

THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

AN ESSAY

ON THE

INDUSTRIAL, POLITICAL AND
MORAL ASPECTS

OF

THE NEGRO RACE

IN

THE SOUTHERN STATES

AS PRESENTED UNDER THE LATE AMENDMENTS TO THE FEDERAL
CONSTITUTION.

BY J. R. RALLS

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THE NEGRO PROBLEM AT THE SOUTH.

In viewing the complex relations of human society, we oftentimes see events unfold themselves, which in their inception appear trivial and unimportant, yet in their progress and ultimate development may assume proportions that challenge attention and become objects of profound solicitude. The introduction of African slavery into the British Colonies of North America, was, in its early history, divested of all sentiment. The moral and political questions which subsequently gave rise to the fiercest agitation, and which has shaken the American Government to its very foundations, was at this time held in abeyance; and the slave traffic was simply regarded as any other species of merchandise, to be regulated and controlled as the interest or caprice of those engaged might dictate.

In all the preceding ages of the past, history informs us that slavery had existed in some form or other, and it only appealed to the moral sense of mankind, when it was brought about by the arbitrary exercise of the rights of conquest, accompanied with acts of oppression and cruelty, in the servitude imposed upon its hapless victims. In the early patriarchal ages, we find the institution of slavery firmly rooted, and grounded, in their domestic economy, and the prophets and law-givers of that pure and primitive age, who were honored by the Most High, as the keepers of His oracles, inveighed not against it as "a league with death and a covenant with hell," but regarded it as a beneficent institution, that promoted the well-being of society. Greece and Rome in their day reared the proudest structures of national glory, and the light of their civilization, beaming upon us through the mist of twenty centuries, reveals the fact, that slavery was an integral part of their civil polity. The feudal system known in history

as the great political institution of the middle ages, and in which was planted the germ of modern civilization, was actuated and supported by a military spirit, which was ostensibly aimed at the oppression of kings; yet was no less instrumental in striking down the liberties of the people, and making them vassals to the rule of the lordly baron. Great Britain, the nation that led for centuries the van of civilization, and gave to later generations the great charter of human liberties, set mankind the example of abducting the negro from his native haunts, and rearing the system of African slavery in her distant provinces.

While it is not within the purview of our purpose to defend the institution of slavery, as it existed in the Southern States, either upon moral or political grounds, yet we would not vindicate the truth of history, in passing over in silence the real authors of an institution that has been the theme of such bitter invective at the hands of their intolerant and hypocritical descendants. Massachusetts and Connecticut were among the first colonies to introduce African slavery upon their soil, and conducted the new enterprise with more interest and zeal than any of their sister colonies. Massachusetts in particular had an additional incentive to stimulate her to engage in the slave traffic; for, besides the demand for the African as a laborer to till her soil, she enjoyed a monopoly of the shipping interest among the colonies, and did not stop at that early day to consider "the horrors of the middle passage," but at once fitted out her ship for the coast of Africa, and continued this species of merchandise as long as she could find a market for the so-called "human chattels." Virginia, and other more Southern colonies, entered an earnest remonstrance against the slave trade, and raised an issue with the New England colonies against its continuance, which was not met in a spirit of compromise by those men, whose descendants, eighty years later, began a sectional war to overturn an institution their fathers had been mainly instrumental in setting up.

The debates, upon the formation of the Federal Constitution, show, as an indisputable fact, that the Northern States had earnestly and zealously espoused the cause of slavery, and manifested a determination to perpetuate the African slave trade, so lucrative had it become, and so gratifying to that spirit of mammon, which forms the distinguishing type of the Yankee race, and becomes "the ruling passion" at all times, and under all circumstances. The Southern delegates, in the Convention of all the States, called in 1787, to form a Federal Constitution that was to supplant the Articles of Confederation, and "form a more perfect Union," demanded that a constitutional prohibition be incorporated into her organic law they were called to frame, against the further introduction of the African race into the States of America, showing an earnest conviction in the minds of the Southern people of the impolicy of the African slave trade, and an evident disposition to rid themselves of slavery as a domestic institution. This proposition, proceeding from the Southern delegates, met with decided opposition from the North, and the conflicting opinions were only reconciled and adjusted by incorporating a provision extending the slave trade until 1808, as we find it inserted in the Federal Constitution at the present time.

When this franchise expired by limitation, and the shrewd calculating Yankee saw that the slave could not be profitably employed, where the labor of summer was consumed in feeding the negro through the winter, he began to cast about for the means of getting rid of him, soon entered the role of philanthropist, and began immediately a crusade against the rights of his neighbor, and a war against the settled institutions of his country. It is a well authenticated fact that the North got rid of slavery upon well matured convictions of interest, based solely upon economic grounds—a settled conviction after satisfactory experiment that it was unprofitable, and that free labor, made to subsist itself when unemployed, would better meet the demands of

Northern industry. In short, the negro, as we say in common parlance, would eat off his head, bring the master to poverty, and must be gotten rid of. Hence the North adopted gradual emancipation—in the meantime sending a large per cent. of her slaves to the South to find market for a chattel that had proved burdensome and unprofitable upon her bleak and barren soil. The Puritans of the North have never exhibited a spark of genuine benevolence, nor can lay any just claim to philanthropy in their dealings with any race or people who controvened their interest, or incurred their displeasure.

These people, in the opening chapter of their colonial history, began a course of exasperation against a neighboring tribe of Indians by a series of aggressions upon their rights, and when culminated in a deadly feud, they gathered their strength, fell upon the foe in an unguarded hour, and signalized an easy victory by exterminating the warriors of the Pequod nation, and capturing and enslaving their defenseless women and children. Judge Black, who is good authority on Puritan history, as well as constitutional law, says in a late review of the practices of the early Puritians, that "it became a settled rule of public and private economy in Massachusetts to exchange the worthless Indians they had enslaved for valuable negroes, cheating their West India customers in every trade."

The Puritan fled from England under the belief that he was the victim of religious persecution by the established church, and set up in the New World his own peculiar establishment, where he, in turn, became the author of a religious bigotry, and intolerance more bitter and relentless than any he had suffered in the Old World. The Baptists, Catholics and Quakers shared in the most frightful persecutions at the hands of these bigots, and were driven from home, abandoned property, and all the associations that endared life to them, to find a safe retreat in the wilderness from the fury of their assailants.

The arraignment of innocent and helpless women upon

charges of witch-craft, and the severity of punishment inflicted—oftentimes the hapless victim expiating the alleged crime upon the gallows—stamps the Puritan character with cowardice, superstition and cruelty that is unequaled in the last century by any people who lay claims to Christian civilization. If the history of the anti-slavery movement at the North could be resolved into its basic elements, there would be doubtless found only here and there a trace of real philanthropy for the negro—felt by sentimental women, or reformers, and dreamy imbeciles, such as Theodore Parker, Wendel Phillips and John Brown.

The pro-slavery sentiment had taken no firm hold or deep root in the Southern mind, until the agitation of the subject by Northern fanatics had aroused a feeling of righteous indignation in the bosom of Southern men, whose characters were assailed upon all occasions, and rights of property in slaves resisted by mob violence, in defiance of the Constitution and laws of the country. And the opinion is not simply conjecture, that emancipation would have begun and been consummated a half century ago at the South if Northern fanaticism had not invoked the demon of discord, and caused it to shed its baleful glare upon the scene. Such statesmen as Jefferson, Randolph, Clay, Pinckney and others, saw at an early day that slavery, both as a political and economic question, furnished a problem of difficult solution to the Southern people, and were ready to counsel their people to rid themselves by gradual emancipation of an institution, the maintenance of which was fraught with so much trouble and danger in the distant future. But, unfortunately for the South, two events arose at this juncture, which mark an epoch in the history of Southern slavery.

The invention of the cotton gin, with the new and profitable field of enterprise it opened for the employment of slave labor, followed in the next decade by the bitter and uncompromising spirit with which slavery was attacked by the North, gave the institution strength and permanency

that prolonged its existence for fifty years, and made its extinction only possible by the stern arbitrament of war. If slavery was wrong and an unmitigated evil—"the scene of all villiany," as abolitionists have pronounced it—then other people than those of the South are responsible, and impartial history will award to them whatever degree of condemnation that attaches. The late slave States have little or no agency in the first introduction of African slavery into this country; this was achieved, as already shown, by the commercial States of the North and by Great Britain. Our fathers came in contact with slavery and in possession of it at a time when there was no sentiment or prejudice against it. It was taken under their patronage, controlled in the interest of both master and slave, and transmitted as a legacy to their children; successive generations grew up with it and inherited it, until it was incorporated with every fibre of our social and political existence.

Whatever renown anti-slavery men may lay claim to for the part they acted in the political drama that ended in the overthrow of slavery, they cannot escape the impartial verdict of mankind, rendered against them, for not only impeding and preventing voluntary and peaceable emancipation by the South, but for the greater crime of subverting the Constitution of their country, provoking sectional war, and imperiling the safety of our political institutions in the future. Those questions and their proper answer, which fix the measure of culpability upon the one side or the other, rightfully belong to the domain of history. And when a philosophical view of the laws of passion and of thought, as they have moved upon our Southern people, and incited them to action, shall be taken by the historian, who may be prepared to judge them impartially, there may be a measure of blame cast upon a class of Southern statesmen for the part they contributed in shaping the late momentous events of American history. There is, perhaps, no people, in a review of their past history, who will fail to see, in some important crisis in their natural life, that a failure

to comprehend the true nature of that crisis, caused a departure from the path of true progress, and left them to grapple with difficulties that time alone, with the exercise of patience and fortitude, could overcome. The conviction is widening and deepening in the Southern mind, that slavery, apart from the moral and political aspects of the question, was a failure in an industrial and economic view—under that system of labor the production of the great staple of the South was stimulated and developed to an extent that left us an annual return, but a modicum of profit to the Southern planter. It was made the instrument of felling the virgin forest, and laying waste, and impoverishing one of the finest countries, in climate, soil and diversity of products that the sun has ever shone upon. It is true that it aided in the settlement and rapid development of the country, and created a temporary prosperity, but the intrinsic value of slave property, which represented about two-thirds of all values at the South, depended upon a wide era of new country, constantly opening up before it for its necessary expansion. Had it been confined to the limits it occupied at the time of the manumission of the slave, its convertible value would have been destroyed in a very few years, the profits on its labor constantly diminishing, and the Southern planter would have sustained that relation to it, of which John C. Calhoun said: "If the slave did not run away from the master, the master would from the slave." It was instrumental in the training up of our young people to habits of inaction, and encouraged a false pride that caused them to look upon labor as something debasing and ignoble. It checked the spirit of enterprise and intelligent co-operation, that builds up diversified industries, augments the capital, and gives permanency to the wealth of nations. It combined in the directions of its operations as a natural sequence, both labor and capital, which, according to well settled laws of political economy, should be distinct, and each left to guard its own interest in fair and honorable competition. It was the means of accumulat-

ing three thousand millions of property—the toil and thrift of a century—of an unusual and unsubstantial value, that was swept away by the stroke of a pen—leaving the South only the soil it had robbed of its virgin freshness—a sad and constant reminder of the impolicy of the past. And one other sequence of slavery, more momentous to us in its present and future bearing upon the peace and welfare of the South, than all others combined, is the planting upon the same soil, under the forms of a free government, with equal rights and privileges, two separate and distinct races, more widely differing in all the human characteristics than any races of men, would seem to place before the Southern people a problem for solution as difficult as any people in the past have had to solve.

Two distinct races in such juxtaposition, with no possibility of ever blending—barred by color and insuperable caste, with pride and prejudice that revolts at an union so unnatural, and repugnant—must, in the very nature of things, place one of the two in a subordinate and inferior position, or result in a struggle for race supremacy, the result of which cannot be doubtful. To institute a comparison between the races at the South, where analogies are so obviously wanting, and the parallels do not run far enough for the purpose of illustration, would lead to travesty upon a subject that we desire to treat in a more serious view.

Brief sketches of the more marked characteristics of the two races, as presented by history and present condition and attainments, would better serve the purpose in view. The Anglo-Saxon, from which the Southern whites have mainly sprung and belong, presents, in those qualities that give men and nations power, prestige and influence, the highest type of the human race. Its civilization has been the constant and uninterrupted growth of fifteen centuries, in which every problem that presents itself to the human mind, has been studied and analyzed with a patience, energy and accuracy that human reason, stimulated by the

best aspirations of man, could bring to the task. It records its triumphs in every department of science, in every branch of art, and in every field of enterprise, that secures wealth or contributes to the elevation, comfort and well-being of mankind. Honor, valor, ambition, and all the higher qualities that find their chosen lodgement in the breast of men, "formed to rule," are possessed in a pre-eminent degree by this race, and has given it the mastery upon every field of conflict, where an enemy was encountered, or a cause to be won. This race, secure "upon its sea-girt isle," has not suffered a foreign enemy to touch her soil in the last five centuries, while she has dealt her blows in the great conflicts of Europe, and always left her foe a suppliant at her feet. Can it be asserted, that the same race upon Southern soil, with its traditional pride, with its chivalrous bearing, its spirit of persistence and powers of endurance, would yield the mastery of its own soil to the slave of yesterday?

There is no proposition more clearly established by history, than that the negro is incapable of any development or advancement in the arts of civilization, when left to himself, away from the contact and patronage of the white man.

In Africa, where his lot was cast after the great tribal divisions of the human race, we find him to-day enveloped in the same stolid ignorance and heathen bondage, that he was forty centuries ago, with no powers of mind above the animal instincts of his nature—subsisting without labor upon the spontaneous products of the soil—worshipping idols, at which human sacrifices are offered up, with rites and orgies that would shock the sensibilities of any other savage, save that of his own race. In their wars, which are of almost constant occurrence, they show no tact or strategy, either in aggressive or defensive warfare—are incapable of making combinations, or seeking those advantages resulting from treaty and alliances with other tribes or peoples, which all nations and races have done, who

have arisen from primal or tribal weakness to occupy a name and place in history. They have not utilized the labor of the horse or other animal—have made no progress in the mechanical arts, not even upon their rude implements of warfare. And travellers tell us that no monuments or other relics, indicating at any period that art, in any of its branches, had been brought into requisition by the natives of Africa. This is not true in any other lineage or type of the human race.

In the most interior sections of the great continent of Asia, and the farthest removed from the contact of civilizing influences, are to be found crumbled arches and prostrate columns, indicating architectural skill and some degree of advance in civilization at remote periods in history. The aborigines of North and South America have left unmistakable evidence, which remains to the present time, that the spirit of invention had been exercised by them, and left behind memorials of a rude but advancing civilization.

It might be said that commerce and military expeditions, that have often planted the germ of civilization in other barbarous countries, had no incentive or occasion to confer this boon upon Africa. The great nations of antiquity, Egypt, Carthage, Persia and Greece, were situated upon, or but little removed from, the continent of Africa, and Herodotus speaks of trading expeditions by the Greeks along the coast of Africa; while Egypt, under her warlike kings, penetrated the contiguous parts of Africa, and left the impress of its power upon a race too barren in mental resources to catch the inspiration of progress. The negro race has in no instance given evidence of its ability to cope with a civilized race, in a contest for supremacy, when anything like equal numbers were upon the other side. When once enslaved, he has submitted to the rule of the master, until the restraints of slavery were lifted by the power that imposed it, or some other that championed his cause, and gave him his freedom. There is not a single

instance in the history of this race, where they ever conceived a plan, or attempted its execution, for their liberation from bondage, that had an element of success about it. They were in a state of slavery for one hundred and fifty years in Hayti and Jamaica, where the white race, in the last fifty years of this period, were in proportion to the blacks of one to ten, with a small number of troops maintained by their respective governments (France and England), yet there was no serious revolt against the rule of the master, as long as the institution of slavery existed.

During the great social and political upheaval that brought in the French revolution, the Jacobin faction, in their mad carnival of "equality and fraternity," proclaimed the freedom of the blacks in Hayti, and allowed the people of that province to establish an independent government, giving the negro race political rights under it. The negroes here, seeing their vast preponderance in numbers, and the power it gave them, asserted and maintained their supremacy, and wreaked a brutal and terrible vengeance, in the butchery of many thousand whites—the remainder fleeing from the island and seeking safety in foreign lands. This war of races was followed by an uprising of the blacks against the mulattoes, which resulted in an extermination of the latter, leaving the negro master of himself, an "heritage of woe," and a blot and curse upon the most valuable island in the broad Atlantic. England repeated the experiment of France, by liberating her slaves in the province of Jamaica, and conferred upon the mixed population the right of local self-government, under a protectorate of the British Crown. As soon as an equality of rights and privileges were proclaimed and enforced, the prejudice and antagonism of race was engendered, resulting in outbreaks and chronic disorder, until the whites, goaded to desperation, rose in arms, and with the aid of the British soldiery, visited a swift and terrible punishment upon the blacks, demonstrating to the world the impracticability of the two races existing under the same

government, with equal rights and privileges, with the negro disputing the claims of the white man to supremacy.

A more rapid decline and general prostration of all industrial resources, has not been seen anywhere in modern times, than that which followed emancipation in the British and French provinces. In Jamaica a plan of gradual emancipation was adopted by the English government, but after two or three years the negro became so demoralized that the planters became disgusted with the institution, and totally abandoned it. The blacks then commenced a career of vagrancy, wandering about in idleness, and living upon the spontaneous products of the island—the uncultivated fields growing up into a jungle—the dismantled and silent machinery, the crumbled wall and deserted mansion—all making up a picture melancholy and appalling, and naturally awakening the inquiry to those who have been compelled to repeat the experiment of Exeter Hall, will the same fate rest upon the South?

Mr. Bigelow, formerly editor of the New York *Evening Post*, and during the late war United States Minister to Spain, visited the West Indies in the winter of 1855, and remained several months, watching with deep concern, as an anti-slavery man, the developments taking place among the colored population. In speaking of the ruinous decline of the material interest of the Island of Jamaica, and the enormous quantity of land thrown out of cultivation, he says: "This decline has been going on from year to year, daily becoming more alarming, until at length the island has reached what would seem to be the last profound of distress and misery, when thousands of people do not know, when they rise in the morning, whence or in what manner they are to procure bread for the day."

San Domingo, before emancipation had taken place, was dotted over with splendid estates, that yielded their proprietors a princely income, the value of her products to the extent of her territory, and number of operatives employed, exceeded that of any other country of the globe.

Emancipation there was productive of results fully as disastrous to its prosperity as it had been to that of Jamaica. There was an almost total abandonment of the export of sugar, its great staple product, in less than twenty years after freedom was declared. In 1790, three years before the liberation of the slave, this island exported 163,318,810 pounds of sugar, but in 1801, its exports were reduced to 18,554,112 pounds, and in 1810 to 2,020 pounds, since which time its export of sugar has entirely ceased. In 1790 this island exported more cotton than the United States. Twenty years later, it ceased to export cotton as an article of commerce, which was in great demand at highly remunerative prices, while coffee, growing spontaneously, requiring no cultivation or other attention than that of gathering it, yet had fallen off as an export in 1810 more than 100 per cent. upon the amount exported at the time of emancipation.

From this statistical view, we find that the negro race in the West Indies, in a state of freedom, did not meet the first conditions of civilized life, by a failure to provide for the prime necessities to sustain physical existence, to say nothing of their refusal to make those higher divisions of labor necessary to any advance in civilization. The negro there had been in a state of slavery more than one hundred and fifty years, and by it elevated in the scale of civilized being far above the level of the savage, and brought into constant intercourse with the white race, as master and overseer, had been trained to labor, and taught the methods of producing food supplies, as well as the valuable staples that enter into the commerce of the world, and return a money value; yet we see them, with many advantages and facilities for a higher development, refusing to employ such agencies for its attainment, but halting and retrograding to their primitive conditions of savage life.

The proposition, we think, that the negro, left to himself to work out the problems of civilized life, without the superior intelligence of the white man to aid and direct

him, is so clearly settled by the logic of actual results in the English provinces and in Hayti, as never to present itself again as a question for serious controversy.

MENTAL QUALITIES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEGRO RACE.

The fact that there are four and a half millions of this race among us, constituting nearly one-half of the population of the Southern States, and in some localities a large numerical majority, renders it of the highest importance that his nature and peculiarities of constitution should be studied and understood; not only by those who make and administer laws for the common weal of both races, but by all classes who are brought in daily contact with him in a business or semi-social relation.

The negro, we find, in his mental organization, exhibits but little or no originality. His faculty for invention and contrivance, where a principle is to be studied and applied, is rarely drawn upon or improved, and whatever proficiency he may attain in any branch of art or science, is due rather to the process of memory and his skill at imitation, than any proper understanding of the rules of art or principles of science. His intellect, if susceptible of classification, is on the mechanical order. He reasons, when that faculty is called into requisition, by analogy—in comparing the subject under consideration with something else that has come under his observation, and forms his conclusions without a resort to the more intricate process of induction. Memory, and the faculty of imitation, forming the order of his mind with insufficient power of abstract thought to examine principles, compare different methods, and originate new plans, he seems designed by Providence for a subordinate position under the direction of a superior intelligence.

