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The Union, Past and Future: *How it Works, and how to Save it.*

BY A CITIZEN OF VIRGINIA.

[CONTINUED.]

We shall say nothing of the mineral resources of the South, which are unsurpassed; of her gold, her copper, and her lead; of her mines of salt and iron, and her vast fields of coal; we shall pass over her numerous agricultural productions and fruits, many almost spontaneous. We might speak of the vine, which can be cultivated not only along the Ohio, but to still greater advantage in the more southern latitudes of Carolina, Alabama, and Texas. Nor shall we mention coffee, which it is tolerably certain might be raised with profit in the south of Florida, for the future annexation of Cuba would give us abundant supplies. The interesting experiments of Dr. Smith, in South Carolina, may perhaps make us independent of China for tea, and even enable us to compete with her in other markets; while climate and social institutions will always forbid its cultivation north of Mason and Dixon's line. We will pass at once to the consideration of the means of placing our productions in market.

A large extent of sea coast not only improves the climate, but greatly increases the facilities for commerce. This was one of the chief physical causes of the early prosperity of the nations on the Mediterranean, especially in the peninsulas of Italy and Greece, and it has been no small element of England's power. The Southern States are eminently favored in this way. Their coast line on the Atlantic and the Gulf is 7,033 miles,* while the Northern States have only 3,295. But to appreciate the full advantage of the South, we must include the islands and rivers, to the head of tide-water, which make her whole navigable coast-line, 22,701 miles, while the Northern is but 6,675. The very compact shape of the Southern States make this great line of navigation available to nearly the whole country, while the reverse is the case at the North. The slaveholding States have an equal superiority in the extent of steam navigation on the Western rivers. The 1,000 miles of the Ohio may be considered common to the two sections, and so may the 2,000 miles of the Mississippi, though 1,230 of these lie exclusively in the South, while some 300 more divide Missouri from Illinois, and little over 400 are wholly in the free States. There are 2,655 miles of steam navigation on the Missouri and its tributaries, the most valuable part of which lies in a slave State, and as the whole debouches at St. Louis, that city commands all its commerce. On the other tributaries of the great "Father of waters," as well as of the Ohio, there are 5,029 miles of steam navigation in the slave States, and only 2,300 in the free States. The whole commerce of the valley of the Mississippi, to which the greater part of the Northwestern States belongs, is naturally dependent on the South for an outlet, which the South would probably find it to her interest to permit the free States to use. There is a natural equity in the free navigation of rivers by all the riparian powers, which was acknowledged in the treaty of Vienna, and applied to the Rhine and Danube, as a great principle of European national law. The cities and countries at the outlets of such streams, gain the commercial command of all the country above, and, in case of war, a great military power. A large portion of the commerce of the free States in the Northwest must always go to enrich New Orleans. The other part has to find its way to the seaboard by canals and railroads, at cost of four per cent. in tolls, while a fourth part, probably of Northern commerce, has to pass through Southern States. There is no part of the South thus dependent on the North.

It is true that federal legislation has made a roundabout voyage by New York shorter for Southern trade than the straight course to Europe, but there is no part of the slave States whose natural port is not at home. Two great lines of railroad will soon connect the Chesapeake bay with the valley of the Ohio and the Lakes. A third line will stretch through the southwest to Memphis, on the Mississippi, while the fourth will form a continuous line parallel to the coast from Baltimore and Richmond, through Columbia and Atlanta, to Natchez, with numerous lateral feeders from the Piedmont vallies. Western commerce can reach the Atlantic by these Southern lines more quickly than by the Northern, and without any interruption from ice and snow in winter. They will concentrate a vast trade at Norfolk, Charleston and Savannah. Nothing is wanting but the capital to complete their improvements, which the restoration of our natural commerce would at once supply. The same causes which have substituted steam for sails in inland navigation—the need for greater speed and certainty in the returns—will complete the change on the ocean, and give steamships the preference for commerce as well as passengers. We find that the custom-house returns show that the proportion of the imports into Boston, brought in steamers, is rapidly increasing. Swift steam vessels are now building in England to be employed in the foreign grain trade.†

This change must be of great advantage to Norfolk and Charleston, for the calms, which make Southern latitudes unfavorable for a sail voyage to Europe, will make them so much the better for steam. The trade in Indian corn and Southern wheat (which, as we have seen, is drier, more nutritious, and better fitted for exportation than the Northern) will be greatly augmented. The mouth of the Chesapeake is naturally a better position for a great city than the mouth of the Hudson. That beautiful bay, having all the advantages of a sea, without its storms, has 4,010 miles of tidewater shores, of which 2,373 miles are in navigable rivers—more than double the number in the States north of it. This noble system of rivers and bays may be said to be free from temperate climate, the rich and easily improved soil, and the variety of its productions. Add to this all the country that may be more readily connected by artificial communications with this point than any other, and there is no site on the Atlantic coast which should naturally command a larger commerce than Norfolk.

We have explained the causes which have prevented the developement of these resources, but once remove the burdens, and restore Southern capital to its producers, and the shipping of New York would soon whiten Hampton Roads, and her palaces embellish the shores of the Chesapeake. Charleston is connected with the same lines of railroad, and the cotton trade gives her equal or superior advantages. Mobile awaits but the loosening of her shackles to stretch an iron road to the Ohio; and who can predict the greatness of New Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi valley, with its area of a million of square miles, its steam navigation of 16,674 miles, and its commerce, already valued at $200,000,000! What a position for that, which has ever been the most lucrative commerce of the world—the exchange of the productions of temperate and highly civilized countries for the growth of tropical climates, and less advanced societies! The Gulf of Mexico would be commanded by the slave States, and they would want nothing but Cuba to make it a Southern Lake. How long would they want that? Peaceable annexation would at once follow its independence of Spain, and that would not be delayed long after the separation of the North and the South. There is no just reason why England should desire to prevent its annexation now; and, in the event of the dissolution of the Union, it would be her interest to strengthen us, and she would be bound to the Southern alliance by natural ties, and would have natural causes of hostility to the North. The dependence of four millions of her people on the South for cotton, and of many more for food, would give the slave States a powerful hold upon the good will of our Government—a hold that would strengthen with every year. No such ties would bind England to the free States. Producers of the same articles, and rivals in manufacturing industry, their commerce would be small, and their interests adverse. This hostile feeling would be aggravated by a desire to possess Canada on the one hand, and a jealousy of its loss on the other. In any actual contest of arms, the North would be particularly weak. Our Engineer department says that "It must be admitted that the British possess the military command of Lake Ontario."‡ This would facilitate the execution of the fine strategic design, which they failed to accomplish in the Revolution—to hold the line of the Hudson, and isolate New England from the other States. The Welland canal gives England the power of throwing vast supplies of every kind from Lake Ontario, where she has command upon the upper Lakes, and thus cutting off the western commerce from New York. It also places her in a position to strike at the line uniting the Eastern and Western free States, which offers peculiar advantages to a foe from either the North or the South. From Lake Erie to Pittsburg is little over one hundred miles, and might easily be held by an enemy, who had resources either on the Lakes, or in Maryland and Virginia. The Northern States might be thus completely sundered. The Northwestern States, commercially, belong rather to the South than the North, and their connection with the Eastern States would not be very strong. Events may easily be imagined which would separate a Northern Confederacy into two parts, the one leaning towards the South, and the other relying on a Canadian connection; and, in estimating the relative capacity of such a confederacy for war, we must remember that the States which would compose it, now owe one hundred and ten millions of dollars, while the Southern States owe only sixty millions.

