

COLONIZATION AND COMMERCE.

AN ADDRESS

4

BEFORE THE YOUNG MEN'S MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI,
OHIO, NOVEMBER 29, 1859.

By FRANK P. BLAIR, Jun., OF MISSOURI.

The city which has led the march of civilization in the Great West, whose power and splendor—the growth of little more than one generation—rivals the matured glories which ages have contributed to others, is most fitted to lead in an enterprise intended to impart to the whole continent the principles upon which her own prosperity rests. The first-born of the ordinance of 1787, she will be recreant to her own origin if she shall fail to claim universal empire for the principle to which she owes her pre-eminence. That *magna charta*, conceived by the mind and heart of Mr. Jefferson, to secure you in the rights which he proclaimed to belong to all, in the immortal declaration which asserted our liberties, has opened to you a boundless career of opulence and glory; and I come with confidence to invoke your aid for the plan by which he sought to give to all the same noble inheritance which he secured to you.

When the great declaration of our rights was proclaimed, there existed amongst us an institution anomalous and inconsistent with its great truths, and with the form and spirit of the Government framed upon them. It is well known that not only Jefferson, but all the great men of that day, sought by every means to eradicate this evil. The plan by which Jefferson desired to give practical and universal effect to the true principles of our Government, and root out that element of evil which would fatally affect the whole, is contained in the following brief and pregnant sentences. In a letter to Mr. Sparks, he says:

"The second object, and the most interesting to us, as coming home to our physical and moral characters, to our happiness and safety, is to provide an asylum, to which we can, by degrees, send the whole of that population (the negroes) from among us, and establish them under our patronage and protection, as a separate, free, and independent people, in some country and climate friendly to human life and happiness."

Speaking of a proposition similar in many respects, urged by him upon the Legislature of his native State, he says:

"It has, however, been found that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition, nor will it even at this day; yet the day is not far distant when it must bear it and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people (the negroes) are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same Government. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of *emancipation* and *deportation*, and in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up. We should look in vain for an example in the Spanish deportation or deletion of the Moors."

In a letter to Mr. Coles, he said:

"Yet the hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time. *It will come*; and whether brought on by the generous energies of our own minds, or by the bloody process of St. Domingo, excited and conducted by the power of our present enemy, if once stationed permanently within our country, and offering asylum and arms to the *oppressed*, is a leaf of our history not yet turned over."

The time has come to begin the movement for emancipation, to be accomplished by "the generous energies of our own minds," rather than through that other process, the contemplation of which fills us with horror and alarm. Every nation that has embraced Slavery has perished under the intolerable burden—perished either by violence or the poison with which it taints and corrupts society. Already the virus has penetrated, and is spreading through the veins of this nation; and unless speedy relief is found, we shall be fatally infected. It is admitted by all to be the cause of the deep and bitter feud which threatens to rend us into sections, and destroy the Confederacy; and yet no remedy is proposed, no solution hinted at, except to let it alone, to grow and fester and corrode. It is the cause of most of the ill-will between us and neighboring nations. It is tainting the morals and corrupting the blood of our race. It has devastated the soil and impoverished the mass of the people where it exists. It has banished education beyond the reach of the poor, and eradicated from the hearts of many all respect and love for free institutions. Its demoralizing influence has spread far beyond the confines of the States in which it is recognised, and allied itself politically with every element of evil to be found within the wide limits of the land. Its partisans seek openly to increase, extend, and perpetuate it, and we are told, even by those men who deplore these things, that it must be left alone. I say that measures must be taken, by which the people of the slave States can relieve themselves of it, or we shall soon cease to exist as a free people. Already, since the Revolution, the slaves have increased ten fold, mounting up from half a million to near five millions; an increase in the same proportion for the same length of time will make their number fifty millions. The country will be incapable of sustaining such a burden. What I propose is no measure of rashness or inconsiderate haste, but the deliberate and matured thought of the most far-seeing and sagacious of all our statesmen. It is simply to provide an asylum, in the congenial regions of the American tropics, for such of our negroes as are now free, or who hereafter may be enfranchised

by States or individuals, and who may choose to go there, and to offer them such inducements, by securing them self-government, free homesteads, and protection against foreign or domestic molestation, as they will not and cannot refuse to accept.

