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The Western Carolinian.

BY ASHBEL SMITH & JOSEPH W. HAMPTON

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1. The Western Carolinian is published every Saturday, at Two Dollars per annum if paid in advance, or Two Dollars and Fifty Cents if not paid before the expiration of three months.

2. No paper will be discontinued until all arrearages are paid, unless at the discretion of the Editors.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

1. To insure prompt attention to Letters addressed to the Editors, the postage should in all cases be paid.

DEFERRED ARTICLES.

THE SOUTHERN CHARACTER.

The following tribute to the character of the South is copied from an essay in the Portland Courier:

"The writer has travelled thousands of miles in the Southern country, and for several years he has been an attentive observer of character as it is developed beneath a Southern sun. He has mingled in the various grades of society. He has met her citizens under all circumstances, favorable and unfavorable. With these opportunities of judging he would certainly come to a very favorable or different conclusion. Wherever he has wandered the hand of hospitality has been extended towards him.—How sweetly has the cheering voice of welcome fallen upon his ear. Many are the offices of kindness he has experienced, and not unfrequently from the hands of entire strangers. Grateful is the recollection he will ever cherish of scenes that are past, but which have obtained the most hallowed place in his memory. He is aware that his pen is incapable of doing justice to this subject, but he would do violence to his feelings were he to suffer this opportunity to pass without recording his testimony in favor of the citizens among whom he resides.—After wandering through the distant parts of our wide extended land, he feels authorized to say that, go where you will, you cannot find a more generous and patriotic, a more enlightened and high minded people than those who have received such a liberal share of abuse from the northern abolitionists. Does any one doubt this assertion? Let him come and examine for himself, and he will find this to be the language of truth and soberness!

A "Little Monster."—One of the State Banks, in Vermont, having been suspected of a violation of its charter, a committee was appointed, by the Legislature, to overhaul its affairs and report thereon to that body. In their report, the committee, among other developments of the mysteries of banking, states that the "banking room of this institution is in a wooden building occupied as a store—that the place of deposit for notes, bills, papers, and specie of the Bank is a wooden desk—and that the books of the Bank consisted of one or two sheets of paper pinned or stitched together!"—This no doubt, is one of these well managed institutions which is to take the place of the United States Bank, and is to supply the country with a currency superior to the rags of Nick Biddle!!

Black-legs.—It is stated in the Wilmington Press, that a *Faro table* was recently set up in that town; and that a meeting of young men took place, at which *lynching* was proposed, for ridding the place of the nuisance; but that after mature reflection, they came to the conclusion that it would be a more "peaceful remedy" for them to refrain from visiting the *Faro*. They were right; while the nuisance is legalized, it is better quietly to render it innocuous, by shutting it as though it were an infectious disease, than by violence and tumult to attempt to eradicate it by physical power. *Standard.*

Superior Court.—Thursday, Friday, and Saturday last, were fully occupied with the trial of a case, than which none has excited as much interest in this community for many years. It was the State vs. John Waddill, Jr., Joshua W. Cochran, and Jas. H. Myrver, on an indictment for killing Joseph Hubbard, on the 19th of Sept. last. Without entering fully into the testimony, it is sufficient to state, that the deceased came to his death by a gun shot wound, whilst attempting to make his escape from an officer and his posse, who had arrested him, or were endeavoring to arrest him, under a warrant for a high misdemeanor. The first day was entirely taken up in forming a Jury, the second with the examination of testimony, and the third with the arguments of counsel. The Judge's charge was delivered to the Jury after dark on Saturday evening, when the Jury retired, and in about ten minutes returned with a verdict of *Not Guilty*.—The announcement of this verdict produced, as we understand, a very audible expression of the approbation of the large crowd which had thronged the Courtroom from the commencement to the close of the trial.—*Fayetteville Observer* of Nov. 26.

POLITICAL.

EXTRACT

From the Message of Governor M'DUFFIE, to the Legislature of South Carolina.

