

THE SUICIDE OF SLAVERY.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ELI THAYER, OF MASS.

Delivered in the House of Representatives, March 25, 1858.

It may be expected, Mr. Chairman, that at this time I should say something in defence of the Pilgrims, and of the State of Massachusetts; for they have been repeatedly assailed on this floor, within the last two weeks. But I shall make no defence. There are some things which I never attempt to defend. Among these are the Falls of Niagara, the White Mountains of New Hampshire, the Atlantic Ocean, Plymouth Rock, Bunker Hill, and the history of Massachusetts. Any man may assail either or all of them with perfect impunity, so far as I am concerned. Any words of disparagement or vituperation directed against either of these objects, by any assailant, excite in me feelings very different from those of indignation—whether the assailant comes with a bow as long as that of the bold Robin Hood, or with a bow of *shorter* range, like that of the gentleman from Alabama, [Mr. SHORTER.] [Laughter.] But I deprecate the disposition that impels these shafts against the sister States of this Confederacy. I deprecate this sectional animosity whenever and wherever I see it evinced. I have heard too much of the aggressions of the North and of the aggressions of the South, in the past, to be very much in love with either of these ideas. I have never been accustomed to speak of the aggressions of the slave power, and I have no purpose of doing it now or hereafter. If the one-hundredth part of the people of this country can make dangerous aggressions on the rights and interests of the other ninety-nine hundredth parts of the people, either by the force of strength or by the arts of diplomacy, I assure you that I will be the last man to complain of it. I think that this Slavery question is altogether too small a question to disturb so great a people as inhabit the United States of America.

For myself, I was always in favor of popular sovereignty, rightly so called. I am ready, for one, to agree to-day that the Territories belonging to this Government shall be open to settlement at any time when Congress thinks fit so to open them, and that the people of all parts of the country shall go into them with the assurance of *absolute and complete non-intervention*; with the

assurance that whenever any chief Executive, official, or non-resident, shall interfere, by fraud or violence, in their affairs, he shall either be impeached or hanged; with the assurance that when the people shall have the ratio of representation required by law, and shall come to Congress with a Constitution republican in form, they shall be admitted into the Union as a State. This, sir, is popular sovereignty, and it is what was practiced in this country two centuries ago.

The people of the Plymouth colony had the privilege of choosing their own Governor, and of making their own laws. The same was true of the New Haven colony, and of the colony of the Providence Plantations. They always did it. I believe the Crown of England never appointed a Governor for these colonies; certainly not for the last two. But were those people, without ever having exercised the right of self-government, better prepared to govern themselves than are our people, educated under our State Governments, who go into our Territories? Why, then, should we continue to have an "Ahab to trouble Israel," while he lays the blame of his own misconduct upon the emigrant aid societies? Why not cut off these Territories from all connection with the General Government, legislative or executive? Then we shall have no more agitation in Congress, and no more contention in the Territories. But so long as this connection continues, so long as we have a President trying to bias, by his appointments, and perhaps by the United States troops, the will of the people, so long shall we have agitation, and we shall have enough of it.

Well, sir, I have nothing to find fault about. I am very well pleased with the present tendency of events. But, sir, there are those who are dissatisfied, and who are inclined to invoke a certain deity—I think a false deity—which presides over a portion of this Union; a deity which has been invoked by great men on great occasions, and by little men on little occasions, for a long time past—a deity in whose expected presence both the people and the politicians have sometimes stood aghast—"when he," in prospect only,

"from his horrid hair shook pestilence and war." This sulphurous god is Disunion. This Capitol Hill has been a veritable Mount Carmel for the last quarter of a century, upon which experiments have been tried with this bogus deity. *One day* upon Mount Carmel was sufficient to determine the destiny of Baal and his prophets. But here, we, the most patient people in the world, witness these invocations *year after year*, with exemplary endurance, expecting that the great Is-to-be will some time come. And you and I, Mr. Chairman, even during the present session of Congress, have witnessed attempts to kindle here the fires upon the altar of Southern rights. But the sacrifice, the altar, and the spectators, were as cold as alabaster. The prophets only were warm; but they were warm, not from the presence of the god, but from his absence. He does not make his appearance. The great Is-to-be does not come. He has either gone on a very long journey, or else he is in a very deep sleep.

