THE TWO-FOLD SLAVERY
OF
THE UNITED STATES;
WITH
A PROJECT OF SELF-EMANCIPATION;
BY
MARSHALL HALL, M.D., F.R.S.; &c.
WITH TWO MAPS.

LONDON:
ADAM SCOTT, CHARTERHOUSE SQUARE.
1854.
PREFATORY ADDRESS
TO
THE PLANTERS AND THE MEMBERS
OF THE
SOUTHERN STATES LEGISLATURES
IN
THE UNITED STATES.

GENTLEMEN,

I take the liberty of addressing these Letters to you, because from you, I believe, all good to the poor African people in the United States must originate. With your interests, with your estates, with your families, they and their condition are indissolubly linked and bound up; from your kindness and generosity, and sense of justice, any peaceful, beneficent, and momentous change in their condition must flow.

I have frequently heard it observed by you, that Slavery is a great evil; but that it is an inheritance which you have received from England, and now know not how to dismiss from your soil; and that you would gladly adopt any measure which would have this effect, if such a measure could be devised.
Prefatory Address.

Believing in and relying upon this assurance, I earnestly submit to your consideration the details and the suggestions which the following Letters unfold. Being addressed in idea to you, they cannot contain an offensive word. They are written with the most sincere good wishes for your reputation throughout the world, and for your welfare at home. I trust you will receive them in good part and with cordiality. If a benevolent American were to come to this country, and to point out, in a friendly spirit (such a spirit as shall pervade these Letters), all that is wrong here, with its remedy, I, at least, would hail his visit and efforts as those of a benefactor.

Believe me,

Gentlemen,

Your sincere well-wisher,

The Author.
THE TWO-FOLD SLAVERY
OF
THE UNITED STATES.

LETTER I.

The Slavery and Second Slavery of the United States; Abolition; Colonization; Perpetual Slavery; Self-Emancipation.

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I have, during nearly fifteen months spent in the United States, directed all my attention to the condition of the African race in that land of liberty, so-called. I have during this period four times crossed the States between their eastern and western-points, in their mean and extreme latitudes; and I have visited Canada and Cuba. I wished to see and judge for myself. I wished to behold the poor African in all his positions and in all his conditions:—in his state of freedom in Canada; in his bondage to a popular prejudice and a cruel oppression in the northern, and in his slavery under a legal institution in the southern, States; and in his worse than United States' bondage under the yoke imposed by Spanish law or custom in Cuba.
I soon perceived that the question was not one of mere slavery, as that term is usually employed; but that there is a second slavery of the free or emancipated African in the United States, severer, in certain respects, even than the first,—a slavery to which too little attention has hitherto been paid.

In effect, the African in the slavery of the United States is usually so well cared for, that he is for the most part, according to the expression of Henry Clay, 'fat and sleek,' and his numbers increase in a higher ratio than those of the European; whilst the African said to be free is so crushed by State legislation and popular prejudice and oppression as to provide for himself and family through extreme difficulties, and is at once wretched individually and scarcely increases his numbers as a race;—facts of the most affecting interest.

Much, therefore, as has been said of Abolition, I can scarcely regard it, under existing circumstances, as a boon to the poor African in the United States.

Slavery at least feeds and clothes its unhappy victims, so that animal life is supported and perpetuated. It is only when the slave is viewed as an intellectual being—as Man, in a word—that his degradation, his ignorance, his privation of holy marriage and of parental rights, his subjection to the infliction of the lash, his exposure to public sale by auction, and his treatment for the sake of offspring in the "breeding States," stand forth in all their enormity.

The question in regard to slavery in the United States is essentially a question of religion and of
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conscience. Any other lower view of the subject is utterly unworthy of its magnitude and importance, in itself, and in its relation to three millions and a half (3,638,808) of our fellow men and brethren, the coloured people in the United States, and to the character of a great nation.

It will be perceived, as I proceed, that this high and conscientious view of the subject is happily not incompatible with the best interests of the European in the United States, and of the country at large.

