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ARTICLE I.

POPULAR REVIVALS.

We would observe once for all, that the following observations upon "Revivals" are designed for no one denomination exclusively, but are addressed to the candid judgment and prayerful consideration of Christians of every name. An especial appeal, however, is made to the thought, serious and earnest, of any brother who has ventured to engraft "means" and "measures" confessedly of human origin, upon an economy explicit, inspired, and unmistakable.

True revivals are very ancient. David prays for one in his day, but he clearly indicates the way to it. "I will hear what God the Lord will speak; for he will speak peace unto his people and to his saints; but let them not turn again to folly. Surely his salvation is nigh them that fear him." But old ways, which prevailed in David's time, require too much genuine toil and self-denial for the present impatient generation. Every thing and every body in our time must travel fast. The masses, as well as certain professed teachers, love excitement. The "revivalist" is greatly in favor with the public. A sprightly brother distils his entire stock of discourses down to fifteen or twenty, and then sets out on a journey of spiritual knight-errantry. He has a special sermon for every class, and certain results are to

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ARTICLE V.

THE FUTURE OF THE FREEDMEN.

Less than three years ago, four millions of slaves were suddenly emancipated in these Southern States. Less than eight years ago, nearly every individual of this vast multitude, then born, was in a condition of positive comfort and of consequent contentment. In all the elements of material prosperity; in the possession of means adequate to every physical want; in the lightness of their daily tasks; in health of body, and in tranquillity of mind, their condition was far superior to that of any other peasantry on the face of the earth. Their labor,—that of agriculturists,—is proverbially the most healthful and pleasant among the various forms of toil in which, by the decree of God, man earns his daily bread. They were slaves, yet virtually freer than most of the laborers of the world. The restraints that were upon and around them were only those, which, it was supposed, the safety of the state rendered necessary. If sometimes separated against his will from his family, it was in general either for crime or else through overwhelming misfortune compelling the master to part with his slave; although it cannot be denied that bad men would exercise their power as masters in an inhuman manner and sometimes separated slaves for gain; always, however, frowned upon by good men for such conduct. Sometimes also, the supposed necessity for more land led to a removal to the west; in which case a husband or wife frequently elected (the choice being given) to go with his or her “white folks” rather than be left behind. In either of these cases of separation (voluntary or involuntary) from his family, no greater evil was incident to the negro than to white men in every country and condition of society. Aside from the instincts of a common humanity, which usually secure kind treatment to a dependent class, it was always to the interest of the owner to provide for the health and comfort of his slaves. In no other part of the

world was the natural antagonism between capital and labor less apparent than in the wide domain where the workman was the property of the capitalist. No strikes,* no trades-unions, no combinations to resist the demands of the employer, no riots were dreamed of, or possible; yet it is notorious that these enslaved workmen regarded the status of the *poorer* class of the dominant race as inferior to their own in every respect. So much for their physical condition.

This large population, separated from the white races of the earth by the decree and providence of God, and separated specially from the white population of the South by the natural operation of the laws that regulated the relations betwixt master and slave, was yet very closely and intimately associated with the people of the superior race. It is safe to assert that throughout the greater part of the wide territory they inhabit, if a professedly Christian household could be found where the religious instruction of this dependent people was not attempted with more or less zeal and fidelity, and with greater or less success; or where, at least, the attempts of others to teach Christianity to their slaves were not thankfully acknowledged; that household was a marked and dishonored exception to the general rule. The religious status of these children of heathen progenitors, was, and is, an absorbing source of anxiety to multitudes of God-fearing and highly cultivated white men, who never regarded slavery as an evil or a curse. And so prevalent was the conviction that God held the better instructed masters responsible for the religious training of their dependent and untutored slaves,

*There was recently a *strike* amongst the workmen on the wharves in Charleston. Their wages had been two dollars per day, and they struck for *three*, perhaps influenced in part by knowing that black men, not their own superiors generally, were receiving eleven dollars for a day's work in the reconstruction convention then assembled. What is the result? The stevedores (some of them *colored*) imported white men from New York to load vessels at the old price. The young white men of Charleston, several hundred in number, also offered their services. Thus the labor slips away from the black man, and what his white brother thus secures, he will hardly ever again surrender. Alas, poor negro! it is an unequal contest into which you were forced when they made you antagonist to the white race!

that even ungodly owners could not resist its influence. The laws that affirmed the right of ownership, also secured to the bondsman the rest of the Sabbath, and consequently the opportunity for instruction in the great truths of the gospel. So, the second point is reached, to wit: that no peasantry on the face of the earth, excepting perhaps in the single kingdom of Scotland, was so thoroughly Christianized as the slaves of the South prior to the termination of the war.

The present condition of this population physical and moral throughout the entire South, it were indeed a difficult undertaking to portray in full. Perhaps it may not be safe to reason from their circumstances in one section of the country to those in another, or from any one portion to the whole mass. Probably no individual is competent to speak of the general condition, and each can tell only of what he has himself seen or heard from others on good testimony. There are no statistics carefully made out from which to reason. In a certain sense it may be said that the *present* status of the freedmen is as uncertain to us as their *future*. Some few points, however, it may not be presumptuous to set before the reader as open to no doubt.

Examining, first, into the material circumstances of the freedmen—it is undeniable that generally the sick negro now finds it very hard to get medicine and medical attendance, while from want and exposure he stands more in need of both than ever. These advantages he never lacked while a slave; but, now, robbed of his natural protectors and providers, and a wanderer to a very great extent amongst strangers, themselves greatly impoverished, he cannot reasonably expect to find either. Of course no one would suppose it possible that the medical profession (proverbially charitable the world over) who have suffered overwhelming losses in common with all their fellow-citizens in the South, could be able to furnish medicine and attendance gratuitously (which nevertheless many of them are constantly attempting) to *all* the poor, sick, and dying negroes of whom the country is full. Meanwhile, gentlemen of the medical profession in Virginia, and also in South Carolina, have been understood to express their conviction that there are causes of disease at work

amongst this population, such as have been and are destroying the native Sandwich Islanders, which, unless they can be checked and controlled, must inevitably bring about the annihilation of the race.

