very kind hearted friend of mine, now residing in Illinois, of an attempt which he made some years ago in Florida, to tame one of these wild negroes, by treating and feeding him with great care and kindness, but before he had fairly accomplished the task, his ward escaped his care and was not seen again for several weeks, when he was found naked as in his native wilds, basking in the broiling sun upon the burning sandy beach, where he had been holding a feast upon the stinking carcass of a porpoise that had drifted up in a storm. So much again for taste.

Can such beings be civilized—christianized—rationalized? Is it sinning against the light of knowledge and truth that illuminates the nineteenth century, to compel such beings to be clothed, and fed, and instructed, and to perform useful labor, in civilized society?

I hope I shall not be accused by any of my abolition friends, many of whom I much esteem—although I must think that their minds are a little morbid upon this subject—as being an advocate of slavery. I am only stating facts and asking questions. Let those answer them who can—I do not intend to try.

I have often been asked whether I believed that all the varieties of the human family, known to exist at this time, sprung from one source. That is another question I do not intend to answer. Let all think for themselves—and whatever conclusion they may come to on this point, it cannot in anywise affect the question as to the comparative intelligence of the white and black races of earth's inhabitants.

“The same circumstances that are supposed by those who contend for the original identity of the races to have so greatly affected their appearance and physical capacities, could hardly fail to have an equally powerful influence over their mental faculties.

“This, in fact, is substantially admitted by Dr. Pritchard, who has ably contended for their common origin and equality of intellectual faculties.

“He says: ‘The tribes in whose prevalent conformation the negro type is discernible in an exaggerated degree, are uniformly in the lowest stage of human society. They are either ferocious savages, or stupid, sensual and indolent. Such are the Papals, Bulloms, and other rude hordes on the coast of Western Guinea, and many tribes near the slave coast and Bight of Benin—countries where the slave trade has been carried on to the greatest extent, and has exercised its usual baneful influence.’”

And he might have added that the same characteristics were to be found among tribes living far in the interior of the continent, who never had felt the effects of that baleful influence.

He also says, that wherever we hear of a negro state, the inhabitants of which have attained any considerable degree of improvement in their social condition, we always find that their physical characters deviate considerably from the strongly marked or exaggerated type of the negro.

This is the very point for which I contend, and the facts here exhibited, go far to prove a gradually ascending scale, from a race but one remove above the ourang-outang, up to the highest grade of Caucasian intellect; and that the distinguishing features of the negro race in a strongly marked degree, are uniformly associated with the lowest state

of barbarism; and that, as they advance from this strongly marked type, we find a greater degree of civilization and improvement.

The inevitable conclusion is, that every variety of the negro type, which comprises the inhabitants of almost all central Africa, is indicative of mental inferiority; and that ferocity and stupidity are the characteristics of those tribes in which the peculiar negro features are found most developed.

Now if this is a correct statement, what more could be said to show most conclusively, the radical inferiority of the great bulk of the African people.

But let us not form our opinion on their configuration and appearance alone, but on the fact, that while numberless European and Asiatic nations have attained to a high state of civilization, they continue, with few exceptions, in nearly a primeval barbarism.

It is in vain to contend that this is the result of the unfavorable circumstances under which they have been placed. The history of our own country—yea, the history of almost every town that has been built, and every farm that has been opened in the western wilderness—proves that a people naturally endowed with intelligence and an enterprising spirit, contend against unfavorable circumstance, until they actually create more favorable ones for themselves.

But the Africans have never shown to the world that they possessed any considerable degree of enterprise or invention, or any wish to distinguish themselves in the arts and sciences of peace or war.

From the remotest antiquity to the present day, a portion of their race have been hewers of wood and drawers of water for others, and whether under the name of slave, servant, or hireling, they will so continue, so long as the distinguishing color between the two races shall exist; for, in all this time, they have made so little progress toward the art of being their own masters in a civilized state, that the only legitimate inference is, they are *incapable* of making it—that, as a body, they are incapable of living in a civilized state, only in the condition of servitude to their more highly intellectually-favored fellow men.

And now let us inquire if there is not some natural, physical reason, by which to account for this fact.

Let me inquire of those who read and believe in the Bible, if they cannot find a reason why the descendants of Ham are servants to the descendants of Shem and Japheth, recorded in the 25th, 26th and 27th verses of the ninth chapter of Genesis.

“But if any one should wish to know why the African can expose his naked skin to a tropical sun without suffering pain or inconvenience; why, after a fever leaves him, rejecting soups, teas, and light diet, he eats through choice, and with impunity, a full meal of fat pork and corn bread, and then voluntarily sits in the sun a few hours, as if to promote its digestion, and the next day goes cheerfully to his labor; why he has no revenge for being subjected to the indignity of corporeal chastisement; why he feels a perfect contempt for those persons of the white race, who put themselves on terms of equality and familiarity with him; why he loves those who exercise a firm and discreet authority over him; why he is turbulent, refractory and discontented, under every other government than that which concentrates all the at-

tributes of power in a single individual; and why, when freed from the restraints of arbitrary power, he becomes indolent, vicious and intemperate, and relapses into barbarism—he may find the cause of all these, and many more peculiarities of his character, by closely searching into the anatomy and physiology of his brain, nerves and vital organs. For the knife of the scientific anatomist in his deep research after this cause, has demonstrated that the brain proper, is smaller in them than in other races of men, and that the convolutions seen on the hemisphere of the brain, are less close, less deep and numerous: that the occipital foramen, the medulla oblongata and spinal marrow, and the nerves of organic life are much larger—particularly those connected with digestion and secretion. And all observation proves, that the pleasures of these people are not so much those of reflection, as of sense. The difference in organization is so great, that it has led many wise men to believe that the Ethiopian race was a distinct species of mankind. Others as firmly believe that the anatomical and physiological peculiarities discovered and known to exist in this race of human beings, will be found to be an exact duplicate of that portion of Scripture which foretells the doom of Canaan to servitude.