Well, sir, shall we have this deity of Disunion invoked forever? Who is to blame? If the North has given cause, what have we done? What cause of disunion has ever proceeded from us? Have you not had everything your own way? Have we not let you have the Democratic party to use as you please? [Laughter.] Have you not had the Government for a long time? And have we not let you use it just as you had a mind to? We, sir, were busy about our commerce, extending it around the world; about our railroads; our internal improvements; our colleges, and all those things which interest our people. We knew that you had a taste for governing, and that by the indulgence you might be gratified without serious injury to us. For many years you have had your own way, but now you come here and cry out "disunion." Why, what more *can* we do?

Well, it may be that we have encouraged a mistake on your part. It may be that we have given you some reason to suppose that this temporary courtesy of governing, which we have extended, was a permanent right. However, if you have fallen into that error, we will, perhaps, at some future time disabuse and correct you. But whatever blame there is anywhere, whatever cause there is for disunion, must attach to the action of the slave power, commanding and controlling the Democratic party, and to no one else in the country. Therefore, at this time, I come with exultation—not, to be sure, with malignant exultation—to speak for a few moments upon the decline and fall of Slavery—nay, sir, further, upon the *suicide* of Slavery in this land. I will show you by what acts the two most important pillars of its support have been removed, and that the whole system of Slavery must therefore fall. And these two events have been accomplished, if not by its direct efforts, at least by the connivance of this same party, impelled by this same controlling agency.

I will first show you how the moral power of this institution has been destroyed, by what act, and then I will show you how and by what act its political power is forever doomed. But, sir, how did an institution like this ever have a

moral power? is a question for us to examine. In the first place, we are told by Southern men that we have a nation of heathen in our land; and we are told by the same authority that we have an institution here for their regeneration. Now, sir, if we have, from necessity, a nation of heathen in our land, and if Slavery is an institution for their regeneration, it is very clear that Slavery has a moral power. But, says the gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. GARTRELL,] speaking of negroes, "They are idle, dissolute, improvident, 'lazy, unthrifty, who think not of to-morrow, who 'provide but scantily for to-day.'"

I will also give you other proof. Here it is: "Who would credit it, that in these years of 'benevolent and successful missionary effort, in this Christian Republic, there are over two millions of human beings *in the condition of heathen*, 'and in some respects in a worse condition? 'From long-continued and close observation, we 'believe their moral and religious condition is 'such that they may justly be regarded as the 'heathen of this Christian country.'"—*Committee of Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, in 1833.*

"After making all reasonable allowances, our 'colored population can be considered, at the 'best, but *semi-heathens*.'"—*Kentucky Union's Circular to the Ministers of the Gospel in Kentucky, 1834.*

"There seems to be an almost entire absence 'of moral principle among the mass of our colored population.'"—*C. W. Gooch, Esq., Prize Essay on Agriculture in Virginia.*

"There needs no stronger illustration of the 'doctrine of depravity than the state of human 'nature on plantations in general. * * * 'Their advance in years is but a progression 'to the higher grades of iniquity.'"—*Hon. C. C. Pinckney, Address before the South Carolina Agricultural Society, Charleston, 1829, second edition, pages 10, 12.*

The Maryville (Tennessee) *Intelligencer*, of October 4, 1835, says of the slaves of the Southwest, that their "condition through time will be second only to that of the wretched creatures in hell."

Here, then, is a field for great missionary labor; and it is fortunate that under these circumstances we happen to have an institution which is perfectly adapted to the regeneration of a lost and ruined race. I quote from the honorable member from the State of Virginia, in a speech delivered here, some time ago, in the House of Representatives:

"I believe that the institution of Slavery is a 'noble one; that it is necessary for the good, 'the well being, of the negro race. Looking to 'history, I go further, and I say, in the presence 'of this assembly, and under all the imposing 'circumstances surrounding me, that I believe 'it is God's institution. Yes, sir, if there is any- 'thing in the action of the great Author of us 'all; if there is anything in the conduct of His chosen people; if there is anything in the con- 'duct of Christ himself, who came upon this 'earth, and yielded up His life as a sacrifice, that 'all through His death might live; if there is 'anything in the conduct of His Apostles, who 'inculcated obedience on the part of slaves to-

'wards their masters as a Christian duty, then we must believe that the institution is from God."—Hon. Wm. Smith, of Virginia, in a speech in the House of Representatives.