Again, it cannot be doubted that negro children perish now by hundreds, and that in various ways; while formerly they were always carefully watched over, provided for, and in every way fostered by masters of all sorts. In fact, negro children are not born in such numbers as formerly. Upon a recent visit to Charleston, an interested and impartial observer discovered but two negro infants in places and circumstances where he would have expected previously to meet with at least fifty. An intelligent and respectable lady has declared that dead negro children have been eaten by buzzards in the fields around Beaufort, the headquarters of freedom to the negro. The same competent witness has described the squalid misery of multitudes of this unhappy people living on fish only, there, where always and very naturally has been supposed to be, the paradise of the freedman.

In the next place, it may be mentioned that insanity (formerly not often met with amongst the light-hearted and cheerful slaves) is becoming of frequent occurrence amongst the freedmen. They begin to taste care and anxiety. A respectable gentleman met on one day's ride in Williamsburg District, South Carolina, four cases of derangement in colored people. The intelligent and experienced superintendent of one of the largest and best managed Lunatic Asylums in the South, (which has received into its kindly care more than forty of these unfortunate ones) corroborates the truth of the assertion made above. To use his own language, "they are wandering all over the country."

Again, in a great variety of ways, the freedman now experiences the hardships of poverty, from which he was protected in slavery. Whilst in many cases the thrifty and intelligent class may find their physical condition improved by emancipation, and are better clad and more comfortable every way, the mass of them are manifestly poorer, worse clad, worse fed, and, in all their material circumstances, sufferers by the change. This, no man acquainted with the facts can deny. Multitudes of them

are now thrown upon public charity. Of this never did the slave stand in need, as he always *owned* some master to find him all the necessaries of life. *

Coming, in the next place, to the examination of the present moral condition of the freedmen, two features of it have very great significance. There appears to be a very common inclination amongst them to reject those religious teachings to which they have been hitherto accustomed, and by which, it is hoped, many thousands of them were guided to glory. Partly, this may be accounted for by saying it is *natural*, and always was the disposition of many of them; also, that it is *especially natural* in their new circumstances. Partly, it may be accounted for as the result of earnest and zealous efforts by many "false brethren [not] unawares brought in, who have come in privily," and also publicly, to sow the seeds of discord between these races, and persuade the negro that his late master is his natural and inveterate enemy. What is the consequence? In many cases the so-called ministers of the gospel, (both white and black) who have come from the North to preach to the freedmen, are simply *political emissaries*, figuring more prominently than any other class in all the Reconstruction Conventions, loyal leagues, and other political gatherings. It would be very strange if these men were, indeed, doing the same kind of work with him who said, "I determined

* One illustration may suffice of the novel experiences to which the *quondam* slave has been subjected by emancipation. A gentleman about to move with his family to Tennessee, set out from his home in South Carolina to go first a short distance upon a railroad accompanied by an elderly woman hired by him as a child's nurse, who was going to the same neighborhood with her employer, in order to take leave of her daughter there. Both descended from the cars at the same point. The gentleman was met by a friend's buggy, with horse and driver to convey him to his precise destination. The old freedwoman's daughter had no buggy and no wagon to send for her mother, and the decrepid ex-slave, (a sufferer from varicose veins) had to perform a journey of eighteen miles and back on foot. In former days, when going on such a visit, her master's horse or mule would have been put at her disposal, because no decent master would have suffered an elderly and delicate female slave (a house servant at that) to walk so far on such an errand. But now, what was she but a *hireling*?—fallen from the close relation she once occupied towards the white race.

to know nothing amongst you save Jesus Christ and him crucified." Of course, it is not the gospel of salvation to perishing sinners they preach, but their own political rhapsodies. In those cases where these Northern emissaries do not make politics their mission, still, *frequently*, they are bent on sowing division between the blacks and the whites. In fact, it is to be observed of the missionaries of the Presbyterian Church of the North, for example, that they seem to feel themselves called to go, not to the destitute and hitherto more neglected portions of this people, but precisely to those sections and towns, and indeed congregations, where always the most attention had been given to the religious instruction of the slaves; and to go thither apparently for the set purpose of *dividing*. Take, for example, Zion church, Charleston; or take the Presbyterian churches of Sumter District, S. C. But recently we read the report of the Rev. M. R. Miller, of his own doings in the latter region. "This (quoth he) has been one of the hard districts in this State, yet we have made a fair beginning to give this wilderness the richness and beauty of the rose." What Mr. Miller means by a *hard* district we are at some loss to understand, but we know well that Sumter was always distinguished for its zeal in giving the gospel to the negroes. "We have a church (Mr. M. continues) organised within a year, of more than one hundred and fifty communicants." Whence did he get them? With the aid of the notorious Mr. Gibbs, formerly the military occupant of the Zion church pulpit, (at this present writing said to be in the Florida Reconstruction Convention,) he robbed Salem (Black River) Presbyterian Church, of them all!

But there is a second class of religious teachers which has become very plentiful amongst the freedmen, viz., men of their own condition with no claims whatever to education, setting themselves up for teachers of religion; in many instances of bad personal character, licentious and dishonest, and ready to make use of their ghostly power for selfish and base ends. As might be expected, these men, some of whom are sincere though ignorant, mix up in their preaching, along with the doctrines of the gospel, the most absurdly ridiculous fancies and superstitions.