We have never heard of a colored person, even at the North, in contact with the ingenious Yankee, applying for a patent right to any implement, or other useful article of his own invention. This defect in the mental constitution

of the negro is not confined to mechanical operations merely, but operates against him in every field of enterprise that he might enter upon. In San Domingo, where they have pursued an independent career for eighty-five years, we find them introducing no element of progress, either in social or political life. There was a considerable capital left them in the cultivated and highly improved landed estates with the wealth of the cities and towns included, yet they have never projected a railroad or telegraph, and many of the public highways and costly bridges, so necessary to meet the wants of the country under the rule of the white man, are now abandoned as of no utility to the present owners of the soil.

The negro, like all inferior races, is deficient in will power—a defect that is palpably seen in him under any degree of mental training, or in any condition of life he may be placed.

This faculty, controlled by correct principle and sound judgment, is indispensable in the execution of every laudable purpose, and without it nothing valuable, either in individual or collective enterprise, can be accomplished. The negro, in his ignorant and unreasoning state, with perfect freedom from all restraint upon his volition, we find to be the mere creature of chance; his calling and habitation fixed and controlled by casual circumstance, without resolute will, and persistent effort to change for the better, by surmounting the difficulties that may environ him. We have noticed many of them, since their late emancipation, set out with fair prospects of gaining a competency, and with all the advice and encouragement that was necessary to keep them in the line of success, would, despite it, yield to some vanity or weakness, and find themselves, in a short time, at the foot of the hill, with no profitable lesson gained by the experience. This is not so much attributable to their ignorance and inexperience in the practical duties of life, as it is to the fickle and unstable element that is inherent in

their nature. Those that are educated, and have the best opportunities for ameliorating their condition in life, rarely exhibit the study and inflexible purpose to achieve the best results their capabilities would authorize. The negroes at the North are generally educated under the free school system that obtains there, and quite a number are graduated in Northern colleges, which is supposed to prepare the recipients of such mental training for any vocation in life. We have yet to hear of the first negro, even at the North, where they certainly have the best opportunities for developments, who is really entitled to distinction, or has a record that will compare favorably with that of a third rate white man, in the same department of life. Fred Douglass and Langston both possess clear abilities, but have received their distinction rather by comparison with their own race, and in this respect are, par eminence, entitled to some notoriety, but neither have evinced moral or intellectual qualities to give them force and elevation of character sufficient to assign them a place in history. While their race in the United States have been passing through a transitive period for the last fifteen years, and certainly needed the advice and guidance of a master mind in sympathy with their peculiar state, yet the two mentioned, or any other that have assumed the role of leader, have not exhibited any capacity for leadership, but have proven blind and false guides, whose councils, if followed, will likely sink the negro to lower depths of degradation and misery than he has yet reached. Both of the worthies, mentioned above, made their advent before the public, some thirty years ago, in hostile opposition to the Colonization Society—a project which was, doubtless, conceived in a spirit of real philanthropy, and was thought by some of our wisest statesmen (North and South) to be a beneficent and judicious movement in the interest of the freed blacks.

These would-be leaders in their political course, we see, are at times the subject of party intrigue, and are ready to do the behest of any party or faction that may play upon

their credulity; at other times they are wrought upon by race feeling, and advise their people to cut loose from all political association with the whites, and rely upon their advice and assistance in no emergency. At the National Colored Convention, held at Washington City, on the 4th of July, 1874, Fred Douglass was the chief spokesman, and was put forward for the special purpose of declaring the sentiment of his people in regard to their relation to the country. In this speech, in alluding to the attitude of the colored race at the South, and the liability to collisions on the race question, he advised his colored friends at the South "to go armed at all times, and execute a bloody vengeance upon the Southern whites as the best method of settling any grievance that might arise in the future."

In the quality of courage of that order which springs from a sense of honor and duty, and impels men to action in the maintenance of principles, or defense of life and liberty, he is manifestly wanting. There is in his nature a spirit of venture, that subjects him to risk of person, without prudent calculation of the danger incurred, or the value of the object to be gained by the risk. In personal combat it little matters what may be the *casus belli*, he must be satisfied of his superior muscle, and that the chances in the fight are in his favor, before encountering an antagonist. He may, at times, exhibit a brute courage, such as the mad bull is incited to by the red flag, or the spear of the matadore, that rushes him into acts of violence and desperation, without any regard to the consequences to himself or the object upon which his rage may be expended. The code, we believe, is never resorted to to settle any "points of honor" that may arise to disturb the amicable relations between gentlemen of color. This treatment of the code of honor may not be any reflection that will likely bring it into disrepute in the future, but shows that the darkey, though "sudden and quick in quarrel," has found out other ways of seeking satisfaction, more in accordance with his ideas of personal safety.

The negro's exhibition of prowess upon the field of battle, in defense of country and liberty, is no less a subject for travesty, than that of his personal bravery. In the late war, levied by England against the Ashantee nation, for a redress of grievances, occasioned by King Coffee, a single regiment of British soldiers overran and conquered the dominions of the African King, defended by an army of twenty thousand men, armed with modern implements, in defense of their own country.

The negro in the Federal army during the Confederate war, with full knowledge that he was enlisted in the cause of his own liberation, and that the future status of his race and kindred at the South depended upon the result of the struggle, could not be induced to fight without a Federal bayonet *in the rear*, ready to impale him, shall he attempt a retrograde movement. In the recent outbreaks at the South, in which the two races have been brought into a conflict with arms, the negro, though often outnumbering ten to one, have always shown the most abject cowardice, where their insolent attacks were met by the unyielding courage of the white man.

To organize and carry on anything like an insurrection, requiring for its success secrecy, tact and organization, is out of the question, and should create no apprehension in the minds of our people at any time.

Such movements, though doubtless often conceived by the negro during the one hundred and twenty-five years of slavery in our country, have never approximated, either in the plan of operations or actual attempt, anything like a serious revolt against the rule of the master. During the last two years of our late war, two-thirds of the white male adults were in the army, leaving their homes and families at the mercy of their slaves, so far as any hostile feeling or power to harm them was concerned. The true situation of things at home was well known to the negroes generally, as the servants who attended their masters in the army were frequently sent home on errands, and could

give information as to the distance of our soldiers from any given point, and the unprotected condition of the people at home, against any attack or uprising of the negro population.

The conduct of the slaves during the war, in this particular, commended itself to the favor, if not the gratitude, of our people, and its remembrance should temper any feeling of exasperation against the negro for the turbulent and lawless spirit that he has at times manifested, under the teachings of "the party of moral ideas," through its fit representative—the carpet-bagger. If left to himself, free from all extraneous influence, the negro would not be tempted by any social or political aspirations to rise above his proper level, but would fall into, and be contented with, his natural and subordinate relation to the white race. A servile disposition, whether in his primitive barbarism, or under the influences of civilized life, seems to be an inherent and firmly fixed trait in the negro character. He cannot, in a true sense, enjoy anything like rational liberty. When not in state of slavery, under the task-master, who subdues his will and controls his physical man, he is led by the stronger impulses of his nature in pursuit of something that will exercise dominion over him. It matters but little with him what may be the form or character of the servitude he renders, so long as he has something that will accept the homage that instinct, the real propelling force in his nature, prompts him to bestow.

A prominent trait in the character of the average negro, is his vanity, which he is fond of displaying on suitable occasions, with an assumed dignity and an air of complaisance and self-importance, that seem to render him supremely satisfied with himself. His fondness for fine clothing, trinkets and gaudy ornaments, is often gratified by a privation not only of comforts, but the real necessities of life. His obsequious disposition and pliant nature, makes him susceptible of outward polish, and with an example of true politeness before him, he soon acquires manners that are

easy, graceful and artistic, which render him highly serviceable on occasions where the lackey is needed. Correct taste and a sense of propriety rarely enters into his "make up," and he feels more pride in "cutting a dash," than leaving a favorable impression by simplicity of manners and an exhibition of good sense.

There is, perhaps, no better opportunity for judging correctly of the traits that make up the human character than that which the domestic relation affords. The regard that is paid to the marriage relation—the esteem and affection that husband and wife exercise towards each other—the love of offspring, and the degree of solicitude felt and manifested in the maintenance and welfare in life, forms one of the main foundations of human society, and is never wanting among those people that make up well-ordered and prosperous communities. It cannot be claimed for the negro that he cherishes any high regard for the institution of marriage, though they nearly all marry at an early age, and some are "given to marry" several times before reaching their majority. While it may be fair to presume that they exercise as much reason in this particular as they do in other matters, it is evidently true that the motives and incentives that actuate the other race, in many respects, before and after marriage, are generally wanting in the case of the negro. Their stolid nature is rarely, if ever, kindled with that feeling of romance, which rises above the animal instincts, and forms a pure and perfect ideal of the opposite sex in bringing them together in the act of courtship, or more serious relation of marriage. The gratification of a sense of novelty in the new relation, seems, for the most part, the motives that prompt them to marry. Marriage among them has had but little effect in promoting virtue and carrying out the design of the divine institution. Many of them live in open adultery during the whole married state, and they oftentimes cut loose "from bed and board" from slight provocation, or upon mere caprice—leaving their offspring to the chances and odds of a precarious existence.

In the management of their children, there is a general neglect of the wholesome discipline that is necessary to bring them up to habits of obedience, and train them to proper line of conduct in life. The correction of the child is generally dependent upon the temper of the parent. When moderate counsels would suffice for neglect of duty, or waywardness of the child, if noticed at all, it is most frequently with threats and abuse, or if the rod is used, it is generally under a rage of passion, that leaves the hapless subject hardened, and desperate under the severity of its infliction.

If we go beyond the domestic circle into the more complex duties that devolve upon the citizen, we find the negro, even in his best estate, educated, and with opportunities for observation, and with extended experience, unfit for the duties and responsibilities of civil life. While it could not be expected of the ordinary negro to cherish any degree of patriotism, on account of his inability to comprehend the theory and operation of government—the protection it affords to life, liberty and property, it is nevertheless true that he is incapable of cultivating and receiving that measure of attachment and love of country that the average white man does. His local attachment is not fixed by any love of the soil—the streams, the hills and plains that form the germ of patriotism in other races, even the lower types, as the Indian and Esquimaux, but depend rather upon accidental circumstances—those that favor his love of ease and sensual enjoyment. Hence he often changes his place of abode when doing well, without any rational motive, or remains in a situation that is unfavorable to his interest, on account of some trivial advantage, or fancied good, that forms, for the time, his local attachments.

To make, in any sense, citizens out of such people, such as can be relied on, to promote the national interest of the State, to foster and defend its institutions, and to exhibit, at all times, the true spirit of patriotism, is utterly impracticable.

ticable, and as chimerical as any exploded humbug of the past.

CRIMINAL ASPECTS OF THE NEGRO.

The opinion that the negro race, on account of his depraved nature and vicious habits, would become a burden upon the country after his emancipation, and impose upon the Legislature and courts, difficult and embarrassing duties, had its origin in no mere misgivings, or spirit of opposition to the late amendments to the Federal Constitution, but in a thorough knowledge of the negro character, and the results that would follow. The North is peculiarly sensitive upon any question affecting the "man and brother" at the South, and there has been too much deference paid to Northern sentiment about the negro in Southern State legislation and in dealing generally with the case the negro presents. Northern men, for the most part, are entirely ignorant of the habits, peculiarities of constitution, and mental and moral stamina of the negro, and cannot take any reasonable or common-sense view of any measure affecting the two races at the South. Twenty-five years of stormy agitation there, characterized by an utter abandonment of all reason and candid argument, and a resort to calumny, detraction and falsehood, as the most effective weapons to assail the institution of slavery, caused them to regard the negro at the South only in a philanthropic sense, and would have us ignore the use of wholesome restraints and severe discipline, that the negro must undergo before he is prepared for a sphere in civilized life.

The negro problem, in all its phases, must be promptly and fearlessly met, as the exigencies arise, upon principles of right and justice towards the negro, and in a way that will protect the peace and interests of society, without any regard for outside opinion. The suppression of crime, the preservation of social order, and a promotion of the material interests of the State, are subjects falling within the province of the State Governments exclusively, they

are responsible for a proper regulation of these subjects, and for a failure to do so, are amenable to the condemnation of those directly interested, and to the censure and reproach of the outside world.

It is a fact too obvious for controversy, that crime amongst the Southern negro is increasing every year at an alarming rate, and if not checked by some measures of reform, will, apart from the direct evil resulting, so increase the cost of administering justice by the courts, as to make it an intolerable burden upon the tax-payers of the State. If we should direct an enquiry into the cause of this increase of crime, we would doubtless find them inherent in the nature of the negro, independent of any outward influences or peculiar circumstances that may surround him. In a state of slavery, his physical wants were better provided for by the master than he is capable of by self-management. His time and energies were constantly employed in useful labor, and for all classes of minor offenses, was amenable to the domestic forum, that administered certain and adequate punishment for the offence committed. Hence we find him, in that state, rarely guilty of an infraction of public law, quietly fulfilling his mission in the field of industry, and visiting upon himself nothing of that odium and degradation that now attaches to the free negro, as the author of mischief and disorder.

If we revert to the history of the negro in a state of freedom at the North, where he has been the object upon which efforts at reform have been liberally expended, especially to improve his morals and make him law-abiding, we shall find but little amelioration in his moral status there, and still furnishing an inviting field for missionary labors, in that land of "steady habits and moral ideas." We have no statistics of a recent date, but refer to the reports of the American Colonization Society, made in 1850, from thirty to forty years after emancipation had taken place in the several States referred to. The report, after speaking of the degraded condition of the free blacks,

the frequency and increase of crime among them, proceeds to sustain its assertions by facts gathered from the penitentiaries, to show how great a proportion of the convicts are colored: "In Massachusetts, where the colored people constituted one seventy-fourth part of the population, they supplied one-sixth part of the convicts in her penitentiary; that in New York, where the free blacks constituted one thirty-fifth of the population, they furnished more than one-fourth part of the convicts; that in Pennsylvania and Connecticut, where the free blacks constituted one thirty-fourth part of the population, they supplied more than one-third of the convicts." "It is unnecessary" continues the report, "to pursue these illustrations. It is sufficiently apparent, that one great cause of the increase of crime is neglecting to raise the character of the colored population." If forty years of freedom, under the most favorable conditions possible, at the North, has evinced no moral improvement, and has not served "to raise the character of the colored population," if it is worth anything as a sociological fact, it clearly shows the imbecility, the depravity and inferiority that is stamped upon every lineament of the African race.

We need not go beyond our own vicinage to be convinced that the negro is a constitutional law-breaker, prone to evil deeds, and will reap a harvest of crime if the fear of tangible, corporal punishment does not deter him. The average number of convicts in the Georgia penitentiary for twenty years before it was opened to the negro, was about one hundred. We find that there has been an annual increase of convicts at the rate of about 50 per cent., swelling the number to about eight hundred at the present time—a fearful record of crime—a fact pregnant with thought and apprehension of the future. Ten years of freedom, with personal liberty guaranteed, with the privileges as well as the responsibilities that attach—with lessons that observation and experience teaches in the daily examples of how the erring are dealt with, and how the good and exempla-

ry are rewarded, should certainly, it seems, point him to the path of duty, and urge him to pursue it.

As the negro is free, and in the possession of equal guarantees by the Federal and State Constitutions, no criminal code, even if desirable, could be framed that would discriminate in the infliction of penalties between the two races. And it may be seriously asked, if our present penal code is not severe enough, without adding to its rigors, or demanding a more rigid enforcement of its mandates than is already done in our State courts? And where there can be no discrimination in the framing and enforcing penal laws—one law for the white man and another for the negro—can the white man, at this advanced stage of civilization, place himself under a code of criminal law that might be applicable and suited to an inferior race, without a feeling of debasement, and invite adverse criticism upon the civil institutions under which he lives? In view of the vast amount of smaller crimes, coming under the head of misdemeanors in law, the vexation and loss of time, and expense of a prosecution in the courts, and the frequency with which they are dropped, and the guilty parties go unpunished, there is, in consequence, a growing disposition among the planting interest, who suffer most by the class of offenses named, to legalize the whipping post and bring it into practice. While this method of punishment for misdemeanors might be wholesome and remedial in effect in the case of the negro, and relieve the country of the expense of jail fees and cost of prosecutions in the courts, its liability to abuse, and danger of engendering a bad feeling between the races, would be reasons sufficient to prevent its coming into practice. It would not be long, if such a law was in force, before a white man would be brought to the "post," and this would likely stir up "bad blood," resulting in acts of revenge in some way, that would at once demonstrate the impracticability of such modes of legal punishment.

No punishment for the commission of crime, that merely

confines the negro in prison, and deprives him of his liberty will be remedial in effect upon the offender himself, or upon the race at large as a preventative against crime. The penitentiary system proper, confining the convict to work-houses, where the service performed is entirely of the mechanical order, would be rather inviting to the ordinary negro, and have in it no element of either a punitive or reformatory character.

The laws of Georgia, providing for farming out her convicts, and establishing chain-gangs, where the convict is held to the performance of the severest physical labor, is the best possible disposition that can be made of them, and offers a ready solution to the once vexed question of working convict labor. The vast mineral resources of North Georgia, in her inexhaustible mines of iron and coal, yet undeveloped, and requiring, in their infancy, cheap and active labor, find in the convict force, rapidly increasing every year, just the class needed, and this field of industry itself will, doubtless, relieve the State authorities of all anxiety in the future as to the disposal of State convicts. The discretion allowed by law to the Executive in the assignment of convict labor to appropriate fields, according to the nature of the offense and character of the criminal, is a wise provision in meting out justice in individual cases, and, by properly guarding it, can be made to keep down race feeling among the convicts and in the public mind that doubtless would arise from an indiscriminate allotment.

There has been some strictures by the Northern press upon the Georgia plan of working convicts in the chain-gang—originating in that pragmatic spirit inherited from "the Pilgrim fathers" that still prompts a considerable element at the North to pry into and interfere with the concerns of other people, especially when the prejudices of their own people can be wrought upon, and political capital made by it. Some of our Georgia newspapers, who watch with "bated breath" every ripple upon the currents of Northern sentiment, have caught up the refrain about

the relics of barbarism in Georgia, and have advocated the abandonment of the chain gang as one of them. The vast rate of increase of crime in our State, the necessity of confining the penitentiary system to a limited number, and its evident failure, as a corrective and preventative of crime among the negro population, makes the continuance of the chain-gang an imperative necessity in the future.

While our State courts have been vigilant and active in enforcing penal law, and have, doubtless, inflicted adequate punishment upon all classes of offenders arraigned before them, yet there is an evident defect in our judiciary system as at present constituted, in not providing a more summary and expeditious process for the trial of the class of penal offenders coming under the grade of felony. It is this class of penal cases that lengthen the dockets, and prolong the sessions of our Superior Courts, consuming the time of our people in jury duty, and swelling the expense in the administration of public justice, until it has become a grievous burden to taxpayers. This class of cases are made up for the most part of the crimes of petit larceny, breach of the peace, malicious mischief, and trespass upon lands, and come under the simplest forms of law, involving no complex or abstruse principles, and their proper investigation and decision resting upon a few simple facts, requires no legal learning or judicial skill in the court exercising jurisdiction.

In the present condition of the country, with a large ignorant and degraded population, under but little moral restraints, and law-abiding only to the extent that they dread the penalty the law inflicts, it becomes highly necessary for the protection of society that better police regulations should be adopted. Criminal jurisdiction should be conferred upon our Justice Courts for all penal offences below the grade of felony, which would make them in fact police courts, so that every militia district in a community could carry out its own police regulations, and not carry those minor offenses into the Superior Courts, where the

prosecution of such cases are necessarily expensive—in the cost of court, jail fees, and in the consumption of valuable time of business men on jury duty.

It has been urged as an objection to giving criminal jurisdiction to Justice Courts, that it would not do to confer upon men unlearned and unskilled in law judicial power to decide upon the delicate and difficult question of personal rights, involved in the trial of even minor criminal cases. This objection has been partially and perhaps sufficiently answered in the statement that such cases come under a simple statute—the simplest form of law—defining in very plain language the act declared to be penal by the Legislature, and prescribing the penalty for its commission. The judicial officer has simply to examine the evidence submitted, and determine whether it is of sufficient weight to establish the guilt of the party arraigned.

If criminal jurisdiction were conferred upon Justice Courts, it would raise somewhat the dignity and importance of the office, and men of higher capacity would be selected to fill it. In every community there are men of good natural ability, intelligence and sound discriminating judgment, giving them sufficient capacity to investigate a case and render a correct decision, where no very difficult law points are involved. Thomas Jefferson once remarked that the Justice Courts of Virginia were the best courts in the world, because they decided every case upon the naked facts, and upon its own merits, without complicating a correct view of the case with a multiplicity of legal principles and conflicting precedents, that often perplex and confuse the best judicial acumen.

