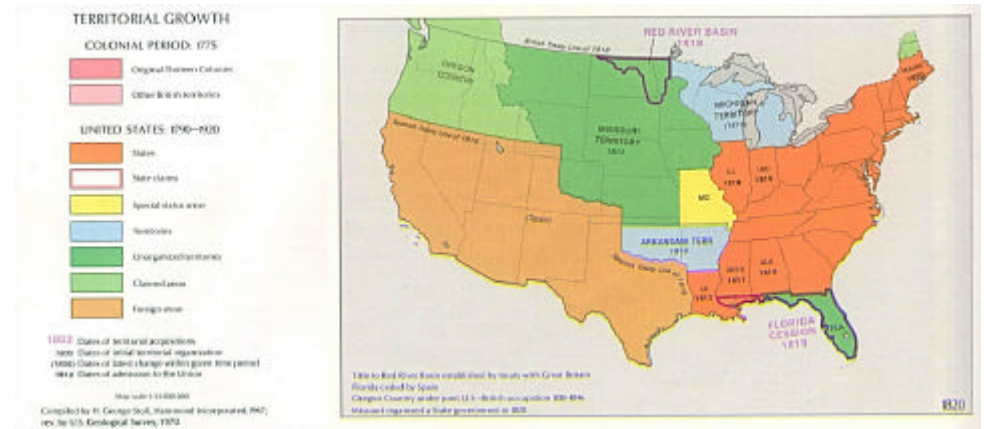


- { Some remarks on the US Election last week.
- { Remarks on about China trip
- { Reminder about syllabus

I. Early Nineteenth Century Expansion of Territory and Population 1790-1820

A. The territory represented in the Congress and that participated in the election of the president expanded rapidly after the Constitution was ratified in 1790 as population grew and new emigrants arrived and headed for the new territories west of the Appalachians.

- i. Between 1790 and 1820, the population of the United States more than doubled.
 - { Its population increased from 3.9 million to 9.6 million, increasing at a rate of more than 30% per decade (US Census).
 - { (Emigrants merely needed a ticket abroad, no paper work was required to enter or exit the nation in those days.)
 - { [The U. S. State Department's policy was " The American Republic invites nobody to come, We will keep out nobody. Arrives will suffer no disadvantages as aliens. They can expect no advantages either. Native-born and foreign-born face equal opportunities. What happens to them depends entirely on their individual ability and exertions, and on good fortune." (Written by John Quincy Adams, published in the *Niles Weekly Register* (1819) quoted in Johnson (1997), pg. 288.)]
- ii. Recall that England had forbade settlement west of the Appalachian mountains before the Revolutionary War, which was one of the many reasons why relatively wealthy persons favored the war.
 - { The end of the war, of course, ended that prohibition, and settlers poured into both sides of the Ohio river valley, which runs from Western Pennsylvania to the Mississippi River.
- iii. On December 20, 1803, Jefferson finalized the Louisiana Purchase from Napoleon, who needed a bit more money for his war.
 - { This new purchase nearly doubled the size of the United States and extended its Western frontier all the way to the Pacific Ocean (to what is now the North Western part of the United States: Oregon and Washington States).
 - { The area of the United States (including territories) was 2,308, 633 sq. km. in 1780 and grew to 4,461,754 sq. km. in 1810.
 - { US Census <http://www.census.gov/population/censusdata/table-2.pdf>
- iv. In 1818, a treaty between the UK and US straightened out the border between the US and Canada, for the most part in the region west of the Great Lakes.



- v. In 1821, the Florida territory was acquired from Spain at a cost of 5 million dollars.
- vi. Emigration West was encouraged by land sales as land was available for less than 2 dollars and acre, often supported with credit from the U. S. government.

B. 10 New States entered or were formed from 1791-1820:

- i. After population reached "appropriate levels" the territorial governments wrote constitutions and applied for statehood. Congress and the President accepted the application by passing an act admitting a new state into the union.
 - { Vermont entered in 1791, Kentucky in 1792 (the first state west of the Appalachian Mountains), Tennessee in 1796, Ohio in 1803, Louisiana in 1812 (the first from the Louisiana Purchase), Indiana in 1816, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, Alabama in 1819, Maine in 1820.
 - { Essentially there was one Southern state added for every Northern state.
 - { There was a reason for this, as noted below, Slavery during this period was eliminated in the northern states, and a majority in most northern states wanted to eliminate slavery in the nation as a whole.
 - { However, the balance in the Senate prevented such laws from being passed.
- ii. In 1820, the Missouri Compromise was negotiated.
 - { The agreement prohibited slavery for all new states north of the 36° 30' line on the border of Arkansas and Missouri (except for Missouri).
 - { The "compromise" allowed Missouri to become the 24th state of the United States as a state in which slavery would be permitted.

C. Expansion of territory, population and states continued.

- i. By the time of the Civil war in 1861, new territories were taken from Spain in the Southwest, further increasing the territorial United States.
- ii. The population of the United States rose to 31.4 million people.
- iii. The United States of 1861 included 34 states.
 - { Among the new states were: Michigan (1837), Florida (1845), Texas (1845), California (1850), Minnesota (1858), and Kansas (1861).

II. Changing the definition of “freeman,” Qualifying to Vote?

A. As we discussed last time, popular opinion about who was qualified to vote changed during the 19th century.

- i. These changes were partly produced by shifts in norms induced partly by persuasive efforts of organized interest groups.
- ii. Competition with the newly formed states further west doubtless also played a role.
 - { Land was generally far cheaper in the new states and territories than it was in the East, so it was much easier to qualify as a freeholder.
 - { The new state constitutions were often relatively liberal, without property requirements for suffrage:
 - } Vermont, 1777: “That all elections ought to be free; and that all freemen, having a sufficient, evident, common interest with, and attachment to the community, have a right to elect officers, or be elected into office.”
 - } Kentucky, 1792: allowed all freeman (white) > 21 to vote.
http://www.speedmuseum.org/young_kentucky.html
 - } Tennessee, 1796: “Every freeman of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, possessing a freehold in the county wherein he may vote, and being an inhabitant of this State, and every freeman, being an inhabitant of any one county in the State six months immediately preceding the day of election, shall be entitled to vote for members of the general assembly, for the county in which he shall reside.”
- iii. On the one hand, The relatively liberal constitutions adopted by the new states, of course, also implied that suffrage norms were changing.
 - } (They were not required to have more liberal constitutions than the original 13 states.)

iv. On the other hand, it seems clear that it was not only “liberals” that moved west, thus something more than ideology or sociology is needed to explain the difference in electoral law.

