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ARTICLE I.

THE SYNOD OF DORT.

It is proposed in this article to give a brief account of the much abused Synod of Dort, its origin, doings and results. Our principal authorities are, not only Brandt, and other Arminian writers, but “Hales’ Golden Remains,” “Balcanqual’s Letters,” and, more than all, a “History of the Synod of Dort,” “drawn up and published by the authority and under the sanction of the States General, the Prince of Orange, and of the Synod itself, referring, in every part, to the public records of the transaction in question.”*

The Confession of Faith of the Low countries, commonly called the Belgic Confession, was published in the year 1563. It accords with the confessions of the other Reformed Churches, establishing the Presbyterian form of government, and embracing all those points of doctrine which have usually been denominated Calvinistic. It was confirmed by repeated Synods, and by repeated acts of the States. Other sects were

* This valuable work was translated from the Latin, by the late Rev. Thomas Scott, and is published by the Pres. Board of Publication.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE RAID OF JOHN BROWN, AND THE PROGRESS OF ABOLITION.

Since our last issue, events have occurred which have moved the hearts of our citizens to their lowest depths, and awakened in many breasts the most anxious and desponding fears for the future of our country. A foreign enemy landing upon our coasts, with even the power of England itself, would rouse our people to united and successful resistance, and however great our sufferings for a season, would consolidate our republic, rather than weaken and overthrow it. But in the midst of peace with the nations without, and while our material wealth, our perfection in the arts, and our population, have exhibited an unprecedented increase, a secret poison has been diffusing itself through the State, and misunderstanding, misrepresentation and hate have taken the place of candor, amity and fraternal love. The members of our political household have lost confidence in each other, sectional jealousies have arisen, political parties have sprung up based on principles hostile to the South, which continues to hold herself with faithfulness and pertinacity to that constitution under which the States of this great Republic were confederated in one general government.

The history of this estrangement carries us back to the beginning of our nation. Slavery existed at an early period in all the thirteen States which resisted the Mother Country. In the "fundamental" laws of Massachusetts, adopted in 1641, the lawfulness of Indian and negro slavery was admitted, and the Slave Trade, carried on by England since 1553, approved. In 1754 there were 2,448 negro slaves in Massachusetts over sixteen years of age, and how many children below that age we are not informed. Of these, 1,000 were in the town of Boston. The newspapers of that city for a long period abounded in advertisements of negro and Indian slaves for sale, and

in rewards offered for runaways. Indians from abroad were advertised for sale in the Boston market. Carolina Indians are advertised in the *Boston News Boy* in 1708; and in 1718 Indian and negro slaves are rated as being worth £30 sterling. We have also met with advertisements, dated September 15, 1711, of Carolina Indians as runaways—one, Toby, belonging to Rev. Samuel Myles, of Boston; another belonging to Hon. Col. Thos. Savage. In Connecticut, the laws of 1650 allow of the seizure and enslavement of Indians, or of their being “shipped out and exchanged for neagers.” Slaves bore a larger proportion to the population in Connecticut than in Massachusetts. The proportion in Rhode Island was still greater. Newport, then the second commercial town in New England, had a larger proportional number of slaves than the city of Boston. In 1750 they constituted one-sixth of the population in the city of New York, and one-fourth of the population of Philadelphia were of African descent. Nor do we find that the Puritans of New England and the citizens of New York were any more tolerant and gentle to their slaves than the severest masters of the South. We have met with the account of the death of an ancestor of Dr. Codman, if our memory does not deceive us, who was poisoned by his servants in the city of Boston, and the guilty parties were burnt alive. The same was true of slaves in the city of New York in 1744, who were tried and sentenced for an attempted insurrection. Seventy were expatriated, eighteen were hung, some of them in chains, and thirteen were burnt at the stake. The English nation were long engaged in the traffic in slaves. John Newton sailed into the port of Charleston with a cargo of slaves, but a large portion of the negroes stolen from Africa and transported to the Southern States, were brought in New England vessels. Many of the fortunes existing in New England, and no inconsiderable portion of the wealth, especially in some of its sea-ports, could be traced back, if the truth could be ascertained, to this nefarious traffic. Nor was our country peculiar. From the Reformation down, there was no common sentiment among the nations of Europe against domestic slavery. It was defended both by civilians and divines. Whitefield owned a

plantation, wrought by slaves, in South Carolina, before he and his friend Habersham secured the introduction of slavery into Georgia.

Under these circumstances the American Revolution occurred, and the several States of the Union became united together, first under the Articles of Confederation, and then under the present Constitution of the United States, which, being framed in the spirit of compromise between the several sections of the country, was adopted by the States in 1787 and 1788. Preliminary measures had been taken in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Rhode Island, for the gradual abolition of slavery. Yet it could hardly be said to have terminated in any State of the original thirteen, except Massachusetts.

The Constitution of the United States is the most solemn of all human compacts, exceeding far in solemnity and binding force those treaties which are formed between separate nations. It is a compact between the people of the several States once Colonies of Britain, having one common descent, and having passed through a dreadful struggle to acquire their independence, in which they had pledged each other "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors;" a compact entered into "in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, and promote the general Welfare," and which, with "the Laws made in pursuance thereof," is declared to be "the Supreme Law of the Land." It is a compact not entered into lightly, nor to be lightly broken; one under which our nation has flourished at home, and obtained in three-quarters of a century an honorable place among the foremost nations of the earth. This Constitution embraces slavery, protects it, and recognizes it in its fundamental laws. The acts of our Government in all its branches, legislative, executive and judicial, have continued to acknowledge it: "First," says the preamble of a meeting lately held in the city of New York:

"In the compact of the Constitution, (Art. 1, Sec. 2.) recognizing slaves as persons to be represented by their masters, and as property to be taxed upon these masters.

"2d. In the compact (Art. 1, Sec. 8,) that Congress shall have power to suppress insurrections.

"3rd. (Art. 1, Sec. 9,) in prohibiting Congress to suppress the slave trade prior to 1808, and in giving Congress the power to impose a tax or duty upon each slave imported before that time, not exceeding ten dollars for each slave.

"4th. In the compact (Art. 4, Sec. 2,) to deliver up, on claim of the party to whom slave service may be due, the person or slave held to such service or labor.

"5th. In the compact (Art. 4, Sec. 4,) upon the application of any Legislature or Executive of a State, to protect said State against domestic violence.

"The federal government has, from its origin, been administered by the Executive, and by States, not only in the letter but in the spirit of these compacts.

"1st. Before and after the old Confederation, in the division of the then unsettled Territories, by declaring all North of the Ohio to be non-slaveholding, and all South of the Ohio to be slaveholding.

"2d. In the ordinance, July 13, 1787, making free the territory, now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, but providing therein, also, for the surrender of fugitive slaves.

"3d. In the acts, President Washington approving, admitting into the Union the Territory of Kentucky, slaveholding, then the property of Virginia, and afterwards the Territory of Franklin, slaveholding, now Tennessee, then the property of North Carolina.

"4th. In the ordinance, April 7, 1798, John Adams approving, organizing the Mississippi Territory, then belonging to Georgia, now Alabama and Mississippi, and, which was especially excepted therefrom, the anti-slavery clause of the North-Western Territory, in these words:

"'Excepting and excluding the last article of the ordinance of 1787.'

"5th. In the fugitive slave law of 1793, George Washington approving, which passed in the Senate unanimously, and the House—ayes 48, noes 7.

"6th. In the purchase of Louisiana, President Jefferson approving, all that vast region west of the Mississippi, stretching to the Pacific ocean, and to the British Possessions, all of which was under the laws of Spain or France, slaveholding, and larger in extent at that time than the whole United States.