The idle and vagrant condition of a large number of colored people in every section of the country, is a prolific source of evil, and should not be tolerated. It is a well recognized fact, that a man at simple or unskilled labor, cannot support himself (much less a family), on an average of one or two days' work out of the week. There should be a rigid and well-defined vagrant act, that will reach those

cases that make work the exception rather than the rule of daily life. Superior Court Judges should be required to urge the law of vagrancy with point and emphasis, in their accustomed charges to grand juries. It has always been difficult to enforce vagrant laws, and they have remained almost a dead letter upon our statute books, but public sentiment should be toned up to the point where it shall demand their enforcement, as necessary to advance the moral as well as material interests of the State.

Adultery and bigamy are pronounced crimes by our penal statutes, yet they are practiced to an extent by the colored race that precludes the idea of virtuous and correct life among them. Our courts rarely take cognizance of such violations of law, owing doubtless to the general prevalence of the crime, the time it would necessarily consume in the trial of such cases, the heavy burden of cost, without perhaps any compensating good in the end. As the negro forms a part of our body politic, if not an element of society, it seems that he should be brought to an observance of the rules of law that are deemed necessary to government of civilized communities. It might be said, by way of extenuation of the *laches* on the part of the courts in not punishing this class of offenses, that they only affect the negro race, and that no direct injury can result to society from its toleration. If it was the interest of society that he should remain in a state of semi-barbarism, and was it not desirable to raise the degraded character of the negro race to a higher standard of morality and general worth, then we might with reason say, let him follow the brutal instincts of his nature. As slaves, they were not considered as an integral part of Southern society, but in state of freedom, with equal rights and privileges accorded them, they, by force of circumstances, become an element of society. The commission of crime on their part is published in the daily press—enters into statistical reports—becomes a part of the history of the State, and reflects in the aggregate upon its civilization.

Man's better nature may be appealed to, and incited to virtuous and praiseworthy endeavors, yet we find in him an element of weakness and depravity that must be operated upon by the fear of punishment, before he makes any real advance towards the goal of a better life. This proposition is very probably true of the negro as well as of the white man, although the mental and moral qualities of the two exist in a marked disproportion. Education and religious instruction may be auxiliaries in improving the state of the negro, if there is an element of good in him, but in his present condition there is no argument more forcible and effective in checking his tendency to evil, than that which appeals to the physical man in the form of legal punishment for the wrong he may do.

EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO.

Upon the subject of educating the negro, in affording him equal advantages and facilities with that of the white race, there is great diversity of opinion among intelligent thinking men at the South. Their views are very probably formed in the main by the supposed effect it would have upon the negro character, the extent it would influence him to change the occupations requiring physical labor to others of less utility to society at large, and the means or agency by which his education may be accomplished. The fact that so large an element of Southern population are in a state of abject ignorance, incapable of exercising intelligent thought upon any subject that may present itself, even in the daily practical concerns of life, to say nothing of the more complex duties of citizenship, which have been thrust upon them without any preparation, are sufficient to direct earnest attention to the deplorable condition of the negro, and to awaken apprehension of its effect upon the interest and well being of the white race.

These are perplexing questions connected with the education of the negro that cannot be satisfactorily solved without patient and gradual experiment. If there was any thing like general education diffused among them, it

might bring a class of influences to bear upon them, that would tend to mar the peace and become hurtful to the interests of both races. It cannot yet be seen what effect it would have in stimulating their pride and aspirations to a recognition of perfect equality with the white race. No claim of this kind will ever be accorded by the whites, no matter what might be the culture and attainments of the negro. We already see the cheap, trashy, catch-penny publications of the Northern newspaper press, such as teach a grievous and leveling doctrine in general, are finding their way to the reading class of negroes, and will very probably furnish their literary pabulum in the future. If the negro should not manifest a stronger identity with the section in which he lives, and continues to follow the advice and teachings of those who are inimical to every interest of the South, then the Southern people would be absolved from obligations of any kind to aid in his enlightenment.

What has been accomplished by the negro in the Northern States since his emancipation there, running back in some of the States that first adopted it (Massachusetts and Pennsylvania) nearly a century, affords us, perhaps, the best illustration of the progress that he is capable of making, under conditions more favorable than are to be found elsewhere. There, ample provision is made under the system of free schools for the education of the negro as well as the white race, and both occupy the same level, not only in educational advantages, but every other means of culture that may be necessary to their moral and intellectual elevation. If we are to form an estimate of the value of education upon the negro race, by what thorough and systematic efforts at the North have accomplished for him there, we fear no very encouraging view can be taken in the cause of education for the Southern negro. The slow progress made by the free blacks at the North, or rather the absence of all improvement in industry, general intelligence and morality, under the most favorable conditions

possible, warrants the opinion that his aspirations and capabilities are of such order as to keep him on a very low plane of civilization.

It is reasonably certain that the negro population at the South, taken as a whole, are likely to remain in a state of poverty and dependence for an indefinite period in the future. His want of thrift, foresight, and an intelligent appreciation of the value of his labor, will cause him to ignore the methods by which property is accumulated, and re-mand him to a state of perpetual poverty. There will, no doubt, be some exceptions, and it cannot be seen of individuals, but it is foreseen of the great mass of this race; and it is for the mass, not for the exception, that the institutions of society are to provide. With this view, warranted by ethnological law, and historical fact, in the case of the negro, is it not better that the character and intellect of the individual should be suited to the station which he is to occupy? So far as the mere laborer has the pride, the knowledge or the aspirations of an intelligent man, he is unfitted for his situation, and must more keenly feel its infelicity. If there are sordid services and laborious offices to be performed, is it not better that there should be sordid, servile and laborious beings to perform them? Would not the interest of society be served, and would not some sort of fitness seem to require that they should be selected for the the inferior and servile offices? And if this race be generally marked by such inferiority, is it not better that they should fill them?

Upon the other hand, we are confronted with the fact that ignorance and crime "go hand in hand," and with the mind and moral faculties uncultivated, the individual has no proper conceptions of right, duty, and the obligations he owes to society, and, following the bent of an evil nature and perverse will, is apt to inflict wrong and violence upon his fellow being. Hence, where the individual is not obedient to law from moral convictions, the State must exercise guard-

ianship over him, in the strict enforcement of law, for the protection of society.

The advocates of a free school system claim for it, as a direct advantage, while it compensates for the money expended by the State in free tuition, the saving of the cost of criminal prosecutions, the additional protection extended to life and property in the diminution of crime, to say nothing of moral benefits resulting to society in a multiplied form. The Southern States, in their present impoverished condition, with enormous public debt hanging over them, are not in a condition to carry on a system of free schools like the rich and prosperous States of the North, however politic and desirable it may otherwise be. If our population were of one race, entirely homogeneous, the common school system would assert its claims with more plausibility and force than it can possibly do under the existing status of things. The impracticability of teaching white and colored children in the same school, and the necessity of providing separate schools for each, necessarily enhances the cost of free schools in the Southern States, and, as a mere question of economy, places the argument against them. Though not germane to our subject, we cannot forego an expression of opinion, that the plan of public schools, as at present conducted in Georgia, limited to three months in the year, with an inadequate fund to maintain them even that length of time, requiring patrons to supplement the pay of teachers, is very unsatisfactory in its workings, and, in its present shape, clearly contravenes the educational interests of the State.

Upon the supposition that the negro is to remain among us, and that he is permanently invested with the right of suffrage by which he wields a power in shaping the legislation of the State, and in the control of civil affairs, it would seem, in that event, the policy of the white race to aid, to some extent, the education of the negro, so far as it may be compatible with the general interests of the State.

As we purpose to discuss briefly the question of colonization, and that of universal suffrage more at length, in the subsequent pages of this paper, we shall not more than incidently allude to it in this connection. We cannot anticipate, with any degree of certainty, the revolutions of public sentiment, or the political action that may control any given subject in the future, but as to the negro remaining among us, undisturbed by a governmental scheme of colonization, or that of voluntary emigration, we believe to be among the very probable events of the future.

In view of all the surroundings, it is the duty as well as interest of the Southern people to make a fair and thorough test of the negro's adaptability to the demands of our industrial system, and in this experiment will be tested his capability for any development and his fitness for a sphere of civilization. There should certainly be no obstacles interposed to prevent or hinder him in a course of self instruction and improvement. This would not only be gross injustice, but opposed by every liberal and intelligent sentiment that actuates a generous and humane people.

The present adult negro population cannot be brought under any system of mental improvement, from the fact that they are dependent upon their daily labor for means of subsistence, nor could they be spared from the various fields of labor in which they are employed. It is doubtless the duty of the white people to encourage, to some extent, the education of the negro children that are growing up in the country. If farmers or neighborhoods would donate sites for colored school houses, and manifest an interest in getting up schools for the freedmen, to be kept up even for two or three months in the year, it would enable their children to obtain the rudiments of an education, and with any faculty for self improvement, would enable them to make such further attainments as their ambition or capacity might lead to; such action on the part of land owners would inure to their own benefit in securing labor

for the cultivation of their farms, and render it more efficient and permanent by attaching the freedman to localities that afford such facilities.

THE NEGRO AS A LABORER.

Whatever may be said of the nature, habits of life and order of intelligence that is presented in the history of the negro race, in his native land, or in those countries where he has existed in the two conditions of slavery and freedom—the most practical and important question that can present itself to the Southern people is: Can he be made serviceable in his present relation, and an efficient co-worker in promoting the material interests of the South? While the negro race, in all the British provinces where slavery formerly existed have declined in an industrial and moral point of view, and may be drifting slowly back to savage life, it would not be a fair and just conclusion to say that under more favorable circumstances he might not render valuable service in promoting the industrial interests of the country in which he exists as a freedman. The negroes of the South present rather a favorable contrast, at the present time, to the West India negroes at the time of their liberation. The negroes in those islands were in a state of semi barbarism when they were freed. The landed proprietors there were generally men of vast wealth, owned large estates and counted their slaves by the hundred, which were kept under military rule, never allowed the privileges of Southern slaves in visiting among themselves or coming in constant contact with white men. No missionary efforts for their religious instruction were directed in their behalf, and being placed under such unfavorable opportunities for any improvement, were not elevated so much above their primitive state as the Southern negro.

In all those countries, with the exception of the United States, where the negro has passed from a state of slavery to that of freedom, we find them to be tropical countries—furnishing to the inhabitants food without labor, in the abundant resources of vegetable and animal life. In those

countries he has been left to himself for the most part, without the example and influence of the white man, and without wise and wholesome laws to restrain his vicious propensities, to compel him to work, and secure to him the fruits of his labor. The climate of all tropical countries, too, has an enervating and depressing effect upon the physical man—relaxing his energies of mind and body. Hence we find all races of men there, whatever may be the stimulus to industry and exertion, relapsing into a state of indolence and inaction, that confines labor and the field of industrial enterprise to the bare acquisition of the prime necessities of life.

In all the South American States, with the exception of Brazil, where slavery still exists with a monarchical government, there has been but little progress in the elements of civilization since the overthrow of Spanish rule, fifty years ago. These petty republics are a burlesque upon free government, given over to a state of chronic revolution, and present no very favorable contrast in growth and material development to their neighboring negro communities of the West India Islands.

But it may be asked: Why has the negro not done more for himself, established a better character as a laborer, and arisen in the scale of private and public worth at the North, where climate, educational advantages, public law and political institutions gave him a fair field for development? It cannot be denied that there is a great discount upon the negro as a laborer there, that he has long since been driven out as a competitor in the field of active labor—is rarely found in the agricultural, manufacturing or mining interest of that busy section, but in the more menial occupations, as porter, stevedore, hotel-waiter and boot-black, where the labor performed is menial and low, and the compensation does not invite active competition. While this is true, and forms a strong argument against the worth of the negro as a laborer, it should be viewed in its proper light, and the necessary allowance made to the credit of the negro. There

more than at the South, the race feeling has operated to the disadvantage of the negro. Men in need of labor would give the white laborer preference, owing to the predilections of race, though the negro might perform the task as well. The industrial system of the North is carried on by day labor, or by contract for a short term of service. The white man, in his physical organization, is endowed with more activity and nervous energy, and performs his allotted task quicker than the negro. Hence, as a day-laborer, is preferable, and will always supercede the negro in that kind of service.

The negro, too, has keenly felt the prejudice of race at the North by the refusal of the white laborer to work side by side with him in the field or workshop, and has often been driven out by threats and violence, until, by force of circumstances, he has been compelled to withdraw from the field of competitive labor with the white man.

In the Southern States the four and a half millions of negroes are scattered over an area of five hundred thousand square miles, living upon the lands of an intelligent and enterprising white race, who will bring to bear every encouragement to voluntary labor, and if need be, legislative action will be invoked, to render him an active and profitable worker in that department of labor where he is wanted, and for which he is fitted by nature. The experiment with free labor at the South since the emancipation of the slave, while it has not been very satisfactory, yet, under the management of those who have any capacity for controlling free labor, has proven far more efficient and valuable than was to be hoped for when the experiment was first essayed. Much might be said by way of apology for remissness or failure of the negro to meet the demands of Southern industry.

He was, by a stern and arbitrary edict that consulted neither his interest or that of his master, forced from the patriarchal institution of slavery that provided for his physical needs, and relieved him from all care, into a state of freedom, without any appreciation of the value of labor, or

any preparation for the duties and responsibilities that rest upon free people. Northern emissaries, under the guise of friendship for the negro, and in the interest of a corrupt political faction, sought him out, and filled his weak and credulous mind with agrarian stories that made the corn and cotton field less attractive, in view of the more tempting and easily won prizes just ahead.

If we should examine the question of free negro labor in the light of actual results—ascertain to what extent he has contributed, annually, for the last ten years to the sum of production, and his direct agency in upholding the industry of the South, we would, doubtless, see a more liberal and just estimate placed upon his worth as a laborer, and less talk of ridding the South of the negro and filling his place with European and Northern labor. It is, doubtless, the concurrent opinion of a large majority of Southern farmers that there has been a gradual and steady improvement in the quality of colored labor each succeeding year since emancipation. This improvement, too, in the character of his labor has been in the face of difficulties and discouragement that the proprietors of the soil have, in a large measure, been responsible for. The impolitic course pursued by a majority of planters, in neglecting provision crops and stimulating the production of cotton beyond the healthy and legitimate demands of the trade, so as to bring the price of her raw material below the cost of production, has made labor unremunerative, and taken away its strongest incentive. Under such discouragements we have seen the white man become restive and unsettled—sometimes abandoning his vocation as a tiller of the soil, and seeking other classes of business more promising of satisfactory results—while the negro, sharing largely in the losses occasioned by an unwise direction of his labor, returning each successive year with steady and unflinching purpose of his task. The cotton product, taken in the aggregate for the last five years, exceeds that of any five years during the period of slavery. This large and in-

creased yield of the great staple of the South has not only gone beyond the calculations of the planting interest ten years ago, but has greatly surprised the best economists of the day, who carefully examine every factor that enters into the present and future condition of trade and finance, or that has a bearing upon the general production of all classes of industries. While it is true that the increased amount of cotton raised during the last five years is not to be claimed as the sole product of negro labor, that better systems of culture of the soil, and the use of fertilizers, has contributed to it largely, yet it proves that we have labor sufficient, both as to quality and amount, if more wisely and properly directed, to build up the South, and, in the course of time, make it rich and prosperous again.

The increase of production in cotton is accounted for by many in depreciation of negro labor, in asserting that the laboring force in the cotton field has been largely augmented by the increased number of white people who labor in the farm since the war. While we are free to admit that numbers of our people who were raised in wealth, and unused to toil, have, with commendable spirit, joined the productive force of the country, we cannot but claim, in the light of actual facts, that the negro constitutes the chief element in the laboring force of the country. Our young men raised in the country have flocked to the towns to engage in pursuits more congenial to their taste, and more in accordance with the mistaken notions of gentility, and the number of mercantile houses in almost every town has doubled since the close of the war, while numbers of small farmers, who owned no slaves before the war, are now working the negro in their employ, and give their time more in superintending than in actual work. One of the chief causes of dissatisfaction with the labor of the freedmen is attributable to the fact that our people were long habituated to the control of slave labor, and inexperienced in that of free labor. In our management of the negro, as a slave, we were accustomed to exacting an implicit obedi-

once to our commands, and if the task assigned was not performed, the master had the right to administer such correction as he thought proper. The force of habit in controlling the negro, as a slave, made it difficult to adjust our thought and feeling to the altered condition of things. Hence we find that the older class of Southern farmers have found more trouble, and been less successful in conducting their farming operations, than younger men, who have adapted themselves with more ease to a change in the labor system of the South.

We doubt not that there exists a better understanding and a more amicable relation between the white proprietor and negro laborer at the South than there is to be found in the same relation of capital and labor at the North, or any European country. The Northern farmer will tell you that he experiences much anxiety and frequent loss on account of the unreliability of the white laborer that he has to deal with. Farm laborers at the North, while they have not organized themselves into labor unions as the mechanics, miners and other trades, have, at the same time, imbibed the spirit that pervades these organizations, and are restless, uncertain and exacting in their demands. The poor man and laborer at the North receiving a free education in the public schools, is, to some extent, an intelligent thinking man, and reads the newspaper, by which his mind is brought in contact with a thousand exciting influences, and these tend to distract him, and prevents him from sticking to steady employment. The boundless extent of new country and cheap lands opening to settlement in the great West, holds out its attractions to him that unsettles his local attachments, hence he is here to-day and there to-morrow, ever shifting and moving in the direction of the great El Dorado of the West.

Repeated experiments have been made by Southern planters with emigrant labor, within the last few years, which have been almost uniformly unsatisfactory, and in some instances attended with considerable loss, in money

advanced to pay the passage from Europe, and for clothing and supplies, before the laborer had earned anything. The European laborer that may be brought here is, from his training and habits, unsuited to the requirements of Southern agriculture. He is willing to contract only for a short term of service, and must have intervals of holiday, with his accustomed diversions, before setting into work again. This kind of labor may suit the North, or the grain and hay producing States of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, but will be found almost worthless in the cotton region—requiring steady and constant labor the year round. The emigrant that may come as a laborer is not content to occupy the cheap houses and eat the plain food that satisfies the negro, but more costly houses must be erected for his precarious occupancy, and a variety of food cooked to his liking, and served with sugar and coffee, before he is willing to enter the field, and then kind words and some deference to him are necessary to keep him there.

While the industrial interest of the South would not be subserved by introducing foreign emigrant labor, there are good reasons for the opinion, that the effect upon our social and political institutions would not be salutary or beneficial. The class that has already come, and would likely come in the future, as to the moral status and general worth of character, are of the lowest order, are generally infidels in religion, and partaking largely of the Communistic spirit that pervades the lower classes in Europe, would, in the course of time, form here an element of turbulence and agitation, that would prove an unmitigated curse to the country.

Many persons, in considering the causes that have operated against the material interest of the South since the late war, have, from a superficial and somewhat prejudiced view, attributed them to the character of our labor, whilst a more careful examination would show that it has had but a secondary and partial effect. It is a fact generally conceded, that land owners have exercised a controlling in-

fluence in the division, or as we say in farmers' parlance, "pitching the crop," and for the most part have their views carried out in the method of culture and in general plantation economy. And we doubt not that most farmers, from experience and observation, are convinced that all field crops, where proper interest and attention are manifested by the employer, are cultivated as well and gathered as promptly as was done by slave labor. If this be the case, we must look to other causes than that of inefficiency of the present laboring force, for any failure on the part of the farming interest, in contributing its due share towards restoring the industrial prosperity of the South.

The question here involved is one of vital importance to the Southern people, and though its discussion may appear to involve a class of facts not germane to the subject of negro labor, yet they have a connection and bearing that must be considered in forming any intelligent and correct opinion on the industrial situation of the South.

The subject of labor has been but little studied and but partially understood by our people, as a question of political economy. This, we think, has not been owing to any indisposition to investigate it as a practical or economic question, but attributable rather to the fact, that those who formerly controlled the labor of the South had a proprietary interest in it—were entitled to all the profits arising from its employment, after furnishing the laborer with food and clothing. Hence, there being no division of profits arising from the employment of labor, the land-owner looked to other causes for the increase or curtailment of wealth, such as the state of the seasons, the degree of fertility of his lands, the price of cotton, etc. But since a system of free labor has obtained, and the margin of profits narrowed down by a remuneration for the labor expended, it behooves us to study the question of labor in its economical aspects, if we expect to succeed in any department we may employ it. The great blunder on the part of the land-holder at the South in the past, was a failure to rec-

ognize his lands as capital. His aim and effort was to increase his labor at the expense of his landed interest—a plan that ignored all improvements of the soil, and tended rapidly to waste and exhaustion. Hence we find a large per cent. of the cultivated lands at the South impoverished to a degree that barely pays for the labor expended—attributable solely to the injudicious direction of labor.

