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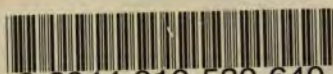
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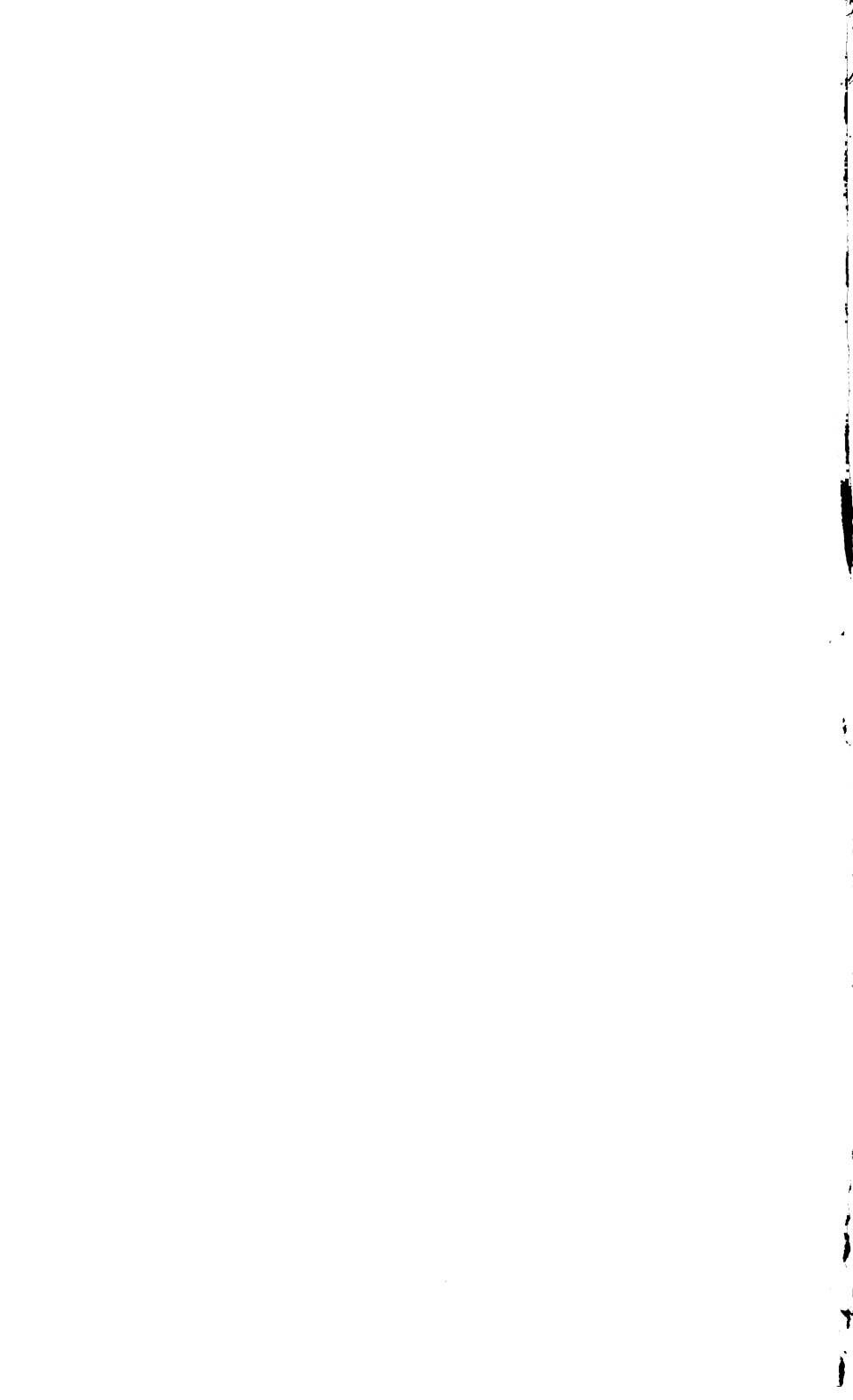
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OBSERVATIONS

ON

"AMERICAN SLAVERY,"

AFTER A

Year's Tour in the United States.

BY

RUSSELL LANT CARPENTER, B.A.

LONDON:

EDWARD T. WHITFIELD, 2, ESSEX STREET, STRAND.

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The Gift of the Author
The Rev. R. L. Carpenter,
of Birkenhead, Eng. P.
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P R E F A C E.

THE following Letters were written at the request of the Editor of the *Christian Reformer*, to whom they were originally addressed. They are to be read as the observations of a traveller, not as a treatise on Slavery. They convey impressions recorded, for the most part, at the time, in letters to those whose anti-slavery zeal required no stimulant, and who needed information less as to the horrors of slavery, than as to the general aspect of the system, as it appears to its supporters and to passing observers.

My acquaintances were of every shade of opinion on the subject, and I desired to hear with candour what each had to say: if this candour is embodied in these pages, their views will be represented without distortion: therefore, in describing my visit among "pro-slavery" persons, I may state that which is supposed to have a pro-slavery bearing; nor have I so mean an idea of the love of freedom in the hearts of my readers, that I shall tremble for the consequences of my fairness. Even should these papers fall into the hands of any who sanction slavery, I have no fear lest they should suppose that I befriend their system; whilst they will be more likely to listen patiently to what I say against it, from seeing that I have listened patiently to what can be said for it. If we wish to convince those in error, we must shew our comprehension of their point of view, and our readiness to give the full weight to all that they can urge. The resultant of conflicting forces is more deserving of regard than a single force which has not yet overcome opposition.

As I did not permit the glories of America to dazzle me, I should be unwilling to let its shame blind me; and what the *Christian Register* (Boston, Oct. 25, 1851) says of my articles on another subject, may I hope be applied by unprejudiced readers to the present letters:—"The *London Inquirer* of Sept. 27, among its other good things (brother May's letter about us, one of them?) contains an excellent article on our Common Schools, by Rev. R. L. Carpenter. There is no Englishman who seems to us to write more wisely about America and American affairs than Mr. Carpenter. He recognizes both the good and the evil, and praises and blames us not without discrimination. He saw through his eyes, rather than through his prejudices for or against us."

The complaint is made in some anti-slavery publications, that travellers to the South are peculiarly liable to become "pro-slavery." If those who went with strong prepossessions against slavery return its advocates, it certainly implies that there must be some good qualities in an institution which thus

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AMERICAN SLAVERY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

SIR,

You ask me for some observations on Slavery in the United States. I comply, but not without reluctance; for the subject is painful and complicated, and every one who handles it must submit to be misrepresented. This article will be published on the first of August, the anniversary of West-Indian Emancipation. When I took part in a meeting of American Abolitionists, a year ago, to commemorate this great event, I candidly told them that it seemed to me that the Southerners misunderstood the Northerners, and the Northerners the Southerners, and that I could not profess to understand either of them. Slavery I detest; for Abolition I earnestly pray; but as to the degree in which slaveholders are guilty or abolitionists wise, I do not feel prepared either to give a decision myself, or to accept one from any other man: perhaps no reasonable person will wish me to do so.

I had intended to give you some impressions derived from my brief observation of slavery; but though these shall not be withheld on some other occasion, should you require them, it on the whole seems best to make this letter of a less personal nature, and to dwell more on that political aspect of the question which presented itself to me when I visited Washington in March, 1850. It was an interesting session: the subject of slavery had been uppermost from its commencement. The nine Free-soil members had refused, at the onset, to aid in the election of a Speaker who was not firm in the cause of freedom; and so evenly balanced were the principal parties, that for several weeks no Speaker could be chosen. Before the excitement from this unprecedented conflict was allayed, the claims of California divided the nation.

It will be remembered that whilst the number of Representatives depends on population, that of Senators is fixed—two from each State. So long, then, as the number of States in each section remained equal, a balance would be preserved in the *Senate*, whatever might be the overwhelming preponderance of Representatives. Accordingly, each section has been anxious to increase the number of its States, and in this policy the South has been generally beforehand. Texas was annexed with the view of confirming slavery; and the same motive was paramount in the infamous Mexican war,—a war attended with such atrocious horrors, that, after reading its records, the wickedness of slavery seems commonplace! The Southerners reckoned on California as theirs; whilst the friends of liberty in the North expressed their determination to oppose the admission of any new slave State. Meanwhile the Californians, unwilling to risk such opposition, and perceiving that, as their wealth arose from labour, it was undesirable to bring disgrace on it by employing slaves in the same work, agreed on a constitution excluding slavery; but that this arose from no high feeling of human brotherhood is manifest from their exclusion of all coloured

people, free as well as slaves. Their decision excited general surprise. Southerners declared that there had been foul play,—that the Federal government, to avoid a struggle, had recommended this course, and that the President, General Taylor (though himself a slaveholder), had used his influence to betray them. Whilst some vehemently opposed the admission of a State on which they had once reckoned so fondly, others demanded, as the price of the political power thus accruing to the North, concessions, among which was a measure of the nature of the Fugitive Slave Bill. The great Whig leaders, Clay and Webster, had each proclaimed their ideas of compromise before my arrival, so that I only heard them on minor occasions. Their powerful rival, the slaveholding democrat Calhoun, had published his final sentiments in a speech which was read by a friend, and his death was daily expected.

The visitor to Washington soon perceives a change from the moral atmosphere of the North. It is not a city of spontaneous growth, which has achieved its own greatness; but it owes its existence to political expediency, and is, literally, built upon a concession. Its very form is significant—a noble plan not carried out—magnificent distances—the few great buildings disposed on the principle of the balance of power, so that no division has more than a share. Compared with European capitals, the city is remarkably devoid of all intrinsic charms and sources of excitement. All depends on the Union. The Capitol, the White House, the Post Office, the Patent Office, the Treasury, are all owing to the Union. The singularly heterogeneous population, comprising some very agreeable residents, is brought together by the Union. The traveller owns that there is at least one spot, and that the one which for the time engages his attention and enlists his interest, which entirely depends for its fame and prosperity on the Union. The name reminds him of one whom the Union delights to honour. Every relic of that great man is preserved with scrupulous care: he is idolized: a saint of remote antiquity could not be more revered, the memory of a near kinsman could not be more hallowed: a magnificent marble obelisk, designed to reach the height of 600 feet, with a base of 55 feet square, is receiving the contributions of the States of which he has been called the Father. We hear everywhere of his courage, his wisdom and philanthropy; but we turn our eyes to the slaves, and mourn over the incompleteness of human virtue.

A dreamer might fancy that the capital of the most enlightened of republics, the peculiar mission of which is to teach the world freedom, would be the favourite home of Liberty. A reasoner might doubt whether Liberty is most at home in any seat of government whatever; for those who draw the car of state go in harness; and certainly he should not expect to find here more freedom than the *average* through the country, which must needs be lower than what he could meet with elsewhere. We must distinguish between the characters of the Constitution and of the Revolution. The fundamental idea of the *Revolution* was Liberty, which is embodied in the Declaration of *Independence*. *Union* results in a consciousness of *mutual dependence*. A *Constitution*, a standing together, is less designed to promote effort after more liberty, than to preserve order,—Heaven's first law,—indeed, the essence of all law. The preamble is as follows:

“We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more per-

fect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

As some love peace, though they detest the war by which it is affirmed that peace was attained, so men are to be found who value the amount of liberty secured by the constitution, but candidly own that they regard the Declaration of Independence but as so much waste paper; whilst there have been from the first those who objected to a central government, as having a tendency to abridge liberty. The old parties, Federalists and Anti-federalists, still exist under different names. A confederated government is not founded on the same obvious necessity as a state government; and therefore, if it is to exist at all, its conditions must be more scrupulously observed. You enter the Senate, and find ambassadors, so to speak, of "Sovereign States" of quite different origins—the Spanish Florida, the French Louisiana, the Dutch New York, the Catholic Maryland, the Calvinistic Connecticut,—the descendants of Cavaliers and the descendants of Roundheads. The vast influx of immigrants of every nation add to the complexity. Our own Parliament has, indeed, to consult for interests as various; but we have no fear that England will lapse into a Heptarchy again. Our constitution has undergone changes, and will undergo more; alteration is not fatal to it—it is a thing of life. But the American constitution is a machine, constructed with the utmost skill and care; break part, the whole is endangered. Men remember its formation, and may see its destruction. If, moreover, it is broken in bad faith or blind anger, no new union can be expected to grow out of mistrust and alienation. The question, then, does not lie between this form of government and a better, but between this and none at all. It is, indeed, open to alteration—it has been altered—by the consent of three-fourths of the States; but if any smaller section despotically insists on a dominant idea and breaks this condition, the confederation is destroyed. It will be destroyed hopelessly and terribly; the idea of mutual forbearance will have been proved futile; impatience and wounded pride will inflame an undisciplined people; the stability which the best part of the population inherit from the mother country, will be exchanged for the feverish and unsuccessful struggles of continental Europe, and there will be warfare, worse than European, worse than Mexican, the worst kind of civil war; the revolutionary idea, once rekindled, will not be satisfied so soon as when the Atlantic interposed between the combatants. It will easily be conceived that these considerations give the American constitution an adventitious importance, and this is felt nowhere more strongly than at Washington. The citizen of a remote State may think little and care less for the safety of the confederation; but when he comes here he is almost on frontier ground, and he is told that here, if war is kindled, will be the scene of conflict: and if he comes as a Member of Congress, he is reminded that the consciences of men differ, their customs differ, their State laws differ, but that he and his fellow-members have one thing in common, the Constitution, and on that their decisions must be based. (However narrowing we may esteem such deference to human law, we must candidly remember that those of our own reformers who have produced the most lasting practical results have worked under our constitution.) I found, there-

fore, the absorbing question to be, What says the constitution—what is its general spirit, and what its special enactments—is it *pro-slavery*,* or is it *anti-slavery*?

The Garrisonian † abolitionists, whose watchword is, No union with slaveholders, regard it a “covenant with death and an agreement with hell.” They point to these facts,—that as, in the census for representation, five slaves are reckoned as three freemen, the Southern States have, through their 3,000,000 slaves, an influence equal to 1,800,000 freemen, which influence is specially exerted against these very slaves through whom it is derived; that the North is bound to give up the fugitives, and to aid in suppressing any insurrection; that the seat of government is a slave district; and that the influence of this union has been shewn in the subservience of the North, and the remarkable preponderance of slaveholding Presidents and high public functionaries.

The ultra Southerners accept this line of argument, and threaten disunion, unless respect is shewn to what they somewhat ludicrously call the *rights* of the South.

The Free-soil party (to which we shall afterwards allude) plead, on the contrary, that, to judge of the tendency of the constitution, we must not compare it with abstract right, but with the system under the British government which it superseded; that the provision to abolish the foreign slave-trade at a time when the number of native Negroes was diminishing, indicated the desire to limit the evil, and that slavery has actually been abolished in many States; that whilst the Representatives are apportioned, not according to the number of voters, but to the population in each State, the diminution of the number by two-fifths in the case of slaves ought to be regarded as a penalty on slavery; ‡ that Jefferson’s resolution in 1787, which had the effect of making all the territory over which Congress had control free soil,—the absence of all mention of *slavery* in the constitution, and the known sentiments of many of the Southern Members of the Convention,—indicated the expectation that an evil inherited from the mother country would gradually disappear through the general influence of republicanism (which might have been the case but for circumstances not then foreseen); and that, interpreting it by the spirit of its founders, as displayed in the Declaration of Independence, those are the true friends of the constitu-

* I must apologize for the use of a word essentially unenglish.

† I by no means use this word invidiously, as if to indicate that any party surrenders its freedom of thought to Garrison, but simply to denote that section of those who desire the abolition of slavery which looks for this result through the dissolution of the Union.

‡ See *Gerrit Smith’s Constitutional Argument*. In point of fact, this provision arose out of a measure for taxation. To meet the expenses of the war, it was proposed, in 1776, that the different colonies should contribute according to their population. A Southern member wished that the white inhabitants alone should be reckoned; another, as a compromise, proposed that two slaves should be counted as one freeman. On the whole, when the rate of five to three was agreed to in 1783, it seemed a concession on the part of the South. “The provision” in regard to representation “was adopted, because members of the Convention who were ‘principled against slavery,’ were yet unwilling to seem to do injustice to the slaveholding States, by an appointment of direct taxes without an equivalent representation.” See *Report of Congregational Ministers on Slavery*, 1849, p. 70.

tion who use the powers it undoubtedly gives them to make the influence of government favourable to freedom.

Others wish to regard the constitution as neutral. They conceive that its founders considered that it was of more importance to have a government, than to risk its existence by determining its position in regard to questions which, after all, must for the most part be settled by the States in their separate capacity. If Northern States were false to their great principle in linking themselves to slaveholders, Englishmen have no right to condemn them, for they did it to secure that portion of liberty which they had acquired against the tyranny of England, which was also slaveholding. If compromises were made, it is to be remembered that all governments, except despotisms, are founded on compromise; and if those compromises were in some respects unfavourable to liberty, it was not in abridging liberty formerly enjoyed, but in acquiescence with less than had been desired.

Neutrality is now, however, no longer possible. Earnest men on each side are striving to enlist the national influence, and on each side much may be done within the letter of the constitution. Those who think peace worth any sacrifice, declare that the same spirit of compromise which called the Union into being is required for its continuance; and plead that it is ungenerous in the North to take advantage of its rapidly-increasing strength, to sacrifice those without whose aid in times past New England might have been still a colony. The obvious answer is, that we cannot be generous with that which does not belong to us. Let the North abridge its own privileges if it thinks proper; but these questions at issue affect three million persons, who, being citizens of no State, have the claims of humanity on every State. Indeed, every law passed by Congress injurious to the slave, has a flaw inherent in it which impairs its moral obligation even on those who profess submission to the will of the majority; for 1,800,000 voices have been recorded for it which ought to have been against it, and 3,000,000 voices against it have been disregarded.

Politicians regard slavery politically, and frequently take sides, according to their section of country of which the institution, or the absence of it, happens to be the badge. But we generally find that men who contend for property are more unscrupulous and united than those who contend for principle; and the Southern oligarchy* forms a more compact body, and numbers more adroit politicians, than the Northern democracy. The Southerners profess that their principles and their interests go together; whilst interest often tempts the Northerner from his professed principle, and those who have been eloquent for freedom before their sympathizing constituents, have been ready in the Southern atmosphere of Washington to abandon it at the threat of disunion, or the bribe of some commercial or party boon; so that Congress, though containing a Northern majority, and challenging the reverence of the world as the guardian of freedom, has been disgraced by such barefaced betrayal of the liberty of speech and petition, that it provokes scorn and indignation.

As each of the great parties in the North, though professing anti-

* The slaveholders are a mere fraction of the inhabitants of the South, being, it is thought, under 200,000.

slavery sentiments when it suited their purpose, have evidently made the cause of the slave quite a subordinate concern, the public sentiment against Southern aggression, which was kindled by the annexation of Texas, occasioned the formation of a third party, which has taken *Free Soil** as its watchword. I have already given the view that it takes of the spirit of the constitution, and it maintains that "it is the duty of the government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery, wherever that government has constitutional power to legislate on the subject, and is consequently responsible for its existence," and that all compromises with slavery "must be repealed." The Free-soilers did not appear to be in favour. As the Conservatives and even some Liberals at home viewed the erection of a Free-trade party with jealousy, so this movement has weakened both Whigs and Democrats. The South is of course indignant with them; the Northern politicians feel their existence implies a reproach on their own apathy to freedom. They are in some quarters more obnoxious than the Abolitionists: just as Chartists, who turn the scale at elections and are impracticable on divisions, and who insist on a hearing in the House, are more disliked than those who keep aloof from all political action. The Garrisonians place no confidence in them, because they have seen the instability of politicians. What could be stronger than the assertion of Webster in the Senate, so lately as Aug. 10, 1848?—"My opposition to the increase of slavery in this country, or to the increase of slave representation in Congress, is general and universal. It has no reference to the lines of latitude or points of the compass. I shall oppose all such extension, and all such increase, in all places, at all times, under all circumstances, even against all inducements, against all supposed limitation of great interests, against all combinations, against all compromise." This passage, and another equally forcible, I heard Mr. Hale quote in the Senate; but Mr. Webster, in explanation, professed that no one "of candour and intelligence" could see any inconsistency between that and his recent speech! The firmness and courage hitherto shewn by the Free-soil leaders seem to give proof of their superior honesty. As the Garrisonians believe that the constitution is *pro-slavery*, they likewise allege that no one who has taken an oath to observe it can be true to freedom without being guilty of perjury.†

* This party has nothing to do with that movement *against rent-paying* which occasioned disturbance some time ago.

† A little before my visit, Governor Seward, Senator for New York, who, however, does not belong to the Free-soil party, had made this declaration: "The Constitution regulates our stewardship; the Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to defence, to welfare, and to liberty. But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purposes. The territory is a part, no inconsiderable part, of the common heritage of mankind, bestowed upon them by the Creator of the universe. We are his stewards, and must so discharge our trust as to secure, in the highest attainable degree, their happiness." This contains what many will deem a self-evident truth; but "no sentiment ever uttered in Congress seemed to produce more astonishment. Grave Senators affected to be horrified that a statesman should conceive the idea that the law of the Creator was paramount to human enactments." (Vide *Annual Report of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, 1850, p. 86.) They chose to understand from it, "that a person who is sworn to support the Constitution, if he believes the Constitution countervails the law of God, is under no obliga-

I attended the meetings of Congress almost daily whilst I was at Washington; they usually commenced about twelve o'clock, and adjourned about four o'clock. In the House the speakers are limited to an hour. From the bad construction of their hall, I heard so imperfectly that I seldom remained there. On my last visit, I sent in my card to Mr. Horace Mann, to whom I had been introduced, and he politely invited me to sit with him. This is not unfrequently done, though in strictness it is a privilege only allowed to certain official persons; the admission of Father Mathew to the floor of the Senate was made the subject of a special vote. The speaker was a person of no great weight; but I could hear easily, and the observations of those around enabled me to enter more completely into the spirit of what was going on. Mr. Mann, who has a European celebrity as an educator, is now striving to educate the public conscience. I was not acquainted with Mr. Wilmot, who has given name to the proviso, that "the Jeffersonian ordinance of 1787" should be applied to all new territories and states. I met Mr. Giddings, however, who was expelled from the House of Representatives several years ago for his anti-slavery zeal, but was immediately returned again by his constituents in Ohio, and has not been molested since. He seemed hopeful as to the future; for, whatever might be the immediate issue, the free discussion of the subject must have a good effect. He was a tall, hearty-looking man; and personal pretence is not to be despised in one who has to stand much alone.