Again, I quote from the speech of the honorable gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. GARRELL,] in regard to this, same sentiment :

"Every sentiment expressed in that eloquent extract meets my hearty approbation. As a Christian man, believing in the teachings of Holy Writ, I am here to-day before a Christian nation to reaffirm and reannounce the conclusion to which that distinguished gentleman came—that this institution, however much it may have been reviled, is of God."

Mr. Chairman, these are not the only authorities on this subject. You and I have heard from the other side, day after day, quotations from the Bible, intending to prove the same thing; and you and I know that there are honest men in the slave States who believe that this is a fact. I have seen such men myself, and have conversed with them. They have told me that Slavery was an absolute curse; and that the only reason why they held their slaves a day was, that they owed them certain religious duties, and must keep them to look after their spiritual welfare. They feared that if their slaves were cast loose upon the world, with nobody to look after their spiritual interests, they would be spiritually lost. I heard this from a gentleman from Kentucky, and again from a gentleman from Augusta, Georgia, and I believe in my heart that both of these gentlemen were honest in these views.

I am not here to impugn any man's motives. I put this upon the ground that is claimed by Southern men; and when I listened to the gentlemen on the other side, reading honestly from the sacred volume in defence of this institution, as coming from God, and as a means for the regeneration of a heathen race in our land, I felt impelled to use the language of the Apostle to the Gentiles, which he employed on Mars Hill: "Oh! Athenians, I perceive that in all things ye are exceedingly given to religion." [Laughter.] Now, sir, since this institution has done all it ever can in this capacity, and since it is now destroyed as a converting and regenerating power, I stand here to give it its proper place in ecclesiastical history, for its right place it has never yet had.

In order to understand what position it is entitled to, we must, to some extent, speak by comparison, because we cannot speak absolutely on these matters of religion. The religious journals of the free States have oftentimes most unreasonably exulted over our religious efforts, when they contrasted them with the efforts of our Southern brethren. I have seen placed in parallel columns, in Northern journals, the contributions of the free States and the contributions of the slave States; and there were mighty words of exultation, unbecoming a Christian journal or Christian people at any time, when it was shown that our contributions for foreign missions were a hundred-fold more than yours. It is true we make more contributions. The city of Boston gives, for foreign missions, perhaps

more than all the slave States; and the city of New York perhaps more than Boston. But what of that? We give a few cents apiece, and only a few cents, for foreign missions each year, which amounts to a great sum, because we are a great people. We send men to heathen nations far over the water, to tell them about their future destiny. We are careful not to send our *best* men; we keep our Notts and Waylands, and our Beechers and Cheevers, at home; but sometimes a Judson escapes from us before we know what he is. This is about the extent we submit to self-sacrifice for the sake of the heathen.

Is there any cause for exultation in this, when we see what our Southern brethren have done and are doing? When have we ever taken the heathen to our hearth-stones and to our bosoms? When have we ever admitted the heathen to social communion with ourselves and our children? When have we ever taken the heathen to our large cities to show them the works of art, or to the watering places to show them fashionable society and beautiful scenery? Did you ever see a Yankee at the White Sulphur Springs shedding a benign religious influence over a little congregation of heathen companions? [Laughter.] We have pious women in the Northern States, whose bright example has made attractive the paths of virtue and religion. Conspicuous among them, in every good work, are the wives of our ministers and deacons; but not one of these, within the range of my acquaintance, would consider herself qualified, either by nature or by grace, to be chambermaid, dry-nurse, and spiritual adviser, to ten or twenty heathens in her own family. But, sir, had these worthy dames been noble dames; had they come down to us from the blood of the Norman Kings, through the bounding pulses of sundry cavaliers, and then had been willing to assume these humble offices of Christian charity, we should have believed the time, so often prayed for, had already come, when "kings should be fathers and queens nursing mothers in the church." Where, then, is the ground for this exultation on the part of the North? I tell you that it cannot be prompted by anything but a rotund, bulbous, self-righteousness. So much, then, for the social sacrifices of our Southern brethren.

What other sacrifices have they made to regenerate this race? Great moral and intellectual sacrifices. I will read what Southern men say on this subject:

Judge Tucker, of Virginia, said in 1801:

"I say nothing of the baneful effects of Slavery on our moral character, because you know I have long been sensible of this point."

The Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina and Georgia said, in their report of 1834:

"Those only who have the management of these servants know what the hardening effect of it is upon their own feelings towards them."

Judge Summers, of Virginia, said, in a speech in 1832, in almost the same words:

"A slave population produces the most pernicious effects upon the manners, habits, and character, of those among whom it exists."

Judge Nichols, of Kentucky, in a speech in 1837, said :

"The deliberate convictions of my most matured consideration are, that the institution of Slavery is a most serious injury to the habits, manners, and morals, of our white population; that it leads, to sloth, indolence, dissipation, and vice."

So said Mr. Jefferson :

"The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals uncontaminated" [in the midst of Slavery.]

John Randolph, on the floor of Congress, said :

"Where are the trophies of this infernal traffic? The handcuff, the manacle, the blood-stained cowhide! What man is worse received in society for being a hard master? Who denies the hand of sister or daughter to such monsters?"

I might quote a hundred other Southern authorities of the same kind, showing the baneful effect of this institution upon the moral and intellectual character of the South. I might also quote from the United States census. I have the papers here, but time will not allow.

Now, in addition to these moral and intellectual sacrifices which our Southern brethren admit, there are pecuniary sacrifices which you know to be very great; indeed, had Virginia been free fifty years ago, had she been exempt from this great tendency to christianize the African race, she would have been worth more this day than are all the Atlantic States south of New Jersey. And should she by any chance become free, you will see her wealth and her population increase in proportion as this missionary spirit is diminished. [Laughter.] It is true, our Southern brethren, impressed with this great idea of christianizing the African race, having for their only ambition to present the souls of their negroes, without spot or blemish, before the throne of the Eternal, have sacrificed almost everything. I could quote from Southern men upon this subject. The sagacious statesman who governs the Old Dominion, in a speech a few years ago, said :

"But in all the four cardinal resources—wonderful to tell, disagreeable to tell, shameful to announce—but one source of all four, in time past, has been employed to produce wealth. We have had no work in manufacturing, and commerce has spread its wings and flown from us, and agriculture has only skimmed the surface of mother earth. Three out of the four cardinal virtues have been idle; our young men, over their cigars and toddy, have been talking politics, and the negroes have been left to themselves, until we have all grown poor together."

But trials, and tribulations, and poverty, have ever beset the pathway of the saints. In the earliest days, they "wandered about in sheepskins and goat-skins, persecuted, afflicted, tormented." Even now, in the nineteenth century, the condition of our Southern brethren is not much improved, since they are compelled "to chase the stump-tailed steer over sedge patches which outshine the sun, to get a tough steak,"

and to listen to the perpetual cry of "debts! debts!" "taxes! taxes!"

In this age of material progress, you have seen the North outstrip you; but, with true Christian patience and Christian devotion, you have adhered to the great work of regenerating the heathen. [Laughter.] Through evil report and through good report, reproached and maligned abroad by those who did not understand your motives, and, worst of all, sometimes abused at home by the ungrateful objects of your Christian charity, you have still pressed on towards the mark of your high calling. Now, sir, when was there ever a class of men so devoted and so self-sacrificing? I have read the history of the Apostles; I have read the history of the Reformers, of the Scotch Covenanters, of the Huguenots, and of the Crusaders; and I tell you, not in one or all of these have I seen any such heroic self-sacrifice for the good of another race, or for the good of other men, as I do see in the history of these slave States. I have seen Fox's Book of Martyrs, but there is nothing in that to compare at all with the martyrs of the South. The census of the United States is the greatest book of martyrs ever printed. [Laughter.] Other books treat of martyrs as individuals: the census of the United States treats of them by counties and by States. I can see how a man, impressed with a grand and noble sentiment, should perhaps, in excitement or in an emergency, give up his life in support of it; but I cannot see how a man can sacrifice his friends, his family, and his country, for a religious idea or an abstraction.