It was hoped that the great revolution that has swept over our country, subverting our system of labor, and producing such marked changes in our social and political relations, would have brought about a corresponding change in our industrial system, but we fear that a repetition of the impolicy and errors of the past are likely to impede our progress for years to come.

It has been said by an eminent writer on political economy, that labor is the only source of wealth. The more carefully we examine the proposition, the more thoroughly we are convinced of its force and soundness. Labor is the agency that not only supplies the immediate and pressing wants of mankind in food, clothing and the comforts of life, but, when properly directed, is continually creating new values in excess of consumption, that go to augment the wealth of communities and nations. How important that this great productive force we call labor, should not only be active and efficient, but controlled by intelligence and skill, that will enable us to achieve the highest and best results.

In viewing the industrial history of the South, we find that while she had an active and well organized system of labor, she created by it but little permanent wealth, and continued as a mere tributary and feeder to outside capital. It has been said that the kind and quality of labor—that obtained under the old *regime* was, *per se*, mainly instrumental in shaping the industrial policy of the past, and that no better results could have been obtained by any change in its application or direction. Had the Southern people directed even a modicum of their surplus capital and

labor to the manufacturing interest in its different branches for the last quarter of a century preceding the war, there would have been a diffusion of capital, not of an ephemeral nature, to be swept away by emancipation proclamations, but which would have remained as permanent and un-failing sources of wealth to the South. At present, we find in our towns and cities nearly all the capital and enterprise confined to mercantile pursuits—overcrowded in every branch by a competition that produces a plethora of stock, and a consequent diminution of profits that must result unfortunately to this large class of our business men.

Mercantile pursuits, while they are highly advantageous and indispensable in affecting an exchange of commodities, yet contribute but little, in comparison with agricultural and manufacturing interests, in building up and enriching a people.

The profits on the former are made up from the surrounding country, and amount merely to an exchange, while the latter create new and permanent values that add to the wealth of a State. We will state, in this connection, that we allude to manufactures incidentally, it not being our purpose to present any facts or statistics to show their utility in an industrial point of view, but to notice more especially the necessity for division of labor upon the farm.

It would be no difficult task to show that the South had gained very little in material prosperity for the last twenty years preceding the war. There was, it is true, a vast amount of values created in the production of cotton, sugar, rice, etc., but the former (her chief staple) being pretty much all exported in the raw state, the South thereby lost a large per cent. upon the real value of its product, while the annual returns from its sale went for supplies that were manufactured, or furnished from beyond the limits of our section. But the magnitude of the error consisted in stimulating the production of cotton in excess of the legitimate demands of the trade, paying no attention whatever to the economic law of supply and demand, until her vast system

of labor was employed in a way that brought but little remuneration or profit to increase her capital. It is true that the excessive supply of cotton was annually consumed by converting a considerable portion into the coarser fabrics and articles, besides clothing, that should have been manufactured of hemp (the cost of production being much less); but cotton, on account of the liberal supply, became cheaper than hemp, and substituted this material, while the cost of production was at least thirty-three per cent. more than the latter. Under such a system the South was fast reaching a point where all progress would have been checked, and began the retrograde movement. The present impoverished condition of the soil, the absence of all branches of manufacturing interest, and capital generally, are convincing proofs of its impolicy.

There is no greater error in political economy than to concentrate all the labor of a country, in a measure, upon a single product, or upon a single branch of industry. This has certainly been strongly exemplified before the Southern people in the results of the last six years farming operations, and is still more forcibly illustrated in the comparative results of farm industry in the Northern and Southern States. We will take for the illustration of the latter proposition the farm statistics presented by the census reports of 1860, as the Southern States did not have their industries and wealth disturbed and devastated at that date, as has since been done by war. The cotton crop of Georgia, for example, in 1860 was 701,840 bales, yielding little more than \$30,000,000, while the butter of New York, one of the several products of the dairy, was estimated at \$60,000,000; and yet the census gives to New York 370,914 farm laborers, and to Georgia, including white farm laborers, and the males of the slave, 316,478 persons engaged in agriculture. Besides the other dairy products, the principal crops—corn, wheat, potatoes and oats—(not counting the minor cereal products of gardens and orchards, or miscellaneous products,) the currency value of the agricultural

productions of the single State of New York was eight times greater than that of Georgia, with about the same amount of labor, and more than the money returns of any cotton crop ever produced in the Southern States.

And to carry the illustration farther, we will take another Southern State, (instead of the State of New York,) where both States have suffered alike in the loss of capital, represented by slave property, and have had their labor system subverted by the emancipation of the slave. We take the last census report (1870,) and will premise the statement of the statistical data, by saying that Kentucky (the State we have selected for comparison with that of Georgia) has carried on a mixed husbandry, embracing as crops—corn, the smaller cereals, hay, hemp, etc., the latter as a market crop exclusively, and selling each year any surplus of the other farm products mentioned. Her system of farming includes the rearing of horses, mules, cattle and hogs, which form the chief item of her exchangeable products, and constitutes the main feature in her industrial system. For the sake of brevity, we use the tabular form:

The census for 1870 gives the number:

Farm laborers in Georgia.....	335,487
“ “ “ Kentucky.....	257,588
No. of acres in farms in Georgia....	23,647,941
“ “ “ “ Kentucky.....	18,650,106
Value of farm products in Georgia.....	\$80,390,228
“ “ “ “ Kentucky.....	\$87,477,374
Aggregate value of farms in Georgia.....	\$91,559,468
“ “ “ “ Kentucky.....	\$311,238,916
Live stock in money value in Georgia.....	\$20,156,317
“ “ “ “ Kentucky.....	\$66,287,343
Average size of farms in Georgia (acres)....	338
“ “ “ “ Kentucky “.....	158

From this brief statistical view, we see the vast disproportion between the employment of labor so as to diversify the products of the farm, against the concentration of it upon one grand division of productive industry. However profitable the rearing of any given product may be at a time, it can only remain so as long as the supply comes within the limits

of a healthy demand. Governed by this principle, the planter should study the cotton interest in its economic aspects; not only should he estimate the cost of production, but ascertain from the best sources of information, the present and prospective supply at home and abroad, and the commercial and monetary situation in its bearing upon the cotton trade, with the view of settling in his own mind the amount of profits likely to accrue from the effort expended. Improved methods of culture and the judicious use of fertilizers are objective points in the farmer's plans, but should be made to subserve the important end of limiting the cost rather than increasing the amount of production.

There are those that figure in our agricultural conventions, who tell us that increased production is the policy, and by that means we shall break down the cotton interest in other countries, and enjoy the monopoly we had before the war. Such men are false guides, and show their ignorance of facts that are too obvious to be controverted. The pressure of the cotton famine brought to bear upon the manufacturing interest of England during our late war, has aroused her to the importance of developing cotton production in her East India provinces, so as not to jeopardize her home interest by a like contingency again. We have before us statistics prepared by the Secretary of the Manchester Supply Association, showing the increased production of India cotton in the last fifteen years. In 1860 the sum paid to India was \$17,500,000; in 1864, before the close of the American war, it had increased to \$190,000,000, and though the average annual amount remitted from England for cotton during the last ten years has fallen off, it still amounts to \$150,000,000. We ascertain from these figures, that England is now consuming about three times as much India cotton as she did in 1860, notwithstanding the South has, by neglecting food crops, stimulated her cotton supply to her full capacity. Cotton culture is every year receiving increased

attention in Egypt, Turkey, Brazil and other countries, which a few years ago were scarcely thought of as sources of supply.

These facts should be pondered by the Southern farmer, as they serve to show very clearly the changes that have been produced within the last fifteen years, and indicate no less clearly the course he should pursue. The straitened condition of our people after the sale of our four million bales of cotton, in an average of the last four years, show us the folly of concentrating all labor and effort on this single product. The climate, soil and products of Georgia give her people advantages for mixed husbandry that no other section or country surpasses. Let us not longer neglect or abuse these advantages by continuing the errors of the past, but appropriate them by a better system of agricultural development—one that will not make other people the beneficiaries of our toil, but secure to ourselves the fruits of a well directed industry.

We are essentially an agricultural people, and we must look to this great interest as the basis upon which to build up the permanent welfare of our country. To do this we must use all the means which experience, aided by science, has placed at our disposal. The sun, in his daily circuit, shines upon no country that possesses greater advantages than the belt included within the 30th and 35th parallels of latitude, embracing Georgia and the States lying directly west, to the Rio Grande. Though this country has been torn and blasted by war, and sustained losses in property, in an amount unparalleled in modern times, yet we have resources, if developed by a wise policy, that would in a few years transform our impoverished and depressed land into one blooming with plenty, prosperity and gladness. If by concert of action among the planting interest, the production of cotton was limited to two and a half millions of bales per year, (England must have and will have that amount

of American cotton at any price,) and Southern farmers would turn the surplus of labor and capital in excess of what is necessary to produce that amount to the improvement of lands, and to the wise economy of a mixed husbandry, they would become in the next quarter of a century the richest agricultural people on the globe. This desideratum is not likely to be obtained, and it may be considered chimerical to expend thought upon it, yet if our agricultural conventions, aided by the public press, should continue to agitate this line of agricultural policy, and impress it constantly upon the minds of the people, much might be done towards its accomplishment.

Our labor system, though not properly organized, and not as available and efficient as it might be, yet the negro is undoubtedly better fitted by his long training, his mental habitudes, his physical configuration and his adaptability to all the diversities of our climate, to make a more efficient laborer than any other. Our object should be to develop to the utmost his capacity as a laborer. To do this, time is requisite. He must be trained, adjusted and adapted to the new order of things, as well as the former master. We must exercise towards him great forbearance, with firmness, kindness and candor; respect him for the deference shown to us, and cultivate feelings of interest and attachment, in all the proper relations that we may sustain to him. But to create and maintain this desirable relation, the white man must act towards them with strict reference to their race peculiarities. He must treat them as inferiors, not as equals, as they are not satisfied with equality, and will despise the white man, and have a feeling of contempt for him who attempts to raise one or more of them to an equality with himself. There is no individuality in the character of the negro, no inherent resources, no power of self-direction and self-help and consequently he needs government in everything.

He must be kindly taken under the patronage and protection of the white man, who can organize and plan, and

with the necessary oversight, leave the task to the negro, who is endowed by nature with the physical power for its execution. We must identify him in thought, feeling and interest with the white people of the South, by arguments that appeal to his senses and give him convincing proof of our concern in his behalf. We must make him feel that his interest is indissolubly bound up with ours; that high prices for our produce insures him a high price for his labor, and that any unfortuitous circumstances, whether resulting from natural causes or the evils of bad government, which rest upon the white people of the South, fall with equal force upon him. We must disabuse the mind of the negro of any belief that he will ever be in danger of re-enslavement, as this has been a source of painful anxiety to many of them, and very probably has a great deal to do in forming their party affiliations and in the direction of their votes. We should convince them that we have no animosity towards them, but, on the other hand, have the kindest feeling, engendered by early associations, and old memories. As rights of person and property are guaranteed by organic law, and conceded by all our people, we should respect them as sacredly as we do the rights of our white friend and neighbor. We should be scrupulously just in all our transactions with him, as it is our interest as well as our duty to do so. To practice a fraud or swindle upon them, creates a mistrust of the white race, encourages them to acts of theft, and demoralizes their labor by taking away the just reward for service rendered—the strongest incentive to labor. In a word, convince him that we are his best if not his only friends, and when we shall have done this, we shall not only have placed our labor on a sound footing, and have in the negro population the most valuable peasantry in the world, but we have gained in the laborer, an ally that may be relied on in the sterner exigencies, as well as in the more peaceful pursuits of life.

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS.

The late amendments to the Federal Constitution, fixing

the political status of the negro in the Southern States, in vesting him with the rights and privileges of an American citizen, was brought about by no direct agency upon the part of the negro, but grew out of the animosities engendered by the war, and the settled purpose of the dominant party to secure a permanent hold upon the administration of public affairs in the United States. They saw that the war feeling at the North would soon subside and give place to more amicable relations between the people of the sections, and hence a two-fold purpose would be accomplished by placing the ballot in the hands of the negro at once, to-wit: the humiliation of Southern pride, and the bringing in of the negro as a political ally, whose support they might safely depend on in the future in their efforts to maintain political supremacy.

The political history of no enlightened government in modern times has been marked with such utter disregard of just and rational principle, and the prostitution of the power and functions of government to the base purposes of malignity and revenge, as was so clearly evinced in the attempt of the Radical party to adjust the disturbed relations of the two parties in the late unfortunate conflict. To dwell upon the scenes of the fraud, falsehood and political knavery which conceived and brought forth the reconstruction measures, and the arbitrary and oppressive manner in which they were carried out—by giving loose reign to military satraps, are too familiar and painfully impressed upon the Southern mind for rehearsal.

The giving of the ballot to the Southern negro resulted, in less than three years after it was done, in the accumulation of more than one hundred millions of Southern State liability beyond what an honest administration of these State governments should have cost in that time. This vast sum of public liabilities, incurred mainly in schemes of fraud and plunder—resting upon States already devastated and ruined by war—if its payment was guaranteed, would tax the energies and resources of their people for genera-

tions to come. It is not our purpose to discuss the validity of the public debt imposed under Radical rule, the ability of the Southern people to meet it, or the policy of repudiating such obligations, but we simply refer to them as a pregnant illustration of the evils of universal suffrage at the South.

While the negro has been the instrument in the hands of corrupt and unprincipled adventurers from the North of inflicting an enormous load of public debt upon the Southern State governments, he cannot, in any sense, be held responsible for the evil he has wrought. The carpet-bagger, who has manipulated the negro in his own interest and to his liking, brought the powerful incentives to bear upon the weak and credulous mind of the colored voter—the one an appeal to his fears in the false assertion that the former master would seek to re-enslave him, and that his only way of escape from the clutches of slavery was in giving political support to his new friend—the carpet-bagger—and keeping him in permanent control of the State governments. The other incentive was brought to bear upon the negroe's cupidity, in holding out to him, a division of Southern property, and that the negroe's share for faithful allegiance to the Radical party would be "forty acres and a mule," to set him up in life, and place him in an independent relation to the Southern whites. Under such appeals to his fears and cupidity, we saw the negro so perfectly drilled and so thoroughly organized as to become a mere automaton in the hands of a few miscreants, who sought, through such agency, political stations for the pelf and plunder that might be secured in the corrupt administration of public office. In the quiet submission to the miserable carpet-bag rule, the Southern people have exhibited a spirit of forbearance, and degree of fortitude under its infliction, that becomes difficult to reconcile with the proud, chivalric spirit that has always characterized them. It was not the fear of Federal bayonets, or the power that wielded them, but due to that spirit of conser-

vatism—love of law and order—that has been a traditional and firmly fixed trait in the Southern character.

The brief political history of the negro at the South has brought out two important facts that may be useful in the future in solving the political problem that presents itself in connection with this race. One of these facts is, that he has no affinity for the white race in politics, as well as in social life and religion, and as soon as all extraneous force is removed, he will become isolated, and independent, as far as he can, of the control and contact of the white man. The other important fact disclosed by his brief political career is, that he, though possessed of a clanish spirit in a high degree, is incapable of organization, and if left to himself, without the leadership and drilling tact of the white man, must, irrespective of numerical power, yield political control to the superior race.

We are not of that number who believe that the evil day had past, and our political troubles ended, upon an overthrow of the Radical party in Georgia. Its hold upon our State Government was seen at its accession to power, to be temporary and short-lived, could only be propped up by external force, such as given to it by Federal bayonets, and with the removal of the latter, their bogus government, or rather, base usurpation of power, would crumble to pieces of its own weakness and rottenness, and that legitimate power would be remanded to those who would rightfully rule in the interest of peace, order and enlightened government. If universal suffrage is to be permanently engrafted upon our political institutions and become the settled policy of the country, we would prefer seeing parties divide in the color line, as a choice of evils between the negro as forming an organized Radical party, and that of the negro as a great mass of floating voters. There are those who believe that, with the disruption of the Radical party, and its complete dismemberment, as has been the case in Georgia, Tennessee and Virginia, that parties in the future in these States, and

others that may establish complete Democratic ascendancy, will be divided on questions of public policy, solely, and that political contests in the future will be between parties equally honest and patriotic, and that it will be of little consequence which party for the time may administer our State governments. This assumption was applicable to the status of parties as they existed previous to the adoption of the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution, but in view of the fact that the voting privilege has been conferred by this provision of the Constitution, upon an ignorant and degraded class of our population, nearly equaling in many States that of the whites, and in a few States outnumbering it, dispels such an assumption as unworthy of serious argument.

We cannot forecast political events that belong to the future, nor anticipate with certainty the issues that may divide the people of Georgia in the near future. But while it is reasonable to assume that the Democratic party of Georgia will maintain its integrity, so far as Federal politics may be concerned, at least as long as the Radical party forms one of the great national parties, yet as to State politics and the issues that will come before the people of Georgia, it is equally probable that they will divide, and that opposing parties will exist in our State. It may be that the rights of property in some form may be assailed, the public school question become an issue, or any other question upon which the people may divide with the more conservative, patriotic and better class of citizens forming one party, and a class wanting in private worth and public virtue forming the opposing party. In such an event it could not be foreseen which party would prevail and what would be the result, where a great mass of floating voters of a different race held the balance of power.

It has been asserted by some, who have endeavored to forecast the probable drift of the negro in politics, that he will soon settle down into a state of indifference as to voting, and remain as a mere cypher in the body politic.

This would be very probably true in the absence of all incentive to vote, and if left entirely to his own volition in the matter. Under a free government like ours, where the avenues to office are opened to every citizen, and official positions, high and low, are eagerly sought after, and since the morale of politics has been greatly lowered by various agencies at work since the war, it cannot be but reasonable to suppose that the negro will be drawn out at future elections by opposing candidates, and that the colored vote will be the balance of power between those who desire honest, faithful administration of public law, and the mere trading politician who seeks office for selfish and corrupt purposes.

The power and purposes of venal office-seekers for mischief, have been curtailed and kept under by the severe discipline of the Democratic party for the last four years—a discipline rendered necessary by the existence of the Radical party, and the fear, it not the danger, of its obtaining control again of county and State offices; while now, having ceased to excite the fear of again acceding to power, will relax the force of organization in the Democratic party of Georgia, and make the civil offices of the State an easy prey to the mere place-hunter.

While there can be no well-grounded fear of the political action of the negro as an organized party, in any of those States where the Radical party has been displaced, or that our political institutions will receive an direct injury in controlling the floating negro vote, yet the immediate danger lies in the temptations it presents to white office-seekers, and the corrupting influences it will inevitably wield upon our elections. There are to be found at all times and places, unscrupulous men passing in the guise of respectability, who are in quest of office, not from the prompting of honor and patriotism, but from the desire of place and greed of gain, who will rally the negro, obtain his vote by appeals to his cupidity, and low-born pride, and secure their election to places of public trust,

in which the incumbent will be a degradation to the office, and a counterfeit upon the authority that belongs to it. Human nature is the same everywhere. It has too often been the practice of men in political life under free governments to avail themselves of every means to forward schemes of interest and ambition, when favorable opportunities presented themselves. Certainly no age or country, with free institutions, has presented a broader or more inviting field for the successful practice of the arts of political trickery, and official knavery, than is now offered in the Southern States, with universal suffrage. In the State of Georgia, for instance, we have 80,000 negro voters—nearly one-half the voting population of the State—who are not only ignorant and degraded, but dependent upon their daily exertions for the means of living. Is it reasonable to suppose that a person, who would polish a gentleman's boots, go on an errand, or any other menial service for a dime, would not in like manner dispose of his vote for a very trifling consideration? This element in our political society must be regarded in the future as floating voters, since their Radical drill-masters have abandoned their vocation of marching them to the polls in the carpet-bag or scalawag interest, and will hereafter be found at the political shambles, to be bought up by men who expect to make tax-payers reimburse the bill of expenses.

It is a well known fact that a large per cent. of white voters, who are not indifferent to filling the civil offices of the State with honest and capable incumbents, yet cannot be induced to take an active working interest in defeating unworthy aspirants.

One of the greatest evils connected with American politics at the present time, is the enormous increase of county and municipal indebtedness, occurring through the political legerdemain of small-beer politicians. What will it become, we might ask, when the ignorant negro, freed from carpet-bag rule, becomes a great mass of floating voters—standing upon every street corner, waiting for the

pabulum which men in quest of office have in store for him? We have already seen outcroppings of this evil in recent county and municipal elections in various sections of the State, which give earnest of what it will become at no distant day, despite the remonstrance and persistent efforts of the more decent and patriotic portion of her citizens. The disgusting scenes that would be enacted at every recurring election around the negro in treating, "honey-fuggling" and elbowing him to the polls, would be demoralizing, and leveling in the extreme, and soon bring us on a par with the mongrel, semi-civilized states of Mexico and South America.