"7th. In the treaty of 1783, (9th article,) providing against the deportation of slaves, with the official correspondence of Washington, Randolph, Gov. Morris, and John Jay thereon.

"8th. In the Judiciary act, 1789, (34th section,) adopting the constitutional laws of the several States, which recognize slaves as property as well as persons.

"9th. In the acts enumerating slaves for the purpose of direct taxation, especially the act of 1813, James Madison approving, which

assessed taxes upon the *lands, dwelling-houses and slaves*, at the value each of them was worth in money.

"10th. In the treaty of Ghent, (1814,) under which, from Great Britain, our government received \$1,200,000, and paid it over to the owners of deported slaves.

"11th. In the purchase of Florida, in 1819, a slaveholding Territory, from Spain.

"12th. In the decision by the Supreme Court of the United States of the constitutionality of the act of 1793, (Priggs' case,) and of the like act of 1850, in every case, before any of the high courts, federal or State, unless in one State court in Wisconsin, and in divers other decisions upon laws, ordinances and treaties.

"The proceedings of the Convention which framed the Constitution, were brought to a stand, as appears by the declaration of Roger Sherman, one of its most distinguished authors, until a compromise was agreed to on the various propositions relating to Domestic Slavery, which compromise embraced—

"A restriction on the power to prevent the importation of slaves prior to 1808.

"A provision binding by each State and upon the Union to surrender fugitives from service.

"A representation in Congress, founded in part on three-fifths of the slave population.

"And a guarantee to protect each State against domestic insurrection.

"Thus providing, under the Constitution, for the introduction of slaves for a limited period, and for the protection of the system."

When this compact was initiated, the Southern people themselves did not, universally, nor, perhaps, generally, defend slavery as the best possible system. Jefferson and Patrick Henry did not so think. The language of the former, in many respects so unjust, has been often quoted against it. And, thirty years ago, there were few in the South who defended it in the abstract, or on any other ground than a choice of evils. It was an existing, but undesirable state of society, for which the present generation was not responsible, and from which there was no possibility of being free. Within this period of time there have been great changes of opinion in the North and in the South. The views which had begun to prevail in the former section, led to its gradual extinction. In the census of 1790 Maine and Massachusetts were without slaves. At the census of 1810 none existed in New Hampshire and Vermont. At the census of 1820 Michigan had none. In 1830

there were a few scattering ones in Massachusetts, Maine and New Hampshire, by the removal thither of families still holding them. In 1850 there were none in the five States of New England, in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin and Iowa. There was no room for domestic slavery in the North. The climate was unfriendly to the negro, the institution itself was unprofitable, a portion of those who were in bondage, were sold and removed to the South, and the remainder were held in a nominal slavery, or soon passed away. Meanwhile, the population of the North grew up with an aversion to the system of slavery, increased and strengthened by the horrid tales which were told of the cruelties of the slave trade and of West India servitude. The literature of England—common to the mother country and this—the poems of Cowper, and the speeches of Wilberforce, nursed this feeling, and Southern slavery was too far removed from the experience of the people of the North for them to appreciate the difficult position of the master, or the condition and character of the slave. The first outlet by which this sentiment might relieve itself was through the scheme of African colonization. This had its origin in the State of Virginia. As early as 1787, Dr. Thornton, of Washington, proposed the project to the people of color in Boston and Providence without success. The Legislature of Virginia directed their Governor (Monroe)—afterwards President of the United States—to correspond with the General Government on the subject of establishing a Colony on the coast of Africa. In 1816, the project passed the Legislature of Virginia with but eight dissenting voices; and in December, of the same year, Dr. Finley, of New Jersey, who afterwards became President of Franklin College, Georgia, where he died, with the approbation of President Monroe, and the aid of Henry Clay and John Randolph, organized the American Colonization Society, for colonizing free people of color on the coast of Africa, of which Society Judge Washington was elected President. The hope was entertained, on the part of the North, and, perhaps, by some in the South, that this would promote the general emancipation of slaves, and that, eventually, the 4,000,000, which this people have now become, would, gradually, be removed.

as no people so numerous ever before were, to their original country.

A new era was inaugurated when Wm. Lloyd Garrison set up his anti-slavery press in the city of Baltimore, and denounced the scheme of colonization as the scheme of slaveholders, and demanded the immediate emancipation of those held in bondage. Then followed the organization of the Anti-Slavery Society, with all its furious hate and its disorganizing and impracticable theories. It assumed that involuntary servitude is, in all cases, a sin, and, on the part of the slaveholder, an atrocious wrong. It denied the possibility of property in man. It claimed immediate emancipation without indemnification to the master. It maintained the lawfulness of all endeavors to promote its objects. It acknowledged no responsibility for the disastrous results of its schemes. It claimed for the African an elevation to equal privileges with the white man, on these, our shores, in all the relations of life. The practiced pen and polished style of Channing gave respectability to these views. Among religionists of his negative creed they found currency, *pari passu*, with the doctrines of universal peace and resistance to capital punishment. Would to God that others, of a purer faith, had not embraced them, and that the pulpits of New England, to so large an extent, and of those portions of our country where the population of New England have established themselves, had not echoed with the same notes of discord and untruth. This epidemic madness prevailed in England, Scotland and Ireland. It abolished slavery in the British West Indies, and, as the result, shipping deserted their ports, magnificent plantations of sugar and coffee ran up to weeds, the hospitable mansions of their planters fell to decay, chapels and schools were abandoned, and their teachers and Missionaries returned, in hopeless despair, to Europe. In the Island of Jamaica alone, from 1832 to 1847, 605 sugar and coffee plantations, containing 356,432 acres, and wrought by 49,383 laborers, were entirely abandoned; and from 1848 to 1853, 513 more, containing 391,187 acres, were abandoned totally, or partially. The release of so many persons of low and brutal tastes from daily toil is sinking them continually deeper

in savagism. The same result has followed in St. Domingo. The inhabitants, reduced to half their number, have relapsed into the indolence and inactivity of savage life.*

With these results before their eyes, the spirit of abolition among the people of the North rushed on with a frantic disregard of all the ties which bound them to the Saxon race domesticated here, and to the brotherhood of their own countrymen. Even now, the white beggar is turned, with an unfeeling heart, from the door where the filthy and degraded African is welcomed with an unstinted beneficence. The Southern man is insulted, and the Southern clergymen deemed unworthy to preach the Gospel of Christ. First, our country was flooded with abolition publications, and the United States mails groaned with documents of the most incendiary character, and with pictorial representations, intended to degrade the master and administer to the worst and most revengeful passions of the slave. Then Congress was overwhelmed with anti-slavery petitions, demanding the abolition of slavery within the national domain, which had been ceded by slave States to the General Government for the purposes of the common defence. Then has followed the claim that the Southern planter shall not settle, with his family, constituted as it is, in any territory of our common domain; that such territory shall not be allowed to become a slaveholding territory; or, if it does so become, shall not be admitted, except as a free State, into the Union. Then the rendition of fugitive slaves has been denied, in direct subversion of the solemn compact of the Constitution. Several of the States have passed laws which effectually prevent the recovery of fugitives, and masters and unprotected ladies traveling in the free

* After forty years of nominal freedom, the island of St. Domingo exhibited the following results :

	1789.	1832.
Population.....	600,000	280,000
Sugar exported.....	672,000,000 lbs.	None.
Coffee.....	86,789,000 "	32,000,000
Ships employed.....	1,680	1
Sailors.....	27,000	167
Exports to France.....	£6,720,000	None.
Imports from France.....	9,890,000	None.

States have their servants torn away from them by force, the servant, meanwhile, often resisting, and at length returning to a state of slavery of his own choice. Nor is this all. Constant efforts are made to steal away our servants from their owners, and convey them to the British possessions, where they cannot be reclaimed. The value of the servants thus already borne away, at their present prices, cannot be less than \$40,000,000.