Here, then, sir, is the position of our Southern brethren upon this subject. But the worst is yet to be told—the doleful conclusion of the whole matter. They have made sacrifices, and it seems to me that they were entitled to the rewards for them; and I doubt not that they have often consoled themselves in contemplating the rewards in the future which must await them for such good services in the present. I have no doubt, sir, that oftentimes, seeing they have not treasures laid up on earth, they supposed they had treasures laid up in heaven. [Laughter.] But just at that time when they seemed to be almost in the fruition of their labors, when the gentleman from Missouri, [Mr. ANDERSON,] in great exultation of spirit, was speaking of the institution that had raised the negro from barbarism to Christianity and civilization, and when the gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. HUGHES,] had caught the inspiration, and said, that although the body of the African might be toiling under the lash, "his soul was free, and could converse on the sublimest principles of science and philosophy"—when faith had almost become sight—just then, sir, out comes the Supreme Court with the decision that

A NEGRO HAS NO SOUL! [Laughter.]

"Angels and ministers of grace defend us!" All these treasures that were supposed to have been laid up "where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal," have been invaded by the decision of the Supreme Court, and scattered to the four winds of heaven. More than two centuries of prayers and

tears, of heroic self-sacrifice and Christian devotion, of faith and hope, of temperal and spiritual agony, have come to this "lame and impotent conclusion." [Laughter.] The moral dignity of the grandest missionary enterprise of this age is annihilated.

As a Northern man, I stand here a disinterested spectator of these events. If I do not like the decision of the court, I have a higher law. The negro himself can appeal to the court of heaven; but what refuge has the Southern church? [Renewed laughter.] None whatever. This decision is a blow, direct and terrible, falling with crushing violence upon our Southern brethren. This Supreme Court, with cruel and relentless hostility, has persecuted the Southern church as the dragon of the Apocalypse pursued the woman into the wilderness, seeking to devour her offspring. [Much laughter.]

What motives could have impelled the court to this act? I have no doubt a patriotic motive. I am not here to impugn the motives of any man, or of any set of men, much less of the highest judicial tribunal in this land. No doubt, sir, their motives were patriotic, for they had witnessed the devastation of this terrible religious fanaticism through the South. They had seen the ravages of this disastrous missionary monomania, and they determined that there must be an end of it; and how could they so effectually end it as by annihilating at once the object of its aims and aspirations. That, sir, they have done.

Here, then, endeth the *moral power* of the institution of Slavery.

I come now to the consideration of the event which just as surely has doomed to destruction the *political power* of that institution—I mean the repeal of the Missouri Compromise measure in the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. That act, sir, I will show to you—if it ever was committed by the slave power—to have been a suicidal act. What need was there for repealing that Compromise, or of admitting Slavery into Kansas *by law*? Was not the South sure enough of the Territory as it was before? I think—and this is my honest conviction—that had it not been for that act, Kansas would have been inevitably a slave State. We of the North had no particular interest in that Territory. It was put down in our geographies as the great American desert. We had not considered it of much importance; but we relied on the *law* to keep Slavery out of it, and to preserve it to Freedom. We of the North have had too high an idea of the power of the General Government and of *law*, either *for* Freedom or *against* Freedom. Sir, this General Government has but little power over this question. It is not a *motive power*. It is only a *registry*, an exponent of power. It is the log-book of the ship of State, and not the steam-engine that propels the ship, or the wind that fills the canvas. We would like to have the log-book kept right, to show us our true position; but we do not now consider the Government as the motive power. The motive power of this nation, as of all nations, is the people in their homes; and as the people in their homes are, so is your character and so is your progress. If the people in their

