



Inequality. — Individual Responsibility. — Responsibility of the State to the great Overruler. — Outside Responsibilities 48

#### CHAPTER VIII. IRRESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Irresponsibility for the Constitution. — Not Man's Device, in 1787, but God's Ordinance, progressing for a thousand Years. — Wittenagemot. — Magna Charta. — Declaration of Rights. — Virginia. — Plymouth. — Royal Charters and State Claims. — Many New Englands. — Growing Unity. — Natural and artificial Bonds 48

#### CHAPTER IX. UNION BY SEPARATION.

United because separate. — Early Advantages of France, Holland, and Spain. — How overcome. — Examples at Louisburg and Fort du Quesne. — The French War and Conquest of Canada. — Error of 1781 acknowledged by cotemporaneous Symbols. — Impossibilities since. — Impossibilities now. — Dissolution of the Union impossible. — Separation only by War ; Peace only by Union 56

#### CHAPTER X. THE LAW OF EQUAL FORCES.

Equilibrium of North and South. — Necessary Impotence and Irresponsibility. — Results of Equilibrium hitherto and hereafter. — Equal Impotence of North and South. — Union not hindered or forbidden thereby. — False Views of Domination and Subserviency. — Scope for Northern Philanthropy. — Illustration from the Cotton Gin 62

#### CHAPTER XI. ADVANTAGES OF STATE SUPREMACY.

Acknowledged Impotence, the strongest Appeal of the North to the South. — Slaveholding States alone competent. — Advantage of single Responsibility, beginning on a small scale and extending by successful Experiment. — Examples in Mechanical Improvements. — Steam Navigation, — Erie Canal and the Empire State. — Political Progress. — Revolution of 1688. — Birth of the Union, 1690. — Capture of Louisburg. — Washington and Virginia. — Patrick Henry. — Constitutional Convention. — Individual Influence. — Jay, Hamilton, and Madison. — Moral like physical Forces. — Impotence the Reservoir of Safety and of Power 67

#### CHAPTER XII. THE COMMON TERRITORIES AND FREE SOIL.

Political Right affirmed. — Partnership and Dividends. — Surplus Revenue. — Surplus Lands. — Letter of the Constitution. — Impotence of the North in the Strife of Equal Forces. — Impotence of the South as well as the North. — Fugitive Slave Law. — The Better «< Cordon." — The true Desideratum. — Northern Views. — Territorial Commission and Experiment. — '< The Higher Law," and its true Application. — Comparison of the Law of Nations " and the Law of Ocean and Shore • 75

#### CHAPTER XIII SUGGESTIONS FOR A REMEDIAL CODE.

Section I. — Mutual Bonds of Labor and Capital. — Essential quality of Slavery to be maintained. — Mutual Dependence requiring Mutual Bonds. — Labor to be secured to the Slave and to the Master. — Modes of securing voluntary Labor. — Modes of enforcement 87

Section 2. — Marriage and the Domestic Relations — Laws of Marriage and Divorce, and related Vices, the same for Bond as Free. — Slavery in aid. — Reference to Jamaica. — Advantages to Masters. — Provision for Difficulties. — Southern Propositions and Views. 92

Section 3. — Sales and Emigration — Inconveniences to Sellers. — How provided for. — To Buyers. — Compensations. — Necessary Emigration 94

Section 4. — Slaves to be capable of holding Property. — Master's Claim undisturbed. — Present Methods of acquiring, holding and transmitting, legalized. — New Methods of earning and investing 98

Section 5. — Education and Religious Worship. — Claims of the Slave. — No just Education but Religious. — Religious, how given. — With and without public Provision. — Religious Worship 102

Section 6. — Protection of the Laws. Judicial Provisions and Methods. — General Laws to be applicable to Bond as well as free. — Special Exceptions. — Special Laws and Repeals. — Slave Officers and Courts.— Mr. Steele. — Mr. McDonough 104

Section 7. — Franchises and Freedom. — Franchises of Slaves as Slaves. — Personal Freedom. — How , obtained, and its Franchises. — How limited. — Resorts 108

Section 8. — Methods for the Free. — Registration. — Liberty of Settlement and Employment. — Aids to Property. — Accustomed Employments commended. — Way to Rise. — Opportunities. — Colored

Communities. — Liberia 110

Conclusion. 115

Postscript.— The Contest for Speaker " illustrating Chapter X 117

A New Era Invoked 118