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THE
NORTH AND THE SOUTH,

OR

THE QUESTION STATED AND CONSIDERED.

BY ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

(FROM THE DAILY TELEGRAPH.)

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TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH.

There is a great controversy now existing between the North and the South. *Can this controversy be settled?* To determine this, it is necessary to consider the grounds of the difference, and the attendant circumstances. There are some kinds of national controversies which admit of settlement—some which do not. Where the dispute is one of interest, it may be settled.

The very motive of the dispute, the attainment of advantages, suggests a solution. Because the prosecution of the controversy to the last extreme, may cause more disadvantages than the attainment of the object can bring benefits. An amicable adjustment is therefore recommended to both parties, by a consideration of their mutual interests. Hence the peaceful adjustment of a boundary question, as the Maine or Oregon controversy.

The matter in dispute being one of interest, it was obvious to both parties that the wisest way to settle it was by compromise; for to come in collision was to insure more loss to the successful party than gain. Questions, therefore, of interest, carry within themselves the elements of a peaceful solution.

But there are some questions which do not admit of a peaceful solution. Questions of conscience, whether in matters of Government, morals, or religion. The very ground of the controversy suggests the impracticability of a solution; it is the antagonism of different faiths; the difference of faith causes the controversy, and the same difference prevents its adjustment—neither party can yield its faith without recreancy, and therefore the same conscience which originates the controversy prevents its adjustment.

You cannot draw a line through two antagonist dogmas, and say to each party, believe up to the line and not beyond.

Hence questions of conscience admit of no compromise; and history, if it proves anything, *demonstrates this point*. It is enough to allude to the persecutions of the early Christians; the crusades; the Mahometan conquests; the thirty years war in Germany; the destruction of the Albigenses; Scotch Covenanters; the wars of the Catholics and Huguenots in France. In the last instance, there was a compromise *ending with the massacre of St. Bartholomew*. Besides these instances, many others will suggest themselves.

If the matter of conscience in dispute is pushed so far as to become fanaticism, the difficulty of adjustment is insuperable.

The controversy between the North and the South is one of conscience. It cannot be adjusted, then, if the South remains firm, without a violation of the conscience of the North, in their own eyes. Especially is the settlement of the question rendered impossible, when we consider that their faith has been pushed to fanaticism. It may be objected here that the entire North are not in this fanatical condition—that it is only the Abolitionists proper who have arrived at this state. But I answer that the entire North are fanatical, and for proof I refer to their acts. There may be degrees in their fanaticism; some may be more fanatical than others. But they all, without exception, consider slavery as a sin, and propose to adopt every means to destroy it. I think, therefore, I am authorized to say that the whole North are fanatical.

But for the sake of argument, I will concede that only the Abolitionists proper are fanatical, and the same consequences in the settlement of the question will follow; because this small but compact party holds the balance of power in the free States, and each of the great parties there, have to conform to their wishes. So that the result is that the action of the North cannot but be ultra fanatical.

It is the same thing, then, as if the controversy were between the Abolitionists proper and the South. And in view of this, what hope can there possibly be of settling the question? You might as well try to settle a question with the inmates of a mad-house, upon the subject of their delusions. The Abolitionists proper would stop at nothing; they are veritable mad-men, *laboring under a delusion*; they would see the Union dissolved—the South desolated, and thank God for these things, as blessings, rather than yield one iota of their faith. It is wasting time, then, to talk about any adjustment of this question.

It results, then, from the very nature of this controversy, that it cannot be settled. But besides the difficulties of a settlement, incident to the question itself, there are other circumstances collateral to the main question, which enhance infinitely the obstacles to its adjustment.

For instance, the aggressions of the North upon the South. From the Missouri Compromise to the present time, the North has been infringing upon the South, step by step, and each step a bolder one. The Missouri Compromise was the first overt act, a most unfortunate one for the South, giving the North a strong position and confidence, and the reverse to the South. Then followed the practical abrogation of that clause of the Constitution providing for the recovery of fugitive slaves—a direct violation on the part of the North, of the Constitution, to which we have submitted with patience, to them a guaranty of our extreme forbearance. Then came the constant agitation of this question in and out of Congress, in every imaginable form, for the purpose of exciting domestic insurrection. And lastly, the various propositions in Congress—to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; to exclude slavery from the Territories of New Mexico and California; to take the votes of the inhabitants of the District of Columbia, (including as voters the free negroes and slaves,) whether slavery should be abolished within its limits; to abolish the slave trade in the District of

Columbia; to abolish slavery in the Territories, and places where Congress has exclusive jurisdiction, as forts, arsenals, dock-yards, &c.—some of which actually passed the House of Representatives.