It is to the religious meetings held under such auspices that, as is well known, these misguided people go *in pairs*, each with his partner selected beforehand, and there engage in fanatical dances, like some of the enthusiasts of the times of Reformation. It was at such a meeting that, the lights being put out, the preacher gave the signal, "Come, le' we [let us] go hunt for find Jesus," and then he and all the brethren and sisters on their knees engaged in a general scramble until ere long the exultant shout of the preacher and his fellows began to be heard, "Oh! I find um! I got um!" Still further: it is amongst assemblies held by such men, that the old *Fetich* worship of their fatherland begins in various places to be revived amongst the unfortunate freedmen torn away from those influences which, banishing these horrid rites from amongst them, had substituted the rational and pure worship of the true and living God. For example, in portions of South Carolina the negroes are known to be boiling the lizard for purposes of witchcraft; while in North Carolina two freedwomen have been arrested and imprisoned for offering the sacrifice of a living negro child.

The significance of all this is, that to ruin this race religiously, is to ruin them every way. Formerly, Southern Christians were highly commended by their Northern brethren (especially Presbyterians) for faithful endeavors to preach Christ to the slaves. Who can now deny that it is a bad omen for the future of the freedmen that they should to so great an extent turn away from their former teachers and the blessed message of grace which they still bear. Unspeakably sad indeed is this feature of the present moral and religious condition of these unhappy people. Rejecting competent and faithful teachers, who still, as of old, love the negro, and have long manifested their earnest desire for his welfare both in this world and in the next, and blindly following after every kind of substitute, what a future would seem to be before the freedman, of delusion, fanaticism, and destruction! The Southern Christian, so long his faithful and patient teacher, must still be forbearing and affectionate, if, by God's help and blessing, he may win back these wanderers, from their ignorant and fanatical leaders, to the teachings of saving truth.

Another very significant feature of the moral condition of the freedmen has reference to their youth of both sexes. The present generation were trained under a dispensation, more or less faithful and complete, of the gospel of the grace of God. The generation now growing up, for the most part, have no man to care for their souls. All the schools set up by the government and by private individuals must come far short of reaching the great body of their youth. And where they do reach them, it is for the most part only secular knowledge which they furnish, and that (although good in itself, and every way better than ignorance) cannot of its own power, purify the heart or life. It is not possible to deny, what indeed it was in the circumstances perfectly natural to expect, that, to a dreadful extent, the black boys now growing up are addicted to the most horrible obscenity and blasphemy. How could it be otherwise? There is no *master* now to restrain them, and their parents, unfortunately, are incapable of it. The government cannot supply by schools the restraining, correcting, elevating influences, which the system recently abolished was able to carry, and did carry more or less perfectly into every corner of the whole land. The white man, though in very many cases himself not a pious Christian, was yet, nevertheless, steadily, though indirectly and unconsciously, nay, even involuntarily, at work lifting up the black race from moral degradation. What is the inevitable result? The rising generation of negroes as they are growing up, to a great extent, without any kind of instruction either of books, or of a trade, or of agricultural labor; and as they are growing up (unlike their fathers) without any sympathetic relations to the white race, so they are also growing up, to a great extent, in unrestrained vice; to be a curse to the whites, to their parents, to themselves, and to one another alike.

Such are some features of the present condition of the freedmen. What is the promise of their future?

The grand doctrine of the unity of the human race necessarily underlies the whole scheme of redemption. It would be incumbent upon Christians to uphold and defend it, even if God had not expressly revealed it in his word. But independently of

the express words of Scripture, and of inevitable deductions from its clearest doctrinal teachings, the unanimous testimony of all sciences that touch the subject tends to the same conclusion. The revelations of Anatomy, Physiology, Philology, and Ethnology, with wonderful accuracy, confirm the higher revelation; and one of the most curious of the many tricks of the devil, is his employment of shallow professors of these very sciences, to disprove the doctrine. There are thousands of men all over this land, and in every part of it, of more than average intelligence and culture, who to this day regard the pitiful work of Nott and Gliddon, ("Types of Mankind,") as conclusive upon this subject. Yet the review of Dr. Cabell, of Virginia, published ten years ago, effectually demolished this infidel work, and scattered the flimsy materials of which it was composed into fragments. The devil is neither subdued nor disheartened, however, but boldly inspires fresh emissaries to write, print, and sow broadcast, similar theories, throughout Southern homes in the present day, well knowing that the last refuge and hope of this ignorant and oppressed people is in the humanity of their former masters; because the recognition of the *brotherhood* of the race, and the negro's share in the benefits of redemption was, of course, the broad foundation upon which the great work of evangelizing this inferior race proceeded.

Concerning the inherent wickedness of these assaults as directed, first, against the truth of God, and secondly, against the very existence of these defenceless people, it is very difficult to speak with moderation. If the reader will consider that jealousy for the honor of the Lord God of hosts is entirely compatible with unfeigned interest in and compassion for this unhappy people, nay, absolutely requires this interest and compassion on our part, because they are his creatures and his children; he may appreciate this difficulty. On the one hand, the negro is assailed by writers, calling themselves friends of the South, who affect to write in the interest and behalf of the white population now groaning under intolerable burdens. With a slender and deceitful show of learning they even venture to discuss the question in its ethnical aspect, and the result of their labors is to degrade

the negro to the condition of the brutes that perish, and thus rob him of the sympathy of the only people that ever cared for his soul! On the other hand, he is assailed by emissaries of a fanatical faction, composed for the most part of men who hate the negro only less than they hate his former master. The avowed purpose of this faction is to use the freedmen as instruments to work their own political aggrandizement. And as the future of the black population cannot be considered without some reference to the political side of the question, it is necessary to give this part of the subject a brief examination.