Unprepared abolition, I repeat, would be no boon to the African slave in the United States. It would, alone, only lead to the second slavery to which I have adverted, even if the freed slave was perfectly well-conducted. Might it not also lead to ruin of both planter and estate?

Besides, it is statistically true that, during the period of the abolition agitation, the increase of the number of the slaves has been regular and fearful, whilst that of the free, so-called, has rapidly diminished. What then has this abolition accomplished? Nothing! And, at this very moment, nothing is being done for the poor African race in the United States.

As to Colonization, it is utterly inadequate to the eradication of slavery: in the year 1850, 562 coloured persons were sent by the Colonization Society to Liberia. In the same year, 8169 (nearly fifteen times 562) were added to the slave population of the United States, by the excess of births over the deaths. It is obvious, therefore, that emigration to Liberia can never overtake
the mere natural increase of the African race; far less can it remove the present number of that race in the United States, with its increase. During the thirty years of the existence of the Colonization movement, about 10,000 free Africans have been conveyed away. But 3,638,808 of the African race, including 3,204,313 slave and 434,495 free, exist in the United States and Territories, a number which, without increase, it would require three centuries and a half to convey away at the same rate.

The scheme of Colonization, therefore, bears no proportion to its object, if that object be—emancipation of the African slave and his removal from the United States.

But, even admitting that the deportation of the African race from the United States were possible, that race cannot be spared; it is essential to the cultivation of the cotton-plant, the sugar-cane, and the rice-field.

Abolition and Colonization then are equally out of the question. Not less so, I believe, is the deliberate view of the Perpetuation of slavery.

Such a view is immediately met by a great difficulty. The slaves of the United States are now accumulated in the southern or slave States, the northern States having emancipated themselves from slavery. The principal slave States are Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, below Mason and Dixon's line. In these States, the numbers of the European are less than in the
northern States. In several, the African race bears a large proportion to the European, and in two, South Carolina and Mississippi, actually exceeds it. In addition to this large proportional number of the African slaves, it must be remembered that they augment their numbers, by natural increase, more rapidly than the European. This fact is emphatically stated by Dr. Chickering of Boston, Massachusetts, in a late admirable paper, though advocating the delusive scheme of Colonization, in De Bow's Review for August 1853. It is further shown by the subjoined interesting Table, compiled from the Census of 1850, on which I propose to give an ample commentary in a future Letter:

Increase per Cent. of the Population of the United States.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From 1790 to</th>
<th>Whites.</th>
<th>Slaves.</th>
<th>Free Coloured.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>35,6828</td>
<td>27,9617</td>
<td>82,2806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>36,1835</td>
<td>33,4053</td>
<td>72,0006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>34,1169</td>
<td>29,0989</td>
<td>27,7345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>34,0303</td>
<td>30,6237</td>
<td>34,1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>34,7175</td>
<td>23,8129</td>
<td>20,8712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>37,7394</td>
<td>28,8189</td>
<td>12,4752</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By a cursory glance at this table, we learn a whole history of the influence of immigration, natural increase, and moral influences on the triple population of the United States. The increase of the European from the first and second has been uniform; that of the African was greatest in the decennium between 1800
and 1810, the slave trade having ceased in 1808; and that of the free coloured was greatest between 1790 and 1810, under the influence of revolutionary feeling, and least between 1830 and 1850, under that of the abolition agitation.

The result of these facts is, that in the course of time the African race will acquire, in the southern States, an overwhelming and dangerous numerical majority over the European. This event cannot be long delayed even. The number of the African is doubled in a period of time between 25 and 30 years. Their present number is, as I have already stated, 3,638,808. In little more than half a century this number will be quadrupled, and attain that of fourteen millions; and in a little more than a century it will be upwards of fifty millions!

Is there not revealed in these views a fearful future, not very remote? And, should not the planter bethink himself how the impending evil may be averted? This cannot be done either by Abolition or Colonization. The former would not diminish the number of the African race in the United States, and could only act by diffusing it over the so-called free States, and subjecting it to a second slavery. The latter, as I have already said, could only remove a very inadequate number. And, lastly, the African race cannot, as I have also said, be spared from the cotton— the sugar— and the rice-fields of the southern States.

