

THE FLORIDA PAMPHLET.

“A Treatise on the patriarchal, or co-operative system of society, as it exists in some governments, and colonies in America, and in the United States, under the name of slavery, with its necessities and advantages. By T. Kingsley, an inhabitant of Florida.” This tract contains sixteen quarto pages, and it is unusual to find in a work of this size so many accords and discords; sympathies, and antipathies, as the intelligent, benevolent, reader must experience in perusing the work now under review. Many of the author's facts, and more of his reasonings, prove cogently the opposite of that which he professes to establish; namely, that slavery may be so regulated, as to increase the sum of human happiness. It is, however, difficult to ascertain whether this is his position—or whether he is not serving up milk, to stomachs, illy prepared to bear solid nourishment. The readers of the *Genius* shall have some of his paragraphs, accompanied with such thoughts as suggest themselves while copying. In the preface he says:

“The idea of slavery, when associated with cruelty and injustice, is revolting to every philanthropic mind; but when that idea is associated with justice, and benevolence, slavery, commonly so called, easily amalgamates with the ordinary conditions of life.”

The association between slavery and cruelty, may be weak in many cases—but how it can be broken between the ideas of slavery, and injustice, is extremely difficult to conceive.

Those, however, if any such there be, who can elevate their conceptions to this point, will find no difficulty with this paragraph, or that which succeeds it; except being “of the common class of whites, denominated free,” they might repine a little at their degradation below the condition of a black slave:—that they are “more corrupt; less productive; and yield less support and benefit to the State than the slaves, may be true—and the intelligent philanthropist perceives the cause of their worthlessness, and degradation, in the existence of that slavery, which our author praises. In page 4, is the following:

“Many, from a superficial view of things, suppose that the aversion, to labor observable in the South, among the working classes of whites, proceeds from natural indisposition. But a nearer view, and better acquaintance with facts, will show, that the radical cause is the want of health, which produces an apathy or aversion to work, and frequently a relaxation, or want of natural excitement in the powers of life, which seek artificial stimulants; as we see frequent instances of the strongest, soberest and most industrious mechanics coming from the North, becoming, after a few years hard labor, weak and idle, and finally, falling a sacrifice to the abuse of ardent spirits. Some are of opinion, that the want of

health in these classes, is owing to their being unaccustomed to a hot climate. But as many years have elapsed since the first white people settled among the Southern swamps, and their descendants have not improved either in looks or longevity, it becomes evident that people of white complexions are unfitted by nature for that situation.”

According to the author's shewing, the whites are out of place in the South; and in page 6, he seems to anticipate, that ultimately, no trace of them will be found there, only in a state of mixture. One would think it would be no very pleasant prospect to southern slave-holders to contemplate their posterity, gradually supplanted by what they deem an inferior race. It is their business—they can avert it. Does not exercise, suited to circumstances, always promote health? Are there not emigrants from Europe, particularly from Ireland, who even at the time they are becoming acclimated, labor hard, and enjoy better health than those who merely superintend the operations which they perform? Do New-Orleans, and other southern ports, afford no examples? Are they rare? He next says:

“Some of our Northern neighbors, living in a state of health and affluence, and not being aware that this prosperous state, in many instances, proceeds indirectly from Southern slave labor, and without duly investigating, and comparing the hardships, and humiliation of the lower condition of their white population with the more comfortable state of the Southern negroes, have denounced the patriarchal state of subordination of the latter, called slavery, as the most abject and miserable of all possible grades of human existence. Now it appears to me, that no one State can be perfectly free from these evils; but that all must experience some modifications of dependence. The negro under the management of a *just, conscientious, and humane master*; (of which description it will certainly be allowed that there are some) who provides for the physical wants of his servants, his wife and children, in health, sickness and old age, for no other consideration than the *equitable* one of competent labor, when in health, will surely enjoy a happier and more enviable state of existence than the poor white man, burdened with a family, who has to contend with cold and hunger, besides religious and moral tyranny.

“Moreover, the free white man, with the greatest economy and industry, usually consumes nearly the whole product of his labor; laying by but little, even upon the most favorable circumstances, but with a smaller stock of prudence and exertion, which more commonly happens, he not only consumes all his earnings, but is compelled by cold, hunger, and want of employment or ill health, to apply to the public for charity. Whereas, the negro by his own labor, *discreetly restrained* under the co-operative or Patriarchial system, not only furnishes clothing, implements of husbandry, and provision, but creates a large export surplus to meet contingencies; thus increasing the comfort and capital of the establishment, of which he considers himself an integral part.

“In short, the greatest value of agricultural produce for export, and nearly all the springs of

national and individual prosperity, flow from slave labor, as is fairly demonstrated by our annual account of exports. It could not reasonably be expected otherwise. The labor of the negro, under the wholesome restraint of an intelligent direction, is like a constant stream; that of the white man is economically measured out by his urgent necessities, or dissipated by his expenses. Besides, climate enables the one to furnish articles of greater value; while the white man's labor is usually applied to raise cheap articles of food for the mere subsistence of himself and family."