Such are some of the wrongs which a portion of our fellow-citizens at the North, in their opposition to slavery, have, within the last thirty years, felt it right to inflict upon us.

Meanwhile, these various causes have set the people of the South to seek into the grounds on which the defence of slaveholding rests. The result has been a firmer belief in the rectitude of their own cause than they formerly possessed. The more they have examined, the more they have been persuaded that it is not only their right, but their duty, to maintain the position they at present occupy. They have found the Church of God set up in the patriarchal age in a slaveholding family. From the days of Canaan, some 200 years after the Flood, to the writing of the Apocalypse, a period of between three and four thousand years, during which supernatural revelation was enjoyed, and from that day to this, the Church of God has always stood connected with the institution of slavery. During the Biblical period, among the chosen people, the master and the slave were both found in the Church of God, and the relation between them was sanctioned as legitimate, and as requiring certain duties to be performed corresponding with it. It was just as truly recognized in the inspired Scriptures as that of husband and wife, parent and child, ruler and subject. The relation was created by conquest, by purchase, by debt which could not otherwise be discharged, by crime, by gift, by birth, by inheritance, and by voluntary act. In inventories of property, slaves are reckoned in the Scriptures as belonging to the estate of the master—as “inheritance,” “possession,” and “money.” Fugitive slaves were pursued within the territories of the twelve tribes and recovered, and both the angel restored Hagar, the slave-woman of Sarah, to her mistress, and the Apostle the runaway Onesimus to his master Philemon. Only

when the slave fled from a heathen country to the territory of Israel, from paganism to the people of God, was his extradition forbidden. The increase of servants purchased or born in the house is counted in the Scriptures among the blessings which God in his bounty bestows. The servant was amenable directly to his master for the performance of his duty, the master had over him the power of corporal chastisement, was supposed to administer it, and is cautioned against treating his servant with foolish indulgence. Even if death should ensue from undue severity, the master was not held liable under the Mosaic law, unless that death was immediate. No man is condemned in all the Scriptures for the holding of slaves; but on the contrary, the slaveholding Abraham, a larger slaveholder than this country has ever known, the slaveholding Isaac, Jacob, Job, Solomon, the believing centurion, and Philemon, the friend of Paul, are lauded as men of the most extraordinary faith, patience, wisdom and fraternal love.* All the churches mentioned in the New Testament were slaveholding churches, in which masters and servants met together at the table of the Lord. Wherever our Saviour traveled in Palestine, he met the master and the slave, and was ministered to by both. When he said, at the marriage of Cana, "Draw off now, and bear to the governor of the feast," we do not doubt he addressed servants in no very different relation from the family servants of these Southern States. His allusion—"No servant can serve two masters"—the parable of the talents, the parable of the wise and unwise steward appointed over his master's slaves, *θεραπείας αὐτοῦ*, to give them "their allowance," *το σιτομέτριον*, in due season, the parable of the servants waiting for their master's return from the wedding in the midnight hour, and others we need not mention, show how prevalent was the institution of slavery wherever he ministered. In the slaveholding Church of the Old Testament, the man-servant bought with money was circumcised and ate of the Passover, or went up to the tabernacle at Shiloh, or to the

* See So. Pres. Review, Vol. IX., p. 345, an article written by one of the best friends of the colored man, and where the numerous proof-texts establishing these points are collected.

temple at Jerusalem, with his master to worship, and to partake of the firstlings of his flocks and herds, or his free-will offerings and heave offerings, and his tithes of corn, wine, and oil. And in the slaveholding Churches of Philippi and of Corinth, on the continent of Europe; and of Colosse, Ephesus, Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, on the continent of Asia, masters and servants held their membership alike, and were alike exhorted and cared for. From Parthia to Spain, as far as Apostolic labors extended, the master is never censured for holding slaves, nor a word said to the servant, "under the yoke," to render him discontented with the lot in which God had placed him; but on the contrary, he was exhorted to continue in it, and to avoid the sins of "eye-service," "purloining," and "answering back," to which the bondman is specially prone, and to render service as to God, and not unto men. If the relation were a sinful one, how could this be? When did our Saviour and the Apostles ever counsel fidelity in the relation of the adulteress to the adulterer, of the thief and robber to his comrade in crime, or of the murderer, the parricide, and the covenant-breaker, to his accomplice? When have the Apostles recommended perjurers, liars and idolaters to zealous perseverance in the several acts they in this character put forth? It is immediately after the counsels given by Paul to servants, to "count their own masters worthy of all honor," that Paul introduces the words—"If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness; he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions, and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil murmurings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth."

The slaveholding Christian, then, who has sought his Bible through, can feel no blame attaching to himself, for a relation which this Bible never condemned, but to which it accorded its sanction. He comes to believe that, though it may have been inflicted upon man as a curse, and the result of our fallen humanity, it is one of those forms of government that, under

peculiar circumstances which may exist, have existed, and do now here exist, God has ordained, for the well-being, at least for the present, and perhaps for ages, of the races so brought into juxtaposition with each other. He is led to ask if it may not be the way which an all-wise Providence has devised for the spiritual regeneration of the African, and to confer upon him all of which he is capable. For, when he looks at the past history of this race, he is inclined to assign it an inferior place in human history. For four thousand years they have remained in a state of savage barbarity. Civilization has been on their border, in Carthage and Egypt, centuries ago. How has it been that no mighty empires have arisen on the Niger, as they have on the Euphrates, the Ganges, the Hoang-Ho, and the Nile? Why have they not risen like other barbaric nations, and in their migrations conquered the Celt, the Gaul, and the Saxon, and won for themselves a place and a name among the great historic nations of the earth? Are they not an inferior race? Does not the Northern Abolitionist practically believe it? Can he foresee the time when he would invest the son of Africa with the high offices of executive, legislative and judicial power, and tranquilly endure his rule? or when he would consort with him in all the walks of trade, and give to the Ethiopian his sons and daughters in marriage? And yet, through the medium of Southern slavery, myriads of them have been made acquainted with the Saviour, and are our brethren and sisters in Christ; thousands have been changed from naked, filthy savages, from worshippers of devils, and victims of degrading superstition, into well-clad, comparatively polite and civilized men. The 4,000,000 of Africans in America have, through the medium of slavery, been lifted to a higher position in the knowledge of religion and the arts, than any 4,000,000 of their race, in all the tract of time, ever attained. They have reached this elevation under the supervision and control of the white man; and when they have escaped from that control, as in St. Domingo, they have relapsed into indolence, and gone back rapidly towards the barbarism of the savage state.

In view of these and other considerations, on which our

space does not permit us to enter, the Southern mind is more settled than ever in regard to the institution of Domestic Slavery, and the efforts of Abolitionism have caused it to be more firmly rooted. We have calmly considered the evils which are alleged to be its attendants to both master and servant; we have set over against them the advantages which it brings to both, and have compared with the whole system the opposite one of immediate universal emancipation, so easy for the tongue to utter, so impracticable under any circumstances our wisdom can foresee.