All history and science go to prove, that the negro is the slave of his appetites and sensual propensities, and must of necessity be so from his anatomical structure. The nerves of the spinal marrow, and the abdominal viscera, being more voluminous than in other races, and the brain being ten per cent. less in volume and weight, he is from necessity, more under the influence of his instincts, appetites, and animality, than other races of men, and has less power of reflective faculties.

The deficiency of intellect is not so great as is the want of a balance between his animality and intellectuality. It is the predominating animality that chains his mind to the worst of slavery—slavery to himself and his appetites—and makes him savage in his habits when left to himself. His mind being thus depressed by the peculiar formation of the nerves of organic life, nothing but arbitrary power can restrain the excesses of his animal nature: *for he has not the power within himself.*

It is undeniably true, that nothing but the compulsory power of a master, has ever made him lead a life of industry, temperance and order: and it is my firm belief, that nothing else has or ever will convert the savage negro into a civilized being.

Withdraw that power, and the present race of peaceful, happy and contented slaves of the United States, would relapse into barbarism. All history shows, that, in a state of freedom from the control of the white man, he is not a free agent to choose the good from the evil; but under the control of that government, which, if God ever ordained one single thing in the Old Testament, he ordained for the good of the Canaanite race; the excesses of his animality are kept in restraint, and he is compelled to lead an industrious, sober life, and certainly a more happy one than he would if he was left to the free indulgences of his indolent, savage nature.

I am not maintaining that it is not, but on the contrary will offer evidence by and by to show that slavery is, an *evil*, as it exists at present in the U. S., but the evil falls upon Japheth and not upon Ham—the latter is fulfilling a decree of the Bible; while the former is punished for his sins, while carrying out that very decree.

Permit me here to inquire whether the arts of the abolitionists of the present day, are not tending to make more infidels than all the infidel publications of all the Voltaires, Paynes, Wrights and Owens, that have ever been printed. For they are generally professing Christians, whose every act should tend toward convincing all who are not so, that they believe in the words of that book which they profess to believe. Now, I have often heard the argument made use of by those who are opposed to abolition, though not advocates of slavery, that if, as abolitionists are wont to assert, "slavery is a most damning sin," then is the Bible false: for, as they contend, and as I am bound to believe myself, slavery was in Old Testament times, an institution of God's own ordering—that human beings were bought and sold and held in bondage. Even old Abraham had servants, and Joshua made hewers of wood and drawers of water of the conquered tribes of Canaan. And Noah declared, as by inspiration, that the descendants of Ham should be the servants of the descendants of his brothers. Is it for man to say he shall not?

And if it should be denied that the African race are the descendants of Ham, then again will it be said that the truth of the Bible is denied.

The word Canaan is derived from a Hebrew verb, that truly and literally means, *to submit himself, to bend the knee*—which is indicative of his natural qualifications for the duties assigned him, to be a "servant of servants," as it was ordained that he should be, 4,000 years ago. And by a peculiar organization of both body and mind, his condition of servitude is a condition of contentment and happiness, even while enduring a degree of labor under the burning sun of a southern clime, that would annihilate his white brethren.

It is a fact that the negro is provided with an additional anatomical contrivance in the eye, that enables him to endure the rays of a bright sun, without a shade, with impunity.

Is not this an evidence of the goodness of God toward a race whom he has doomed to slavery, so that if they should fall into the hands of cruel masters, who would neglect to provide them with what we consider indispensable, a covering for the head, the light of the sun should not dazzle their eyes, or the intensity of its rays blister their skin. Knowing this fact in regard to the formation of the eye, we shall no longer feel surprised to see the slaves in the sunny south, as I have often seen them, throw off their hats as an irksome incumbrance, and voluntarily expose their naked heads to the burning sun without suffering any inconvenience.

The women often wear a turban, more for ornament than use, which they prefer to a hat that would shade the eye. And I have often seen them traveling in the bright sun on the road to church, with a gay bonnet *carried in the hand*.

Many other instances of the peculiar organization and functions of the Canaanite race, adapting it to the condition of slavery, and guarding it against the evils of the system, or the inattentions of a cruel or careless master, might be adduced; but enough has been shown to prove that their great Master has kindly provided for those whom he has decreed shall be "servants of servants," and "hewers of wood and drawers of water"; so that under all contingencies, as a race of people, they are far more comfortable and happy, and enjoy a condition far more enviable,



than that of nine-tenths of the laboring peasantry of Europe. If, in freedom, the descendants of Canaan could do better; live happier; become more religious; and rise higher in the scale of civilization, than under subjection to the whites; would that decree, dooming them to become the "servants of servants," ever have been found in the revelations of the Bible?

And even those who unfortunately are unable to see the hand of God in all things, cannot help observing that the happiness or misery of this people has not been left to the chance of having a good or bad master, but that in his anatomical and physiological structure, his mind and body show a most wonderful *fitness of things*, to enable him to fulfill the destiny that his very name indicates was anciently decreed he should fill: a self-submitting bender of the knee to that race that ever have been, and ever will be, masters over him.