The Free-soil Senators are Messrs. Hale and Chase (to these we may now add Charles Sumner). Mr. Hale traces his great interest in this movement, as I have heard, to the influence of his late pastor at Dover, N.H., the Rev. J. Parkman, who has visited this country. He, too, had a hearty, courageous, though good-humoured demeanour. There was, I thought, a good deal of the Englishman about him; and he commands more respect than if he seemed a wily politician. Three years ago he so kindled the ire of Mr. Foote, an excitable Southerner, that he declared in the Senate that if Mr. Hale would visit his State, "he would not travel ten miles before he would grace one of the tallest trees of the forest, with a rope about his neck, with the approbation of every virtuous and patriotic citizen; and that, if necessary, he (Mr. F.) would assist in the operation." Mr. Foote distinguished himself by an equally violent attack on Mr. Benton (during my visit), which was not received with equal good temper.

As I before intimated, the Southern Members were not disposed to admit California without compromises, and one of these was to be a Fugitive Slave Bill. The gross injustice of the measure, which was passed some months afterwards, took us on this side the Atlantic by surprise; and those who had not heard Douglass and others describe the perils to which fugitives have been always exposed, even on nominally "free soil," supposed that this law worked an entire revolution in their position, and was a scandalous innovation, not only in detail,

tion to support the Constitution, and that he is to judge of his obligations after he has taken the oath to support it." Certainly, as no one is compelled to enter office, he ought previously to study the meaning of the oath, and not take it if he does not intend to keep it. Southerners, however, have used similar or stronger language when it suited their purpose.

but in principle. It is now, however, generally understood that the general principle, though happily our English feeling could not tolerate it, is not discordant with the American Constitution. I will recite the passage that bears upon it:

“ Article IV.—*Miscellaneous.*

“ Section I.

“ 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

“ Section II.

“ 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

“ 2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another State, shall, on the demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

“ 3. No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.”

All this seems to read innocently enough, and Sect. II. § 2 is perhaps the worst in appearance; for as, within the present century, some things were capital offences in England which were not offences at all in America, and many which were venial there, so there is dissimilarity, though not so great, between the criminal codes of the different commonwealths; and persons might be very unwilling to give up a man who had thrown himself on their protection, and whom they might think very pardonable, if not innocent, to be tried and hung elsewhere; but a regard to federal obligations leads them to “shift the responsibility” on the State where the alleged crime was committed, and which demands the offender. Now as to service,—if a man is held to it by a friendly State, it might seem a less hardship than that to which we have just adverted that he should be restored to that State, which, it is presumed, will judicially decide as to the legality of his indenture; but our feeling in the matter quite changes when we know that the *meaning* is not *service*, but *slavery*, which implies not service only, but a hopeless deprivation of all the rights of freemen, and *liability* to injury and wrong too dreadful to describe.

It will be observed that the clause relates to *fugitives*. I understand that if a master take his slave with him into a free State, and the slave choose to leave him and assert his freedom, this clause gives the master no redress; because the servant *did not escape* into the free State, but was brought there voluntarily.

In 1793, an Act was passed to carry into effect the provision of this clause, to which Dr. Palfrey thus alludes, in a speech on the “Political Aspect of the Slave Question,” delivered Jan. 26, 1848, in the House of Representatives, of which he was then a distinguished Free-soil Member:

“Let me first mention the unutterably heinous law—I can characterize it by no milder epithet—of Feb. 12, 1793, putting the liberty of every freeman in this nation at the mercy of every paltry town and county magistrate whom the kidnapper may delude, or bribe to do his dirty work. If my neighbour

sues me for twenty dollars, the Constitution of my country gives me the security of a jury of our peers to pass between us. Not so with my liberty, which I value at more than twenty dollars. Let a stranger come among us of the free States, and claim one of our number as his runaway slave, and let him satisfy, *any-how*, some trading justice that his claim is good, and that justice's warrant is valid for him against all the world. The law makes no distinction between white and black men; though, if it did, it would make no difference in the atrocity of the principle. Let the man-stealer get that warrant, and with it he may bring me, or any representative from a free State on this floor, to the auction-block close by this Capitol, to make our next remove in chains to Natchez or New Orleans. He may take my wife from my side, or my infant from its cradle, and if I resist, he is armed with the whole power of the country to strike me down. The odious law by its letter threatens and insults the Governor of Massachusetts or New York, as much as the darkest menial they employ. Do gentlemen say the law would never be so executed? Be it so. What would prevent it? The law of force, or the fear of force. The standing outrage and indignity, standing on the defiled pages of the Statute-book, are still the same."

The vagueness of this law, whilst it added to its atrocity, crippled its power. In Massachusetts and other States, laws were passed prohibiting the State officers from any action in the matter, and refusing the use of State prisons for the detention of the fugitives. The strong popular feeling which led to these measures afforded an additional security. There are many who would sympathize in the bold language of Mr. Giddings in the House of Representatives (March 28, 1850):

"We cannot under the constitution protect or secrete the slave from his master. But the Legislatures of free States may prohibit their own citizens from aiding or assisting the master to track out the panting fugitive, in order again to subject him to the lash or the thumb-screw. Such a law has been introduced into the Legislature of Ohio; and I am free to say, that if there be a crime for which I would hang a citizen of our State, it is that of aiding the slaveholder to seize his trembling victim upon soil consecrated to freedom."

Where, then, this clause was enforced, it was usually by violence or stratagem. When I was in Cincinnati, I found that the day before a party of *armed* Kentuckians had carried off a fugitive in open day, in defiance of the citizens, who attempted a rescue; and in the remoter States a capture was rarely attempted, still more rarely successful. The case of *Prigg v. the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* brought the matter to an issue; and the Supreme Court of the United States decided, though not unanimously, that it was the duty, not of the State officers, but of those of the National Government, to further such capture. As a general principle, it is of course desirable to avoid collisions between the States and the Federal Government. Three ways of dealing with the question were open:—First, to repeal the clause in the constitution; but this, under present circumstances, was impossible, for it would require the consent of three-fourths of the States. Secondly, to leave it alone; the obscurity of the Act enforcing the clause is in keeping with the vagueness of the clause itself; it is impolitic to attempt to violate conscience, when that conscience is the conscience of a State! Thirdly, to maintain the supremacy of the constitution, by providing that the officers of the general government should be required to carry out its enactments. The first course being at present impracticable,

the second seemed the least of two evils. We English are usually more tolerant of apparent contradiction than of a practical grievance. The politician, however, who makes the existence of a federal government his first consideration, insists on the observance of those provisions through which it came into being, and on which its life depends. But this plea has not much weight in the present instance; for those who exhibited such reverence for contracts in the case of Sect. II. § 3, proposed no measure to prevent the atrocious violation of Sect. II. § 1!

"The coloured citizen of Massachusetts," says Dr. Palfrey, "goes on his lawful occasions to a Southern State, with just as good a constitutional right to tread its soil in security and at will, as the heir of its own longest and proudest lineage. But not only is he forbidden by the pseudo-legislation of the place to land there in freedom, he is not permitted even to remain in freedom on board the ship that has conveyed him. He is forced on shore to a prison; and when he is discharged and departs, it is on the payment of a ransom, called the expense of his detention. If he comes a second time, he is scourged. If a third, he is sold into perpetual slavery."

If the South had shewn a readiness to maintain the constitutional rights of the coloured freemen of the North, it might with some plausibility have demanded some mode of obtaining legally that "service" which the constitution guaranteed.

The rage of many of the Southerners on being, as they thought, cheated out of California, and the corresponding eagerness of the North to obtain the prize, led to the proposition of compromises which turned Congress, as it was said, into a club for debating slavery. I attended the Senate several times. The speakers there are not limited as to time. I have now before me a newspaper containing a speech by Mr. Hale in answer to Mr. Calhoun. The Daily National Intelligencer gives a condensed account of the debates of the day before, and a full report, often revised by the speaker, of some leading speech on a previous day. This speech covers fifteen columns. On the first day, Mr. Hale shewed at considerable length that the opponents of slavery were acting in accordance with the spirit of those who framed the constitution; and when I heard him on the following day, he gave a most interesting and detailed account of the Abolition movement, with the pretext of disproving the charge of Mr. Calhoun, that both the parties of the North had co-operated with the abolitionists in almost all their measures.

"Every principle of law, and every safeguard of property, and every propriety of civilized society, were violated by both parties at the North to put down this movement. And, Sir, they vied with each other to see who might go the farthest; and the men that said the severest things, and who did the severest things against the abolitionists, were those who supposed that they were commending themselves most to public favour. And yet, Sir, in the face of this undoubted history of the facts of the case, it is now asserted that they were received with favour by both parties at the North, and that both parties did their bidding. It has been charged against the abolitionists also, again and again, that throughout this movement they were sending emissaries to the South, preaching insurrection to the slaves. In 1835, when this movement first started, it is due in justice to the abolitionists to say, that they disavowed it in the most solemn manner, and have continued to disavow it from that day to the present, although the assertion is repeated here almost every time that any gentleman has occasion to speak upon this subject."

Few on hearing the recapitulation of the injuries inflicted on the

abolitionists in that "martyr age of the United States," could feel surprise at the acrimoniousness in which they have sometimes unfortunately indulged; and we may certainly congratulate ourselves that there has been some progress in public opinion. Mr. Hale quoted from Southern organs, which at the first threatened a disunion convention, in case the Abolition movement was not put down by the States' Legislatures. The movement continued, but the threat was empty. (The Southerners have cried "Wolf!" so often, that a certain incredulity on the part of the North is scarcely surprising.) He proceeded to advert to the proposed Fugitive Slave Bill. He could not, consistently with the constitution, protest against the surrender of those who had "escaped from service." His objections were therefore against the details; and he pointed out the dangers to which (as we have shewn was also the case under the former Act) even freemen were exposed.

"You come upon him with an affidavit taken a thousand miles off, and you seize him. Where is that man's right? Where is the trial by jury? Where is the habeas corpus? Where is the protection which the constitution guarantees to the meanest citizen living under the law? Why, Sir, it is trampled in the dust by this Bill; he is carried before a tribunal by one of the officers of the Government, without the right of a supervising examination of a judge of the United States Court within the district; without any of the privileges belonging to a freeman, he is seized and hurried off; and although it may appear upon the face of it a mere *prima facie* examination, it is to all intents and purposes a final and conclusive judgment, because the officer gives to the claimant a certificate, and he hurries him off; and when he gets to the great slave mart of Christendom, the city of Washington, he may sell him, or send him wherever he pleases. * * * Now, Sir, if that is to be the price of the preservation of the Union, I say, 'Come disunion, and come to-day.' If you can only purchase peace with us by compelling us to surrender everything which exalts us above your slaves, let disunion come; I think the people of the free States will be ready for it. I am utterly astonished to hear a proposition of this sort made in the American Senate. The Bill proceeds entirely on the assumption that there are no rights in the constitution except the rights of slavery; and there is not a single word or letter in the proposition I have read, and I have read it very carefully, that is found to guard and protect with any efficient legislation the rights of a man or child that may be wrongfully seized."

Having been accused of desiring "to irritate, wound and insult the feelings of Southern gentlemen," he refers them to the still stronger declarations of the founders of the republic in slave States, among them the celebrated speech of Pinkney in Maryland. He concluded his speech with an eloquent prediction of ultimate freedom. It is a great point gained that such a speech could be delivered in the Senate, and find its way, by the papers, in quarters where no anti-slavery publication is ever seen. When he commenced, the Senators did not appear to pay him much attention. They have their desks, and seem to occupy much of their time in writing; but as he proceeded, they became interested and excited, and frequently interrupted him with remarks and questions.

On another occasion, I heard Mr. Chase, of Ohio. He was entering into minute calculations of the political power which had hitherto been chiefly absorbed by the South, to prove that the retention of fugitives could not be taken as a desire on the part of the North to deprive the South of its influence; and shewed that it was premature for the slave-

holders to complain that they would be cramped if confined to their present boundaries, whilst they had such an immense preponderance of land over the free States.

I also heard Mr. Dayton, of New Jersey, which it will be remembered was originally a slave State. He first spoke on the territorial question, but afterwards entered into the proposed Fugitive Slave Bill at considerable length, and shewed the extreme injustice of its provisions. Mr. D. was not a Free-soiler, and spoke contemptuously and angrily of that party; but he seemed to take somewhat the same ground. He advocated trial by jury for the alleged fugitive. Probably, however, it is well that the inherent injustice of the Bill should not be disguised by any show of justice in the details. A jury might, indeed, protect a man who was *not* a fugitive; but the fugitive would be only mocked by the form of a trial, unless his escape was secured at the expense of twelve cases of perjury. As the measure stands, there is nothing to divert the attention from its essential iniquity.

I was of course desirous to hear what the Southerners could say in their defence, and I was present at a speech by a Senator of Virginia, of which I may give you some account in a subsequent letter.

On the whole, I am inclined, from what I saw and heard, to look favourably on the future. The passage of this Bill shewed, indeed, the strength of the slave power and the timidity or selfishness of the Northern majority, but it established no new principle; whilst, if I am not mistaken, a counter-concession was made in the abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. This is a most important measure: it is the commencement of legislation on the subject of slavery in the District, and may also be a step towards the abolition of the slave-trade between the different States. When this takes place, freedom in those States where it is now only profitable to rear slaves for transportation, cannot be far distant. Another triumph of still greater importance is the recovery of the right of petition and freedom of speech in Congress. Hitherto it has operated most unfavourably for liberty, that the legislature has met where the sight of slavery became familiar to them,—the North has been contaminated, the South unreformed; but every blow aimed at slavery in the District will be felt throughout the South; and, as I have before intimated, the debates are read by thousands whose consciences were before comparatively torpid on the subject.

We live in an age of great reforms; but this may teach us to persevere without impatience. In our own country, deep-rooted prejudices have been destroyed, mighty interests have yielded to the claims of humanity, and an occasional disappointment and defeat does not dishearten those who labour in hope. I trust that we may see the day when liberty, as well as peace and order, shall prevail in the great confederacy of America,—when the word *slavery*, which does not appear in the Constitution, shall be obsolete, and the thing it signifies be viewed as a bygone horror and disgrace.

Yours respectfully,

R. L. CARPENTER.

Neath, July 5, 1851.

No. II.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

SIR,

IN my last letter,* I described the political aspect of the Slave question, as it presented itself to me on my visit to Washington last year. I shall advert to the same topic again; but this letter will also contain more of my personal observations. Your readers will be candid enough to distinguish *observations* from *judgments*. My materials are my letters written at the time: and I may repeat what persons told me, without affirming my own accordance in their views. My opinion of slavery is not derived from the superficial and brief view I had of it, but from the investigations of those who have studied it in its varied bearings; and I should be pained if any one was unwise enough to think lightly of so monstrous an evil, because, as a traveller, I met with those who thus thought of it, and report what they said without any comment; for since I am writing to Englishmen, I suppose such comments little needed. I was very fortunate in making my last home, before quitting what was comparatively free soil, with Dr. Furness, of Philadelphia,—a man of large heart and spirit, who has taken decided part with the Abolitionists, though by doing so he has alienated some of his congregation,—among them, I fear, some of the English founders of this congregation, or their descendants. Some of those who are disgusted with the apathy of the church in this movement, intimate that the fact that a minister retains his position, is a proof that he is no honest foe to slavery. If this is a rule, Dr. Furness must be taken as an exception. His moral heroism is, however, blended with Christian charity; and in a large city many can be found to admire both these qualities. I did not understand that his congregation had lost more than it had gained. I saw at Philadelphia Lucretia Mott and some other earnest abolitionists.

I entered the Slave States, March 18, 1851. My first resting-place was at Baltimore, in Maryland, which had an interest for me as the former abode of F. Douglass. As I looked on his coloured † brethren, I thought whether he had kindred spirits among them who would, like him, achieve their freedom. I carried a letter of introduction to the Unitarian minister, Dr. Burnap, who kindly insisted upon my leaving my hotel and being his guest, as Miss Martineau and the Rev. W. Hincks had before been. He is well known in this country by republications of his Lectures to Young Men and other works, and is one of the most industrious literary men in our body. There is a University here, of which he is one of the Regents, and I accompanied him to the annual bestowal of medical degrees. The church was full of ladies and other friends of the students, and it was a very interesting occasion. The Unitarian church is built somewhat after the model of the Pan-

* In the last letter, p. 7, line 28, for Rev. F. Parkman, read Rev. J. Parkman.

† White is the combination of *colours*, black the *absence* of them; but perhaps an anomalous nomenclature is appropriate to an anomalous system.

theon at Rome, and is considered one of the handsomest edifices in the Union, and, as Dr. B. remarked, is the scene of the "Unitarian Pentecost,"—Dr. Channing's great sermon in 1819. Dr. Jared Sparks, who succeeded Mr. Everett as President of Cambridge University, was minister here, which may partly account for his strong objection to any violent disruption of the ties which bind the Northern and Southern States.

In Maryland, slavery does not prevail in its most aggravated form. I was told that great numbers of slaves had been set at liberty, either being allowed to work for hire and buy their freedom, or being freed as a reward of faithful service, or having received their liberty by bequest. The number of free blacks (73,943), which bears an unusually large proportion to that of the slaves (89,800), seems to confirm this statement. In the city of Baltimore (population 160,000) there are comparatively few slaves, though a great number of hired coloured servants. There may perhaps be half-a-dozen slaveholders in Dr. Burnap's large congregation, which comprises some country families. Since the Abolition movement, it is said that the pride of the slaveholders has been roused, and that emancipation is much more difficult and rare; and I was sorry to see lately a law passed which seemed directed against the free coloured population. Those, however, who agitate from a Christian sense of duty and in a Christian spirit, must not be deterred by increased injuries on those whom they would benefit: the irritation may be preliminary to cure.

Dr. Burnap, who is more secluded than he wishes from ministerial intercourse, was kindly urgent that I should prolong my stay; but I was anxious to reach Washington with as little delay as possible, and from March 20th to 29th I paid a promised visit to the Rev. J. H. Allen (now of Bangor, Maine), a nephew of Dr. H. Ware, Jun.

I have already alluded to the peculiar influences of Washington, leading men to look at questions in relation to that constitution through which they meet together; and there are cases in which we might judge incorrectly of a person's real feelings from this circumstance. One of the Supreme Judges, in conversation, expressed his doubt of the legality of the Wilmot proviso, though he was a friend to freedom. This, indeed, is what we are continually finding at home: the lawyer and politician seem to make a point of silencing the wishes of their hearts whilst they determine what is according to law and the principles of our government. The true moral reformer enunciates lofty principles, and is ready to abstain from action rather than compromise them: the political reformer, looking to practical results, enunciates lofty principles only when it leads to them, and meanwhile shakes hands with evils which he hopes to change or cure. Each is apt to be impatient with the other; each, when wise, is glad of the aid the other gives his cause. To take, as an example, the evil of *war* (which Channing pronounces "the concentration of all human crimes: here is its distinguishing accursed brand: under its standard gather violence, malignity, rage, fraud, perfidy, rapacity and lust"): no ardent peace-man could vote for reduced warlike estimates,—any estimate implies a participation in a system he abhors; but to plead against any armament, however small, Cobden would deem futile; yet the "impracticable enthusiast" influences public sentiment, and the politician makes

this sentiment as available as possible to change deep-rooted practices. The cause of freedom is probably greatly indebted, not indeed to those statesmen who are ready to declaim for freedom when it interferes with no party measure, but to those who are now making freedom itself the watchword of their party, and are doing all they can to turn the influence of government in the right direction. Their number, as was before intimated, is so small, that they could do but little, were it not that they often hold the balance of power, and have a moral influence from the stress they lay on what is, nominally, the great boast of America—liberty and equal rights.

In my last letter I gave a brief account of some speeches I heard against slavery: it will now be fair to give you some idea of what was said on the other side. I once supposed that the iniquity of slavery was so self-evident, that no one would defend it, except on the ground that it was too deeply rooted to be easily removed; but the Southerners now not only palliate, but justify their system; and, spoiled by the deference they have so long received, denounce the present stand made against them as most injurious tyranny. Some of their pleas might impose on those who have not that wholesome horror of slavery which needs no argument to rebut its sophistries. We refer them to the Bible: they do not see any *positive precept*, and differ from us in their apprehension of its *spirit*. We bid them hearken to the voice of Christendom: they find it divided. We address them as American citizens, and they answer in this way: We are a confederacy of independent States: slavery is not prohibited in the constitution: nothing is said there about the sin of slaveholding, or having property in man. "As a general rule, there is no positive law in England, or this country, creating property in anything. The right to property, according to Grotius and Puffendorf, rests upon the implied assent of mankind. This assent is implied in every society, either from laws providing remedies for the protection of this right, or from laws regulating the mode of its transfer, or from undisturbed use and occupation." What is property in some regions, is not in others: each must determine for itself. If you say, that no precedent ought to hold in this case, for that property in man is an outrage on common sense, we remind you that the common sense of the majority of mankind has been, and is, in favour of slavery, and that many of the honoured fathers of our constitution were slaveholders themselves. As long as we are in a confederacy, we are not to be persecuted and reviled for laws which have been recognized among us for nearly the whole of our existence. We agree with your ultra-abolitionists, that if we cannot tolerate each other's differences of opinion, it will be best to separate, when we will each carry out our own ideas without molestation.

The speaker from whom I have already quoted was Mr. Hunter, the Senator for Virginia. It was interesting to me to hear a Southerner's statement of what the North had already attempted for freedom:

"The evil, Mr. President, of which the South complains, arises out of the fact, that a party in the North, by no means contemptible in point of numbers, is seeking to convert this Government, through its direct legislation, into an instrument of warfare upon the institution of slavery in the States, and from the fear that the majority of those in the free States who are hereafter to control and manage this Government will use, if not its positive legis-

lation, at least its moral influence,* for that purpose. Government is designed to protect persons and property; but with what feelings will it be regarded, if, instead of performing those functions, it should become either directly or indirectly the source of constant assaults, not only upon twelve or fifteen hundred millions of property in the South, but upon the very safety of those whose peace depends upon preserving the existing relations between master and slave in those States?"

He then gave a summary of the Northern agitation of the subject, and continued :

"They petitioned Congress to withdraw the protection of law from slavery wherever it was given by the National Government. And why? Because slavery itself, in their opinion, was unlawful, and one man had no right to hold another as property.† They petitioned Congress to abolish slavery in the forts, arsenals and dock-yards of the United States, even in the slave States.‡ Their object was to exhibit to the master and to the slave in those States the example and influence of the general Government operating in their very midst and in opposition to slavery. They had probably other things in view, which were even better calculated for use in this war upon slavery. These places were thus to be fitted as the arenas for anti-slavery agitation in those States, and to be opened as a sort of free-negro Alsatia, where he might hold his perpetual Saturnalia of license and of crime (!) Thus the forts designed for our military protection were to be converted into abolition strongholds in the slave States themselves."