When we consider all these facts, can we doubt that the free States will acknowledge the equality of the South, rather than return to their natural poverty and weakness by dissolving the Union?—that Union to which we of the South are so devotedly attached, and to whose preservation we are willing to sacrifice every thing but our honor.

We have seen that the North possesses none of the material elements of greatness, in which the South abounds, whether we regard the productions of the soil, the access to the markets of the world, or the capacity of military defence. While the slave States produce nearly every thing within themselves, the free States will soon depend on them even for food, as they now do for rice, sugar, tobacco, and cotton—the employment of their ships in Southern commerce, the employment of their labor in the manufacture of Southern cotton, and all that they can purchase of other countries with the fabrics of that great Southern staple. We have shown that the price of that staple must be permanently raised; how would the manufacturing industry of the free States stand this rise, if their taxes were raised by a dissolution of the Union, and how would their laborers subsist under this new burden, if they at once lost the employment afforded by the free use of one hundred and forty millions of Southern capital, and the disbursement of twenty millions of Southern taxes? The answer to this question will bring us to the last view we shall present of our subject, and will show that the Union has, in truth, inestimable worth for the North. It defies all the powers of figures to calculate the value to the free States of the conservative influence of the South upon their social organization.

The great sore of modern society is the war between capital and labor. The fruits of any enterprise of industry have to repay all the wages of the labor employed in it, and the remainder is the profit of capital. Every man knows that the profit he can make on any undertaking depends upon the expenses, and that the chief part of these is the hire of the necessary labor. The cheaper he can get that, the more clear gain is left him. It is obvious, upon this statement, that the lower the wages, the higher are the profits, and it is the interest of capital to reduce them to the lowest point, as it is of labor to reduce the profits. Free competition is continually bringing down the prices of the productions of industry, and the capitalist has to meet this effect by lessening the cost of production, and to lower the wages is one of the readiest ways to accomplish this end. It is true, that laws of nature, if left uninterrupted, will adjust the shares of wages and profits in a certain ratio to each other, and in a young and flourishing country, where every addition to the stock of capital and labor employed is attended by a proportional or greater increase of the gross returns, these shares will continue the same, or even increase.

In such a case, the natural opposition of interest between the laborer and capitalist is not felt; but the moment any cause interrupts the operation of these natural laws, or diminishes the productiveness of the new labor annually brought into action, one or both must diminish, for the whole returns to be divided are less in proportion to the number of those who are to receive. Each will try to get the most he can, and throw the whole loss upon the other; and in this strife, capital has an immense advantage. It can easily be transferred from less to more profitable employments, and from countries where its rewards are low to those where they are high.

We have seen an example of this operation in the steady flow of capital from Europe to this country. Labor has no such facility; no freight is so costly as that of man. Poverty and ignorance combine with local affections and habits to tie the laborer to his native district, and even to the employment, to which he has been trained. Emigration is the exception, not the rule; it is only for the comparatively well off—those who have something—not for the countless crowd of poor, who live by their daily toil. Hence the supply of labor remains steady, while the demand—that is, the supply of capital—is readily reduced, and profits are easily increased at the expense of wages. The same result is produced by other, yet more inevitable causes; the very dimunition of the returns of industry retards the rate at which capital can accumulate. Meantime, population continues to increase at its former rate, and with it the supply of labor, for the fall in wages, which must follow, cannot check the increase of population, except by pinching them with the want of subsistence; but it is a slow and uncertain check, even in that way. It will have no such effect where the population is content to live upon an inferior kind of food—upon potatoes instead of corn, as has been the case in Ireland, and even in the Eastern free States. No people breed faster than these potatoe eaters. The necessary fall in wages then goes on with accelerated velocity, as population outruns capital in its increase, and begins to press upon the means of subsistence. The result is before us in the starving laborers of Europe, where the wages of a week's labor, for 14 hours a day, are often only 36 cents a week! In 1842, in Manchester, 2,000 families, 8,136 persons, were reduced to this standard of subsistence; and in other years their condition has been still worse! We have before alluded to the signs, that the North is very far distant from this pressure of population upon the means of living, which she is obliged ultimately to reach. Statistics show a gradual, but certain decline in the wages of labor in the older parts of the free States. The destitution of the poor in the Northern cities is annually increasing, and there has been a frightful growth of pauperism. Mr. Fisher says that, in Massachusetts—the model State!—it reaches 1 in 20. In England it is but double, 1 in 10. Meat is no longer the daily food of the eastern laborer; and one of the answers from Maine to the Treasury circular in 1845, says that an able bodied man cannot possibly support himself and his wife by agricultural labor! We have seen that the supply of food was already deficient in the Eastern States, and that in Ohio it had reached its maximum point; in other words that every future increase would be attended with more than a proportional increase of cost. Add to this the growing disposition of Northern population to desert agricultural employments, which must be partly due to their diminished returns, its tendency to concentrate in towns and factories, its rapid rate of natural increase, and its still greater increase by emigration from abroad, and we can have no doubt that Northern laborers are increasing faster than Northern capital. Hence a pressure upon the means of subsistence, and a still greater fall in wages cannot be far off. It would be heavy and instantaneous where the Union dissolved; for that event would, as we have shown, not only throw 20 millions of dollars of new taxes upon the North but would withdraw 140 millions of capital, which employs her labor. This loss would fall chiefly, if not entirely, upon wages. The Northern capitalist would not submit to a decrease of profit, but would send a part of his capital to the South, where profits were higher, until he had reduced wages at home to a point which would leave him nearly as much clear gain, on his industry as before. He would in this way escape the whole burden of the new taxes, and throw it upon labor.