Meanwhile, the great majority of Christians at the North read the Bible and see in it no evidence of the existence of slavery in the ancient Church. The servants of the Old Testament and the New are, in their conceptions, no more than "the help" they have—the daughters of their own neighbors or of verdant Ireland, or the hired laborers that mow down their grass or aid in gathering in their harvest. When the other, and true view is suggested, they repel it with indignation. Or, if superior knowledge of the domestic state of all antiquity exists, some Albert Barnes or other is found ready to establish, by strained hypotheses, points of difference between ancient and modern slavery, as if these minor differences affected, at all, the question before us. Or, they would have us believe that slavery was permitted—as polygamy was, under a former dispensation—for the hardness of their hearts; when the difference is, that our Saviour disapproved of the one and not of the other; drew his illustrations from the former, but never from the latter. Or, they insist that the command, "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal," (the perpetual rule of a relation, of whose cessation no intimation is given,) of itself, abolishes slavery. Or, they insist that the golden rule, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them," is incompatible with its existence, as if that golden rule could not be followed in the days of Christ and the Apostles, and was not followed but with such a result; as if it were an absolute, unlimited rule, irrespective of the character of those to whom it is addressed, and the relative position in which they are placed

in the providence, and by the law, of God; as if the judge should not hang the prisoner, because he would not himself wish to be hung were he the culprit; or, the Governor should pardon the atrocious criminal, because, if he were such, he would desire to be pardoned; or, the parent should gratify the wish of a child because he would wish that it should be done if he were the child himself; or, as if one ought to yield to the desires of the licentious, or dishonest, because, if he were so, he would thus demand.

Another section of the Abolition party, finding the Bible and a large portion of the Church of God against them, rail at the Scriptures, the Church and the Ministry. Hear the language of a Mr. Wright, before the Anti-Slavery Society, as reported in the Boston papers, of the 30th of May, in 1850:

“Down with your Bible! down with your political parties! down with your God that sanctions slavery! The God of Moses Stuart, the Andover God, the God of Wm. H. Rogers, which is worshipped in the Winter Street Church, is a monster, composed of oppression, fraud, injustice, pollution, and every crime in the shape of slavery. To such a God I am an atheist!”

“In this Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and in its adjoining State of New York,” says Mr. Cushing, in his recent speech in Faneuil Hall, “there is a handful of men of highly intellectual mind, of the highest culture, literary and scientific men, who would seem to be born to bless their day and generation—Wendell Phillips, Lloyd Garrison, Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, and Gerrit Smith—who, by constant brooding upon one single idea, have become monomaniacs of that idea, and have become utterly lost to the relations of right and wrong.” “They have set up a religion of hate—aye, a religion of hate—such as belongs only to condemned devils in hell. I say it is a religion of hate and blasphemy.” “Hatred, hatred!” “Hate must have its food of blood.” “Borne on by these frantic passions, they have declared that the Constitution of the United States ‘is a covenant with Satan and a league

with hell!’” “Subtle, crafty men,” says Ex-President Pierce, “who, passing by duties and obligations, habitually appeal to sectional prejudices and passions by denouncing the people and institutions of the South, and thus influence the Northern mind to a pitch of resistance to the clear provisions of the fundamental law—who, under plausible pretexts, addressed to those prejudices and passions, pass local laws, designed to evade constitutional obligations—are, really and truly, whether we believe it or not, the men who are hurrying us upon swift destruction.” “The chief of these men,” says Mr. Voorhees, of Indiana, “the leader of a great party, a Senator of long standing, [Wm. H. Seward,] has announced to the country that there is a higher law than the Constitution, which guarantees to each man the full exercise of his own inclination. Speaking of slavery, he says, ‘It can, and must, be abolished, and you and I must do it.’ He has boldly announced an irrepressible conflict between the free and slave States of this Union. Servile insurrections have forever been on the tongue and lips of Joshua R. Giddings. He says, ‘that, when the contest shall come, when the thunders shall roll, the lightning flash, and when the slaves shall rise in the South, in imitation of the horrid scenes of the West Indies, when the Southern man shall turn pale and tremble, when your dwellings shall smoke with the torch of the incendiary, and dismay shall sit on each countenance, he will hail it as the approaching dawn of that political and moral millennium which, he is well assured, will come upon the world.’”

This frenzy has been *helped* to reach the height it has attained by the infamous book—“The Impending Crisis”—of Hinton Rowan Helper, a native of North Carolina, “who left his country for his country’s good;” a book which is pervaded with the deepest hate towards the holder of slaves, and is dedicated to the non-slaveholding whites of the South. It aims to inflame them with jealousy towards the slaveholder, and through them, to raise mutiny in the Southern camp. It is designed, however, for effect abroad, decries every political party except the Republican—with whose interests it is identified, and by the leaders of which, we are sorry to say, it is

endorsed. Nineteen thousand of these books have been issued from the Northern press.

There are no terms too opprobrious for him to use of the slaveholder. "Lords of the lash," "slave drivers," "the slave-driving oligarchy," "slave breeders," "the slaveocracy," "the oligarchs," "chevaliers of the lash, and worshippers of slavery," "the democrats," "slave-driving democrats," "the nigger party," "the slave power," "knights of bludgeons, chevaliers of bowie-knives and pistols, and lords of the lash," "blood-hounds of slavery," "curs of slavery," "whelps of slavery,"—these are the names by which he continually designates a class of men, among whom are some of the purest patriots, most high-minded and noble gentlemen, most devoted christians, and most eminent lawyers, judges, physicians and divines our country holds. It shocks no sensibility of his soul to speak of "a Southern 'gentleman'—a slave breeder and human flesh-monger, who professes to be a *Christian!*" nor to say that "the slavery which seems to have been practised to a considerable extent by those venerable old fogies, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, was one of the monstrous inventions of Satan that God 'winked at.'" All who do not agree with his abolitionism, he terms "lick-spittles," or "clerical lick-spittles of the slave power." Charleston and other Southern towns, are contemptible "nigger-villes"—and with such elegancies of style is his book everywhere adorned.

By a selection of statistics from the census of 1850, he has attempted to show the inferiority of the South, parading the greater wealth of the Free States, without paying any regard to the inequality of population. His own tables will show that the free white man of the South, leaving the negro out of the calculation, and not counting him as property at all, is wealthier than him of the North; the average of property falling to his lot is greater. The live stock of the South *per capita*, is more than double than that of the North, while the population of the South, bond and free, is but as 9 to 13 to that of the North; and were this live stock valued according to one uniform system of valuation, it would exceed the value of that of the free States, and all the territories included, more than

§291,000,000.* There are many economical respects in which the South does compare unfavorably with the North, as an

* In one of his tables, he attempts to show that the hay crop of the North is worth more by \$3,533,275, than all the cotton, tobacco, rice, hay, hemp and cane sugar produced in the slave States. He has not told us how much of this hay is consumed by the Northern States themselves, in many of which it requires the entire produce of six months to keep their horses, sheep and cattle alive through the remaining six months. It is counted twice over in these tables; first as the raw product, and then in the live stock which it sustains. Only that portion of it should be reckoned which is sold to the South or the West Indies. Does any of that boasted crop go to European markets? Is it with Northern hay that the productions of Europe are bought? Southern cotton cannot be eaten up. It pays for the various articles of European manufacture that reach our shores. To a large extent, it clothes the civilized world. Nor has he told us how much Southern rice, corn and tobacco are consumed in the free States. "The exclusive products of the South exported amount to \$111,000,000. Those of the North amount to only \$33,000,000."—*De Bow*, 1856, p. 541.