Pressed by all these difficulties, or rather impossi-
abilities, what is to be done to remove this giant evil of slavery—of the two-fold slavery, for such it is—from the United States?

Happily, I believe, I have a well-matured proposition to make to effect this great object, a proposition as effectual as that object is momentous and grand:—It is that of a plan of SELF-EMANCIPATION—so framed as to strike at the very root of all slavery, eradicating at once its degradation, its ignorance, its injustice, and its irreligion.

I propose that a system of education, and discipline, and preparation be adopted; that a just and generous premium be placed on each slave; that task-work and over-work be appointed him, in the place of day-work; that he be led by this means to achieve his own emancipation, the wages for his over-work being secured, with liberal interest, in Savings’ banks; that his efforts be seconded by the generosity of others; that when the sum appointed is thus accumulated, it be paid over to his master by the proper authorities, and that he be declared—free! That, when free, he be retained, if he desire it, in his former position, receiving just wages.

The African race, in the United States, will thus become—the finest peasantry in the world,—and be the glory instead of the shame of the country.

From the very moment even that this plan is properly and fully promulgated by law, there will no longer exist in the United States any other than a voluntary slavery; and the voluntary slave is at once unworthy and incapable of freedom!
When thus self-emancipated, the slave will not only be free, but educated, and disciplined, and elevated in character. Self-emancipation has this advantage over abolition, that, whilst it frees, it prepares for freedom; and that, whilst it confers freedom on the slave, it brings no ruin on the planter or his estate. It has this advantage over ordinary manumission, that, whilst it achieves freedom, it entails no necessity for removal from the plantation where the achievement is made. The slave becomes more valuable even than before, as a free and more active cultivator of the soil is more valuable than the lash-driven slave.

The first object of self-emancipation, after the attainment of freedom, is—elevation in character and conduct. This will inspire proportionate respect. European prejudice and oppression will cease, and the poor African will no longer suffer from a second slavery, when emancipated from the first. He will excel in certain useful arts. He will accumulate wealth; for many of his race have done so. And, without amalgamation, which I by no means contemplate, he will attain just rank in society, as a man, a rightful husband and parent, and a citizen.

In the scheme of self-emancipation no interests are overlooked or neglected. The feeble and infirm will not be able to emancipate themselves; they will remain, as at present, under their masters' 'patriarchal' care. But the able will reimburse the planter the cost of his slave, and, I am persuaded, become to him a servant of even greater money value. For it is no longer necessary
to prove that free-labour is more energetic and productive than slave-labour, that wages are a better stimulus to industry than the lash.

And what shall I say of the national honour? What American will not rejoice to have the stain and the sin of slavery, with its degradation, its adultery, its cruelty too—for there is cruelty in the slavery of the United States,—removed from his native land and home for ever?

There is still another object to be secured—the permanency of the Union, which all acknowledge to be endangered by the fact of slavery in one-half of the United States.

I propose to discuss each of the topics briefly noticed on this occasion, with others, in succession, in subsequent Letters. The subject is all-important in a philanthropic and economical point of view, and I trust my observations may not be without their value and interest to my readers in both hemispheres.
LETTER VIII.

The Colonization Movement.

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There are many things in the scheme of Colonization to commend it to the heart of the philanthropist; a return to his own home, amongst his own race, offered to the expatriated African; civilization sent across the Atlantic to a benighted nation and his own brethren by his means! It is not possible to realize these objects without a thrill of satisfaction.

But these schemes relate to those who have either attained, or are about to attain, to that second slavery of which I have written to you, not to the slave, not to the slavery and the slaves in the United States.

Since the dawn of the plan of Colonization to Liberia, that is, during thirty years, ten thousand free Africans have emigrated from the United States; but they have left three millions and a half of slaves in bondage behind them.