{ One logical candidate is the one that we used in our early lectures to explain the initial adoption of relatively liberal rules for suffrage in the colonies.

{ Namely, labor was scarce in the new territories, and more open rules for participation in politics was another way to encourage immigration.

{ Again, economic considerations were probably most important--\$2/acre land is cheap--but, given a choice between two more or less equally attractive economic opportunities, the political system might affect choices at the margin.

} (Moreover, this “competitive explanation” provides another explanation for the gradual liberalization of laws in the East, as efforts to reduce emigration to the West.)

B. It seems clear that expanding the territory of the United States did not materially alter the central governments essential structure.

{ The new constitution of 1790 was “scalable” it could easily be expanded to incorporate new states and new territories.

{ And, moreover, all of the state governments adopted fundamentally similar constitutional architecture, which suggests that support for that architecture was very broad--at least among those charged with drafting and approving the new state constitutions.

C. The first obvious success of these efforts to liberalize participation in politics occurred regarding male suffrage.

- i. State governments gradually reformed their suffrage rules in the first part of the 19th century.
 - } (“Freeholders” had been entitled to vote as early as 1619, as noted above, but, of course, not all U. S. citizens were freeholders.)
- ii. In general, the wealth and income requirements **that defined a “freeman”** were gradually reduced.
 - { For example, by 1820, of the 24 states only 9 had property requirements (Keyssar, Figure 2.1)
 - } NY removed its taxpayer qualification in 1826.

} This reform added about 50% to the electorate for the NY legislature, but about tripled those eligible to vote for the State Senate (Keyssar, pg. 52).

{ Only 4 of 31 states eliminated had property requirements by the time that California joined the union in 1850 (Keyssar, table 2.1).

} (However, Keyssar's table 2.1 also suggests that these were far more common in the "old" states than in the new ones.)

iii. Surprisingly, **some suffrage rights were withdrawn during this period, as others were expanded.**

{ State constitutions were often amended to exclude freeman blacks and new emigrants from suffrage.

{ For example, in 1790, only 4 of 13 states had explicit restriction on voting based on race.

{ By 1855, only 5 of 31 states did not have laws that discriminated against Black freemen. (Keyssar, pg. 55-56, see figure 3.1)

} Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Main and Rhode Island.

} Woman and slaves, for the most part, remained excluded from direct participation in politics through casting votes until after the civil war.

iv. Women, Blacks, Indians, and non-property holders could, of course, still participate indirectly in politics.

{ They could write editorials, organize lobbying groups, petition their state governments for reform, and participate in public demonstrations of support for such reforms.

} These non-electoral techniques were widely employed during the nineteenth century both by women and African men and women--and also by the **many freemen who supported their claims to suffrage.**

} (A gradual increase in the number of such men will directly change policy by causing the center of politics to shift toward expanded suffrage.)

D. Suffrage groups used a variety of legal methods to lobby those with the power to change the laws governing eligibility for suffrage.

i. See Keyssar pages 42-50 for a sample of pro and anti property-based suffrage arguments.

} (See also the several pages of excerpts towards the end of these lecture notes.)

} (These pieces, as true of the Lincoln Douglas debates in 1858, suggest that most anti-slave groups believed that the central government lacked the power to outlaw slavery.)

E. As noted in the model developed in the previous lecture, the effectiveness of such both the pro-suffrage and anti-slavery lobbying efforts requires persuading persons currently having the right to vote of the merits of expanding suffrage--that is to say of changing the median voter's conception of who is "qualified" to vote.

{ For the most part this process of persuasion, if successful, gradually shifts the norms of a broad cross-section of the **current electorate** and, thereby, their elected representatives.

{ However, it also bears noting that suffrage arguments may also stress practical advantages associated with broader suffrage.

} For example, pro-suffrage groups may point out that expanding suffrage is politically convenient,

} that it may reduce unpleasant demonstrations or emotional arguments,

} or that it has economic advantages--e.g. retaining folks who are tempted to move West for its combination of low land prices and more inclusive suffrage laws.

{ There is considerable evidence that pro-suffrage arguments were popular with mainstream voters.

{ For example, Democrats often lobbied for the elimination of taxpayer requirements, and were often joined by Whigs. (Keyssar, pg 51).

} The Federal-Whig-Republican and Democratic parties were the two major political parties for the first half of the 19th century.

} (*Expanding suffrage, caused the rise of political parties in the US, as they would latter do in late nineteenth century Europe.*)

}

F. Although the United States was well ahead of Europe on male suffrage in the 18th century and early 19th century, perhaps surprisingly, women and non-white suffrage progressed more or less at the same rate in the U. S. as in Europe.

{ There was no "slippery slope."

{ In effect, the same liberal tide in political and economic theory affected political thought and norms on both continents.

{ These together with various economic and institutional constraints affected the pace of electoral reform on both continents.

{ As we will see later in the course, women received the vote in the U. S. at about the same time as women in Europe.

III. Who is a Citizen?

A. **In addition to the suffrage reform debates which were largely won by liberals throughout the United States, there was also an argument about “who should be a citizen?” That is to say, are slaves citizens?**

B. **The anti-slavery movement was another important liberal political movement that emerged in the first half of the 19th century.**

i. Anti-slavery groups, as with the Quaker groups in Pennsylvania, had long existed in the colonies and United States, but such groups increased in numbers during the 19th century.