The following table exhibits the whole Live Stock of the United States, rated according to an uniform system of valuation which, if conjectural, is still equal :

NORTH, INCLUDING THE TERRITORIES.			
	Number.	Proportion to each person.	Estimated Value.
Horses.....	1,484,346	} 0.17	\$148,434,600
Asses and Mules.....	40,341		4,034,100
Milch Cows.....	3,551,754	} 0.64	53,276,310
Work Oxen.....	889,843		13,347,645
Cattle.....	3,513,627	} 1.80	14,054,508
Sheep.....	6,088,018		15,220,045
Swine.....	8,028,858		48,173,023
	<u>23,596,787</u>		<u>\$296,540,236</u>
SOUTH.			
	Number.	Proportion to each person.	Estimated Value.
Horses.....	2,852,378	} 0.27	\$285,237,300
Asses and Mules.....	518,990		51,899,000
Milch Cows.....	2,833,340	} 0.95	42,500,100
Work Oxen.....	810,901		12,163,515
Cattle.....	6,179,442	} 2.84	24,717,768
Sheep.....	15,635,202		39,088,005
Swine.....	22,028,888		132,173,023
	<u>50,859,086</u>		<u>\$587,778,716</u>

The Produce Tables of the crops of 1850 are exceedingly defective, and convey a very erroneous view of the results of Southern agriculture, in many particulars. The horses and working animals of the South are not fed on hay—except to a

agricultural people always will with a commercial and manufacturing one. But commerce and manufactures are in the power of the South, and it is vain to allege, with the examples of Greece and Rome before us, to say nothing of Egypt, that a slaveholding people cannot rise to the highest excellence in literature and the arts. The lands of the older Southern States have been hitherto wasted by an improvident and impoverishing culture. The predominant crops are exhausting to the soil, and it has been easier to occupy new lands than to improve

limited extent—but on “fodder,” which, for the edification of our Northern friends, we explain to be the blades of Indian corn, stripped from the stalk, when green, and carefully cured. There is no column at all for it in the statistical tables. It never is reckoned as hay. In the Districts of Darlington, Georgetown, Marlboro’ and Union, S. C., not a single pound of hay is represented to be raised, or anything for their live stock to eat. And yet there were, in these districts, according to the census of 1850, 7,291 horses, 3,999 mules, 25,105 milch cows, and 2,023 working oxen. In the same way, in Georgia, only 23,449 tons of hay are represented as being raised, while to the little State of Rhode Island 74,818 tons are assigned. Of the ninety-five counties of Georgia, only thirty-nine are represented as yielding any hay at all, and some of these at the rate of one, two and three tons. Fifty-six counties are represented as raising none. And yet this same State of Georgia had, in 1850, according to the census returns, 208,710 head of horses and mules, 1,097,528 milch cows, working oxen and other cattle; 560,435 sheep; 2,729,052 swine. It raised 30,080,099 bushels of Indian corn, the blades of which were prepared as fodder—which fodder cannot be put in the same category with the “stalks” of the North, which are fed out to the ruminant animals during the winter months. The fodder crop of the South, we are confident, is not inferior in value to the hay crop of the North.

The South, with a less population, makes 106,373,632 bushels of Indian corn more than the North, and taking the whole of her bushel-measure products, averages 50 bushels, or \$32 to each individual man, woman and child, black and white, of her population, while the same products of the North average but 37 bushels, or in money but \$25 per head.^(a) There is another side to this picture, which this unscrupulous writer does not see fit to set forth.

(a)		
	NORTH.	
<i>Population.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Estimated value.</i>
18,434,922	499,190,041	\$851,709,703
	being 37 bushels, or \$25, to the individual.	
	SOUTH.	
9,612,979	481,766,889	\$306,927,067
	being 50 bushels, or \$32, to the individual.	

the old. Had there not been a boundless continent before us, the results would have been far different.

Yet, hear this man talk to the people of the South: "Not alone for ourself, as an individual, but for others also," "do we speak, when we say, you *must* emancipate your slaves." "And now, Sirs, we have thus laid down our ultimatum. What are you going to do about it? Something dreadful, as a matter of course. Perhaps you will dissolve the Union *again*. Do it, if you dare! Our motto, and we would have you to understand it, is *the abolition of slavery, and the perpetuation of the American Union*. If by any means you do succeed in your treasonable attempts to take the South out of the Union to-day, we will bring her back to-morrow—if she goes away with you, she will return without you." "Frown, Sirs, fret, foam, prepare your weapons, threat, strike, shoot, stab, bring on civil war, dissolve the Union, if you will—do all this, more, less, better, worse, any thing—do what you will, Sirs, you can neither fret nor intimidate us; our purpose is as firmly fixed as the eternal pillars of heaven; we have determined to abolish slavery, and, so help us God, abolish it we will! Take this to bed with you to-night, Sirs, and think about it, and dream over it, and let us know how you feel to-morrow morning."

Thus writes this degenerate son of North Carolina, with dreadful hate, as if to avenge himself for the infamy drawn down upon him by the delinquencies of his early life, or, at least, like a second Erostratus, to fire the glorious temple of our American liberties, that he may send down his name to posterity, by the very temerity and infamy of the act.*

* The following extract from the speech of Senator Biggs, of North Carolina, now Judge of the United States Court of that State, gives the character of Hinton Rowan Helper as follows:

"In Senate, Monday, April 5, 1858.—Mr. Biggs said: I want to disabuse the mind of the Senator from Massachusetts and those who read this book, as to the reliability of the authority on which he relies. Who, then, is this Mr. Helper, of North Carolina, relied upon in the Senate of the United States as evidence from the South of the state of Southern society? I speak from authority that cannot be doubted. Hinton Rowan Helper, the author of the 'Impending Crisis,' is a native of Davie County, North Carolina. His first appearance in active life was as clerk of Michael Brown, a merchant in Salisbury, North Carolina. Mr. Brown is an elder of the Presbyterian church; and after Helper removed to

Under such teachings, it is not wonderful that apt scholars were found in this "religion of hate," ready for any scene of violence and blood. Of these, the most conspicuous was John Brown, of whom it is still in doubt whether Connecticut or New York has the dubious eminence of giving him birth.

Salisbury, he also joined the Presbyterian church, and, so far as was publicly known, conducted himself with propriety. After living with Mr. Brown several years as clerk, it was understood at Salisbury that he formed a co-partnership with Mr. Coffman in the book business, and left for the North to buy in a stock of books. He did not return as expected, but shortly thereafter, went to California, and there, or shortly after his return, wrote a book called 'Land of Gold.' He returned to Salisbury about 1854, where he remained some time without any apparent business. In the summer of 1856, as reported and believed, he procured surety for and obtained money. He however, about that time left for the North, where he now resides, never since having returned to North Carolina.

"After leaving North Carolina he changed his name from Helfer to Helper; and it was disclosed last year that while a clerk for Mr. Brown, he purloined from him three hundred dollars, and after an exposure by Mr. Brown, Helper making a merit of necessity, himself publicly confesses, in a hand-bill which I have before me, this thieving on his part, and excuses it upon the ground that he was entitled to the act by some ambiguous expression of a friend of his that it was allowable for clerks so to do; and the further excuse, that it was an indiscretion of youth, although at the time, he was in full standing in the Presbyterian Church, and, as he says himself, was seventeen years of age. It is due to the Presbyterian Church to say that this man is not now a member of that church. Now, sir, when and why he altered his name, I know not, except he defines Helper, one who *helps* himself from the purses of others without their consent; and, therefore, concluded the change of name appropriate to his character. *He is a dishonest, degraded, and disgraced man*; and although—much to be regretted—a native of the State, yet he is an apostate son, ruined in fortune and character, and catering to a diseased appetite at the North, to obtain a miserable living by slanders upon the land of his birth; and I deeply regret that the Senator from Massachusetts has, by a reference, so dignified the creature as to render necessary this exposure. Such is Mr. Helper, of North Carolina, author of the 'Impending Crisis of the South,' *alias* Mr. Helfer, once of North Carolina, but who has left the land of his birth for the good of the State.

"Now, I would respectfully suggest to the honorable Senator from Massachusetts to append a note to the edition of his speech, giving the true character of the author of this book, upon which he has relied, so that the readers of his speech may not be, as he has been, so unwittingly misled by authority so degraded and unreliable."

