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My dear M. de Tocqueville, I am delighted by the warmth of your language in regard to slavery. It was the custom of slave owners to admit their misfortunes, and ask with apparent candor, how they were to get rid of them? This seemed reasonable and made no considerate and patient, and tolerable.

But now that they have abandoned that position, and suppose that they were never in earnest, we are doing patience with them, so are you, and I am glad to see it. It is high time, they are further demoralized and false, and like degraded men and women fallen from (apparent) virtue, they fear you can put to shame by boasting of their rise, justifying them, and calling them virtues. This is offensive and disgusting, and it is more, it is dangerous.

During the manifold and increasing depravity and crimes of slavery and the disgrace and danger it brings to free institutions, I cannot imagine any one remaining indifferent and tolerant of it, who has any hope or any faith in human progress or who believes in the attributive share of deliberate wickedness. Like yourself, I am not an abolitionist in the correct sense, some of whose I give to that word.

The abolitionists are few in number, and without much power of good or evil. Garrison Smith is their head and front. Mr. Abigail females is the right wing, and main body, and the rest of their number are incomplete. It is a wide, easy, impracticable depravity, but of no good consequence, the worst thing it has done is to create a bad name, which is misapplied by slave owners to another class of persons, very miserable, very degraded, right minded, well point, deliberate, practical and rational, and with very different aims from those of the abolitionists, there are the only men where the slave owners fear the do not fear the abolitionists.

I confess however that I never could see any danger in immediate emancipation, to be generous and just is not the way to make people hate you and try to kill you. A good nature, laughing, thoughtless, happy, go lucky race, which care and freedom and does not rise against its master when afflicted with the greatest wrongs at this hands, is not likely to turn against them and act their threats when from being oppressors they become protectors and friends, all presence of danger from this source is very small.
It must be a feel who believes it, as a conscious conscience that feels it, but those who profess to be in general, onlyhorse.

But as regards the negro themselves, they, like the white race led by Moors and
of Egypt, are not fit for freedom, they require a period of 100 years to give time for the slave to acquire the habits of personal independence.

Nevertheless, if negro are more desire to see them treated like men, but if
they are only property, more chattels, why not kill them and put them like other
chattels? They would be better treated than a horse?

But I am content to labor all these mine points to the metaphysics of
slaveholding and to the sovereign states, when they seize! I have no more
right to meddle in the affair, than in the affairs of Naples or Spain or Turkey
or Russia or Russia. But when we step out of the area of local sovereigns
and meet in common ground, as in the general congress and supreme
council of the Nation, (when there is a limited scope for constitutional action)
and especially,

when we enter the territories which are the common property of all, where every
man in the Union is a co-proprietor, the owner of a joint and undivided interest
here on this ground it is the clear right and duty of every one to speak out and
act on that which is within him.

This is the position of the free white male, of those who wish this new ground to
demain free, who are opposed to the further spread of slavery and I am one of
them! The slave holds hate us and fears us, and they call us black republicans

"Free-soilers" abolitionists and other names derived from the notion
nature of plantations.

Abolitionist is particularly chosen and false in its application, because it
means a man of bad faith who disregards his obligation to his neighbor, one
who acts on the principle of the slaveholder, that, like the slave, he
would be a law to himself, and would enforce his will as law upon others,
in their own home in their own domicile, in their own house and home.
We claim nothing of this sort; we disavow that principle, in the abolitionist and
in the slaveholder alike. He is the principle.
which notes the slave subject to the will of his master. We consent it every-where in every form and forever.

We allow precisely the same freedom and scope, to the will and the action of every man in his own sphere, and of every body of men in their own sphere, as we claim for ourselves. She leaves slavery and everything else, to those to whom it belongs, within their own dominion, and these we are content to leave it, with the responsibility and the shame to them.