In fact, in all old communities, we find that the soils, which had been most fertile when virgin and fresh, are exhausted by continual cultivation; and every year the want of food forces a resort to lands which were at first rejected as too poor. The returns of agriculture are therefore subject to a steady and natural decline, which cannot be arrested except by the means of improvement, which modern science has discovered. The cultivation of the earth is rapidly assuming a new and scientific character; it is becoming almost a species of manufacturing industry. To be conducted to the best advantage, it will require the application of comparatively large capitals, in draining, liming, sub-soiling, and all the modern elements of "*high-farming;*" and it will demand the direction of superior minds to control and organize the labor, of which there must be a certain and regular supply. This necessity is already felt in England. In the model county of Lincoln, the different operations of farming are let out by contract to *gang masters*, who have numbers of laborers, regularly enrolled, ready to undertake any job that may be offered. These gangs are sent a considerable distance in wagons, and men, women, and children, separated from their homes and families, sleep all huddled together in barns, till the contract is completed. "When agriculture thus passes into the manufacturing state," as M. Leon Faucher, the late Minister of the Interior in France, says, "we must not be surprised at the effects of the transformation in the servitude and demoralization of the laborers." Any real and extensive improvement of agriculture in France and the free States must be attended with similar consequences, for these requirements of scientific farming cannot be met, with due regard to the morals and comfort of the laborers, except in a slaveholding community. The slave feels all the wholesome influences of moral life, near his home, and beneath the guardian care of his master, while the owner can obtain all the efficiency of gang and factory organization, without any of its evils. Hence it is that the highest practical examples of agricultural science in the Union are to be found in the Southern States, despite all their burdens. We have seen what Mr. Solon Robinson says of the wheat culture in Virginia, and recent authentic statements have proved that grain crops are nowhere raised with more profit than in tidewater Virginia, where the slaves are most numerous. There is no farming country north of Virginia, which can compare with the valley of the James river for skill, extensive enterprise, and success. If we go further South, Mr. Skinner says, that the rice plantations of Carolina are amongst the best models of agriculture in the world. Mr. Fleischman* says that it would astonish many a Northern farmer to behold the vast canals of the sugar planters, and the immense steam engines at work in draining them—canals which, "if joined together, would well deserve the name of a great national work of internal improvement, but executed without any assistance from the State." He "cannot describe his delight" at the perfection of the cultivation and the beauty of the residences which line the banks of the lower Mississippi. All this the work of slave institutions, where circumstances have afforded some compensation for the burdens of the Federal Government. And the slaves themselves live in a state of comfort—we had almost said of luxury—superior to many a Northern farmer. The free States have none of these advantages; free labor is not capable of such an organization in agriculture, except by lowering its condition to the level of the degraded operatives of European factories; and capital cannot be employed to the greatest profit on minute farms, whose holders have neither courage to risk it, credit to command it, nor skill to apply it.

The combination of such causes has aggravated the war between labor and capital in the old countries, and especially in France, until it has brought about the late socialist upheaving of the very foundations of society. Hence we hear so much of "the right to labor," which means a right to better wages; hence the war upon property, and law, and order, which threatens a worse than Vandal overthrow of European civilization. It is true that the remedy applied by the suffering laborer, increases the evil—that whatever weakens confidence in the right of property retards the increase of public wealth, and cuts off the very springs of that comfort and well-being which they would use violence to share. It is true that the laboring classes cannot hold the unwonted power it may have seized; that the triumph of to-day must be followed by the defeat of to-morrow, and that the February Saturnalia in the Tuilleries must be expiated by the June carnage in the streets. But when have the slaves of hunger ever listened to reason? The laboring poor cannot but remember the wan faces of their shivering wives, the piteous plaints of their children begging for bread, when they see the costly fur, the dainty food, and luxuries of the rich. Their city palaces, and country villas, their "pride that apes humility" in Gothic cottages, and model farms, but serve to make the garrets look more wretched, the fetid cellars darker and damper. The black, mouldy loaf is worse than the crumbs which Lazarus may pick up at Dives' door. The stables, the very pig stye of the lord of the loom, is better than the hovel of his factory operative, who, like the prodigal son, would fain fill his belly with the husks of his lord's swine, but, unlike that son, there is no father to array him in purple and fine linen, and kill for him the fatted calf; he must toil for his bread by incessant labor, for twelve or fourteen hours a day, and when strength and youth are wasted, and he is weak and weary with sickness and premature old age, he is cast forth upon the cold charity of an almshouse. When the poor man sees all this, and thinks that his hands have worked to build up the wealth and luxury which the rich exclusively enjoy, can we wonder that the thought eats into his heart, and goads him on to deeds of madness and violence? So has it been in Europe, and what security have the free States that the same inexorable fatality will not overtake them? The South has the guarantee of negro slavery; capitalist and laborer, master and slave, are indissolubly united in interest; even if the owner cannot profitably employ and support the laborer, his interest prompts him to transfer him by sale to those who can.