In addition, therefore, to the difficulties of settling the question intrinsic to its very nature, we have the aggressive course of the North, as a further obstacle. If the question itself were difficult, if not impossible to solve peaceably, when not aggravated by the aggressive conduct of one party, how much more difficult, if not impossible to settle it, when one party has committed every possible act of aggression.

Furthermore, there are additional circumstances to be considered, still more enhancing the difficulties of adjustment.

The civilized world is agitated by a great free movement, tending to extreme Democracy, Agrarianism and Socialism. The Abolition excitement is one phase of this movement. The Abolitionists are impelled forward by it. The spirit of the age is fanatical, the Abolitionists are the agents and the objects of this spirit, they are urged on, they are maddened by it. They could hardly stop if they would; they are sensitive to the revolutionary throes of the old world. We experience in the fiercer agitation of this question the heavings of European society. The times are out of joint, the present temper of the age is peculiarly unfavorable to the adjustment of this question.

Again, there is a fact of climate at the bottom of this excitement—it is the old story of the North men infringing upon the men of the South. The conquerors of India and China were North men. The Macedonians, conquering Greece and Persia, were North men. The Goths and Vandals descending upon the Roman Empire, were North men. Russia is now impinging upon Europe. Germans are the masters of Italy. The footsteps of Northern conquerors resound in the palaces of Venice. Under the energy of the same great physical fact, the Northern States are now impinging upon the South. Nature gives men of the

North more energy than men of the South—it is a necessity of climate. This aggression, then, of the North, has a physical as well as a moral cause. And but for the extraordinary energy and chivalry required in a slave country, we could not be able to resist them. This social fact makes up for the deficiency of climate. But though it may enable us in the last resort to make head against the North, it has not prevented Northern aggression.

Again, the North are envious of the South socially. The institution of slavery is an aristocracy disagreeable to the extreme Democracy of the North, and wounding their self-love; they wish to pull down the lords of the South.

The institution of slavery produces an elevated, noble, and chivalrous community. These are elements in which the North are deficient. They feel this deficiency—they understand its cause—they hate us for the qualities in which we excel them, and they wish to destroy that institution to which we owe these qualities. A feeling of envy and hatred—that feeling with which inferiority regards merit—is one of the elements at the bottom of this slavery agitation.

Again, this Anti-slavery movement is urged on by the Free States, in order to secure hereafter the control of the Government. If they can carve Free States out of all the territories, their ascendancy will be supreme, and the South reduced to impotency. This flame is fanned by ambitious men at the North, who imagine themselves shut out from their just distinction in the Government by the influence of the South, such men as Martin Van Buren, and John Quincy Adams was—who are but types of a large class of Northern politicians, the griefs of whose disappointed ambition make them desire the weakness and humiliation of the South.

These are the collateral circumstances accounting for and accompanying the aggressions of the North, and increasing still more the difficulties of a peaceful settlement of the question.

When, furthermore, we consider that this question is one of life and death to the South—that her fate hangs upon it—that she cannot yield without being *felo de se*—that the contest now comes up after great aggressions on one side, and equal forbearance on the other—that the parties have come in face of each other in hostile array, after one party has advanced to the very edge of the lists, and the other has given back to the wall—we see how critical is the question. I hold that it is impossible for the South to give back any more—the consequences forbid, and make her firmness her necessity.

Suppose the South should submit, what are the consequences? The immediate consequences are the passage of all those propositions which have been before Congress for the restriction of slavery, abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, in the Territories, in all those places where the government has exclusive jurisdiction, and the abolition of the slave trade between the States. These are the immediate consequences. What will be the future consequences? In twenty five years, the territories will have been settled up with a free population, the number of free States will have been largely increased—then what think you comes next? An amendment of the Federal Constitution, and the abolition of slavery in the States. What then? Ah! this is a picture upon which a demon might gloat his eyes with delight. A devastated country, labor abandoned, the antagonism of races, the hatred of the liberated slave and the late master, domestic war, war to the knife, murder and rapine stalking abroad through the land, the smoke of our burning towns and cities, our homes and our altars ascending to heaven sweet incense for our enemies, the shrieks of our wives and daughters as they cling to us for protection from brutal violation; murdered fathers and brothers, men flying from their country as from a pestilence, abandoning in beggary the homes of their infancy, and the graves of their fathers. That is the picture, men of the South. You see it *now*

in imagination—you will see it *then* in reality, if you submit.

