

# THE FAYETTEVILLE

"THE NOBLEST MOTIVE IS THE PUBLIC GOOD"

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1861.

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P. J. SINCLAIR, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

## The North Carolinian.

Read and Reflect

The following article, with some omissions and slight alterations, is from the pen of J. D. DeBow of Louisiana.

**The Slaveholding and Non-Slaveholding Interest of the South A Unit.**

When in charge of the national census office, several years since, I found that it had been stated by an Abolition Senator from his seat, that the number of slaveholders in the South did not exceed 150,000. Collected that it was a gross misrepresentation of the facts, I caused a careful examination of the returns to be made, which fixed the actual number at 347,255. I communicated the information to Senator Cass, who read it in the Senate. I then called attention to the fact that, in the number enumerated slaveholding families, and that to arrive at the actual number of slaveholders, it would be necessary to multiply by the proportion of persons which the census showed to a family. When this was done, the number swelled to about 2,000,000.

Since these results were made public I have had reason to think that the separation of the schedule of the slave and the free was calculated to lead to misstatements of the single properties, and that on this account it would be safe to put the number of families at 372,000, and the number of actual slaveholders at about two million and a quarter.

Assuming the published returns however to be correct, it will appear that one third of the population of the entire South are slaveholders. The average number of slaves is nine to each holder, and one half of the whole number of holders are in possession of less than five slaves.

It will thus appear that the slaveholders of the South, so far from constituting numerically an insignificant portion of its people, as has been unadvisedly alleged, constitute a greater proportion in relative proportion than the holders of other species of property whatever, in any part of the world, and that of no other property can it be said, with equal truthfulness, that it is an interest of the entire community.

Whilst in the Southern States, every third family are slaveholders, but one family in every three and a half families in Maine, N. Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut, are holders of agricultural land, and in European States the proportion is almost infinitely less. The proportion which the slaveholders of the South bear to the holders of other species of property is greater than that of the owners of land, houses, agricultural stock, State, Bank or other corporation securities anywhere else. No political economist will deny that the larger the number of slaveholders in the Southern States, the more slaveholders, and the more the interest in the slaveholding interest.

The fact being conceded that there is a very large class of persons in the Southern States who have direct ownership in that property, it may be well asked, upon what principle a greater antagonism can be presumed between them and their fellow-citizens than there exists among the larger slaveholding class of the Southern States and the landed interest there? If a conflict of interest exists in one instance, it does in the other; and if patriotism and public spirit are to be measured upon some standard, as this is the social fabric of the South is in far greater danger than in any other country, where, though I protest against the false degradation standard to which Northern orators and statesmen have reduced the measures of patriotism which is to be expected from a free and enlightened people, and in the name of the non-slaveholders of the South flung back the insolent charge that they are only slaves to their country by the consideration of its "loaves and fishes," and would be found deficient in honor and principle and public virtue in proportion as that they were needy in circumstances, I think it but easy to show that the interest of the poorest non-slaveholder among us is to make common cause with and die in the last trenches in defence of the slave property of his more favored neighbor.

The non-slaveholders of the South may be classed either such as desire and are incapable of purchasing slaves, or such as have the means to purchase and do so, preferring to hire or employ cheaper white labor. A class conscientiously objecting to the ownership of this property does not exist in the South, for all such scruples have long since been silenced by the profound and unanswerable arguments to which Vanee controversy has driven our statesmen, popular orators, and clergy. Upon the sure testimony of God's Holy Book, and upon the principle of universal polity, they have defended and justified the institution.

As the competition of free labor with slave labor is the gist of the argument used by the opponents of slavery, and as it is upon this they rely in support of a future social conflict in our midst, it is clear that in cases where the competition cannot possibly exist, the argument, whatever weight it might otherwise have, must fall to the ground.

Now from what can such competition be arranged in our cities? Are not all the interest of the merchant and those whom he employs of necessity upon the side of the slaveholder? Is it not the products which he buys, the commodities which he sells, the profits which he realizes, the hopes which sustain him of future fortune, all spring from this source, and from no other. The cities, towns, and villages of the South, are but mere agencies for converting the products of slave labor into the products of other labor obtained from abroad, and as in every other agency, the interest of the agent is that the principle shall have as much as possible to sell, and be enabled as much as possible to buy. In the absence of every other source of wealth at the South, its mercantile interests are so interwoven with those of slave labor as almost to be identical. What is true of the merchant is true of the clerk, the drayman, the laborer whom he employs—the physician who builds his houses, the lawyer who argues his causes, the physician who heals, the teacher, the preacher, etc., etc.