This proposition covers a wide field of discussion, and I can do no more than glance at a few of the considerations which seem to recommend it. It does not seem to me that any objection can be raised to the purchase of the necessary territory by the Government. The power has been so often exercised, and especially by those who would be most likely to oppose the object of this purchase, that we may fairly consider that their mouths are closed. So also in regard to setting apart the country so purchased for the occupation of a particular race of people—that has been done often, and is being done every day. When the Indians began to encumber our Northwestern and Southwestern Territories, we bought their old homes, purchased new homes for them, paid for their removal to these new homes, and then paid them annuities, to induce them to remain there in peace and quiet. These Indians had been our enemies; the negroes have always been our friends and dependents, spending their lives in our service. Certainly we can do for a friendly people what we have so often done for our enemies. Those who believe that the negroes are an inferior race will rejoice in a complete separation of the races, and thus avoid that contact which deteriorates our own; nor is it possible for those who think differently to oppose the opening of new regions, where the negroes shall be invited to go, and take up free homesteads and enjoy free government under the protection of the United States. As well might the friends of the free white laborers object to the acquisition of new Californias, for their occupation and employment. It is clear that the two races cannot occupy the same States without mutual injury. One race will inflict either social or legal degradation upon the other. By long contact, their blood will become so mingled, that they will merge into a mongrel race, inferior to either of the original types. This is one of the most deplorable results to be apprehended from the unnatural juxtaposition or rather commingling of the races; and this contaminating process, already far advanced, threatens to make us a race of hybrids, and blot the beauty of that fair and glorious line, which we believe to be, in form and soul, the noblest development of mankind. This is no idle fear; it is a present and appalling reality—a muddy rivulet suffices to discolor the bright waters of a river—a small and dusky cloud obscures the sun, and shuts out his splendors from the world. The difference between the two races, whilst it serves to justify in the minds of some the system of Slavery as it exists here, makes that system in fact more injurious, because more difficult to eradicate—more intolerable in its forms, and more disgusting by its inevitable tendency to corrupt the blood of both races. Nothing can save us from the pollution but a complete separation.

I believe that the condition of affairs upon our continent at this time is such as to favor this measure. The empires established in the American tropics by the Spaniards are fast falling, if

they have not already fallen, to decay, and the colored races are resuming sway in that climate so congenial to their natures. The attempt made by the Spaniards—a people long acclimated to tropical temperatures—to occupy these regions, has resulted in the obliteration of their chief characteristics, and the destruction of the race itself; whilst the undiminished vigor, increasing numbers, and rising importance, of the negroes, admonish us that there is to arise for them an empire which we cannot dispute, so long as the immutable laws of nature shall govern the world. We may mould that empire to usefulness, to advance our prosperity, and swell our own wealth and power, or it may arise under the same malignant star which hailed the birth of negro domination in St. Domingo, destroying the white race; or else, under the protection of some other power, it may serve to curb our career, and threaten our predominance on this continent, or at least bring ruin along the shores of the Gulf. In any event, we must make up our minds to behold this grand meridional empire, like

“Behemoth, biggest born of earth,
Upheave its vastness.”

To make this ours, it appears to me that we have only to extend ourselves, our civilization and form of government, into the tropics, by means of the black men now among us, and, through them, impress ourselves upon the present population, thus excluding any other power. Is it possible to do so? Ten years have sufficed to plant half a million of our free white people in California. They went thither without aid or protection from the Government, because they could there acquire fortune more rapidly than in the older States. A half million more who went out have returned with fortunes realized. This exodus to the land of gold has redounded to the wealth and greatness of the Republic, because we did not lose the labor of citizens, but only changed the locality in which that labor was employed; and because it was five times more remunerative there than here, the manifold interest of the whole country prospered by the creation of the additional wealth. The free blacks in this country amount to something more than half a million. If similar inducements were held out to them, would they not also go forth to better their condition in a country where their labor would be more productive? It may be said that they have not the energy, knowledge, or means, of the white men who peopled our Pacific coast. This may be admitted; for the pioneers of the Golden State were the most enterprising of our heroic and indomitable race. But neither the distance nor the dangers attending a voyage to the tropics are as great as those which barred the way to our Pacific possessions. Nor are the motives which impelled our people in such numbers and with such rapid flight to gather fortune there half so urgent as those which should, and which, I may venture to say, will, animate our free negroes to fly a country in which their condition is that of a degraded and persecuted caste, for one in which they can have no superiors, and one in which their wildest dreams of wealth can be realized with the least possible toil.