In the South, society is divided into masters and slaves; at the North, into rich and poor; and what shall protect her people from the social war, which that division has begotten in the history of every similar community? The dark cloud lowers upon their horizon; its low mutterings are already heard. Every year a larger number is supported by the alms of the State; the criminal statistics show a frightful increase of crime, especially in *offences against property*; the right to gratuitous education by the forced taxes of the property holder is already a part of the public law, and societies are formed to establish a similar right to an equal division of lands. They declare that the earth is the gift of God for the common use—that no one has a right to monopolize it for himself and his posterity—and that every man has a natural claim to an equal share in its enjoyment. The next step is to deny the right to transmit any kind of property by will, or by inheritance, and to force a general re-division in every generation, if not an entire community of ownership. These societies are numerous; they hold *National Conventions* and have organs, avowed and secret, in the newspaper press. Long leases are distrusted at the North, for there is danger that the tenants will refuse to surrender at their close. Whole counties have united in refusing to pay rents, which the courts decided were justly due, and the officers of the law, while in the execution of its mandates, have been deliberately murdered. And these violators of the rights of property and life, of the laws of God and man, had strength enough to elect a Governor, whom they could force to pardon the convicted murderers! So strong is the agrarian spirit, that so eminent a man as Mr. Webster is forced to conciliate it by proposing in solemn Senate to confiscate the public lands, by giving a quarter section to every free white male, native or foreign, who may choose to enter upon them. To meet all these dangers, the free States have no security out of the Union; once left to themselves, their perils would increase ten-fold. For it is essential to the public welfare, to the laborers and the poor themselves, that Government should be able to protect all the rights of property. No matter what the sufferings of the laboring class, they would be doubled and tripled by the insecurity of private rights. In England, this ability in Government has been preserved by a highly aristocratic constitution, both social and political; but in France, the tide has swept away government after government, like the waves of the sea; one dictatorship has followed another, now an Emperor, now a King, now the *bourgeois* capitalists, and now mere numbers, all equally unstable. And all this despite the fact France has been, under all dynasties, since the first revolution, eminently democratic in her civil laws! The reason is not hard to discover. At the bottom of all French politics, and the same applies with equal truth to the free States of the North, lies the idea that *might makes right*; in other words, that a majority of mere numbers has a natural, indefeasable and absolute right to govern the minority. No matter what the injustice and oppression of the rule, the minority has no remedy, short of civil war. This theory acknowledges what it calls the right of revolution in extreme cases; but that right can only be established and legitimated by the success which proves the minority to be the strongest party, and thus converts it into a majority; which brings us back to the starting place, that *might makes right*.

All the free States, like France, are organized upon this principle of a majority's unlimited right to rule; their idea of a perfect State is a highly centralized, consolidated Government, where the will of the greater number may be expressed and executed with the greatest rapidity and certainty. Such a Government does not confine itself to the external relations of the State, and the protection of life and property at home; but it invades the interior of the family; it destroys the unity of married life by creating separate interests in the parties; it robs parents of the education of their children, so as to destroy individuality of character, and train and prune them to the same moral and mental stature. The majority of numbers is more powerful than the Czar, because it is itself *physical might*; it is more grinding in its tyranny, because it has less feeling of personal responsibility, and its Argus eyes can search every corner of the country; its infallibility is less open to attack than the Pope's, because it is, itself, public opinion. Like other despots, it never hears the truth; its ears are trained to feed upon a fulsome flattery; and throngs of fawning courtiers are ready to call its unbridled passions, greatness, and its lavish expenditure of taxes, wrung from the minority, goodness. The love of true libery, and manly independence of thought cannot flourish in such a community; the greediness of office, and the love of power, take their place; there is an eager courting of popular favor, a feverish fear of differing in opinion from the majority, a making haste to leave the few, and join the many. Hence the politicians of the free States have always been wanting in the comprehensive views, necessary to found Governments or parties, and in the moral courage, the energy, and the administrative talent, requisite to coduct them wtih success. This is acknowleded by Theodore Parker, one of the best writers of New England, in his discourse on the death of John Quincy Adams, and he attributed the superioriry of Southern tsatesmen, in this respect, to their slave institutions. These accustom them early to deal with men, and they learn to act "as those having authority;" the management of the little commonwealth of the plantation is an excellent training for the administration of a larger State. Hence it is that the North has always had to look to the South for Generals and Presidents. No one will deny that this, like all general rules, has had brilliant exceptions, especially in military life, where the nature of the calling, and the tenure of the office beget more independence of character.

But the North has never produced a statesman, who has durably stamped the impress of his mind upon the legislation of the country, and made his thought, the thought of his own generation, and of posterity. There is no great measure of public policy, which was originated by a Northern lawgiver. Not even such men as Adams, or Webster, have been able to associate their names with the authorship, or development, of any far-reaching, abiding acts of legislation. The union of wisdom, in the highest scripture sense, with moral and physical boldness, with firmness and prudence, which made Washington the leader of our Revolutionary armies, and the appropriate guardian of our infant federation, was eminently characteristic of the Southerner and the slaveholder; it was the *degree* only, not the *kind*, that were miraculous. Such were the chief leaders of the Convention, the men to whose suggestions the Constitution owes its essential features—Madison and Mason, Randolph and Pinkney, all of the South. The founders of the two great parties were neither from the North; Hamilton was a West Indian, and Jefferson, who breathed his soul into the Republican party, and Madison, who gave it a shape, were both Virginians. In the war of 1812, two Virginians, Scott and Harrison, drove back our foes in the North, while a Carolinian led the Southern rifles to victory at New Orleans. All the great measures which have agitated the present generation, the Bank, and the Independent Treasury, the Internal Improvement system, the American system, and free trade, have been brought forth or shaped by the minds of a Calhoun, or a Clay, or carried into practice by the iron will of a Jackson. The only Northern Presidents we have ever tried have been failures. The elder Adams, who came into power on the popularity of Washington, in two years broke down, and every vestige of his administration was swept away by the popular voice. His son fared no better, and Van Buren, who mistook cunning for wisdom, was a politician instead of a statesman. The prestige of Jackson's favor could elect him, but nothing could save him after a single trial.

Whatever of greatness our country has attained, has been chiefly due to the administrative talent of Southern men, and above all to the Southern vote, which, while it was yet strong enough to be heard, restrained the disposition of the North to convert this Federal Union into a grand consolidated State, on the French model, where the numerical majority might have absolute sway. If the free States were to form a separate confederacy, it would soon assume this character. The measures which, as a section, they have advocated in the present Union, all have that tendency. The forms of their State governments—their political theories—all conspire to make such a result certain. The small States would be deprived of their equal vote in the Senate, and speedily absorbed by their more powerful neighbors. All the proper work of the several State Legislatures, as well as of private enterprise, would be thrown on the central government; the States would become mere provinces, and Congress a National Assembly. In such a State, there would be no safety for property. The number of those who want property is always greater than that of those who have it—the poor are more numerous than the rich; and they will certainly use their acknowledged sovereign right, as a majority, to gratify that want, and take what they please. The Northern plan of meeting this danger has ever been to create a strong monied interest by class legislation, by large Government expenditures, and by patronage. Northern Statesmen know that the aristocracy of birth is impossible; they hope to substitute the aristocracy of money by means of the funding and paper system, and by the yet more potent empire of the manufacturing system. In other words, the plan is to govern the masses by the power of money and corruption. The evil day may be thus delayed, but the remedy increases the inequality of fortunes and the difficulties of the laboring poor. Their sufferings are aggravated and their character degraded; and when the outbreak comes—as come it ultimately must, with accumulated force of pent up waters—it is the outbreak, not of men, but of demons.

