would seem that the African, whether here in bonds, nominally free, or in his own native land, must anchor his hope on God alone and another world—here, for him, there seems *none*.

Whether the slave trade is legalized, or prosecuted as at present, not clandestinely but openly, although illegally, it matters little; the *sum* of human suffering may be the same, in the one case, less by the many, in the other *intensely*, even to the crack of life strings by the few. God help them!

THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.

CAN IT BE REVIVED WITHOUT VIOLATING THE MOST SACRED PRINCIPLES OF HONOR, HUMANITY AND RELIGION?

This question indicates at once the character and design of the following article. There has been no little discussion in the South, for some time past, about re-opening the African slave trade; and, if we may judge from the earnestness and vehemence with which it is pressed upon public attention by its advocates, we may expect a still more serious agitation of the subject. There is every reason to believe that the great majority of the more intelligent classes are very decidedly opposed to it, and no doubt this will continue to be the case. Still there are good and patriotic men who, through ignorance or forgetfulness of the actual character of this traffic, or from a perverted view of some of its moral bearings, are liable to be drawn over to the other side of the question, and it is to this class of persons, mainly, that our arguments are addressed. As a native of the South, tenderly alive to whatever concerns her honor and welfare, and, at the same time, having had special opportunities, by a prolonged residence in Africa, of knowing something of the true character of this traffic, especially in its baleful and desolating influence upon that country, we hesitate not to raise our solemn protest against its renewal, and we hope for at least a candid and impartial hearing on the part of those to whom our facts and arguments are addressed.

It is not difficult to see what has raised up advocates for a cause that has lain so long under the ban of almost universal condemnation. The rampant abolitionism among certain classes of the North, the reluctant and hesitating manner in which the fugitive slave law is enforced in most of the free States, the participation of the French Government in the traffic under the specious name of the apprentice system, the felt want of more laborers in the sugar and cotton growing country, and other considerations of a political character, are, no doubt, among the chief causes which have led to the present excited and open advocacy of this traffic. Every impartial mind must see, nevertheless, that this is after all but a superficial and one-sided view of the matter. It brings to view the wrong-doing of unreasonable men; holds up certain advantages that might possibly accrue to the Southern country from the revival of the traffic; but leaves entirely out of the account the cruel and unjustifiable measures by which alone the object can be attained. We have too high an estimate of the good sense, the Christian moderation, and the honorable bearing of the Southern people, to believe that they ever will, either from motives of retaliation, or the hope of gain, lend their countenance knowingly to the revival of a traffic which, in its progress, must necessarily trample in the dust every sentiment of honor, humanity and religion. We believe it is only necessary to bring before their minds a distinct and

truthful picture of the real character of this trade—what it always has been, and necessarily must be—to call for their unqualified denunciation of it; and to impart this information is the main design of the following pages.

The existing institution of domestic slavery rests upon an entirely different basis. It was brought about, whether through lawful or unlawful measures, by a generation of men who have passed away. At the present time it is purely a question of Providence, with the origin of which the present generation have little or no responsibility. If there are wrongs connected with the system as it now exists, (and what human relation does not give rise to them?) they ought, as far as possible, to be corrected. But, whatever wrong-doing there may have been in connection with the original establishment of the institution, and whatever incidental abuses may now be connected with it, every right-minded and honest man must see that it has been overruled by a kind and merciful Providence for the good of those of the African race who were brought to this country. They are happier, better, and more useful men and women, then they would have been if born and brought up in the wilds of Africa, or than they would have been if their forefathers, upon their arrival here, had been turned loose to roam the swamps and woods of America, instead of being subjected to the restraints of servitude. Nor is there anything to prevent their making still greater progress in moral and social improvement, without any material change in their present relations. This fact, however, while it ought to qualify and moderate the overheated zeal of those who can see nothing but evil in slavery, affords no countenance whatever to those who will use it as an argument for the revival of the slave trade. This, as we propose to show, is evil, and evil only, and can be justified by no indirect or ulterior good whatever. To seize men on the coast of Africa, by fraud, by violence, or a resort to bloodshed—and these are the only means, as we shall presently show, by which they can be obtained—and bring them to this country for the avowed and ostensible purpose of ameliorating their condition, is not only to practice a deception upon ourselves, but is virtually doing evil that good may come, and sanctioning the odious Jesuitical dogma, that the end justifies the means. Incalculable blessings have flowed to the world from the crucifixion of the Lord of glory, but does this justify those who, with cruel hands, put him to death? The money of the miser might relieve the wants of the poor, or promote the cause of morality and benevolence, but will this justify the application of the assassin's knife to his throat? What becomes of society where such principles are sanctioned?

It does not come within the prescribed range of this article to discuss the question whether fresh importations of Africans to this country would prove a blessing or a curse. Southern men, of wiser heads and abler pens, have already discussed this branch of the subject, and have demonstrated, as we conceive, the extreme folly and danger of the measure. Our object will be to show that the South cannot countenance the revival of this traffic without dishonoring herself, and inflicting renewed and incalculable misery and wretchedness upon the inhabitants of Africa; and this we propose to do by showing that the trade never has been, and cannot be, carried on to any considerable extent, except by fraud, by violence, and by perpetual warfare and bloodshed.

The slave trade, in its most vigorous days, was carried on in Western Africa, over a sea-coast line of more than four thousand miles, and in Eastern Africa, along a line of nearly half that distance, whilst a vigorous

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