The tropical regions of America are the richest in the whole world. This is due to the peculiar configuration of that part of our conti-

ment, and the prevalence of the northeastern and southeastern trade winds, which come sweeping across a vast expanse of ocean, surcharged with moisture; and striking at right angles upon the coast, they penetrate deep into the interior, where the moisture is precipitated by the cold atmosphere of the mountains, forming the largest rivers in the world, which traverse the entire country, imparting to it the most extraordinary fertility, and giving unquestionable guaranty of its being the predestined scat of future empire. For civilization, be it observed, is of amphibious birth. It has ever arisen on the sea shore, on the banks of the navigable rivers, half from the flood and half from the land. The Ganges, the Nile, and the great cities which stood, as it were, knee-deep, or still stand, in the waters of the Mediterranean, vouch for this. A river country, sooner or later, becomes the scat of opulence and power, and the country to which I allude has a pre-eminent title to that appellation. Even here, on the banks of the "beautiful river," I am constrained to declare that the Amazon, the La Plata, and the Orinoco, together with their tributaries, are unrivalled on either continent; nor are there anywhere else on the globe such an endless diversity of gorgeous scenes, such boundless expanses of vegetable and floral magnificence, as their valleys disclose. In the whole tropical region of our continent, the eye of man may behold one unending round of vernal promise and ripening harvests. There, the opening blossom and the matured fruit mingle on the same stem, which is released from its burden and converted into a cornucopia by every passing breeze. The same gentle swaying that whitens the ground with the petals of the former, strews it with the bursting fruit. The radiant climate "has no winter in its year," and the omnipresent summers, or, rather, the three seasons in their indivisible union, have no interregnum in their rule, and give the teeming earth no rest from the labor of bringing forth her choicest productions. There the task of agriculture will be, not to stimulate, but to repress and tame the powers of the soil. There, the household, however numerous, will not be adequate to gather what the solitary husbandman shall sow. Hours of labor will purchase weeks of luxurious ease. Skies and earth, air and water, proclaim the promised land, nay, the paradise of the negro. While the white man degenerates and withers in the glare of all its splendor, sinking into a valetudinarian, impotent in body and mind, or suddenly encounters death in breathing the subtle poisons with which its exhalations are pregnant, the black man, by virtue of that mysterious quality of organism conferred by race, finds these exhalations innoxious, and the torrid glare an elixir for body and mind. His very pores, like those of a plant, seem to absorb the solar light and fire, and the reekings of the moist and warm earth affect his health as little as the odor of hecatombs did the disposition of the Epicurean gods. In such a region, his nature is in harmony with all the elements which surround him.

— "Afric is all the sun's,
And as her earth her human clay is kindled."

His form glows with a more intense and buoyant animal life, presenting a striking contrast to the sickly exotic of Circassian blood, in the ex-

uberance of its native joy, and his soul laughs back to the laughing landscapes, which, like Aaron's rod, blow in a single night. And who shall say that the same congenial influences would not aid in evolving the latent capacities of his intellectual nature—a nature which has never yet had an opportunity for self-development under the auspices of Christianity? It were irrational to answer in the negative, when we know that a universal harmony subsists between the moral and the natural world.