{ The movement could be regarded as “liberal” in the sense that it attempted to equalized what might be called “birth rights” in politics and economics.

{ (Similar “liberal” anti-slavery groups were organized throughout Europe at about the same time, as the idea that one man could legitimately own another came to be regarded as morally incorrect.)

ii. Within the model developed in the last lecture, such groups will be effective if they either induce a change in the norms that determine the “proper” scope of suffrage among existing voters.

{ An enormous amount was written and discussed on the issue of slavery in the first half of the nineteenth.

{ Persuasion was easier in the North than the Southeast because slavery was far more important economically in the South than in the North or in Europe.

} The South was, therefore, predictably slower to accept these costly arguments.

} (It can be shown mathematically that tradeoffs exist between economic and normative objectives.)

} Although, it bears noting that “abolition groups” also existed in the South.

}

C. **It is clear that these anti-slavery (abolitionist) lobbying groups were successful.**

i. There is a **long series of legislation that limited slavery** that was pushed forward by anti-slavery (abolitionist) groups.

{ Over the course of a few decades, **slavery was outlawed in most Northern states.**

{ (See the history below.)

ii. Of course, economics played a role in this pattern of success.

{ The economic cost of outlawing slavery (gradually) in the North was far smaller than in the south, because there were far fewer slaves in the North than in the South, and they played a relatively unimportant role in Northern economies.

} This clearly made it easier for voters in the North to be persuaded to adopt laws that outlaw slavery.

} In such cases, “abolition” was simply a moral choice without obvious economic cost.

iii. It bears noting that even people, such as Thomas Jefferson, who opposed slavery could not afford to free their own slaves, because so much of their wealth was made up of slaves.

{ Jefferson’s slaves were sold after his death to pay off his many debts.

{ On the other hand, another prominent southern opponent of slavery, George Washington, included a provision in his last will and testament that his slaves be freed after his wife’s death.

iv. Although an enormous amount of progress in peacefully eliminating slavery was made in the Northern part of the U. S. (and throughout Europe) during the first few decades of the 19th century, this problem continued to plague America, even after the civil war finally ended slavery in the South.

IV. A Time Line of American Pro- and Anti-Slavery Legislation (from Digital History.uh.edu)

1774: The Continental Congress approves a resolution prohibiting slave importations and further American participation in the slave trade.

1775: Lord Dunmore, Virginia’s royal governor, promises freedom to any slaves who desert rebellious masters and serve in the Crown’s forces.

1777: Vermont’s Constitution outlaws slavery.

1779: John Laurens proposes to Congress the arming of 3,000 slaves to resist a British invasion of the South; Congress approves the proposal but the South Carolina legislature rejects it.

1780: **Pennsylvania adopts a gradual emancipation law.**

1782: A Virginia law permits private manumissions.

1784: **By a single vote, Congress rejects Jefferson's proposal to exclude slavery from the western territories after 1800.**

1787: The Constitutional Convention agrees to count three-fifths of a state's slave population in apportioning representations; forbids Congress from ending the Atlantic slave trade until 1808; and requires fugitive slaves to be returned to their owners.

1787: The Northwest Ordinance **prohibits slavery north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi.**

1790: The Quakers and the **Pennsylvania Abolition Society petition Congress to discourage the slave trade and slaveholding producing an uproar in Congress.**

1792: Congress refuses to accept an antislavery petition from Quaker Warner Mifflin.

1792: Kentucky becomes the first new slave state admitted to the Union.

1793: **Eli Whitney invents the cotton gin.**

1794: Congress prohibits Americans from engaging in the slave trade to foreign countries.

1798: Georgia prohibits further imports of slaves from outside the United States.

1798: Congress rejects a proposal to prohibit slavery from Mississippi Territory.

1799: **New York adopts a gradual emancipation law.**

1800: Gabriel's planned slave insurrection in Richmond is uncovered.

1803: South Carolina reopens the African slave trade.

1804: Congress restricts slaves coming into Louisiana Territory to the property of actual settlers, but rejects a motion to limit slavery to one year.

1804: **New Jersey adopts a gradual emancipation act.**

1806: President Thomas Jefferson imposes a trade embargo on Haiti.

1807: The British Parliament and the U.S. Congress vote to end the African slave trade.

1808: The Methodist Episcopal Church deletes its rules proscribing slavery from copies of its Disciplines sent to the Deep South.

1816: **The American Colonization Society is founded to resettle free blacks in Africa.**

1817: James Forten leads a protest meeting of 3,000 blacks in Philadelphia against colonization.

1819: Congress authorizes the President to send armed vessels to Africa to suppress the African slave trade to the United States.

1819: Congress defeats an amendment that would have prohibited slavery in Arkansas Territory.

1819: Representative James Tallmadge, Jr., proposes an amendment to a statehood bill for Missouri that would prohibit further introduction of slaves and gradually abolish slavery in the state.

1820: **The U.S. Congress defines the slave trade as piracy.**

1820: The American Colonization Society sends an expedition to Africa to establish a refuge for free blacks.

1820: **The Missouri Compromise prohibits slavery in the northern half of the Louisiana Purchase.**

1821: Benjamin Lundy begins publishing the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

1821: Missouri is admitted to the Union as a slave state.

1822: Agitation begins in Illinois to adopt a constitution legalizing slavery.

1822: Denmark Vesey's planned slave insurrection in Charleston, S.C. is uncovered.

1827: **There are an estimated 106 antislavery societies in the South with 5,150 members, and 24 organizations in the North with 1,475 members.**

1829: David Walker issues his militant *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, threatening insurrection if slavery is not abolished and African Americans are not granted equal rights.