If it had been the will of God, or consistent with great nature's law, that this race should have lived peaceably with the other races of men, when put on an equal footing with them, and had not repaid their kindness with contempt and ingratitude, but had imitated their habits of general sobriety and industry, they would long since have been adopted into the family of nations, and have arisen above the condition assigned them by an unerring law of a power far above that of man.

Let those who implicitly believe in the plain letter and meaning of the revealed word of that being whom they worship, inquire whether both English and American abolitionists are not creating hosts of unbelievers, by falsifying that word by their limited ideas of God's providence, in his wise provisions for, and care over, the descendants of Ham. Let them inquire how it happens, that guards of armed soldiery cannot prevent, in Europe, violence and bloodshed among their "white slaves," while here among the race of Canaan, no force is required to make him quietly and faithfully obey and serve his master, unless it is the will of that Being, that he should fulfill the decree of servitude, by which he is made more useful, more happy, more contented, and more in accordance with the benevolence of God. Let him learn, that it is contrary to the first principles of his nature, for Canaan to league with his masters' enemies.

If you doubt it look at the history of both wars with England; observe the faithful conduct and the firm adherence of the slaves of Virginia, during the revolutionary war, to their masters, when neither the persuasion or force of British armies could sever their allegiance, or induce them to become free.

A British writer, in speaking upon this subject, says, "when the slave owners were in the rebel army, and their families remained in a district of country under our authority, the slaves continued to serve their masters' families as if their masters had been at home and the country at peace. Slaves were often pressed into the service of the British, and those that would not promise to renounce slavery for liberty, were made to work on the fortifications. They obeyed through necessity, until an opportunity offered for them to return to their masters; and but few of them left the country with their benevolent British liberators—and even some who did, afterward found their way back from Nova Scotia, and joyfully returned to the comforts of slavery."

During the revolutionary and late wars, whole districts of country abounding with slaves, were repeatedly left with scarcely an able bodied white man among them, with nothing but an overruling power to guard the lives of women and children; with nothing but the nature of the Canaanite race to hold them in bondage; and yet so far from proving treacherous, or deserting their masters, they continued their labors upon the plantation, and no faithful watchdog was ever more true in giving the alarm of the approach of an enemy, or, if needed, to assist their masters families to escape to a place of safety. And their sagacity in times of danger, was sometimes shown in a most remarkable degree. I happen to know an anecdote illustrative of this point, which was told me by one of the descendants of the family while visiting the premises a few years since, which took place during the war of the revolution.

While the British fleet was lying in the Delaware below Philadelphia, a number of officers and men came on shore one morning at Chester, for a little recreation on land, and a supply of fresh meat and vegetables. They visited the house of General Robinson, who was then absent with the army, and openly offered freedom to the slaves. During the repast which Mrs. Robinson, with a great deal of apparent friendliness had ordered to be provided for the British officers, a slave entered and whispered to his mistress to detain the company as long as possible at the table, while he would take care of the soldiers outside, for Col. Lee's troop were just in sight on the hill. One of the officers suspecting treachery, drew his sword and threatened the negro's life unless he instantly repeated aloud every word he had said to his mistress. Faithful and fearless, he instantly declared that he was telling his mistress "dat dem dam red-coat steal all de chicken and de duck, and one dam red-coat nigger had got old turkey-cock, and dey all swear dat dey kill dis nigger cause him no gib em any more rum." This quieted their alarm and set the whole company into a burst of laughter, which the negro continued to excite, and amid the continued roar of which, that grew so boisterous that they took no note of a bustle outside, Col. Lee burst into the room and declared every one of them prisoners of war.

This faithful slave was subsequently offered his freedom, which he refused to accept, and continued to serve a good master as a slave, long after slavery was abolished in that State.

During the invasion of Baltimore in the war of 1814, whole counties were drained of all the white men except a few quakers, who are always abolitionists I believe, so that tens of thousands of slaves, with none to control and awe, and keep them in check, and prevent them from robbing and murdering the women and children, and deserting to the British and freedom from slavery—yet in this very district, at this very time, did Mrs. Madison take refuge and seek protection while impressed with the fear that the British were anxious to possess themselves of her person.

It was in this district, too, at this time, while masters and overseers were all away, that the negroes on one plantation became a little unruly and neglectful of their daily labor, lazy, indolent, and insolent to their mistress, who undertook to quell a quarrel among themselves, that a man in the neighborhood, who was too much of a cripple to go to Balti-

more to serve his country as a soldier, was nevertheless able to quell this difficulty; for, being sent for, he went over unarmed and flogged more than a dozen of the leaders, all able bodied men, and that too within ten miles of several British ships of war lying in the Potomac. The world does not afford the history of any other race who would have submitted to chastisement under such circumstances; nor can it be accounted for, except by those who believe that God foreordained and decreed the race of Canaan to be submissive servants of servants.

It cannot be accounted for, under the supposition that the slaves were ignorant of the promises of freedom which the British held out to them. They were not ignorant of that fact, but being themselves better Christians than their white brethren, they were not disposed to attempt to abrogate the decrees of an overruling Providence. The truth is, that the slaves of the South do not desire to be freed from their servitude. In vain did the British, in the revolutionary war, issue proclamation after proclamation, calling on them to rise in rebellion and go free under the protection of British arms—and in vain did the tories and abolitionists of that day urge it upon them—and in vain, in the last war, did they pursue the same course—and in vain, at this day, is British gold poured out for the same object, aided as she is in her insidious policy, by the thousands of fanatical allies in this country, who rush blindly to assist her in the only way on earth that she can conquer this Union: and that is by dissolving it through the agency of her tools, the abolitionists. Already have they succeeded in dissolving the union of one of the strongest churches in the country, and seem determined never to rest until they have dissolved the political Union.

