

**THE AFRICAN SLAVE
TRADE. THE SECRET
PURPOSE OF THE
INSURGENTS TO REVIVE IT**

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The African Slave Trade. The Secret Purpose of the Insurgents to Revive It by Judah P. Benjamin's

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JUDAH P. BENJAMIN'S

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THE
AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

SECRET PURPOSE OF THE INSURGENTS TO REVIVE IT.

NO TREATY STIPULATIONS AGAINST THE SLAVE TRADE TO BE ENTERED INTO
WITH THE EUROPEAN POWERS.

JUDAH P. BENJAMIN'S

INTERCEPTED INSTRUCTIONS

TO L. Q. C. LAMAR,
STYLED COMMISSIONER, ETC.

PHILADELPHIA:
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1868, Nov. 12.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison
Philadelphia.

P R E F A C E .

THIS pamphlet is a reproduction of some recent editorials of the *National Intelligencer*, the only addition made to them consisting in the headings which it was thought advisable to prefix, as serving, like the buoys placed in a channel, to mark the drift of the argument, and to facilitate the seizing of the points established by it. Their being put into the present shape, at once less perishable than that in which they first appeared and admitting of far wider diffusion, is owing to the high estimate of their value formed by one for whom (ever since the day when we had a JACKSON to deal with the fruits of Calhoun philosophy, in their material developments and positive manifestations) NULLIFICATION, with all subsequent products of the same fungus-breeding brain, have been objects of the closest attention and most earnest solicitude. Thus prepared, so far as his capacity permits, to estimate these pieces at their true value, he has not hesitated to recommend them as most worthy the attention of every one, whether among ourselves or in foreign countries, who, loving truth and justice for their own sakes, is actuated by a sincere desire to arrive at a correct understanding—in its causes, in its essential nature, and in the motives and merits of its authors—of the terrific convulsion which our body politic is now exhibiting to the gaze of mankind.

The tone in which the topic is treated will be found highly attractive, in perfect keeping as it is with the character of that venerable member of the Press; which, coeval, it may be said, with THE CONSTITUTION, has identified itself with the ideal of what is due to THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS from the class upon whom most immediately depends an undisturbed and unquestioning recognition of the rightfulness of its title to that hold upon

the affections of the well-wisher to mankind which has been so earnestly claimed for it by the most illustrious devotees to freedom.

As an appropriate introduction to these pieces from the *National Intelligencer*, the compiler prefixes to them a picture of the conspirators, taken from a speech delivered in Congress during its last session by THE HON. HORACE MAYNARD, that true representative and representative man of that noble constituency whose fidelity to the Union through the terrific ordeal by which it has been tested has added one more to the list of immortal geographical names; making EAST TENNESSEE imperishable in our country's history—in the history of freedom, for the two are identical—as the synonyme forever with all that is most glorious in patriotic devotedness and heroic fortitude.

Extract from the Speech of the Hon. Horace Maynard.

It is more than two years since the secession of South Carolina was announced to this House—two years of gloom to the country, and of horrible darkness to the South. Unlike those who, on principle, shut their eyes and turn their backs upon the past, I shall attempt to penetrate it, and study it for the benefit of my immediate constituents, and from their point of view.

One of the most obvious and striking facts is the utter falsehood of those who inaugurated this terrible reign of anarchy and misrule—falsehood in recounting the past, falsehood in expounding the present, and falsehood in prognosticating the future. I cannot forbear repeating a remark made to me in this city on the 5th of March, 1861, by a gentleman then and for many years a member of this House from the State of Virginia, that secession was nothing but the effect of a monstrous system of lying. How these men falsified their own conduct and motives is pretty well understood. How they maligned the great body of the Northern people ought to be equally clear: not only the party who, by their own contrivance, had accidentally succeeded to the administration of the Federal Government; but also the opponents of that party, which opponents, these falsifiers told us, had promised them to fight for them in case of war. They knew, or ought to have known, that the very men who had been most ready to make concessions for the preservation of the Union, would, of all others, fight the hardest to preserve it when it was manifest that nothing but fighting could

save it. They knew, or ought to have known, that the Northern men who would consent, on any terms, to the disruption and denationalisation of their country, were too contemptible in numbers and too infamous in character to influence results—that their proportion to the population was not a hundredth part as great as that of Judas Iscariot to his fellow-disciples, men and women all told.

Much of their falsehood may charitably be imputed to their ignorance. For never was a set of men, who arrogated the title of statesmen, and who had so long held the position of statesmen, that knew so little of the people, or of the resources of the country they had been concerned in governing. Hence, when they told us the Northern men were a race of cowards, and would not fight, they probably believed it; when they assured us that one Southern man was the equal in fight of five Yankees, or abolitionists, as they contemptuously and indiscriminately call all Northern troops, they may have believed that; when they declared that all we of the South had to do was to show a bold front, and the North would back down, their past experience may have led them to believe this also; when they urged forward the volunteers, with the prospect of seizing Washington in a few weeks, and thence passing swiftly on through Philadelphia, to plunder the vaults of Wall Street, and the stores of Broadway, it is by no means certain that they did not indulge in such delusions; when they asserted, with the late Secretary of the Interior, "that the North is dependent on the South for its prosperity, the South is not dependent on the North for anything necessary to her material welfare," it is very likely that they had heard the same thing repeated so often, without contradiction, as to suppose it to be true; when they told us that a suspension of Southern trade and patronage with the North would be attended with starvation and bread riots in Northern cities, they little thought that in less than twelve months they themselves would be resorting to every dirty shift and contemptible device to resume as much of the old trade as would keep them from nakedness and starvation; when they proclaimed that these same Yankees "are great on cheap devices for manufacturing; on building and working steam-engines, and all sorts of mechanical contrivances; on organizing magnificent hotels on thievish principles; making wooden clocks and wooden nutmegs, and notions generally; but when you come to statesmanship and generalship—the capacity for empire—that's beyond their bend;"* it is not clear that a blind self-esteem and an equally blind contempt for their neighbors did not combine to give credit in their minds to the assertion; when they cried **COTTON IS KING**, and