As in the nature of the case, it is simply impossible that the whites of the South can ever be dragooned or cajoled into affinity with the authors of their ruin, the only hope of Radical disorganisers must be in the suffrages of the blacks. Two things are indispensable to the success of the scheme. First, the freedmen must be taught that his late master is his most inveterate enemy. Secondly, he must be fully invested with the rights and privileges of citizenship.

In a discussion like this—one in which the destinies of a mighty empire are involved, it is scarcely possible for any man with a human soul to be swayed by such paltry considerations as the success of merely partisan measures. Neither is it possible for such a man to let his abhorrence of the atrocious principles of a party degenerate into personal hatred of individuals. In the midst of the perils that now environ this Republic, he is a shallow thinker who can be absorbed in the contemptible squabbles of politicians, when the whole heavens are shrouded in portentous clouds, and the broad land trembling in the throes of an earthquake which threatens to engulf a nationality. In what may be here said, therefore, about individuals, no touch of personal or vindictive feeling can find a place.

Looking, first, at the seat of authority and power, under whose shadow the schemes above suggested have been devised, what are the distinguishing characteristics of the acknowledged leader of the dominant party? In so far as a man may be judged by his public deliverances, there is no room for doubt as to the proclivities of the Pennsylvania representative. Let it be remem-

bered that the questions which affect the political status of the negro have been the *only* questions discussed in any political canvass since the end of the war. Consequently, the men in power are representative men, and the theories they openly advocate are the theories of their constituents! Advancing one step higher—the leader of opinion and legislation in the Senate—the representative of a populous State—has presented to the world a clear and unmistakable record. What the world's judgment upon this record will be half a century hence, it is not difficult to predict. Advancing still another step, it is fair to take such individuals as Hunnicutt and Brownlow as representatives of the missionary agents of the religious segment of the faction, and thus the climax is reached. If the political future of the freedmen can be shaped by these legislators, and the religious future of the freedmen determined by these teachers, there is no conflict of opinion to hinder their full success; for the politicians and the preachers are at agreement.

Here then is the picture: The leader of the Senate, the leader of the House of Representatives, (both absorbed in the good work of enfranchising the blacks of the South, bending all their energies to the accomplishment of this solitary purpose,) the governor of a Southern State, and the most prominent of the politico-religious emissaries in Virginia, (and the two last mentioned *quasi*-preachers of the gospel of Christ!) all of these busy men, and following their lead a horde of their agents, political and religious, all over the South, are diligently laboring to the same end; and under God, the future of the freedmen depends upon their success or failure. So far as they may be able to affect the condition of the white men in the South, it is certain that whatever can be accomplished by acuteness, diligence, and zeal, urged on by a malignity that has no parallel in human history, will be done. But this is no part of the matter now under examination, except as it incidentally affects the condition of the negro.

For the sake of the argument, let it be supposed that the object of the dominant faction in elevating the negro to the dignity of citizenship, is ultimately to benefit and strengthen the State. It would be a rash and dangerous experiment under the

most favorable circumstances. If the white population of the South unanimously and cordially coöperated in such a movement, there would still be insurmountable obstacles in the way. But this is so far from the fact, that the most prominent feature in the Radical programme, is the fostering of a terrible antagonism between the two races, and the elevation of the one is made coincident with and dependent upon the degradation of the other. Humanly speaking, nothing can be more certain than that a persistence in these efforts will result disastrously, and the proximate effects are already apparent. To some of them we have already referred in the earlier pages of this article. Now, numerous and mighty and skilful as may be the agents in this enterprise, and however untiring and zealous the efforts put forth by them, the elevation of the black people to a positive political and social equality with the whites, is simply an impossibility. Vain must be every effort to resist the decrees of God; and if any fact is demonstrable from the known annals of mankind, it is the fact that God has so constituted the two races as to make their equality *forever* impossible. Indeed, it is the recognition of this very truth that has given birth to those monstrous falsehoods touching the unity of the human family, to which attention has already been directed. It is as certainly true that God has brought about the distinctive diversity of races, as that he has made of one blood all the races that dwell on the earth.

It would be easy to show upon universally admitted authority, the separation of these various and distinct races into subdivisions even more numerous than the five great families that people the earth. But the present purpose is entirely served in noticing the essential difference between the two—the Caucasian and the African. These are confessedly the most distinct and distant, the one from the other, in all the natural attributes of humanity. Culture, climatic, influences, and all the varied causes of change and diversity, which form the staple of ethnological studies, do not explain the essential difference between these two families. It is only the sovereign providence of God that can solve the problem. The known effect of the gospel of Christ in changing the

character of whole nations does not reach the point. The gospel transforms the sinner into the saint; but the highest saint is only a sinner sanctified. The inculcation of human knowledge transforms the boor into the scholar; but the native attributes of the boor cling to him in spite of his learning. They cannot be educated away. It is not possible to take an infant from the banks of the Niger, and educate him up to the intellectual status of Newton, because God hath made them to differ.

So, if it were possible for the cultivated and Christianized races of the world to unite and devote all their energies to the elevation of the African race, giving each individual of this multitudinous family a separate and competent preceptor, the result of their labors would not be an intellectual equality, after long years of incessant application. In the few cases in which the negro has made any remarkable attainment in the ordinary fields of human research, the comparison is always instituted between him and the rest of his race, and never between him and the philosophers whose names are a portion of the world's history. Certainly it is not reasonable to expect the *savans* of the Freedman's Bureau to transform the millions that are under their charge into a condition approximating mental or moral equality with the white people around them. Of the one species, man, the present argument is confined to the two races—African and Caucasian; and as these are capable of subdivision into classes, it happens that the best specimens of both these races are to be found in the classes now inhabiting the United States.

