My dear M. de Broqueville, 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 us consider their actions, and tolerable.

But now that they have abandoned that position, and confess that they were wrong in casual, we are losing patience with them, and are not glad to see it. It is high time they see the futility of their argument and fake and lie with impunity, and women fall from apparent virtue, they see you are not put to shame by boasting of your views, justifying them, and calling them virtues, this is offensive and disquieting, and it is worse, it is dangerous.

Being the man of ever increasing depravity and essence of slavery and the disgrace and danger it brings to free institution, I cannot imagine any one remaining indifferent and tolerant of it, who has any hope of any faith in human progress or who believes in theistributive laws of deliberate wickedness.

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

The abolitionists are few in number, and without much power of good or evil. Gabriel Smith is their leader and front. M. Abigail is the right wing and main body, and the rest of their órgão are incomplete. It is a wild, crazy, impractical, depravity, but of no good consequence, the worst thing it has done is to create a bad name, which is misapplied to slave owners to another class of persons, very manner, very decent, right minded, well point, deliberate, practiced and resolute, but with very different aims from those of the abolitionists, there are the only men whom the slave owners fear. We do not fear the abolitionists I confess 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, a good nature, laughing, thoughtless happy go lucky race, which loves and forswears and does not rise against injustice when afflicted with the greatest wrongs at their hands, is not likely to turn against them and act their threats when from being oppressors they become protectors and friends of all people of color from this cause under them.
It must be a fool who believes it, or a coward conscience that fears it, but those who press this to act in general, only worse.

But as regards the neger themselves, they, like the multitudes led by Moses out of Egypt, are not fit for freedom; they require a period of 50 years in the wilderness to give time for the old and unimprovable to die off, and for the rising generation to be bred up in habits of personal independence. Nevertheless, if neger are not disposed to see them treated like men, but if they are only property, mere chattels, why not call them and sell them like other chattels? they would be better treated than a horse?

But I am content to turn over all these nice points to the metaphysicians of slaveholding and to the sovereign states where they reside. I know no moral right to meddle in the affairs, than in the affairs of Naples or Greece or Turkey or Persia of our own. And when we step out from the area of local sovereignties and meet in common general ground, as in the federal congress and general council of the Nation (when there is a limited scope for constitutional action) and especially when we enter the territory 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, there the ground is the clear right and duty of every one to speak out and act out that which is within him.

This is the position of the more noble of those who wish to see a free ground to remain free, who are opposed to the further spread of slavery, and I am one of them. The slaveholders hate us and fear us, and they call us black republican "neger-worshippers," "abolitionists," and other names derived from the common character of plantations.

"Abolitionist" is particularly odious and base in its application, because it means a man of bad faith who disregards his obligation to his neighbors, who acts on the principle of the slaveholder's, that like the slave man he will be a law to himself, and would enslave 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 announce that principle, in the abolitionist and in the slaveholder alike. To us the principle.

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which notes the slave subject to the will of his master. We condemn it everywhere, in every form and shape.

We assert 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 place, as we claim for ourselves. She leaves slavery and everything else, to those to whom it belongs, within their own dominion, and there we are content to have it, with the responsibility and the shame to others.

Well, with these views on which we insist to act in good faith, we leave the domain of local sovereignty and enter on the new and common ground: we admit the equal right of the slaveholder 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 preserve it: we must 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

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settLED; we have tried that, but it will not stay divided, because slavery is futile, when it has fallen into half it repeats the companion and breaks into the other half; the 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 fashioned way is to fight and sometimes it is not a bad way, but generally it is bad.

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 meaning of peace and of freedom, and we do not wish to know any other; we agree, both parties, to this appeal, and when the ballot is cast, are prepared and open, in order faithfully slavery, led by senators Atkinson and Stringfellow.

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from the slave state of Missouri close by, with an armed mob of slave dealers, surround our people from the polls, fill the Brees with spurious ballots, commit riots, destroy property, kill a number of men, inculpate the women, and then proclaim that the poll 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 Roman Senate, by armed senators backed by armed slaves? Slavery never acted nor never will act in any other way; 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 narrower view of the subject, the real contest is political and the question political, and the place of action is Washington. Shall the sovereign power 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 extension of slavery is subsidiary to it; no party is pushing for abolition and no party fears it; the question of danger to the institution is a bungling for political effect. The slave holders are struggling to extend slavery, and the freeholders are struggling against it; because so its success or defeat depends in a great degree the other question, 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 spread it must die to it. It is not very clear why this effect should follow, seeing the vast room 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 remain slave by spreading it, nor only agreed to abolish it when it exists, but seeing it growing evil, and illegal and faithless, efforts to gain power and consequent danger 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 object to a right and just cause to limit it, may be 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 reform, courts prohibited all right actions, but the face of their example, shows, if not and does and thus thereby the wishes of those who are interested in perpetuating wrong. If the limiting of slavery does deprive it of political power, which is the direct object, and surrendering it by free labor, should render it useless, which is the result, so that, having lost its power, its value, abolitionists works from internal aid of their own action, gradually abandon it, that we consider a desirable and legitimate remedy 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.