A northern citizen, who has travelled to the south, should always be permitted to smile when he hears a comparison made between the intellectual peasantry of his section, and the animated matter called a slave, even if the system which has him for a part of its machinery, should be known by the handsomely sounding epithet, "patriarchal."—And so tenacious is he of the habits of his own district, that he would scarcely be brought to think it a favor, to labor during health, or ability to furnish means, with which another may, *if he pleases*, make his days of sickness or old age comfortable. This is a species of logic, not taught in northern schools—he could not, therefore, be expected to understand it. He is instructed to believe it is as much his duty, and there need be no doubt but he feels it as much his interest, to provide for his own comfort as the owner does in the case of the slave. After giving the Brazilian system of slavery a decided preference, in page 6, is the following paragraph:

"The door of liberty is open to every slave who can find means of purchasing himself. It is true, few have the means, but hope creates a spirit of economy, industry, and emulation to obtain merit by good behavior which has a general and beneficial effect. Slaves are also allowed to hold some kinds of property, under limitation—such as stock. But the grand chain of security by which the slaves are held in subordination, is the free people of color, whose persons, properties, and rights are protected by law; which enables them to acquire and hold property in their own name, and allows the free children of quarters by a white man, to be white by law.—By this link, they become identified with the whites on one side, and with the slaves by descent on the other; a connexion which perfectly cements the three casts of which the whole nation is composed; and each being perfectly contented with its permanent, lawful privileges, the jealousy, which might otherwise arise from cast or difference of complexion or condition, is totally extinguished, and no one feels an interest in disturbing that with which every one is satisfied."

If they cannot get into the Hall of Freedom, it is not that the door is shut against them—if they should fail to enter, one good thing is effected—the sight of the door makes them industrious, and economical—so that if the *slaves* are not benefitted, it is easy to perceive who is.—He who understands the structure of the human

mind, well knows that the stimulus of this fallacious, and deceptive hope, will effect what coercion never did, and never can. Where, after all, is the manly, generous mind, that does not revolt at the idea of such cruel duplicity? The latter part of the paragraph is a noble contrivance!—have always on hand a sufficient number of free, to assist in keeping the slaves subordinate: this is rendered still more practicable, by having this caste mixed.

The remainder of the pamphlet will be noticed in our next number.

MORE OF THE FLORIDA PAMPHLET.

In our last we commenced a hasty review of this tract. Considering the imperfections of that hurried attempt, together with the want of space in our little work, we should be glad if the pamphlet itself, could fall into the hands of every reader of the the "Genius." We will make some further extracts.

After treating briefly of the causes, and the progress of the Haytien Revolution, the author says:

"The fall, and final extinction of its colonial power, and its subsequent re-establishment under a free and independent government of negroes in our vicinity, furnishes, in a variety of incidents which took place during its whole course, abundant examples of situation, occurrences, and facts, from which we may establish consequences that would apply to almost every possible situation in which we could imagine slaves of a similar class to our own to be placed."

He then proceeds to state, that during the conflict between the contending parties,

"The slaves were armed by their masters, and protected themselves and families while they made abundant crops of coffee. In short, when we come to consider the massacres and bloodshed necessarily attending such a horrid revolution, where a vast number of slaves were forced into a state of licentious anarchy, and led on by partizans blinded by revolutionary fury, who gave no quarter on either side, it is astonishing that the slaves now liberated, should have so soon returned to a peaceable and quiet state of domestic order, and again, admitted whites to reside peaceably among them, and enjoy all the pre-eminence that condition could give."

See his inference :

"From all these facts it follows, that under a just and prudent system of management, negroes are a safe, permanent, productive and growing property, and easily governed; that they are not naturally desirous of change, but are sober, discreet, honest and obliging; are less troublesome, and possess a much better moral character than the ordinary class of corrupted whites of similar condition. For the truth of this observation, I appeal to every slave holder in the south, who has had an opportunity of witnessing the conduct of white laborers who come annually to seek work from the north, whether the common plantation negroes do not conduct themselves much better and are of a more respectable moral character."

He then adds :

" Their strong attachment to their homes, to their women and children, and to domestic life, are likewise great securities for their good behaviour; which, with a fair and equitable allowance of clothes and provisions, kind treatment when sick, and fair words when well, will, in most cases, insure good behaviour, obedience and attachment. Under these circumstances they will, without grumbling, and with very little corporeal punishment, perform a great deal of valuable labor in a year, and with profit and satisfaction to the owner, who if prudent, will soon find himself in easy circumstances, and feel happy in experiencing the attachment, confidence, and good will of a grateful and happy people. Our laws to regulate slaves are entirely founded on terror. It would be worth while to try the experiment of a small mixture of reward with the punishment—such as allowing them the free use of Sunday, as a market day and jubilee, which I have observed had a good effect in all foreign countries, also in Louisiana. The laws of the southern states are exclusively constructed for the protection of whites, and vexatious tyranny over the persons and properties of every colored person, whose oath can in no case be admitted as evidence against a white person. Policy and self-preservation require, to render the co-operative system beneficial, that slaves must be kept under wholesome and just restraint, which must always create some degree of resistance more or less to Patriarchal authority; to counterbalance which, the interest and co-operation of the free colored people, is absolutely necessary, when the white population is scanty."