He dwelt on the dangers to the slave system from the propositions to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia and the slave-trade between the States—"the most deadly blow, short of actual abolition, at the institution of slavery which could possibly be given"—and mentions other instances to prove the innovating tendencies of the North. The grievance which most provoked his ire was their determination to oppose the admission of any more slave States, and thus to seal the political doom of the Southern party; and he draws a picture, meant to be very touching, of the horror and shame felt by the young hero in the Mexican war on finding that he had only fought to secure the ascendancy of his political foes, and to bring disgrace on his native State. All this was rather gratifying to me to hear; for it shewed that the efforts of the North for freedom, however inadequate we may deem them, were producing no inconsiderable result.

It was not, however, by any means soothing to my English pride when he commenced a justification of slavery on the ground that it was necessary for national welfare. "I have been looking," he said, "into the results of the British experiment, and for that purpose I have examined the last Reports upon that subject which are to be found in our library. They are comprised in certain volumes for 1847, 1848—

* Some Southerners have impudently demanded that the *moral* influence of Government should be exerted to perpetuate slavery.

† I am not aware that the constitution at all recognizes the right of property in *man*, though it recognizes the right of property in *labour*, which is not the same thing. A freeman may owe service. Art. IV. Sect. ii. 3 (which I quoted in my last letter as that on which the Fugitive Slave Bill was founded), uses no words which might not refer to an apprentice, or a hired labourer who had received his wages in advance.

‡ It is singular how men who boast of their liberty can bear to call their native land a *slave State*: one would suppose that it was only the reproachful name given by their foes!

large volumes, Sir—and turn where you may, you find the same picture of ruin, waste and social depression.” He then gave a succession of extracts from official documents, which, taken by themselves, certainly led to the idea that vast evil had resulted from emancipation. He dwelt on the horrors of the “new slave-trade” in Coolies, and noted that the African slave-trade had greatly increased in extent and in the wretchedness attending it; so that the efforts of English philanthropists had proved “disastrous and illusory;” and affirmed that our islands were relapsing into barbarism, and that any civilized nation had as much right to seize on them as we had to take them from the Indians.* He drew an imaginary picture of the result, if throughout the world slavery had been abolished, with a similar decline of exports: “Why how many people would have been thus stricken, rudely and at once, from the census of the world! An intelligent member from Alabama, in a recent and striking letter to his constituents, has just said, that the entire loss of one cotton crop in the United States would produce more misery and ruin in Europe than any two of Napoleon’s most destructive campaigns.”

He then proceeds to argue against the horror felt at slavery as *involuntary* servitude :

“But what is involuntary servitude—what is slavery? as I asked before. I know of no voluntary servitude, except the labour of love. The socialist tells us that the institution of wages is an institution of slavery; and surely all servitude for wages is involuntary, and therefore a state of slavery according to the common definition. We serve for wages to avoid something which is more painful to us than serving another; and upon what other principle is it that the African works for us? Will any man pretend to say that the servitude of the labourers in the crowded populations of Europe is voluntary? Go into the English colliery, and tell me if those boys who are hitched to carts by dog-chains, to draw coals through the dark, damp and narrow passages of the pits, are voluntary servants; if those women who toil like beasts of burden, without even the blankets that cover the coach-horse, are voluntary servants; if those beings who know nothing of the most essential truths of religion, nothing of the most common facts in human history, who pass through life knowing nothing, caring nothing, and fearing nothing, but the taskmaster’s edict and the taskmaster’s lash (for it seems the lash is used there too), are to be considered as serving less from compulsion than our Southern slaves? In point of moral culture and physical comfort, who can doubt but that the Southern slave is the superior? But it may be said that the condition of the father is not inherited by the son; he has at least a chance to rise above the social position of those from whom he sprung. A chance to rise above this condition!—the child inherits it as certainly from its parents by the force of circumstances, as if it descended to him by positive law. What chance has the child for moral culture or social advancement who is sent to labour at six, eight or ten years of age, and works twelve, fourteen or sixteen hours a day, as a living fixture to a spinning machine? Chosen because his limbs are supple and his will obedient, he winds and turns amidst the machinery until his limbs grow crooked, and his body becomes misshapen and deformed. A victim to premature vice and sordid ignorance, what can he hope except to tread the weary round trodden by his father before him—from the cradle to

* I was continually taught how easy it is to make out a strong case, even from official documents, if we confine ourselves to one-sided evidence: and perhaps the slaveholder may complain that we also are one-sided when we descant on the physical evils of slavery, as if they were universal or unmitigated.

the factory, from the factory to the poor-house, and the poor-house to the grave? The Southern slave has a far better chance to become a freeman by emancipation than the child of the lowest class of English labourers has to rise above the condition of his father."

It were a strange mode of defending a system to compare it with evils which every one of ordinary humanity deploras, and which are only named among us as abuses which call for a remedy. His argument, however, may have some force against those in the old world who say, "Stand by thyself, come not near unto me, for I am holier than thou:" and when he further tells us, "Your socialist is the true abolitionist, and he only fully understands his mission," we may remember that other questions are opening upon us, in which the weapons we are forging will be used; and that, unless we are prepared to discard all mere prudential considerations, and to regulate our daily life by the law of self-sacrificing Christian love, it may be wise to mete such measure as we shall not be displeased to have measured unto us again.

The subject of disunion was the common topic of conversation whilst I was at Washington, and I was mortified to find that an idea was prevalent that the South was making a league with England. I remarked to a gentleman who mentioned it, that I thought that the sentiments of Great Britain, as regards slavery, were pretty well known. He did not know that I was an Englishman, and replied, that its love of money was equally notorious. I observed that our sacrifice of £20,000,000 precluded such an insinuation, and also that, as our free-traders* were for the most part peace-men, however glad they might be to have free-trade with the South, they would not be likely to engage in war with the North in its behalf.

One Friday evening I attended the President's Levee, which I shall not encroach on the province of the general tourist by describing. I was pleased with the simplicity of the arrangements, and the general blending of persons of all ranks. With one discreditable exception—the absence of coloured people—it seemed in keeping with a Republic. Among the persons of note to whom I was introduced was Mr. Filmore, then Vice-President, who was a member of my friend's congregation. I went to America with a considerable contempt and horror for General Taylor. I had no respect for his intellect; in fact, I understood that he was elected as a party tool. I merely regarded him as a slaveholder and a soldier who had been successful in some scandalous wars, bound up therefore with two systems that I detest. But I suppose that we usually find out that a *man* is not an embodied sin: such a one would be a *fiend*. No one is always fighting or exercising tyranny. General Taylor, before he died, gained the character, even with many undoubted lovers of peace and freedom, of a courageous man, who honestly tried

* It used to be said, vices clash, virtues harmonize; but perhaps it may appear that *imperfect* virtues also clash; and if it is the case that zeal for *free-trade* had the effect of stimulating slavery in Brazil, &c., we ought to exercise some charity towards those whose one-sided zeal for union seems to cherish slavery. Both Unionists and Free-traders have this faith in their favourite principle, that if they will have patience with it, it will pay them all. Certainly the ill success of our crusade against slave-ships confirms the truth, that Satan cannot cast out Satan, and that cruelty cannot be put down by violence.

to do his duty,—though, compared with pure Christianity, his notions of duty were rarely of the very highest, and had been of the lowest kind. But, as President, he strove to act for the whole people, and to put away party, sectional and private interests. The South felt that he would not swerve from the constitution to favour them; whilst some of those who dreaded his accession the most, were most disheartened at his death. I called at the White House on the following Tuesday morning, with a gentleman who had been first Comptroller of the Treasury when the Democrats were in power: he spoke (as every one did) of the kindheartedness of General Taylor, who had been anxious to retain him in office, though differing from him in politics, and only knowing him by report. As no one, I believe, called on Tuesday mornings without a previous introduction, the servant did not attend us to announce our names. Other callers were there, and as there were not chairs enough near the President, he immediately rose to fetch some for us from the side of the room. Of course we forestalled him; but I must confess that I thought this unaffected, gentlemanly courtesy far more engaging than the formal courtliness of our European potentates. He conversed in a pleasant, friendly manner, and told me that I should find a difference between England and America: we were improving our lands, whilst they were exhausting theirs: he principally referred to Virginia. I said that I supposed that the owners would adopt some mode of renewing their exhausted soil: he thought not, they preferred to migrate. I was glad to hear the gentleman who was with me, a Southerner, speak of the pleasure which the improved culture and the evident security of property had given him in New England. Had it been polite, I should have liked to have intimated to General Taylor that neglect of land was not surprising in regions marked by neglect of man: but I heard that he was no enthusiast for slavery, but regarded it, as some of our military men do war, as a necessary evil.

I called on the man who holds the greatest intellectual eminence in America, Daniel Webster, bringing an introduction from Mr. Lothrop (the present President of the American Unitarian Association), to whose church he belongs when at Boston. His wife, I was informed, is an Episcopalian, and he did not attend our church at Washington. I was impressed, as every one is, by his wonderful eyes and forehead. He had a far more imposing presence than the President. The brief conversation in which we engaged was very interesting to me; but I purposely avoided any reference to the Slavery question, on which we must have differed.

I spent part of an evening with Dr. Bailey, whose (weekly) paper, *The National Æra*, is, I suppose, regarded as the Free-soil organ at Washington. It has a circulation of about 15,000, including about 600 exchanges. Provincial editors are of course glad to get a paper from the capital; so they print his circular, and then he does not know how to decline an exchange. He manages to glance at most of them, which of course gives him considerable knowledge of what is going on throughout the country. He has many subscribers, and about a hundred "exchanges," in the Southern States. The view that he took of cheap literature was on the whole favourable, as he thought that the reading matter, consisting largely of extracts, was generally superior to the

tone of the popular mind, and must, so far, tend to elevate it. His office has been mobbed on account of his sentiments. He mentioned that, in Louisiana, a process is going on which may ultimately promote abolition. There is a large free coloured population which is not under ban so much as in the North, and intermarriages are not unfrequent.

On the morning of Sunday, March 24th, I preached for Mr. Allen, who took the opportunity to do some missionary duty in the neighbourhood. This church, like that of Philadelphia, boasts an independent origin, not being a scion of New England. Mr. Little, from this country, was the first minister here. He died somewhat suddenly, after labouring here for eight years, much lamented and respected. The attendance was about 200, comprising the mayor of the city, several members of Congress, and other persons of influence. Some fellow-countrymen came to speak to me after the service. A cloud passed over my spirit at the consciousness that I was preaching in slave territory. I prayed, however, distinctly for the slaves, shewing what I felt rather in tone and manner than in mere words. Mr. Allen has great independence of character, and is not a party-man; those who are fond of paradox may therefore call him *pro-slavery*; but I was pleased to find that his church was disliked by many as "the Abolition church:" what may be its future reputation under Dr. Dewey it is not for me to say.

In the afternoon I went to a large Roman Catholic church. On my way I fell in with a Negro and walked with him, as we were going to the same place. In the North I should have done so as a matter of course; but here I had to learn a little charity towards others, by being conscious of reluctance to attract observation by transgressing the usages of the place. As, however, I could not reconcile this false shame with any honourable feeling, I overcame it at once, and I do not remember being troubled with it again. He took for granted that I was a Northerner; I felt pleasure in telling him that I was an Englishman. In most of the other denominations, as he informed me, they have separate churches: the whites would not take the communion with them: in the Catholic church, they have one of the side galleries. My new acquaintance introduced me to the sexton, who directed me to a seat. Those who believe the soul the most important part of man, will deem the enslavement of the soul the most awful kind of slavery. The spiritual bondage of those who make their loud boast of freedom, the ceremonies of this old decaying church in this irreverential new world, and the bold tirade of the eloquent preacher, excited a variety of reflections,—with which, however, it is not necessary that I should trouble your readers.

The next morning a black man called to ask aid to build a coloured Presbyterian church. Whilst they have separate places of worship, the black elder or minister is allowed a place in the Presbytery. There are several thousand free coloured people in Washington, if free they can be called when they are subject to so much oppression. They have to find a heavy bail to enable them to settle here, and they are not allowed to keep shops, though they may be barbers, hucksters, and dealers in small wares; and they are liable to a fine if out after ten o'clock at night, unless they are coachmen or servants. I asked him why he did not live in the North? He had travelled over a great part

of the Union, but was attached to his home; he was free-born. He had seen F. Douglass, but dared not take his paper: one of their ministers had had his house searched for abolition papers; fortunately he had sent them away a little while before. The coloured inhabitants, he further told me, have no assistance from the public school fund: on the other hand, they are not taxed for it. They are now attending to education, and are very different in that respect from what they were ten years ago.

I did not inquire how many slaveholders there were in my friend's congregation, nor indeed whether there were any. Free black servants are common. One very estimable lady told me that she preferred hiring slaves. An abolitionist, who would eat no Carolina rice and use no slave-grown cotton, might, without inconsistency, say that she was patronizing the system. This lady, however, felt that these slaves, if not hired out, would be sold, and that by hiring them she could secure for them the comforts of a kind home as long as they were with her. Those who see no express injunction against the employment of slaves in the Bible, and have not our almost instinctive horror of it, naturally doubt whether their desire to alter one of the bad institutions of their country should so far keep them aloof from it as to put it out of their power to mitigate the condition of its victims. She treats them not as slaves, but as hired servants—far more considerately than many treat their servants; and if the wages go for the most part (for food and clothing, &c., of course form part of the wages) to some one who has no *moral* right to it, this unfortunately is not absolutely peculiar to slave countries. I mention this case to shew how difficult it is to decide as to persons' motives. We may be thankful if we are never tempted to compromise with slavery through a benevolent feeling towards the slave.

I left Washington on Good Friday. My time was limited, as I made a particular point of returning for the Boston anniversaries, and I had a great deal to see first; else I should have liked to have remained here longer. It was the arena of a most important conflict, and afforded me the opportunity of becoming acquainted with men of high talent and great influence. There seemed to be more social intercourse than in the busy Northern cities, and of course the society was more varied. The number of idlers make it, however, a very dissipated place. It is rising in favour as a winter residence, though its anomalous position—not belonging to any State, but being under the general Government, of which the local city Government is sometimes jealous—was long unfavourable to its improvement. Hitherto, as I hinted in my last letter, the session of Congress in a city which has been described as “the great slave mart of Christendom,” is not only a just cause of contemptuous indignation against a “free and enlightened Republic,” but has had a tendency to weaken and corrupt the Northern majority: when once, however, it understands and asserts its great principles, these circumstances will have a very different result. Washington will be the fulcrum on which the lever of freedom will work. It is already decreed that the slave-dealer must find his mart *elsewhere*: he takes it as an omen, and so do I, that he shall see the day when he shall find one *nowhere*.

The sail down the Potomac affords a beautiful view of Washington,

and we soon arrived at the place where he whose name it bears lies buried. His memory is kept green. As we passed Mount Vernon, the bell of the steamer tolled solemnly—unlike the ringing usual to warn passengers to disembark. We soon landed in Virginia—the old dominion—once the principal State in the Union, now only the fourth. I reached Richmond by railroad, which had an interest for me as the abode of Dr. Channing at a very important period of his life. It contains large manufactories of tobacco: prejudice against colour subsides before affection for the weed, and Americans do not object to chew what Negroes have been handling. I was told that slaves employed in this work often earn a good deal for themselves: they may have the gloomy satisfaction that they are engaged in forging chains for their masters, who are the slaves of this filthy and degrading habit. A black came into the “cars” to sell papers, and, to put the passengers in good humour, talked in the grandest and most absurdly pompous style. Most of the conversation that I heard was on the prevailing topic of the day. One gentleman was speaking of a slave who had purchased the freedom of his wife in preference to his own: I suppose that any children he might afterwards have should be free, as they follow the condition of the mother. I understood that, since the agitation of the subject, laws had been passed prohibiting persons who should be freed thenceforth from remaining in the State. The husband had therefore induced some gentlemen, on whom he could rely, to be her nominal purchasers, that she might continue to be near him. A horrid state of the laws! yet slavery does not shew its vilest influences when such self-devotion can grow up under it. It touched me to find one who loved his wife and children better than himself. He was the Lord’s freeman: the servile soul was in his reputed master!

The mere passing traveller is struck with the difference between this Southern railroad and those in the North. The trains are less frequent, the cars inferior, the roads wretched. One mitigation was, that, time not being valued, we had an easy allowance of it for our meals. Temperance principles seemed less prevalent, and the comparative absence of the excitements of commercial speculation appeared in numerous schemes for lotteries. I was first reminded of the new kind of “property” in these regions (for I had not remarked it at Washington) by a paper stuck up at a “depôt,” announcing a sale by auction of thirty Negroes. I wondered how my fellow-passengers in the second-class cars felt when they read such advertisements, till I remembered that probably they could not read.

When we reached Wilmington, N. C., we embarked on board a steamer; but the weather was unfavourable, and the next morning we had to put back. It was Easter Sunday. I had hoped to have spent it at Charleston, S. C., but found my way to the Episcopal church of this town. Here, emphatically a *strange* land, I found that the English Liturgy had its charms. All sects are equal: the wicked and base political services and Athanasian Creed are omitted from the Prayer-book; and I could listen to it less as a Dissenter protesting against a tyrannical establishment, than as an Englishman thinking of his home of freedom. What touched me most, however, was one of our commonest of common-metre tunes, in which I joined with good heart. I witnessed the administration of the Lord’s Supper. How

characteristic it seems of a system in which the church is to do everything, that instead of the communicants taking the bread and dividing it among themselves, the priest selects the piece of bread for each one, and gives it him or her. Bishop Ives preached: he is a Puseyite; and I heard that very high notions as to clerical authority prevailed in some of the proud cities of the South.

We waited for the arrival of the daily train, which brought us some new passengers of a painfully interesting character—70 or 80 slaves going to Alabama for sale. I never felt more strongly than in such circumstances the importance of a firm, deep-rooted conviction of the inalienable dignity of human nature—honour for man as man; for, without it, the sight of degradation naturally excites contempt, unless there is something to move anger or pity; and where there is no external sign of misery, sorrow is only spontaneous in one who looks beneath the surface. It is well known that chains and fetters are the frequent accompaniments of slavery; but I saw nothing of this kind, and no outward cruelty. It was really sadder as it was: it shewed that escape was deemed impossible. The Negro porters of the vessel were lively fellows, though their jokes sometimes saddened me: they were very merry about the "African gentlemen." We in England see a superior class of Negroes: if they are fugitives, the fact indicates enterprize and superiority to a base condition: even if they are not men of mark, those who are in constant intercourse with the European race must have some civilization, though too often of a bad sort: but some of these persons looked in the lowest grade of humanity. Of course I do not refer to the colour,—for some of the finest men that I have seen had the same,—but to their features and expression. I felt disposed to attribute this to slavery; yet I was assured by visitors to Cuba, that the new importations are much worse.* Be this as it may, if the tyranny of their native rulers in a heathen, barbarous country tends to keep them in a low condition, this is no justification for tyranny, even of a milder form, in a country professedly civilized and Christian. There is something naturally disgusting in the idea of slavery, and I looked with no good-will on the two drivers. As I had resolved to travel as an observer, I looked, but said nothing. My looks may have indicated my feelings; for three or four Americans explained to me that the dealers were a despised race, and that selling slaves, except in cases of extreme necessity, was thought disreputable. (This "extreme necessity" seems extremely common.) Perhaps they have the same feeling towards them that some moderate drinkers have to publicans or gin-sellers. I was shocked to see that most of the gangs were women, generally young, and children. This indicated a great disruption of family ties. There were only four or five men. I purposely did not speak to them: their real feelings will not be uttered in presence of their oppressors, and the utterance of mine might have only increased their oppression. A passenger asked one of them whether he was not sorry to leave Washington. He said that he was sorry when he was first parted from his family; but that if he was to be moved from them,

* Perhaps no general statement can be made. Some native Africans are said to be far finer and nobler men than the majority of slaves born in America.

he supposed that he might find as good a master in Alabama as in Washington.

Nothing, I hope, shall ever silence my voice against this treatment of man as property, and driving human beings from their homes in droves, like sheep; but it is just to remember that, with us, sheep are often *more* regarded than men, because men are *not* property, and poverty is often treated as a crime. Your readers are familiar with the evictments of human beings, for the benefit of sheep-owners, in the Highlands. Such cases still continue. Last February, I saw in a London paper a forcible letter against welcoming Americans who are cool about slavery, and I had some thought of sending it across the water, but was deterred by seeing that the next column contained a letter from a Scotch paper not creditable to our selfish freedom:

“This will be handed you by a very poor man, one of the fathers of ten most destitute families, comprising about sixty individuals, old and young, who have been compelled by the strong arm of starvation to flee from their wretched homes in the island of Barra; or, more properly speaking, have been driven out by the proprietor of the soil which they and their ancestors have occupied for centuries. * * * The proprietor, wallowing in wealth, as he is said to be, seems to think he makes out a sufficient plea of justification for his conduct * * * by alleging that he has made a bad bargain in the purchase of this island, and that therefore he has a full right to clear off from it all incumbrances, especially the wretched people. * * * Hunger was legibly painted in their faces, and till benevolent individuals supplied various articles of clothing, all of them nearly, but especially the women and children, were in rags, or almost naked.”

As regards this single feature of slavery, that it tears persons from their homes, it may seem as bad to deem them an *incumbrance* and turn them off to *starve*, as to deem them *property* and drive them off to *toil*. “Two wrongs,” however, “do not make a right;” and fortunately, with us, no class is so dominant as to enforce silence as to its wrong-doings: what we in England freely denounce as unfeeling though legalized tyranny, is in republican America an every-day occurrence. I will confess that the horror which the sight of slavery kindled in me, makes me more sensitive than ever to heartless oppression of every kind; and till Great Britain is without sin, it especially becomes us to remember that our Saviour spake a “parable unto certain which trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others.”

If you feel sufficient interest in my remarks to desire their continuance, I will in my next letter give you an account of my visit to Charleston, S. C., the head quarters of Slavery and Disunion.

Yours respectfully,

R. L. CARPENTER.

Neath, Aug. 4, 1851.

No. III.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

SIR,

IN the Northern States, I might often have forgotten that I was not on British ground; but in the South, I was continually reminded that I was no longer in the land of the free. The captain of the steamer from Wilmington, N. C., to Charleston, S. C., demanded our age, profession, native land, &c., as if we were entering a foreign country.