homes in Kansas had been Pro-Slavery, what could the North have opposed to it? It was emigration, and emigration only, that could have made Kansas a State, either slave or free. The great law that governs emigration is this: that emigration follows the parallels of latitude westward. Under that law, Kansas would have been settled entirely by a Pro-Slavery people, as was the southern part of Indiana, and as was the southern part of Illinois. We in the North, trusting in the protection of the law, would have had no remedy. People in favor of Slavery would have gone there, and if they were compelled at first to adopt a free Constitution in order to shape their institutions according to any law concerning the Territory, they might have soon reversed that position. In fact, the decision of the Supreme Court has now made any such thing unnecessary. They might have formed just such a Constitution as they pleased. Well, then, we would thus, in all probability, have had Kansas a slave State without the Kansas-Nebraska bill. But the passage of that bill, if Slavery had been probable before, *seemed* to the majority of the people in the North to make it almost inevitable. History warranted this fear. Judging from the case of Indiana, there seemed to be no chance whatever for Freedom in Kansas, after the opportunity for Slavery to enter there had been given. There was Missouri on the confines of the Territory—and the most densely-peopled portion of Missouri, too. Freedom-loving men, desiring to go to that Territory, would have had to travel hundreds and thousands of miles. The men who lived on the line of Kansas, as well as other Southern men who entertained the same idea—though they did not express it then, for fear of losing the bill—anticipated that the passage of the bill would settle the question for Slavery in Kansas forever. That was the evidence of the early history of Indiana. When that Territory was opened for settlement, a few slaveholders, perhaps a dozen or a score, went over from Kentucky, and, contrary to the wishes both of the President and Congress, contrary to the ordinance of 1787, established Slavery; and they obtained such control over that young Territory, that petitions, signed by many of the inhabitants, praying Congress to suspend the prohibition of Slavery, were presented to Congress, year after year, from 1803 to 1807. These few slaveholders of the Territory of Indiana acquired such control over the inhabitants of that Territory, because they were an organization, as Slavery is everywhere and at all times an organization. It was a concentration of capital, a concentration of influence, and a concentration of power, which our emigrants from the free States, coming one by one, were unable to resist; and had it not been for the overwhelming population which poured in from the North in 1807 and 1808, the prohibition of Slavery would have been suspended. Had it not been for John Randolph, it would have been suspended in 1803; and had it not been for Mr. Franklin in the Senate, it might have been suspended in 1807; and both of these were Southern men.

Well, sir, I have said that slaveholders are everywhere an organization. There is a commu-

nity of interest, a bond of feeling and of sympathy, which combines and concentrates all efforts to defend Slavery where it is, and to extend it to places where it is not. I will quote from the last number of *De Bow's Review*, everywhere acknowledged to be good Southern authority. In an article defending the New England Emigrant Aid Company, the writer says:

"We of the South have been practicing 'Organized Emigration' for a century, and hence 'have outstripped the North in the acquisition of land. The owner of a hundred slaves, who, with his overseer, moves to the West, carries out a self-supporting, self-insuring, well-organized community. This is the sort of 'Organized Emigration' which experience shows suits the South and the negro race, whilst Mr. Thayer's is equally well adapted to the whites."

Then, what fault can be found with our efforts to organize Freedom by means of our emigrant aid societies, that enable our citizens to go to the Territory in companies of twenty, fifty, one hundred, or two hundred, to take possession of the West, and to locate there the institutions under which they choose to live?

And here I come to the defence of this association. It has been assailed, time and again, on this floor, and I have never been allowed even the privilege of putting questions to its assailants. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. ANDERSON] called it "illegal and unconstitutional." It has been so assailed by the successor of Millard Fillmore. But where is the proof? Which of its acts has been shown to be illegal or unconstitutional? If it was illegal and unconstitutional, why has not the organization been crushed by the courts? We contend that any organization which is allowed to continue its existence from year to year, and to carry on its business, has the presumption, at least, of a legal right to do so. We claim that for the Emigrant Aid Company.

But the gentleman from Missouri professes to have authority in regard to this matter. He has said that we *may* employ this emigrant aid society in promoting emigration to Central America and to foreign countries, but that we must "*beware*" how we do so in colonizing the Territories of this Government. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman from Missouri has any authority in these premises, I hope he will exercise it. I ask him to publish a hand-book for emigrants, telling us *how* we may go into a Territory; whether we *may* ride or *must* go on foot; whether we *may* take our wives and children with us, or *must* leave them at home; whether we *may* take some of our neighbors with us, with their agricultural implements and steam-engines, or whether we *must* go into the Territories without any neighbors whatever; whether we *may* get horses or oxen from the free States, or whether we *must* content ourselves to take mules from the State of Missouri. [Laughter.]

Now, sir, let us have not only the book, but the reasons for it. Let us know how far we may go, according to the law, in this matter of emigration. I recommend the gentleman from Missouri to take some lessons from the gentleman from

Mississippi [Mr. QUITMAN] on the rights of emigration. I think he can get broader views upon this subject, if he will consult that gentleman, and I think he will allow Northern men to go to the places which they have a right to go to by the law of this land, in such society, if it be law-abiding, as they may choose to select for themselves.