But all the efforts of British and American abolitionists will never abolish slavery, unless you compel them to be free against their will. And until they themselves will to be free, I feel as though I was committing a sin to urge it upon them.

Nor am I defending slavery, as that word is often understood in the northern States. Many seem to suppose that slavery means cruelty, tyranny, oppression and every thing that tends to make those in bondage suffer and hopelessly repine. Now if slavery means anything of that nature, then slavery does not exist in any of the States over which I have traveled. The word *slavery* suggests a wrong idea to those unacquainted with the patriarchal form of government exercised over them in the United States. It is precisely the kind of slavery to which every abolitionist in the country dooms his wife and children; and I should feel just as guilty of meddling with that which I had no right to meddle with, while attempting to free them from his control, as I should to free the southern slave from the control of a kind master. Yea, more so, for in doing the latter I should feel as though I were taking a being as helpless as a child, from a state of comparative happiness and reducing him to a state of absolute misery. The few negroes that are needed among the whites in free States, to fill the menial offices of barbers, shoe-blacks, waiters, cooks and scullions, may live comfortably enough—because they are still fulfilling their destiny of being servants of servants. But let them undertake to escape from their destiny, and make the attempt to govern themselves, and you will find them, with scarcely an exception, the most unhappy, discontented wretches in existence—

disturbing the peace of society—filling the prisons—taxing the country for their support—and wherever a community of them are found, becoming one of the greatest nuisances ever inflicted upon a neighborhood.

As witnesses upon this point, I will summon the island of St. Domingo—the city of Cincinnati, with her negro mobs and abolition riots—and the county of Brown, Ohio, in which some very benevolent individuals once made a colony of liberated slaves, and entailed upon the citizens a band of lazy, worthless, starving, thieving vagabonds.

If obedience to the laws of the Bible will confer happiness upon man, and disobedience misery, then can we account for the misery of those of the race of Canaan who refuse to fulfill and obey that Scripture that says he *shall* be a servant of servants to his brother Japheth.

A greater punishment could not be devised or inflicted upon the southern slave at this day, than to give him that liberty which God in his wisdom and mercy deprived him of.

Out of the condition of slavery, there is not a people on earth so unhappy, discontented and worthless, as these Canaanites. Free them from control, and how soon does poverty and wretchedness overtake them. While in a state of slavery, even in the State of Mississippi, which is pointed to as the very hotbed of negro oppression, I boldly and truly assert, that you may travel Europe over—yea, you may visit the boasted freemen of America—aye, you may search the world over, before you find a laboring peasantry who are more happy, more contented, as a class of people, or who are better clothed and fed and better provided for in sickness, infirmity and old age, or who enjoy more of the essential comforts of life, than these *so called*, miserable, oppressed, abused, starved slaves.

Upon this point, before I close, I will also summon a few witnesses. But to continue: all experience proves, that as soon as the negro ceases to act in the capacity of a servant, he ceases to be happy and contented, and falls into a state of vice and wretchedness. All experience proves that he does not seek to escape from that capacity, except in a few isolated cases; where he is influenced by some real or supposed wrong inflicted upon him, or by the persuasion of some meddling abolitionist, whose descriptions of the superior advantages of freedom overcome his weak reason.

In proof of this I will cite the fact, that in the counties of Maryland adjoining the Pennsylvania line, there are 19,000 slaves, who, notwithstanding their proximity to a free State, and constant contact with abolitionists, continue to be submissive to those who were decreed to hold them in bondage. One of these counties, that of Cecil, contained, in 1840, more free negroes than slaves, and probably more anti-slavery white men than slave owners; and yet the slaves here adhere to the service of their masters, with nearly the same fidelity that they do in interior counties of South Carolina.

In the river counties of Kentucky, bordered by Ohio and Indiana, in which are numerous persons ever ready to help the slaves to escape from their masters, there were, in 1800, 8,260 slaves—in 1810, 15,631—in 1840, 29,872. This proves that, instead of escaping and diminishing in numbers, they increased more than three fold in forty years.

Proximity to the free States, facility of egress, together with offered

aid in escaping, seem to have had but little effect in inducing any great number of slaves to leave kind masters and comfortable homes, to whom they are as strongly attached as our children are to us and ours.

Well, if they are not inclined to escape, let us see if they are inclined to rebel and take authority into their own hands, when they have the power.

In 1790, Beaufort and Colleton district in South Carolina, contained 7,965 white inhabitants, and 30,798 slaves. In 1840 the same districts contained 11,524 whites and 48,928 slaves. Liberty and Chatham counties, in Georgia, in 1790, contained 3,759 white persons, and 12,226 slaves—in 1840, there were 8,446 whites, and 16,892 slaves. Powhatan, James City, King William, Amelia and Caroline counties in Virginia, contained, in 1790, 20,383 whites and 33,484 slaves—in 1840, 16,706 whites, and 29,193 slaves.

Ten years of the above time was a period of war with a nation that used every art in its power to excite insurrection among the slaves of the Southern States, yet in no part of any of these districts, where the slaves so much outnumber the whites, did any serious outbreak against the authority of their masters ever occur, and notwithstanding that, during periods of the war, it was not uncommon for almost every able bodied man to rush to the scene of danger, leaving their homes without any other protection than the love that binds the slave to his master, and teaches him to protect every thing that master holds dear.