South Carolina, the "Nullification State," is famed for its high notions respecting "State rights:" it is also peculiarly sensitive on the Slavery question, for the slaves preponderate (350,000 slaves, 280,000 whites); whilst in all the Southern States taken together the white population is twice as numerous as the slaves. Calhoun, the stern upholder of slavery, was one of its senators in Congress; and what made it peculiarly interesting to me at that juncture, was, that his death was just announced; and I attended a public meeting, called in consequence at the City Hall, at which the Governor presided. There was a great deal of impassioned eloquence.* They were exhorted to vow, as over his body, "inextinguishable resistance to tyranny:" and as his death was hastened by his efforts for the Southern party, there were various allusions to the death-wounds of Cæsar, &c.; and one speaker suggested that he was sorry that, instead of electing a successor, they could not leave his empty seat, decked in mourning, to speak to the hearts of the senators. The audience thought the idea very beautiful: doubtless the North would equally have admired it;—votes are precious.

The next day I attended a much more numerous meeting, convened at the Military Hall, the largest in the city, to appoint delegates to the Nashville Convention. The views taken were strangely different from those to which I had been accustomed. So far from these Southerners being ashamed of themselves, as worse than sheep-stealers, they seemed quite in earnest in regarding themselves as injured men struggling for great rights. They spoke of the Revolutionary war as caused by less provocation than they had now, though England had been quite as dear to them as the North: the Northerners were all Abolitionists, or sympathizers with them, and a Southerner felt like a foreigner among them; he was ostracised: disunion was a serious matter, and none should take part in these preliminaries who were not prepared for the horrors of civil war, &c. I was not struck with the ardour of the meeting: such stirring speeches, if they met with the popular approval,

* An interesting anecdote was related of Calhoun. At the time of the Ashburton treaty, the Administration was very unpopular. A gentleman connected with it, however, who was not on good terms with Mr. C., felt the importance of its ratification so much, that he called on him, dwelt on the horrors of war with "glorious old England," and told him, that whatever might be the faults of the treaty, it seemed to be the only way of preventing war. Mr. C. said that he would take it into consideration, and would not allow personal feelings to influence him. When the Senate met, in secret session, for executive business, and appearances were strongly against the Administration, Calhoun rose, and produced such an impression that the treaty was carried. Persons of all parties shook hands with him, and it was truly said that such an hour was worth a life.

would have been much more loudly cheered with us; but their habits on these occasions are quieter, and it was regarded as very enthusiastic. It was ludicrous, though painful, to hear them complain of "Southern wrongs," and aggression and tyranny, in apparent unconsciousness that they are themselves regarded by many as the greatest tyrants and aggressors and wrong-doers on the face of the earth. It is, however, no new thing for men to dwell on some apparent injustice towards themselves, rather than on their own injustice to others. In their estimate of the constitution as "pro-slavery" (as well as in their desire for disunion), they coincide with the Garrisonians. Those who declare that they will admit no new State without the Wilmot proviso, appear to them dishonest. "We have bought these lands from Mexico," they say, "with our blood and our treasure; unless you can bring back our dead and pay our costs, we are entitled to our share. You knew what persons we were when you entered into partnership; it is too late to disclaim us now; either give us our share, or we will break up partnership and take our share. You add insult to injury when you urge that our institutions would bring disgrace and evil on these lands. Better be tyrannized over by a king, than by a majority who are constantly getting more and more outrageous in their exactions!" They seemed quite as much in earnest as some Unitarians are against the British and Foreign School Society, which has pocketed our money and would now cast us out. "Think of your compact," say we; "be honest!" "Honesty may be the best policy," say our opponents, "but we must not peril the immortal souls of children for morality, or policy, or anything else." "Observance of compacts and oaths may be all very well," says the North, "but human freedom is far above them all." Thus the South thinks of the North, so we of the orthodox; in each case, the other party thinks itself misrepresented.

In the evening a friend introduced me to a meeting of his club, composed of some of the most influential men of the city, including some of the Professors of the University. The subject was, The Philosophy of the Union. The opener of the discussion regarded slavery as a divine institution and a providential arrangement. Cotton, rice, &c., were needed for human welfare: incalculable misery, in Europe as well as America, would result from their failure: they would fail without coloured labour. West-Indian experience proved that without slavery sufficient labour could not be procured, whilst the race was sinking back to a state of savage existence, and wretched neglect and ruin prevailed.* Wilberforce's labours were abortive, as the British Government was convinced that the horrors of the Slave-trade had only been increased by compulsory efforts to check it. Slavery had done far more than missionary effort to civilize the coast of Africa: the Liberians would teach the natives the useful arts which they had learnt whilst slaves. It was absurd for persons in the North, living in an entirely different climate and in quite another state of society, to judge for them. Union was very important: on no continent had the idea of unshackled intercourse been so fully developed: it was delightful to travel from one State to another without restrictions and imposts;—still, if union

* I have before adverted to the one-sided use made of some official reports from the West Indies.

only forced persons together to quarrel, who might be friendly if separate, it ceased to be a blessing. England was the great anti-slavery country: it was not interest or calculation that made it so. The prosperity of the colonies was not consulted. There was such a strong *sentiment* against slavery, that it had to be abolished. England refused to give up slaves, and was the great exciter of anti-slavery feeling in the North; and yet it so happened, that they had now kindlier feelings towards England than towards the North. The North and South took entirely different views, and then difficulties arose from the attempt to make the North the supporter of a system which it abhorred. The South would get on better by itself. Its energies had stagnated; disunion would stimulate them. It possessed the world's supply of cotton, and it had a North within itself, the manufacturing capabilities* of which would soon be developed. This gentleman spoke in the calmest manner, and evidently laid great stress on the Bible: he bore the highest character, I heard, for purity and integrity of character.

A clergyman said, that he was glad to hear slavery spoken of as a civilizing instrumentality. He thought that the moderate opponents of the system would not feel such abhorrence of it if they regarded it as transitional, and preparatory to a better state. If the Negroes were to be the educators of Western Africa, they must themselves be educated. (This was demurred to; the education meant was only of that kind which was insensibly derived from living among civilized men.) He could not give any hopeful view for the future. Whatever might be the temporary alternations of feeling in the North, it was on the whole becoming more decidedly opposed to the system. The churches of the North were divided, if not formally, yet in feeling, from those in the South. He felt under a ban in New England. He believed that there were 20,000 pulpits where prayers were offered against slavery every Sunday, and in many of them sermons were annually preached against it.—Another clergyman spoke very bitterly of the immoral doctrines of the Northern church: the sanctity of oaths and compacts seemed utterly despised.

One gentleman remarked that he did not entertain the least hope from Webster, who spoke as a constitutional lawyer. As Texas had been admitted, he would carry out all the provisions then made; but he avowed that he had opposed those provisions,—that he was averse to slavery, and would take all constitutional means to discountenance it.

It was believed that the New-Englanders, who were of Puritan origin, were moved by a sincere, though narrow-minded and over-bearing, sense of duty; but New York was spoken of contemptuously, as the hotbed of socialism and wild theory, peopled by a mixed race, and making concessions only through mercenary motives. It was stated that when Governor Seward† visited the South, he said that he was merely acting as he felt compelled to by his constituents. The idea that individual conscience was higher than all law or compact, was the purest fanaticism (!) ‡

* And not improbably its anti-slavery tendencies also!

† Vide p. 6.

‡ The Catholic says, Hear the Church; the Puritan, Hear the Conscience; the Politician, Hear the State. We consider the Catholic immoral, in setting

Of course I took no part. In the midst of much that grieved me, it was interesting to hear the way in which they referred to their English origin,* and their respect for the mother country (this feeling prevails far more in the old States of the North and South than in the Middle States); and it was a comfort to find, that though the Northern clergy are considered by the Garrisonians as scandalously lukewarm, they are regarded by the supporters of the system as doing more than any other body to diffuse a general sentiment against it. It was a favourable opportunity for hearing the opinions of a number of sensible and influential men, conversing among themselves. They seemed to have no idea that they were in the wrong; but spoke in the tone of persons who had been calumniated, and who were about to be cheated. If slavery was what they represented it in theory, and what in the practice of some few wise and kind persons it may be, it might be viewed with that calmness with which we contemplate those faulty systems which, in the Divine government, seem designed to prepare the way for what is better. Conversing with a number of gentlemanly men on the matter abstractedly, is like a friendly chat with officers who have been engaged in our ambitious wars. If we happen to witness a flogging, naval or military, or to come across the victims of rapacity, lust and fury, and hear *their* tale, it is not quite so pleasant.

The next morning I saw in the newspaper several advertisements of sales, by a merchant whom I had met the evening before. They were to be held near the Post-office, and I resolved to be present. Of course my acquaintance did not officiate in person, any more than a high-sheriff would act as hangman; meaner men are found ready to do discreditable work. There were several slaves for sale. They stood upon a bench by the auctioneer, lot after lot. I did not observe any fetters or show of violence. On the whole, I would rather have seen them: it would not have seemed such an ordinary, commonplace matter. The absence of precaution to prevent escape shewed that escape was regarded as hopeless. Outward force is less mysteriously horrible than the influence which paralyses a man's inward strength. I did not remark any of those indecencies, as regards the dress or the handling of the persons for sale, which so frequently reveal the inherent and essential indecency of all such sales. There was no peculiar excitement, and only about thirty persons were present. They were selling a young man when I came—a good boy, he would not run away (the "goodness" was that of a prisoner; he looked stupid and sullen); afterwards a black girl, who manifested her shame at being sold; a mother and her children; an old man: I wondered that any one would buy the duty of taking care of him in his declining years. As some persons think no jest so good as a perversion of what is *sacred*, so others seem to find something ludicrous in the perversion of what is *human*; and if incongruity is the soul of wit, a heartless wit may find amusement in the outrageous incongruities of a human market: and I saw in many present a sneering expression, which I have often noticed in persons who have

aside oaths to serve the Church; the Politician thinks us immoral, in setting them aside to serve private Conscience; we and the Catholics think the Politician impious, to set Church and private Conscience at nought to serve the State.

* Some of the principal people of Charleston, however, are of Huguenot extraction.

to look on that which they dare not regard seriously. I thought, too, that I detected a brutality of tone which men do not acquire from dealing in sheep. The sales I have specified were not quite consecutive; for though they took but a very short time, it was longer than I could endure to remain, for they made me half hysterical, half sick; and in order to retain the necessary composure, I had to go away once or twice to recover self-control. What the deadening effect might be of seeing such a thing often, I do not care to inquire. I have seen it once: I went as a duty—a duty I hope never to have to undertake again. I found that those who viewed it as a necessary part of a necessary system, could not understand my emotion, nor the horror which I assured them my friends would feel at the very sight of the advertisements.* Those, however, who perceived how shocking I thought it, were anxious to impress upon me that it was regarded as discreditable to sell, except in cases of emergency, and that great efforts were made to provide as comfortable places as possible for those from whom they had to part, and not to separate families. No doubt the kind persons who spoke in this way would act thus themselves; and I saw in one of the papers an advertisement—"A likely black girl, 17 years of age; a good house-servant; to remain in the city, as she is sold for no fault;" and in a few other cases, "to be sold to a city resident;" but generally the advertisements shew no such consideration. I had intended to copy all the advertisements relating to slavery which occurred in a single paper, the Charleston Courier, April 9, 1850,—since, as I hope that your volumes will long outlive the "peculiar institution," they may hereafter be regarded as curiosities. I found, however, that there were about twenty-five, relating to the sale of about 250 slaves; and I will not distress you with more than a few specimens:

"NEGROES WANTED.—Wanted to purchase, likely young NEGROES, for which the very highest market price will be paid. Apply to M. McBRIDE, 1, Chalmers Sr." He might have spared his advertisement if he had applied to "THOS. RYAN & SON, 12, State Street," who announce "NEGROES AT PRIVATE SALE: Between 60 and 70 NEGROES, consisting of Field Hands, Cooks, Washers and Ironers, House Servants, Coachmen and Hostlers, &c." "AT PRIVATE SALE, an uncommonly fine family of NEGROES, consisting of one Woman, 40 years old, a first-rate washer and ironer, with her three children, one 19, one 14, and one 8 years old. They are town raised, of unexceptionable character, and perfectly healthy" (you will observe that there is no mention of a husband; and I may say the same of the other "family" advertisements in the paper); "also, a very valuable SHIP CARPENTER, about 35 years old. The above property is offered simply to change the investment, and is well worthy the attention of persons wishing such. Apply at the office of D. C. GIBSON, Esq., 84, Church Street, up stairs." "On THURSDAY, the 11th inst., at 11 o'clock, at the North of the Custom House, will be sold, A PEW in St. Peter's church, known by the No. 72, and situate in the south aisle. Also, Two Slaves, viz. PEGGY, an elderly woman, and JOEYBY [her

* A gentleman told me, that as there must of course be sales, he thought public ones best. Some Southerners, whose chivalric notions about white women are in the inverse ratio of their respect for womanhood when the skin is coloured, would be shocked at our statute-fairs, where women stand in the streets for hire, exposed to the staring scrutiny of every passer-by, sometimes even allowing their hands to be felt, as evidence that they had been accustomed to hard work. Whilst, then, we have public hirings, it is not the *publicity* of the sale, but the fact that there is a *sale* at all, which is to us so utterly revolting.

general deportment. When I have had occasion to walk or ride with them, I was not disturbed by the perpetual touching of the hat in conversation. This, however, may result from the general custom of society; and there would be more difference in manner between a white American and a slave, than between an English mechanic and a footman. To see the coloured people at their "weekly jubilee," the Saturday market,* which is mostly supplied by them, or to watch them on the Sunday before the doors of their houses, chatting merrily with one another, one would not imagine them a wretched people. Our sadness, however, awakens when theirs sleeps. We know that, whilst the masses may seem resolved to make what they suppose the best of their condition, the noblest among them are wretched even in their ease, and are bitterly longing for the hardness of the freeman's lot. Complacency in slavery is the perfection of its curse.

A tourist who did not look at advertisements, and never came across a slave-sale, might not have his feelings much lacerated by what met his eye. He is not importuned by beggars. He sees no thumb-screws, or slave-whips, or fetters, hung up in the halls, nor is he awakened in the morning by screams. His own kindly looks may be reciprocated by those who wait on him, and there may be nothing to remind him that he is not receiving free-will service. There is, however, a place in this city where persons may, if they please, send slaves whom they deem refractory or dishonest. It was an old sugar-house, and was not long ago the scene of a formidable riot. When I was at Charleston, a new building was in course of erection. The Southerners boast that they do not punish their slaves so severely as the law does offenders in free States: such boasters seem wilfully blind to the atrocities so frequently perpetrated. Even if mild persons shrink from being their own executioners, and selfish ones do not choose to be at the expense of the maintenance of a slave when unproductive,† it does not prove the humanity of the South; but may indicate our inhumanity, if our punishments are more severe than we should ourselves choose to inflict on any in whom we had a direct interest.

The prevalence of persons of the intermediate shades of colour, who for obvious reasons are more numerous in the cities than on the plantations, tells its own sad and disgraceful tale. In former times there were instances in which a white man would marry a coloured woman, and set her and the children free; but now no one can be set free and remain in the State. A high-minded man would as soon be the *son* of a slave as the *father* of one; but these persons, who cant about liberty, seem to take a pleasure in being the parents of slaves! Which is most free in soul,—the mother who weeps to see her children in bonds, or the father who loves to have them so? He is the degraded slave of lust and mammon. The mixed race are, in the South, the evidences of licentiousness. On this matter, those who are acquainted with investigations connected with this most painful of subjects will perhaps feel

* It is held in a commodious erection down one of the principal streets, and is lighted with gas. Basket-work and rough upholstery were for sale, besides meat and vegetables.

† Five hundred dollars a month has been paid to the city for board of the prisoners by their owners.

that we in England cannot with propriety assume any Pharisaic attitude; nor is the condition of our myriads of victims of seduction much to be envied, even by Negro mothers. Fortunately, we are spared one temptation to hypocrisy; for there you may hear grave divines arguing against the union of races, as something abhorrent to the laws of nature, whilst palpable proofs to the contrary are everywhere before their eyes; and, if I am not mistaken, a coloured man is punishable with death for having intercourse with a white woman, whilst her brother may with impunity corrupt his (the coloured man's) sister. It is not then, colour, but slavery, that has most influence here. The coloured children of the white woman would be free, and mammon has no motive to pardon the disgrace. The coloured children of the black woman are slaves: the owner cares little who the father was; perhaps prefers a white one, because they may be more intelligent.—But the disgust which I feel in adverting to this topic, teaches me some allowance for those who willingly are ignorant of the worst horrors of slavery.

My visit at Charleston was to the Rev. Dr. Gilman, a native of New England, whom a residence of thirty years in the South has familiarized with the feelings of the place. He is, nominally, a slaveholder, and is much respected in this metropolis of slavery—circumstances sufficient to secure him the denunciations of some abolitionists. He certainly occupies a position which would be fatal to *my* peace of mind, but yet I hope that he is indirectly promoting the great cause of freedom. He has held a slave for many years, I believe; how he became possessed of him, I did not inquire: by the law of the land he is prevented from setting him free to reside in the State. He treats him, however, with the same kindness that he shews to his hired white servants, pays his wages into the savings' bank, and whenever he is disposed to leave the State, those wages and his free papers are ready for him. One of Dr. G.'s daughters has lately married in New England, and she wished to take this servant with her, when of course he would have been free; but he naturally preferred remaining in the scenes with which he was familiar. If he went Northward, the climate might not suit him, and he would find himself comparatively isolated on account of his colour. At present, knowing that he is virtually free, he may feel in a better relative position in the South, where the majority are of his own complexion and not so fortunate as himself. I need not descant on the obvious iniquity of the law; but any censures are manifestly unjust which confound those who strive to mitigate the evils under which they live, with those who aggravate them. And possibly it might savour as much of pride as of humanity, if, to avoid the *name* of slaveholder, Dr. G. should drive a man who was attached to his country into *compulsory* exile. If all slaveholders followed his example, slavery would of course be a nonentity; and I was glad to be able to adduce it to those who professed to me that, living in the South, they could not do otherwise than fall in with the ordinary customs. Dr. G. heard me with much candour when I commented with my usual freedom on the evils of the system. From his connection with the North, as well as from natural disposition, he was a devoted adherent of the Union, and censured those whose bitterness he regarded as a cause of the tenacity with which the South clung to an institution which he thought would

have yielded before the combined influences of Republicanism and Christianity. He had, however, no sympathy with those who spoke lightly on the subject, and expressed the pain that he felt when professing Christians at Boston advocated the delivery of a fugitive (under the old Act) on the ground of their *commercial* relations with the South.

At his request I preached for him on Sunday, April 7. His church was larger, apparently, than that at Washington; and they talk of either enlarging or rebuilding it. It is situated in the midst of a spacious burying-ground, which then bloomed with Cherokee roses and other flowers, in striking contrast to the snow which I had left at Washington. It was not the fullest season, but there was a good congregation, and in the galleries were many coloured people—several of them, I believe, slaves. Ladies and gentlemen were in the same galleries, and I did not see a more marked distinction than between the rich and the poor at home.* Had I been told that I was only to preach on certain conditions, I should certainly have declined altogether; yet, whilst no such conditions were imposed, I felt that I was not there to gratify my own impatience at evil, but to do what good was in my power. When I was in the pulpit, it occurred to me to shew Dr. G. this expression—"We would remember those who are in bonds, as bound with them"—in the written prayer which I thought of using. † He told me that he might perhaps use the expression, to which, in itself, there could of course be no objection, but that its employment by a stranger would give rise to much irritation and remark; and that, in the present highly excited state of public feeling, it was for me to consider whether I wished to drop a spark upon gunpowder. If it had been a sentence in a *sermon*, my pride might have dictated its retention, come what would. Yet even abolitionists indignantly blame those whose honest speech wounds their feelings; so perhaps it would have been a false pride which would lead me to utter what would offend without convincing. And in a mixed congregation, where slaves are present, one cannot wisely say what one might address to masters alone. The Great Teacher spoke as the people were able to bear it. In a public prayer, however, the minister speaks in behalf of the people; and if he utters that as the people's which he *knows* is not,—if he inflames their rage, whilst he professes to be drawing their thoughts to God,—he can scarcely be offering *true* worship. Accordingly, I selected another prayer. Perhaps there may be some pulpits, even in England, in which ministers do not feel themselves perfectly free to set themselves in direct opposition to the strong and prevailing sentiment in their societies; but during the whole of my visit to the South, I had a most

* I ought not to forget that in the chapel that I attended as a boy, the ministers of which were undoubted friends to freedom and Christian equality, the poor had their separate seats; and after the sermon, my childish admiration was excited by seeing a troop of livery-servants leaving the chapel,—it seeming of more importance that their masters should not be kept waiting for their carriages, than that they themselves should join in the concluding devotions of the congregation.

† The American pulpits are very large, and usually contain a sofa or two or three chairs. When a stranger preaches, it is the custom for the minister of the place to sit in the pulpit with him. Written forms of prayer do not appear to be used in America. I thought it wisest, however, to act on my usual custom of employing my manuscript in what we call the long prayer.

painful conviction of the humiliating bondage in which all public men are held on this topic. I conversed freely, because I was a traveller and an Englishman; but I found that a whisper of blame was as effective and audible there, as a shout of reproach on the subject in the North. Another reflection was more consolatory: I had often heard the prayers of Northern ministers for the slave treated with something like derision; but I found that they are not regarded as idle words, and that there are few things more distressing to a religious Southerner than the knowledge that those under his yoke are continually the subjects of prayer, as peculiarly requiring the Divine compassion and deliverance.

I partook of the Lord's Supper. At one part of it we were invited to think of our absent friends in Christ, and there was a pause for that purpose. Certainly, if we remember the Head, we should call to mind the members also; and as a stranger in a foreign land, I felt it peculiarly interesting to be led to go in thought to those who were so near me in heart. About thirty or forty Negroes communicated with us. They were seated on benches down the middle aisle, and I believe that the senior deacon handed them the bread and wine.* After the service, an aged Negro came up and shook hands cordially with Dr. Gilman and myself, and hoped to see us at their evening meeting. He was an interesting old man. Before the present law rendered such a step illegal, he had bought his freedom with his savings, and a day or two after he had acquired it he broke his arm. A double loss: for had he remained a slave, his master was bound by law to maintain him; or had he desired his freedom, he could of course have procured it at a much reduced rate. He had however many kind friends, who contributed to his support. There is often *open-handedness* where there is not *even-handedness*: the South loves generosity more than justice.