In the tropical regions of Asia and Africa the prevailing winds do not traverse such a wide extent of ocean, and hence do not collect such a vast amount of water as those which fan the face of the tropical regions of America. The direction of the former is parallel with the coast, while here the trade winds strike the coast perpendicularly, penetrating and carrying their moisture into the interior. Hence it is that the coasts only of the tropical regions of Africa and Asia are fringed with verdure, and the vast interior is a rainless desert, impenetrable and fatal to life. This, which appears to me to be a most striking and philosophical reason for the great difference existing between the intertropical regions of America and those of the older continents, I find in a pamphlet by Lieut. Maury, on the basin of the Amazon. Another remarkable difference is, that in the Asiatic and African tropics there is a dry and wet season, each lasting half the year. This is accounted for by the fact that the winds do not prevail steadily and unvaryingly from the sea, as is the case in America within the torrid zone. This wet and dry season, which alternates in Asia and Africa, according to my information, is what has heretofore rendered it impossible to cultivate cotton in those regions. Many years since, I read a statement made by a Mississippi cotton planter, who had been employed by the British Government to test the practicability of raising cotton in India to supply her manufacturers, and make them independent of America for this staple. This gentleman was undoubtedly selected on account of his intelligence and practical experience. So momentous and important a trust could not have been confided to incompetent or unfaithful hands, by such wise and able men as the British rulers have proved themselves to be—and there can be no doubt that they presented the very strongest motives to urge him to success in the undertaking. What reward would England grudge the man who could give her a supply of cotton in India? But the experiment, after long and patient trial, failed; and the reason for the failure, given by the gentleman of whom I have spoken, was the prevalence of wet and dry seasons—a season of floods and a season of drought, each occupying half the year. When planted at the beginning of the rainy season, it flourished for a while, but the long continuance of rainy weather destroyed it entirely. If he avoided the wet season, it was found that the drought was as disastrous as the long-continued rain; and so, after all, his patient and earnest efforts failed, and King Cotton still rears his throne on this side of the Atlantic, and his reluctant votaries in Europe pay their annual tribute to our slave owners. In the American tropics the rains are distributed

throughout the year as they are in our temperate latitudes, but there they make an unceasing summer, maturing two crops in the year. The cotton plant grows without cultivation or care, and can be produced more abundantly and cheaper than in any of the States of this Union. The same is true, in a still greater degree, of the sugar cane.

I remember when Virginia and Kentucky, and other border slave States, were on the eve of emancipation. Everybody will tell you this, and some will say that these States would long since have emancipated their slaves but for the meddling impertinence of the abolitionists. I have heard many good people say this, who firmly and sincerely believe in its truth; nevertheless, it is not the whole truth. The fact is, that a very great rise took place in the price of cotton about that time, and has been maintained ever since, and this multiplied the money value of negroes three or four fold. It is a sad confession to make, but it must be made. The advance in the value of slaves caused the humane policy of emancipation to go down to a discount, to be computed by applying the rule of the inverse ratio. Such, alas! is the frailty of our nature, that all men will seek to justify what seems to be their own interest; and hence the change of sentiment upon the subject of Slavery at the South, reversing all her maxims of policy, creeping stealthily beneath the ermine of the judge, and by a judicial mandate robbing the poor negro of his soul to justify the enslavement of his person. Cotton is indeed King, if he can thus drive another rivet in the chain which holds five millions of bondmen. It may not be an unprofitable inquiry to consider whether he is not equally powerful to loose as to bind. If the half million and more of free negroes now in the United States should be transplanted to the tropics, and should employ themselves, and the natives of the country under their guidance, in planting cotton and sugar, it would make an immense difference in the supply of these staples. They could raise them more abundantly and cheaply than can be done in the Southern States with slave labor. The competition would be difficult to withstand, and would certainly dispose the minds of men to contemplate emancipation with more complacency than they do now. Would not the hope thus held out inspire those who belong to that race, and who are now free, with an eager desire to embrace the offer which I have supposed our Government might make them? How noble the task of redeeming their own race from bondage, and how full of inspiration the thought! Many of them are gifted with a high order of intelligence, and I believe them capable of such improvement as will enable them to establish and maintain a better and more stable Government than any now existing in the tropics—one which would confer benefits upon the whole world.