In 1810 the parishes (which are equivalent to counties) of Point Coupee and St. Charles, in Louisiana, contained 2,068 whites, and 5,508 slaves—in 1840, 2,961 whites, and 9,152 slaves.

New Orleans and its precincts, in 1810, contained more than three times as many slaves as whites, and during the war, all Louisiana, and all the river counties of Mississippi, contained far more slaves than whites, and were hemmed in by hostile Indians on all sides, while the British ships were on the coast sending emissaries among the slaves to urge them to rise upon the whites, or escape and seek protection and a free passage and home, under their flag; but, notwithstanding that this was in that country where we are told they are treated with such horrid brutality, it seems that they did not avail themselves of the offered boon.

When Gen. Jackson appealed to the patriotic spirits of that region to aid him in the defense of New Orleans, there were more than 5,000 slaves in and about Natchez, and yet not an hundred able bodied men remained behind to guard their own homes; and the reason was that they knew they had no foes to guard against. But it was a strong manifestation of the instinct that has ever bound the sons of Canaan to prefer a life of slavery, comfort and plenty, and freedom from care, to the precarious existence that attaches to him when free.

Many of the present masters now in that region, were, during this period, rocked in their cradles and nursed by those who had the power in their own hands to have closed their existence, and in one day to have blotted out that terrible sin, which is said to be accursed of God: though it seems he was not disposed to order the slave, as some of his pretended friends would do, to blot it out and wash himself free in the blood of his absent master's wife and children.

Historical facts like these go far to prove, that the doctrine so often

preached is not, and cannot be, sustained, that "slavery is sin," that "it is incompatible with republicanism" and "inimical to religion," and that "God looks with displeasure upon all those who," notwithstanding it may be in conformity with Revelation and in fulfillment of prophecy, "hold the Canaanite in slavery."

I have only to say that if God is *displeased*, he has given no evidence of it by continuing the guilty in the enjoyment of a high state of prosperity, notwithstanding their wickedness.

I have heard men contend that the authority given in the Bible for Japheth to hold Ham in subjection, has expired by limitation; but how or when, they could not tell, but believed it was so, because it was inconsistent with their limited ideas of God's goodness and justice to put the descendants of Ham under the despotic power of all kinds of masters—good, bad and indifferent—learned and unlearned—Christians and infidels—humane and cruel—generous and avaricious—to be dealt with according to the whim, caprice, folly, wisdom or madness, of each. Thus has erring human reason, full of vanity, sat in judgment on the decrees of God's wisdom, which is full of justice, benevolence and mercy, and were it possible for the decree to expire, Canaan would be the loser and not the gainer. For the same power that decreed him to a life of servitude, has also planted in his bosom, a principle of protection against wanton abuse and tyrannical oppression, so that though he fall into the hands of cruel or avaricious masters, who would exact more labor from him than is just that he should render, no power can force him for any continued length of time to render it. Far different from the poor starved wretches of England's manufacturing towns, he needs no act of Parliament to protect him from *over work*, for that he surely will do himself.

I doubt whether one single instance can be found among the slaves of the South, where one has injured himself at long and excessive labor. Instead of a cruel and avaricious master being able to extort more than a very reasonable amount of labor from him, his efforts will certainly produce the contrary effect. This is a well known fact, so much so indeed, that an overseer of this character cannot get employment among masters who know that over driving a negro, as well as a mule, is the poorest way to get work out of either of them. These facts are well understood by all observant masters and overseers, that neither mule nor negro can be made to do more than a certain amount of work; and that amount so small in comparison to the amount done by white laborers at the North, that it is a universal observation at the South. Northern men are always the hardest masters, in the vain attempt they make to force the negro to do even half as much as a hireling in New England is compelled to do, or lose his place and wages.

Owing to this innate protecting principle, the tyrant is made to gnaw a file—and the cruel master heaps coals of fire upon his own head; and the avaricious one loses the gold that he vainly attempts to compel his slave to earn by excessive toil.

It is true that some men abuse and harshly treat their slaves. So do some men abuse their wives and children and apprentices and horses and cattle. But I am sorry to say that I am forced to believe the latter class more numerous than the former.

Experience has long since taught masters, that every attempt to force a slave beyond the limit that he fixes himself as a sufficient amount of labor to render his master, instead of extorting more work, only tends to make him unprofitable, unmanageable, a vexation and a curse. If you protract his regular hours of labor, his movements become proportionably slower; and this is not the effect of long habit acquired in slavery, as is proved by the fact that on his first introduction from Africa, he possesses the same principle. Every stranger is always struck, on visiting a slave country, with the characteristic slow movements of this people under all circumstances. Many a hungry traveler, from a non-slaveholding country, has cursed this slow movement while impatiently waiting two tedious hours for a negro cook to prepare a meal, which at last would be found to consist of nothing requiring such a length of time; as the whole interminable, never-changing bill of fare, would consist of coffee, corn-bread and bacon.

Upon a plantation where they are universally well treated, they can, by a promise of rewards, be induced to quicken their speed in a busy time; but under a system of bad treatment and attempted force, they will at such a time slacken their speed and perform their work in a more careless and slovenly manner—fixing generally upon the most busy time, or pressing emergency, to do so. Attempt to force them with the lash when in this mood, and you will fail, for it has no terrors for them—they actually seem to possess a kind of nervous insensibility that shields them from suffering.