* Richmond Whig, July 12, 1861.

would force recognition and obedience, not only from their servile fellow-countrymen who depended for a livelihood upon their "talent for base mechanics," but from the rulers of the civilized world, they conceived themselves but uttering one of the first principles of sound political economy. Indeed, the ignorance of this lordly and insolent oligarchy is equalled only by its ineffable baseness.

I say this OLIGARCHY, for it is known that *the men who concocted, and who do now control the thing they call the Southern Confederacy, are not as numerous, in point of fact, as the figures on a chess-board.* It is eminently a close corporation, and was so intended to be. The men who compose it are, for the most part, the same clique well known for years in this city as claiming exclusive jurisdiction over the Democratic party, and as assuming such absolute authority over "the South," that even now a great many people suppose there are no other persons of consequence in that part of the country. The late Mr. Douglas, the great leader of the Northern Democracy, understood them thoroughly, and ceased not until the close of his life to make war upon them. There are those within the reach of my voice, who also knew them, and can testify to their utter perfidy; who have been the victims of their want of principle, and whose self-respect has suffered from their insolent and overbearing demeanor. *They, like a certain school of ancient philosophers, had two sets of principles or doctrines, an exoteric and an esoteric—one for outsiders, the other for themselves; the one was "Democratic principles" for the Democratic party, the other was their own and without a name.* No Northern man was ever admitted to their confidence, and no Southern man, unless it became necessary to keep up their numbers; and then not until he was thoroughly known by them, and known to be thoroughly corrupt. Some Northern men and many Southern men were, after a fashion, petted and patronized by them, as a gentleman throws from his table a bone or a choice bit to a favorite dog; and they imagined they were conferring a great favor thereby, which could be requited only by the abject servility of the dog. To hesitate, to doubt, to hold back, to stop, was to call down a storm of wrath that few men had the nerve to encounter, and still fewer the strength to withstand. Not only in the political circles, but in social life, their rule was inexorable, their tyranny absolute. God be thanked for the brave men who had the courage to meet them and bid them defiance, first at Charleston in April, 1860, and then at Baltimore in June! To them is due the credit of declaring war against this intolerable despotism.

THE SOUTHERN REBELLION

AND

THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.

THE following despatch, addressed by Mr. Judah P. Benjamin, styling himself the "Secretary of State" for the "Confederate States," to Mr. L. Q. C. Lamar, styled "Commissioner, &c., St. Petersburg, Russia," was intercepted by the National Government in the month of March last, and communicated to the National Intelligencer for publication. The despatch relates to the Foreign Slave Trade, and is as follows:

[No. 1.]

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,
Department of State, Richmond, January 15, 1863.

SIR: It has been suggested to this Government, from a source of unquestioned authenticity, that, after the recognition of our independence by the European Powers, an expectation is generally entertained by them that in our treaties of amity and commerce a clause will be introduced making stipulations against the African slave trade. It is even thought that neutral Powers may be inclined to insist upon the insertion of such a clause as a *sine qua non*.

You are well aware how firmly fixed in our Constitution is the policy of this Confederacy against the opening of that trade, but we are informed that false and insidious suggestions have been made by the agents of the United States at European Courts of our intention to change our constitution as soon as peace is restored, and of authorizing the importation of slaves from Africa. If, therefore, you should find, in your intercourse with the Cabinet to which you are accredited, that any such impressions are

entertained, you will use every proper effort to remove them, and if an attempt is made to introduce into any treaty which you may be charged with negotiating stipulations on the subject just mentioned, you will assume, in behalf of your Government, the position which, under the direction of the President, I now proceed to develop.

The Constitution of the Confederate States is an agreement made between independent States. By its terms all the powers of Government are separated into classes as follows, viz.:

1st. Such powers as the States delegate to the General Government.

2d. Such powers as the States agree to refrain from exercising, although they do not delegate them to the General Government.

3d. Such powers as the States, without delegating them to the General Government, thought proper to exercise by direct agreement between themselves contained in the Constitution.

4th. All remaining powers of sovereignty, which not being delegated to the Confederate States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people thereof.

On the formation of the Constitution the States thought proper to prevent all possible future discussions on the subject of slavery by the direct exercise of their own power, and delegated no authority to the Confederate Government, save immaterial exceptions, presently to be noticed.

Especially in relation to the importation of African negroes was it deemed important by the States that no power to permit it should exist in the Confederate Government. The States, by the Constitution (which is a treaty between themselves of the most solemn character that States can make), unanimously stipulated "that the importation of negroes of the African race from any foreign country other than the Slaveholding States or Territories of the United States of America is hereby forbidden; and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same."—Art. 1, sec. 9, par. 1.)

It will thus be seen that no power is delegated to the Confederate Government over this subject, but that it is included in