Since your last adjournment, the public mind, throughout the slave holding States, has been intensely, indignantly, and justly excited, by the wanton, officious, and incendiary proceedings of certain societies and persons in some of the non-slave-holding States who have been actively employed in attempting to circulate among us, pamphlets, papers, and pictorial representations of the most offensive and inflammatory character, and calculated to seduce our slaves from their fidelity and excite them to insurrection and massacre. These wicked monsters and deluded fanatics, overlooking the numerous objects in their own vicinity, who have a moral, if not a legal claim upon their charitable regard, run abroad, in the expansion of their hypocritical benevolence, muffled up in the saintly mantle of Christian meekness, to fulfil the fiend-like errand of mingling the blood of the master and the slave, to whose fate they are equally indifferent, with the smouldering ruins of our peaceful dwellings. No principle of human action so utterly baffles all human calculation, as that species of fanatical enthusiasm, which is made of envy and ambition, assuming the guise of religious zeal, and acting upon the known prejudices, religious or political, of an ignorant multitude. Under the influence of this species of voluntary madness, nothing is sacred that stands in the way of its purposes. Like all other religious impostures, it has power to consecrate every act, however atrocious, and every person, however covered over with "multiplying villainies," that may promote its diabolical ends, or worship at its infernal altars. By its unholy creed, murder itself becomes a labor of love and charity, and the felon renegade, who flies from the justice of his country, finds not only a refuge, but becomes a sainted minister in the sanctuary of its temple.—No error can be more mischievous, than to understate the danger of such a principle, and no policy can be more fatal than to neglect it, from a contempt for the supposed insignificance of its agents. The experience of both France and Great Britain fearfully instruct us, from what small and contemptible beginnings, this *ami des noirs* philanthropy may rise to a gigantic power too mighty to be resisted by all the influence and energy of the government; in the one case, shrouding a wealthy and flourishing island in the blood of its white inhabitants; in the other, literally driving the ministry, by means of an instructed parliament, to perpetrate that act of suicidal legislation, and colonial oppression, the emancipation of slaves in the British West Indies. It may be not unaptly compared to the element of fire, of which a neglected spark, amongst combustible materials, which a timely stamp of the foot might have extinguished forever speedily, swells into a sweeping torrent of fiery desolation, which no human power can arrest or control. In the opinion of intelligent West India planters, it is because the local authorities, from a sense of false security, neglected to hang up the first of these political missionaries that made their appearance on the British Islands, that they are doomed to barrenness and desertion, and to be the wretched abodes of indolent and profligate blacks, exhibiting in their squalid poverty gross immorality and slavish subjection to an iron despotism of British bayonets, the fatal mockery of all the promised blessings of emancipation.

Under these circumstances, and in this critical conjuncture of our affairs, the solemn and responsible duty devolves on the legislature, of "taking care that the republic receive no detriment."

The crime which these foreign incendiaries have committed against the peace of the State, is one of the very highest grade known to human laws. It not only strikes at the very existence of society, but seeks to accomplish the catastrophe, by the most horrible means, celebrating the obsequies of the state in a saturnal carnival of blood and murder, and while brutally violating all the charities of life, and desecrating the very altars of religion, impiously calling upon Heaven to sanction these abominations. It is my deliberate opinion, that the laws of every community should punish this species of interference by death without benefit of clergy, regarding the authors of it as "enemies of the human race." Nothing could be more appropriate than for South Carolina to set this example in the present crisis, and I trust the Legislature will not abjure till it discharges this high duty of patriotism.

It cannot be distinguished, however, that any laws which may be enacted by the authority of this State, however adequate to punish and repress offences committed within its limits, will be wholly insufficient to meet the exigencies of the present conjuncture. If we go no farther than this we had as well do nothing.

These outrages against the peace and safety of the State are perpetrated in other communities, which hold and exercise sovereign and exclusive jurisdiction over all persons and things within their territorial limits. It is within these limits, protected from the responsibility of our laws by the sovereignty of the States within which they reside, that the authors of all this mischief securely concoct their schemes, plant their batteries, and hurl their fiery missiles among us, aimed at that mighty magazine of combustible matter, the explosion of which would lay the States in ruins.

It will, therefore, become our imperious duty, recurring to those great principles of international law, which still exist in all their primitive force amongst the sovereign States of this confederacy, to demand of our sovereign associates the condign punishment of those enemies of our peace, who avail themselves of the sanctuaries of their respective jurisdictions, to carry on schemes of incendiary hostility against the institutions, the safety, and the existence of the State. In performing this high duty, to which we are constrained by the great law of self-preservation, let us approach our co-States with all the fraternal mildness which becomes

us as members of the same family of confederated republics, and at the same time with that firmness and decision, which becomes a sovereign State, while maintaining her dearest interests and most sacred rights.

For the institution of domestic slavery, we hold ourselves responsible only to God, and it is utterly incompatible with the dignity and safety of the State, to permit any foreign authority to question our right to maintain it. It may, nevertheless, be appropriate, as a voluntary token of our respect for the opinions of our confederate brethren, to present some views to their consideration on this subject, calculated to disabuse their minds of false opinions and pernicious prejudices.