In the State of Georgia, before the late war, it is well known to those familiar with the history of party politics, that there was a very small per cent. (not exceeding a few thousand) of what is known as floating voters in the State. Yet this class of voters held the balance of power between the two great parties of the country. The one that manifested the more zeal and active efforts, generally succeeded in winning the victory at the polls. The distinction of property and general impoverishment of our people by the war, with the leveling influences consequent upon it, has doubtless trebled the floating vote in the ranks of the white voters of Georgia. If such estimate be correct, we are confronted to-day with the stubborn fact that more than one-half of the present voting population of the State are in a condition to be controlled by sinister means, and that honest, faithful administration of public law is by no means assured in the future.

Ignorance and poverty, two conditions of life most unfavorable to the existence or growth of patriotism, would, in the case of the negro, work a greater disqualification for the exercise of the act of suffrage than among the whites in similar conditions. Among the latter there would exist, to some extent, a community of feeling and purpose, if not of direct interest, with that of the intelligent property-holding class, which would tend naturally to give their power at the ballot-box a conservative direction.

The ignorant white voter, if not utterly degraded and devoid of patriotic feeling, will generally seek for light and guidance from those who are competent to instruct him in the matter of voting. The ignorant negro vote, on the other hand, where he may have any convictions that will control his vote, are generally made up of prejudice and race feeling that negatives the ordinary influence that the better class of white people have over him, when it comes to the matter of voting. This feeling of mistrust and utter want of confidence on the part of the negro, which shuts him out from all correct sources of information, springs from the social distinctions that exist between the races, and will rather increase than diminish in the future. The former master, or present employer, whose judgment, integrity and disinterested friendship he may confide in, and be influenced by, in all matters of ordinary interest, ceases to operate at once when the domain of politics is reached. The dirty scalawag, utterly bankrupt in character, whose moral obliquities may be so apparent as to forfeit the respect of the average negro, can, by intercourse, in which social equality is recognized, get the entire confidence of the negro, and command his following.

One serious hinderance to a proper control of the negro vote, and directing it so as not to interfere with the interest of good government, is the clanish spirit that prevails among them. It has been, doubtless, noticed in every community where there is a large negro population, that a few clever, well-meaning negroes have honestly sided with the Democratic party, and, when voting, would support the candidates of that party. For exercising this freedom of opinion in voting, they have been uniformly prescribed—placed under the ban of the colored race, and often become the victims of infuriated and brutal vengeance. Having no intelligence to guide them, and so easily leagued together by the clanish spirit that pervades all the inferior races, they yield at once to the leadership of one of their race, who may possess the vanity or ambition to assume the role of

leader, and become, in his hands, mere puppets, to be moved at his will. This fact of itself makes the ballot in the hands of the negro an instrument far more potent for evil than if he stood in an isolated and independent relation. Their would-be party leaders are almost invariably of a low order of character, have but little regard for the well-being even of their own race, and when not wanting office themselves, are in the market for any price that may be set upon the performance of dirty work. Hence the task of controlling the negro vote of a county, or city by cliques and independent candidates that are obnoxious to its better class of citizens, becomes less expensive and far more easily accomplished than it would be in manipulating the negro vote in detail. This line of argument need not be pursued at length, as the thoughtful reader must readily perceive, that through the instrumentality of the negro vote nearly one-half the county and municipal offices in the State of Georgia is within the reach of designing men, who know their opportunity, and will not be slow in turning it to account.

The power wielded by the negro voter in our elections, under the most favorable circumstances that could possibly surround him, would be only negative, as he is utterly incapable of exercising the right of suffrage intelligibly, as the unreasoning animal, that he may ride along the high way, or follow behind the plow. He cannot have the remotest conception of any question of public policy, or the issues between parties, and just as incapable of forming any correct opinion of the fitness and qualifications of opposing candidates for office. Nine-tenths of them, in returning from an election, cannot tell what office their candidate was offering for, and may frequently not even know the name of the man they supported.

Universal suffrage, viewed from any standpoint, can only be regarded as a positive evil at the South, whether measured by its results in the past or the better fruits it will bear in the future. Its existence awakens constant anxiety

and apprehension in the public mind, weakening its faith in the value of our political institutions, and repressing the energies and activities of a people capable of the highest attainments in human life. It will, most assuredly, prevent the influx of immigration and capital, so necessary to build up our section by withholding from these agents of progress the guarantees of peaceable, stable government, which they demand as a condition precedent to their coming. In the present condition of the great mass of Southern negroes, it cannot be of any benefit to them, but, on the contrary, operate to their serious detriment. If the negro, as well as the white race, are interested in wholesome public law, and its honest, faithful administration, then, so far as he may hinder it, by wrong and misguided exercise of the right to vote, he is to that extent wielding a power to his own hurt. While the negro, in his present state of ignorance, cannot exercise suffrage so as to promote his own interest, or that of the State, he must, by arraying himself in opposition to its intelligent opinion, divest himself of the regard and sympathy of the white race, and increase that spirit of antagonism that is so easily aroused between races of such marked distinctions.

It cannot be shown that universal suffrage in Georgia where every department of the State Government is exclusively in the hands of the Democratic party, is any protection against an invasion of the rights and liberties of the negro. The Democratic party in regard to any question affecting the peculiar rights of the negro, would not be influenced by any motives of party policy, as no action the negro could possibly take would effect a party revolution, or impair its strength in the State.

It may be said that the adoption of a limited suffrage by any of our Southern States, would, in effect, deny the negro the right of representation under a government that recognizes him as a citizen—imposes duties and burdens upon him, and that he might become the subject of class legislation, and be deprived of his civil as well as political

rights. Were it possible to adopt a course of legislation by which he was denied any advantage or boon that the white race enjoys, or that duties and burdens were imposed that the whites were exempt from, then there might be some truth in the allegation. Such legislation would contravene the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution, and be declared a nullity by our State courts. The course of legislation, and the proceedings in our State courts, will doubtless show as strict regard for the rights of the negro in Georgia as that of any Northern State. The white people of the South, and especially the former slaveholders, are the negroes' best friends, and are more likely to guard his interests and advance his welfare in the future than authors and supporters of Civil Rights Bills, or the blatant apostles of negro equality, wherever they are to be found. The ruling motives that actuate the white people of Georgia in the enactment and in the administration of law, where the negro may be interested, are those which are prompted by a sense of right, justice and duty, which will be quickened and strengthened, if possible, in withholding from the ignorant negro the political power to inflict an injury upon himself and the country.

A deep and thorough conviction rests upon the Southern mind that the ignorant negro vote cannot be controlled and made to promote the interest of good government, in a way that is consistent with the self-respect and moral proprieties of an enlightened Christian people. To acquiesce in universal suffrage, and allow the blind, unreasoning mass of voters to be controlled by the worst element in society, would debauch the ballot-box, corrupt the fountains of political power, and bring shame and reproach upon the civilization of the South. In view of the present state of political society at the South, and the influences that will center upon the ignorant voter in the future, and control him in the exercise of suffrage, it is but reasonable to suppose that he will be an obstacle in the path of progress, and seriously complicate the problem of

free, honest and enlightened government in the Southern States.

The people of Georgia have acted wisely in postponing the call of a Constitutional Convention until the time should arrive when they could calmly consider the errors and defects of the Constitution of '68, and embody into their organic law such provisions as are necessary to protect the rights, guard the interests, and promote the general welfare of all classes and conditions of her people. The calling of this Convention, the election of suitable representative men, and the momentous questions that must be considered and acted upon by this body, will awaken an interest in the minds of the people that will invest the assemblage with a gravity and importance rarely surpassed in the history of our State. This body, representing the intelligence, the true worth, and real manhood of Georgia, would feel the grave responsibilities resting upon it, and begin a ground work in excavating beneath the surface and examining carefully the foundations upon which must rest the solid framework of social order and good government in the future.

In treating this division of the subject, we have brought under review some of the more prominent evils of universal suffrage at the South on a line of argument that we desired to be suggestive, rather than any effort at elaboration. Nor would the prescribed limits of this paper admit of an extended discussion of the theories of representative free government, but as the Federal Congress has established universal suffrage, and declared it to be the policy that shall govern the elective feature in the American system of government, some examination of the principles of republican government in its representative form, as well as the facts presented in the condition of Southern population, becomes necessary in reaching correct conclusions upon the question of suffrage in the Southern States.

The theory upon which democratic institutions rest, is that the people are capable of self-government—that the masses

are not only sufficiently intelligent to comprehend the form and nature of free government, to understand the principles which must pervade it and are necessary to give life, strength and harmonious action to all its operations, but some degree of that higher order of intelligence which comes not by merely instructing the intellect, but the heart and moral nature of man, that will enable him to impose proper restraints upon his willful nature, to respect the rights of others, to obey law, and fulfill the measure of a just and upright citizen.

In portraying this brief outline of the qualifications for citizenship under a free government, we are drawing no ideal picture, as some of those contained in "Plato's Republic," but simply stating the individual requirement necessary to form that condition of society that will maintain and perpetuate free institutions, and not make them the creature of chance and circumstance.

The elective principle, which gives expression at the ballot-box to the popular will, in the method and direction it may be desired, whether it is to form a constitution, to enact laws, or for the purposes of civil administration, constitutes the main and vital element in all free governments. The proper regulation of this principle—the safeguards and restraints thrown around it to secure upon the one hand the free and untrammelled exercise of the right to vote, and upon the other hand to so guard it that those entrusted with the franchise shall not wield it to the detriment of the State, is a subject that has occupied much of the attention of the law-giver, and the success attained may, to a certain degree, be considered a standard to measure the degree of rational liberty any people enjoy. This elective principle is, as it were, the conduit along which is conveyed the embodied will of the people to every department of the government; giving life and vigor when wisely directed, but when from any cause it is perverted from the true and legitimate objects of government, it brings confusion, disorder, misrule, and, ultimately,

the wreck of human liberties. A principle so important, and so essential in fixing the character, as well as maintaining the very existence of free government itself, should be well defined and wisely regulated by law, and sacredly regarded by a people as a muniment of their freedom. Under the American system of government, from its inception down to the date of the late constitutional amendments, the question of suffrage was conceded to, and controlled by, the States as one belonging exclusively to them.

The subversion of this right of the States to control the question of suffrage, though it was done under semblance of regular constitutional method, was a clear invasion of the rights of the States—a bare usurpation—(or, call it by what name we may) the results of which cannot at present be seen, or properly estimated. In its ultimate consequences, if not in its present products, will be seen the realization of the fond dream and fell purpose of those men at the North, who, discarding the Constitution of the country, and despising its institutions, its duties, its obligations and its powers, devoted themselves to the radical overthrow of all, without reference to consequences or crimes.

In the report of the Abolition Society of Boston for the year 1852, it is said: "The abolition of slavery presupposes a revolution. For it will radically overthrow and reconstruct the institutions of the nation. It may be a revolution fought out on Marston Moor or Bunker Hill, or its victories may be won on logomachic fields of parliamentary debate, and decided by aye and no, and not by bayonet and sword. * * * * * But come in what shape it may, it will be a revolution." It has not been twenty-five years since this utterance was made. It was regarded at the time by the great mass of the American people as the vagaries of distempered minds, the dream of madmen, that had no soundness of reason in it—as something beyond the range of probable events.

What interpretation can be given to-day to the state of things that the people of this country find themselves

brought face to face with? What, we may ask, can be the state of forty-five millions of people twenty days after a Presidential election, (the present writing,) where the actual result was known to all the people in less than three days after it occurred, that there should be such confusion—running to and fro of prominent men of both parties to the scene of trouble—the hurrying of armed soldiery into peaceful States, upon no ground that can be justified by constitutional authority, or that of law, precedent or reason? If the public press expresses the popular feeling, we are justified in saying that there is at this day, throughout the United States, (excepting the authors of all this mischief) a sentiment of public danger, a sense of insecurity, a dread of the future, a gloomy and sorrowful retrospect of the past, a craving desire for the replacing of ancient landmarks, that betoken something more than an apprehension that their institutions have been radically overthrown, and that reconstruction does not promise the ancient order, tranquility and concord. It cannot be denied by any candid, right-thinking man, who has read the history of current events for the last ten years, and is capable of analyzing them, that the reconstruction measures of the Republican Congress, and the constitutional amendments as an inseparable adjunct, have brought about a complete political revolution in our country—a revolution as manifest in effect, if not so marked in its consequences, as that which resulted in the overthrow of the Stuarts in England, the French revolution of 1789, or that of the English colonies in America in 1776.

The late war between the sections did not in itself accomplish it, nor did the overthrow of slavery at the South necessarily produce it. If the policy of pacification brought forward by President Johnson had been carried out, notwithstanding it required a surrender of the institution of slavery, which would have, in any event, produced a great shock to the industrial system of the South, yet the political institutions of the country would have remained

intact, and as soon as the former constitutional relations could have been adjusted, there would have been, in fact, and in theory, a constitutional restoration, without a subversion and reconstruction of the American system of government. The late constitutional amendments, according to the construction and practice of the Radical party, changed the relation of the citizen to the State and the Union, in providing for an oversight of State legislation, in all that concerns life, liberty, privilege and protection, under the law. These amendments altered the basis of Congressional representation, and made it dependent upon suffrage, instead of population, for the exercise of choice on the part of any State, between universal and restricted suffrage. Under authority of the amendments, Congress has passed force bills, civil rights bills, kuklux bills, election supervising bills, (designed to debauch, instead of protecting the purity of the ballot-box,) and under the authority of "appropriate legislation," may do whatever else the Socialist, Red Republican, or Communist, or Infidel, or politico-religionist may suggest.

A brief examination of some of the more prominent features of the reconstruction measures of Congress, and the circumstances that attended their execution—particularly that of imposing negro suffrage upon the South, with the view of showing the animus and purpose of the dominant party of the North in bringing it forward, would not be out of place at this time. The Southern States, by the terms imposed in the reconstruction measures of Congress, were placed in an attitude of forced acquiescence to a plan of settlement that they saw was fraught with unmixing evil, and which they must accept, as a dreaded alternative of defiance and resistance to the Federal power. These proposed amendments were not spurned. They were treated with no contempt. There was no expression of disdain. They were proposed, or ought to have been proposed, to the States, for their free deliberation and for the exercise of candid judgment. If they were States in

the Union, and had the right to pass upon the amendments, they certainly were entitled to the choice of accepting or rejecting them. Any menace or coercion on the part of Congress was itself a violation of the Constitution. The Southern State legislatures that acted upon these amendments, were acting for themselves, for their posterity, and also for the other States of the Union. They would have dishonored themselves, and been recreant to their trust, if they had consented to them otherwise than upon the dictate of an honest and conscientious judgment.

If we revert to the free-soil movement at the North, before the war, it can be clearly shown that it was not its purpose to accomplish anything more than the liberation of the slave from the rule of the master. The idea that the negro was "a man and a brother," with any real claims to equality and fraternity, had its lodgement only in the brain of a few ranting fanatics of the sham-philanthropic class, while the great mass of those who favored an emancipation policy regarded him as inferior, by nature, to the white race, and unfitted, under favorable circumstances, for the grave responsibilities of citizenship. This view was held by Lincoln, Greeley, Morton, Trumbull, Fessenden, and nearly all the prominent leaders of the Republican party, excepting Sumner, Seward, and, perhaps, Chase. Just before, and at the close of the late war, Mr. Lincoln, in his exposition at the Cooper Institute, just before his inauguration, simply advocated the free-soil doctrine excluding slavery from the territories, and if he had any advanced ideas towards a recognition of the "man and brother" theory, afterwards, it was not known down South.

The New York *Tribune*, in the terse and emphatic language of Greeley, in noticing the movements of the colored people of New York to secure equal suffrage, a short while before the war, thus gives utterance to his views of

their claims and their condition: "One negro, on a farm which he has cleared or bought, patiently hewing out a modest, toilsome independence, is worth more to the cause of equal suffrage than three in an Ethiopian (or any other) Convention, clamoring against white oppression with all the fire of a Spartacus. They will never win it as white men's barbers, waiters, ostlers and bootblacks; that is to say, the tardy and ungracious concession of the right of suffrage, which they may ultimately wrench from a reluctant community, will leave them still the political as well as social inferiors of the whites—excluded from all honorable office, and admitted to white men's tables only as waiters, and plate-washers—unless they shall, meantime, have wrought out, through toil, privation and suffering, an intellectual and essential enfranchisement."

Senator Morton, the acknowledged leader of the Republican party in Congress for the last eight years, and during that time among the foremost in his advocacy of all measures of resentment and oppression against the white people of the South, made a speech at Indianapolis, in 1865, just before entering upon his Senatorial term, in which he opposed the policy of conferring the elective franchise upon the colored race at the South, and favored (to use his own language) "the postponement of their political rights for ten, fifteen or twenty years, at which time," he argued, "the Southern States would have been so completely filled with immigration from the North and Europe, that the negroes would be in a permanent minority." He further argued in his speech, at great length, to show the extreme hazard that the Southern States would be subjected to, with the negro as a part of their voting population.

If Northern men, who had entered with earnestness and zeal, into the fierce political contest that raged with unabated fury for ten years preceding emancipation, and had their sympathy and regard for the negro, strengthened by a quasi alliance during the war, should afterwards view

with misgivings and alarm, the expediency of conferring political rights upon the colored race, what, we may ask, would be the feelings of Southern men, who must bear the shock and reap the bitter fruits of such a measure?

We have already stated the unmistakable purpose of the Radical party, in forcing negro suffrage upon the South, to be two-fold—that of gratifying a spirit of revenge, and the bringing in the negro as a political ally in the future.

The disagreement between President Johnson and the Radical majority of the 39th Congress, upon the policy of reconstruction, culminated in the impeachment of the former, and is memorable for being the most insane and bitter partisan attempt ever made by one department of the Federal Government to destroy a co-ordinate branch. This Radical Congress, foiled in its attempt to drag down and degrade the Chief Magistrate of the Nation, whose only crime was that of differing with it upon the proper plan, and the authority for reconstruction, returned with increased venom to the task of insulting and degrading a prostrate and defenceless people. It was not seriously claimed by Congress in bringing forward these measures, with the odious suffrage feature, that the Southern negro was, in any sense, fit for its exercise, or that it was needed to protect and preserve his newly acquired freedom. The main point made and urged in the advocacy of the Congressional plan of reconstruction, was that the Southern whites were disloyal to the Constitution, and still rebellious against the Government of the United States, and that Republican Governments in the late seceded States could not be organized and guaranteed by Congress, with their people in such an attitude to the National Government. It could not be reasonably asserted that the Southern negro had manifested any spirit of loyalty, much less acts of loyalty to the United States Government, only in a negative sense. Nine-tenths of the colored population had remained true to their owners during the whole period of the war—giving "aid and comfort" to the Confederate

cause, by remaining faithfully at work, and producing food supplies for its armies as well as the people.

The negroes that were enlisted in the Federal army were generally decoyed from their masters, induced to leave under misrepresentations, or, falling within the Federal lines, were taken up and forced into ranks, where they exhibited but little stomach for the fight, especially when their courage was not given additional tension by the proximity of bayonets *in the rear*. The nearest approach to loyalty that the colored race made, and which, doubtless, convinced the Radical party of his superserviceable loyalty, was in walking up to "de buro" and drawing supplies, after that *beneficent* institution had spread its pavilion over the land, encouraging the negro to abandon the farm, where he might earn an honest living, to take shelter under its patronizing folds.

The Southern situation at this time, with the intelligent ruling classes disloyal, as the radicals alleged, and the negroes known to be too ignorant and obtuse to have any ideas of government, would seem to place a dilemma before Congress in its work of guaranteeing republican State governments at the South, that would vex state-craft of no mean order. In such a case, with these facts clearly developed, English statesmen, if called to the task, would have doubtless managed it by keeping the late seceded States under provisional governments, until time, social intercourse, business relations, and other moral influences brought to bear upon the alienated sections, could have brought in an era of good feeling, which, in effect, would have re-adjusted the disturbed relations (civil and political) as by natural processes. But it was not in keeping with Radical politics, which drew its inspirations, and received its subsequent teachings, from sources that were poisoned with sectional hate, to raise itself to the level of duty and statesmanship, and deal with the question before it in a spirit of liberal and enlightened patriotism.