The second service in the church, according to the usage which still prevails in America, was in the afternoon. In the evening I attended a religious meeting of Negroes, in a large upper room adjoining Dr. Gilman's house, which lasts from about seven to half-past nine o'clock. Mrs. G. makes a point of attending, and Dr. G. generally looks in. I believe that such evening meetings would be illegal without the presence of a white person. Miss Fredrika Bremer, whom I had previously met at Cambridge, Mass., was now visiting Charleston. She had been my hearer in the morning, and was now, like myself, desirous to be present at a scene so strange to us. We and two or three other visitors had the inferior places: it was our turn now to sit down the aisle. The service was conducted by two old black men, one of whom read, very imperfectly, John xiv., which had been my lesson in the morning, expounding it as he proceeded.† The other could not read at all, but said that he was moved by the spirit, which was above the letter. A prayer-meeting for the women followed, the presiding brother telling them to be short. One prayed in a most beautiful, beseeching tone:

* I have heard that in most places the black and white communicants do not meet, but receive the rite at different times. I relate what I saw. There was more religious equality than in a Catholic congregation, entirely white, where the laity are excluded from the cup.

† When he came to the 22nd verse, he said, "Now you shall hear the objection made by the traitor. 'Judas saith unto him, Not Iscariot, Lord,' &c.

the interest which I felt in the others was principally derived from their condition. One infirm old lady seemed to have a better heart than head. She not only prayed to, or invoked, Christ, but Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, &c., and her "dear pastor" (who was not then present). She seemed full of intense gratitude that she had been able that day to attend public worship, for the first time after many months' illness. Many of her expressions were very touching. Hymns were sung, but with little credit to their musical powers. When they were told to sing "more spiritually" (spiritedly?), they gave us one or two characteristic songs: one was a sort of Easter recitative. The minister walked among them and gave out a line, such as—"I go before you to Galilee;" then the rest sung "Hallelujah!" with great zeal. The burden of another song was to this effect—"We shall have nothing at all to do but ring Jerusalem;" and they did "ring Jerusalem," with amazing animation, the old man gesticulating, and the others waving to and fro and singing with the greatest earnestness.

I came away much moved by what I had seen and heard. I was painfully impressed with the evil of keeping our brethren in degrading ignorance; but I also felt, never more strongly, the significance of that text, "The Spirit maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered." Their scarcely intelligible exclamations were often the promptings of that prayerful spirit which God hears as clearly as our distinct requests—often, in their very distinctness, undevotional. I recognized the blessedness of religion: to it these poor people owed what little instruction they possessed: low as they are, criminal as are those who keep them so, they are thus raised far above their pagan ancestors, and indeed above all who have not the knowledge of God. Slavery would have made them "without hope," were it not that the gospel gives to them, as freely as to us, "life's best cordial." They adverted in their prayers to their hope of sitting on thrones in heaven, and to their enjoyment of the reward of faithful service. I was reminded of those whom Paul exhorted, if they might be made free, to use it rather (1 Cor. vii.), but at all events remembering that the time was short, just to perform those duties which Providence assigned them. The words "Our Father" had an affecting significance. Here was the Swedish novelist, and the English preacher, and the Northerner proud of freedom, and the master, and the slave; but it was one Father to whom we were all praying, and we were brethren, going to the same home; and all our local and conventional differences seemed paltry when contemplating the infinite. Commonplace truths startle us in uncommon circumstances. The old minister spoke of me as "the brother over the water," and wished me to say a few words: so I simply told them that I had come from a far land, and might not see them again here; but I hoped that we might all meet in that better land, to which those who obey their Lord and Master* Jesus were hastening. My heart responds to this prayer, as I now repeat it in my dear native land. Religion widens and deepens our sympathies: it unites us to those from whom we seem diametrically to differ, intel-

* I had been struck with their frequent use of the expression, "Master Jesus." I thought that they would have had such painful associations with the word *master*, that they would not have applied it to the Saviour.

lectually and morally. Where a cultivated taste, or fastidious refinement, repels us,—where even humanity finds little to attract it,—or where, on the other hand, a narrow philanthropy indignantly forbids our attachment,—a belief that the divine nature exists, however obscured, in every soul, awakens a solemn conviction of brotherhood. No complexion conceals it, no oppression can crush it out, no sin can utterly destroy it: and so we feel when in the Father's presence.

As I am writing to those whom I suppose well acquainted with the horrors of slavery, I need not remind them that religion, as usually administered in the South, awakens no such earnest sense of brotherhood; that its *perversions* soothe the tyrant, and make the slave's degradation more complete; that the Protestant zeal which sends Bibles to savages abroad, subsides into a Papal reserve towards the servile population at home; that God's word is thus dishonoured, and the ambassadors of Christ become the spiritual police of the powers of the world. I am not, however, hopeless as to the future; and if you desire it, I may, in some further observations, intimate the reasons of my hope.

Yours respectfully,

Neath, Aug. 23, 1851.

R. L. CARPENTER.

No. IV.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

SIR,

As I intimated in my last letter, when we look at the Southern Church in relation to human rights, we cannot be surprised at those who are revolted by its servility, hypocrisy, or inconsistency. However honourable the exceptions, it must be on the whole regarded as a bulwark of slavery;—as such, many slaveholders themselves regard it. A speaker at Charleston, S. C., observed that it appeared providential, that when slavery had become impaired, its vitality was renewed by religion; for so great a zeal for the spiritual welfare of the slaves had arisen, that places of worship for them were springing up in all directions. He did not explain how religion operated as a support to slavery: whether it was that the consciences of the masters were spared the reproaches which even their own synods uttered against the disgraceful heathenism of the South,—and that now they flattered themselves that slavery had received a spiritual grace, as an instrument for the salvation of Negroes (as our opium war was to be sanctified to the conversion of the Chinese to a saving faith),—or whether the slaves themselves had become, in consequence, more moral and manageable.

I mentioned to Dr. Gilman the notion we had in England of the sort of religious instruction which was given to Negroes, yet expressed my hope, that as it was the religious public in Great Britain which promoted emancipation, so it might be the same there eventually. He thought it possible. After the dangerous riot at the slave prison, many were very vehement against the religious teaching of the slaves, on the ground that it made them presuming and rebellious, and a committee was appointed to obtain the opinions of clergymen and others. The religious sentiment prevailed, and it was determined that they should continue to attend public worship in the same churches with the whites. He thought that if the South should ever gain rest from outward agitation, the important differences of opinion as to religious education would be a fertile source of contention. The pro-slavery clergy explicitly maintain that slavery is distinctly taught, sanctioned and provided for, in the Bible; and denounce as fanaticism the assertion, that if slaveholders were Christians they would free their slaves. On the other hand, they denounce as infidelity the plea, that to make the slaves Christians would give them a thirst for civil liberty; and consistently say, that as they would not sanction slavery unless they believed it Christian, so they will sanction nothing which shall deprive the slaves of Christian teaching. This feeling will lead on to the desire for something more than oral instruction: the somewhat superstitious regard of most Protestants for the *letter* of Scripture, may prompt to an education which shall put that letter in the reach of all. At present, however, it is a point of pride not to appear to yield to intimidation: in the storm of passion, wisdom is either silent or unheard. It is quite fashionable to give oral instruction to slaves at one of the Episcopal churches at Charleston; and though doubtless it is such as the more intelligent among them despise, it has probably an elevating effect on the masses, and it cannot but have an important influence in coun-

teracting the base view of a slave as a soulless chattel. The abominable anti-educational laws are notorious: like other laws which contravene the best feelings of our nature, they are frequently broken. Children often teach their coloured playmates; and at Charleston there is a school which is attended by some young slaves, bringing tickets of leave from their mistresses, who pay the cost. Mrs. G. heard one of them read an extract from Milton. There is not the same objection to reading as to writing. Writing would enable them to forge passes, &c. We know how strong a prejudice existed in England against the education of the working classes, lest they should be raised above their condition as labourers and servants, and use their powers to the detriment of their employers: even now, many clergymen are to be found who discourage all but mere scriptural instruction. The rapid change which is going on in this respect among us may give us hope for the South.

Religion as administered by the selfish and crafty is made there, as elsewhere, an instrument of degradation; on the whole, however, its influence is to elevate the social condition of the Negroes. Their devotional fervour touches a chord of sympathy in the more pious whites. Bond and free mutually pray with each other and for each other. I heard of one lady who regularly prayed with her slave, who was a member of the same church with herself, for the conversion of this lady's husband. No one who has been truly awakened to a conviction of the immortal nature of a slave, and has felt that he has equal access with himself to the Great Father of all, can regard him as a *mere animal*.* On some of the plantations the religious culture of the slaves is still, no doubt, shamefully neglected; but in the towns that I visited, they appeared to frequent public worship as freely as the poor at home, and are allowed to choose their own religion, which is more than can be said for many English servants. The Baptist is, I believe, the most popular faith with the Negroes: the ceremony of immersion, typifying newness of life, would in itself have a powerful hold on their imaginations. Some of the white clergy are jealous of the coloured preachers, and wish them superseded, on the ground that they rant and talk nonsense. They think that it would be better that they should preach to the coloured congregations themselves. Possibly, however, some may suggest that this would not always obviate the objection. Looking at it abstractedly, I preferred the system of Dr. Gilman's church, where all of the same faith join in public worship together, whatever their hue, whilst the coloured people have an additional service conducted by themselves. There is one incidental evil connected with this admixture, that a preacher cannot, in presence of the slaves, feel as free as he otherwise might to deal plainly with the masters.

I mentioned that Miss Bremer attended our Sunday services. I had also the pleasure of meeting her at Prof. Bachman's, and at an agreeable pic-nic at Sullivan's Island, which my friends had arranged for her. I am informed that she is now regarded by the Garrisonians as *pro-slavery*. Certainly, I never heard such a suggestion whilst I was

* Experience of course proves that a recognition of a common nature does not prevent cruelty. White persons are savage to each other; and without doubt there are many instances in which the master is cruel to the slave with whom he has prayed.

in America. More than most travellers, she entered those circles which are regarded as ultra in philanthropic movements, and was supposed to sympathize with them. Mrs. Gilman is well known as an authoress;* and Miss Bremer wrote to her, to try to enlist her pen in the cause of emancipation. Mrs. G., regarding the matter as one of politics, considered it out of her province. She suggested to me, that Miss B. might be herself reminded that she may be indirectly injuring the cause of Temperance, by the laxity on that subject displayed by some of her heroines. Both Dr. and Mrs. G. are very earnest in the Temperance movement, and, among other means of improving the social condition of the coloured people of their flock, had established a Teetotal Society among them.† I told them that I had heard that many planters promoted intemperance among their slaves, in order to drown that serious thought which might prompt to liberty. As far as their own observation went, they pronounced it a calumny. Where there are three million slaves, there will of course be a great diversity in the mode in which they are treated. I sympathized with my friends in their efforts to promote that self-control which is wisdom's root.

The pitiable fate of the Indians proves, that liberty connected with licence is more fatal to a race than outward slavery. Our passions are our worst tyrants; or if we are at the mercy of others, those are most cruel and savage whose passions are frenzied by intoxication. There are many Negro slaves who have no reason to envy the wife and children of a brutal, fiendish drunkard. The most disgusting feature of slavery is the condition of the women; and whilst some who have the power are striving to restore the sanctity of domestic relations by political action, those are not labouring in vain who endeavour to produce those habits without which outward freedom is partial at best. I have heard Southern ladies question how far women might gain by any sudden emancipation. Slavery educates for tyranny, and the freed slave might be the domestic tyrant. Nor is woman safe from injury among those who are of free birth: the free-born Negro may have as vile passions as the free-born white, and be as unscrupulous in their gratification. Woman is only respected and honoured where Christian principle prevails. Elsewhere, her defenceless condition entails on her the hardest drudgery, or makes her the sport of pleasure; and even in England her advocate can plead—"The truly horrible effects of the present state of the law among the lowest of the working population, is exhibited in those cases of hideous maltreatment of their wives by

* One of her works is "The Southern Matron," which gives what I should regard as the sunny side of Southern life. A friend of mine in the North, a gentleman of intelligence, said that his feeling of the pro-slavery tendency of the book was so strong, that he burnt his copy. When I next wrote to Dr. G., I mentioned this circumstance. His family felt rather proud of this *auto-de-fé*. "It is strange," he says, "that anybody should regard it as a pro-slavery book. It was written with not the slightest reference to the Abolition agitation, which at that time was hardly felt at the South. It was only a faithful picture of what the writer had seen and experienced, just as 'The Northern Housekeeper' was. To burn it for being dangerous, is one of the most convincing arguments in favour of the institution; for its representations were notoriously true, and the dark sides of the institution were intimated, as well as the bright sides."

† Dr. G. also makes a point of attending the weekly meeting of the Temperance Society in the town.

working men with which every newspaper and every police-court teems. Wretches unfit to have the smallest authority over any living thing, have a helpless woman for their household slave." (Westminster Review for July, 1851.) I mentioned (p. 22) an instance in which a man preferred the freedom of his wife to his own. I heard of a case of a different kind, in which a young coloured woman, who was free, and whose children therefore would be free, whatever the condition of the husband, married a slave in preference to a free black, because, she said, the free coloured men treated their wives so badly, (You may suggest the possibility of some other reason!) I trust that no one will be absurd enough to suppose that I state this as a defence of the present state of things: on the contrary, it is an evil growing out of this state, which takes for granted that power to oppress gives the right. The labours of those who strive to substitute the dominion of Christian love and equity are here especially needed.

I scarcely saw anything of plantation life, though a gentleman kindly drove me over to his estate, about eight miles from Charleston. It was a fine day at the beginning of April, and the ride was lovely. The road, indeed, was in a state of nature—sand, except where a portion of plank-road had been just laid down; but all around had the rich beauty of our early summer. There were many hedges (they are very rare in the North), but not quite like ours; for one that I remarked round the well-cultivated garden of a Scotchman was a mixture of Spanish bayonet and Cherokee rose, the blossoms of which added grace to its formidable aspect. One plantation which we passed belonged to a mulatto. A Frenchman of the last generation had married a slave and liberated her: this would now be illegal, unless she left the State. We turned off the high road, through a forest, into the plantation. I saw the acacia full of blossom; the dog-wood too, about twenty feet high, with its blossoms as large as dog-roses. Pines seemed the commonest trees, but the live oak was the glory of the place. It has a small dark leaf,—the same, I believe, as our evergreen oak, only it grows to a magnificent size, in spite of the long trailing clusters of Spanish moss which hang from it, and which are often picked by the Negroes and sold for bed-stuffing. Mr. P. and his father own about 1500 acres, only 500 of which are cultivated, and laid out principally in rice, Indian corn and vegetables. There was a *reserve* (a very large pond) which held the water used for irrigation. Alligators are found in it, and rattle-snakes are in the beautiful woods which overhang it. A number of cranes were sitting near its brink. The water is let on the land before the rice is planted, and is drained off in ditches. After the rice has sprouted up, the water is let on two or three times more. Only Negroes can live in these swampy districts: it is dangerous for Whites to sleep on rice plantations in the months of June and July. The culture requires much care. Mr. P.'s plantation is near a tidal river; and some of his lands were completely spoilt the previous year by some breakage in an embankment, which let in the salt water. The land is a rich black soil, said to be twelve feet deep. I saw some rice lands still under water; a buzzard with his wide-spread wings was flying across them. I went to another field, where there were about thirty Negroes, of both sexes, employed in scattering the rice, and just turning the earth over it with a sort of toothless rake. It did not seem hard work.

The overseer was there, and the driver, who carried the disgusting whip. The name and ensign of his office were repulsive to me. Mr. P. told me that the whip was only used three or four times a year. The driver was a very trustworthy old Negro; though usually the blacks, when in office, are tyrannically inclined, as fags make the hardest masters. He said that, as a rule, those who treated the slaves worst were the free coloured proprietors; next the French; then the Scotch, who were too grasping; next the English and Northerners, who got impatient at their stupidity; and that the best masters are the Southerners, who are to the manner born.* Every here and there I saw a little patch of land, which he told me was a Negro's. He allows them to cultivate as much as they can in spare times. In some parts of the year they work very hard, but generally much the contrary; and they often get home by one o'clock when employed on task-work (that day they were returning home before our dinner). I can believe that where masters are indulgent, slaves may earn a great deal more, with less work, than our farm labourers; but then they are still *slaves*. They may often be as well or better fed, and perhaps as well clothed. Those that I saw had no shoes or stockings: they have them in the winter; but, like many of the children of the rich, dislike them at this season. The women seemed not very different in dress from those similarly employed in England, except that they wore turbans or handkerchiefs instead of bonnets, and drawers reaching down to the ankles. They were certainly not prepossessing. A few whom I saw in the city, however, held themselves very well, were tall, and looked dignified.

Most of the houses of the Negroes were near the residence. I did not ask to go into them, as I did not desire to appear intrusive, and I was told that as Mr. P. did not reside on the spot, they might not be a fair specimen. The cottages were of wood, better looking than many of the Irish shanties which I have seen. I observed that there was no glass, only shutters, for their windows; but I subsequently noticed the same in the cottages of some white persons. Mr. P. seemed to take an interest in his slaves; he brought over an oven for one of them in his carriage. He was, however, a determined Southerner, believing slave labour essential for the culture of rice and cotton; and only looking on the evils of the system as either not inherent in it, or else such as are necessarily attached to every system. He thought that the Negroes needed direction and control; and that to give them freedom would be to reduce them to squalidity, sloth, and the most abject poverty. In reference to their religious instruction, he told me that they generally go to worship at Charleston, though sometimes persons come out and preach to them. They are married, and live in families. When young, they are usually unchaste, but settle down into general faith-

* If they are the *best*, you may say, woe for the worst! This statement I have heard confirmed by others. Till I visited the South, I was scarcely aware that there were coloured slaveholders there. The Southerners, though passionate, have often more kindness than Northern masters, who, indeed, one must suppose to have done great violence to their nature to be slaveholders at all. The relaxing climate seems favourable to indolence and fatalism. These are especially the weaknesses of the slaves, and help to keep them in their degraded position; they also affect the masters, and contribute to deaden them to the horrors of their system.

fulness. He has slaves whose ancestors have been slaves to his ancestors for three or four generations. They feel mutually attached. His old nurse seems as much interested in him as in a child of her own. I see no reason for disputing such statements. We know that there are disinterested friendships between those who by the sweat of their brow can scarcely keep their families from starvation, and those who by the profits of their labour are affluent and at ease. Justice is indeed a great safeguard for a wise and lasting friendship; but affection springs up in the human heart whether there be justice and equality or not. We have not to go to America to find out anomalies. The lordly arrogance of one white to another, the extortion of half-paid service, the crying poverty and even starvation to be found in our islands, shock a Southerner. Those who have felt satisfied with themselves, as if they had done their duty when they have cared for the physical condition of their dependants, have told me that they have felt a pang which they could scarcely endure when in Europe they have heard the cries of our beggars. You rarely see a beggar there.

After a ten-days' visit to Charleston, I left it, not without emotion. It seemed to me the seat of many sins and many virtues. No city in the Union was more associated in my mind with heartless tyranny; yet nowhere did I live in a domestic atmosphere of greater kindness. These contrasts induce a feverish state of feeling. I have mentioned the friends with whom I stayed more than I should have felt justified in doing, had they not been to a certain degree public characters. The position which Dr. G. holds brings upon him the charge of time-serving. His principles on the matter of slavery certainly are not the same as yours and mine; but this does not prove them to be dishonest. He has maintained his Unitarian views in a region where they are extremely unpopular, which shews that he is not one who merely floats with the stream; and if he is of a mild and conciliatory disposition, I have not yet learnt that such men are altogether unchristian or useless. A world all sores and no balm would soon fester away.

My next visit was to Savannah, Georgia, where I called on an Episcopalian clergyman, with whom I had had some warm but friendly discussions on the subject of slavery in the steamer by which I went to America. We were well pleased to meet again, and he kindly took me a beautiful ride over the bluff, to a plantation about four miles off. About 300 Negroes are employed on this estate. We rode through their village, which was about a furlong from the residence. I did not enter the houses. Externally they were sufficiently commodious, though they had a bare look. The gardens, if any, were, I took for granted, elsewhere; as vegetables would not thrive under the thick wood beneath which these cottages were built. The whole had a very foreign aspect. The Negroes are accused of great want of cleanliness; they will not keep their houses neat. Cleanliness cannot flourish where self-respect is trampled down.

I only remained at Savannah two days, which I spent at the hotel. I called on some Unitarians to whom I had introductions. One of them, since deceased, was about to build a new church for the congregation, which was then without one. Their minister was in the North. I did not remember that this was the society which rejected a Unitarian minister some years ago, on the ground that he was suspected to be

inimical to Southern institutions, though entirely unconnected with the Abolition movement! Most of the gentlemen who took this humiliating course were New-Englanders.* Converts are often most zealous. Some gentlemen with whom I conversed complained much of the remarks against slavery in the Unitarian papers, and the alienation between the various Northern and Southern churches. I remarked that if our papers contained erroneous statements, they were doubtless open to reply; and that, whilst personally unfavourable to exclusiveness, I thought that as long as men did separate from one another, it was a rather more important subject of difference whether man could be made property, than whether a child should be sprinkled!

I spent Sunday, April 14, at an hotel at Macon, Ga., a place which I remember with additional interest when I think of it as the slave residence of W. and E. Craft. A gentleman, to whom I had been introduced, shewed me a little of the neighbourhood. There is an important female seminary here; and the appearance of the suburbs, and the hilly situation, reminded me more of New England than the places I had recently visited. In the morning I attended the Episcopal church, in the afternoon the Methodist, and thence proceeded to the coloured church, a modest wooden building, in a grove, not far from the beautiful Rose-Hill Cemetery. There was not room for me to enter, for it was a special occasion. An old man had died, and was buried some six months before; but they had found no fitting occasion to do honour to his memory. The hour and the man had now both come. I listened, and looked in at the door and then at an open window. The audience was mostly composed of women, of every shade of complexion, down to the white child, whom its nurse had taken with her. The preacher expressed himself very well, and was certainly more of an orator than his white brother whom I had just heard. The people shewed their emotion by amens, sighs and groans. When I looked at them and marked their orderly deportment and comfortable appearance, and when I heard the preacher discoursing of the rest that remaineth for the people of God, I could not but feel how far elevated they were above their savage brethren in Africa; although I lamented that the cry was, Thus far shalt thou go, but no farther. Christianity appeared yet more sacred and the Sabbath more lovely: as I gazed on these slaves, they revived my hopes of their deliverance. I saw several cheerful groups of Negroes this day,—generally they were well dressed—many genteelly so; some wore light satin bonnets and white mantillas with lace. I am not prepared to state why a black woman should not dress in white with as great propriety as a white woman in black. No doubt many mistresses take as much pride in seeing their servants well dressed, as the masters of footmen in livery do in England. Gaiety often hides a heavy heart; yet the Negroes are a more cheerful race than their oppressors: and though persons who are alive to the degradation of their condition may truly say, that they never knew a happy hour till they had escaped, I apprehend that, were their thoughtful misery more general, so would be the issue to it. Three million Crafts

* Vide an article in the Christian Examiner, for July, 1843, "Position and Duties of the North with regard to Slavery," by Rev. A. P. Peabody (reprinted 1848).

could not be kept as slaves. Better thoughtful misery than mere servile acquiescence; the slave's joy makes the free heart sad. I was a little struck here by a lady telling me that she had a slave who was almost a white person, and was so in her disposition. It never seemed to enter her mind that there was anything to be ashamed of in having a white slave; she only congratulated herself on being so fortunate: and from what she said of the kindness often shewn to slaves, probably thought that she did more on her part than many mistresses of hired servants.