It is possible that the great Anglo-Saxon family is the dominant race of the world. There are other tribes or classes of the Caucasian races, of superior physical development; but there is no race on the earth possessing the trait of intense individuality, by which this people is distinguished. In America, where more than anywhere else, the bloods of the Celt, the Saxon, the Gaul, and the Teuton, have been so intermingled, it would appear that a distinct nationality has been produced, possessing qualities of energy, endurance, self-reliance, acuteness, and receptivity—all elements of national greatness—to a degree far in advance of any other. Leaving out of view what are called the acci-

dental helps and hindrances to human progress—that is, in more appropriate words, the providences of God—the promise of this people's future is one of transcendent splendor.

On the other hand, the negroes in America who have here had the very best opportunity for mental, moral, and physical culture that has ever been afforded their race, have not, except in some few instances, materially improved their status. Speaking of the negro as a class, they are notoriously wanting in all those elements of success above enumerated. They are naturally indolent, unstable, dependent, dull, and without the capacity to receive instruction in any high degree. No part of this argument must be misconstrued into a denial of the negro's capacity to receive *religious* instruction. The wonderful grace and wisdom of God are manifested in the revelation of a gospel whose provisions include all the classes of mankind. His grace and wisdom are also manifest in the providence that placed the negro in a condition to receive this gospel and to be christianized by it. In Hayti and Jamaica, he does not appear to have made equal attainments, though he has been long free from the "dismal curse of slavery" in those localities. In the Northern States of the Union which have been happily free from the same "blighting curse" for long years, his religious character is no better than at the South.

As this is a land of schools, the black people in the Northern States have made some slight progress in the rudiments of learning. But how meagre is the result in comparison with the opportunity!

This grave discussion of the relative capacities of the two races has seemed necessary to introduce the question indicated by the title of the present article. If a small part of the foregoing is true, there is nothing short of the miraculous interposition of God that can make the social and political equality of the races possible. While the vast majority of the blacks were in a state of bondage, the question was susceptible of more than one solution. But now that these millions—suddenly freed, suddenly invested with new and extraordinary privileges, and suddenly inspired with vague apprehensions of their own importance, and with indef-

inite expectations of ease and affluence to be conferred upon them by governmental authority—are thrust upon the hearts and consciences of a Christian nation, the question assumes an aspect both perplexing and threatening. What future can this people carve out for themselves, or what future can be assigned them by those who occupy a higher place in the scale of humanity? It is not possible that they should remain in their present condition, a condition that is tolerated by both races only because it is understood to be a transition state. It is still less possible that they should attain a perfect assimilation with any portion of the white citizens of this country, where a subdivision into classes is jealously repudiated by those of them who occupy the third and lowest round of the social ladder. It is most of all impossible to replace them in their late condition of slavery, as their former owners would as earnestly resist such a step as the ex-slaves themselves could do.

There are three possible answers to this question.

I. The partial or total extermination of the black race.

1. No writer could gain access to these pages who would regard this catastrophe otherwise than with unmingled horror. No man possessed of human sympathies can contemplate the picture presented in the present condition of the freedmen without commiseration, or attempt to forecast their dark and portentous future without dismay. And of all the ways of exodus from the complications that environ the subject, none is so appalling as that presented in the possible blotting out of existence of a population more numerous than some of the nationalities of Europe. Nevertheless, the extermination of the negro is coolly suggested, and the mode of operation calmly discussed by thousands of white men, as a solution of the problem, meeting the exigencies of the case more squarely than any other feasible plan. The readers of this journal are not unacquainted (see *S. P. R.* for Nov., 1867, pp. 579–583) with a recent publication by the notorious author of “*The Impending Crisis*,” in which the destruction of the negro is urged, on the ground that they are “*evidently foredoomed to destruction*” and “*fit only to be exterminated*” like the Indians. It is the logical culmination of ab-

olitionism, for abolitionism is infidel, and hates both black and white, both man and God. It is the crowning work of a man, who has done as much perhaps as any other to deluge the land with the blood spilt in the late war.

2. The tendency to this violent termination of existing complications is far more urgent and painful than appears on the surface. Among the true citizens of the South there are not two parties in conflict. The struggle is between Southern men and the imported agents of a Northern faction. But in the Northern States the party in power and the opposition are at agreement on many points. For example: the propriety and justice of the emancipation acts; the inherent evil of slavery; the necessity for, and justice of, a long and bloody war for the abolishment of the system. On one side these propositions are asserted with emphasis; on the other, they are either quietly acquiesced in, or opposed with extremely faint denial. The contest is not for or against the undying abstract principles which underlie the question propounded in this concrete form, but rather for power and place, for the *eclat* and emoluments of official station and for the triumphs of personal ambition. The old cry of oppression is not entirely given up, it is true, but it is regarded as a burlesque on both sides; while the main fact, namely, that the negro is an incumbrance and a hindrance, is tacitly admitted by both. As for any real personal tenderness of feeling towards the unhappy freedmen, it would be both vain and unreasonable to seek for it in that latitude. The slave—may God pity him! has no friend except his former master, who has been legislated into a condition in which he is utterly powerless to aid the servant born in his house, or even to retard his doom. In the meantime, these two powerful parties are directly operating for his extermination; one of them, by industriously creating and fostering a ferocious antagonism between the races, making incendiary appeals to the basest passions of the ignorant negro, (who is rapidly relapsing into savage barbarism,) and preparing the way for the repetition of the horrors of the Sepoy mutiny; the other, by familiarizing the public mind with the idea that the negro is doomed; that the war of races is inevitable, and that the only

permanent cure for the disease that is destroying the body politic is the destruction—the excision—of the cancer that is preying upon its vitals, to wit, the negro! A little longer continuance of the present mode of treatment may make this opinion frightfully true. A correspondent of the *New York Journal of Commerce*, in commenting recently upon an opposition editorial in that paper, uses the following language: “The vital cause and motive of negro suffrage, its principal justification in the eyes of most people is this: that having emancipated a whole race, severing the bond of interest which formerly bound their masters and them, and in so doing having naturally and inevitably aroused the hatred of the former towards them, we cannot in common justice, leave them in the hands of their late owners without some protection.” There is no reply to a fabrication so base and baseless as this. Yet it is the common opinion of the party in power, and of the most conscientious of its members. How long a time will it require to convince the credulous negro that this false charge is true, and that his salvation depends upon the destruction of the white race? And if the conflict thus induced be once inaugurated, the extermination of the semi-savage people is absolutely certain.