And an illustration of the truth of this is furnished in the city of New York—almost as much dependent upon Southern slavery as any city in the South—which records a majority of nearly 30,000

votes against the further progress of abolitionism. As the competition does not exist in the cities, it is equally certain that it does not exist in those sections of the country such as employ upon the cultivation of commodities in which slave labor cannot be profitably used.

Having then, followed out step by step, and see to what it amounts, this so much paraded condition and conflict existing between the non-slaveholding and slaveholding interests of the South, will proceed to present several general considerations, which would be found powerful enough to influence the non-slaveholders, if the claims of patriotism were inadequate to resist any attempt to which they belong.

1. The non-slaveholder of the South is assured of this: That the remuneration afforded by his labor over and above the expense of living, is larger than that which is afforded by the same labor in the Free States. To be convinced of this, he need only compare the value of labor in the Southern cities with those of the North, and take note of the annual of the large number of laborers who are represented to be out of employment there, and who migrate to our cities, as well as to our country, in order to find labor, in return, in times of ordinary prosperity has been forced to leave our midst, or remain without employment. Those who come among us are enabled soon to return to their homes with a handsome competency. The statement is nearly as true for the agricultural as for other interests as the statistics will show.

The following table was recently compiled by Senator Johnson, of Tennessee, from information received in reply to a circular letter sent to the points indicated:

**Daily wages in N. Orleans, Charle'n, and Nashville**

Bricklayers.	Carpenters.	Laborers.
\$24 to \$31	\$24 to \$21	\$1 to \$1 1/2

**Do in Chicago, Pittsburg, and Lowell, Mass.:**

Bricklayers.	Carpenters.	Laborers.
\$14 to \$2	\$14 to \$13	75c to \$1

The rates of board weekly for laborers as given in the census of 1850, were in Louisiana \$2.70, South Carolina \$1.75, Tennessee \$1.32, in Illinois \$1.49, Pennsylvania \$1.72, Massachusetts \$2.12. The wages of the agricultural classes as given in Parliamentary reports are in France \$20 to \$30 per annum with board. In Italy \$12 to \$20 per annum. In the United States agricultural labor is highest in the Southern States, and lowest in the Northwest, the South and North differing very little, by the official returns.

The non-slaveholders, as a class, are not reduced by the necessity of our condition, as is the case in the free States, to find employment in crowded cities and distant localities, where they are obliged to work shops and factories with remorseless and unrelenting machinery. They have but to compare their condition in this particular with the mining and manufacturing operatives of the North and Europe to be gratified that God has not visited them for a letter fate. Tender women, aged men, and children, toil and labor there from early dawn until after midnight, from one year to another, for a miserable pittance, scarcely above the starvation point, and without hope of amelioration. The records of British free labor have long exhibited this, and those of our own manufacturing States are rapidly reaching it, and would have reached it long ago, but for the excessive bounties which in the way of tariff have been paid to it, without an equivalent by the slaveholding and non-slaveholding labor of the South. Let this tariff cease to be a shield, and the truth of what is stated will be abundantly shown.

The non-slaveholders of the South preserve the status of the white man, as long as they are not inferior or dependent. He is not told that all men are born free and equal, refers to the negro equally with himself. It is not proposed to him that the free negro, who is equal to himself, with his own at the ballot-box, and that the little children of both colors shall be mixed in the classes and benches of the school house, and embrace each other joyfully in its outside sports. It never occurs to him that a white man could be degraded enough to be put to a public auction, as was recently done in New York, of having a negro slave with a negro and his patriotic wife would dare, in his presence, as is done in the free States, to characterize the Father of the Country as a "scoundrel." No white man at the South serves another as a boy servant, or cleans his boots, or washes his face, and performs the menial services of his household!—His blood revolts against this, and his necessities never drive him to it. He is companion and an equal. If a distinction can be made, it is in favor of the white man, and this is so courteously exhibited, scarcely to strike attention. The poor white laborer at the North is at the bottom of the social ladder, while his brother here has ascended several steps, and can look down upon those who are beneath him with an indignant glance.

The non-slaveholder knows that as soon as his savings will admit he can become a slaveholder. This, with ordinary frugality, can, in general, be accomplished in a few years, and is a process continually going on. Perhaps twice the number of poor men at the South own a slave to what owned a slave ten years ago. The universal disposition is to purchase. It is the first use for savings, and the negro purchased is the last possession to be parted with. If a woman, her children become heirlooms, and make a part of the estate. It is within the knowledge of the writer that a plantation of fifty or sixty persons has been established, from the descendants of a single female, in the course of the life time of the original purchaser.