Let no one, 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 no gain, never from the first, that the principle of popular sovereignty tends to the rule of the majority, and the opposite principle, the rule of the minority. which is the principle of slavery, that two such opposite principles could not exist in harmony, in the presence of each other, that each would aim at supremacy and that they would probably come into conflict.

Their rights were based on 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 principles was not and certain, by giving to slavery political power, making 5 slaves count as 3 free men, that is, making a slave over 500, slaves of as much weight as 300 individual free men, one the most fatal mistake and the most vicious bargain in the whole American system. This is undoubtedly the weakest member of

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 feel them better.

Government was always carried on by parties, but they were formed upon political theories, commercial theories and, 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. The plantation owners naturally plotted for power, and having no other name of owning it, drew no votes, and, two men for territory to speak for. 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 and strong enough to break up all existing party ties, habits and organizations and overcome all commercial and other political, and interfere with

and for the free states, where democracy and all sorts of farmer and mechanic, too existed. For an entire majority of them, in one party against the slave states. And so they may later slaverie, we regard for the major went over being the free states to work all the feelings and unite on this one, nothing but a clear conviction of danger, to themselves has power to do this and this is the element now at work, that is the change now going on.

In the midst of this transition comes on the presidential election.

The North is fully organized, compact, audacious, and determined. The South is yet in confusion and disunion, has thrown off its old leader, but has not yet voted into the torch under the new one.

The South openly threatens secession if defeated. Forbidd the power of the

and disposition: a man must love America to appreciate it; it goes to the heart, and it fills the soul of every American, for they are proud of the Union and they love it, and as they are ready to make great sacrifices for it.

They are now our 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, while the influence of the West, the patronage, and all, 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

duties 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, even the Irish vote would have saved us, but they would...
in a body church and all for slavery.

One of these days that good-hearted people will open their eyes to their true interest. They will see that the time is ripe, 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 under all disadvantages, so far from being disappointed or discouraged. I am full of confidence for the future.

And it is not Mr. Buchanan nor Mr. Fillmore, nor any one man, who can settle this question, who was 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 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 Union men, so potent, will lose its power, because it is an inimical and a monstrous sham, the leaders it is true are in earnest, but they cannot carry their own people with them; they are too clearly that the Union men lead to certain speedy and total dissolution, peaceful by simple insurrection. Union by only exists by the good faith and forbearance of the north, but the free states once had a controlling vote for free soil and show themselves ready to back their vote and enforce the federal authority.

Now can a handful of slaveholders with few men and little money and a slave race ready to rise, how can they defy the authority of the laws of the federal Government? From that day, the word union will cease to be listened to, 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.

2nd. 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 disgraces them all, which is their 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 skull, 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 owes to itself to be right necessary and just — approved of God and useful to men, 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 seated in the free opening of the African slave trade for the benefit of the African, the remonstrance of the Baptist, 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 Europe, in the senate and press in every form out of doors, 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 falsely dooms men below the most self evident truths, it manifests itself every day, error factions, turbulent, impudent, obuse, revolting and dangerous, this rushing back into barbarism.

degradation and crime.
All this and much more than it, it 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. It reigns all, it is a great power this self armour, no genius could exhibit it so revoltingly as it exhibits itself.
This was the thing wanting, while it was weak and harmless and hypocritical men would not believe it so bad, now it speaks in its own voice and its own authority, men hear it and see it and are amazed.
We have everything to hope from the excess 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, 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 ostentatious manœuvre was not his; he was left. Biddle's and Read's and Tidball's; Buchanan was shut into it; he had the faculty of abstention, 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 appearance the 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 circumspect, he will consult and listen and take advice and in trying to please all, will probably fail with all. As to any decided vigorous and steady policy, I think it impossible, but if he acts from caution and takes a middle course, he will be well sustained and I think he is most likely to do this.

This election will result in 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 than they. 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 exult; that pretty story of Aesop of the Fox, whose fate it was to descend secretly from the celestial regions assumed the form of a luscious apple and grew upon the earth, an object of repulsion and disgust—shriveled, shriveled, black, piled, painted and tied upon by the thoughts, occasionally an individual had penetration enough to see through her disguise, and discover her divine nature, and to compassionate, deplore, and protect her, the period of her trial.
...past, she reassumed her celestial form, was moved to be nature above, and became

the preserving genius of those who had suffered her in her hour of disgrace, did not fail to protect and bless them.

So with Liberty, she is often doomed to violence, humiliation and disgrace, that is her fate, but the soul 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 pleasing to you, but re...collected that you gave me an occasion to groan, and on a subject that I am so full of. I never knew when to stop. You doubtless know that the proposition to exempt property on the high seas from seizure is making progress. Russia has formally written to us, and Memorial has spoken publicly in its favor, and no power 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 Bourgville from Mr. Beckwith and myself, remain sincerely yours,

N. W. Beckwith

N.B. I have a note from your stepson informing me of the death of his wife - a noble woman who, I hope, will be in good peace.