I have said that the great general law of emigration is, that the emigrants shall follow the parallels of latitude in this country. There are some exceptions to this. The gold in California led our emigrants from the extreme North across many parallels of latitude. That was a sufficient disturbing cause. The existence of Slavery in the slave States of this country has driven thirty-five out of every hundred emigrants across northern parallels to the free States of the Union. That was another great and powerful cause. But there is another cause sufficient to carry emigration southward over parallels of latitude. That is, the argument of cheap lands, with the additional advantage of organized emigration. The objections that have heretofore existed among Northern men to settling in Southern States are, by this mode of emigrating, entirely obviated. The Northern man, with his family of children, would not heretofore go into a Southern State, in the absence of schools and churches. But when, combined with one or two hundred, or one or two thousand, of his friends and neighbors, he goes into a slave State, he carries with him schools and churches, and the mechanic arts, all these difficulties are obviated; and, besides, he has the inducement of going where the land can be bought at slave-State prices, in the expectation of finding it come up probably in a few years to free-State prices, which are five or six times greater than slave-State prices. Here is the great inducement of increasing wealth. Let a colony start from Massachusetts, and settle on almost any land in the State of Virginia—in Greenville, Southampton, Dinwiddie, or Accomac, where the lands do not average so high as three dollars an acre, by the census of 1850—and the very day they settle there, the value of the land is more than doubled. There is better land for sale to-day in Tennessee and North Carolina, for fifty cents per acre, than can be bought for ten times that sum in any free State.

How can such an appeal to the migrating population of the North, in favor of organized emigration to the slave States, be resisted? I know of no means of resisting it. Certainly you can have no reason for resisting it, but every reason to encourage it. We do not come as your enemies; we come as your friends. We do not come to violate your laws, but to improve our own condition. This movement southward is destined to continue and to increase. Sir, if Slavery were as sacred as the Ark of the Covenant, and if it were defended by angels, I doubt whether it could withstand the progress of this age and the money-making tendencies of the Yankee. But it is *not* as sacred as the Ark of the Covenant, and nobody believes that it is defended by angels.

But, sir, there begins to be an enlightened idea in these border slave States upon this subject.

A year ago, when I proposed to plant a few colonies in Virginia, several journals in the Old Dominion threatened me with hemp and grapevine if I should ever set foot in that Territory. Well, I thought I would make the experiment. I went into western Virginia and into eastern Kentucky. I addressed numerous audiences in both of those States, and everywhere where I asked the people if they had any objection to their land being worth four or five times what it was, they said "No." [Laughter.] I asked them if they had any objection to the manufacture of ploughs and wagons in Wayne county. There never had been a manufacturing establishment between the Big Sandy and Guyandot. Though no portion of this continent is better situated for manufacturing purposes, having more than thirty thousand miles of river communication, which affords cheap transportation to the best markets, with a healthy climate and inexhaustible supplies of coal and iron and timber of the best quality. Yet, every manufactured article was imported into this Natural Paradise of mechanics. There was not a newspaper published between the two rivers. I asked if they had any objection to a good, substantial, business newspaper published there, and to have schools and churches and the mechanic arts established in that county. With one voice they replied—"None, whatever." "We welcome you to our county, and to all its advantages." This was a generous and manly reception, worthy of the history of the Old Dominion. At every meeting we were welcomed by the unanimous voice of the people; and now I believe that there are at least twelve newspapers in the State of Virginia advocating these colonies coming into the State. The sagacious statesman who is the Governor of the Old Dominion gives us a general and most cordial welcome. Well, the prospect is very good and inviting; and if there is any danger of a dissolution of the Union—in fact, if there is any weak spot in the Union, I think it would be a good thing to patch it over with an additional layer of population. [Applause.] There never would be any disunion, if we could only attend to it, and see where the weak places are, and mend them in time.

But there is another exception to the rule I have laid down. Central America will prove abundantly sufficient to carry emigration southward, even across many parallels of latitude. She offers the grand inducements of commerce of a climate unsurpassed in salubrity, (in the central and Pacific portions,) of a fertile soil, which yields three crops a year, and, more than all, lands so cheap that every man may buy. We have already begun to move, and what to some men seemed to be the umbilical cord of an embryo Southern Empire, is likely, by these means, to be cut off, if it is not cut off already. [Laughter.] Everybody knows the physiological consequences.

