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My dear M. de Boscarelli. I am delighted by the warmth of your language in regard to slavery. It was the custom of slave owners to admit their iniquities, and ask with apparent candor, how they knew to get rid of them? This seems reasonable and wise, in considerate anxiety, and toleration.

But now that they have abandoned that position, and confess that they were wrong in earnest, we are losing patience with them, so are you, and I am glad to see it. It is high time they were thoroughly demoralized and false, and like degraded men and women fallen from (apparent) virtue, they face you not only to shame by boasting of their vice, justifying them, and calling them virtuous; this is offensive and disgusting, and it is worse, it is dangerous.

During the mulatto and increasing depravity and excess 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 restrictive base of deliberate meanness.

Like yourself, I am not an abolitionist, in the correct sense made which you give to that word.

The abolitionists are few in number, and without much power of good or evil. Gabriel Smith is their head and front. M. Adjairi is in the right wing and main body, and the rest of their number is incomplete. It is a wild, crazy, 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 use of persons, very numerous, very desirable, right minded, well born, deliberate, practical and resolute, but with very different aims from those of the abolitionists. They are not the only men whom the slave owners fear, and do not feel the abolitionists' fears because 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.

In a word, laughing, thoughtful, happy, lucky race, which bears and forbears, and does not rise against its master when afflicted with the greatest wrongs. At this hour, it 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 vile, shame.
It must be a fool who believes it, or a coward conscience that fears it; but those who pretend to an in general, only slavery.

But as regards the negro themselves, they, like the Israelites, led by Moses out of Egypt, are not fit for freedom; they require a period of so many years in the wilderness to give time for the old to die and the young to grow up in habits of personal independence.

Nevertheless, if negroes are more to be treated like men, but if they are only property, more chattels, why not ill treat and sell, or like other chattels? They cannot be better treated than a horse?

But I am content to turn over all these, mine points to the metaphysics of slave-holding and to the sovereign states where they arise. I claim no more rights to meddling in the affairs than in the affairs of Naples or Greece or Turkey or Persia or Persia. But when we step out from the area of local sovereignty, we need an common ground, as in the British, congress, and general 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 is the right of every one to speak out and act out that which is within him.

This is the position of the slave-holder, as of those who wish the new ground to remain free, who are opposed to the further spread of slavery, and am one of them! The slave holder hate us and fear us, and they call us black republicans, "negro-worshippers", "abolitionists", and others names derived from the common nature of plantations.

"Abolitionist", is particularly odious 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, this, that like the slave, he would be a slave to himself, and would enforce his will as law upon others, in their own sphere, in their own dominions, in their own homes and houses. We claim nothing of the sort; we disavow that principle, in the abolitionist and in the slave holder alike. To us the principle...
which notes the slave subject to the will of his master. We condemn 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 dominions, and these we are content to leave it, with the responsibility and the shame to them.

Well, with these views on which are rested to act in good faith, we leave the domain of local sovereignty and its on the new and common ground: we admit the equal right of the freeholder 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 prevents; 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 divided; we have tried that, but it will not stay divided, because slavery is just as, when it has fallen up into half, it repeats the compromise and breaks into the other half; thus other half must now be slave or free, it cannot be both, one party or the other must yield, but neither will yield, nor what are we to do? There are but two ways of getting out of this difficulty: the first is its fashioned way is to fight and sometimes it is not a bad way, but generally it is bad.

Freedom is won by fighting; it is often lost, 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 whole 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 ballots are prepar and open, in order faithful slavery, led by senators Atchison and Kingfellow.
from the slave state of Missouri close by, with an armed mob of slave dealers,
drive our people from the polls, fill the streets with spurious ballots, commit
riot, destroy property, kill a number of men, inculp the women, and then
proclaim that the ballot has decided in favor of slavery.
This is the old trick and habit of slavery, how many elections were carried in
this manner, in the Old Dominion of Rome, 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 shall never abide by law, but will ever
resort to force, because it is of the nature of force.
And this is neither a narrow view of the subject, the real contest is political
and the question political, and the place of action is Washington, shall the
sovereign powers 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 contest is on this, and the question of the con-
tinuation of slavery is subordinate to it; no party is speaking for abolition and no
party fears it, the question is, who is to rule, the minority or the majority?