In 1855, in his "Land of Gold," Helper manifested a very friendly spirit towards slavery—declared of Nicaragua, which he visited, that it "never can fulfil its destiny till it introduces negro slavery"—calls negroes a "fated people"—speaks without censure of the introduction of slavery into Southern California—and details, with manifest approbation, the voluntary return to North Carolina of three servants, whom the abolitionists sought to entice to remain in a land of freedom. See "Land of Gold," pp. 221, 278. We honor a man who follows the truth, though it lead him to reject former opinions. But the true man changes his views slowly. The two years intervening between the two volumes of Helper is a short time for such a radical change to be matured, and such rancorous, uncompromising hate to grow.

He was a man of iron will, of great self-reliance, with the courage of a mastiff, of slim, wiry build, with a sharp, piercing eye, of indomitable perseverance, of few words, and born to command all who put themselves under his influence. Like other men who have been notorious as robbers and pirates, he was a religious enthusiast, holding his membership, we have seen it stated, in the [New School?] Presbyterian Church, yet, for all this, he was a man of blood. At different times in his life he was engaged in business, on a large scale, in Northern Ohio, at Springfield, Mass., and in the State of New York, yet without any permanent success. In the year 1855 he went to Kansas, not as a peaceable settler, but to wage war against slavery, and to fulfil a dream which had haunted him for thirty years, that he was to be a second Moses, and to lead forth the bond slaves of the South by a second exodus. His worshippers have spoken of his exploits in that field in the language of admiration. But his footsteps were marked with blood. A friend of our acquaintance slept in the house of the unfortunate Jas. P. Doyle, near Pottawatomie Creek, in Franklin county, the night before Brown and his party appeared there as robbers and murderers. On Saturday, the 24th of May, 1856, about 11 o'clock at night, that unhappy family, consisting of the husband and wife and five children, were aroused, by knocks at the door, from persons enquiring for their neighbor, Mr. Wilkinson. As Mr. Doyle opened the door to direct them, men, armed with knives and pistols, declaring that they were from the northern army, took the husband and sons prisoners. The younger, John, a youth of sixteen, was spared to the mother's tears and entreaties. In a short time the wife and mother heard the report of pistols, and the moaning, as of a dying man, and the wild whoop of savage enemies. Her husband and boys returned no more. In the morning she found her husband and her son William dead, in the road, 200 yards from the house; the other she saw no more till the day of his burial. On the same Sunday morning the youth of sixteen went in search of his father and brothers. "I found," he says, "my father and one brother, William, lying dead in the road; I saw my other brother lying dead on the ground, about one

hundred and fifty yards from the house, in the grass, near a ravine; his fingers were cut off and his arms were cut off; his head was cut open; there was a hole in his breast. William's head was cut open, and a hole was in his jaw, as though it was made by a knife, and a hole was also in his side. My father was shot in the forehead and stabbed in the breast. I have talked often with northern men and eastern men in the Territory, and these men talked exactly like eastern men and northern men talk. An old man commanded the party; he was dark complected, and his face was slim. My father and brothers were pro-slavery men, and belonged to the Law and Order party." Such are the affidavits of Mahala and John Doyle. Their neighbor, Mr. Harris, whose house these murderers also visited, on the same Sunday morning, at 2 o'clock, testifies that he knew this leader as a "Mr. Brown," known as "Old Man Brown," who was accompanied by his son, Owen Brown. From this house Wm. Sherman, a guest, was called forth, whose body Harris found in the Creek, "with his skull split open in two places, some of the brains washed out by the water, and a large hole cut in the breast, and the left hand cut off, except a little piece of skin on one side." On the same morning, before the break of day, they entered the house of Allen Wilkinson, whose wife was sick in bed, and took him prisoner. She plead that she was sick and helpless, and begged that they would not take him from her; he also begged that he might have time to obtain some one to wait on her, and pledged himself not to escape. This was denied. The old man in command replied, "you have neighbors." After they were gone, she heard her husband's voice "in complaint—went to the door and all was still." Next morning Mr. Wilkinson was found, about one hundred and fifty yards from the house, in some dead brush. "A lady, who saw my husband's body, said there was a gash in his head and in his side; others said that he was cut in the throat twice. I believe that one of Captain Brown's sons was in the party that murdered my husband; I heard a voice like his. The old man, who seemed to be commander, wore soiled clothes and a straw hat, pulled down over his face. He spoke quick—is a tall, narrow-faced,

elderly man." Such is the affidavit of Louisa Jane Wilkinson.*

Such was the Sunday morning's "Kansas work" of the *pious* John Brown, the "martyr," who on the 2d of this month was hung as a traitor and murderer, under the laws of Virginia; a work which was done by him in cold blood, ere any of his family had suffered from the hands of those to whom he was opposed. While in Kansas, he made an incursion into Missouri, carried off thirteen negroes, captured several white men who were taken to Kansas as prisoners, and killed one in the melee. In Kansas, in the fall of 1857, he formed his purpose of making a descent upon Virginia, and enlisted his recruits secretly for this service, although their destination was concealed from them until they reached Tabor, in Iowa, whither the arms he had accumulated—200 Sharpe's rifles and 200 Massachusetts revolvers, with their military stores—had been conveyed. These were at length transported across Iowa, shipped to Ashtabula county, Ohio, thence to Chambersburg, Pa., then to a house in Washington county, Md., rented by Brown, about five miles from Harper's Ferry. They passed the winter of 1857-58, at Pedee, Iowa, where they pursued a course of military studies. In the middle of April they removed to Chatham, Canada, where Brown called a secret Convention and formed a Provisional Government, and he was chosen Commander-in-Chief, J. H. Kagi, Secretary of War, and Richard Realf, Secretary of State. This was a scheme of government for the United States, not to supersede, according to the senseless plan of its author, the General or State Governments, but to act within these, making war upon those who

* Report of the Special Committee of the House of Representatives, on the troubles in Kansas, pp. 1193—1199.

Mrs. Doyle wrote a letter from Chattanooga, Tenn., Nov. 20, 1859, which was received at Charlestown, Va., and read to Brown, in which she charges him, directly, with the murder of her husband and sons. "You can't say," says she, "you did it to free our slaves; we had none, and never expected to own one." At a meeting recently held in Lawrence, Kansas, by friends of Brown, his participation in these murders was admitted and established by the testimony of several persons who received the statement from his own lips. He was engaged in other acts of violence and robbery.

were slaveholders, all the money, plate, watches and jewelry of whom were to be confiscated, and their personal and real property applied to the uses of the organization. A quantity of spears were brought on from Massachusetts, fitted up at the house which Brown had rented, until he had arms, according to his own admission, for 1,500 to 2,000 men. The country had been reconnoitered by Cook, one of his adherents, the passes in the mountains explored, the number of male slaves on the roads leading from Harper's Ferry, for 8 or 10 miles, ascertained, and on Sabbath night, the 16th of October, 1859, the bridge and National Armory at Harper's Ferry, were seized by Brown and his men, 22 in number, who were overpowered and dislodged on the Tuesday morning following. The results of this engagement are known to every citizen of our country. There were slain, by the insurgents, three free white citizens of the State of Virginia, one free negro who refused to join them, and one U. S. Marine. Fifteen of the insurgents were killed, three were wounded, and seven have been taken prisoners, five of whom have since been hung as murderers and traitors, after a calm and fair trial under the laws of Virginia, and two are reserved for trial under the laws of the United States. According to Brown's own statements, he expected large reinforcements from various parts of the United States, both North and South, and he expected the negroes to join him as soon as his standard was set up. In both of these things he was disappointed. As to the negroes whom he forcibly took from Col. Washington and Mr. Allstadt, and armed with spears, they acted under force, did nothing whatever, and returned of their own accord to their duty to their owners the first moment of their release. Cook, his right-hand man, confesses his own disappointment. "I had been led to believe," said he, in a letter to his wife, "as had my comrades, that it was the daily prayer and life-wish of the masses of the slaves for freedom. That they were groaning beneath the yoke of oppression, with no hand to aid them; that when once the banner of Freedom should be raised, they would flock to it by thousands; and that their echoing shout would be borne to our most southern shore. The result has proved that we were

deceived. There was *no rallying beneath our banner.*" Poor, deluded men!