France is the living and unhappy proof of all our reasonings. The reaction against the tyranny of the numerical majority, as public opinion produces the multitude of "false doctrines, heresies, and schims," the growing infidelity of the Grahamites and Fourierites, the Mormonism and Millerism, and all those wild vagaries of fanaticism, to which the people of the free States are so prone, but which cannot live beneath our Southern sun. The reaction against the tyranny of the numerical majority, as government, begets the proclivity to mobs and tumults, the instability of all constitutions and laws, which we see manifesting itself in the free States. The only rebellion ever known in the United States against the exercise of undisputed constitutional authority was in Pennsylvania. In Rhode Island, the Dorrites would have waged civil war, (if their leader's courage had not failed him at the crisis,) not for any great principle, but merely to determine, by a trial of actual physical force—a most rational and logical test—which party was the sovereign numerical majority. Fede al authority had to be invoked; when has a Southern State ever had to call in foreign aid to settle her domestic difficulties? The Legislature at Harrisburg had to be brought to order by a military force; and the Senate of Ohio, after one or two hundred ballottings lately elected a Speaker, who has since been forced to resign for bargain and corruption; the State was near being thrown into an anarchy last year by the inability of the Legislature to determine who were its members! In the chief cities, mobs dispute the right of private citizens to consult their own taste in a play actor; they set fire to convents of helpless females, and tear down the house of God, because it shelters the wretched emigrants from their brutal fury. And yet when a citizen soldier has the nerve to fire upon them and vindicate the majesty of the law,—an example of moral courage, alas! too seldom found at the North,—instead of receiving the thanks of the whole community, his house is the mark of the midnight incendiary, and all the avenues of public honor are forever closed to his approach.

From all these dangers the conservative influence of the South has hitherto preserved the free States. Her tributes of slave grown wealth have kept up the wages of their labor and the profits of their capital, have delayed the war between rich and poor, and soothed the deep-seated sore—the *immedicabile vulnus*—in their social organization, which nothing can heal. So long as the free States suffer the Union to endure, so long will the South continue her good offices; so long will she be ready to extend her aid, through the Federal authority to restrain her Dorrites and socialists, her anti-renters and her mobs. For the conservative character of the Union rests upon the slaveholding States. With them, a very different idea of government prevails. They believe that the sovereignty rests with the people, not collectively, but individually. As the Union is a federation of sovereign States, with their several reserved rights, so in their eyes, is each State a federation of sovereign individuals (or families if you will,) with their reserved rights. In their belief, there are institutions and rights, derived through the laws of nature, from God alone, which are independent, of, and prior to, all government.

Such are the relations of parent and child, of husband and wife, of master and slave, and the right to property, which all go to make up the corner-stone of the social edifice—the family.—To preserve these institutions in all their incidents, and all their derivative rights, is the chief duty of Government, which it cannot fulfil without such an organization as will give a full and fair voice to every interest and every class, and confer upon each a veto upon the assault of the others, so that legislation shall not be the voice of mere numbers, but a compromise between the majority and the minority—not merely the will of the greater number, but the resultant of the wills of all. Such a government rests its authority, not upon force, but upon the universal consent; there is no despotic public opinion to stifle freedom of thought; no King Numbers to flatter; no rapacious majority can use the forms of law to gratify its ravenings for plunder, but every class has to consult the interests of others, without whom it cannot act, as well as its own; and the people are trained up to the statesman-like practice of government in the spirit of union and harmony. The body politic becomes instinct with life and healthy vigor. Public opinion works in its true calling, as the moderator, not the silencer of individual differences. For such an organization, the Southern States have peculiar and well nigh indispensable advantages in their slave institutions, which forever obliterate the division between labor and capital. The devotion of so large a portion of their surface to cotton, sugar, and tobacco, places, at an almost infinite distance, the day when population will press upon the supply of food, for while the increase of its numbers is in proportion only to the relatively small area that produces grain, the other lands finish an inexhaustible resource to fall back upon in case of an insufficiency of that production.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

* See Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey in Treasury Report, 1848-'49.
† Blackwood's Magazine, January, 1850.
‡ 19 Ex. Doc, 1847-'8, p. 50.

*Patent Office Report, 1848.

From the Charleston Mercury.

The article copied in another column from the Southern Baptist, is deserving of attention not only for the soundness of the views, but as an expression of sentiment which we believe to prevade the great body of the powerful denomination of which that press is the organ. It places the question in a true and striking light, in arguing that there is the same propriety and necessity for the political separation of the Northern and Southern sections as for the division of the Churches. When a Union breeds only strife, tyrannous exactions, and fierce struggles, Christian charity no less than political wisdom, the love of peace no less than the love of liberty and of justice, dictate that the parties should separate.