The large slaveholders and proprietors of the South begin life in great part as non-slaveholders. It is the nature of property to change hands. Luxury, liberality, extravagance, depreciated land, low prices, debt, distribution among children, are continually breaking up every class of the community. States of the South with enormous estates are in the hands of men who begin life as over-seers or city clerks, traders and merchants.

7. That such fortune not be in reserve for the non-slaveholder, he will understand that by honesty and industry it may be realized to his children. More than one generation of poverty in a family is scarcely to be expected at the South, and is against the general experience. It is more usual here for poverty than wealth to be preserved through several generations in the same family.

8. The sons of the non-slaveholders are and have always been among the leading and ruling spirits of the South; in industry as well as in politics. And nowhere else in the world have intelligence, industry and virtue, disconnected from ancestral estates, the same opportunities for advancement and the same else their triumph more speedy and signal.

9. Without the institution of slavery the great staple products of the South would cease to be grown, and the immense annual results, which are distributed among every class of the community, which give life to every branch of industry would cease. The world furnishes no instances of these products being grown upon a large scale by free labor. The English now acknowledge their dependence upon the slave labor of the West Indies. In the East Indies, where the population equals our own, is the only South American State, which has prospered. Cuba, while her slave labor, shows wealth upon old Spain, whilst the British West India Colonies have now become a source of revenue and of population. St. Domingo shared the same fate, and the poor whites have been massacred equally with the rich.

EXPORTS.

1859	160
\$27,822,000	\$5 to \$8,000,000

HAYTI, Sugar is no longer exported, and the quantity of

Coffee scarcely exceeds one-third, and of Cotton one-tenth of the exports of 1859. This I give up on Northern authority.

1860. 1857.  
Jamaica. 150,352 hids. 30,459 hids.  
Sugar. 93,950 " 15,992 "  
Rum. 24,187,293 " 7,065,623 "  
Coffee. The value of the present slave productions of the South is thus given:

Of Southern origin—  
Cotton. \$161,434,923  
Tobacco. 21,074,038  
Rice. 2,267,148  
Naval Stores. 3,934,474  
186,716,583  
Molasses. 76,609  
Hemp. 9,237

Total. \$188,093,496  
Others of the South. 4,108,628  
Cotton manufactures. 4,988,738

Total from South. 198,289,351  
Total from North. 78,814,267

Total merchandise. 278,392,300  
Specie. 57,502,305

To the Southern credit, however, must be given: 60 per cent. of the Cotton manufacture, being for raw materials.

Breadstuffs (the North having received from the South a value as large in these as the whole foreign export.) 40,047,000

Add.  
Northern contribution. 242,105,557  
Southern contribution. 34,501,096

In conclusion, I do not apologize to the non-slaveholders of the South, of which class I was myself until very recently a member, for having designed to notice at all the infamous libels which the common enemies of the South have circulated against them, and which our every day experience refutes, but the occasion seemed a fitting one to place them truly and rightly before the world. This I have endeavored faithfully to do. They fully understand and momentous questions which now agitate the South, and in all their relations, and they will be true and loyal in any and every emergency.

2. The "Watch and Wait" politicians yell: "Let the Northern people speak upon this question—let them be heard and all will be right." We propose to bring the Northern people upon the stand and testify through their local country journal, which indicates the sentiments of the rural districts of that section. We have culled these sentiments with some care, and we trust it will at least show our people that, the Northern people are as far a head of their politicians in this matter, as the South is in advance of us to shun the impending "irrepressible conflict." The New York Tribune remarks that with the exception of about ten papers that supported Lincoln's claims in the past campaign all are against compromise,—take these sentiments with the declaration of Mr. Lincoln, in reference to Kentucky, "LET THEM PREPARE FOR WAR," and we think that all soon make a decision:

**THE SEPARATION OF THE FREE STATES—NO COMPROMISE.**

From the Albany Republican States, Feb. 12.  
Let us have no more Conventions. "The Constitution as it is." Let us live by that, let us fight with it, and if needs be let us die for it. It wants but the plain interpretation of honesty, truth, and patriotism to make it a public asset, as was recently done in New York, of having a negro slave with a negro and his patriotic wife would dare, in his presence, as is done in the free States, to characterize the Father of the Country as a "scoundrel." No white man at the South serves another as a boy servant, or cleans his boots, or washes his face, and performs the menial services of his household!—His blood revolts against this, and his necessities never drive him to it. He is companion and an equal. If a distinction can be made, it is in favor of the white man, and this is so courteously exhibited, scarcely to strike attention. The poor white laborer at the North is at the bottom of the social ladder, while his brother here has ascended several steps, and can look down upon those who are beneath him with an indignant glance.