Well, with these views on which we insist to act in good faith, we leave the domain of local sovereignty and acts on the new and common ground: we admit the equal right of the slavholders to come there, on the principle and in the spirit that we come, and theoretically, as much entitled to carry out their views and plant slavery, as we are to carry out our views and prevent it; we thus stand face to face in presence of each other opposed to each other, both being in the exercise of our respective and equal rights, and we cannot agree; the case does not admit of compromise; the property cannot be

Division, we have tried that; but it will not stay divided, because slavery is just as bad when it has fallen upon half as it repeats the compromise and breaks into the other half. This other half must now be slave or free; it cannot be both, one party or the other must yield, but neither will yield, now what are we to do? There are but two ways of getting out of this difficulty: the first and its fashionable way is to fight and sometimes it is not a bad way, but generally it is bad.

Freedom is soon gained by fighting; it often loses; if it wins it loses, because it introduces permanent bad feeling, military law, reaction, military despotism, and after liberty has won it finds itself lost.

The second way of relief, and the only one, which we consider legitimate is, an appeal to the voice of the majority and we are willing to abide by this. This the union of peace and of freedom, and we do not wish to know any other; well, we agree, both parties, to this appeal, and when the ballot box is prepared and open, in order faithful slavery, led by senators Atkinson and

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from the slave state of Missouri close by, with an armed mob of slave dealers, run our people from the polls, fill the Senate with spurious ballots, commit riots, destroy property, kill a number of men, inculp the women, and then proclaim that the Ballot has decided in favour of slavery.

This is the old trick and habit of slavery, how many elections were carried in this manner, in the 1837-1838, by noble senators backed by armed slaves? Slavery never acted nor never will act in any other way, and it is this which makes it false to liberty, it will never abide by law, but will ever resort to force, because it is of the nature of force.

And this is rather a narrow view of the subject, the real control is political and the question political, and the place of action is Washington, shall the sovereignty continue in the hands of the majority, or shall it pass to the minority? Shall we give up government by the people and substitute the rule of an oligarchy of slaveholders?

This is the only question, the real control is on this, and the question of, the extension of slavery is subsidiary to it; no party is speaking for abolition and no party fears it, the question of danger to the institutions is a bundling for political effect.

The slaveholders are struggling to extend slavery, and the freeholders are struggling against it, because on its success or defeat depends in a great degree the issue of danger to the institutions, is a bundling for political effect.

It is true, the slaveholders contend that limitation is abolition in disguise, that it will eventually destroy slavery, if it cannot spread it must die. It is not very clear why this effect should follow, seeing the vast area it still has to spread in, but admitting it to be true, it is no reason for not limiting it; we did not agree to maintain slavery by spreading it, we only agreed to abolish it when it exists, but seeing it growing evil, and illegal and faithless, we need power and consequent danger to liberty, we have no choice left on this question but to limit it, and we have the right to do so.

It is no objection to a right act that it may have remote and indeed consequence, good also, although we might not have the right to aim directly at those remote
results, the opposite rule would be all replies. courts prohibited all right actions.
but the face of their own, about deter and doors and this toward the wished
of those who are interested in perpetuating wrong. If the binding of slavery shall
deprive it of political power, which is the direct object, and surrounding it by free
labor, should render it useless, (which is the usual result) so that, having lost
its power in its value, abolitionism works from internal and of their own action,
gradually abandon it, until we arrive to a desirable end by legitimate means and
without any breach of faith.

The first step violates no agreement, no faith, but is requisite for self defense,
and if the other effects follow, so much the

better, say we, to this extent and in this way we are abolitionists and in no
other way.

This is the nature and the shape of the contest, it was apparent to all sagacious
men from the first, that the principle of popular sovereignty took on the
rule of the majority, and the opposite principle of the rule of the minority
which is the principle of slavery, that two such opposite principles could not co-
exist in harmony, in the presence of each other, that each would aim at
supremacy, and that they would probably come into conflict.

There is no hope to avoid this by limiting the sphere of action of the
majority principle to the subject of slavery and to the area of the slave states.
But the future contest of principles was assured certain by giving to slavery pol-
tical power, making 5 slaves count as 3 free men, that is, making a slave
over who has 500 slaves of as much weight as 300 individual free men, was
the most fatal mistake and the most vicious bargain in the whole american
system. This blender sends 23 false mandate

Congress from the slave states.