1830: **American Colonization Society sends just 529 free blacks to Liberia.**

January 1, 1831: Garrison begins publishing **The Liberator**, the country's first publication to demand an immediate end to slavery. On the front page of the first issue he declares: "I will not equivocate--I will not excuse--I will not retreat a single inch--AND I WILL BE HEARD." Georgia offers \$5000 to anyone who would bring him to the state for trial.

August 22, 1831: Nat Turner leads a Southampton County, Virginia.

Christmas 1831: A slave insurrection erupts in Jamaica.

1833: **The British Parliament adopts a gradual emancipation plan providing compensation to slave owners and establishing an apprenticeship plan to prepare nearly 800,000 slaves for freedom.**

December, 1833: Garrison and some 60 other delegates, male and female and black and white, form the **American Anti-Slavery Society** in Philadelphia.

1834: Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati expels antislavery students, including Theodore Weld, many of whom become agents for the American Anti-Slavery Society.

October 1834: During anti-abolitionist rioting, a white mob destroys 45 homes in Philadelphia's black community.

1835: A mob drags Garrison through Boston's streets and nearly lynches him before authorities remove him to a city jail for his own safety.

1836: **The number of antislavery societies reaches 527.**

November 7, 1837: An anti-abolitionist mob murders the Rev. Elijah Lovejoy in Alton, Ill.

1838: There are 1,300 antislavery societies with 109,000 members.

1838: A peace convention in Boston condemns war and repudiates "all human politics."

1838-39: **Antislavery societies gather 2 million names on antislavery petitions.**

1839: 39 African captives led by Joseph Cinque rebel against their Cuban captors and order two surviving whites to sail the *Amistad* to Africa. The ship is seized off the coast of Long Island and the Africans are jailed in Connecticut.

1840: The American Anti-Slavery Society splits over women's right to participate in the administration of the organization and the advisability of nominating abolitionists as independent political candidates.

1840: James Birney, the Liberty Party presidential candidate, receives fewer than 7100 votes.

1841: The Supreme Court frees the *Amistad* captives on the grounds that the international slave trade is illegal.

1844: Liberty Party presidential candidate receives 62,000 votes, capturing enough votes in Michigan and New York to deprive Whig candidate Henry Clay of the presidency.

1844: Congress narrowly approves the annexation of Texas.

1846: The United States declares war with Mexico.

1846: The House of Representatives adopts the Wilmot Proviso, which would bar slavery from any territory acquired from Mexico. The Senate rejects the proviso.

1848: Under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the United States acquires one-third of Mexican territory.

1848: **Conscience Whigs and antislavery Democrats merge with the Liberty Party to form the Free-Soil Party, which demands the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and exclusion of slavery from the federal territories. Presidential nominee Martin Van Buren receives 300,000 votes (about 10 percent of all votes cast).**

1850: The Fugitive Slave Law, part of the Compromise of 1850, strips accused runaways of the rights of trial by jury and of testifying in their own defense.

1851: A leading antislavery weekly begins to publish *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

1851: A gun battle erupts in Christiana, Pa. between abolitionists and slave catchers.

1854: The Republican party is organized following passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which opens Kansas and Nebraska territories to white settlement and **repeals the Missouri Compromise line** restricting slavery in the northern part of the Louisiana Purchase.

1854: Garrison publicly burns a copy of the U. S. Constitution, calling it "a covenant with death and an agreement with Hell."

May 24, 1856: John Brown and six companions murder five pro-slavery men and boys at Pottawatomie Creek, Ks., part of a war of revenge that leaves 200 dead.

January, 1857: NM Supreme Court invalidates practice of using law enforcement to enforce peonage and debt bondage in Mexican community, in case of *Jaramillo v. Romero*

October 16, 1859: John Brown leads a raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Va.

V. Some "Moderate" Literature from the U. S. Slavery Debates in the 19th Century

A. American Anti-Slavery Society Founded in Philadelphia in 1833

- i. We have met together for the achievement of an enterprise, without which that of our fathers is incomplete; and which, for its magnitude, solemnity, and probable results upon the destiny of the world, as far transcends theirs as moral truth does physical force.
 - { In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in steadfastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not be inferior to them....
 - { Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead.
 - { Our fathers were never slaves -- never bought and sold like cattle -- never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion -- never subjected to the lash of brutal taskmasters.
- ii. But those, for whose emancipation we are striving -- constituting at the present time at least one-sixth part of our countrymen -- are recognized by law, and treated by their fellow-beings, as brute beasts; are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress; really enjoy no constitutional nor legal protection from licentious and murderous outrages upon their persons; and are ruthlessly torn asunder -- the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother -- the heartbroken wife from her weeping husband -- at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants.
 - { For the crime of having a dark complexion, they suffer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are **kept in heathenist darkness by laws expressly enacted to make their instruction a criminal offense.**
 - { These are the prominent circumstances in the condition of more than two million people, the proof of which may be found in thousands of indisputable facts, and in the laws of the slave-holding States.
- iii. Hence we maintain -- that, in view of the civil and religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequaled by any other on the face of the earth; and, therefore, that it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free...
 - { It is piracy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely, the sin is as great to enslave an American as an African.
 - { Therefore we believe and affirm -- that there is no difference, in principle, between the African slave trade and American slavery:

iv. That every American citizen, who detains a human being in involuntary bondage as his property, is, according to Scripture, (Ex. xxi, 16.)

{ That **the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law:**

{ That if they had lived from the time of Pharaoh down to the present period, and had been entailed through successive generations, their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity:

{ That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore, before God, utterly null and void; being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments; and that therefore they ought instantly to be abrogated.

v. We further believe and affirm -- that all persons of color, who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, **ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others;** and that the paths of preferment, of wealth and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

vi. We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves:

{ Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man:

{ Because slavery is a crime, and therefore is not an article to be sold:

{ Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim; freeing the slave is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its rightful owner; it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave -- restoring him to himself:

{ Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property; it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers; and

{ Because, if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

vii. We regard as delusive, cruel and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery.

viii. We fully and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its limits; **we concede that Congress, under the present national compact, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States,** in relation to this momentous subject:

{ But we maintain that **Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave trade between the several States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.**

{ We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States.