I assume then, that the South will not submit. Even if we had already fallen into the lowest depths of national debasement, meanness, and cowardice, common sense, common prudence, shame, the sight of our homes, the memory of our ancestors, the presence of our wives and children, would infuse courage enough in us to make us resist. But when I know that the Southern people are a chivalrous people, quick to anger, punctilious in honor, and that their opponents are men whose talents are not for the tented field—I am sure the South will not submit. Then we have the *two great opponents in presence, on a question insoluble from its very nature, and aggravated to the utmost by circumstances, and upon which the South, if disposed, could not give ground.* Then it follows, that the only possible way to adjust the question, is by the North giving way. But from what has already been said, this is impossible. Therefore a collision is inevitable.

I take it for granted, then, that a collision between the North and the South is inevitable. *It may not be immediately—a few years are nothing in the life of a nation—it must come sooner or later.* The wounds may be bound up for a while, but they will break out again with new violence. To demonstrate the futility of a compromise, take *the reception* of Mr. Clay's resolutions. This great man of the past, trying to cure this great disease with his tinctures, only shows how much behind the age he is. He does not understand the fierce spirit of the times. The world has been moving forward during his retirement at Ashland. He is king no more. His sceptre is broken—words have lost their charm—passions have the stage.

If we take it for granted that a collision is inevitable, what is to be done?—and that is my object in writing. I desire, as one of the people, to give my opinion—let it pass for what it's worth. I claim nothing for it, but wish it examined for itself. I am not one of the great men, making solemn grimaces in

the theatre of public life,—I am but one of the people, thinking for myself, and I speak what I think.

My idea is, First, to perfect the Union of the South, now so happily in progress. A year ago I thought the South was doomed, it seemed so dead to its true situation, mouthing after the lessons of miserable demagogues the sounding devices of party. But that day is past. There are no more Whigs, no more Democrats,—there is but one party, “the Party of the South.” The South is aroused, her banner is unfurled, her great heart beats indignantly. Let the good work go on.

Second, to dissolve the Union immediately, form a Southern Confederacy, and take possession by force of arms, of all the territories suitable for slavery, which would include all South of the parallel of latitude of Missouri. Let this territory then be settled up by slaveholders. Let the Southern States give a tract of land and one slave to every poor family who will settle there.

Desperate diseases require desperate remedies. I see no other effectual remedy for the disease of the body politic, than the one pointed out. The question is between this and nothing. *If you don't do this, what can you do? Nothing—but await your fate.* It is obvious, if the South acts, the action should be prompt.

Our enemies are gaining strength every day; we are getting comparatively weaker. To realize the full force of this fact, look upon the map at the vast region of unsettled territory open to the North, forbidden to the South, and reflect as to what will be the comparative strength of the two sections twenty-five years hence. Before the South is restriction, before the North a boundless expanse; the heavens above and the ocean beyond, how contrasted is their future.—This is what constitutes the necessity for immediate action.

To sum up: every reflecting mind must admit what I have attempted to show, that a collision is inevitable between the North and the South, sooner or later. It must equally be admitted, that under the practical

operations of the Union, in regard to the unsettled territory, the South are, comparatively speaking, losing ground every day. It follows, then, as a necessary consequence, that the South are interested to bring on the contest as soon as possible. Therefore I say *this, this* is the auspicious moment. The opportunity is presented in the meeting of the Nashville Convention. Let us use the opportunity. Let the Convention act. We have had words enough—we want veritable deeds. Apply the knife, and cut out the cancer. If the patient does bleed, it is better this than the certainty of a lingering death.

Let us elevate ourselves to the level of the great dangers that hang over us. If we cannot put back the hand of fate, let us meet her firmly. If we must fall, let us fall with arms in our hands, it is better to die by the sword, than *by slow poison*. If the star of the South must go down, let it go down amid the glory of great events. Let the closing scene of our history be in keeping with our antecedents. If we are doomed to witness the shipwreck of our country's fortunes, let us not be cursed with the reflection that it was owing to our supine indifference.

Now, I repeat is the time for action. *What is possible now, may be impossible after a while.* The South are moving now, let them move on to *security, to honor and to greatness.*

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.