This silent though effectual law of his nature, is a far better protection for him than any printed code. Until his condition is assimilated to a comparative state of ease and comfort, the master is a greater sufferer than the slave, for they will break, waste, destroy, idle away time, feign sickness, run away, and do all manner of things to vex and torment him. If he fail to give them enough of wholesome food, he will lose four fold the value, by the petty larceny that they will practice upon him.

Finally, in self defense, the avaricious master is compelled to make the condition of his slaves as comfortable, or nearly so, as others in his own neighborhood, or he must make up his mind to look ruin in the face, or run mad with vexation.

The fact is notorious, that slaves are better treated now than formerly, and that the improvement in their condition is progressing; partly from their masters becoming more temperate and better men, but mainly from the greatest of all moving causes in human actions—self interest. For masters have discovered in the best of all schools—experience—that their true interest is inseparably bound up with the humane treatment, comfort and happiness of their slaves. And many masters have discovered, too, that their slaves are more temperate, more industrious, more kind to one another, more cheerful, more faithful and more obedient, under the ameliorating influences of religion, than under all the driving and whipping of all the tyrannical task-masters that have existed since the day when the children of Israel were driven to the task of making Egyptian brick without straw.

And I do most fearlessly assert and defy contradiction, that in no part of this Union, even in puritan New England, is the Sabbath better kept by master and slave, by employer and hireling, or by all classes, high

and low, rich and poor, than in the State of Mississippi, where I have often been told that that thing, so *accursed of God*, existed in all its most disgusting deformity, wretchedness and sinful horror. From the small plantations, the slaves go more regularly, and better dressed and behaved, to church, often a distance of five or six miles, than any other class of laborers that I have ever been acquainted with. Upon many of the large plantations, divine service is performed more regularly and to larger and more orderly audiences, than in some county towns.

Upon one plantation that I visited in Mississippi, I found a most beautiful little Gothic church, and a clergyman furnished with a house, provisions and servants, and a salary of \$1,500 a year, to preach to master and slaves. Upon another, situated upon the bank of the lovely lake Concordia, where the slaves outnumber the whites twenty to one, upon which I spent some pleasant days, I took upon myself to inquire particularly of the overseer, not himself a religious man, and at first opposed to religious instruction for slaves, what had been the effect of the earnest and fatherly admonitions and worship of the owner with his slaves every Sabbath day, and was assured that it had a most beneficial effect.

If any man can witness some of these happy meetings of slaveholders and slaves that I have, and not feel his heart more softened toward the influences of religion than he would in listening to the harangue of some mistaken fanatic, who would sever the bonds so closely knit between such a patriarch and his children, even if that bond should be severed in blood, I have only to say that his heart is not affected by the same influences that mine is.

Upon another plantation I visited, the master is a most decided infidel; yet so convinced is he of the advantage of giving religious instruction to slaves, that he has taken upon himself to teach them what he is so unfortunate that he cannot believe himself. Of course, from them he hides his own unbelief.

And the manner that some of this infidel master's slaves, walk in the path of Christian duty, might well be followed by those I know most loud in denunciation of all men who dare to hold their fellow-men in subjection.

And these few cases mentioned, are by no means isolated ones. I believe that it is susceptible of proof, that there are more Christian communicants, counting black and white, in the slave-holding States, than in any other portion of Protestant Christendom, containing the same number of souls. But I am sorry to say, that there are such numbers of professing Christians in the free States who deny that man can own a slave and still be a Christian.

And I am still more sorry to say, that the action of English arrogance and ignorance, which, under the name of abolition of slavery, seeks to throw a fire-brand into the explosive magazine of southern excitability, for the hidden purpose of blowing up the Union, aided as it is in this country by political demagoguism, ignorant fanaticism, and honest belief that slavery is the accursed thing of God, has done more to retard the progress of Christianity, civilization, comfort and happiness, among the slaves, than all other causes put together.

Do we not forget the command, "judge not lest ye be judged,"



when we sit in judgment upon the slaveholder and denounce him as destitute of all the attributes of the Christian religion, and refuse to associate and commune with him as a brother, because he happened to be born in a southern clime to the inheritance of slavery.

And here let me inquire, *what is slavery*—as you understand it? Is it to be better fed, better clothed, better housed, better lodged, better provided and cared for in infancy, sickness and old age, better loved and respected by master, mistress, children and fellow laborers, better instructed in the principles of morality and religion, and, finally, at the close of a long life of light labor, comfort and happiness, to be better and more decently buried, than are millions of the laboring population of FREEMEN in Europe, and thousands of the same class in this boasted land of liberty? For this is most truly the condition of slaves in the South.

And if you answer, still he is a slave—I answer, true, he is a slave. And what is a freeman? Stand forth, first, ye who shout “long live queen Victoria;” while I display the enviable condition of Britain’s *free born* citizens. Come forth from your damp and crowded cellars and fireless dens of squalid wretchedness, and exhibit your starved and emaciated forms, your sickly countenances, your toil-worn, youthful, crooked spines, your swelled joints and contorted limbs, clothed in so scanty a supply of filthy rags that they are hardly sufficient to harbor the vermin, or hide the nakedness, of proud anti-slavery England’s freemen! Come forth from your dark and dismal coal-mine caverns, a thousand feet below the surface of the earth, where you live upon a scanty pittance that barely supports life, while you are able to toil, but now you are past it: come forth, then, and enjoy, in your toil-worn premature old age, the comforts provided for you in freedom’s work-house.