From the Rochester Express, Feb. 11.  
We would consent to no compromise or Constitutional amendment which acknowledge property in man; and we believe that the difficulties under which we are laboring can, and will be in the end amicably, because justly, settled without this. Let every true Republican and true friend of the country stand firm, and be prepared to render the incoming Administration a hearty and undivided support, and the danger is already averted.

From the Chicago Tribune, Feb. 9.  
We trust that those so-called Republican members of Congress who are in favor of "compromise" on a proposition that neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature shall prohibit Slavery in any United States territory south of 36 deg. 30 min., fully realize that they are voting that Slavery is a right that it is right as an original proposition. We trust they realize that they are forever estopped from saying hereafter that Slavery is wrong, or from becoming the facile instruments for bringing about the fatal state of affairs foreshadowed by Abraham Lincoln three years ago, when he said that "either the opponents of slavery would arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind would rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates would push it forward until it should become alike lawful in all the States—old as well as new, North as well as South." We trust they understand fully and without disguise, that they are lending their strength, whatever that may be, to bring about the latter sad, wretched, execrable condition.

From the Meadville (Pa.) Republican, Feb. 9.  
If the Republican leaders should be so lost to honor as to abandon our principles at this juncture, the people never will. They are fully educated upon the question, and while they never proposed to and never will infringe upon the constitutional rights of the Southern or any other portion of the Confederacy, they can never be driven from this position.

From the Bangor Daily Union, Feb. 8.  
SPIRIT OF THE REPUBLICAN PRESS IS RAISED.—The Republican journals in this State are mainly coming up to the standard of the N. Y. TRIBUNE. The organ of the present State Administration, The Kennebec Journal, urges the party to stand squarely up to every position they have assumed, and compares the meeting of the Commissioners at Washington to the meeting of "Benedict Arnold and Major Andre, eighty years ago."

The Belfast Age pronounces the Crittenden Compromise a "monstrous proposition," declares it will never be accepted by the Republicans, and that the Union saved by it "would not be a Union worth the possessing."

The Machias Republican declares of the present condition of the nation, that "it is not a cause of sorrow that has come now," and exhorts its party to "stand firm."

The Calais Advertiser says that the Crittenden Compromise is the only one that gains any favor, and then adds: "To this the Republicans cannot, and we believe and hope, will not assent."

The Astorport Times declares most emphatically that the seceding States have no just cause for complaint, and that all their rights have been protected and altogether "rides a high horse," on the subject of secession.

The Oxford Democrat teems with urgent appeals to the Abolition element to yield not a hair's breadth.

From the Burlington (Vt.) Times, Feb. 7.  
The delegates from Vermont to the Chicago Convention, which resulted in the happy nomination of our President and Vice-President elect, assembled annually at Montpelier on Tuesday evening, A. C. full conference, they individually and unanimously entered their protest against all concession or compromise which shall render nugatory any of the principles of the Republican party, as embodied in the Chicago platform, and also their protest, in toto, to either of the propositions before Congress known as the Crittenden Border or Adams compromise. We understand that these views were immediately communicated to our friends in Congress.

From the Salem (Oregon) Statesman, Jan. 7.  
From all that has come to our knowledge thus far, no reason is apparent for attempting an amendment of the Constitution, either in Congress in the first instance, or by calling a convention of the States for that purpose. It cannot be amended so as to repress the ambition and the impetuosity of the ambitious, but also by the members of the treacherous ferocity of negroes at the South, or check their disproportionate increase, as compared with the superior races. It cannot lay the Anti-Slavery moralizing of the North, or compel slaveholders to brook a continual annihilation upon their business and their own personal rectitude.

From the Hartford Courant of Feb. 12.  
The only idea on this point which a Republican Administration will sustain, is the right and the duty of the incoming President to defend the Federal property, and execute the laws. If these views prevail, the only course open to the Southern States, choose to run against the Federal authorities in the performance of these duties, is at their peril.

From the Worcester (Mass.) Spy, Feb. 12.  
But the Courier's representation is that the people of Massachusetts, or a majority of them, are in favor of the "Crittenden compromise." There is no warrant for such a representation. It is rejected, and the only course open to the Southern States, choose to run against the Federal authorities in the performance of these duties, is at their peril.

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