I was about a week in Georgia, making a visit to the remarkable Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, an isolated granite mass, which rises abruptly to the height of about 1000 feet above the plain, and commands a magnificent view. I also spent a day at Marietta, the scenery near which is very beautiful. This north-western part of the State, which recently belonged to the Cherokees, is hilly, and I found a great change in the climate. Southerners boast that they have a North within themselves; and there is more truth in this than some of them are aware of. These colder regions are not favourable to slavery, which is said, especially now that immigration makes labour so much cheaper, to be only profitable in those rich soils where a very slovenly labour is productive, or in those regions where whites cannot toil with impunity. The white residents, too, have more of a Northern character, and are less indolent and pleasure-seeking than those who inhabit the relaxing districts. Georgia is one of the most energetic of the Southern States, and is shewing zeal in manufactures and in education, both of which are inimical to slavery. For slaves generally advance in intelligence as their masters advance; and if they are employed in skilled labour, they learn their own resources for providing an independent maintenance, and receive a training for freedom. There is an increasing class of persons who are too poor to keep slaves, and are jealous of the oligarchy who assume undue influence from their possessions. Georgia is one of the most violently bigoted Slave States in the Union; but it will not continue so, if its present energy lasts. I travelled through it over more than 400 miles of railroad, and there are other lines. The accommodation on them is in no respect equal to that of New England; but it is very striking to pass in this way through forests which Cherokees so lately tenanted, and to enter thriving towns where the stumps of primeval trees are still seen in the roads.

From Chattanooga, Tennessee (on the borders of Georgia), I proceeded to the famous Mammoth Caves, in Kentucky, by stage. The distance was only about 240 miles, but it took me three days and part of three nights. The first part of the route, over the Cumberland Mountains, was very picturesque; but two consecutive nights in a jolting coach are not agreeable: and as the streams we had to cross were suddenly swollen by unusual floods, our lives were once or twice endangered. Almost my only fellow-passengers, as far as Nashville, were a bishop* and clergyman belonging to the slaveholding section of the Episcopal

* He was somewhat more primitive than their Lordships in England,—e. g., he spoke of "them big trees." These slaveholding religionists are great tithers of mint and anise; they were discussing the case of a barber who had been expelled by his church for shaving on Sunday. Pious slaveholding Methodists shave on Saturday night. Dr. Bunting asked them, in England, whether they also thought it wrong to wash on Sunday.

Methodists. If a man speaks of slavery *in the abstract* as sin, the Garrisonians suspect him to be *pro-slavery!* This clergyman, however, was extremely indignant at any such doctrine. Slavery, he said, was not an abstract question, but a fact; as such he wished it judged. Where the masters were cruel, let them be condemned; where they provided well for the slaves and treated them kindly, let them be acquitted!

From Nashville my only companion part of the way was a dirty young Negro, twelve years old, whose master preferred the outside for the benefit of the driver's company. He seemed by no means crushed by his servile condition (the full weight of which was yet to come), but enjoyed himself as he might, grinning at the persons whom we met. I saw several very respectably-dressed Negroes along the road. The boy said that he had been "raised" by this master, who seemed to take a kindly interest in him, asking him how he got on, &c., in very friendly tones. I had occasionally some interesting conversation with Negro drivers, porters, &c., and it was pleasant to feel that one could cheer them by some remuneration for their services. Their situation gave them intercourse with strangers, and they were far more intelligent than I apprehend the majority of "field hands" would be, or even than many of our rustics. I asked one of them how he would like to be sent to a rice plantation further south? He replied, "Lord, have mercy!" but those who are habituated to this relaxing heat cannot bear the cold of the hills. In the frontier States their condition is improving; and in Kentucky (H. Clay's State) I was informed that education is not unlawful, and that masters may set their slaves free to live in the State. The Negroes are themselves rising in character. We may see no moral obligation that a slave is under to one who has robbed him of a priceless treasure—Liberty! yet this is perhaps one of the cases in which honesty is the best policy; the better-disposed masters repose more confidence in them, and treat them more as rational and accountable beings.

The most intelligent slave that I ever met was Stephen, one of the guides at the Mammoth Cave, for whom I had been told to inquire by a former master of his, who was now landlord of the inn at which I stopped at Nashville. His father was a white, and he has, I fancy, a slight admixture of Indian blood. His last master owned the Cave, and apprenticed him to the guide. He died not long before my visit, leaving his slaves to be freed in six years, so that Stephen has only a limited term to finish. He first taught himself to read by watching persons write their names, so that he could read manuscript before he could printing. The first difficulties surmounted, he obtained aid. I was very much interested in his conversation. He has an extremely retentive memory, and treasures up what different travellers say. He evidently wished to gain knowledge as well as to impart it, and was very attentive if I made any remark which struck him as new. His old master was very proud of him, and had lent him several geological works, so that he talked quite familiarly of Lyell, Buckland, &c. He had also sent him to visit other caves; he had been in some forty—none, however, above "the line;" but he hopes, when he is free, to come and see the Peak and other caves of ours some day. I told him that he, and coloured men like him, were indirectly the best practical arguments for emancipation. Many Southerners must feel a little sur-

prised, perhaps abashed, at finding "a chattel" so much more conversant with science than themselves. He was interested in hearing that F. Douglass had been my guest, and we had a good deal of conversation on slavery. When I told him that it was constantly urged that the Negroes if set free would sink into careless indolence, he replied that it would not be strange if those whose masters discouraged them from thinking or providing for themselves might not at first feel at home in their new condition, but he believed that the children would reap the benefit. He confirmed what I had heard of the improved condition of many of the slaves. Some years ago the masters declared that it was cheaper to work them up and buy new ones;* but he believed that this is not the case now. (I heard it said of the Irish that they were killed off by wholesale in public works under the burning sun, but new immigrants were ready to fill the voids.) I took three excursions with Stephen,—two into the Mammoth Cave, and another into a smaller one. I was the only visiter, for it was not the season. The confidence which we repose in one another flashed vividly on my mind, when I found myself several miles from the entrance alone with him, a complete stranger. I was of course completely in his power—yet I felt no fear. The solitude was very awful in that immense cavern, especially when he left me for a few minutes to arrange some lights, &c. I was conscious of some reverence for a man who raised himself from the degradation to which human laws and prejudices would consign him, by linking himself as it were to nature. How much more enviably free is such a bondsman than those who are burdened with nothing—no bonds of affection, no weight of knowledge; whilst, indeed, their minds are fettered and their hearts heavy! We parted with regret.

On my way to and from the Mammoth Cave, I spent two days at Nashville, the principal city of Tennessee. It was here that the dreaded Southern Disunion Convention met, which, however, proved a failure. In Tennessee and Kentucky the whites are to the slaves as more than three to one, and there is less panic and pro-slavery bigotry than in S. Carolina. Southern feeling is, however, sufficiently strong. I carried an introduction here to a gentleman who had visited England. I dined with him, and he shewed me many objects of interest in the town; among them, the house of President Polk: that of President General Jackson is in the neighbourhood. When I remarked that this choice of Southern Presidents proved that the North did not take advantage of their superiority in strength, he observed, that the Northerners could not but admit the superior gentlemanliness and high bearing which fitted the Southerners for such stations! The Northerners were very excellent men, whom they were glad to have to settle among them; still, they were generally more ingenious and painstaking than agreeable. He congratulated himself on being free from the low democracy of the North, where pauper emigrants came pouring in and swamping the constituency. *They* had not to depend for work on a number of

* A similar selfish disregard to life is shewn in our own country, wherever masters kill their workpeople by inciting them to excessive toil, or by neglect, on account of the expense, of those sanatory improvements in workshops, &c., which are essential to health,—a course which they would be wise enough to avoid, if they had to pay a slave's price for every new workman. As it is, they have plenty of volunteers to supply the empty place at slave's wages—enough to procure house-room, clothing and food.

immoral foreigners, but on well-disposed, orderly Negroes; so that things went on very pleasantly, and there was not so much crime! Nashville contains a University, an Academy (which I visited) of about 300 young ladies,—the full course in which extends over ten years,—and a magnificent State House, in course of erection, which is to cost a million dollars. The situation of the town is fine, and the turnpike roads out of it are remarkably numerous and good. I was most interested in the State Prison, which is considered a model one. It is self-supporting; indeed, the labour of the prisoners in quarrying, shoe-making, cabinet-making, &c., has yielded a profit to the State. A dreadful affair had happened on the morning of my visit. A man who had been foreman in the shoe department had been superseded, and he kept brooding upon it till he attempted to murder his successor. Fortunately, he did not strike a vital part. He was removed to his cell; and as they were too busy with the wounded man to think of searching him, he committed suicide with a knife which he had concealed about him. It was very striking to see the every-day aspect of the prison; all was going on as if nothing had happened. Both the convicts were *men-stealers*. A criminal institution engenders strange crimes. There is a class of persons who entice away or kidnap slaves for the purposes of sale,—it seems to be thought worse to steal a slave than to kidnap a free man!—and they are regarded with as little favour as our horse-stealers. A gentleman said, You have no offenders of that kind in England. I was glad to reply that we did not recognize such property. I saw no wards for women or boys, and asked whether there were similar prisons for them. It was made a merit that there were none. They had responsible persons—husbands or parents—who ought to look after them; and the Southerners were far too gallant to punish women (i. e. white ones)! If sentenced, they were generally pardoned. One woman took advantage of this feeling. She got convicted five times, and was as many times pardoned. If she would only have left the State, they should not have minded!

I attended on the previous Sunday (April 21) the Christian church of the school of Campbell. They are more orthodox than the Christians of the North, but agree with them in dislike to creeds and reverence for Scripture: they also are Baptists. The preacher was eloquent, and the service interested me,—the more so from the presence of a large number of Negroes in the galleries, which again filled me with an intense emotion of the inspiring character of Christianity, with its immortal hopes, to a down-trodden people. Even if they did not sit among us, as I might have wished, there is something in worshipping one God in common, at the same hour, under the same roof. When will the day come when the religious sentiment of the South shall resolve itself into religious action, instead of evaporating into sentimentality!

In one paper more I shall come to the end of what I intend to narrate respecting American slavery. It is anything but a pleasant task to write these letters,—to omit all description of those beautiful scenes which refreshed my spirit, and solely to cull out my reminiscences of a subject which never presented itself to me without grief, perplexity and disgust.

Yours respectfully,
R. L. CARPENTER.

Birkenhead, Oct. 7, 1851.

No. V.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

SIR,

FROM Nashville, Tennessee, I proceeded by steamer to St. Louis, Missouri. I retain vivid recollections of the grandeur and beauty which surrounded me;—the great flood on the Cumberland river, spreading through the trees and over ruined dwellings as far as the eye could reach; the junction of those magnificent streams, the Ohio and Mississippi, which I saw at dawn and sunrise; and the starlight scene which presented itself to me on the following night, as I paced the roof, so to speak, in solitude. Physically speaking, however, the voyage was not very comfortable; for the vessel was unusually crowded with a large party of emigrants to California, and a host of Methodist clergy, including two bishops whom I had met before, who were going to a Conference at St. Louis. As all the state-rooms were full, I had to consider myself fortunate in securing for about five hours each night a mattress, with my carpet bag for pillow, on a table in the close saloon: the floor was strewn with emigrants and clergy. My mint-and-anise friends, who would not on any consideration travel in a stage-coach on Sunday, found themselves in this steam-boat. However, they had service on board, and stopped at Paducah, at the mouth of the river Tennessee, to preach to the people there: both sermons were interesting. At an hotel at Paducah, I saw a slave punished: as we know how common an event this is, I was fortunate in not seeing it in any other instance. As I passed through the passage, I found the landlady striking a coloured waiter. It was dusk; but from the sound, I do not suppose that she inflicted much bodily pain; but the feeling of personal indignity made my blood boil. She evidently was not ashamed of herself:—Her yellow boy was a smart fellow, but had been enticed by the yellow boy who kept the bar in the steamer, and had been made drunk: the boy was honest, and worth his weight in gold when sober; but she would sell him for 800 dollars, though he would fetch 1000 dollars at New Orleans, &c. Thus a man is first treated like a child or a beast; then he makes a beast of himself, and then is treated so again. The only other occasion during my travels in which I witnessed blows, was on board an American ship, in my voyage home, when they were inflicted on white, and therefore “free and enlightened,” American citizens: the cause here also was drunkenness. I saw men handcuffed: one (for another cause) retained in a filthy state from day to day: I heard the most horrid oaths and furious vituperation: blood was shed upon the deck in a fray, and a formal flogging was expected.* Never had I felt before in such an atmosphere of tyranny, from which it was impossible to escape; but then the limit of it was brief, and there was, if needful, a subsequent appeal to law: whilst slavery has no justice and no hopes.

It was a good opportunity for learning the feelings of the Southern clergy, for these Episcopal Methodists belonged to the slaveholding section; though, as I have since learnt, the division did not take place

* The Americans have now set us a good example in abolishing flogging in the navy; and the law, I believe, extends to merchantmen.

on the general question, but as to whether it was expedient that *bishops* should be slaveholders. One of the Northern bishops sided with the South; whilst about 4000 slaveholders, 27,000 slaves, and their clergy, are said to remain with the Northern branch. I had some interesting conversation with the minister who preached at Paducah. He was a slaveholder, and said that he could not justify it to his conscience to be otherwise: the law prevented him from setting his slaves free,* and to sell them to another would be to do away with the means he had of improving their condition. He owned that there were great evils in the system: one of the greatest was the want of sanctity in the marriage tie. The law did not recognize it—the church of course did; but he could not make the slaves pledge themselves to be constant till death do them part. I asked whether he would consider a Christian Negro at liberty to marry again, if removed from his wife beyond his power to see her again? He said that this was a painful question, on which he did not wish to pass judgment. Worldly, selfish men might sell the husband and wife apart, but it was deemed discreditable and wrong: sometimes the husband or wife would prefer remaining where they were, to going with their partner into a new service. As to the mixture of the races, he thought there was a divine law against it. I said that there was no revealed law, and that if it was a law of nature merely we need not interfere, but let nature take care of itself. He saw an improvement in the coloured race: there was still a great deal of immorality among them, part of which must be attributed to their position; still he had met with instances of the most exalted virtue. He spoke of their ill-treatment by some of those who were zealous against slavery. When he was at New York, many of his Northern brethren would not venture to lose caste, as they thought it, by preaching at the African church; whilst he willingly did it, to their surprise, though greatly fatigued by two other services.

St. Louis, as its name imports, was a French town, but most of the old buildings have been burnt down. Its rapid growth is wonderful. I first stopped at the Missouri Hotel, at which W. W. Brown was once a slave. The servants there seemed principally white: the Irish are superseding the slaves in many places. I afterwards spent a few days with a hospitable New-Englander. The Rev. W. Eliot was unfortunately from home. By his untiring zeal, aided by the remarkable increase of the place, the handful of persons with whom he commenced worship here has swelled into one of the largest Unitarian congregations in the Union. They have sold their church for 26,000 dollars, and were building another to cost about 60,000. Mr. Eliot has resided here longer than any other minister, and has exerted a very beneficial influence in the city: he was appointed President of the Board of Education. Dickens, in his "Notes," speaks of him with respect. He has been charged with being a slaveholder. As I was informed, his pity was greatly moved by a young woman who was to be sold; he purchased her, and enabled her to earn her freedom. If he had selfishly

* Unless, indeed, he forced them into exile. I was glad in cases like this to quote the example of Dr. Gilman. The evil is to have slaves at all: from the first injustice spring many more. Frequently the possession is an inherited curse; sometimes it is even prompted by an imperfect kindness.

refrained from having anything to do with her, he might have preserved his anti-slavery reputation untarnished. In Missouri, the white population is to the black as 6 to 1, and therefore there is not the fanaticism and terror which prevail in South Carolina, e. g. The subject is openly discussed. Mr. Eliot is well known there to be opposed to slavery. He frequently adverts to the topic; and by dwelling on great principles, he has the sympathy of most of his congregation against it.

I preached in the morning of May 5th. In the afternoon there was a Lord-Supper service, which was administered by Mr. Hassell, formerly an English Methodist, Mr. E.'s colleague; and in the evening the pulpit, in common with those of other denominations, was occupied by one of the Methodist Conference. (I have preached twice in a Methodist church in Pennsylvania, though known to be a Unitarian.) On the previous week I had looked in at their meeting. One of the body was proposing that the laity should be represented: they had thought it very hard that the church should be split on the slavery question, without their being permitted to utter a word. Still he feared that, if they were admitted to the Conference, the same men might be appointed whose influence procured them civil promotions, such as senators and representatives; and this would virtually make the Conference a union of Church and State, which was undesirable. The discussion was postponed, many of the brethren thinking it a pity to put such thoughts into the heads of the laity. The cholera broke out whilst I was there, and one of the ministers, who had been my fellow-passenger, died of it. As the population had been decimated the year before, some 6000 having been carried off by it, a gloom was cast over everything. The disease, however, subsided.

I proceeded up the Mississippi as far as Alton, Illinois, in order to see the confluence of the Missouri, and afterwards went to Cincinnati, spending a day on my way at Louisville, Kentucky. Our minister there is the Rev. J. H. Heywood, who seems peculiarly devoted to his holy duties, especially to the young and the afflicted. He cannot have the same loathing of slavery which some cherish, or he could not endure a life in such close contact with it. It appeared to me, however, that he was doing more, than many who declaim against it at a distance, to mitigate its horrors and prepare for its subversion. He avails himself of the comparative freedom of discussion which prevails in parts of Kentucky, to publish a little periodical called "The Louisville Examiner," which contains papers favourable to liberty. He gave me the number for the month (May, 1850), the leading article of which is entitled, "Know one Another and be Just." He shews that Northerners cannot regard slavery with too great aversion, as it is "a system, not accidentally, but inherently, corrupt and wrong;" but that they are unjust in regarding slaveholders without discrimination as embodiments of the system; and are often so mistaken as to the actual condition of many of the slaves,* that it causes a revulsion of feeling when they come among

* Whilst writing this article, I see that a Free-soiler from Kentucky says at Boston that "the 200,000 slaves of Kentucky might be, and probably are, better clothed and fed than an equal number of the poorest whites of the same State; yet there was not one of those whites that would change places with one of those slaves. The existence of slavery was a great moral and civil evil to the whites, and was dragging the State down to ruin."

them. On the other hand, hereditary slaveholders who are kind to their Negroes lose sight of those essential evils of the system which they would see clearly if they were taken out of it, and unjustly regard the Northerners as meddling fanatics or political knaves. "Let the inhabitants of the different portions of our land," he concludes, "understand each other well; let them come up together to the solution of the great problem of our country and our age, in the spirit of brotherhood, and with a determination to be just one to another, and all to be just to the slave, and the problem would speedily be solved. To remove the dark mountain of slavery which now obstructs our country's path to true greatness and glory, seems a formidable, a disheartening undertaking; but to a nation with boundless resources, and strong in its allegiance to duty and God, nothing is impossible. To the spirit which loyalty to heaven makes brave and strong, the right is always practicable." This number also contains W. Pinckney's denunciation of slavery.

On May 11, I landed at Cincinnati, and found myself once more on nominal free soil.

When I was discussing slavery with a Southern clergyman, on board the *Sarah Sands* from Liverpool, I jocosely said, that before I visited the Southern States I might find it convenient to tar and feather myself, as I could probably do it more to my own satisfaction than his countrymen could do it for me. He assured me, however, that I could travel without risk; and I am bound to say that I never felt any apprehension either of violence or insult. (This was my experience through the whole of my travels in America, over about 13,000 miles, though I was often thrown into very rough company.) But then I seldom mixed in private life among persons who would be guilty of violence; and as I was not travelling as an agent of any society, or even as a missionary, but as an observer, I rarely volunteered remarks on the subject, though I was glad of those opportunities for expressing my sentiments which the remarks of others occasioned. What would be cautious reserve with us, was bold outspokening in the land of despotism! As an English traveller, I was probably allowed greater freedom of speech than would be tolerated in an American; because we are recognized opponents of slavery, and have shewn our honest aversion to it by our sacrifices. It would be a sort of treason to our country to defend slavery; whilst unless an American consents to it, he is regarded as a traitor to the Union. My appearance indicated my origin, and I found strangers not unwilling to know what I thought of their institution. As facts can be mentioned where opinions might be invidious, I more than once found the advantage of being able to state how respectfully Douglass had been received in England, and that he had been a guest of my own. Once, for instance, I had some conversation with a well-educated Southerner, whom I met on the borders of Georgia, at an inn. He dilated on the kindness shewn to slaves, and asked my opinion. I told him that he need not inquire it, for I was an Englishman. When he pressed me, however, I said that I was disposed to believe that there were few better-fed peasantries anywhere. I was a second Daniel! But then came my fundamental objection,—that they made it a crime to seek what it was a sin for a man not to seek—liberty and education. He then found that the English could

not understand their institutions! He was half amused, half surprised, on hearing of the friendly equality on which I had been with coloured people in England.* It was now my turn to say that the Americans could not understand our institutions, and that he could probably scarce conceive the astonishment of England if the South actually left the Union on the ground that it, a republic, thought slavery essential.