During the year ending with March 1854, 783 emigrants embarked for Liberia—an increase of 200 upon the preceding twelve months; the relative in-
crease being greater for that year than for any one of many preceding years, as will appear by the following table:

Year ending April 1, 1847, 3 vessels, 39 emigrants sent.
Year ending April 1, 1848, 3 vessels, 213 emigrants sent.
Year ending April 1, 1849, 5 vessels, 474 emigrants sent.
Year ending April 1, 1850, 6 vessels, 596 emigrants sent.
Year ending April 1, 1851, 6 vessels, 279 emigrants sent.
Year ending April 1, 1852, 6 vessels, 568 emigrants sent.
Year ending April 1, 1853, 6 vessels, 583 emigrants sent.
Year ending April 1, 1854, 6 vessels, 783 emigrants sent.

But what are these hundreds compared with the millions in slavery, with their rapid increase? Absolutely nothing! Let us not be beguiled then by this benevolent scheme. Let it accomplish all possible good to a few of the free of the African race in the United States, and by their means to numbers in the country of their fathers; but let us not forget for one moment the millions of that race still in bonds, and still near our own homes.

I fear the colonization scheme has, like the abolition, not been without its baneful influence on the poor unhappy African race in the United States, and especially that portion in what I have called the second slavery of those States.

I am compelled to say what I believe to be the truth,—that the Colonization Society is the calumniator of the African race!

I will illustrate these painful facts by two brief extracts:
"Free blacks are a greater nuisance than even slaves themselves."—Afr. Rep. ii, p. 189.

"It were better to have them left in chains" (this is true indeed), "than to have them liberated to receive such freedom as they" (the free of the African race) "enjoy; and greater freedom we cannot, must not allow them!"—Afr. Rep. iii, p. 197.

"If we were constrained to admire so uncommon a being" (as a pious, highly cultivated, scientific negro), "our very admiration would be mingled with disgust" (witness the mixed race over the United States!), "because in the physical organization of his frame, we meet an insurmountable barrier even to approach to social intercourse, and in the Egyptian colour which nature has stamped on his features, a principle of repulsion and a strong feeling, as to forbid the idea of a communion of interest or of feeling, as utterly abhorrent!"—Afr. Rep. vii, p. 331.

In this manner the Colonization Society may convey a few hundreds of the free Africans from their real to a fancied home; but it binds the chains of the second slavery of the United States still more firmly round the limbs of the thousands who remain!

The first two Articles of the Society are these:

Art. I. This Society shall be called the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States.

Art. II. The object to which its attention shall be exclusively directed, is to promote a plan for colonizing,
with their consent, the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, &c.

But let us see how this 'consent' is obtained: "The subject of the colonization of the free blacks is now beginning to receive that attention which it demands;" "our Southern brethren are making rapid movements towards abridging the privileges of this class, even to banishment." (!) We of the north are adopting extraordinary means for removing them, by prohibiting them from holding property, excluding them from the protection of the law, and denying them any rights whatever." (!) Message of the Governor of Indiana to the Legislature.

The favorite doctrine of the colonizationist is, that "two races which cannot amalgamate by inter-marriage can only subsist in the same land in the relation of master and slave, or oppressor and oppressed." Do not the Hebrew and Gentile races all over the world live together, without inter-marriage, and, thank God, recently, and more and more, without the alternative of "oppressor and oppressed?" Well has the former vindicated his claim to citizenship. One day the African will, I trust, do the same!

If you wish to study the question of colonization perfectly, I would beg you to peruse the several writings of Mr. J. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore, and of Mr. William Jay, of New York. The former are perfect specimens of eloquence. The recent volume by the latter, entitled "Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery," constitutes a treasury of knowledge and argument, and
should find its place in the library of every one who cares for his oppressed brother and fellow man of African origin.

It must now be admitted that abolition has had its trial, and has signally failed; and that colonization is inadequate, if ever intended, to accomplish the emancipation of the slave. It is time, therefore, to have recourse to some new and sufficient anti-slavery measure.

But, admitting all that has yet been said in favour of colonization, one thing, and that the most important of all, is and has always been lacking—education, preparation. How can the uneducated carry the arts, civilization, religion, or any good thing to a benighted people? It is difficult to believe in the sincerity of the colonizationist.