Machiavelli, the famous Florentine Secretary, has ever

been regarded with detestation, as the author and teacher of an infamous line of policy, (called, from him, Machiavellism,) intended to enable despotism to perpetuate its existence by fraud and violence. His biographer says of him: "He sought the cure of Italy; yet her state appeared to him so desperate that he was bold enough to prescribe poison." If he had lived to witness that period in American history in which the body politic took on that foul disease—radicalism—he would doubtless have been gratified at finding so many disciples of his school, ready to administer the fatal draught that kills the State, in order to cure her ills. To characterize their work in remodeling Southern State governments as Machiavellian, would be scarcely doing justice to the great master of political intrigue of the 15th century, for, where he advocated the use of means the most despicable and unwarrantable, it was supposed to serve, in the end, the good of the State, while his imitators in America were no less scrupulous in the employment of means to accomplish, not the good of the State, but to preserve the rule of the most venal and wicked party faction that has figured in the history of free governments. The language of the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution, conferring citizenship upon the negro, and providing for a new apportionment of representatives upon the basis of enlarged, or, more properly, universal citizenship, and adopted but a short time before that of the 15th Amendment, and in contemplation of the latter following immediately upon it, provides: "That when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male members of such State, being twenty-one years, and citizens of the United States, are in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the

number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State." Taking the scope and meaning of the 14th and 15th Amendments together, it is no unwarrantable assumption in saying that the framers of those amendments had in contemplation the time when universal suffrage would become such a grievance at the South, and its evils so manifest, that its people would be compelled to eliminate it from their State Constitutions, as the only alternative of corrupt rule, social disorder, and utter ruin. It was evidently the purpose of the Radical party, in its policy of reconstruction, with bayonet rule, and with the odious feature of negro suffrage fastened upon the South by constitutional rivet, to hold those States permanently under their party rule. And in case any State should as a matter of choice, and with a view of promoting the welfare of her people, adopt limited suffrage, then her representation in Congress should be curtailed, and in either event the South would be shorn of its strength in the Union, and made to feel the humiliation that her enemies had in store for her.

It was but little concern to these malignants, what might be the resulting mischief in the future unfolding of the race problem, (after complicating it by introducing all the devices that would antagonize and alienate the races,) whether the negro, banded together in solid party phalanx on the color line, would enter upon a contest for supremacy, incurring all the hazard that such a course would bring upon him, or, abandoning race organization, would become a great mass of floating voters to be controlled by the worst elements in the white race.

The altered basis of representation in Congress, provided for in the 2nd clause of the 14th Amendment, in case any State should adopt limited suffrage, is a piece of political legerdemain, the maladroitness of which must be apparent even to minds that are not trained to legal analysis. This clause of the 14th Amendment, while it does not di-

rectly prohibit or deny to the States the right to limit or regulate, in any way, the question of suffrage, yet it holds over the States a menace for so doing—a kind of moral coercion. And the very act of enforcing the provision contained in the 2nd clause of this Amendment, by curtailing the representation of any State, if not an actual penalty, is certainly in the nature of a penalty, and the whole thing contrary to the genius that pervades, and the tradition and practice that has obtained in all confederated systems of free government. Constitutions and States are non-existent under such conditions. A Congress composed of members, where some of the States had a full representation, upon the basis of population in such States, and others with a curtailed representation, fixed upon a mixed basis of suffrage and population, would be gross inequality, and present a rare anomaly in a legislative body, representing the people in fact and in theory, requiring, as an essential feature, a uniform basis of representation.

We have not seen any exposition or enlarged discussion of the clauses contained in the 14th amendment. We do not think the legal mind of the country regards the question of suffrage as settled by this amendment. Mr. Chas. A. Dana, of the *New York Sun*, who is regarded as an independent thinker, a profound logician, and one of the best informed and most brilliant political writers of the age, has very recently expressed the opinion in an editorial, that the right to control the question of suffrage still belongs to the States. Several of the Northern States, we think, still retain the provision for abridged suffrage in their Constitutions.

We propose the query: Will the second clause of the 14th Amendment be enforced in Congress, in the event any Southern State should adopt limited suffrage?

But, conceding the point that this clause of the 14th Amendment will be enforced, it remains to consider the expediency of adopting restricted suffrage as the only measure of relief from the evils of universal suffrage, that

is practicable and within the reach of the people of Georgia. The question of expediency, in the opinion of the writer, is governed by considerations of three distinct classes: 1st. The manner it will be received at the North, and the resulting influence it would have upon Federal politics. 2d. The effect upon those excluded by it from the elective privilege. 3d. The effect it would have upon Georgia and other Southern States that might adopt it, in diminishing their representation in Congress, as provided in the 14th Amendment.

We shall not attempt to argue these several considerations at length, but simply state propositions, the logical sequence of which, we hope, can be readily drawn without effort on the part of the reader. The first consideration stated as bearing upon the question of expediency, receives its significance, not from any intrinsic worth or force, but from the rather delicate relations existing between the sections—a proneness to misconception at the North of any action by the South upon measures connected with the adjustment of our late political troubles, and a sensitiveness of our Southern people to being charged with a want of fidelity to the terms acquiesced in as a basis of settlement. While we are free to admit it to be the part of duty and patriotism, incumbent upon every Southern man, to carefully avoid giving any occasion of offense to what may be called Northern sentiment upon all questions—especially those that do not involve a vital principle—so that the issues of the late war, so far as the Southern people may be concerned, may pass out of the range of American politics, yet duty and manhood forbid the tame acquiescence in policies where their practical recognition must serve as a dead weight upon the energies of the people, and an obstruction to their progress.

The Northern people can form no just conception of the negro problem in the South, in any of its phases, from what is presented in the case of the negro in their own section as proper data and criterion to form opinion and

conclusions upon. In those States at the North having the largest negro population, for instance, Pennsylvania and Ohio, (numbering about 30,000 in each of these States,) compared to the white population as to numbers, would be in the ratio of about one to forty—scarcely regarded as forming one of the constituent elements that make up the political society of a State. In these States the small negro population is scattered over large areas, and so isolated in relation as to render it difficult and impracticable to agitate any question among themselves, or co-operate upon any measure having distinctly marked race features. The negroes there are at least partially educated, and being too isolated for race agitation in any respect, are brought under the more direct influence of the white people, and are controlled in the matter of voting just as any other class in a similar condition. The right of representation in Northern States legislatures is never claimed by the negro there, or if such was asserted, it would be treated with contempt, even by those who have so loudly proclaimed their interest in the cause of negro equality at the South.

Outside of a few well-informed politicians and others who have traveled South, and sought sources of correct information, the Southern negro question is viewed at the North as an abstraction, in which is detached from all their conception those facts and circumstances that invest it with peculiar hazard and interest to the Southern white people. What they have seen and know of the negro among them, is so widely differing in the most important respects from the Southern negro, that it really unfits them to reach sensible conclusions at all. Nor can we expect the Northern mind to be any better informed upon Southern affairs, in the main, in the near future, however desirable it may be to us to have them view our political and social life in the light of calm, dispassionate truth. Reason, and the instincts of self-preservation, teach us that it will not do to subordinate the peace and welfare of the State

to what might be considered the good will of disinterested people, or to the fear of inviting adverse criticism, however bitter and relentless it may be. If we should allow the basis of suffrage to remain unaltered for the next ten years, and, in the meantime, it should work to the disadvantage and hindrance of good government, as it doubtless will in the way and manner already indicated, there will be no source from whence we would receive more detraction for the folly of tolerating it than that which would be poured upon us through the Northern press.

The regulation of suffrage in any way that does not contravene the provisions of the Federal Constitution, is not only a clear question of State right and authority, but one of peculiar policy and interest, that must be shaped and controlled in accordance with proper conceptions of the latter, irrespective of outside opinion.

It would certainly seem that the rational, considerate mind of the North, viewing the subject of negro politics at the South for the last ten years, in its ruinous acts, and disgusting details, and especially in view of the present political embroglio growing out of the Presidential race, for which universal suffrage must be regarded, by every candid mind in the country, as the sole cause—the "*causa causus*"—would now pause, reflect, and in the experience of better reason, demand a removal of this dangerous, disturbing element from the theatre of American politics, that is hurrying us down the broad and beaten road to political perdition.

Dr. Redfield, the correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, who was in South Carolina during the late campaign, and saw the "true inwardness" of radical politics there, and in his utter disgust, as an honest man, with the ignorant, weak and lawless character of the negro, and the manner in which he has been manipulated there, expresses the opinion that Northern sentiment will demand the removal of the ballot from the hands of the negro in advance of any such movement at the South. If the "*Com-*

mercial" correspondent had his mind's eye on the Radical party, as the one likely to take the initiative in the movement indicated, he is very probably mistaken. It is not the party to reform abuses, to go back upon its own record and correct the evils that it has been wholly instrumental in inflicting upon the country. But, upon the theory that evils sometimes work their own cure, we may reasonably expect, after the present troubles have passed, that there will be a new awakening at the North to a sense of the danger that environs their institutions, and that there will be a re-action, deep, earnest and permanent, against the disintegrating and destructive influences that are surely undermining the foundations of the American government.

The people of Georgia have earnestly desired a change in the Administration of the Federal Government, from the hands of a party which has pursued a course of insult and oppression towards them, to one more just and liberal, and one that would allow them to pursue a career of self-development, without arbitrary interference. And whatever the result may be in the pending contest, it should not hold in abeyance any question of State policy that needs revision and incorporation into our organic law.

The next consideration to be noticed as entering into the question of expediency, in adopting abridged suffrage in Georgia, is that of the rights of those persons who would be excluded from the elective franchise, and the manner in which it would be received by the disfranchised class. A discussion here of the abstract right of every citizen under a free government to be clothed with the elective franchise—based, as such claims are, upon the natural rights of man—would require greater compass than the limits of this paper would admit. There is no subject, perhaps, in the whole range of human inquiry that has engaged so much speculative thought, and is so much obscured by metaphysical reasoning as that of the natural rights of man. Blackstone defines civil liberty to

be, "That of a member of society, and is no other than natural liberty, so far restrained by human laws, (and no farther), as is necessary and expedient for the general advantage of the public." Burke, in referring to this definition of the great expounder of the common law, suggested the pertinent inquiry: "If we may be required to surrender a portion of our natural rights, why not all?" If we sacrifice a portion of our rights, does not the amount so sacrificed cease to be a question of principle, and the whole argument in defense of natural rights, as a foundation for any claim to the exercise of political power, is surrendered—merged into the paramount interest of society. However plausible political theories about the natural rights of man may appear, and how well supported by argument, which seems, by any logical test, to be rational and conclusive, yet the chief difficulty in giving them practical application so as to recognize them as great cardinal principles in government, lies in finding that state of society to which they are adapted and will operate so as to promote liberty, law and order.

If the great body of political society is homogeneous, identified in interests, feeling, and in every essential fact, then the laws of unity and harmony will prevail, the interests of all be promoted, and the great object and end of government secured.

There can be no controversy about the proposition, indeed, it is a truism, that civil government is instituted to secure the governed in the enjoyment of their rights. If we assume, with the Red Republicans of France or the American Radicals, that all men have the same or equal rights, it necessarily follows that it is impossible to organize society, or to establish public order, without a surrender or sacrifice of some of these rights. But, then, all men men have not the same or equal rights. One man, for example, who has the capacity to take care of his own interest, and to govern himself in all the proper relations of life, has the right to do so. Hence it would be an act of oppression

to place him, or his interest, under the control of another. On the other hand, the child, or the man who has not the capacity to take care of himself, or his interest, has a high claim, if not a sacred right, to the guidance and control of those who are wiser, and better and stronger than himself. If this proposition is sound and true, in its application to the rights and interest of man, in the mere social or private relations of life, *a fortiori*, it becomes applicable in his political relations. There can be no agency or influence more disorganizing and destructive of the vital principles of government, than the introduction of the communistic theory that "All men have equal rights." It is the precursor of strife, the synonym of disorder, the counterpart of revolution, and the very genius of anarchy.

In the State of Georgia there are two separate and distinct races of men—the very antipodes of each other—differing in the marked characteristics of color, origin, instinct, habit, education, and in diversity of wants and condition. One of these races is the owner of the soil, the descendants and heirs of the men who obtained the original charter from the crown of England, and who fought afterwards to secure the autonomy of local rule. They have established government, and founded all the institutions that an intelligent and progressive people need, in a career of civilization.

The other race were brought here as slaves, in conformity with the recognized sentiment of the time. They were sunk in abject ignorance, and degraded to the very lowest scale of human existence; had to be trained to proper modes of subsistence by a forced abstinence from the loathsome and savage practice of eating reptiles, mushrooms, and the raw herbs of the forest. They were raised by slavery from this primitive state, and made to fill a sphere of usefulness in the industrial department of the State. Though emancipated from the rule of the master, they are still children, in mental attainment, and moral dis-

cipline—the proper subjects for pupilage, control, guidance support and instruction.

It would seem that a proper solution of the problem before our people, is to continue these two populations under the same republican form of government, so that the essential conditions of social order, obedience to law, the security of person, respect for property, the remuneration of labor, and the regularity of civil transactions, may be reasonably assured. And we believe that the intelligent, thinking mind of Georgia rests under the conviction that this desirable end cannot be attained with universal suffrage.

In re-adjusting the basis of suffrage in Georgia (if the Constitutional Convention to be holden in the near future should deem such a measure politic), there is some difficulty in determining the more preferable mode: whether to fix it upon the basis of intelligence or property, or qualifications embracing both of these features. In the present condition of our voting population—with such a large element of ignorance, it becomes essentially necessary to require some degree of fitness for its exercise, evidenced by the ability of the voter to "read and write the Constitution of the State" (as the suffrage clause in the Constitution of Massachusetts has it, and we might adopt New England ideas very safely in this direction, and to that extent). This feature should be embraced, whether we go beyond it or not. In the eighty-five or ninety thousand negro voters in the State, we perhaps would not be far wrong (the opinion, however, is merely conjectural, in the absence of any statement in the census reports, showing the number of negro voters who cannot read and write) in estimating the number that can read at 5,000. This relatively small number exercising suffrage, would, in the event they did not identify themselves with the great body of patriotic white voters, by keeping on the color line, or nearly all of them "floaters," be deprived of the power of doing harm. The number of colored youths reaching

their majority, who have learned to read, would not probably exceed 2,500 year. This number, in addition to the 5,000 who are already supposed to meet the suffrage requirement, would, we might say, in ten years, (counting the increased number of youths reaching their majority annually, to make up the death rate and loss by emigration of the original voters,) make the number of 30,000 voters. By that time it would be probably ascertained what effect negro voting to that extent would have upon public interest—whether detrimental or otherwise—and the indications could be met in the future with such remedies as the exigencies demanded.

If a property qualification was required, fixed at the sum of \$200.00, in addition to that of an educational basis, it would very probably reduce the number of colored voters to one-half the number above stated, and would, in effect, prevent the increase of the negro vote, by young negroes reaching their majority, who could vote under an educational requirement.

The effect likely to be produced upon the negro population disfranchised by one or both of these limitations upon suffrage, would be passive and temporary. It was thrust upon them unsolicited, and without the least effort upon their part to gain it. They have not since cherished it as a boon of any great value, in the sense of gratifying their pride, stimulating their ambition, or elevating their manhood. The negro is only conscious of his sovereign right when waked up from his usual lethargy by the news, to him, of an impending election, with orders to be at the polls on a certain day and hour, and if the necessary stimulus has been brought to bear, he responds with alacrity—enters the *role* of a *suffrage slinger* with all the *abandon* with which he formerly went to a corn husking. The more intelligent and well-to-do class of negroes, who might be voters under either limitation, would view it with a feeling of indifference, if not direct approval, as it would, in effect, elevate their importance in comparison, and create a feeling

somewhat of caste, gratifying to their pride of character.

It remains to be seen what would be the effect of limited suffrage upon the class of white voters who would be excluded from the ballot-box by it. And herein lies the main difficulty in extracting the poisoned arrows sent by radical diablerie into the body politic of the South. A constitutional provision, or principle of law, may, in certain conditions of society, be judicious and wholesome in its operations, when, under a change of conditions, by new elements introduced, differing in kind and nature, it may become altogether inapplicable and impolitic. In the absence of the late Constitutional Amendments, with the question of suffrage untouched, there would have been no element in the voting population of Georgia, that would, *per se*, have rendered limited suffrage an imperative necessity. The people of Georgia were entirely homogeneous—as thoroughly identified in sentiment and interest, as the political society of a State could, in the nature of things, be. The ignorant and poorer population, usually denominated the lower class, have in no country manifested such qualities of virtue, self-respect and manhood, as has been exhibited by this class at the South. The institution of slavery, which our abolition *friends* endeavored to make us believe to be “the sum of all villainy,” formed the substratum of our society, and was tributary, in a measure, to that superior type of the lower classes at the South, than was to be elsewhere found. Here the man of ignorance and penury, however severe the struggle with adverse fortune, and however low it might sink him in the depths of wretchedness, still felt there was an element below him whose level he must not reach, and from which he must recoil. The very thought rekindled his pride, and nerved him for the conflicts of life. There are not a few at the present time among the illiterate class, who are men of real worth, have, by persevering industry, accumulated property, and are esteemed in the sphere of their acquaintance as public spirited and valued citizens. To withhold from such men,

who are independent in thought and action, the ballot, would be difficult to reconcile with a sense of justice, and could only be done in discharge of a paramount duty to the State. To impose a property qualification would in like manner, withhold the ballot from another class equally worthy, and very probably with higher claims to the exercise of such right.

The constitutional act of limiting suffrage in Georgia, upon either basis stated, would doubtless meet with opposition from the disfranchised class. It could not be reasonably expected that men would readily surrender a long-exercised privilege, which they had been taught to regard as “the badge of freemen,” without some feeling of humiliation. Its deprivation under existing circumstances, would carry with it no individual debasement; no mark of dishonor, to blur the name or compromise the true worth of character. It would rather be in the nature of those sacrifices which patriotism and high sense of duty call men to make, and whether it be to do, to forbear, or to suffer, it is in the same line of honorable action, and will always claim the meed of praise due to him that makes the offering.

If it should be the matured and solemnly declared opinion of the people of Georgia—spoken in a Constitutional Convention of fairly-chosen representative men—that abridged suffrage is imperiously demanded as a shield and safeguard in the future, it will doubtless be acquiesced in by all classes and conditions of our people.

The third consideration that enters into the expediency of incorporating limited suffrage into the Constitution of Georgia, as stated in the previous classification, is the effect produced in diminishing the representation of Georgia in Congress, as provided by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Arguments that enter into the discussion of this branch of the question of expediency, are to be drawn, for the most part, by contrasting the interest the people of Geor-

gia have in, and the benefits that accrue to them from, the State and Federal Governments respectively. Or the argument might be put more appositely and pointedly, in estimating or weighing any probable disadvantage or loss to the people of Georgia from a diminished representation in Congress, against the direct and tangible evils of universal suffrage. We have already brought under review some of the more prominent evils of universal suffrage, which the reader, will keep in mind, will obviate the necessity of any farther reference or discussion. It is proper, in the first place, to ascertain to what extent Georgia's representation in the lower branch of Congress would be diminished, in case she restricted suffrage, and in the event the Fourteenth Amendment was enforced. This amendment provides, in case any State should abridge the right of suffrage, that "the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens (disfranchised) shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State. It cannot be definitely ascertained what would be the representation of Georgia in Congress upon a basis of limited suffrage in the State, owing to the absence of any statement in the census reports, giving the whole number of males over twenty-one years of age. We can only approximate it by taking the highest vote polled since the last census. The aggregate vote polled at the presidential election in 1872, (we have not seen a statement of the consolidated vote of Georgia in the late October and November election,) was (if our memory is not at fault) about 187,000. We find in the census reports that there are 21,899 illiterate white males over twenty-one years of age, and 100,551 colored, making, in the aggregate, 122,450, to be deducted from the whole number of males over twenty-one years of age in the State. Upon calculations made, in which the vote of Georgia furnishes partial and incomplete data, we find that the Congressional representation of the State would be reduced to four members, or

a loss of more than one-half of her present delegation in Congress. This would be a great reduction in the Congressional representation of the State, and the gross inequality with other States would be manifest.

If we consider the functional relations of the Federal Government to the people of the States, and its constitutional relation to the States as a political body, we shall find that the duties of the Federal Government to the people directly, and to the States, are few and simple, and that the benefits which accrue, with the exception of protection against foreign aggression and domestic violence, (the latter of little significance and of doubtful utility,) and that of carrying the mails, are of but little practical and intrinsic value. We would be understood as speaking of the positive interest measured by actual results, that the people have in, or receive from, the State and Federal Governments in the dual relation. We would not underrate the value and importance of the National Government as an integral part of our political system. In the sphere of its constitutional duties, and wisely and justly administered as it was for the most part, previous to the late conflict, it was truly "the best government the sun has ever shone upon." It was modeled after a careful and profound study of the best systems of government in the past, with new and striking features introduced, that marked a turning point—formed an epoch in the history of constitutional government. The American system of government is complex and peculiar—differing in many important respects from those that have obtained in the past or have an existence at the present time. The distinguishable features from that of other systems of free confederate governments is the wise provision by its framers in the distribution of power and duties between the Federal and State Governments, and the judicious adjustment of the co-ordinate branches of the Federal head—each with its separate and distinct functions, moving in harmony in forwarding measures of public policy, and each in turn serving as a

check upon the assumption of unauthorized power by the other, in such way as to preserve the balance and maintain the integrity of the whole. The checks and limitations imposed upon majorities, in legislating upon public questions in which there may be conflicting interest, and in which due regard should be shown to the rights of minorities, have their foundation in the most just and enlightened conceptions of political science.