[*From the Southern Baptist, October 23.*]

SECESSION AND THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.—We have received a communication, which will appear next week, on the secession of the Southern States, and which requires some notice at our hands. It is not our intention to admit any thing, editorial or otherwise, into our columns, which might give our paper a political caste. But we do not regard this question as a political one. The spirit that would overthrow our Constitution and convert our Union into a tremendous machine of oppression and injustice, would if allowed its full sweep, soon degrade religion into an odious fanaticism. It is in vain to pretend that the tendencies of Abolition are not towards irreligion and infidelity; its very spirit is the setting up of individual notions of justice and humanity, against the morality of the Bible, and if permitted to swell and gather head, it will soon sweep away all the ancient bulwarks and let in a flood of brackish waters to destroy every thing green or fruitful. That fanatical wisdom which exalts itself above revelation, and arrays the Bible against itself, must soon despise that sort of justice that removed the Canaanites from the promised land, to make room for the favored seed of Abraham; it must end in holding in contempt the doctrine that lays the guilt of the sinner upon the head of the immaculate son of God. What avails it to the heated imagination of the disciple of equality that all the past bears its testimony to the fact that the African race attains its highest elevation and greatest happiness under the control and direction of the whites? He will soon learn to question the justice that has so decreed, and to deny to the Supreme the right to subject a sinful world as he chooses. If there ever was a time and place since the fall of man where servitude was not known, where the dream of equality had an actual practical existence, there might be some excuse for this madness. But with the concurrent testimony of sacred and profane history in their hands, nothing but madness can be pleaded in extenuation of such folly. It is worse than blindness then, to shut our eyes to the matter. The progress of Abolition must be stopped, or our freedom of conscience will soon be but a name and the next generation even may see the Bible condemned, because man, in his wisdom, pronounces slavery a foul sin. We say that freedom of conscience may soon be denied us, it is even so now. Persecution consists not alone in the torture of the body or the imprisonment of the person. Insult and scorn, in words and acts, deny to the mind freedom of thought, and he who is condemned to insult for his opinions, may endure persecution even greater than he whose body is tortured.

How then is this evil to be removed? How are we to stop the mouths or palsy the hands of those who persecute us? We know no cure for religious madness, the world has never discovered a remedy for fanaticism. But we can withdraw ourselves from its influence. If we cannot stop the mouths of our revilers, we can stop our ears, and leave them to listen to their own ravings. We can do politically what we Baptists have already done as a religious body, that is, agree to separate. It is plain that our common government is the medium through which we are now assailed, for the shaft can reach us in no other way. We can exclude their books from our schools, their slanderous papers from our tables, but the acts of our common government which brand slavery as a curse, and slave holders as tyrants, remain to bring the blush of shame to our cheeks. The repeated attacks upon slavery in the District of Columbia, the passage of the Wilmot Proviso in the admission of California, the approaching repeal of the Fugitive slave bill, are small matters in themselves. But when we consider that they are but means to an end, that by them wreckless politicians pander to the appetites of the agitators, they are full of evil omen. The storm is assuredly approaching and we shall be wise if we take shelter by ourselves. We cannot now doubt that the North is in earnest, that the agitators are in power there, and there is no safety for them or for us but in our leaving to them the field of contest. Even the safety of the North requires this course of us, for perchance when its connection with slavery shall cease and the North be to us as England is, a foreign nation, the strife may cease, and reason resume her throne. We deceive ourselves if we suppose that any thing short of secession will give us peace or put a stop to the progress of Abolition. We have been brought to this conclusion not by excitement, for we were never more calm, but by a cool and careful review of the commencement and progress of the slavery agitation; and our firm belief is, that it has taken so deep a hold upon the mass of the free States, that it must last while they have any connection with slavery, through union, with the slave States. This being our conviction, and knowing that slavery is an institution that the South will never surrender, we see before us no hope of peace in the future, whilst the Union lasts. With opinions and feelings so diverse, the North and South must seek peace in an agreement to separate, and the longer that separation is delayed, the more do we hazard the risk of a fierce and bloody war. For this separation we believe our denomination is ready. Their independent system of Church government naturally leads to a reliance upon the home political government, and having for the sake of peace, severed our religious connection with the non-slaveholding States, we are not prepared to hold our political as dearer than those of the Church. Freedom of conscience is the birth right of the Baptist.—We have never persecuted others, and will submit to persecution from none.

The late so-called Compromise, so far from allaying, has increased the slavery agitation. The leaders in the North are shouting loudly over their victories, and grumbling fiercely at their failure. They consider all as their victory except the Fugitive Slave law, and this they vow to repeal. Everywhere does the North condemn it. Our exchange papers prophesy its repeal with the assurance of certainty. An informal meeting among the Delegates of the New York Baptist State Convention pronounces for its repeal. We hope it will be repealed, and that right speedily. It always was a pretence and could never be enforced. Its repeal will unite the South and rouse her to a sense of her danger. Mr. Seward is not alone in holding to the doctrine of a law higher than the Constitution. There are thousands at the North who believe in "the expansion of the human mind," who hold their notions of humanity as superior to the Constitution—aye, or the Bible itself. The Watchman and Reflector says, that "if our Constitution is too rigid to yield to the expanding convictions of the human mind as to what is humane or equitable, then it will be rent and demolished by a power greater than itself." Of this opinion also are the Independent and other Northern papers, and thousands of their readers. These show too plainly that the issue has come. It was obliged to come. That issue is secession or degradation, and with our degradation and the destruction of our institutions, fanaticism triumphs, and revelation yields to a higher rule of morality. P.

From the Lynchburg (Va.) Republican.

SOUTHERN "ULTRAS."—Every day's experience and observation but serve to confirm the wisdom of the course adhered to throughout this unfortunate slavery agitation by the true and tried friends of the South, and our once glorious constitutional Union. Though incessantly denounced, even by professed Southern men, as "*ultras*," "*factionists*," "*disunionists*," &c., &c., they have pursued the even tenor of their way, contending for nothing but the constitutional rights of one-half of the States of the Confederacy, and protesting most solemnly against legalizing by Congressional legislation, the miserable fraud and trickery by which the South has been effectually deprived of all right and title to an empire on the golden shores of the Pacific. In spite of the showers of vituperation and abuse that have been so copiously poured upon their devoted heads, they have the proud satisfaction of knowing that although defeated in the patriotic aim for which they so gallantly contended—the perpetuation of the constitutional equality of the States—they have nevertheless succeeded in materially improving some of the worst features of the recent acts of Congressional robbery—miscalled a Compromise. They succeded in securing to Texas an area of 25,000 square miles of the finest portion of her territory, that was not allowed her by the Clay Omnibus, and they succeded in passing Senator Mason's Fugitive slave bill, which is an hundred fold better for the South than the bill reported for the same purpose by the Compromise committee of thirteen. Even now, derided and denounced as they are, by their own fellow-countrymen, their influence for good is seen and felt at the North—the hot-bed of abolitionism and disunion—and every indication of a returning sense of reason and justice on the part of the Northern people, may be found to be directly traceable to the manly and patriotic course of these much abused Southern "*ultras*." As a case directly in point we extract an article from the New York Mirror, of the 12th inst., appealing in strong and patriotic terms to the merchants of the North—arousing them to a true sense of the dangers of dissolution, because, to use its own language, "*their pockets are threatened by the organizations now being formed at the South, binding the planters not to trade with a city represented in the Senate by an Abolitionist.*" The Mirror goes on to state that these anti-intercourse leagues at the South, with a determination to stop the machinery of Government at Washington, would be a practical dissolution of the Union—"*a consummation that* WOULD INSTANTLY CONVERT NEW YORK "PRINCES" INTO BEGGARS, AND NEW YORK STOCKS, NEW YORK REAL ESTATE, AND NEW YORK MERCHANTS WOULD INSTANTLY FALL "LIKE LUCIFER FROM HEAVEN."