" The Policy generally pursued by our own slave holding state governments with regard to free colored people, and that pursued by foreign, colonial and other slave holding governments, is directly opposite. In the latter, the free colored people have found it their interest universally and decidedly to place themselves in the scale of the whites, or in opposition to the slaves. A slave who saves my life by rescuing it from assassins at the risk of his own; or who saves the lives and properties of a whole community by informing against conspirators, must still remain a slave! and what a dreadful feeling of general resentment must originate from such a source of injustice! No wonder (with such laws) at the universal antipathy and detestation against slavery, thus identified with tyranny and the most oppressive cruelty."

In page 12 he asks—and as we think, from a well reasoned conviction of human wants—

just, and generous sense of human rights: "Is there any thing worthy of acceptance, that can be offered to a slave, but FREEDOM?"

If readers can admit, for a while that *power* and *right* are not synonyms, they will find something worthy their attention, in what follows—it states some very important facts; shows the writer to be a close observer—an accurate, and cogent reasoner—and his tacit predictions, may one day, be verified, albiet they do not purport to emanate from any thing supernatural.

"A very common argument against free colored people's testimony being admitted as evidence in all cases is, that their moral character is not generally so respectable. The force of all testimony must be measured by its respectability; therefore of unequal value. But that the moral character of free colored people generally, is inferior to that of the same condition of whites, I think cannot be proved. On the contrary, all unprejudiced people who have had an opportunity of knowing, and have paid attention to the subject, will say that the very opposite is the case. Even if it were not so, what a reflection on our policy and justice, to outlaw them for complexion, which they cannot help, and deprive them of the means of acquiring moral improvement, by driving them to seek shelter among the slaves! Few, I think will deny that *color* and *condition*, if properly considered, are two very separate qualities. But the fact is, that in almost every instance, our legislators, for want of due consideration, have mistaken the shadow for the substance, and confounded together two very different things, thereby substantiating, by law, a dangerous and inconvenient antipathy, which can have no better foundation than prejudice. It is much to be regretted that those who enact laws to regulate slaves, and free people of color, are often obliged to consult popularity, rather than policy, and their own good sense."

"Some of our state laws, in defiance of our national treaties, condemn to indiscriminate imprisonment in the common jail, every class of free colored persons, who may arrive within their limits, without reference to sex, cause, or condition; and to be sold as slaves where they have not the means of paying the penalties annexed to the crime of arriving within the jurisdiction of the law. What must be the final consequence of such infatuation? an infatuation arraying itself in open and avowed hostility against twelve millions of people, now composing the colored population of this quarter of the world. Hayti, alone, in the full career of wealth, freedom, and juvenile independence, with equal, if not superior, advantages of climate, soil and situation, to any equal portion of territory in the world, and evidently destined by nature, at no very distant period, if not to command, at least to share the commerce of the surrounding ocean; and, without being over-peopled, comfortably to accommodate twelve millions of inhabitants.

"A war of color would, in our situation, of all wars be the most dangerous; therefore the least advisable, because we naturally and unavoidably (under our present policy) contain within us the materials of our own dissolution; and nine-tenths of all our present white friends

would at least laugh at our absurd indiscretion."

The author wishes inducements held out to the slaves, to become serviceable to their owners—and encourages the owners to reward them for it. He also thinks it hard that law should prevent an owner from liberating a deserving slave; he, moreover proposes, that free colored people be put on an equal footing with whites. After all this, he says:

"It appears that, to raise the value of southern plantation property, to its just scale of purchase value, according to the rate of interest yielded by its neat average return of crops, to bear an equal proportion with the value and returns of real property in the north, which is the principal object of this treatise, it may be considered necessary—

1st. To put all fear of danger, either to person or property, from insurrection of the slaves, at rest.

2d. To destroy all doubt of the permanent durability of such property, in case of war or invasion.

3d. To extinguish that general, foreign or northern prejudice, against holding slave property, which commonly arises from their mistaken view of our policy and laws, to regulate slaves and free colored people."

To his first proposition, we would say, it must be effected by arrangements, having for their object, the *gradual*, but **ENTIRE emancipation, of every slave**. His views, if carried into operation, have, whether he perceives it or not, a certain tendency to that end; and hence, we think, his second and third, are superfluous, in remote prospective calculation. But if they must needs be—in relation to the second, it is our decided opinion, it must be effected by *reducing slaves to still more brutish ignorance*: nothing else, can ensure a permanent property in human beings. The end proposed to be attained in the third, can be done by simply *destroying in the human mind, all distinction between VIRTUE and VICE*: by banishing all correct reasoning, and feeling, from the head and heart.