No human institution, in my opinion, is more manifestly consistent with the will of God, than domestic slavery, and no one of his ordinances is written in more legible characters than that which consigns the African race to this condition, as more conducive to their own happiness than any other of which they are susceptible. Whether we consult the sacred Scriptures, or the lights of nature and reason, we shall find these truths as abundantly apparent, as if written with a sunbeam in the Heavens. Under both the Jewish and Christian dispensations of our religion, domestic slavery existed with the unequivocal sanction of its prophets, its apostles, and finally its great author. The patriarchs themselves, those chosen instruments of God, were slave-holders. In fact the divine sanction of this institution is so plainly written that 'he who runs may read' it, and those overzealous pretenders and Pharisees, who effect to be scandalized by its existence among us, would do well to inquire how much more nearly they walk in the ways of Godliness, than did Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. That the African negro is destined by Providence to occupy this condition of servile dependence, is not less manifest. It is marked on the face, stamped on the skin, and evinced by the intellectual inferiority and natural improvidence of this race. They have all the qualities that fit them for slaves, and not one of those that would fit them to be freemen. They are utterly unqualified not only for rational freedom, but for self government of any kind. They are in all respects, physical, moral, and political, inferior to millions of the human race, who have for consecutive ages, dragged out a wretched existence under a grinding political despotism, and who are doomed to this hopeless condition by the very qualities which unfit them for a better. It is utterly astonishing that any enlightened American, after contemplating all the manifold forms in which even the white race of mankind are doomed to slavery and oppression, should suppose it possible to reclaim the African race from their destiny. The capacity to enjoy freedom is an attribute not to be communicated by human power. It is an endowment of God, and one of the rarest which it has pleased his inscrutable wisdom to bestow upon the nations of the earth. It is conferred as the reward of merit, and only upon those who are qualified to it. Until the 'Ethiopian can change his skin,' it will be vain to attempt, by any human power, to make freemen of those whom God has doomed to be slaves by all their attributes.

Let not, therefore, the misguided and designing intermeddlers, who seek to destroy our peace, imagine that they are serving the cause of God by practically arraigning the decrees of his Providence. Indeed it would scarcely excite surprise, if, with the impious audacity of those who projected the tower of Babel, they should attempt to scale the battlements of Heaven, and remonstrate with the God of wisdom for having put the mark of Cain and the curse of Ham upon the African race, instead of the European.

If the benevolent friends of the black race would compare the condition of that portion of them which we hold in servitude, with that which still remains in Africa, totally unblest by the lights of civilization or christianity, and groaning under a savage despotism, as utterly destitute of hope as of happiness, they would be able to form some tolerable estimate of what our blacks have lost by slavery in America, and what they would gain by freedom in Africa. Greatly as their condition has been improved, by their subjection to an enlightened and christian people, (the only mode under heaven by which it could have been accomplished,) they are yet wholly unprepared for any thing like a rational system of self government. Emancipation would be a positive curse, depriving them of a guardianship essential to their happiness, and they may well say, in the language of the Spanish proverb, "save us from our friends and we will take care of our enemies." If emancipated, where would they live and what would be their condition? The idea of their remaining among us is utterly visionary. Amalgamation is abhorrent to every sentiment of nature; and if they remain as a separate caste, whether endowed with equal privileges or not, they will become our masters or we must resume the mastery over them. This state of political amalgamation and conflict, which the Abolitionists evidently aim to produce, would be the most horrible condition imaginable, and would furnish Dante or Milton with the type for another chapter illustrating the horrors of the infernal regions. The only disposition, therefore, that could be made of our emancipated slaves would be their transportation to Africa, to exterminate the natives or be exterminated by them; contingencies, either of which may well serve to illustrate the wisdom, if not the philanthropy of these superserviceable madmen, who in the name of humanity would desolate the fairest region of the earth and destroy the most perfect system of social and political happiness that ever has existed.