What a tribute to the wisdom and patriotism of the so-called "*Southern ultras*," who are, strange to say, denounced at home as "disunionists, factionists," &c. Oh, shame, where is thy blush? Would to God that the whole South had been *ultra* in the same way. Had such been the case, who so blind as not to see, that our constitutional rights would have been respected, and the Union of *equality* transmitted to us by the patriots and sages of the Revolution, perpetuated. Alas, however, for the frailty of poor human nature, our worst enemies have been found in our midst. Instead of presenting an individed front to the hordes of our Northern aggressors, some of our leading public men, advertised in advance that we could not get what even they contended we ought to have, and as a dernier resort, we should accept of the capitulation prescribed for us by the Clay Omnibus, as the best "*we could get.*" Most overwhelming and convincing logic truly! Many prominent Southern men who had heretofore proclaimed in flaming capitals upon their banners "EQUALITY OR INDEPENDENCE"—"36.30 *or fight*," instantly lowered their patriotic flags, and joined with all becoming servility in singing the Cuckoo notes of "*Compromise*," "*Compromise*"—"*the best we get*," &c., at the same time pouring out the vials of their wrath upon those true-hearted Southern men, who still adhered to their original position, as essential to the maintenance of the rights of the States as guaranteed by the Constitution—our only bond of Union. The result is what might have been expected. Indeed, it is wonderful that the "*ultras*" succeeded in improving the Clay Omnibus, in any particular.

The moral force of fifteen sovereign States united to a man in asserting their constitutional rights, would have been irresistible, and would have placed such Northern men as might act with them, upon impregnable ground at home. The strangely suicidal course of the submissionists, however, turned the fortunes of the day against the South, and by depriving our Northern friends of the only means by which they could sustain themselves—the sanctity of the Constitution and the integrity of the Union—sealed the fate of the South, and paved the way, we fear, to a speedy dissolution of the Confederacy. The country is already beginning to reap the bitter fruits of their fatal policy. Instead of the boasted peace which they assured us was to follow the success of their famous capitulation, it has proven to be productive only of new sources of discord both North and South.

This is truly a sad picture! But, whatever may be the result, the true friends of the South and our constitutional Union, have the proud satisfaction of knowing their skirts are clear.—A degraded posterity, rent asunder and impoverished by intestine feuds and interminable wars of caste, will not "shake their gory heads at them," and say "*your fatal, short-sighted, timid, vacillating, treacherous policy brought these untold ills upon us.*"

MISSISSIPPI COTTON CROP OF 1849.—The returns made to the Secretary of State of Mississippi, represent an agregate of 240,283 bales, without including the yield of 29 counties which made no returns, many of which are highly productive. Marshall, the third back from the river on the northern line of the State, returned 29,886 bales, De Soto adjoining it on the west 14,036, and Tippah on the east 8,566. Wilkinson, the second in amount, at the Southwestern corner of the State, returned 25,889 bales. Adams, (shipping port Natchez) the third in amount, returned 22,000 bales, and Franklin, next east of it, 4,304. Jefferson, on the Mississippi north of Adams, returned 15,617 bales. Lowndes, on the eastern line of the State, on the Tombeckbe 15,250; Yallabusha, the third east from Bolivar, on the Mississippi, 12,224; and Holmes, on the Yazoo, east of Washington on the Mississippi, 11,387. Washington made no returns.

The counties near the line of the contemplated Jackson and New Orleans railroad are, Hinds, returns 17,406 bales (the fourth in amount,) Rankin, 1955, Madison, 14,412, Copiah 7,529, Simpson no returns. Lawrence none, Covington 1,006, and Pike none, without including the eastern counties for which also it would be the best outlet.

VIRGINIA CONVENTION.—The Virginia Constitutional Convention has at length stopped debate, and adopted a plan to begin their important labors. On Saturday, the first resolution reported by the Committee of Thirteen was adopted, with an amendment moved by Mr. Scott, of Fauquier, and then the other resolutions for the appointment of seven other committees were passed without objection. The voting on Saturday indicated a good feeling.

From the Macon (Ga.) Tribune.

Bishop Andrew.

The Columbus Sentinel of the 10th instant, thus notices a recent letter of this gentleman, which the Submissionists have sought to make capital of in their zeal to do the "glorious Union" reverence. Coinciding as we do, with the sentiments expressed, we transfer them to our columns as follows:

"This venerable divine, for whose character as a Christian gentlemen, and whose opinions as a theologian, we claim to entertain unsurpassed respect, has addressed to the Southern Christian Advocate, a letter on the subject of *Southern Independence*. The Columbus Enquirer has transferred it to its columns, and heralds to its readers as an evidence of the sympathy of the great and good man whose name is annexed to it. We can better imagine than describe the mortification which Bishop Andrew must feel, should he know that his opinions had been quoted as authority for shameless submission to wrong. That he is opposed to secession, except as a dernier resort, his letter very clearly indicates, but it with distinctness declares his conviction of the necessity for *redress of some sort* for the wrongs which have been inflicted upon the South. Mark his words: "*At any rate, let us* RESOLVE, *as Southern men, to proceed calmly, deliberately, justly, patiently, in our* RESISTANCE, *what we deem the* UNJUST AGGRESSION *of our Northern brethren. Let us exhaust every argument, and try other means of* REDRESS *before we indulge for a moment the idea of dissolving the Union of these States; and when this catastrophe comes, if come it must, let it find us at the last ditch, having tried every peaceable* REMEDY, READY WITH ARM AND HEART TO DEFEND OURSELVES.