But the bargain was made and we don't ask to break it, we intend to keep
the agreement and heal their breach.

Government was always carried on by parties, but they were formed upon
political theories, commercial theories 18 & 19, and slave owners were divided
upon them as much as the non of the free states.
But the free states were money-making and they had a right political to the side with the plantation owners in their struggle for power, and having no other means of earning it, drew no votes, and two were for territory to open up.

At length the people of the free states began to comprehend what all this really meant, and their own danger, which they were very slow to believe. But it was necessary that this conviction should become very strong, strong enough to break up all existing party ties, habits and organizations and over ride all commercial and other political, and inter-state questions.

And for the free states, when democracy was all over and America was to sink, through the entire majority of them, in one party against the slave states.

And as they may have slavery, we regard for the major went in favor of the free states to work all other feelings and unite on this one, without a clear sense of danger, to themselves, for power to do this, and this is the element now abroad, this is the change now going on.

In the state of this transition comes on the Presidential election.

The North is fully organized, compact, decided and determined. The North is not in confusion and disarray, has thrown off its old leader, has not yet got well into drill under the new one.

The South openly threatens discussion of defeat; foreign the power of that and discussion a man must know America to appreciate it, it goes to the heart, and puts the soul of every American for they are proud of the Union and they love it, not as they are ready to make great sacrifices for it.

They are slow and fearful of doing anything which may endanger it.

Under these circumstances, the well-organized South has been able to carry with it enough of the north, the south, the fearful, and those accustomed to go with their party, sustains to the whole influence of the Go and patronage, and to turn the scale against freedom, and in favor of Buchanan.

But it was a small majority, my surprise is, that it was no larger, the majority in Pennsylvania, the Railroad ground New Jersey and the south part of Indiana settled by people from the slave states of Kentucky, turned the scale against us, over 10,000 votes would have saved us, but they were not...
in a body church and all for slavery.

One of these days that good-hearted people will open their eyes to their true interest and then they will go with us.

But we know we swept all New England, New York, Ohio, Michigan, all but carried the election at the first trial and unions all disadvantages. So far from being disappointed or discouraged I am fully of confidence for the future.

But it is not Mr. Buchanan nor Mr. Fremont, nor any one man, who can settle this question, who was in power, the control is of the people for the people, and can only be settled by the action of the whole people. Slavery is a great injustice and a great power to overthrow, and these are great difficulties in the way and it requires time and patience.

The first successes are in favor of the ready and the desperate, but that will not last.

Some of the combinations which I rely on with so much confidence for final success are these:

1st. The Dominion can so potent will lose its power, because it can impracticability and a monstrous shame, the leaders it is true are in control, but they cannot carry their own people with them; they see too clearly that democracy will lead to certain speedy and total abolition, preceded by civil insurrection. Slavery by only exists by the good faith and forbearance of the North, but the free states once and a controlling vote for free soil, and show themselves ready to back that vote and enforce the federal authority.

Now even a handful of slaveholders with four men and little money and a sewer race ready to rise, how can they defy the authority of the laws of the federal government? Good avenue from that day the word dominion will cease to be uttered, but it takes time for the whole people to see this and feel its truth and know it, and act on it, in the face of grave preparations and threats. But they will come to the knowledge of this fact, and will act on it.

2d. Free labor is the thing in issue; the free laborers are the whole physical force and the whole electoral majority, and control the ballot.
They are beginning to see that the extension of slavery hurts them. They are the most directly and largely and personally interested, no free labor, no will work be a slave, it takes time to get the into their skull harms, but it is working its way, with constant help, and then men will come sight by and sight — nothing can stop them.

1st. The cause of slavery.