It is perfectly evident that the destiny of the Negro race is either the worst possible form of political slavery, or domestic servitude as it exists in the slave holding States. The advantage of domestic slavery over the most favorable condition of political slavery does not admit of a question. It is the obvious interest of the master, not less than his duty, to provide comfortable food and clothing for his slaves; and whatever false and exaggerated

stories may be propagated by mercenary travellers, who make a trade of exchanging calumny for hospitality, the peasantry and operatives of no country in the world are better provided for, in these respects, than the slaves of our country. In the single empire of Great Britain, the most free and enlightened nation in Europe, there are more wretched paupers and half starving operatives, than there are negro slaves in the United States. In all respects, the comforts of our slaves are greatly superior to those of the English operatives or the Irish and continental peasantry, to say nothing of the millions of paupers crowded together in those loathsome receptacles of starving humanity, the public poor houses. Besides the hardships of incessant toil too much almost for human nature to endure, and the sufferings of actual want driving them almost to despair, these miserable creatures are perpetually annoyed by the most distressing cares for the future condition of themselves and their children.

From the excess of labor, this actual want and these distressing cares, our slaves are entirely exempted. They habitually labor from two to four hours a day less than the operatives in other countries, and it has been truly remarked by some writer, that a negro cannot be made to injure himself by excessive labor. It may be safely affirmed that they usually eat as much wholesome and substantial food in one day, as English operatives or Irish peasants eat in two. And as regards concern for the future, their condition may well be envied even by their masters. There is not upon the face of the earth any class of people, high or low, so perfectly free from care and anxiety. They know that their masters will provide for them, under all circumstances, and that in the extremity of old age, instead of being driven to beggary, or to seek public charity in a poor-house, they will be comfortably accommodated and kindly treated among their relatives and associates. Cato, the elder has been regarded as a model of Roman virtue, and yet he is said to have sold his superannuated slaves to avoid the expense of maintaining them. The citizens of the Romans, but it may be safely affirmed that they would doom to execration the master who should imitate the inhuman example of the Roman paragon. The government of our slaves is strictly patriarchal, and produces those mutual feelings of kindness which result from an interchange of good offices, and which can only exist in a system of domestic or patriarchal slavery. They are entirely unknown either in a state of political slavery or in that form of domestic servitude which exists in all other communities.

In a word, our slaves are cheerful contented and happy, much beyond the general condition of the human race, except where those foreign intruders and fatal ministers of mischief, the emancipators, like their arch-prototype in the Garden of Eden, and actuated by no less envy, have tempted them to aspire above the condition to which they have been assigned in the order of Providence.

Not can it be admitted, as some of our own statesmen have affirmed, in a mischievous and misguided spirit of sickly sentimentality, that our system of domestic slavery is a curse to the white population—a moral and political evil, much to be deplored, but incapable of being eradicated. Let the tree be judged by its fruit. More than half a century ago, one of the most enlightened statesmen who ever illustrated the parliamentary annals of Great Britain, looking into political causes with an eye of profound philosophy, ascribed the high and indomitable spirit of liberty which distinguished the Southern Colonies, to the existence of domestic slavery; referring to the example of the free states of antiquity as a confirmation of his theory. Since these colonies have become independent States, they have amply sustained the glory of their primitive character. There is no coloring of national vanity in the assertion, which impartial history will ratify, that the principles of rational liberty are no less thoroughly understood, and have been more vigilantly, resolutely, and effectually defended against all the encroachments of power, by the slave-holding States than by any other members of the confederacy. In which of our great political conflicts is it, that they have not been found arrayed against every form of usurpation, and fighting under the flag of liberty? Indeed, it is a fact of historical notoriety, that those great Whig principles of liberty, by which government is restrained within constitutional limits, have had their origin, and for a long time had their only abiding place, in the slave-holding States.

Reason and philosophy can easily explain what experience so clearly testifies. If we look into the elements of which all political communities are composed, it will be found that servitude in some form, is one of the essential constituents. No community ever has existed without it and we may confidently assert, none ever will. In the very nature of things there must be classes of persons to discharge all the different offices of society from the highest to the lowest. Some of those offices are regarded as degrading, though they must and will be performed. Hence those manifold forms of dependent servitude which produce a sense of superiority in the masters or employers, and of inferiority on the part of the servants. Where these offices are performed by members of the political community, a dangerous element is obviously introduced into the body politic. Hence the alarming tendency to violate the rights of property by agrarian legislation, which is beginning to be manifest in the older States where universal suffrage prevails without domestic slavery, a tendency that will increase in the progress of society with the increasing inequality of wealth. No government is worthy of the name that does not protect the rights of property, and no enlightened people will long submit to such a mockery. Hence it is that in older countries, different political orders are established to effect this indispensable object, and it will be fortunate for the non-slave-holding States, if they are not in less than a quarter of a century driven to the adoption of a similar institution, or to take

refuge from robbery and anarchy under a military despotism. But where the menial offices and dependent employments of society are performed by domestic slaves, a class well defined by their color and entirely separated from the political body, the rights of property are perfectly secure, without the establishment of artificial barriers. In a word, the institution of domestic slavery supercedes the necessity of an order of nobility, and all the other appendages of a hereditary system of government. If our slaves were emancipated, and admitted, bleached or unbleached, to an equal participation in our political privileges, what a commentary should we furnish upon the doctrines of the emancipationists, and what a revolting spectacle of republican equality should we exhibit to the mockery of the world! No rational man would consent to live in such a state of society, if he could find a refuge in any other.