It seems that the Bishop thinks the South has some grievances; some cause of complaint; and should demand some kind of redress. But what says the Enquirer? Mr. Toombs thinks we have no wrongs to remedy, and of course the Enquirer thinks so too. Our neighbor's authority then proves too much for his side of the question. There are many Southern Rights men in Georgia who agree exactly with this view of the case. They see that the rights of the South have been outraged, and like true hearted Southerners, they would demand redress. As to the mode and measures of that redress, we differ, and hence the necessity for a convention of the people; and to determine whether we shall resist at all, but to agree upon the time, the manner, and the extent of that resistance.

But Bishop Andrew does not stop with a barren declaration that we have been wronged and should seek redress; he goes on to point out the mode of that redress. He is for a species of *non-intercourse*. He has not yet spoken of commercial non-intercourse, but the recommendation which he makes, involves the identical principle contended for by those who favor the idea. He advises that Southern men should keep their children at the South for the purpose of education; that they employ none but Southern teachers; use Southern text books, and patronize Southern newspapers and periodicals. And what is this but *non-intercourse*? What is it but the first step in a series of measures looking to the ultimate and complete *alienation* of the North and South? Now, there are some men who may fancy a Union in which the parties have nothing to do with each other, and the Bishop may be one of that class, but we confess that when the time comes when all community of sentiment, and feeling, and trade shall cease in the two sections, we are unable to see any very good reason for preserving the Union. We will not quarrel, however, with any of our friends about the *manner* in which we are to resist "the unjust aggressions of our Northern brethren." RESISTANCE of some kind is what we ask, and we promise to be content with any mode which the people of Georgia may adopt.

The Enquirer goes on, however, to connect with this letter some very sage and feeling remarks about the causes which led to the separation of the Methodist Church, and concludes with a few Solomonic aphorisms about the impropriety of connecting Church and State. Perhaps if our neighbor should enquire more diligently into the history of that affair, he might be stirred up to a little honest indignation at the course of the North. It is to be presumed that a Christian church is cemented by ties more hallowed and sacred than those which unite with political communities; and yet the Methodist church was severed because an attempt was made to degrade Bishop Andrew from the Episcopancy for the sin of holding slaves. We suppose this, with our neighbor, would be regarded but a "light and transient cause," for so grave a step. And now how does this compare in enormity with the outrages which have been put upon the South? We are excluded from an equal participation in the common property of the Union, for the sin of holding slaves and we have been denied the right to carry our property for purpose of trade into the District of Columbia. These are among the "light and transient grievances" of which the South complains, and Bishop Andrew has had the heart to feel and the head to know that the South cannot with honor or safety submit silently to them."

THE TRUE ISSUE.—Among the various *false issues* presented to the people, by the demagogues of the day, and the insidious class of politicians who are seeking to distract and divide the South—there are none more pernicious and deceptive than those involved in the terms *Union* and *Disunion*; as they have the effect of reversing in the public mind, the position of the parties, of which these terms are considered as the rallying cries, or as dividing into the *friends* and *opponents* of the Constitution. The dextrous substitution by the submissionists, of the electro-magnetical term *Union*, for that of the *Constitution*—now getting to be rather *unpopular* and obsolete*—has been the source of this fatal confusion of ideas, by which those who are for *sticking to the compact* themselves, and requiring the other parties to it to do the same; are impudently represented to be, and even insultingly pointed at, as its enemies and would-be-destroyers; while those who are for *acquiescing in its violation*, for the sake, as they say, of present peace and harmony, have succeeded in passing themselves off, or are at least seeking to do so, as its *friends*, and the great "conservative party of the Union!!" Availing themselves of the attachment of the people to the Union, they have used that endeared term—that star-like word, which still shines "the cynosure of all eyes," to dazzle and mislead and paralize their minds—as the fire hunter employs his treacherous torch at night, to attract the gaze, and draw within his reach, his frightened and bewildered game. When the Southern States appeal to the *Constitution*, and fall back upon it for protection, the cry is raised, that the *Union* is in danger; as if the Union was something distinct from, and of a higher character than that sacred instrument and great charter of Liberty. If those who are for *upholding the Constitution*, are to be regarded as *enemies of the Union*—it follows as an unavoidable corollary, that the upholders of the Union, are the enemies of the Constitution, as they are indeed sufficiently shown to be, by their willingness to violate the latter, in order to preserve the former. The people of the South, however, will not be much longer mystified on this subject, or be imposed upon by the daily repeated trick and sanctimonous whine of these double-voiced and oracular deceivers—who cry *Union* in a high note, and *Constitution* in a low one—or in a scarcely heard under-tone, and hope thus to pass themselves off as the only true patriots and statesmen in the country.

The people of the South can never be drilled to acquiesce in a *compromise* by which they would be made *to pass under the spear*, and subjected to a humiliation lower than that of the Caudine Forks—a humiliation by which they would "loose half their worth'"—as those always do, who become slaves. The *true issue*, then, before the people, is not union, or disunion—but constitution or no constitution—it is between those who would preserve the great charter of our liberties inviolate, and those who are for submitting to its violation, in order as they say, to preserve the *Union*. The latter appeal to the *consequences* which would flow from a dissolution of the *Union*—as affording sufficient reasons for submitting to a violation of the *Constitution*. The former look not to the consequences that would result from the overthrow of the Constitution, *but are for defending it* against the attacks of its enemies; who are even now at the gate, and who have already broken into the citadel. The one party holds up the evils that would flow from a dissolution of the Confederacy—and thus seek to paralize and arrest the action of the people. The other directs their attention to the enemy—exhorts them to defend the citadel—to break down, with Roman devotion, the bridge that leads to it—regardless of the consequences which may follow, should they fail, or what the foe may do, in the day of his insolence and success. The Union, the Submissionists tell us, "must be preserved." If asked how it is to be preserved, the answer is—by *adhering to it!* A truly logical, circular, syllogistical, and twistical mode of reasoning this, by which the people of the South cannot but be convinced, and brought to see the folly of attempting either quietly to withdraw from, or forcibly maintain their equal position in the Union.

*The Constitution indeed, is now never mentioned or referred to, except by the so-called [illegible] *unionists*—and is fast fading, like the moon in [illegible] light of the sun—before the daily widening [illegible] dazzling splendors of the bright eclipseing of the Union.