It is true, the slave holders contend that limitation is abolition in disguise, that
it will eventually destroy slavery, if it cannot prevent it must do so:
It is not very clear why this effect should follow, seeing the vast, co, and stick
has to spread in but admitting it to be true, it is no reason for not limiting it, we
did not object to sustain slavery by spreading it, not only agreed no to abolish it
when it exists, but seeing it growing evil, and illegal and faithless,

in the same, efforts to gain power and consequent change to liberty, we have no choice left in
self preservation 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 act directly at those remote
results, the opposite rule would be for all offenses, courts prohibited all right actions, but the face of their example, which deter and does and then toward the wishes of those who are interested in perpetuating wrong. If the limiting of slavery shall deprive it of political power, which is the direct object and surrounding it by free labor, shall render it useless (which is the natural result) so that, having lost its power in its value, abolitionists would from inward root of their own action, gradually abandon it, and we receive 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.

Thus 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 is 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 coexist in harmony, but the presence of each other, that each would aim at supremacy, and that they would probably come into conflict.

That rightists were bound to avoid this by limiting the sphere of action of the minority principle to the subject of slavery and to the area of the slave states. But the future contest of principle was carried further by giving to slavery political power, making 5 slaves count as 3 free men, that is, making a slave own who has 500 slaves of as much weight as 300 individual free men, was the most fatal mistake and the most odious bargain in the whole American system. This blunder tends to false number to 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 the border.

Government was always carried on by parties, but they were formed upon political theories, commercial theories, &c. &c., and slave owners were divided upon them as much as the men of the free states.
But the free states were money-making and busy, and left politics to the side until the plantation countrymen naturally plotted for power, and having no other means of gaining it, drew we into war, two wars, for territory to squatter in. 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 overcome all commercial and other political and sectional questions.

For the free states, large democrats and all sorts of men in great numbers to unite, formed the majority of them, in one party, against the slave states. Such are their results, slavery, we regard for this great want we bring the slave states to work all their feelings and minds on this one, nothing but a clear conception of danger to themselves, then power to do this...and this is the element now at work. This is the change now going on.

In the midst of this transition comes the Presidential election. The North is fully organized, compact, general and decisive. The North is yet in confusion and disarray. It has thrown off its old leaders, but has not yet gotten into a state of order. The South openly threatens division and defection, borders the power of that and discussion, a man must know America to appreciate it, it goes to the heart and fills the throats of every American for they are deprived of their leader, and the men, and they love it, and as they are ready to make great sacrifices for it.

They are now our fearing of doing any thing which may endanger it. Under these circumstances, the well organized South has been able to carry with it enough of the north, the free, the populous, and those not interested to go with that party, succumbing to the whole influence of the Free soil, and all, to turn the scale against freedom, and in favor of Buchanan.

But it was a small majority—any surprise is, that it was no larger. The, disunion in Pennsylvania, the Railroad around New Jersey, and the southern part of Indiana, settled by people from the slave states of Kentucky, turned the scale against us, even the Irish vote would have saved us, but they went...
in a body church and all for slavery.
One of these days that good-hearted people will open their eyes to their true int.
ests and then they will go with us.
But we know we swept all New England, New York Ohio, Michigan, all but
swept the election at the first trial and under all disadvantages, so far from
being disappointed or

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discouraged I am full of confidence for the future.
But it is not Mr. Buchanan nor Mr. Fremont, nor any one man, who can
 settle this question; who is 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 evil and a great power to overthrow, and there 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 Dination cry so potent, will lose its power, because it was impra-
  ctable and a monstrous shame; the leaders it is true are in earnest but they can
  not carry their own people with them; they see too clearly that danger would
  lead to certain speedy and total abolition, preceded by civil revolution. Those
  by only exists by the good faith and forbearance of the north, let the free states
  once and a controlling vote for free soil and show themselves ready to back this
  vote and enforce the moral authority.