As the opponents of the system dwell exclusively on the dark side, its supporters are anxious to represent favourable exceptions as general rules. I heard a great deal of the care which masters and mistresses often take of their slaves. In cases of illness the family physician was called in, and ladies watched by the sick bed. As we know that persons are usually ready to preserve their property, I do not see that this need be disputed. I heard Southerners boast that if they fought against the North, their slaves would fight for them. As English slaves fight, if called on, against their old companions, and even their kindred, this may be also granted. I heard that they are frequently treated with kindness—so are dogs and cats;—that they are regarded as members of the family—those must have base souls indeed who are willing to regard the members of their family as slaves! And this state of things is precarious: let the slave be successful, often with no little falseness and flattery, in retaining a kindness which is based on no sense of justice, and which depends on caprice—an angry creditor comes, or that cold but inexorable one, Death; and the pet of the family may be sold, like the spaniel, to some harsh, brutal tyrant. Slaves may acquire property: good-natured planters allow them ground for their own culture: wise ones have found the stimulus of hope more powerful than that of fear (it were well if the wise were not the rare exceptions; for the more this truth is learnt, the nearer will be the day of freedom): and occasionally those whose labour is hired out, have the opportunity of earning something for themselves. A Northern acquaintance, whom I met in the South, told me that in a steamer in Georgia he found the steersman and his sons both slaves. One grieves that a steersman should be a slave, but is glad that a slave should be a steersman; for the steersmen on the American boats have superior accommodations, and of course such an office is one of great trust. They were very intelligent men, and their master hired them out for 60 dollars a month, of which he gave them 30; or 29s. a week. A Tennessean allowed to me that many blacks were very intelligent: his father had a slave of great practical sagacity, who was consulted about everything, and, as he had saved a good deal of money, was quite an important personage among the poor whites. He did not care to buy his freedom, as he thought that he was best off as he was. But in all these cases, I am not aware that if the master chose to rob the slave of his money, there would be any redress: certainly, if there was, it would be straining out the gnat and swallowing the camel. It is no recommendation of slavery that some of its victims are better than some who grow up

* One young man asked me how I should like a sister of mine to marry a coloured person?—for his part, he would rather shoot his, than that such a thing should happen! I replied that there were a great many persons, even in my own country, for whom I desired equal rights, whom I did not desire as brothers-in-law, but I supposed that I should be ready to receive as such any one whom a sister should accept as a husband.

under other wrong systems. Those of us who hate war and flogging, may allow that there are men and boys so bad, that they have been improved by the tyrannical discipline that brutalizes others; but it remains to be proved that they could not be improved in a better way. The toiling Negro is a more respectable character than the mean beggar, or the lazerone, or the lazy savage who throws all the toil upon his wife; but this is no proof that the Negro will necessarily relapse into sloth, or that compulsion is the only stimulus to industry. Those who defend slavery for the slave's sake, assume the responsibility of his present artificial condition with all its atrocities.

Since my return, I have read over the portion of Dr. Channing's Memoirs which relates to this subject, and have been struck with perceiving how fully I can sympathize in his views. Did space allow, I might attempt to describe the general effect produced upon me by my tour; but perhaps you will draw your own inferences from what I have already said.

It remains that I say a little of what I observed in the Northern States. It cannot be denied that if all the Northerners were firm and consistent lovers of freedom, the days of slavery would be numbered. The frontier States would find it impossible to preserve their peculiar institution, if the coloured race were treated as brethren across the border. But now the moral influence of the Northerners is blighted: whenever they declaim about freedom, the condition of the Negroes in their midst is not unnaturally retorted against them. The liberty of some of the States is of a very selfish character: coloured persons are not allowed to settle in them; so that their declamations arise rather from republican pride, than from a feeling of justice and humanity. In other States they are treated with very great hardship and indignity; and whilst the coloured race in slavery has been rapidly increasing, that in freedom in the North has actually declined. This, however, may be an argument against the cruelty of exiling manumitted slaves to a climate which is unfavourable to them. The coloured people in the North are either fugitives or freed men, or their descendants, or the descendants of those who had been slaves in the States which are now free. The fugitives are probably of two characters—either persons who have been quickened to flight by an uncontrollable yearning for liberty, or those who are rather moved by the practical hardships of slavery than by any lofty aspirations, and perhaps dread punishment for some offences—if there can be offence where there is no law. The first class we respect as heroes; the last we pity for their sufferings. The first come ready to toil; the last seek rest. The first have the souls of freemen, and all who are free will welcome them; the others shew the degrading influence of their past bondage. The States which open their portals to all the refuse of Europe, as well as to its noble unfortunates, look with morbid horror on the dark stain caused by some few thousand men who have had energy enough to break their chains. Since I left, the coloured people have been the object of greater uneasiness than ever. They, rather than their tyrants, are regarded as the source of all the woe, the causers of the offence. The injured are hated; and some petulantly wish that they could be driven back to the South—better still to Africa—anywhere out of their sight! I believe that we are somewhat chargeable with an analogous

perversity. Many men, who were very indignant at the wrongs of the Irish peasantry, were no less anxious that those who were broken down by these wrongs should not settle down among us. Scores were sent back to the scenes of starvation: and lovers of liberty and equal rights have been so tired of the "wrong of Ireland," that, half in jest, half in despairing earnest, they have said that the best way of curing them would be to submerge that "gem of the sea" for some twenty minutes. A similar barbarous emotion does the sight of Negroes arouse in many American bosoms. I learnt, however, that, as a general rule, they are better treated and are improving in their condition. I have before mentioned, p. 9, that the day before I landed at Cincinnati, a fugitive slave had been carried off. He was a barber, and had been living for some time at Cincinnati undisturbed: a band of Kentuckians, however, armed with bowie knives, seized him in the public streets at midday, defying the crowd who attempted to rescue him; and, hurraing, hurried him off by the ferry boat to the Kentuckian shore. I was told that ten years ago nothing would have been thought of it. Now it created great excitement: the papers boasted that the exchange was on the whole in favour of freedom; for eight slaves had been smuggled from Kentucky to Ohio on the same day. I heard some burning words from the Presbyterian preacher the next Sunday morning,* who announced that he should preach on the subject in the evening.†

I had some conversation with a black hairdresser, a man of substance, whose son went to the Oberlin Institute, for which a collection was made in this country about ten years ago. My brother, P. P. Carpenter, had charged me with a packet for it, which I left here. It is said to be very free from a sectarian spirit. There are about 300 pupils, about 30 or 40 of whom are coloured, and are received on a footing of equality.

I was acquainted with very few coloured people in the North, but when visiting Rochester, N. Y., on my first journey to Niagara, I made

* The Unitarian church was closed for repairs. I arrived on the Saturday, and was not expected. Some kind friends to whom I had been introduced insisted on my leaving the hotel for their very hospitable house, and on Sunday evening I preached at the New Jerusalem church to as many of the Unitarians as could be collected at a few hours' notice. The Rev. A. A. Livermore, whose Commentaries are well known among us, and whom I had previously visited at Keene, N. H., arrived in the course of the following week. The congregation were fortunate in securing such a successor to the lamented Rev. J. H. Perkins. Dr. Ephraim Peabody and Mr. W. H. Channing had been ministers here. I retain extremely agreeable recollections of my visit to Cincinnati.

† The following table, from the Official Census Returns of Aug. 1851, will be interesting to your readers.

Table of Fugitives and Manumitted Slaves from the Southern States during the Year ending June 1, 1850.

States.	Fugitives.	Manumitted.	States.	Fugitives.	Manumitted.
Delaware	19.....	174	Mississippi	49.....	11
Maryland	249.....	483	Louisiana	79.....	96
Virginia	89.....	211	Texas	33.....	5
N. Carolina	57.....	2	Kentucky	143.....	164
S. Carolina	14.....	2	Tennessee	69.....	40
Georgia	91.....	30	Missouri	59.....	54
Florida	16.....	22	Arkansas	11.....	6
Alabama	32.....	14	Dist. Columbia	7.....	
Total				1017	1314

a point of calling on F. Douglass. (It was a little indication of the way in which they are viewed, that in the City Directory they occupied a separate part of the book. They seemed mostly cooks, waiters, barbers, &c.) He resides at a neat house in the suburbs, which cost him about £400. Unfortunately, he was out of town: however, I found Mrs. Douglas and her sister, who are of a darker hue than he is, and his young family. They asked me to remain to tea, and we had much to converse about. It was a curious combination of the familiar and the strange. It was the first time that I had seen a Negro family, yet I saw one of my sister's pictures over the mantel-piece, and many reminiscences of England. They had not the same acquaintance among the whites as at Lynn, Mass., where they before resided; and the coloured people were more illiterate. Mrs. D. did not seem, I thought, very intimate with them. She complained much of the difficulty of providing her children with a good education. It was an interesting visit. In the following December, in New England, I heard my name cordially uttered at full length in a railway car, and Douglass presented himself to me. A minister who was with me gave him his seat; so we sat together and had a good deal of conversation. He was rather afraid lest his English friends should be set against him by his desire to occupy a position independent of the Garrisonians. He regretted that I could not employ that unqualified denunciation of slaveholders, which is, to say the least, excusable in one who has been a victim; but he knew my views on this point when he was at Bridgwater. I subscribed for his paper half a year, asking for the copy to be sent to some coloured man, which gratified him. The elevation of the free coloured race is a most important instrumentality for emancipation, and a man of talent and independence of character like Douglass is a telling argument against the pretended necessity of slavery. While we were chatting together, the conductor, according to American custom, was walking through the carriage to look at the tickets, and came to where we were sitting. I observed that D. pulled out his ticket much more at his leisure than I had done. When the conductor had passed, D. asked me if he seemed civil. I said, Quite so. A few years ago, he observed, that man hit my hands, and dragged me out of the car. A great change has come over public opinion. Many of the coloured people at first were diffident, and did not like for D. and others to provoke illwill by struggling for their rights; but now they are glad to enjoy them. I saw them in first-class railway cars not unfrequently, and in the omnibuses. It may have been accidental, but I thought that they generally went to the end of the cars, as if they did not feel yet quite at home there. I had some conversation with a respectable coloured man, on one of the Lake Erie steamers; and he spoke warmly of the improvement, and the kinder usage which he received; but I did not notice him at table with us. I saw coloured people in civic processions, public meetings, &c., at Boston; and though no doubt there is still a great deal of prejudice to overcome, it is, I think, decidedly abating.* The question that was then agitating the public mind in

* No doubt the labours of the abolitionists have been very important in raising the coloured race; but the gentlemanly feeling and sturdy common sense of others has not been unavailing. Mr. Edmund Quincy is an earnest abolitionist, but his father is a whig of the old school. When President of the University

relation to them, was that of separate coloured schools, which at first, as I was told, were accepted as a boon by the coloured population, and are even now preferred by the less aspiring of their number. It is, however, obviously at variance with the spirit of equality, that colour should exclude from those public schools which are free to all—even to the child of the poorest Irish immigrant. If their right to admission were granted, as in many places it is, there might be no objection to schools supported by private benevolence for coloured children, as there are now for white ones, whom circumstances indispose from attending the ordinary schools. One advantage of coloured schools, as of coloured congregations, is, that it helps to raise a class of coloured teachers and preachers who might else, at present, fail of a situation. At a festive gathering of a normal school at W. Newton, Mass., I met a coloured lady, who seemed very well received. It is a fortunate circumstance that the great advocate of education, Horace Mann, is a distinguished advocate for freedom and equal rights.

None of our ministers, with whom I conversed on the subject, expressed that aversion to Negroes which Dr. Tuckerman and others had to cure with so much difficulty. I was at a very pleasant gathering of ministers at Boston, comprising some of the most influential, and, as they might be regarded, some of the most conservative of the body. The business of the meeting was concluded, when Josiah Henson was introduced, a fugitive slave who has settled in Canada. I was pleased at the cordial greeting which he received. He was installed in an arm-chair, and for about an hour conversed on subjects connected with slavery. Some one asked him what he thought of the position of the clergy in this matter. He sagaciously replied, that he greatly disapproved of all "epithetic" observations on them; but he shortly after gave us quite an earnest harangue, in the manner of a sermon, as to how persons would feel on their dying beds who had been idle or indifferent on this subject. I was interested at seeing this complete Negro, a born slave, sitting and giving instruction to some of the leading minds of the country.

When I was at the ministerial conference at Portland, a handsome collation was prepared, the ladies presiding at the tables. It was at one time intended to invite the orthodox ministers. Dr. Nichols, the respected minister of the First Church, declared that there should be no reference to colour, and that the two orthodox coloured preachers should be invited with the rest. He told me, that though he was in

at Cambridge, Mass., Mr. Quincy was riding in an omnibus when a coloured lady wanted to get in. (The extreme courtesy shewn in America to white ladies is well known.) No one stirred, till the President himself made room for her; and now I understand that in the Cambridge omnibuses no difference is made in regard to colour. I heard another anecdote:—A coloured man was riding in a first-class railway car. A Southerner was excessively indignant; and, though he had close by him a coloured servant taking care of his children, he began to bluster at the conductor, and to tell him that either he or the nigger must leave the car. The poor conductor was frightened and about to succumb, when a great burly man, who was getting quite purple in the face from indignation at the fiery Southerner, roared out to the conductor, that he should turn the black man out at his peril; for he had as soon travel with a nigger as with a damned fool! The said fool at once collapsed, while the stout man felt himself bound in honour henceforth to be a defender of Negro rights.

no favour with the abolitionists, he felt so strongly on this subject, that he would rather have lost his parish than have refused to consort with his coloured brethren. He carried his point in the committee (composed of residents at Portland). It was afterwards found that some embarrassment might be caused to some orthodox ministers, if they went to a Unitarian collation; and therefore none were asked, I believe.

A brother minister, with whom I was staying at Boston, walked with me and with a coloured man through the streets of that city without making it appear that he was doing anything unusual. When I was stopping at Dr. Hill's at Worcester, a Negro called, I fancy for some aid. He was a minister among the coloured people, of whom there are about 200 there; but unfortunately they are divided between Zion and Bethel, so that neither shepherd has much of a flock! He told me that F. Douglass was one of "his boys," as he first gave him licence to preach. I felt that it was much easier to feel on terms of equality with such men as Douglass, than with the coarser, commonplace specimens of the race. This worthy man went out as waiter or coachman, I believe, to increase his means of living, for which he is of course to be commended. Dr. H. asked him to remain to dinner, though there were two young ladies visiting him; and afterwards he rode between us to town in Dr. H.'s open carriage. An ex-governor of the State called whilst he was there, and shook hands with him. Dr. H. is not one of the Garrisonians; but he did not make any parade of what he did, as though it was an unusual condescension. I was glad to refer to cases like these, when I heard Southern men saying that free blacks were more contemptuously treated in the North than with them.

I think that I had unusual opportunities of becoming acquainted with the feelings of our brethren; for two-thirds of my American year was spent in private houses. I was the guest of a great many ministers, and had social intercourse with many more. I am glad of this opportunity of expressing my gratitude for the unmeasured kindness which was shewn me. It was not confined to one party: some of my most valued friends were Conservatives, others Garrisonians; while the majority, especially among the younger men, seemed to me to accord in the views of Ware and Channing. The general tone of feeling among them was certainly more anti-slavery than I had expected, though there was the diversity of view which always results from independent thought. I was told that it is now as unpopular to defend slavery in our churches, as it was ten years ago to preach against it. The subject was noticed, in connection with other moral movements, on public occasions.* Perhaps my visit was at a favourable juncture.

* At the Unitarian Association, meeting in Dr. Gannett's church, May 1850, the Rev. H. Bellows alluded to the heavy cloud of domestic slavery. I was called upon next, and commenced thus:—"The black cloud to which the last speaker has alluded has saddened us, even on the other side of the Atlantic. When we contrasted that freedom and prosperity which might naturally excite your pride, with that baneful and humiliating institution, we were reminded of the providence of God, who permitted the apostle a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to buffet him, lest he should be exalted above measure. To many of my brethren that cloud seemed to shed so much of its darkness even here, that they feared to come among you; but, whilst not insensible of the

The threatened ignominy of the horrible Fugitive Slave Bill called out the love of freedom, which had been too often dormant. I confess my disappointment at the comparative silence which has since prevailed on the subject; but there are many who warmly protested against the making of the law, who suppose that, now that it is made, a different course of conduct is incumbent on them. My impression of their present position with regard to it is derived from my correspondents, and from my constant reading of the *Christian Register*.* I never met with a single advocate for slavery among Unitarian ministers, though, from extracts from the sermons of the Rev. T. Clapp, of New Orleans, I fear that such advocates may be found; nor do I know that any of them approve the atrociously unjust provisions of the Fugitive Slave Bill, though some, viewing the matter constitutionally, might say that Congress could not do other than pass some such law, if called on by the South to do so. Dr. Dewey† and a few others, as it is well known, say that, as the law of the land, it must be obeyed. Others, feeling the complexity of the question, by their apologies for the maintainers of the law, and their silence as to its iniquity, are ranked among its supporters. Some of these men, though deficient in the perception of wrongs in another clime, are remarkable for their generous defence of the injured, and self-sacrificing kindness to sufferers who have come within the range of their sympathies. Others, again, have viewed the matter, not from the constitutional, but the human point of view, and have boldly expressed their indignation, not only before, but after, it became law, and their fixed determination to oppose it, in a way which warms our hearts. Theodore Parker states his intention to resort to violence, if necessary, for the defence of the fugitive. His allusion to

evil, it has been my privilege to behold the rainbow of promise, and to know that there was light which would dissipate the gloom. * * * The great principles which we hold in common, on each side the ocean, are mitigating the evils in the world, and preparing for their gradual extinction." My remarks were well received, even by those whom the Garrisonians call pro-slavery; but my friend Dr. Gilman wrote to me that they occasioned him both mortification and regret. "I was unable to circulate the Annual Report among my people; yet your intentions, I have no doubt, were honest and fair."

* The editors of this paper are the Rev. A. P. Peabody, who took decided anti-slavery ground in his paper on the Duties of the North; the Rev. J. H. Morison, who is of the school of Henry Ware; and the Rev. F. D. Huntingdon, with whose views I am less acquainted, though I know him to be interested in the various philanthropic movements. These gentlemen are men of the first standing in our body. The Rev. Dr. Peabody, who is regarded as conservative, and the Rev. J. Parkman, who is an abolitionist, have both recently retired from the editorship.

† Dr. Dewey's shocking expression,—for every filial feeling is outraged by it,—that he would rather send his own mother into slavery, and go himself, than see the union between the free and slaveholding States dissolved, seems to indicate a degraded carelessness or blind ignorance of the evils of slavery, or a very exaggerated idea of the importance of the Union; yet it does not prove that he thinks slavery desirable—only the least of two evils. A noted abolitionist, Parker Pillsbury, is reported to have said, "The American Union! Union of whom? I would not pay such a price for union with the blest in heaven. I would rather suffer damnation for ever and ever." But probably it would be incorrect to regard him as *pro-eternal-damnation*. An advocate of non-resistance might be driven to say, that, rather than kill men in the blossom of their sin, he would see his mother murdered before his eyes, and die himself; but it would not be charitable to regard him as somewhat favourable to the murder of

his ancestral sword and revolutionary pistols reads a little theatrical : if arms are used, more modern ones would be more killing : no one, however, who has marked his course, will doubt his entire earnestness and sincerity. Hitherto the abolitionists have been the great advocates for peace ; and although we excuse a man who takes murderous weapons on a sudden impulse of self-defence, such deliberate professions of bloody resistance to the laws of the land give a handle to the oppressor, and produce a reaction in favour of what is represented as the cause of order. Lynch lawlessness, as well as Lynch law, may be dictated by a great thirst for justice ; but it is a thirst which leads to intemperance. The riot in favour of a fugitive at Boston has, I think, occasioned a greater timidity in the utterances of our body. An influential minister, after deprecating the violence of speech which aggravates a sectional feeling already so passionate as well nigh to create civil war, adds,—“ For my part, without deciding whether the Fugitive Slave Law of 1851 is or is not worse than the old law of 1793, I shall have nothing to do with the law. I shall obey it only in its penalties ; but I shall not prevent public officers executing it. I will not join mobs nor encourage them, nor by harsh words raise them. I mean to bear patiently, hopefully, prayerfully—speak and preach when I think any good can come of it, otherwise be silent.” It is, I believe, the resolution of the majority of our ministers to shew their respect for the law of God by harbouring the fugitive, and for that of man by submitting to the penalty. The “ mission of silence ” has exposed many to a great deal of obloquy and ridicule. We always admire courage ; and even a reckless daring is more attractive, to those who are uninjured by it, than prudence. The question arises, whether this prudence is selfish or disinterested, and our decision will be guided by our opinion of the individual. If it springs from cowardice, we despise it ; if from a generous forbearance, preferring contempt to the injury which a Quixotic interference brings upon the sufferer, we honour it. Some believe that, till there is a reasonable prospect of repealing the law, agitation only makes it more active : they hope that it may share the fate of the old law, which in New England was rarely put in operation. My hopes in this matter are not quite so creeping ; yet, whilst I regret this silence, I am not clear as to what example we set them. It is better to be a slave than a prisoner—that is, a slave at large than a slave in confinement ; because all prisoners are of course slaves, separated from their families, not allowed to marry, far more dull and miserable and degraded than Negroes. Imprisonment is a punishment which the slave himself dreads. In England, many persons are imprisoned who are not moral agents—children who steal by order of their parents,—adults who break laws of which they may be ignorant, or of which they have never learnt the obligation. Far more persons are

mothers. It is fair to remark, that Dr. D. does not say that he was prepared to be a *slaveholder*, but a *slave*—to *suffer*, not to *do* wrong. I have not seen his sad speech, and many of your readers are probably better acquainted with it than I am : it is perhaps consistent with his views formerly expressed, and with his mode of viewing other moral questions. His intimate friends speak of him as a man of great independence of character. To us his independence seems less manifested against timeserving politicians than against overbearing reformers who do not convince him.

causelessly sent to slavery in England, and branded for life with the felon's mark, than there are returned fugitives in America. Soldiers have been entrapped into the service by those who were guilty of the awful crime of making them drunk; sailors have been impressed, actually kidnapped; and these men have not only been reduced to slavery—for no one who is acquainted with the rules of the service can pretend that it is otherwise—but a slavery which in their moments of thought they may feel positively abominable and cursed, obliging them to shed innocent blood. Yet, have the ministers of peace urged the duty of encouraging deserters, and braving the laws in their protection? Do we preach the duty of rescuing all persons whom we think unjustly sentenced, or sentenced to a punishment unjustly disproportionate to the offence? There are many among us who do not think it either right or wise to set laws at defiance, whilst we strive to amend them; and others, not very depraved, are so accustomed to these evils, that they scarcely attempt their cure. Channing truly says (*Life*, Vol. III. p. 142), "We are slow to believe that we are as blinded as those whose errors amaze us; but I begin to fear that the condition of society among ourselves may seem as shocking to a more enlightened and virtuous age as slavery does to us."