3. But supposing that no such crisis is impending, there are other causes in operation that threaten the speedy destruction of the freedmen. In all the localities that have been visited by pestilential diseases, the relative mortality among the black people has always been disproportionately large. There seems to be less recuperative power, less ability to resist the encroachments of disease in the children of this race, than is found in any other that is even partially civilised. And during the winter just past, the ratio of deaths among them is greater than the extreme rate in life assurance tables compiled from the records of the most pestilential localities inhabited by civilised men. The history of nomadic tribes has always been a terribly brief story, from the legends of the wanderers in the arid deserts of the tropics to those of the dwellers in the frozen zone. But all of these records lack the bad elements that characterise the recent history of the freedmen. They are, to a great extent, wanderers without any

settled purpose, broken up into small bands of Ishmaelites, whose very existence is fast growing into a national curse. The cost of all the eleemosynary institutions of Great Britain, is very far less than the national expenditure for the sustentation of the freedmen in these Southern States; yet multitudes of them perished from actual poverty and exposure during the past winter. Decimated by disease, decimated by poverty and starvation, rapidly drifting into predatory habits of life—their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them—all that is needed to secure the destruction of the poor Africans, is to let them alone!

4. The white tax payers in the whole land, especially at the North, are growing extremely restive under their intolerable burdens. While the war was in progress, men paid cheerfully a portion of their large gains; but during the past year this rapidly accumulated money has been rapidly melting away. The reverses in commercial circles in 1867, were terribly severe; and while the demands of the tax-collector were none the less urgent, the ability of the payers was very seriously diminished. So, the outcry against the enormous expenditures for the support of the freedmen, has increased in volume, until to-day it is no longer a *party* cry. The most ultra of radical organs begin to demand the ballot for the negro as a substitute for bread! While they have not had the effrontery to state the proposition in plain terms, the drift of their reasoning is precisely to this purport. The following quotation is comparatively moderate in its tone: "The ballot is designed to afford protection to the negro cheaply and efficiently, and in time will supersede the Freedman's Bureau, military governments, and all other temporary and expensive schemes, which, without it, would have to be continued in force indefinitely. * * * People have no confidence that the white race at the South will treat the negro any more fairly than compelled to, and they deem some new measure necessary to his protection." There is no need to call attention to the animus of this sentence, as applied to the white race, but the evident restiveness of the Northern philanthropists under the Bureau outlays is the most suggestive point. The comment of the *Journal of Commerce* upon the above quotation is: "The tender mercies of Northern men are cruelty to the emancipated race."

The Bureau is growing in disfavor, and its days are numbered. It has done enormous evil in the land by rendering a class whose proclivities are to idleness and vagrancy, more idle and vagrant. In a dozen populous States, where a poor-house was formerly unknown, it has created a race of paupers, whose needs are frightfully urgent. And just as this class is absolutely perishing for aid, its aid will probably be withdrawn, and then comes chaos. The planters, impoverished by the results of last year's operations, have been this year unable to employ all the willing laborers; whilst, unfortunately, thousands of them, inflated with false hopes of government support, or incapable, like all barbarian and semi-barbarian people, of patient labor voluntarily undergone, are unwilling to be employed. An idle vagabond,* with the undefined impression upon his mind, that the property of his late master is somehow to pass into his possession, the negro will take by stealth or violence that which he cannot earn, and so the war of races will begin. At the end of the horrors that would accompany such a strife, the extermination of the negro is the most certain fact to predict.

II. Another possible solution of the problem is in the deportation of the black population. If it is impossible that the two races should dwell peaceably together on terms of equality, no matter from what cause or causes, may it not be possible to effect a separation of the incongruous elements? The colonization of the blacks on their native soil, has long been a favorite scheme with some few philanthropists of both sections. The measure commends itself to minds at either extreme of the controversy. The cure for the evil in question that promises to be most effectual, is the restoration of the ex-slave to his own continent, to win from its luxuriant fields an easy subsistence. It is true, that these fields have to be wrested from the hordes of his

*It was a very general thing last year for the freedmen's wives not to be included in the contracts for plantation labor; in imitation of their white sisters, they were to remain at home, keep the house, mend the clothes, prepare the food, take care of the children, etc. This plan is not now so general, and has given place to another borrowed from the Indians instead of the whites. It is for the wife to go to the field and labor, while the husband, with fishing-rod or gun, betakes himself to the swamp.

heathen kindred, or from the usurped dominion of the brute creation. But the American negro, if a small part of that which is claimed for him be his true possession, should be more than equal to the task. If he is fit to take part in the government of the American Republic, he is surely fit to establish a government for himself in Africa. The degree of civilisation to which he has attained here, is the surest guarantee of his success there. In the virgin soil of the fertile valleys which recent explorations have opened to the world, the yield secured to the agriculturist would far exceed the product from any lands in these States. The climate, so destructive to Caucasian life, is the native climate of the negro. These tropical lands, where the white man perishes, would be to the negro the very vale of paradise. On the other hand, the Southern citizen who complains least of the burden, is more encumbered by the freedmen than anybody else. He has so long been accustomed to recognise the claim of the blacks to his protection and support, that he still manifests his readiness to feed and clothe them, in the midst of his own poverty. Therefore the deportation of this dependent and shiftless population would be an inestimable boon to him. And when considered in comparison with the atrocious policy of extermination, which is an actual, clearly-defined scheme presented to the Southern people, any plan of colonization would undoubtedly meet their unanimous approval. But there are difficulties to be considered.