{ They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force, to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern States; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slave owner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they support a standing army at the South for its protection; and they seize the slave, who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver. This relation to slavery is criminal, and full of danger: It must be broken up.

{ These are our views and principles -- these our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our Independence and the truths of Divine Revelation, as upon the Everlasting Rock.

{ Source: Louis Ruchames, ed., *The Abolitionists* (1963), pg. 78. available at <http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/facts/democrac/18.htm>

B. Evening Post Editorial (William Leggett, September 7, 1835)

i. If to believe **slavery a deplorable evil and a curse**, in whatever light it is viewed; if to yearn for the day which shall break the fetters of three millions of human beings, and restore to them their birth-right of equal freedom; if to be willing, in season and out of season, to do all in our power to promote so desirable a result, by all means not inconsistent with higher duty:

{ if these sentiments constitute us abolitionists, then are we such, and glory in the name.

- { But while we mourn over the servitude which fetters a large portion of the American people, and freely proclaim that, did the control of the subject belong to us, we would speedily enfranchise them all, yet we defy the most vigilant opponent of this journal to point his finger to a word or syllable that looks like hostility to the political rights of the south, or conceals any latent desire to violate the federal compact, in letter or spirit.
- ii. The obligations of the federal compact, however, are greatly misrepresented by those who contend that it places a ban on all discussion of the question of slavery.
- { It places an interdiction on the discussion of no subject whatever; but on the contrary secures, by an especial guarantee, that **no prohibition or limitation of freedom of opinion** and speech, in its widest latitude, shall ever be instituted.
- { The federal **government cannot directly interfere with the question of slavery**, simply because the power of such interference is not included among those conferred upon it; and “all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.”
- { The truth is, the only restraint on the discussion of slavery is that which exists in the good sense and good feeling of the people, in their sentiments of brotherhood, and in the desire which all rational minds must entertain of accomplishing worthy ends by means every way proportioned to the object.
- { Whoever supposes that the question is guarded by any more positive obligation than this, has very imperfectly studied both the Constitution itself, and those documents which illustrate its history, and the sentiments, motives and policy of its founders.
- { The Journal of the Convention which framed the Constitution, and those of the several State Conventions are happily extant.
- iii. If it is true that the people of the United States are forbidden to speak their sentiments on one of the most momentous subjects which ever engaged their thoughts; if they are so bound in fetters of the mind that they must not allude to the less galling fetters which bind the limbs of the southern slave;
- { let the prohibitory passage, we pray, be quickly pointed out; let us be convinced at once that we are not freemen, as we have heretofore fondly believed; let us know the worst;
- { that we may seek to accommodate our minds and break down our rebellious spirits to the restricted limits in which alone they are permitted to expatiate.

C. Calhoun Speech on Slavery in the Senate in 1847

- i. Mr. President, it was solemnly asserted on this floor, some time ago, that all parties in the non-slaveholding States had come to a fixed and solemn determination upon two propositions. One was—that there should be no further admission of any States into this Union which permitted, by their constitutions, the existence of slavery; and the other was—that slavery shall not hereafter exist in any of the territories of the United States; the effect of which would be to give to the non-slaveholding States the monopoly of the public domain, to the entire exclusion of the slaveholding States.
- ii. Since that declaration was made, Mr. President, we have had abundant proof that there was a satisfactory foundation for it. We have received already solemn resolutions passed by seven of the non-slaveholding States—one-half of the number already in the Union, Iowa not being counted—using the strongest possible language to that effect; and no doubt, in a short space of time, similar resolutions will be received from all of the non-slaveholding States. But we need not go beyond the walls of Congress.
- { The subject has been agitated in the other House, and they have sent up a bill “prohibiting the extension of slavery” (using their own language) “to any territory which may be acquired by the United States hereafter.” At the same time, two resolutions which have been moved to extend the compromise line from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, during the present session, have been rejected by a decided majority.
- iii. Sir, there is no mistaking the signs of the times; and it is high time that the Southern States, the slaveholding States, should inquire what is now their relative strength in this Union, and what it will be if this determination should be carried into effect hereafter. Sir, already we are in a minority—I use the word “we” for brevity’s sake—already we are in a minority in the other House, in the electoral college, and I may say, in every department of this Government, except at present in the Senate of the United States—there for the present we have an equality.
- { Of the twenty-eight States, fourteen are non-slaveholding and fourteen are slaveholding, counting Delaware, which is doubtful, as one of the non-slaveholding States. But this equality of strength exists only in the Senate.
- { One of the clerks, at my request, has furnished me with a statement of what is the relative strength of the two descriptions of States, in the other House of Congress and in the electoral college.
- { There are two hundred and twenty-eight representatives, including Iowa, which is already represented there.
- { Of these, one hundred and thirty-eight are from non-slaveholding States, and ninety are from what are called the slave States—giving a majority, in the aggregate, to the former of forty-eight. In the electoral college there are one hundred and sixty-eight votes belonging

to the non-slaveholding States, and one hundred and eighteen to the slaveholding, giving a majority of fifty to the non-slaveholding.