Stand up ye full fed, hard toiling laborers upon the soil ye do not, and cannot own, for I would see how even the best classes of England’s free born agricultural laborers, who produce all that lords and bishops eat, do eat themselves! Seven pounds of coarse black bread and four ounces of meat per week. Ah! that is freemen’s food, is it? Now take me to your lodging room—for I would see where you rest your weary limbs after partaking of such sumptuous fare.

It is here—men, women and children, like hogs huddled together. But ye are freemen, and dare not murmur at your lot, or neglect your labor, for thus you will be driven forth from the enjoyment of this freemen’s fare, and be free to starve, or steal, to prolong your miserable life upon the food provided for convicts and refused to you while honest.

We hear the sound of the factory bell, that tells the English operative of that world of machinery, of that government who fain would supply mankind with all their manufactured articles, that he is now free, at nine at night, to retire to his supper and his bed. We see them come—infants, youths, adults, men and women, but never old age: that dwells not here. But why are those children carried upon parents’ backs—are they sick? No! Then where is the energy of youth that should prompt them to run and skip and shout and play, when escaping from a day of confinement? They have been worked, beat, duck’d and starved, and compelled, like machines, to stand up to their toil, till at the first sound of the releasing bell, they sink to the floor, unable to put forth

another effort, and would rather there die than undertake at this hour to walk to their miserable homes. Is it to be wondered that old age, hale and hearty, is not here—when we see such waxen visages, and incubus-like languor, sitting upon the youth and prostrating their vital energies.

But let us follow the haggard-looking, miserably clad, hard-working operatives of the English factory system, to their homes, their supper, and their bed—down through this filthy lane, down into that dismal cellar, see them go—sixty men women and children in a room not large enough for six, nor fit for the abode of any human being. And there is the supper sumptuously set forth; but there is no table—no chair—no plate—no knife—no fork—no spoon. And why should there be, for there is nothing but a small piece of coarse black bread and a cup of raw Bohea tea for each—and the breakfast will be the same—and the dinner, potatoes fried in lard and perhaps a few small bits of meat; and the lodging, a litter of straw, made filthy by long use—for there straw costs money—in which all huddle together, lying close to keep each other warm, and from which all must rise at early dawn, to resume the daily toil—under a more severe task-master than the southern slave's overseer.

But to the proof. An extract from the sworn testimony of a factory overseer, before a committee of Parliament in 1832.

“I was obliged to chastise them (the factory children) when they were almost fainting, and it hurt my feelings: then they would spring up and work pretty well for another hour—but the last two or three hours was my hardest work, for they then got so exhausted.”

Sir Robert Peel, in speaking of the factory that he owned, deposes as follows:

“I was struck, whenever I visited the factories, with the uniform appearance of bad health, and, in many cases, the stunted growth of the children.”

Witnesses also prove that the mind and morals suffer equally with the body. That death, a lingering miserable death, which some of the eminent medical witnesses do not hesitate to call “*murder*” and “*infanticide*,” is the effect of working children in a close room of confined atmosphere, sixteen hours a day. That such unremitting toil, and meagre diet, deforms the body, impairs the health, breaks the constitution, and swells the bills of mortality, among the *freemen* of slave-denouncing old England. Shall I be told that this is free labor—that the master in England has no power to compel these slaves of the factory system (or “*operatives*,” I must call them, since *slave* sounds offensive to freeman's ears) to overwork themselves—that they can quit their employer whenever they please, etc.? Alas the law of necessity is upon them—endure or die!

Now, lest this language sound too strong, allow me to present language from high quarters. It is extracts from English papers, prefaced by one of our own country. Here it is:

“SUFFERING IN ENGLAND.—It is next to impossible for the people of this country to form any opinion of the suffering condition of the immense masses of the hopeless poor in England. We learn, from an English paper, that a public meeting of the inhabitants of Leeds was held a few weeks before the sailing of the last steamer, to investigate the condition of the unemployed poor—and a

report, carefully drawn up from detailed accounts, was read to the meeting. The extent of destitution, as represented in this report, is indeed frightful. It appears that there are twenty thousand individuals in Leeds who are living on 11½ pence a week each—about twenty cents! The report said :

“The most harrowing descriptions were given by some of the visitors of the scenes they had witnessed. “The cases of distress,” says Dr. Smiles (editor of the Leeds Times), “of extreme distress that had come under his notice that morning, had harrowed up his very soul. [Hear, hear.] There was one case which he would particularly mention. He had noted down the name, and he was sure, if any doubts existed, individuals might satisfy themselves as to the correctness of the statements. At the end of Brooke street there was a small cellar dwelling, nine feet by twelve, into which they were introduced by the enumerator. The dwelling was so considerably beneath the street, that only half of the window was above it. It was a damp, disagreeable, ill-lighted, ill-aired, den. [Hear, hear.] In that apartment they found three families, consisting of sixteen individuals, nine who slept in it every night. [Sensation.] There were four adults, and twelve children. Six individuals, constituting one family, slept upon a litter of straw, huddled together, not like human beings, not even like animals, for their situation was nothing to be compared to the comfort of our dogs and our horses in our stables. [Hear, hear.] Other four or five slept on a bed of shavings, and the remaining five slept on another miserable bed in the apartment. When they entered, the poor mother was weeping, her infant was on her knee in the last stage of a fatal disease, dying without any medical assistance. [Sensation.] The family were entirely destitute, no means of subsistence, no weekly earnings, no parish relief. [Hear, hear.] That was one instance.” We fear Leeds may stand for a sample of nearly every town in the manufacturing districts. Winter is rapidly advancing on a population without employment, and without property, what they had having been parted with in order to supply their most pressing wants. It was stated, too, by Dr. Smiles, that “the small grocers were failing and becoming bankrupts in large numbers. Many were not able to pay their debts. This, again, acted on middle class men in a higher condition of life; and he could state, what most of them, perhaps, knew, that a large number of the first class tradesmen have recently become bankrupts.”