(End of page)
Now our handful of slave-holders with four men and little money and a
small race ready to rise, how can they defy the authority of the laws of the
federal Government? Look again from that day, the word dominion will
cease to be attended, but it takes time for the whole people to see this and feel
its truth and bow to 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 shuts them from the territories; that it degrades and dishonors them all, which is true labor, that they are the most directly and largely and personally interested, no free laborer will work beside a slave, it takes time to get this into their dull heads, but it is working its way, with constant help, and these men will come right by and by — nothing can stop them.

3rd. The cause of slavery.
It has thrown off all disguise and comes forth in frightful ugliness, it ceases itself to be self-important and feel approved of God and meet to man, it claims to be the true basis of white freedom, and to be entitled to political power, it demands the patronage of the God, and the protection of the treasury, it is rooted in the rise of the African slave trade, for the benefit of the
Africans, the re-enslavement of the Negroes, the conquest of Cuba to prevent emancipation, the conquest of Central America to spread in the enslavement of poor white men to get rid of them, it requires to be spoken of with respect, and justified to the nations in the courts and forces in every form and in every tone, 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 boldly does and believes the most self-evident truths, it manifests itself every day more frequent, turbulent, impudent, obvious, swelling and dangerous, it is rushing headlong to barbarism.

degradation and crime.
All this and much more like it, is dressed up daily in the northern press, with sophistry, skill and fine language, but no concurrence, openly and shamelessly. It cannot stop in this case, it is the nature of it, and must go on.
I rejoice at it, it is a great power this self-exposure; no genius could exhibit it so splendidly as it exhibits itself.

This was the thing wanting, while it was weak and humble and hypocritical men would not believe it so, but now it speaks in its own voice and its own sentence, men hear it and see it and are amazed.
We have everything to hope from the exposure of slavery and it will not disappear.
we, this helping us, as we cannot 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—be 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-beat; the other man was not his; it
was John Davis and Stiles, and Biddle's; Buchanan was dran into it;
he had the faculty of assimilation, but from lack of enterprise and will he is
affirmatively dangerous—only negatively dangerous.
As to his foreign policy, civilization has not much to hope, and not much to
fear from him, whatever. Neatening appearances by slaveholders may
get 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 panics, 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 licentious—he will coax and flatter 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 steers from extremity and takes to a
middle and

moderate course, he will be well sustained, and I think he is most likely to do this.
This election will retard the settlement of the slavery contest somewhat, but that
is a matter not to be much hastened nor retarded by any man.

We shall yet have many violent and threatening scenes of not worse. Then
that I think we may have serious 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 pretty story of Aesop of the Turtledove's being rescued
from the Pelican, who, when he ate, as usual, swelled his gizzard and passed
through the bird, as a thing of no concern or dishonour—skinned, shorn, shaggy,
plucked, painted and tied upon by the thoughtless, occasionally an indignant
bird punctured enough to see through his disguise, and discover his divine
nature, and to compassionate, deplore and protect him, the period of his turmoils
to the present generation of those who hail her as the mother of all, and her name as the hope of the human race. She is often called to witness 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 I cannot help feeling that you gave me an opportunity to express my opinions on a subject that I am so full of. I never knew when to stop. You doubtless know that the practice of a good wife is very much a matter of opinion, and that she is the best judge of her own conduct. I have spoken publicly on the subject in favour, and no person has yet objected to it.

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

With a thousand good wishes for you and for Madame de Boreville from Mr. Beckwith and myself, I remain sincerely yours,

N. M. Beckwith

N. B. I have a note from your stepson informing me of the death of his wife—a noble woman—whom I owe him in good grief.