- iv. We, Mr. President, have at present only one position in the Government, by which we may make any resistance to this aggressive policy which has been declared against the South, or any other that the non-slaveholding States may choose to adopt. And this equality in this body is one of the most transient character.
- { Already Iowa is a State; but owing to some domestic difficulties, is not yet represented in this body. When she appears here, there will be a addition of two Senators to the representatives here of the non-slaveholding States.
- { Already Wisconsin has passed the initiatory stage, and will be here the next session. This will add two more, making a clear majority of four in this body on the side of the non-slaveholding States, who will thus be enabled to sway every branch of this Government at their will and pleasure.
- { But, Sir, if this aggressive policy be followed—if the determination of the non-slaveholding States is to be adhered to hereafter, and we are to be entirely excluded from the territories which we already possess, or may possess—if this is to be the fixed policy of the Government, I ask, what will be our situation hereafter?
- ...
- v. These, Mr. President, are solemn questions—not only to us, but, let me say to gentlemen from the non-slaveholding States: to them.
- { Sir, the day that the balance between the two sections of the country—the slaveholding States and the non-slaveholding States—is destroyed, is a day that will not be far removed from political revolution, anarchy, civil war, and widespread disaster.
- { The balance of this system is in the slaveholding States. They are the conservative portion—always have been the conservative portion—always will be the conservative portion; and with a due balance on their part may, for generations to come, uphold this glorious Union of ours.
- { But if this scheme should be carried out—if we are to be reduced to a handful—if we are to become a mere ball to play the presidential game with—to count something in the Baltimore caucus—if this is to be the result—wo! wo! I say, to this Union!

D. Pro Slavery: Excerpts from *African Slavery in America*, C Inersoll (1856)

- i. Notwithstanding much sciolous speculation concerning slavery, and even questioning its authentic existence, yet by overruling

ii. Providence men have been slaves of masters in all ages and in every country, as attested by all history, sacred and profane.

{ Villanage, much more odious bondage than African slavery in America, was an English tenure, before negro slavery in America became English law, in great favor.

{ Mr. Hallam explains how common it was in the ninth and tenth centuries for the English to export slaves to be sold in Ireland. But no ancient or European slavery, Greek or Roman bondage, villanage or serfdom, no slavery in any other form, had the motive or justification of African slaves, both the trade and tenure, transported from mere barbarism, to cultivate in congenial climates, modern luxuries become universal necessities of life.

{ Negro laborers cultivating rice, sugar, coffee, and cotton, in tropical regions, where neither white labor nor free can be relied upon, is a form of servile labor with indigenous and political recommendations peculiar to this country.

iii. In the beginning of this century, the slave trade in the opinion of a large majority of Englishmen, most competent to judge, was providential transition from African barbarism to civilized emancipation; and should the anticipations of Liberia be realized, or negro national independent community be other-wise effected, no greater result of overruling Providence will have ever taken place.

{ Even as it is under what may be termed British persecution by sword and fire of both the trade and the tenure of slavery, there is said to be manifest improvement among the slaves of this country, from one generation to another.

iv. Mean-time, under all the disadvantages of enraged abolition, inestimable political advantages by means of slavery and its products advance continental prosperity, maintain the grandeur of confederated United States, cheaply vouchsafe almost permanent peace, and develop a benign experiment of tranquil republican government.

v. The mother country of these United States unanimously and sedulously cultivated both the trade and the tenure of African slaves in America.

{ By legislation, and treaties, jurisprudence, social encouragement, every how, from the first colonial settlement of this now extensive empire, the transportation of Africans to be male slaves in all its parts, was encouraged and legalized by metropolitan superintendence.

{ The year after British liberty, which began but one century, 1688, before American, 1775, both by revolutions, the attorney and solicitor-general published professional opinions, equivalent to laws, that negroes were merchandise within the meaning of the navigation act.

- { Acts of Parliament in 1733 and 1758, countenanced both the trade and the tenure in them as slaves. In 1729 the attorney and solicitor-general Yorke and Talbot, both afterwards chancellors, and among England's greatest lawyers, gave opinions assuring the colonists who had numerous negro slaves in England, that property in them was as valid and safe there as in America or the West Indies.
- vi. The Assiento contract is familiar history. This attorney-general Yorke, and solicitor-general Talbot, great men, as Lord Stowell said Lord Mansfield admitted, great men of that age or of any other age, said Lord Stowell on the bench, those great lawyers assured the London merchants that they were perfectly secure in their legal tenure of slaves.
- { "They both pledged themselves to the merchants of London," said Lord Stowell, "to save them harmless from all inconvenience on such a subject; which pledge was afterwards fully confirmed by a similar judgment pronounced in 1749, by Sir Philip Yorke, then become Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, sitting in the Court of Chancery."
- { "This judgment," adds Lord Stowell, "so pronounced in full confidence, and without a doubt, upon a practice which had endured universally in the colonies, and (as appears by those opinions) in Great Britain, was in not more than twenty-two years afterwards, reversed by Lord Mansfield.
- { The personal traffic in slaves resident in England had been as public, and as authorized in London as in any of our West India Islands. They were sold on the Exchange, and other places of public resort, by parties themselves resident in London, and with as little reserve as they would have been in any of our West India possessions.
- { Such a state of things continued without impeachment, from a very early period up to nearly the end of the last century."
- ...
- vii. All nations, however enslaved, boast their freedom.
- { In Louis the Fourteenth's age, when every Frenchman might be imprisoned for life, as his brother was understood to be, by the king's order, and kept in an iron mask till he died, an ordinance forbade negro slavery.
- { Lord Mansfield ruled the press gang to be common law in England, without which even Lord Chatham declared that it is impossible to equip a fleet in time.
- viii. Yet long after Mansfield's flourish in Somerset's case, it was announced as common law by an American judge.
- { Spurning the federal constitution, which should have been his supreme law, that disloyal magistrate, intoxicated with more than flagrant abolition, extrajudicially blurted that outside the compact the principle sprung fresh and perfect and beautiful from the mind of Lord Mansfield; not only so, but, like Minerva from Jove, it worked the miracle of **ending slaves with sanctity of reason**, an exploit of this judge's notion of common law which seems to have bereft him of common sense.
- { In 1772, by revolution of legal policy, an English judge broached what, in 1827, another eminent English judge almost contemptuously sentenced as contrary to common law, international law, and the rights of property.
- { Still, such might be legal policy where no African slaves were or could be.
- ix. English humanitarians discovered that slavery is forbid where it abounds in every page.
- { Soon they came to insist, contrary to all the law, policy, and property they had established in America, that not a solitary one or few, but near a million, fast increasing to three or four millions of slaves, must be turned loose there, to plunge into licentious and pernicious idleness, mischief, and crime.
- { In England nothing could be easier than such philanthropy, whether legal or not. In America it was as impossible as to root out the virgin forests at one blow.
- { But English climate abolishes all odoriferous as well as odious distinction between black and white, and every Briton, especially if liberal or radical, cannot understand why masters declaring their independence do not embrace their slaves.
- x. Wherefore **Paine**, [See previous excerpts from Thomas Paine's writing in earlier lecture notes] whose opportune pamphlet on politics was felicitous as his subsequent infidel tract was abominable, **was the first mandatory of European abolitionists, to physic this country with foreign poison**, curative perhaps in judicious doses, but fatal otherwise.
- { The first proceeding in the single branched Legislature of Pennsylvania, after he was chosen clerk in **November 1779, was a motion for the act of March, 1780, which was the first attempt by legislation to abolish slavery**, then an institution familiar throughout the United States.