It was vain for Brown to deny that he never intended murder or treason, or to incite the slaves to rebellion or insurrection. The spears were provided for them, because they were unacquainted with fire-arms, and they would have been an efficient weapon in the hands of determined and revengeful men; and the 2,000 men whom he professed to be able to arm, would probably represent a body of 10,000 of our servile population. It was a fearful work in which he was engaged—one which would have bathed this Southern soil in blood, had it succeeded. In the insurrection in 1740, which was set on foot by Spanish emissaries, the negroes murdered the whites and spread desolation through the plantations, till their course was arrested by the planters, then assembled for worship at the Wilton Presbyterian Church, with their arms, as was the law in the first settlement of this State. The Southampton insurrection in Virginia, in 1831, led on by Nat. Turner, resulted in the death of 58 victims, mostly defenceless women and children. Both of them were local and limited in their character. Such a movement as Brown had meditated and Cook expected, could it have been set on foot, would have been attended with unspeakable horrors. Mr. Giddings may contemplate it with satisfaction, but how could it be so regarded by any friend of man? In 1791, when France was roused upon the subject of liberty, a Black Republican party was formed in the National Assembly for the enfranchisement of the slaves on the Island of St. Domingo. A French Anti-Slavery Society was formed, *la Societe des Amis des Noirs*, of which Brissot was the leading member. They trusted, as Brown did, that they should be able to control the ferocity of slaves even during the frenzy of insurrection. A universal revolt was organized, without the slightest suspicion on the part of the planters, and the same night fixed upon for its breaking out over the whole island. The workshops and fields were overrun by heated missionaries, inculcating the new-born ideas of European freedom. At midnight, on October 30th, at the same instant, 1,200 coffee and 200 sugar plantations burst up in

flames, the buildings, machinery and farm offices were reduced to ashes, and the labors of a century devoured in a night. The servile population precipitated themselves on their masters, seized their arms, massacred them without pity, or threw them into the flames. They marched with spiked infants on their spears, instead of colors; an unhappy planter was sawn asunder between two boards. They violated the females upon the dead bodies of their husbands, and the horrors inflicted on them exceeded anything ever known, save in the recent mutiny in India. For a season there was some respite to these horrors, but as the planters obstinately refused to consent to the extinction of slavery, the National Assembly, under the lead of the Jacobins, proceeded to the last steps of revolutionary violence. When remonstrated with by the Constitutional party as to the disastrous effects of their measures, like Garrison, Wendell Phillips and Giddings, Brissot exclaimed, "Don't talk to us of dangers, let the colonies perish rather than one principle be abandoned." The troubles forthwith broke out anew in the ill-fated island. The planters had sought refuge in Cape Town. The insurgents penetrated through the defences, liberated the captives in prison, who spread themselves through the town, setting it on fire in every quarter. Twenty thousand negroes broke into the city. Neither sex nor age were spared. The young were cut down while defending their houses, the aged in the churches, where they fled for protection; virgins were slain on the altar, and weeping infants hurled into the fires. "Amid the shrieks of the sufferers and the shouts of the victors, the finest city in the West Indies was reduced to ashes: its splendid churches wrapped in flames; thirty thousand human beings perished in the massacre, and the wretched fugitives who had escaped from this scene of horror on board the ships, were guided in their passage over the deep by the prodigious light which arose from their burning habitations. They almost all took refuge in the United States, where they were received with the most generous hospitality; but the frigate *La Fine* foundered on the passage, and five hundred of the survivors perished in the waves."*

* Allison's Europe, II., pp. 240 *et seq.*

Such is servile insurrection. Such was the scene of unutterable horror which John Brown, though his own heart shrunk back from it, and he disclaimed it in the speech pronounced before his sentence, had attempted to inaugurate in the South. The maps which were found in his retreat, with the places marked in which the slave population greatly preponderated over the whites, the letters dropped from the pocket of a traveler in the car, and signed by one, proven by the confession of Cook to have been one of his accomplices, the appearance and disappearance of suspected persons during the last two years in various parts of the South, give us reason to fear that his plans, though not fully developed to his followers, nor, perhaps, fully formed in his own mind, had a breadth and extent far wider than he was willing to confess. Fortunately, it required a greater effort, a more general, closer and more protracted intimacy with our servile population than he and his coadjutors could possibly enjoy, to poison their minds against their owners, whom they are accustomed to look up to with affection, reverence, and submission.

The State of Virginia met these attempts with unexpected calmness, dignity and forbearance. Never was the majesty of justice more truly vindicated, nor its steady and sure march more constantly accompanied with kindness and mercy. The public acts of the Executive of the State do honor to his head and heart. And in the courts of justice the prisoners enjoyed all the benefits of a humane and considerate tribunal, of honor and temper on the part of the prosecution, and ability and earnestness on the part of the defence. The chief criminal, before receiving his sentence, expressed his admiration of "the truthfulness and candor" of the witnesses. "I feel entirely satisfied," he says, "with the treatment I have received on my trial." "It has been more generous than I expected." Virginia has set an example of firmness and moderation under the most trying and exciting circumstances, which is worthy of all praise.

The manner in which the execution of John Brown was regarded by very considerable numbers in every part of the Northern States, and among them those who profess to be men

of piety, is humiliating indeed. At a meeting in Boston, he was extolled as "a martyr." J. Q. A. Griffin, ex-member of the Massachusetts Legislature, claimed that "the offences of Pontius Pilate, in crucifying our Saviour, whitened into virtue when compared with those of Governor Wise in his course towards John Brown." Ralph Waldo Emerson, in his lecture at the Tremont Temple, Boston, on Tuesday evening, apostrophized him as "The Saint, whose fate yet hangs in suspense, but whose martyrdom, if it shall be perfected, will make the gallows as glorious as the cross." Dr. Cheever, in the Church of the Puritans, in New York, in his Thanksgiving Sermon, said: "John Brown has received a commission from God. He has been deliberately sent upon this mission by God." "Any church that sanctions slavery is a preserve of fatted game for Satan. John Brown, there in Egypt, was like Cromwell risen and shaking the gory head of the tyrant in the faces of his followers. John Brown was the hand-writing on the wall, and the knees of the whole South smote together." The church bells were tolled in Worcester, Mass. The City Hall bell was tolled in Syracuse, New York, and one hundred minute guns were fired in Albany on the day of his execution. At a prayer meeting held in Dr. Cheever's church, in New York City, on the same day, when the hour at which the fatal noose was tied arrived, five minutes were devoted to silent prayer, and the silence was only broken by sobs and half-uttered ejaculations. One, indeed, when called to order for his extravagant invectives, and reminded that it was a meeting for prayer, said "he had no disposition to pray over the matter at all. He was glad to be surrounded by praying men, but he confessed he hadn't the spirit of prayer to-night." Another affirmed that "the people needed a religion like that of John Brown, that would treat slavery as a crime."

Such was the madness which ruled the hour. Borne away by impracticable theories of human freedom and equality, which the government of God, in His providence, does not permit to be carried out in this sinful world, lashed into a fury of excitement by heated orators in the pulpit and on the rostrum, their passions administered to by selfish politicians, who

use them as a means of riding into power, this party have brought our nation to the verge of disunion and ruin. They can see no piety in the Southern church, can behold only time-serving monsters of oppression and cruelty in the Southern ministry, and ought, in all consistency, to disown their own slaveholding ancestry, and empty heaven, if they can, of the patriarchs, prophets, and worthies of the slaveholding Church of former generations.