The great cardinal principle that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," is the gist and substance of democratic institutions, and its discovery and incorporation into our political system sheds imperishable renown on "the Fathers of the Republic." De Toqueville, in his "Democracy of America," characterizes it as "a wholly novel theory, which may be considered as a great discovery in modern political science." Mr. Stephens, in his "Constitutional View of the War Between the States," in speaking of it, says: "From this simple discovery did indeed follow the most momentous consequences. From it sprang that unparalleled career of prosperity and greatness which marked our history under its beneficent operations for more than three-quarters of a century." But, alas! that "three-quarters of a century" should have marked a period in "the beneficent operation" of this great principle of civil liberty, and that another era should have been inaugurated, in which the hated dogma that "might makes right" became the dominant idea.

The lessons of history, corroborated by our own bitter experience, teach us that the best systems of government, based upon the sanctity of constitutional law, and administered for a time with wisdom and justice, may be perverted in the madness of an hour, and become the worst instrument of oppression. We have introduced this brief generalization of some of the leading features of the Federal Government, not for the special purpose of elucidation, or so much as an argument german to the subject

under notice, but rather with the view of pointing a moral.

The great error of the South previous to the late sectional war, and one that contributed indirectly and without design, to bringing it on, was the absorbing interest felt and manifested in Federal politics. This was due in a measure to the constitution of Southern society. The diffusion of wealth, and the leisure it afforded, the liberal education of the better classes, the absence of diversified industries to engage the thought and direct the energies of a people, chivalrous by nature, and taught to command in the mastery of an inferior race, were circumstances that naturally required a broad field of interest and excitement, and this was readily found in that of Federal politics, under our free institutions, with the road to political preferment open alike to all; our young men who aspired to distinction, turned readily to politics as more likely to secure to them the rewards of ambition. Hence, every recurring election was looked to as an occasion of deep interest, the issues involved were magnified by the politicians, the people took political excitement as by contagion, party spirit ran high, and often the real issues before the people were lost sight of in the zeal for party success. Notwithstanding the South had accorded to her the palm for eloquence and statesmanship in the National Legislature, and furnished the larger number of Presidents, yet the North gathered the fruits of substantial victory in her protective tariffs, improvement of harbors and rivers, and in the general disbursements from the Federal treasury that went to develop and enrich her section.

While this all-absorbing interest in National politics brought no substantial good to the South, it proved a serious loss in the diversion of her best talents, and its most valuable service from purely State interest, where it was most needed, and could have been most profitably expended.

The South need not expect to share more liberally in

the favor and patronage of the General Government in the future than in the past. Georgia, in particular, will not be likely to receive any substantial aid in the direction that it is needed, and in form that will benefit her people at large. She has no rivers that are great channels of commerce, that need the fostering aid of Congressional appropriation. Her harbors upon the coast, where of any commercial importance, become objects of national interest, in the way of promoting the public revenue, and will receive the necessary aid from Congress whether our representation is diminished or not. Any great measures of interest to the States, like that of distributing the proceeds from the sale of public lands, among the States, for school purposes, as was begun a few years ago by donation of land scrip—and again agitated in the last Congress respectively for a like purpose—if adopted by that body as the policy that shall govern that great interest in the future, will be distributed upon the basis of population or illiteracy in the States, and Georgia, in such case, would receive her quota irrespective of her numerical strength in Congress. As slavery is out of the way, and there will probably be no more constitutional tinkering on the negro question, we may reasonably hope, so far as the South is concerned, that sectional issues will be put to rest in the future. As the war feeling dies out, considerations of interest will prompt the North to be more just, if not generous. The intimate commercial relations between the sections—the chief market the South affords for Northern manufactures and Western produce, and considerations growing out of the public debt, will have a conservative influence in shaping legislation in Congress, and operate as moral advantages to the South.

Georgia, in her impoverished condition, with her people groaning under the weight of private and public indebtedness, with taxation necessarily high to meet her maturing obligations and current expenses, and with all her industries sharing their proportional part in the general financial

distress, certainly demands the highest endeavors and most faithful labor of every true son in her behalf.

The public press of Georgia, conducted, for the most part, by men of ability, culture and public spirit, should lend its potent aid in building up our languishing industries. The best ability—combining practical thought with working capacity, and thorough identity with every interest in the State—should be brought into our Legislature. Interest in Federal politics should be subordinated to the paramount claims of Georgia's local interest. That class of statesmanship which ignores local State interest, and plumes itself for the arena of Federal politics, and seeks a seat in the national legislature, as its chosen field of duty and honor, should be placed at a discount in Georgia.

As unity, strength and internal peace are essential to the prosperity and well-being of political communities, our people should endeavor to make the political body homogeneous, by removing from it that element that will continue to be the author of confusion and discord. And if a diminished representation in Congress, by which Georgia will lose five of her members, be the price and penalty for shielding her interest from the perils of universal suffrage, then let her pay the one and incur the other.

THE MORAL CONDITION OF THE SOUTHERN NEGRO.

The moral and religious aspect of the negro race at the South, is not merely a matter of concern to the Christian mind of our section, but invites the thoughtful attention of all, who properly estimate the value of moral agencies, in upholding the integrity of law, in the promotion of public order, and in promoting the well-being of society. The consciousness cannot be divested of a measure of apprehension to our people, in knowing that there are four and one-half millions of people of another race, intermingled with them in a civil, political and industrial relation, who are ignorant and depraved—under but little moral restraint in any sense—and held to legal obedience, for

the most part, from the fear and dread of punishment the law inflicts upon its violators.

Although the negro, by coming in contact with civilizing influences, has been far removed from his primitive state of barbarism, and made considerable advance towards the goal of a better life, yet he has not reached that stage of mental and moral development that would entitle him to a place of equal rank among civilized communities. The test which the enlightened opinion of the present day imposes, when the claims of any people to civilization are asserted, whether they form a separate political community, under a government of their own, or whether they are segregated into a distinct class under an enlightened government, are, for the most part, tests of a moral character. There may be material development, evinced in the acquisition of wealth and its proper use in securing the conveniences, the comforts, and luxuries of life, and farther evidenced by familiarity with art, literature, and the refinements of social life; yet, if the moral qualities of truth, justice, and humanity—imparted by the teachings of Christianity—are wanting, it falls far short of true civilization. The acceptance of this proposition, as a postulate, at this day, obviates the necessity of its illustration by instituting comparisons between the most enlightened states of society in ancient times, with that of modern European or American civilization.

If we separate the negro, by that wall of partition which color and caste have made immovable, and insuperable, and judge him as a distinct class, upon his attainments, capabilities, and moral status, we will place him without the pale of civilization.

In discussing the moral condition of the negro, it is not our purpose to deal with that class of facts that are simply conjectural, or of doubtful import, but those which present themselves in clear and palpable outline, whose force and significance are felt and seen by every observant man at the South. The broad and unmistakable

facts that are presented in the statistics of crime in our State, showing a steady increase every year—the daily scenes that are enacted in our criminal courts, to say nothing of the criminal practices in the way of petit larceny, breach of the peace, adultery, and other evidences of depravity, of which no legal cognizance is taken, go to make up a record for the negro that is appalling to contemplate. Those facts presenting themselves in the daily life of the negro, and the main features that go to make up his history, are not merely phenomenal in their nature, or like the outcroppings of evil that is produced by disturbing the normal conditions of society, but have their origin in part in the natural depravity of the negro, and are partly attributable to the absence, or want, of proper moral and religious instruction. The bread riots that sometimes occur in large cities, the strikes among the labor class which often give rise to a turbulent spirit, and at times accompanied with violence and outrage, and the political and other disturbances in society, in which reason is subordinate to passion, and evil results follow, have an inciting cause that produce them—are simply phenomenal in their character, and after expending the energy it aroused, society again assumes its normal condition.

The case presented by the totally emancipated negro is quite different. A large per cent. of the wrong-doing and evil which he inflicts upon society are attributable to motives that are inherent in his nature—the bad impulses that flow from a low state of morals. He may be quietly at work in the field, or passing leisurely along the highway, free from all mental or emotional excitement at the time, and yet, if occasion presents itself, he may perpetrate (as the newspaper press is constantly testifying) the most revolting act in the catalogue of crime. He may wake up from a quiet sleep, with the demands of his nature satisfied, or ample food at hand, and no immediate want pressing him, when he will go out and commit a theft of something of trifling value, and in many cases will prefer to pilfer a small article

when he knows the owner would give it to him by simply asking for it. It is thought by many who have constant dealing with the negro in a business way, that he has less regard for truth now than when a slave, when, in that state an untruth would oftentimes shield him from correction, and seemingly make the temptation to evade truth stronger than the ordinary motives that may now actuate him.

If the statistics of crime, which usually afford the most reliable data for judging the moral status of a people, are to enter into any estimate we may make of that of the Southern blacks at the present time, we are forced to infer that he is retrograding, in this particular, the farther he recedes from a state of slavery. The United States census report, as yet, furnish no complete data upon this point, as it only embraced the five years of the negro's history since his civil relations have been changed. The next census report will be looked to with profound interest by all those who are watching the tendency of the colored race at the South in his present state of freedom. We have seen estimates, based upon the number of annual convictions for crime by our State courts, which fix the rate of increase in criminal convictions at ten per cent. for the last ten years.

The inquiry has doubtless suggested itself to every thoughtful mind, why has the negro exhibited a moral retrogression, under circumstances seemingly more favorable to his elevation in this point of view than those that environed him in a state of slavery? And if slavery was "the sum of all villainy," as the abolitionists characterized it, certainly the converse is true, and that a liberation from the shackles of slavery would bring with it ameliorating influences that would at once begin to lift the negro from the depths of degradation, and make his ascent to a higher standard of morals an assured fact. If we should examine into the causes which have operated to the disadvantage and detriment of the negro in a moral point of view, and especially those influences that have changed for the worse his mere moral conduct, we would doubtless find them to be

such as should not go to the prejudice of the negro. The change in his civil status, operating upon him in a way that he could not understand, and bringing with it a new order of discipline that was not remedial, and wholly unsuited to his nature, has, in effect, tended to give rein rather than check his propensity to evil. Another cause of his moral decline, and one that most probably has contributed as much to it as the one just stated, is the great want of proper religious instruction to aid and direct him in pursuit of a better life.

And we doubt not that a careful and proper examination into the state of religion that obtains among the negroes of the South, would open up to view the broadest field for missionary effort that can be found under the canopy of heaven. In the last twenty-five years of slavery there was a deep interest manifested in the spiritual welfare of the Southern slaves by the Christian people of the South, and there were regular and systematic efforts expended in their behalf by Southern churches, that not only absolved them from any blame or reproach, (as was often the case in the indiscriminate abuse of slavery by Northern fanatics,) for not providing for the spiritual needs of the negro, but show on the other hand (as we shall verify by statistics) schemes of broadest philanthropy and religious enterprise which have not been exceeded in the missionary labors of any other people.

The following statement, made up from the annual reports of the churches named, in the year 1859, shows the extent to which the slave population of the South had been brought under the influence of Christianity and led to embrace its truths:

Methodist Episcopal Church, South (colored members).....	188,000
Missionary and Anti-Missionary Baptists (colored members).....	175,000
Presbyterian Church (colored members).....	38,000
Protestant Episcopal Church (colored members).....	7,000
Christian Church (colored members).....	10,000
All other denominations (estimated).....	35,000
Total.....	453,000

The remark was made in one of the reports quoted, that the number of slaves brought into the Christian church, as a consequence of the introduction of the African race into the United States, exceeds all the converts made throughout the heathen world by the whole missionary force employed by Protestant Christendom. Statistics compiled from authentic data in 1859, gives the whole number of converts in the Protestant Christian missions in Asia, Africa, Pacific Islands, West Indies, and North American Indians at 250,000; thus showing that the number of African converts in the Southern States was almost double the whole number of heathen converts. These great results, showing the achievements of combined Christian effort at the South for the negro, necessitated the use of systematic and far-reaching plans—engaging the services of a considerable number of Christian men, and a large expenditure of money. Those of our people who were not connected with the church, and who owned slave property, were generally actuated by humane and considerate views upon the subject of religious instruction for the slave. The extensive missionary work, embracing almost the whole area of slave population, was largely supplemented by the labors of Southern ministers in the regular pastoral work of the whites, in preaching to the blacks whenever opportunity presented itself.

The slave population of the South in 1860 numbered 3,953,760; by calculation we find that $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the aggregate, and more than 50 per cent. of the adult negro population were members of the church. Massachusetts, or any other Northern State, will not show in their church statistics results so favorable to the success of Christian effort as was here exhibited among the slaves of the South.

We do not present this as any argument in defense of the institution of slavery, but simply to show what was done for the moral improvement of the negro in slavery, by way of vindicating our people from the malignant and

mendacious assaults of the fanatics of the North, who, now merged into the Radical party, are still rehearsing the stale slanders of injustice and inhumanity against the people of the South. The extent to which the negro was vindicated by the disinterested Christian efforts of the Southern slaveholder, during his term of servitude, may be inferred by contrasting the state of moral and religious advancement attained at his manumission, with the benighted condition of savage life in his native lands.

But when the Federal ukase was issued and put in force, liberating the slave from the rule of the master, and conferring shortly afterward, civil and political rights upon the manumitted blacks, have begun at once an utter undoing and complete obliteration of all that had been accomplished for the spiritual good of the negro in the past, and has, during his decade of freedom, been drifting backwards, and if not arrested and put under better influences, will very probably have reached such a demoralized and corrupt state in religion, within the next ten years, as to make his entrance upon the practice of pagan rites no improbable event.

It may be thought by some that this view is prejudicial and even unjust, that there is really nothing in the present religious state of the negro to warrant the assumption that he has deteriorated in the practice of Christian virtues, or shown weakening of religious principle to such an extent as to justify such conclusions. We are told that the negroes are a church-going people, nearly all of them are members of some religious society, and manifest a devotional spirit, and seem, above all other people, to enter into the enjoyment of religious worship. This very fact, coupled with their bad system of morals, and the perversion of the true spirit of Christianity in their worship, forms the worst feature in the negroes' case. If there was an abatement of religious fervor, and the falling back of individual members into a state of spiritual coldness corresponding with the state of morals, and always gauged by it, as honest

people do who have an enlightened conscience, and follow religion as a matter of principle, there would be far more hope for the negro, and justify the belief that he could work out the problem of his spiritual good, unaided by the kind offices and oversight of the white people.

The race-feeling that manifests itself in the instinctive desire to cut loose from all association with other people, and form a homogeneous society of their own, as the inferior races always do, when left to their natural bent, was exhibited by the Southern negroes in their religion before developing itself in any other form. The first year of their emancipation was marked by an earnest purpose to sever their church relations with those denominations at the South, that had manifested the deepest interest in their religious welfare, without waiting for any manifestation on the part of the whites, that a retention of their colored membership was not desirable, but in many instances absolved the connection against the counsels and entreaty of the paternal church. It was seen at once that any opposition to the wish of the negroes to sever their church relations, would be futile and unavailing, and that he must, for a time, be left to the fearful experiment of his own spiritual guidance, with all his inherent depravity and unreason operating to increase the hazard he was undergoing.

Immediately upon the close of the war, the Northern Methodist Church entered upon the execution of plans that had already been devised, and cherished with the most ardent expectations—that of incorporating the whole negro population of the South into its folds. With all the zeal and unwisdom of the iconoclast, they entered upon the appointed mission, self-assured that all obstacles to its consummation would be removed—if necessary, by physical force—and that the most signal success would crown the effort. The purpose was evidently two-fold—political and ecclesiastical; the first to strengthen and consolidate the power of the Radical party and “secure the fruits of

the war,” and the second was to swell the numerical strength of their church by adding another million of members, and make it the grandest and most glorious epoch in its history. It selected men with especial fitness and adaptation for the work in hand—men whose intellects, education and training if it had made them gentlemen, had not given them any very clear conceptions of the duties of Christian gentlemen. They came with the idea that military conquest of the South by the Federal forces implied a complete surrender of every right, civil, political and religious, and, as their church was pre-eminently the one of “moral ideas” and religious progress, it was its prerogative to come in and take possession of the Southern Methodist Church property, (the legal title to which had been in controversy twenty years before, and settled by the highest judicial tribunal in the country,) with the purpose and intent of appropriating it for the use of the negroes, and such whites as they might proselyte, and bring into their organization.

They established church papers as one of the instruments of their propaganda, which were designed to circulate among the ignorant negroes and low classes of white people, not for the purpose of imparting scriptural truth to their benighted minds, but to inflame their prejudices and passions by falsehood and defamation. Money, which was recognized by them as the sinews of other contests than that of war, was freely drawn from their plethoric treasury, and offered as a subsidy to impecunious ministers at the South, whose services might be available in the plan of “disintegration and absorption.” But the Southern negro, with all his obtuseness and gullibility, was not to be caught in the gospel net of Northern Methodists that had been spread with such earnest expectation. In the very overtures of the Northern Methodists, to the Southern negro, there seems to be a repellant force brought into play. The coldness, cant and hypocrisy of puritanical philanthropy was instinctively felt by the un-

suspecting negro, and like the negative forces under the laws of affinity, no effect was produced, leaving the matter upon which they were acting undisturbed.

The cause of such a signal failure was, doubtless, partly due to the organization of what is known as the African M. E. Church, which possessed a peculiarly attractive feature to the negro at this time, on account of its formation and entire government, being independent of any dictation or control of the white race. The springing up of this independent negro church, just at this juncture, although it possessed but little inherent soundness or element of good for the negro, was, if not providential, at least, a stroke of good fortune for the South. And though it was a politico-religious affair, it was purely in the interest of the negro, and was not made, we think, the vehicle in carrying forward the dirty schemes of the carpet-bag class of radical politicians. Conducted purely on the color-line in religion and in politics, it doubtless had a good deal to do in securing the political coalition between "Blifil and Black George," a combination of the puritan and the negro, making, in this compound, a political vampire that was fast sapping the life-blood of the South. If the Methodists of the North had met with any considerable degree of success, in bringing the negroes of the South into their church, it would, at that time, have been the cause of unmixed evil to the peace and welfare of both races at the South. The conditions of success, as they thought and as their actions confirmed, were to play upon the prejudices of the negro, so as to alienate him from his then existing church relations, and to have kept him permanently in their society, which would have necessitated the continuance of the iniquitous policy that had brought him in.

It would be no easy task to mark out the devious and uncertain path the Southern negro has traveled during the last ten years of his religious history, and equally as difficult to define his present state. With his severance from the Southern churches, he no longer desired the

instructions and spiritual oversight of their ministers, but sought out and obtained, without difficulty, spiritual guides among his own race, who have generally "darkened counsel," and led him into error and untruth, more hurtful and damaging than would have been the absence of all privilege and religious effort. There seems to be among them a penchant for preaching. Their ambition and aspirations seem to lead them in that way. It is not unfrequently the case, that the most ignorant and immoral among them, whose total unfitness for the sacred office is manifest to all of them, are called to ministerial functions, and enter upon them without any apparent change in moral conduct, yet wholly acceptable to the flock they may serve. Nearly all the colored politicians, if not engaged in preaching before their advent into politics, soon become preachers, and are doubtless prompted to do so from seeing the influence wielded by those who exercise the latter office, and thus combine the two to increase their popularity and add to their personal aggrandisement. Out of the number of an half dozen within our acquaintance, we do not know more than one who bears an unexceptional moral character. If the sources of information that come to us through their own people are trust-worthy, we are led by it to the belief that their preachers are very often the worst men among them—below the moral level of the average negro—to which must be added the greater sin of sacrilege. The better class of their preachers, who are no doubt sincere and honest in their calling, rarely evince any ability or disposition to inculcate a moral principle or fix a religious truth in the minds and hearts of their hearers. Their preachers being ignorant men, who know nothing of analyzing a principle or illustrating a scriptural truth, address their people in passionate utterances, with vehemence of manner, until both preacher and audience are wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement, which, in cooling down, leaves no ingrafting of the Word, to take hold upon the heart and moral nature,

and strengthen them for the trials and temptations that come afterwards. To attend or pass near one of their religious meetings, one cannot be otherwise than impressed, when their feelings are fully wrought upon, with the deep earnestness that characterizes their worship. The kind of services that are quiet and undemonstrative, seem to impress them but little, and they will remain listless and very frequently go to sleep, if the order is not changed. Singing in the loud stentorian tenor that they usually render it in, seems to raise them to the pathetic and rapturous state of feeling at once, and then, after napping over the sermon, they will rise with the song and enjoy an ecstasy of feeling, that is given vent to in the wildest and most labored vociferation.