E. Acceptance of Slavery - States Rights: Excerpts from *Senator Douglas Speech at Black Republican Convention in (1858)*

- { [Part of the famous Lincoln - Douglas Debates, in the electoral campaign for the Senate seat from Illinois, which Douglas ultimately won. They would meet again in a contest for the presidency in 1860, which Lincoln would win.]]
- { Douglas favored a referendum approach to slavery whereby all states could determine their status on that issue by ballot. (in this he opposed the Missouri compromise.)
- i. LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I appear before you to-day for the purpose of discussing the leading political topics which now agitate the public mind. By an arrangement between Mr. Lincoln and myself, we are present here to-day for the purpose of having a joint discussion, as the representatives of the two great political parties of the State and Union, upon the principles in issue between those parties; and this vast concourse of people shows the deep feeling which pervades the public mind in regard to the questions dividing us.
- ii. Prior to 1854 this country was divided into two great political parties, known as the Whig and Democratic parties. Both were national and patriotic, advocating principles that were universal in their application.
- { An old-line Whig could proclaim his principles in Louisiana and Massachusetts alike. Whig principles had no boundary sectional line -- they were not limited by the Ohio River, nor by the Potomac, nor by the line of the free and slave States, but applied and were proclaimed wherever the Constitution ruled or the American flag waved over the American soil.
- { So it was, and so it is with the great Democratic party, which, from the days of Jefferson until this period, has proven itself to be the historic party of this nation. While the Whig and Democratic parties differed in regard to a bank, the tariff, distribution, the specie circular, and the subtreasury, they agreed on the great slavery question which now agitates the Union.
- { I say that the Whig party and the Democratic party agreed on the slavery question, while they differed on those matters of expediency to which I have referred. The Whig party and the Democratic party jointly adopted the compromise measures of 1850 as the basis of a proper and just solution of the slavery question in all its forms.
- { Clay was the great leader, with Webster on his right and Cass on his left, and sustained by the patriots in the Whig and Democratic ranks who had devised and enacted the compromise measures of 1850.
- iii. In 1851 the Whig party and the Democratic party united in Illinois in adopting resolutions indorsing and approving the principles of the compromise measures of 1850, as the proper adjustment of that question.
- { In 1852, when the Whig party assembled in convention at Baltimore for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the presidency, the first thing it did was to declare the compromise measures of 1850, in substance and in principle, a suitable adjustment of that question.
- { [Here the speaker was interrupted by loud and long-continued applause.]
- { My friends, silence will be more acceptable to me in the discussion of these questions than applause. I desire to address myself to your judgment, your understanding, and your consciences, and not to your passions or your enthusiasm.
- { When the Democratic convention assembled in Baltimore in the same year, for the purpose of nominating a Democratic candidate for the presidency, it also adopted the compromise measures of 1850 as the basis of Democratic action. Thus you see that up to 1853-54, the Whig party and the Democratic party both stood on the same platform with regard to the slavery question.
- { That platform was the right of the people of each State and each Territory to decide their local and domestic institutions for themselves, subject only to the Federal Constitution.**
- { ...
- iv. I am delighted to hear you Black Republicans say "good." I have no doubt that doctrine expresses your sentiments, and I will prove to you now, if you will listen to me, **that it is revolutionary and destructive of the existence of this government.**
- v. Mr. Lincoln, in the extract from which I have read, says that this government cannot endure permanently in the same condition in which it was made by its framers -- divided into free and slave States.
- { He says that it has existed for about seventy years thus divided, and yet he tells you that it cannot endure permanently on the same principles and in the same relative condition in which our fathers made it
- { Why can it not exist divided into free and slave States?
- vi. Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, Jay, and the great men of that day made this government divided into free States and slave States, and left each State perfectly free to do as it pleased on the subject of slavery.

{ Why can it not exist on the same principles on which our fathers made it? They knew when they framed the Constitution that in a country as wide and broad as this, with such a variety of climate, production, and interest, the people necessarily required different laws and institutions in different localities.

{ They knew that the laws and regulations which would suit the granite hills of New Hampshire would be unsuited to the rice-plantations of South Carolina, and they therefore provided that each State should retain its own legislature and its own sovereignty, with the full and complete power to do as it pleased within its own limits, in all that was local and not national.

vii. **One of the reserved rights of the States was the right to regulate the relations between master and servant, on the slavery question.**

{ At the time the Constitution was framed, there were thirteen States in the Union, twelve of which were slave-holding States and one a free State.

{ Suppose this doctrine of uniformity preached by Mr. Lincoln, that the States should all be free or all be slave, had prevailed, and what would have been the result?

{ Of course, the twelve slave-holding States would have overruled the one free State, and slavery would have been fastened by a constitutional provision on every inch of the American republic, instead of being left, as our fathers wisely left it, to each State to decide for itself.