It has thrown off all disguise and comes forth in frightful ugliness, it now to itself to be right necessary and just — approved of God and useful to man, it claims to be the true base of white freedom, and to be entitled to political power, it demands the patronage of the Government, and the protection of the Treasury, it is revealed in the free passage of the Africans to trade, to the benefit of the African, the remaking of the Kingdoms, the conquest of Cuba to prevent emancipation, the conquest of Central America to spread in, the enslaving of poor white men to get rid of them, it requires to be spoken of with respect, and justified to the white men in the Senate and force in every form out of slave, to make itself if not respected, at least feared. It affects religion, piety and morality, it denies all the settled maxims of experience, wisdom and justice and good sense and belies the most self evident truths, it manifests itself every day creases, fanaticism, turbulent, impudent, obscene, swelling and dangerous, this, rushing backward to barbarism.

degradation and crime.

All this and much more like it, is dressed up daily in the Southern press, with sophistication and false language, but no concealment, openly and shamefully. It cannot stop in this case, it is the nature of it, and must go on. It police at it, it is a great power this self-sacrosanct, no genius can exorcise it so soothingly as it exorcise itself.

This was the thing wanting, while it was weak and humble, and hypocritical men would not believe it so bad, now it speaks in its own voice, and its own sentiments, men hear it and see it and are amazed.

We have everything to hope from the exclusion of slavery and it will not disappear.
we, this helping us as we can to help ourselves. These things alone are enough to assure us of the future. Time and patience and constancy will win the battle for freedom, and without much fighting. Now as to Mr. Buchanan—he is in the hands of his party; he is a man of ability and experience and of good intentions. But he is undecided

and the Chief—to follow and not to lead, the retributive measure was not his; it was Jef. Davis’s and Sulli’s and Pickett’s; Buchanan was drifted into it; he had the faculty of assimilation but from lack of enterprise and will he is not affirmatively dangerous—only negatively dangerous.

As to his Foreign policy, civilization has not much to hope and not much to fear from him whatever. The assuming appearance he has given—he may yet go up; I think they will end in smoke; the only danger in respect to Cuba is that his stupid and timid government, will in some of its panic, commit acts which will drag us all into retaliation.

This is all that I am afraid of in that quarter. As to his internal policy, he will try to be lenient—he will come and listen and take advice and in trying to please all, will probably fail with all. As to any decided vigorous and manly policy—I think it impossible; but if he acts from exclusiveness and takes to a middle and tempered course, he will be well sustained and I think he is most likely to do this.

His election will tend to the settlement of the slavery contest, somewhat, but that is a matter not to be much hastened or retarded by any man.

We shall yet have many violent and threatening scenes of not worse than they.

I think we may have various local disturbances, and acts that will mortify and disgrace us. But as to the final result, let every one be of good cheer and encourage that party, story of events, of the Siy, whose fate it was to descend and salvation from the Celestial regions assume the form of a beautiful asphalt and spread upon the earth, an object of repulsion and disgust—sullen, shrewd, sickly, painted and tried upon by the thoughtless; occasionally an individual has penetration enough to see through her disguise, and discover her divine nature, and to compassionate, deplore and protect her, the period of her humili
past, she reassumed her celestial form, ascended to her native abode, and becam

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the preceding garments of those who had befriended her in her hour of disgrace, and never fai
led to protect and bless them.

So with Briton, she is often doomed to ridicule, humiliation, and disgrace; that is her
fate; but she never fails to warm the hearts and cheer the souls of those who know
her and defend her, and love her for her own sake.

I owe you an apology for a letter that I am sure will be tedious to you, but re
collect that you gave me an occasion to express, and on a subject that I am so fully
I never knew when to stop. You doubtless believe that the question to exempt
property on the high seas from seizure is making progress. Russia has formally accen

tuated it; Valmorton has spoken publicly in its favour, and we worse have espoused
it.

We are in good health and good spirits and do not feel the weather disagreeable but
walk a good deal.

With a thousand good wishes for you and for Madame de Bourguillie from M-
Beckwith and myself, remain sincerely yours,

M. Beckwith

P. B. I have a note from your Stepheick informing me of the death of the
wife - a noble woman, which pears him in great grief.