Well, sir, I wish now to say that there is a higher power than man's in relation to this matter of Freedom in Kansas. It seemed at first to the whole North that the project of establishing Slavery there would exclude Freedom, and the

whole North was intimidated by it. There was the greatest reluctance manifested to emigration in that direction, from the North. Everywhere there was fear; everywhere despair.

"There was silence deep as death,
While we floated on our path;
And the boldest held his breath
For a time."

Six months of persistent effort in writing and speaking were required to induce the first colony of only thirty men to go to Kansas. The people had become impressed with the idea that Kansas was destined to be a slave State; but as soon as the first colony had reached that Territory, and had founded the famous city of Lawrence, the whole train of Northern emigration was turned from Nebraska and from Minnesota to Kansas. And they have filled Kansas with Free State men—such men as are fitted for the high position they occupy; for Kansas is the geographical centre of our possessions. Its position in itself makes it the arbiter of our fate in all coming time, destined to give law to all between the Missouri river and the golden gates of the Pacific, and to make its power felt all the way between the British possessions and the Gulf of Mexico. Never were more noble men needed for a more noble work. It was necessary that Plymouth Rock should repeat itself in Kansas. The Puritan character was needed there; but how could it be had, except by such discipline as made the Puritans; for if it was necessary that they should be elevated like the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, it was also necessary that they should have the training of the Pilgrim Fathers. They were peculiar in their early history, and peculiar in their late history. They had their early education among the rocks and mountains of New England. I have known of great men in times past, who came from the forest, who came from hills and mountains; but I never have known them to be raised on Wilton carpets. These men received their early training among the rugged hills of New England, where they waged incessant war on ice and granite, on snow and gravel-stones. It is there where they acquire their energy and their power. And, sir, I think the Yankee race has at least an octave more compass than any other nation on earth. I know a Yankee doughface is half an octave meaner than any other man. [Laughter.]

Sir, some of the best of this Yankee race went to Kansas. They were stigmatized, six months before they arrived there, as thieves and paupers. Well, if such men as those who have built Lawrence, and Topeka, and Manhattan, and Ossawatomie, and Quindaro, were thieves and paupers, what do you think we respectable, well-to-do people, will accomplish in the Old Dominion, where we are now becoming acquainted with some of the "first families?" These Free State men of Kansas have been reviled by their inferiors at both ends of Pennsylvania avenue many times during the last three years. The other day, in the other end of this Capitol, such men were denominated slaves. Sir, we are slaves! I admit it; but our only master is the Great Jehovah. These heroes in Kansas, having for their ancestors the

Pilgrim Fathers, "sons of sires who baffled crowned and mitred tyranny," disciplined in their early years by the rugged teachings of adversity, seem to have been well prepared for their high mission.

But the discipline of worthy examples, of New England education, and of poverty and adversity, were not enough. The discipline of *tyranny* was requisite for their perfection. This discipline has been of use in all ages of the world. David was not fit to rule over Israel until he had been hunted like a "partridge in the mountains" by the envious and malignant Saul. Brutus was not fitted to expel the Tarquins until he had endured their tyranny for years. What would Moses have done, but for Pharaoh? Where would have been the Reformers of the sixteenth century, where the Puritans in the seventeenth, and the Patriots in the eighteenth, but for Leo the Tenth, Charles the First, and George the Third? But Charles the First lost his head, and George the Third his colonies, for less tyranny than has been practiced upon the people of Kansas by the two successors of Millard Fillmore. If we thank God for patriots, we should also thank Him for tyrants; for what great

achievements have patriots ever made, without the stimulus of tyranny? Without vice, virtue itself must be insipid; and without wicked and mean men, there could be no heroes.

The brave man rejoices in the opposition of the enemy of his rights. Wicked and mean men are the stepping-stones on which the good and great ascend to heaven and immortal fame.

These miscreants, cursed both by God and man, subserve important interests. The sacred volume which unfolds to us the life and sufferings of the Saviour of men, makes record also of Pontius Pilate and of Judas Iscariot as necessary agencies in that great redemption.

So I will denounce no man who has fought against Freedom in Kansas, as entirely useless in the grand result. But what a team to draw the chariot of Freedom! Atchison and Stringfellow and John Calhoun, with the two successors of Millard Fillmore to lift at the wheels.

[Here the hammer fell.]

NOTE.—Mr. Thayer will complete the consideration of this subject at the earliest convenient time.

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