{ **Here I assert that uniformity in the local laws and institutions of the different States is neither possible nor desirable.**

{ If uniformity had been adopted when the government was established, it must inevitably have been the uniformity of slavery everywhere, or else the uniformity of negro citizenship and negro equality everywhere.

viii. We are told by Lincoln that he is utterly opposed to the Dred Scott decision, and will not submit to it, for the reason that he says it deprives the negro of the rights and privileges of citizenship.

{ That is the first and main reason which he assigns for his warfare on the Supreme Court of the United States and its decision.

ix. **I ask you, are you in favor of conferring upon the negro the rights and privileges of citizenship?**

{ Do you desire to strike out of our State constitution that clause which keeps slaves and free negroes out of the State, and allow the free negroes to flow in, and cover your prairies with black settlements?

{ Do you desire to turn this beautiful State into a free negro colony, in order that when Missouri abolishes slavery she can send one hundred thousand emancipated slaves into Illinois, to become citizens and voters, on an equality with yourselves?

} If you desire negro citizenship, if you desire to allow them to come into the State and settle with the white man, if you desire them to vote on an equality with yourselves, and to make them eligible to office, to serve on juries, and to adjudge your rights, then support Mr. Lincoln and the Black Republican party, who are in favor of the citizenship of the negro.

} For one, I am opposed to negro citizenship in any and every form. I believe this government was made on the white basis.

{ **I believe it was made by white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever, and I am in favor of confining citizenship to white men, men of European birth and descent**, instead of conferring it upon negroes, Indians, and other inferior races.

{

F. Acceptance of Slavery with a strong Anti Slavery theme: Lincoln's Reply to Douglas (1858)

{ [Part of the famous Lincoln - Douglas Debates, in the indirect electoral campaigns for the Senate seat from Illinois, which Douglas ultimately won. They would meet again in a contest for the presidency in 1860, which Lincoln would win.]

{ Lincoln favors eliminating slavery in all of the remaining "territories" of the United States, but believes that the federal government lacks the power to do so in states where slavery is presently allowed.

i.

ii. Now, gentlemen, I hate to waste my time on such things, but in regard to that general Abolition tilt that Judge Douglas makes, when he says that I was engaged at that time in selling out and Abolitionizing the Old Whig party, I hope you will permit me to read a part of a printed speech that I made then at Peoria, which will show altogether a different view of the position I took in that contest of 1854.

{ [Voice: "Put on your specs."]

- { Yes, sir, I am obliged to do so.
- { I am no longer a young man.
- iii. This is the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.
- { The foregoing history may not be precisely accurate in every particular; but I am sure it is sufficiently so for all the uses **I shall attempt to make of it, and in it we have before us the chief materials enabling us to correctly judge whether the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is right or wrong.**
- } (This part of the Douglas speech is not included above. See the short discussion of the Missouri compromise in my notes above.)
- iv. I think, and shall try to show, that it is wrong; **wrong in its direct effect, letting slavery into Kansas and Nebraska** and wrong in its prospective principle, allowing it to spread to every other part of the wide world where men can be found inclined to take it.
- { This declared indifference, but, as I must think, covert real zeal for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate.
- { I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself.**
- { I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world; **enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites;** causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and especially because it forces so many really good men amongst ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty - criticizing the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest.
- v. Before proceeding, let me say I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people.
- { They are just what we would be in their situation.
- } If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it.
- } If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up.
- } This I believe of the masses North and South.
- { Doubtless there are individuals on both sides who would not hold slaves under any circumstances; and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew, if it were out of existence.
- } We know that some Southern men do free their slaves, go North, and become tip-top Abolitionists; while some Northern ones go South, and become most cruel slavemasters.
- { When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we, I acknowledge the fact.
- } When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying.
- } I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself.
- vi. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution.
- { My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia - to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible.
- } If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough in the world to carry them there in many times ten days.
- { What then?
- } Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings?
- } Is it quite certain that this betters their condition?
- } **I think I would not hold one in slavery at any rate;** yet the point is not clear enough to me to denounce people upon.
- { What next?
- } Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals?
- } My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not.
- vii. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment is not the sole question, if indeed, it is any part of it.
- { A universal feeling, whether well or ill-founded, cannot be safely disregarded.**
- { We cannot make them equals.
- viii. **It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted;** but for their tardiness in this, I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South.
- { When they remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and **I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their**

fugitives, which should not, in its stringency, be more likely to carry a free man into slavery, than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one.

{ But all this, to my judgment, **furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go info our own free territory**, than it would for reviving the African slave trade by law.

} The law which forbids the bringing of slaves from Africa, and that which has so long forbidden the taking of them to Nebraska, can hardly be distinguished on any moral principle; and the repeal of the former could find quite as plausible excuses as that of the latter.

ix. I have reason to know that Judge Douglas knows that I said this.

{ I think he has the answer here to one of the questions he put to me.

{ I do not mean to allow him to catechize me unless he pays back for it in kind. I will not answer questions one after another, unless he reciprocates; but as he has made this inquiry, and I have answered it before, he has got it without my getting anything in return.

{ He has got my answer on the fugitive-slave law.

x. Now, gentlemen, I don't want to read at any great length, but this is the true complexion of all I have ever said in regard to the institution of slavery and the black race.

{ This is the whole of it, and anything that argues me into his idea of perfect social and political equality with the negro is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of words, by which a man can prove a horse-chestnut to be a chestnut horse.

{ I will say here, while upon this subject, that **I have no purpose, either directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists.**

{ I believe **I have no lawful right to do so**, and I have no inclination to do so.

xi. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races.

{ There is a physical difference between the two, which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality; and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position.

xii. I have never said anything to the contrary, but **I hold that, notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence-the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.**

{ I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man.

{ I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects-certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment.

{ **But in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.**