“Another paper, the Liverpool Mercury of the 30th ult., says :

“The winter is not yet commenced, yet the general distress throughout the country has arrived at such a point, that nothing but a wholesale famine can carry it further. From Paisley, the accounts are frightful—so frightful that even Sir Robert Peel, although he still adheres to his non-intervention as a Minister, declares his readiness to forward a private subscription for its amelioration as an individual. In the Potteries, famine stalks abroad; thousands are starving; and those who would cruelly attempt to delude the sufferers into the belief that machinery is the cause of their distress, may read, in the general destitution there, the refutation of their foolish falsehood. In the Potteries there is no other machine worked but the potter’s wheel mentioned in Scripture. In the metropolis, we have a specimen of the general destitution, in the fact, that even printers, usually the most prosperous of the classes who live by labor, are appealing to private benevolence, with the appalling fact, that twelve hundred compositors and pressmen are unemployed, and many of them, with large families, are actually in a starving state.”

“The following is an extract from a letter giving an account of the distress among the working classes, prevailing at Stockport :

“All the other trades are equally suffering. Such is the extreme starvation point to which they are reduced, that their wives are to be seen begging from door to door, or gathering the disgusting offals that are to be met with in the streets. Meat and water are a luxury which few can boast of, and as for fire, whole houses are without a spark. Last week, upward of two hundred fresh men turned out for wages, and there is every reason to fear that, ere long, that number will be frightfully increased. The constant cry of the men is, “Are we to die of starvation, or see our children fall before our faces, from hunger, while plenty abounds in the land?” The situation of the females beggars all description—naked, shivering with cold, and faint from hunger, they are parading the streets and imploring, with tears and supplications, assistance for themselves and their famishing children.”

From another paper I give further extracts illustrative of the subject under examination.

“Let us look, for a moment, at the condition of the ‘FREE’ laboring population of Great Britain. We give statistical facts :

“In London, one-tenth of the population are paupers, and 20,000 persons rise every morning without knowing where they are to sleep at night. The paupers, criminals, and vagrants, alone, are 1,800,000.”—*Alison's Principles of Population*.

“In Liverpool, there are 7,800 inhabited cellars, occupied by 39,000 persons. The great proportion of these cellars are dark, damp, confined, ill-ventilated, and dirty.”—*Mr. Sanev's Report to the House of Commons*.

“Dr. Robertson, an eminent surgeon of Manchester, who has had a great deal of experience among the laboring classes, sums up thus the accumulated evils incident to their condition :

“Too early employment—too long employment—too much fatigue—no time for relaxation—no time for mental improvement—no time for the care of health—exhaustion—intemperance—indifferent food—sickness—premature decay—large mortality.’

“The same gentleman, in speaking of the laboring poor of the agricultural districts, says that, in his opinion, their state is not more favorable to the preservation of perfect life of body than that of the manufacturing poor. He remarks :

“What I say concerning these poor people, is the result of much observation of them, and I consider it a duty to lift the veil from a subject surrounded by many respectable prejudices. \* \* \* \* \* Their extreme poverty, and their constant labor so influence them, that the majority—I am sure I speak within bounds—have never the enjoyment of health after forty years of age. This is the result of bad food—insufficient clothing—wearing toil—and the absence of all hope of any better in this world.’

“The peasant's house is not the abode of joy or even comfort. No “children run to lisp their sire's return,” or “climb his knees, the envied kiss to share.” The children are felt to be a burthen, ill-fed, ill-clothed, and lying on beds worse than the lower animals ; they are ragged, or clothed by charity ; untaught, or taught by charity ; if sick, cured by charity ; if not starved, fed by proud charity,’ &c.

“Dr. Kay, in his description of the Factory System, says, in speaking of the condition of the artizan :

“Domestic economy is neglected—domestic comforts are unknown. A meal of the coarsest food is prepared with heedless haste, and devoured with equal precipitation. Home has no other relation to him than that of shelter—few pleasures are there—it chiefly presents to him a scene of physical exhaustion, from which he is glad to escape. His house is ill-furnished, uncleanly, often ill-ventilated, perhaps damp ; his food, from want of forethought and domestic economy, is meagre and innutritious ; he is debilitated and hypochondriacal, and falls the victim of dissipation.’”

### ART. III.—THE COMMERCIAL AGE.

SPIRIT OF ANCIENT AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY ; DOCTRINE OF PRACTICAL RESULTS ; DIFFUSION OF KNOWLEDGE ; THE PRACTICAL SCIENCES ; RELATIVE EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES NORTH AND SOUTH ; IN NEW ORLEANS ; UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA AND THE COMMERCIAL PROFESSORSHIP ; OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, COMMERCE AND STATISTICS.

[The following was the opening lecture before the *Chair of Political Economy, Commerce and Statistics* of the University of Louisiana, at New Orleans, 1849, the first chair of the kind in our country. It is published in order, as far as possible, to stimulate *commercial education* among our youth. All over the country we now