Ministers in America are somewhat differently situated from what they are with us. Though it sounds absurd for a young republic to be torified, it is true that those who seem only one remove from anarchy are more likely to dread it than those who live under an old-established government; and this will be particularly the case with the cultivated classes. Our clergy there more correspond with an established order, linked to existing institutions. We Dissenters, on the contrary, are hereditary nonconformists, and feel that we may indulge our fault-finding propensities with all freedom: there is little danger of our moving the world too fast, and the Government Church will take care that no abuses perish too soon. At the same time, it is fair to say that some of the boldest spirits in America are to be found among our clergy there. We hear in England the complaints of the abolitionists, which seem confirmed by occasional extracts from the conservative papers, eager to make the most of the countenance that is shewn this bad law; but a wider knowledge of the American press would convince us that those whom we rebuke for their cowardice have to brunt the storm of those who reproach them for their anarchical tendencies, and our ministers are charged with ultra-radicalism! So difficult is it to form an estimate of a widely-scattered body of men, living under varied influences, guided by different fundamental rules of action, only united in adherence to the doctrine of the Divine Unity.

As to the mode of preaching proper on the slavery question, there is great diversity of opinion. Some, at the risk of obloquy, poverty, and, what is far more trying, expulsion from a people dearly beloved and longed for, have preached boldly, searchingly and pointedly upon it. They have made the sacrifice, and have resigned their pulpits; but their successors have found speech on the same subject far easier, and the absolute silence which was once required is now generally unpopular. We must judge of a man's conduct in this matter by his general style of preaching. If he is very plain and direct in his allusions to other particular sins, and omits this, it may be supposed that

he is either cowardly or indifferent respecting it; but, on the other hand, he may make it his general practice to lay down fundamental principles, and leave the application to his hearers. Some ministers who have adopted this latter course, suppose that they can trace to it an improved sentiment on this subject among their people. At all events, those who, engaging in great and unpopular movements at home, have found their warmth produce coldness, and have alienated where they wished to convince, and have felt how solemn a thing it is to divide a church and the families in it, will judge charitably of those who hesitate how best to attain the object they may have at heart. There is this additional difficulty. An English preacher on temperance, e. g., urges something practical, and in no way political. An anti-slavery preacher may be thought political or sentimental. If he eschew politics, he speaks of an institution of other States: his hearers are not told to alter their own habits, for they do not keep slaves, but to oppose those of men living under other governments; and if *feeling* is excited too frequently, without any direct effect on the *conduct*, sentiment ferments into sentimentality. If, on the other hand, he exhort to action, it will be commonly understood to denote political action—voting for some candidate, petitioning against some law, or supporting a party opposed to all candidates and to the Constitution itself. At home, our congregations for the most part support one section of the political world; but there they are of all parties. In one State, the three rival candidates for Governor—Whig, Democratic and Free-soil—all belonged to the same congregation. It may easily be imagined how little sacred would be the feelings which a minister would excite, who was supposed to be using the pulpit as an election engine. And even when he lays down great truths, those who might receive them with patience in ordinary circumstances—perhaps have actually done so—are very sore if they suppose that it has cost them their office. It would not be fair to judge of the Unitarian laity by the resignations of ministers in consequence of their advocacy of freedom. In many cases the violent dissentients were a minority, even a small one, but enough to destroy a minister's comfort; and those who have left one post for this cause, have sometimes found another more influential. I confess, however, that I do not envy the position of an American minister at this juncture. Those who desire to fulfil their duty as the moral guides of the community,—the followers of him who came to save the lost and break every yoke,—have great need of wisdom to direct, of love to bear, and courage to act; but we cannot doubt whose blessing follows those who give up all for the truth's sake.

These remarks may be borne in mind in relation to our religious newspapers there. Owing to the abundance of papers, subscribers do not depend on their denominational paper for their general intelligence. The Register is not like our Inquirer. It scrupulously avoids touching on politics. Its supporters are of all parties, and the character of the paper would be altogether changed if it entered on party strife. There is a wider line than with us between the so-called *secular* and *religious* papers; and questions which with us are simple moral questions, are discussed with fierce political rancour. Hence the Register has been more reserved than we could wish on the Fugitive Slave Bill, since it has become law, with a political party as its champion; but I

rarely see a number without some article against slavery, or in defence of the rights of conscience in relation to it.

I mentioned in my first paper that I met some of the leaders of the Free-soil party in Washington. I saw others of them at Boston, among whom I may mention Hon. Charles Sumner, the present senator for Massachusetts, and Dr. Palfrey. Dr. Palfrey visited this country when he was Theological Professor at Cambridge. He edited my father's *Harmony in America*, and has made important contributions to theological literature. Some years ago he relinquished the ministry, and, like his predecessor, Mr. Everett, devoted himself to politics,—not, however, with equal success. He joined the Free-soil party, and has for some time been out of office. He is the Free-soil candidate for Governor, but with little chance of election. No one can doubt that he has made a sacrifice for freedom; but this is not his first sacrifice. His father was a Boston merchant, who settled in Louisiana, where two of Dr. P.'s brothers still reside. Dr. P. set his share of the slaves free. I was conversing with him on the laxity of the marriage contract among Negroes; and he mentioned, that finding that one of the women whom he liberated had a husband who was a slave in a neighbouring plantation, he wrote to his master, asking him to name a price,—wishing to set him free, to live with his wife. The planter coolly replied that he did not want to sell him, and had furnished him with another wife. Dr. P. had never had any intercourse with Garrison, except when they had met on some town committee, and has shared the attacks which the Garrisonians make on his party; but I found at the South that such an act as his is more convincing than the most vehement speeches. They are always taunting the North with their want of sincerity. “You talk,” say they, “of remembering those in bonds as bound with them; and certainly you speak against us as if you had actually seen your own mothers whipped before your eyes. You call us pirates and robbers: yet if *you* were in the shocking state you describe, would you hesitate about giving up your money to be delivered from it? If your mother were taken by a pirate, would you doubt as to the propriety of ransoming her, lest you should seem to acknowledge his right to capture her? Slavery, you say, is worse than death; yet if a robber asked for your money or your life, would you decline giving the money, lest it should indicate his right to it? We don't believe you. You demand from us a sacrifice which our consciences do not require, but plead conscience against making any sacrifice yourselves. You sneer and reproach the consciences of those who let a slave be taken back to his master rather than break a law of the land; yet expect us to respect your consciences, who let a slave be taken back to hell, as you call it, rather than put your hands in your pockets.” To reasoners of this kind, who are not aware of the sacrifices the genuine abolitionists are making, such a plain, unmistakable, palpable sacrifice as Dr. P. has made, speaks volumes. I heard Dr. P. make perhaps one of the most finished and touching speeches which I have ever listened to, at the Unitarian gathering, which greatly moved even his political opponents. I was scarcely prepared for the acrimony with which the Free-soilers are viewed; but the Whigs of Massachusetts attribute to them some sore defeats. The consistent men of their party are among the most powerful and influential advocates of freedom: as a party, however, they

will be liable to those temptations to sacrifice principle to expediency to which other parties have at times succumbed. From this insinuation I must certainly except the Garrisonians, who in a remarkable degree sacrifice expediency to principle.

It will be expected that I should say something of the abolitionists; yet it is painful to speak where one is sure to be misunderstood. A Yankee is properly a New-Englander; whilst in remote parts of the Union all Northerners are so called, and we give the name to inhabitants of the United States generally: so some Southerners call all Northerners abolitionists, whilst those in the North so name the advocates of abolition; whilst in New England the term especially denotes the Garrisonians. Many are therefore embraced under this wide name, who are men of a very different spirit from the noble and disinterested labourers whom we honour. Some adopt the cry, in districts where it is popular, for political and selfish purposes. Some are actuated by pride,—vehement against the slaveholders for their pretensions and arrogance,—arrogant themselves towards the coloured race whose cause they espouse, like some haughty democrats at home. Some, with all their horror at the burden of slavery, will not move it with their fingers, only if possible with their tongues; men who make no pretension to anti-slavery zeal will often give and do far more to redeem a captive, than those whose mouths open more easily than their purses. Some profess abolitionism just as men migrate to the back woods—to feel themselves free from all restraint. If they give up the pleasure of co-operating with an important party, they love, in these moral “clearings,” to have unbounded licence to say bitter things against all existing institutions of church, state and society. (See Prospective Review for last November, “The American Fugitive Slave Act.”) Whilst others, again, are men who, loving peace and good-will, and valuing a position in society, and income, and reputation, and the kindly appreciation of friends, have sacrificed everything for the oppressed’s sake, knowing that what they do for the least of Christ’s brethren, they do for him. So vast is the diversity among them, that you must judge each by himself, or refrain from judging at all.

Though I attended more anti-slavery meetings than temperance ones, they were but few—though I think that the half-dozen or so at which I was present afforded me a tolerable specimen. The meeting at which I spoke was at the celebration of West-Indian independence. There I felt in place as an Englishman; but at public meetings to assail the Union and reproach public men, I should have thought it as improper for me to take a part, as for an American minister to be conspicuous at a revolutionary meeting in England. Much that I heard at their Convention was certainly offensive. I did not like the glee of the audience when public men were “killed,” or, as we might say, “cut up.” If there is joy in heaven over the sinner that repenteth, pleasure in the inspection of other men’s sins is felt elsewhere. It seemed to me that some speakers were, unintentionally, feeding malignant passions. As I knew pretty well what they meant, I did not allow myself to be much disturbed at some of their startling expressions. My friend W. Mountford, however, who came fresh to it, was filled with intense disgust when he heard H. C. Wright intimating his intention to trample on the Bible if there was anything pro-slavery in it, and to defy the Old-

Testament God. M. was nearly rising to remonstrate, but he was prudently silent. He has since learnt what a man must expect who has the honesty to utter what he thinks.*

What I heard led me to feel that the breach between the church and the Garrisonians was so wide, that it was hopeless to attempt any cordial union between them. The church must be anti-slavery after its manner, and the Garrisonians religious after their manner; and the wise men of each party will learn of the other. Unhappily, those who have set up for sanctity have been so cool about humanity, that the advocates for humanity are very suspicious of sanctity. Pious people say things which outrage the humane, and humane men outrage the pious. If humane men cannot bear to have their brother treated as a chattel, devout men are not partial to hearing their Heavenly Father (for so Christ calls the God of the patriarchs) treated as worse than a chattel—defied and scorned as a monstrosity. The church has much to answer for. In old times it set itself against science, and the philosophers derided it; and now it has provoked the burning scorn of philanthropists. Where it does its duty, it may have philosophy and philanthropy as its faithful friends and servants.

* He addressed a letter to our *Inquirer* against the proposed excommunication of American ministers, on the ground that we could as little understand their position in regard to the Abolition movement, as they could ours in regard to the Chartist and other movements. More than a column is devoted to him in the *Liberator*, of which the first paragraph may be taken as a specimen:—"Mr. Mountford is an English Unitarian clergyman settled at Gloucester, in this State. Whether he belongs to that class

'Who leave their country for their country's good,'

or not, his short residence here has already made it very clear that he is no acquisition to the land of his adoption. The almost entire recreancy of the American pulpit to the cause of the heart-broken slave population at the South, renders it quite insupportable that it should be upheld and extended by foreign importation. The most despicable as well as the most dangerous of all trimmers and time-servers is he who, claiming to be a minister of Jesus Christ (the most fearless and radical reformer who has ever appeared), is disposed to connive at popular wrong, and to cry, Peace! peace! when there is no peace. He is both a coward and a traitor of the basest type." I have given this extract, because your readers, who know Mr. M., will be able to judge what value is to be attached to similar censures of those whom they do not know. Mr. M. is not singular in his comparisons. Joseph Barker was supposed fully to sympathize with Garrison; and as he edited a collection of the horrors of American Slavery, he may be regarded as acquainted with them. Yet in a letter from America to B. Barker, which I suppose is his (*The People*, No. 75, Vol. II.), he writes as follows:—"I consider that the aristocrats of Great Britain and Ireland are as really slaveholders as the slaveholders in the Southern States of America, and that the working classes are as really slaves as the poor chained Negroes of the Southern States." "True, there is slavery here (in America), and slavery is a terrible evil. It is nevertheless a fact, that the slavery of the Southern States neither starves men to death so often, nor separates husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, so frequently, nor causes so much disease, nor so many violent deaths, as the horrible system of oppression prevailing in Great Britain and Ireland. True, slavery is the lowest state of man. It is a state in which humanity cannot long remain. It is nevertheless true, I believe, that the generality of the working people of Ireland are neither so well clad, so well fed, nor so well used in general, as the Negro slaves of the South. That is my opinion. And there appears to be a better prospect of speedily abolishing slavery, than there does of annihilating the aristocratic tyranny of Great Britain and Ireland, and popularizing their general and local governments."

I have, as you know, some experience in the moral movements in England, and the churches have been regarded as indifferent or even obstructive to them; but I have never heard at home such abuse of religious bodies and institutions as in America; if I did, I could not act with them without such protests as would make my co-operation unacceptable. But the bond of our teetotal societies, e. g., is *action*, not *opinion*. Any man who pledges himself to abstain from intoxicating drinks is a teetotaler, and the utmost strictness as to practice is combined with boundless freedom of opinion as to the way in which the intemperate are to be regarded. But a man by abstaining from slaveholding is not thereby an abolitionist: the bond of the society is opinion, not as to our own conduct so much as to that of others. The practice of the Garrisonian need not be different from that of other men; he may, or may not, partake of slave produce; other men may be as ready as he to redeem a fugitive or to suffer for him, and to treat the coloured race as brethren. He, and those whom he reviles, may and often do act in the same way towards the Negro. The main point at issue is, How is the master to be influenced? Is the union with him to be regarded as a covenant with hell and a league with death, or as a bond of peace which may ultimately draw him to the cause of freedom?

The use of the term *pro-slavery* by the Garrisonians, strikes me as incorrect and likely to mislead. *Pro* denotes the inclination of the act or the actor. If of the *act*, everything that has a tendency directly or indirectly to prolong slavery and aggravate its evils is *pro-slavery*; but this is matter of opinion: it is the very charge brought warmly, and I have no doubt sincerely, against the Garrisonians themselves. If of the *doer*, we have no right to say that a man favours a sin because he does not accord in our way of uprooting it. Some teetotalers believe that if there were no moderate drinking there would be no drunkenness; but it would be deemed very unjust to call such moderate men *pro-drunkenness*, as if they were inclined to that vice. But, as I have said, these Northern pro-slavery men may be as free from slaveholding, even of the mildest form, as the Garrisonians themselves, and may protest against it. What would be thought if we called a man *pro-drunkenness*, who was a strict abstainer and an able and sincere defender of abstinence, because he does not think it proper to denounce all makers, vendors and drinkers, and has spoken strongly on what he supposes the errors of teetotalers? To say that slavery is the most hellish of crimes, and then to charge men with favouring it who are not only innocent, but express their abhorrence of it, seems to me unchristian and paradoxical. But paradox is a favourite weapon with them. Now that the evil of slavery is generally acknowledged, the topic does not seem sufficiently exciting to draw an audience. Their vehemence is often directed against those who are labouring to raise the condition of the Negro by a different instrumentality from their own. Many think it better, or easier, to destroy than improve; and if any err from the truth, they do not restore them in the spirit of meekness. If a politician or clergyman has influence and uses it ill, they try to destroy his influence by blasting his character, as if he were a rock in their way. It did not seem to me that they were worse in this respect than some others. They do as they have been done by. Party vituperations in America are offensive and unjust in the extreme. Only one would wish the lovers of man-

kind to speak in love, and the friends of freedom to avoid moral despotism. We raise a high standard for them. Theology is of the old times, and has often the acerbity of age; young philanthropy should have the sweetness as well as the vigour of childhood. *Odium theologicum* is too bad for us to desire *odium philanthropicum*. But moralists have similar dangers to religionists. The moral bigot is as positive as to the truth of his convictions and the wickedness of contrary ones as the doctrinal bigot; and fanaticism and intolerance are injurious and dangerous in each case. On the other hand, we ought to make the same allowances for those who seem perhaps over-zealous in behalf of man, that we do for those who are zealots for God. Each party is attempting a great work.

My personal intercourse with abolitionists was very pleasant. When hearing them speak, I was often reminded of what one of their number gave me as his reason for not attending their Convention. He stopped away partly because he heard nothing new, but also because it was not pleasant to hear people whom he liked say things which he did not like. Incompleteness misleads. Half a loaf is better than no bread, but half a truth is often worse than silence; and I frequently felt that, whatever might be my accordance with their speakers, their want of completeness gave an entirely wrong impression.* In conversation this could be altered. I freely told them my objections, which they kindly met, and we talked pleasantly of some of those other things by and for which men live. In my book of extracts, Garrison and Dr. Gannett appear side by side: we had this link of sympathy—there were friends in England who loved us all. I spent no happier or more profitable days than those which I enjoyed in the religious and affectionate homes of each of the Messrs. May and other leading abolitionists; and I do not know any who had my fuller sympathy on this subject than those who laboured for the slave as the ministers of Christ, who did not allow the Egyptian darkness to overwhelm them, but were cheered in their labours by the light of love for the erring and faith in God.

The Garrisonians have laboured devotedly in a glorious cause, and they cannot yet be spared. I am not prepared to deny that since their agitation the slaves have been more rigorously dealt with, from real or affected fear on the part of the masters, whose pride is more than ever enlisted in the maintenance of the system: in other States, however, there has been improvement. But in the North there has been a decided advance, much of which must be attributed to their unceasing exertions; † and if they have done harm, good preponderates as far as

* Perhaps this is almost unavoidable in a party meeting. The panegyrics on the Union uttered by the opposite party seemed to me equally one-sided.

† All societies attacking existing institutions cause a temporary reaction. The ardour of Dissenters stimulates the Church. The Reformation Society inflames the Catholics. Unitarians are more opposed to Popery than any other body, yet they discountenance the Reformation Society, though the courage and zeal of many of its speakers are undoubted, and the Catholic Church is chargeable with countless errors and crimes: we think it well, if we want to convince a man, not to taunt him with his absurdities alone, but to do justice to everything which modifies them. One of our ministers told me that it only did him harm to read the unceasing accusations of the abolitionists: he is called *pro-slavery*; yet so great is his disgust at slavery, that he assured me he had never entered a slave State, as he could not endure the sight of it.

the cause of freedom is concerned. If I resided in America, I should probably not connect myself with them, but should prefer striving for freedom freely; but I have every year given or procured contributions to their bazaar, because I honour their unflinching, self-sacrificing integrity; and those who discard all the ties of country for the slave's sake deserve the sympathy of men of all countries. To labour with them in America might be taken as an endorsement of much that would offend our consciences; but by aiding them here we do not enter into their feuds with governments and religions, but aid "*anti-slavery* in the abstract," distinct from the questionable peculiarities of its advocates. Philanthropy requires a missionary spirit as well as theology; and if it is right to send out preachers to convert the heathens abroad, though we have practical heathenism at home, I do not know why we should not help to assail slavery abroad, though we have practical slavery at home.

Before I close this letter (which I have already extended far beyond my wish, though much has been omitted which I desired to say), I may advert to what we have already done. After a visit from Mr. S. May, Jun., a letter of brotherly remonstrance was sent from the Unitarian ministers of this country which was numerously signed, and received an answer which indicated that it had done good. After a visit of F. Douglass to Bridgwater, I was commissioned by a committee, appointed at a public meeting, to draw up a letter on the subject to our namesake in Massachusetts, which had considerable dealings with the South. It fortunately met the approval of the Garrisonians, without exciting any hostile feeling in those whom it addressed: we had an answer very numerously signed: it drew increased attention to the question in the locality, and their neighbours at Taunton said that they would like a letter from their English namesake, couched in the same fraternal spirit. When an invitation was sent to our ministers to attend the Boston Unitarian anniversaries, a reply was drawn up, declining, on the ground, I believe, that a slaveholder was or had been an officer of the Association. Some of us could not conscientiously sign this letter, as it was not accordant with our principles nor our practices in parallel cases. This reply does not seem to have been effective of much good; and as it was signed by laymen, those who objected to it, intimated that they did not want a refusal from persons whom they had never invited. There has been more recently an attempt to pass a resolution, excluding from our pulpits all American ministers who are not sound on this question. As such a step was generally regarded as inconsistent with our congregational usages, it was only carried, I believe, in one instance. Its adoption would have led to some perplexity and many inconsistencies among ourselves, and might have exposed our American abolitionist ministers to great annoyance. When I was there, they freely exchanged pulpits with their brethren. If our exclusiveness had led to exclusiveness there, their influence would have been narrowed, and jealousy and unkindness might have been the result. Many of our congregations sent remonstrances, some of which might have less weight from their apparent ignorance of the origin of the Fugitive Slave Bill,—supposing its principle to be an innovation. The judge must know both sides, and hear all the evidence: where resolutions appear echoes of the Garrisonian party, those who are not

affected by the voice, are not much moved by the echo; and the American Unitarian papers have shewn no greater forwardness to insert our resolutions, than our periodicals might be to give publicity to any series of American documents which they thought incorrect. I should be extremely sorry if our hearts did not burn with indignation at so abominable a law, and at the whole system which inflicts such awful wrong—moral, mental, and often physical—on three millions of our fellow-beings: and it is the word from the heart which goes to the heart. Whatever we can do we ought to do, to lessen the evil. We should keep it in mind as the great wrong, which no false politeness should make us blink when Americans boast to us of the glory of their institutions. The law has this good effect, that the North can no longer pretend that it has nothing to do with the system. Unless they think their government a mass of rottenness, which it is death to touch, they must desire to shew their country as it ought to be—in the van, not the rear, of freedom. In our addresses to individuals or churches, we should be guided by our own experience. If we are improved by censures for faults to which we do not plead guilty, let us thus censure others; if fierce invectives for acknowledged evil help us to quit it, let us not spare invectives: they may at all events help to neutralize those of the South, or the conservatives of the North, in the minds of the wavering. If it is kindness which subdues us, let us overcome evil with good; if we are moved by appeals to our better natures, and encouraged by hope, let us administer life's best cordial to those who are silent through despondency. Whatever we would that men should do to us, let us do to them.

From England, America inherited slavery. Let it have her aid to uproot it: let us strive to instruct the myriads who leave our shores to settle there, in their duties to the coloured race: let us assist our Transatlantic visitors to be free from their prejudices, and to love equal rights. Let us help to raise the condition of our enfranchised population in the West Indies, to whom the Americans look to see the results of freedom, and who are quite as much our concern as the inhabitants of the States. Let us raise our degraded population at home, lest our selfish neglect bring distrust upon freedom. Let us root out from ourselves all moral and spiritual slavery, and never try to crush what we dislike, or to tyrannize over what we despise. When we act consistently with our Christian profession in our home walks, we shall have a Christ-like strength to break the yoke and set the oppressed free in distant lands: the truth that makes us free shall free others; and those who do the will of God on earth as it is done in heaven, may pray with full assurance of faith, Thy kingdom come.

Yours respectfully,

R. L. CARPENTER.

Birkenhead, Nov. 4, 1851.

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