Domestic slavery, therefore, instead of being a political evil, is the corner stone of our republican edifice. No patriot who justly estimates our privileges will tolerate the idea of emancipation, at any period however remote, or on any conditions of pecuniary advantage, however favorable. I would as soon think of opening a negotiation for selling the liberty of the State at once, as for making any stipulations for the ultimate emancipation of our slaves. So deep is my conviction on this subject, that if I were doomed to die immediately after recording these sentiments, I could say in all sincerity and under all the sanctions of christianity, and patriotism, "God forbid that my descendants, in the remotest generations, should live in any other than a community having the institution of domestic slavery, as it existed among the patriarchs of the primitive Church, and in all the free states of antiquity."

If the Legislature should concur in these general views of this important element of our political and social system, our confederates should be distinctly informed, in any communications we may have occasion to make to them, that in claiming to be exempted from all foreign interference, we can recognize no distinction between ultimate and immediate emancipation.

It becomes necessary, in order to ascertain the extent of our danger, and the measures of precaution necessary to guard against it, that we examine into the real motives and ultimate purposes of the Abolition Societies and their prominent agents.—To justify their officious and gratuitous interference in our domestic affairs—the most insulting and insolent outrage which can be offered to a community—they profess to hold themselves responsible for the pretended sin of our domestic slavery, because forsooth, they tolerate its existence among us. If they are at all responsible for the sin of slavery, whatever that may be, it is not because they tolerate it now, but because their ancestors were the agents and authors of its original introduction.—These ancestors sold ours the slaves and warranted the title, and it would be a much more becoming labor of filial piety for their descendants to pray for their souls, if they are Protestants, and buy masses to redeem them from purgatory, if they are Catholics, than to assail their warranty and slander their memory by denouncing them as "man-stealers and murderers."—But this voluntary and gratuitous assumption of responsibility, in imitation of a recent and high example in our history, but imperfectly conceals a lurking principle of danger, which deserves to be examined and exposed. What is there to make the people of New York or Massachusetts responsible for slavery in South Carolina, any more than the people of Great Britain? To assume that the people of those States are responsible for the continuance of this institution, is distinctly to assume that they have a right to abolish it. And whatever enforced disclaimers they may make, their efforts would be worse than unprofitable on any other hypothesis. The folly of attempting to convert the slave-holders to voluntary emancipation by a course of slander and denunciation, is too great to be ascribed even to fanaticism itself. They do not, indeed, disguise the fact that their principal object is to operate on public opinion in the non-slave-holding States. And to what purpose? They cannot suppose that the opinion of those States, however unanimous, can break the chains of slavery by some moral magic. The whole tenor of their conduct and temper of their discussions, clearly demonstrate that their object is to bring the slave-holding States into universal odium and the public opinion of the non-slave-holding States to the point of emancipating our slaves by federal legislation, without the consent of their owners. Disguise it as they may, "to this complexion it must come at last."

It is in this aspect of the subject that it challenges our grave and solemn consideration. It behooves us then in my opinion, to demand, respectfully, of each and every one of the slave-holding States—

1. A formal and solemn disclaimer, by its Legislature, of the existence of any rightful power, either in such State or the United States, in Congress assembled to interfere in any manner, whatever, with the institution of domestic slavery in South Carolina.
2. The immediate passage of penal laws by such Legislature, denouncing against the incendiaries of whom we complain, such punishments as will speedily, and forever suppress their machinations against our peace and safety. Though the right to emancipate our slaves, by coercive Legislation, has been very generally disclaimed by popular assemblages in the non-slave-holding States, it is nevertheless, important that each of those States should give this disclaimer the authentic and authoritative form of a Legislative declaration, to be preserved as a permanent record for our future security. Our right to demand of those States the enactment of laws for the punishment of those enemies of our peace, who avail themselves of the sanctuary of their sovereign jurisdiction to wage a war of extermination against us, is founded on one of the most salutary and conservative principles of international law. Every State is under the most sa-