If we consider the character of their worship, the spirit that pervades it, and the blind and incompetent leaders who are called to their religious instruction and oversight, we are not surprised to find them retrograding, and tending in a course that will lead them away from the true worship into error and superstition of the grossest kind. Those of our people who have taken any pains to look into the present religious state of the negro, cannot but see that the true spirit of worship is being perverted and corrupted to an extent already, that is really alarming to those who can feel any interest in their well-being. With nearly the whole adult population in the church, with a punctuality in attendance upon religious service exceeding that of the white members of the church, and with seemingly the highest state of religious enjoyment, yet we see no improvement in moral conduct, no diminution of crime, no sense of the degradation it should bring to the race, to give hope that ameliorating agencies were at work to raise them to the plane of a better life. We have already referred to the depravity that led them to acts of wrong-doing when free from any exciting cause, and it is no less true that this uncontrollable tendency to evil deeds supervenes so

closely upon their religious excitement, as to divest the latter of any moral effect whatever. It is said, and the often repetition gives it claims to credulity, that these people, in returning from church, with their feelings scarcely cooled down from the fervor and glow of religious excitement, will descend to the low and debasing practice of the sexual sin, which their incontinent nature leads them to commit. The moral faculty we call conscience, seems to be held in a state of abeyance, if not one of utter extinction. There is, no doubt, in their moral nature the germ of a conscience, but it has been so little cultivated and improved upon, and so often abused, in that class of vices particularly, that have an origin in mere animal instincts, that it is rarely quickened into life so as to offer any restraint upon the practice of their besetting sins. And herein lies the difficulty of introducing any wholesome and permanent reformation upon the moral and religious character of the negro race. The instincts of his animal nature are so strong as to destroy anything like an equilibrium between it and the moral sense, and hence the will-power, which asserts itself in the white race and gives them ability to determine and act, whether right or wrong, is so weak in the negro's nature, as to rarely assert itself in shaping and determining a moral action.

It is evident that the negro is corrupting the form, as well as perverting the true spirit, of worship, by introducing secular elements that must soon weaken and destroy his respect and regard for the church as a sacred institution. Soon after his investment with political rights, he began to mingle politics and religion at the church—making a hobby of first one and then the other—often so confounding the two as to be in doubt which had the higher claim upon his homage. Their churches (particularly in the country) have been, during political campaigns, a sort of conclave, where they met for the purpose of party drill, and arrange for carrying out the designs of their

party leaders. If they are free from political excitement, some other secular interest, or caprice, that engages their attention collectively, takes its place, and is brought forward as a matter belonging to the church, and considered with the same gravity as if it was in reality a religious duty. It appears that the discipline which obtains in their churches, amounts almost to a nullity, owing to their lax and imperfect ideas of moral principles, and total want of administrative capacity.

The inconsistencies that are so glaring and palpable in the profession and practice of religion, are, we think, not so much a thing of design and purpose, as it is a want of moral perception, and the positive virtue of moral courage. The whole race seems to view religion as something apart from, and independent of, moral principle, and the Decalogue itself as an obsolete code or unmeaning something, of no more efficacy or binding force than the ceremonial law of the Mosaic period is to the people of the Christian era. Hypocrisy, that very often seeks to veil the moral obligations of religious people, in a sphere above the negro, and where it may be practiced with so much art and skill as to "deceive the very elect," is not the besetting sin of the negro. In his religion, as in his vices, he is true to nature and follows her promptings. The negro, even of mature years, needs moral training and discipline like the child, in a way that he can understand. Simple moral truths, such as are taught in the child's catechism, (though it need not be in that form,) should be presented to him in the way of preaching, lecturing, or other form that will impress them upon his understanding, and form the basis of a moral character upon which may be founded a religion of substance and reality.

In portraying the state of morals, and that of religion, that exists among the negroes at the South, we have endeavored to avoid anything like suppositions or exaggerated statements, founding the views expressed upon facts that came to us from what we deemed trustworthy sources,

and, for the most part, that class of facts that come within the knowledge of every Southern man, who has given any thought to the subject, and has had opportunity for observation. Christianity, we are taught, is a primary element of progress, and if the state of religion that obtains among our Southern negro population is likely to become so perverted, and so utterly demoralized, as to deprive it of its inherent force and vitality, it then becomes a serious question for the religious mind of the South, whether missionary effort should not be directed in its behalf.

Laying aside the promptings of Christian philanthropy, and viewing the condition of the negro in a cold, abstract sense, we might say that we are not responsible for his morals, or his condition, nor should have any concern for his proper religious training, or his destiny beyond the present life. The negro, it is true, desires those of his own race to be his spiritual advisers, and has withdrawn and stands aloof in religion, as well as in politics, from the contact and teachings of the white man. But this may be said of any race or people who have a religion of their own, or who desire teachers and leaders of the kindred race. To apply this argument in a general sense, would, in effect, stop all missionary effort, and suspend the aggressive forces of Christianity. If missionary labor in behalf of the Southern blacks were needful and beneficial before their manumission, (as we have already shown that they were liberally expended, with the most encouraging results,) certainly the demand is as great, and the field as inviting, now as then. The chief difficulties that seem to present themselves in the way of our Southern churches, in resuming their former relation to the negro race, and the work it involved, are: First, the indisposition, on the part of the negroes, to accept such gratuitous labors in their behalf; and, secondly, the want of means to carry on such enterprises. These obstacles, if properly examined, will be found to be apparent rather than real. The first, we suppose, is always encountered in missionary

labors in foreign lands, where a new system of religion is to be planted upon the uprooting and removal of an old one. In the case of the Southern negro, the trouble does not arise from any conflict of religious opinion, but merely supposed prejudice against the source from which missionary labors in his interest would come. The negro is docile and submissive in disposition, is not very tenacious in his opinion, and his race feeling will very probably yield, to some extent, and far enough to accept the kind and unselfish offers of religious aid from Southern churches. The second difficulty stated, is that of a want of means to carry on anything like an organized and systematic religious work among the blacks of the South. It is true that our Southern churches, as to monied resources, but reflect the condition of our people, are straitened in circumstances, and not more than able to support their ministry, and carry on the missionary and other enterprises they have in hand. While we do not deem it proper to discuss, in this paper, the ways and means by which our people may inaugurate and carry on schemes for the moral and religious improvement of the colored race in their midst, yet we can state, with some degree of assurance, that if the Christian mind of the South is convinced of the fact that these people, in their present isolated and somewhat neglected condition, are drifting away from the moorings of Christianity, that liberal and energetic plans will be devised, commensurate with the task to be accomplished. Any other supposition upon the probable course our people may take, in a matter of such deep concern, would do violence to that liberal and enlightened Christian sentiment that so thoroughly pervades them. These people, though of a different race, and socially ostracised from us, and though they have justly incurred our displeasure in an alliance with our political foe in his efforts to impoverish, insult and degrade us, still they are endeared to us by strong ties in the past; for willing obedience, for faithful service, for tender and loyal attachment as long as the

relation of master and servant existed. They have been temporarily alienated from us, by appeal and argument presented to them in such way that we could not reasonably expect them to resist it. They are still—the great mass of them—homeless and dependent, upon our lands, at our doors, and around our firesides, as laborers and household servants. They are not only near us, but as entirely dependent upon us now as they were in a state of slavery. As to all means of securing within themselves proper religious instruction, and as to energy and self-directing power, they are but children, and must find the needed aid elsewhere, or suffer its deprivation. From our relation to them in the present, as well as past, arises an obligation at once imperative, and, to us, of solemn and momentous significance, to make provision for their moral advancement, to the extent that we are able, even if it should require the abandonment of foreign missionary fields. The question we are discussing in this connection, is entirely new, not having been raised in the religious press, or noticed elsewhere, as we have seen, but it will very probably, at an early day, assume shape and proportion that will bring it into prominence as one of real, if not of vital importance.

If it should be found upon survey, and a careful examination of the field, that there are real and urgent grounds for interposing religious effort by our Southern Christian people, in behalf of the negro, then the work should begin in earnest, else efforts by other people will be aimed in that direction. The Methodist church, (North,) though foiled and discomfited in a measure, has not, we opine, abandoned its long-cherished object of absorbing the Southern negro in its organization. The meagre success attained at a few points, gives it encouragement to hold them, and will doubtless in the future prosecute their work of evangelizing the Southern blacks with more zealous efforts than in the past. If the past and present animus of this church was such as to give assurance that the Christian labors it

might expend in the South in the future would be free from the contaminating influence of politics, and the more odious doctrine of social equality, we could welcome them in our midst, and bid them good speed; but we can have no guaranty whatever that such will be the case. If this church should establish a permanent hold in the South, with extensive ramifications in its work of *evangelizing* the colored race, though the effort might be attended with but little success, yet the opportunity for operating upon the prejudice of the negro, and fermenting discord, would be too inviting for that pragmatic and busy people to neglect.

It has been repeatedly stated within the last year or two, in the newspaper press, that the Catholics have designs upon the Southern negroes, and are maturing plans that are not merely tentative, or experimental, but systematic and far-reaching—leaving out of calculation for success no factor that would be considered necessary to attain it. The preparation for this special work at the South is said to embrace, as the first step, the education of fifty young colored men in the Papal colleges at Rome, with special training in the Jesuitical orders, who, operating with their own color at the South, having peculiar advantages of access, and sympathy of race, as well as fitness for the task, would constitute a working force that would seem to give, upon the very threshold of the movement, the most favorable augury of success. Whatever may be alleged against the Roman church in the propagation of its doctrine and tenets in the past, it cannot be denied that the same earnestness and fixedness of purpose actuates it to-day that it did in any period of its eventful history in the past. The fiery zeal, the assertion and use of temporal power, the terrible inquisition with its instruments of torture—the rack, the thumb-screw, and the stake—as means to subserve its ends, have, under the better influences of modern civilization, as well as lessons of wisdom taught it by the logic of events, been abandoned for more peaceful, but no less effective agencies. It is establishing colleges and asylums, we see,

in almost every State in the Union, is carrying on a beneficent and commendable work in educating orphan and pauper children wherever it can gather them up, and is, doubtless, doing as much, if not more, charitable and philanthropic labor in the interest of suffering humanity in the United States than the Protestant churches combined. The liberal and enlightened policy pursued by this church in our own country, with its constantly widening field of charitable work, is fast removing the prejudices and the traditional animosity that formerly existed in the minds of Protestants, and we find to-day a feeling of tolerance, if not of approbation, towards its seeming progressive course in the United States.

If our Protestant churches in the South, upon a careful survey of the field, shall not deem it expedient, or desirable to enter upon the work of re-establishing their former relation to the Southern blacks, either partially, in an advisory capacity, or wholly, by incorporating them into their churches and furnishing them ministerial aid, then the next best service that could be rendered to the negro would be an acquiescence in, if not an encouragement of, his absorption into the Catholic Church.

It may be asked what good would result from an incorporation of the Southern negro into the Catholic Church, either to the negro himself or to society at large. We would answer by saying that it is the form of worship best suited to the negro, though it may be in the greatest degree objectionable, as a religion suitable and adapted to a highly intelligent and reasoning people. The splendid ritual of the Catholic Church, with its imposing ceremonies, its pomp and pageantry, and the impressive devotional feature in the worship, would strike the negro with force, inspire him with awe, and awaken in his mind a reverence for sacred things, that no other form of worship, in his present mental and moral condition, could do. We have always felt doubt about the capacity of the great mass of the negro race to comprehend the plan of salvation, as it has been usually

taught them. We never heard a negro preacher explain it in such way as to lead us to believe that he had any proper conceptions of it himself, much less the gift to impart correct ideas of it to others. The emotional part of the negro's nature seems to be powerfully wrought up, in the act of worship, while other faculties remain comparatively dormant—but little acted upon in the worship itself, or as evidenced by any marked effect afterwards. We can place no high estimate upon that kind of religion that acts merely upon the emotional part of man's nature, that does not take hold upon the intellect in convincing reason, in subduing the will, and bringing the whole man in captivity to its rule. If the negro, either by his natural endowment or state of ignorance, cannot receive the most profit by forms of worship or systems of religion as usually taught to more rational and intelligent people, as suited to their nature and understanding, then would it not seem more in accordance with the fitness of things that the great and essential truths of divinity should be imparted to him in a more simple form?

It has been alleged as a ground of objection to the Catholic Church, that it encourages in a measure, if it does not directly practice, a species of idolatry in presenting conspicuously in their churches pictures, statuary and relics of sacred personages, which leads to object worship, rather than the true spiritual worship that should alone engage the thought and inspire the homage of Christian people. We would not here be understood as attempting any defense of the Catholic religion, or appear as an apologist for the objectionable feature just stated, yet when viewed under particular circumstances, as a question of ecclesiastical policy, it is supported by reasons that seem cogent and conclusive. There is, and always has been, outside of the clergy, a large element of ignorance in the Catholic Church, and doubtless the visible representation by art of truth to be imparted, especially to the ignorant and unreasoning class, would, if not greatly aided

by such associations, at least, tend to awaken a deeper reverence for sacred things, and produce a feeling in harmony with devotional exercise. How the images in their sacred books, the statues upon their altars, and other art illustrations of the Divine idea are to represent it to the senses of the worshipper, has, we believe, never been declared, *ex cathedra*, or explained by Catholic writers, that we have seen: If any people who are the subjects of religious teachings cannot embrace truth in the abstract, when it is necessary to be received by them as the foundation of a belief in Christianity, and as a basis of moral and religious character, and which is further necessary to fit them for a reception into religious society, then the simpler forms of imparting such truths, if they are to receive it at all, must be resorted to. And again, if the great truths of the gospel necessary for the negro to embrace, as the initial point of all moral improvement, or any advance in religious life, cannot be grasped by reason, where his reasoning faculty, from any cause, cannot perform the necessary office, then systematic representation of such truths, if it will aid him in their acquisition, would seem, to that extent, allowable, even by those who hold to anti-Catholic views on this particular subject.

While the Papal system of religion, with its forms of worship, is well adapted to the negro's nature and condition in life, it would, in the second place, retain him more securely within its organization, and more effectually control him, not only in matters of religion, but in his civil relations, than any other religious organization. There seems to be a conservative power inherent in the Catholic Church that is alone peculiar to it, and has preserved it for fifteen centuries from discord, schism and internal weakness, that has so often been the bane of other systems of religion. This, doubtless, springs from its peculiar organization as an ecclesiastical body, the implicit obedience it exacts to its mandates, and the sublime faith which in some mysterious way it inspires its members with in the truth and power of its

mission as a church. Its temporal policy in the matter of discipline does not recognize expulsion from the church as a proper method of dealing with immoral members, as long as they may be true to the Catholic faith. It maintains that the communicant cannot be alienated from the church only upon grounds of heresy, and that it is the appropriate work of the church to carry on the process of reformation in the life and character of its members, however deeply stained with sin that of any offending member may be. And by holding the negro securely in its folds, it would not only begin a work of reformation upon him, but one of charity, and not only philanthropy, in his behalf, that is greatly needed at times and places where he is often neglected, even by his own race. If it did not impart a growth in morals, and put him on a line of religious progression, it would arrest at least a farther decline, and prevent his drifting back to pagan rites, as he is prone to do, when left to his own spiritual guidance.

While we of the South have been correctly taught that religion is something too sacred to be connected with the policies of civil government, or to be controlled in any way by secular considerations, yet, in endeavoring to work out the problem that presents itself to the Southern people, in connection with the negro race, no factor should be omitted that could be considered necessary to its solution. Contemporaneous, or modern history, presents no parallel case, with analogies that assimilate it in essential particulars, to that which now exists at the South. The case of the Moors, in Spain, where two distinct races, nearly equally divided as to numbers, disputed for the supremacy of race for eight centuries, resulting in the final overthrow and expulsion of the Moors, approximates the situation in the South nearer than any other, perhaps, in the whole range of history. We state here, that we are very far from attempting to contribute to anything like a sensational feeling upon this particular point, as the reader has, doubtless, observed that we have dealt in a spirit of candor in our preceding remarks

upon every phase of the negro question that has presented itself. It is by a statement of known facts, and a fair and candid interpretation of them, following their necessary logical sequence, that we can reach rational and satisfactory conclusions upon any question that may be presented. And every thoughtful man must see that the ten years of freedom to the negroes in our midst, with the present generation of them under the restraints of slavery, to the extent of yielding obedience and deference to the whites, by force of habit, which will be completely obliterated in the next fifteen or twenty years, serves but little now in indicating the state of feeling and attitude that he may assume towards the Southern whites at the close of that period.

It has been doubtless generally observed, that there exists between the boys of the two races a feeling of antagonism, growing more apparent every year, and which every man now thirty years old recollects very distinctly as not having existed in the intercourse between white and negro boys fifteen or twenty years ago. This fact has been remarked to us by prudent, clever, colored men, who expressed the belief that such feeling was not instilled by colored parents in the minds of their children, and were at a loss to account for it. This thing is not dependent upon the training and discipline of the boys, but is governed by an ethnological law which asserts itself in this particular, and produces results as clearly and unmistakeably as does the race law develop any other class of facts. We quote here an utterance of Fred Douglass, made before the National Colored Convention at Washington, in 1875, not for any truth that it contains, but to show the spirit that, no doubt, does, to some extent, pervade "the rising generation." He says: "The rising generation are as brave and daring as are the white men. Already this spirit is taking deep root in the minds of thousands, who have nothing to lose in the contest, and who would rejoice to sacrifice their lives for their liberty." (He doubtless meant equality.)

There must be, in the nature of things, a degree of social ostracism, that will keep the negro in his natural and proper sphere. This separation, however, need not obtain in matters of religion, to the same extent, or in the same sense, that must necessarily occur in social and political life. One of the chief dangers that we may apprehend in the future, arises from the continued segregation of the negro race into religious society exclusively their own, which would show to them their complete isolation, where all the evil influences of mere race-feeling would operate upon them to the fullest extent. An insuperable caste on account of their origin, color, and physical formation, will always separate them, socially, from the whites. They will be excluded from public office, its honors and emoluments; and if religion, whose mission and office are to purify the heart of man, and fill it with peace, love and charity towards all mankind, should fail to show any connecting link between the two races, then, indeed, the negro would feel that he was a veritable "Pariah," and every white man's hand against him.

While the great mass of this race will very probably remain in a state of ignorance for successive generations, numbers will be educated, which will stimulate their pride and awaken new aspirations, and, finding a superior, and the ruling race above them, whose sphere cannot be attained, on account of caste, will cause them to agitate foolish and impracticable questions, which will beget a restive, jealous, and dissatisfied spirit among the masses, that must make society, in the future, more disorderly and insecure than at present. For obvious reasons, therefore, the white people should pursue a just, kind, and conciliatory course toward the negro in the private relations of life, and in those connections in which the negro can feel a sense of public justice towards him, and interest in his behalf, such as grow out of legislation, the administration of public law, and in matters of religion, a conservative influence may be wielded that would tend to allay much of the trouble that might arise in the future.

In this seeming digression from the subject that we were discussing antecedently, we have enlarged upon the possible dangers that may arise in the future, in order to show the necessity of putting into operation those moral influences that would redound to the well-being of the negro race, and tend to a conservatism of peace, order, and the best interest of Southern society. We have endeavored to show that the Catholic Church, next to our Southern Protestant Churches, was the best agency for the accomplishment of such desirable results.

There has been repeated attempts in the past, and are, during the present year, to excite the fears and inflame the prejudices of the American people against the Catholic Church, upon the assumption that it would endeavor to gain political power, and wield it, ultimately, to the subversion of religious liberty in our country. We are gratified in knowing that this spirit of intolerance has been confined to Northern latitudes, and that our Southern people, who take broad and catholic views of religious liberty, have shared but to a very small extent in such spirit.

The course of the Catholic Church in the United States has been eminently conservative, as every reading man knows. It has not only abstained from all interference in political affairs, but has seemed to be less agitated and wrought upon by political excitement in the past, than any other religious society in the country. Nearly all the Protestant denominations at the North, at the beginning of the late war, and we might say ten years preceding, gave decided and emphatic expression upon the political issues then dividing the country. Catholics, North and South, engaged in the late war just as the people of other religious denominations, and were no doubt just as loyal to their respective governments as others, but we have yet to learn that the Catholic Church was exercised by the bitter war feeling that pervaded other churches to the close of hostilities. The Catholics in the Southern States are fully identified with the great body of Southern society, not only as to

national interest, but upon those questions that have a peculiar social and political significance. There can be no real ground of apprehension, that if this Church should espouse the cause of the negro, and embrace a considerable portion of them in its organization, it would wield an influence inimical to society, but on the other hand we can be reasonably assured that the whole moral power of this Church would be brought to bear in controlling the negro in the interest of peace. It would not tolerate, much less favor, any pretensions to an equality of races, but treat the negro simply as an object of religious instruction and improvement, as it has done in its mission fields upon the coast of Africa, the West Indies and other places where the African race has been the subject of its religious enterprise. We repeat: If our Southern Protestant Churches, for any reasons, should not engage in the religious work that seems necessary to meet the exigencies in the case of the Southern negro, and if the two great evils that threaten him in the future, to wit: his proclivity to drift from Christianity to Paganism, and the no less evil of his attempted absorption into the Methodist E. Church (North), can be averted by his incorporation into the Catholic Church, then it becomes a *desideratum*, that is sanctioned by Christian regard for the negro, as well as supported by considerations of public policy.