1. The removal of this bone of contention would be the immediate destruction of the party in power, supposing it could be effected by legal enactments. Moreover, such a step would be entirely subversive of all the theories of all the abolitionists of the world. It would be a tacit admission of the fact that will be the salient point in the history of these days, to be written half a century hence; to wit, that the white men of the South are being ground under the heel of the most remorseless despotism that has ever cursed the earth, for the sake of an abstraction which is contradicted by all the experience and all the science of mankind. The deportation of the negro is a denial of his fitness for association on equal terms with the white citizen. It

is therefore vain to expect the accomplishment of a wholesale colonization by legislative authority.

2. It is equally vain to expect the freedmen to expatriate themselves. The voluntary emigrants to Liberia, especially after the novelty of that enterprise had worn off, were always very few in number. And it is probable that no benevolent associations have accomplished so little in proportion to the efforts made, as the various colonization societies of America. While the good they have done should not be underrated, it will not be denied that their chief difficulty has ever been to overcome the repugnance of the negro to avail himself of their aid. In many cases, especially in Maryland and Virginia, families of slaves were manumitted, and express provision made for their deportation; but there has always existed among the free blacks who should have been the first to join in the emigration scheme, (which undoubtedly had for its object the establishment of an enlightened negro nationality,) an invincible repugnance to it. Since the general emancipation of the Southern slaves, the blessings of freedom here have almost universally satisfied them; and comparatively very few have voluntarily taken steps leading to emigration. It is not credible that they have been deterred by what is called "love of country," as no such sentiment could be predicated of them while in bondage, and they have not had time to imbibe the sentiment from their most industrious teachers, if these had any to communicate. But the fact is as stated, and a formal proposition to emigrate to Africa, if it were made to them as a class, would doubtless be instantly rejected with scorn and indignation.

3. Another objection to universal colonization is that founded upon the value of the black laborer in Southern fields. It is sometimes asserted that he can be easily substituted by immigrants of white blood; but this assertion lacks proof. Supposing it possible to overcome the prejudices of the men who control the destinies of both races, and to manage the restoration of the negro to the subordinate position for which God designed him, without reviving the dead institution of slavery; and supposing his rights were secured to him by judicious laws; and finally, supposing his

mind could be disabused of the harmful impression that he is somehow the legal owner of the broad lands he formerly cultivated, it is extremely probable that he would cheerfully occupy his proper place, and prove himself the most valuable among the numberless workmen of the world.

III. The truest and best solution of the problem is thus suggested. It is to put into the hands of the men most competent by experience, most fitted by years of kindly intercourse with these simple people, the control of their future. Under God, the last hope of the freedmen is in the restoration of the Southern States to their rightful political status.

1. To say that the negroes, viewing them as a whole, are this day fugitives and vagabonds throughout the length and breadth of this Southern land, is to state the case in its true aspect. Many causes have operated against them since their manumission, but if they had not as a class been inherently shiftless and indolent, their condition would have been far better. They have been demoralized by the lessons they received from Northern teachers; and they have been damaged by indulgence in their own unrestrained and vicious habits. It is no easy task to bring them back into a condition in which they will be producers instead of profitless consumers; and the initial step, *sine qua non*, is the reinstatement of State authority. If the present ill-defined forms of authority were even efficient, there is a constantly recurring antagonism between or among them, and an ever-present apprehension that their powers are unsettled and transient. In more than one locality, the negroes themselves have not hesitated to resist the representatives of Federal power, and scout their authority. But a restoration of the ordinary forms of civil law would infallibly work the cure. Naturalists tell of the viscous flow of the glaciers of the far Northern coasts, as the most remarkable of the phenomena they describe. These vast seas of ice, apparently as solid and immovable as the rocky bed upon which they rest, are actually flowing towards the ocean with unremitted and resistless force and power. If, in their course, they encounter the huge boulders of that sterile region, these are taken up into the cold embrace of the advancing ice-

flood, and borne onward toward the sea. And at last the same glacier appears, issuing from the deep fiord, the majestic iceberg crowned with spire and minaret, and bearing upon its broad bosom the various *impedimenta* that vainly opposed its progress. So is the course of civil law. By slow and imperceptible advances, but with majestic force and certainty, it tends to the establishment of justice, and the peace and prosperity of its subjects. No more dire calamity can befall a people than the substitution of a different authority, like that of military law. One is the expression of the power of reason and rectitude; the other, the manifestation of mere brute force.

2. A new code is undoubtedly necessary to meet the exigencies of the new state of society. The law that was just and proper as applied to a slave population, would be manifestly improper as applied to the same population freed. It is not likely that any reader of these pages will need to be assured that a just and equitable code would be framed, if the citizens of these commonwealths were allowed to make it. The eyes of the civilised world would be upon them, and their legislation upon this subject would be worthy of their record. For the better part of a century, these men and their fathers controlled the legislation of a magnificent empire, and it is reasonable to suppose them capable of settling a question of strictly local application. To accuse them of inhumanity towards the black people; to suspect them of harsh or resentful feelings towards their former servants; to doubt that their enactments would be judicious, temperate, and beneficent, is to betray total ignorance of their character and antecedents, and to misapprehend entirely the nature of the task before them. The security of the peace and safety of the entire community would necessarily be their primary object. And the security of the highest possible prosperity of the freed people is necessarily involved in the larger proposition.