The subject we have thus presented to our readers, more in the light of history than of philosophy, and most of which has been rendered familiar by published records and passing events, speaks to every patriot and Christian in the most impressive and solemn language.

There is a way which seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof is death. There are delusive speculations in every realm of human thought, which bring forth the grapes of Sodom and the clusters of Gomorrah. Ideas go forth from the teeming brain of speculative men, and become potent in evil. Behold in the acts of John Brown and his associates, the logical sequence of the doctrines of abolition, and the natural fruits of the anti-slavery agitations. This, one of the chief conspirators against his country's peace [Wendell Phillips] has openly acknowledged. We have never believed it possible that the Union of these States must come to an end, and never really feared it till now. The links which have bound us hitherto in one glorious republic have been those of common interest, of common origin, of common sufferings and sympathy. The grave of Washington, on our own Southern soil, has been hallowed by the love and veneration of this great nation, and is their place of constant pilgrimage. But how can we live together in this perpetual conflict? The ligaments which have bound us hitherto, one after another snap asunder, and admonish us that the dismemberment of our federation may be near at hand. It is indeed our prayer that Heaven may yet avert it, and spare us that hour we have deprecated. But we do not know what has been appointed for us in its high counsels, and whether this so great apparent evil may not issue in our higher good, in stimulating our energies, making us more self-reliant,

and opening to us new sources of enterprise and wealth. The mind of every Southern man is deeply thoughtful in respect to the future, and is inquiring whether our tribes shall dwell together in harmony, or become like Israel and Judah. Nor should the mind of the patriot of the North be less thoughtful. When dismemberment begins, no one can see whither it will tend, and where terminate. Whether there shall be two, three, four or five republics, none can tell. Whether the Atlantic and Pacific, the eastern, western and central States of the North, will cohere in one commonwealth, or whether the more probable result of their separation into different nationalities will follow, and the continent of North America follow the lead of all other continents. The only salvation of this nation is found in an abiding faithfulness to the Constitution under which the noble endurance and valor of a past generation, and their wisdom and forbearance, placed us. We cannot reproach ourselves that we have been unfaithful. We wait to see whether there will be returning faithfulness on the part of others.

“Brethren,” says the Apostle, “I speak after the manner of men, though it be but a man’s covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth or addeth thereunto.” “Covenant-breakers” are hateful in the sight of the “Judge of all the earth,” and He knows how to overwhelm, with confusion, those nations and States that disregard their solemn compacts. He crowns with blessings, him “that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not,” but when the public virtue gives way, and the public faith ceases to be kept, the days of a nation’s prosperity and peace are at an end. The States of this Confederacy could never have been united under one government but in connection with those mutual pledges embraced in our written Constitution. The legislatures, judicial tribunals, and private citizens of the North have no right to evade and circumvent those which have reference to slavery. The power of reclaiming the fugitive should be restored to the master. If it is denied, the covenant is broken. The Southern man has the same rights in the Territories as the Northern, and the property of the one is to be protected equally with that of the

other. A slaveholding territory, having a republican government, can claim admission to the Union equally with those in which slavery does not exist. All these things are guaranteed in our national compact. The right of property in the labor of the slave is there acknowledged, and he who entices him away from his master, or carries him off from the spot where his service is owed, has committed a felony under our national laws. The "Underground Railroad," by which servants are clandestinely removed beyond the boundaries of the United States, is an atrocious system of robbery and theft; yet this act is regarded as meritorious in the North. John Brown exulted that "he went into Missouri, and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moving them through the country, and finally leaving them in Canada." To him it made no difference if, by this, the slaveholding widow and orphan were deprived of their daily bread, or the honest planter reduced to absolute bankruptcy. How honorable would it be for Southern planters to steal away apprentices from their Northern masters; or, if they could, break up the manufactories of Lawrence and Lowell by the deportation of their laborers and operatives? And yet how many people of the Northern States of this Confederacy are aiding and abetting in these acts of robbery—furnishing the means of carrying it on, covering over the perpetrators from the possibility of detection, and glorying in it as a heroic achievement.

We have no more sympathy with covenant-breakers in the South than in the North. The voice which we have uttered in this Review against the reopening of the slave trade, has been heard far and wide through the land, and the North and the South may both learn, from the raid of John Brown, how guilty are those men who set on foot "filibustering" expeditions against their neighbors beyond the limits of this Confederacy, or on the African coast, contrary to the laws of nations. Let us not be found following the example of those men of the North who show us how the provisions of our national compact can be evaded or openly violated.

Let those people of the North, who drink in hatred to our Southern institutions with their mother's milk, pause and re-

flect. Let them not think it a harmless thing to patronize the wild scheme of inconsiderate and unscrupulous philanthropists, who, to bestow on one race a state for which they are not prepared, would plunge two races in irretrievable ruin. Let them not be deceived with the idea that the enfranchisement of the slaves of the South is an easy matter. If, into the State of Massachusetts, two millions of blacks should be suddenly poured, to live together with her one million of freemen, how would Massachusetts herself adjust the balance of power? Would she admit them to her hearthstones on terms of equality; marry them to her sons and daughters, and set them in the high places of power? Or, would she assign to them a more lowly and menial state, below that of the citizen and freeman? These are questions the people of the North have never considered, and which, in reality, man does not have to solve. They are questions belonging to the sphere of Divine Providence, whose plans it requires infinite wisdom to arrange.

It is to us a source of gratification that some of the noblest men of the North have come forth, at this critical juncture, and lifted their voice in favor of the union of these States, at this moment so greatly imperilled. We have trembled for our country, and still do tremble. Eighty-four years have passed since we asserted our national independence. Sixteen years yet remain to complete the first century of this North American Republic. Shall it equal, in perpetuity, those great historic nations, far less enlightened and free, whose existence has stretched far across the track of time? or, shall it now fall in ruins? Whether its lifetime shall extend throughout its first centennium or not, hangs now in doubt. The conviction here is becoming more and more fixed, that it is better to separate and meet the worst, than to live in perpetual broils. Yet we do not forget that the ocean depths slumber in peace while the noisy waves of the surface are lifting up their voice. If it is true, as Mr. Cushing has intimated, that the registered voters of Massachusetts who do not vote are, to those who visit the polls, as two to one, or, are 120,000 to 58,000, the same is probably true in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and throughout this Union. We would speak, if we could, to

this great American heart, which, in the midst of our fears, we hope still beats true to our national glory and honor. Let good and patriotic men in the North, who have not embarked in political intrigue, come forth from their privacy, assert their rights as citizens at the polls, place conservative men in power, and stay this madness. And let the patriots of the South, trusting in the righteousness of their cause, and looking upward for guidance, without rashness nor impetuous zeal, yet with firm maintenance of their rights, unite in wise counsels, to restore and preserve the safeguards of our National Constitution. The Christian patriot will bear his country on his heart to the Throne of Grace, "for the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong," but God ruleth over all, and under His aid one can chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight.



ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Grammar of the New Testament Diction, intended as an Introduction to the Critical Study of the Greek New Testament.* By DR. GEORGE BENEDICT WINER. Translated from the sixth enlarged and improved edition of the original, by EDWARD MASSON, M. A., formerly Professor in the University of Athens. Vol. II. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1859; pp. 436, 8vo.

We noticed the appearance of the first volume of this improved edition of a most valuable work, in our July number. Both are for sale at Townsend's bookstore, in this city. This second volume is enriched by the *prolegomena* of the translator, long resident in Athens, and an accomplished Greek scholar. He maintains therein, with great force, that the existing native Greek pronunciation is identically that of the Apostolic age.