3. It is even possible to secure this sorely needed and conservative legislation, without restoring the ten States to their just and constitutional position. The territories, immediately under the control of the Federal authority, are still allowed to shape their own local laws. If the rulers, who cannot evade the terri-

ble responsibility that rests upon them touching the welfare of the millions of paupers they have made, could be induced to regard the subject from any other than a partisan stand-point, they would see the propriety of the measure here suggested. It is true that the success or failure of all the efforts of Southern law-makers, would not alter the original fact, for which the Southern people are in no wise responsible. But under tolerably favorable circumstances, and with tolerably fair treatment, this plan would be successful. There is absolutely *no* law now in force that makes special provision for the freedmen, excepting Bureau laws and military orders; one set, resting upon doubtful authority, and frequently inoperative; the other, *ex post facto*, in the nature of the case, frequently oppressive, and always liable to sudden repeal.

These brief suggestions—and they do not profess to be anything more than suggestions—are well worthy the consideration of all men who have the good of the country at heart. The subject is environed with peculiar difficulties, and is involved in peculiar complications, but the case is not hopeless. In the great contest for political place, for the emoluments of office, new men ever and anon struggle to the surface, and it is not unlikely that a leader may appear, who shall be chosen of God to extricate the country from the toils that are now around it, and preserve it for a career of unexampled grandeur.

The argument of Hugh Miller applies with wonderful accuracy to one or more of the points suggested in the foregoing pages. He says: "All these varieties of the species, in which we find humanity 'fallen,' according to the poet, 'into disgrace,' are varieties that have lapsed from the original Caucasian type. They are all descendants of man as God created him; but they do not exemplify man as God created him. They do not represent, except in hideous caricature, the glorious creature moulded of old by the hand of the Divine Maker. They are fallen,—degraded; many of them, as races, hopelessly lost. For all experience serves to show that when a tribe of men falls beneath a certain level, it cannot come into competition with civilised man, pressing outwards from his old centres to possess the earth, with-

out becoming extinct before him. Sunk beneath a certain level, as in the forests of America, in Van Dieman's Land, in New South Wales, and among the Bushmen of the Cape, the experience of more than a hundred years demonstrates that its destiny is extinction, not restoration."*

Nothing can be urged against the facts here stated, or against the deductions from them. The question to be determined is, whether or not the freedmen come under this category, or even if they are drifting towards that fatal level. If the latter is the case, then it becomes every good man to oppose the course of the tide which is sweeping them to destruction. A whole race cannot perish in the very midst of us without entailing a lasting curse upon the American name. The ghosts of these murdered millions will haunt the land, calling for vengeance upon the children of the degenerate people who perpetrated or permitted the wickedness. Because there is a possible remedy, and only one.

While it is undoubtedly true that the African race cannot come into "competition" with a superior class, and survive the ordeal, it is also true that this race may be placed in subordination to, and under the tutelage of, the rightful citizens of America, and so escape the antagonism that threatens their extermination. In this condition of a regulated and protected subordination, they may attain their highest possible development. In any other conceivable condition, they are verily doomed. Every Christian recoils with abhorrence from the mere idea of extermination, and no higher duty can challenge the earnest attention of the American people than the duty of saving this decaying race, if peradventure, God has purposes of mercy towards them.

First, then, nothing can be done while the patent fact of the essential inferiority of the black race is denied, or even ignored. The acknowledgment of their equality, is the establishment of the fatal competition. All that is proposed for their aid, proceeds upon the assumption of their nonage, their dependence, their subordination.

Secondly, the variable forms of law, so far as they affect the

* Testimony of the Rocks.

status of the freedmen, must give place to some stable legislation, and the negroes must learn (all of them) that rulers are a terror to evil-doers.

Finally, no better model can be found than the "poor laws" of Massachusetts. The shiftless wanderer in that highly favored commonwealth has a short experience of freedom. If a man travels from one town to another without money and without occupation, he is provided for by the State. He is furnished with a dwelling place, more or less permanent according to his own abilities or proclivities, *in the workhouse*, where his pauperism is not totally profitless. His labor is hired out without consulting his preferences, and the temptations to assume vagabondage are not very numerous or brilliant in New England. Unfortunately for the idle and thriftless in that latitude, they have no institution corresponding with the Freedmen's Bureau; no machine invented to distribute premiums to idleness and unthrift. If the municipal authorities in the towns of the South were invested with powers similar to those of Massachusetts selectmen—if the numerous Hunnicutts were substituted by respectable policemen, the disorderly element in Southern population would speedily disappear.

The details of the arrangement are very simple, and would be suggested by circumstances as they were presented. The object of poor laws is to ameliorate the condition of the destitute, and to regulate the conduct of a class that is incapable of self-government. Under the abolished *regime*, the old and helpless were secured against the assaults of poverty. They were housed, clothed, and fed. In the vast majority of cases, the aged servants were the objects of the special and unremitting care of their owners' families. No public charities can as effectually prevent destitution among the old negroes; but there must needs be special legislation in their behalf.

Hitherto is the end of the matter. Five hundred thousand able-bodied men of a distinct race, without any positive concert of action or purpose, are steadily advancing towards the termination of their history. They are daily becoming more and more improvident, more restive under restraint, and more truculent.

Docile and manageable as this people has ever been under the wise and beneficent government of the white race, it is still certain that there is a latent ferocity in the African character, which generations of civilisation cannot destroy. It is now being awakened, cultivated, and encouraged. Woe to the land, when the reaping-time comes! The heart recoils with a shudder, from the contemplation of the appalling possibility. But at the end of this horrible harvest, the very foot-prints of the black race will have been effaced from the surface of this continent.

The Lord God omnipotent reigneth. He maketh the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of wrath doth he restrain. In this solitary, sublime truth is the hope of the country, and the security for its future. And it is enough.