Volumes have been written and spoken about the commerce of the Indies and the East—a commerce which has enriched all the nations which have possessed and enjoyed it, building up vast cities in the deserts through which, in ancient times, it took its laborious course, and creating Empires and States into whose lap it was poured, to decay and disappear from among

nations with its loss. This vast commerce, which has founded empires, was itself created by the productive power of the colored races of Asia—none of which are capable of enduring the fervors of the torrid zone as well as the negro, none of which possesses greater capacity for improvement, or more patient industry, than the people of that race—and the country from which, for so many ages, this almost miraculous stream of wealth has flowed, cannot be compared with the intertropical regions of America for fertility of soil and mineral resources. I have already adverted to some of the reasons which give a decided superiority to the tropics of this continent, and which make it absolutely certain that they are destined to supply the world with cotton and sugar. Here, also, are produced the finest qualities of tobacco, and the best and most abundant supplies of coffee, all the precious woods and dye stuffs, medicinal plants, and the tropical fruits. It is, moreover, the richest region of the world in gold, and silver, and precious stones. This immense reservoir of wealth, whose commerce will one day make the marvellous riches of the Orient seem insignificant by comparison, lies adjacent to our ports, almost within reach of our outstretched arm, accessible to our fleets by a few days sail across the Gulf, and its vast interior penetrated by mighty rivers, navigable for thousands of miles by sea-going vessels. Europe can only avail herself of the productions of the East by voyaging half around the world; which, with steam vessels even, is an affair of months. A few days steaming is all that is necessary to reach our India from any of our great seaports. The Mississippi river pours itself out into the very lap of the tropics, and the great Gulf stream, gathering there its volume, pours its floods along our Atlantic seaboard, as if nature had provided these two great currents, flowing south and north, to be the arteries of our interchanging commerce.

The torrid zone contains more cultivable land than all the rest of the earth put together, and is the most productive with the least labor. On this continent, its resources may be said to be untouched, for the small part of it which has been subjected to cultivation is insignificant indeed, when compared with the vast tracts of its untamed wilderness. All that is required to develop its untold wealth is, a race of men capable of enduring the climate, and who shall at the same time be sufficiently advanced in civilization to be capable of maintaining a stable Government to protect property. Experience has shown that our race cannot extend itself to that region without losing its hardihood and vigor—indeed, it cannot propagate itself in that climate, and requires constant recruiting from the temperate zone to keep up its numbers. Even in the mountainous regions, whose elevation produces the climate of the temperate latitudes, the descendants of the Spanish conquerors have, from some cause, diminished in numbers, and become thoroughly demoralized, and incapable of maintaining any kind of government worthy of that name. All the productive industry is performed by the negro race, and it is by that race alone that those regions are to be regenerated, and brought within the circle of civilization. In the

United States, there are five millions of negroes, who have received, under our immediate tuition, an amount of instruction and knowledge in government, religion, and all the arts of civilized life, which makes them superior, as a people, to any of the colored races of the world. Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary under the Administration of Lord John Russell, in speaking of a plan to promote the immigration of the free negroes from the United States into the British West India islands, bears this emphatic testimony in their behalf:

"Such an addition to the existing population of Trinidad would have a tendency to raise the whole community in the scale of civilization; whereas there is precisely the opposite tendency with respect to immigration from any other quarter, and this is no slight drawback to the advantage to be obtained from it."

It is this race of men, christianized in our churches, civilized by our firesides, and educated in government by hearing our political discussions, through whom I would extend our laws, our power, and our influence, to the tropics of America, and make its wealth tributary to our commerce, requiting us a thousand fold for every sacrifice it would cost; expiating the error of their enslavement by giving the enfranchised bondmen free homesteads and free government; removing from our midst the prolific cause of bitterness between brethren; brushing away an institution whose malign influence brings desolation wherever it is found, and avenges the wrong done to the subject race by the evil it inflicts upon the wrong doer.

I invoke the example of the pioneer nation in colonization, Great Britain. She has created an empire, surpassing in extent and solidity that of Rome, by her colonial system, imparting to her dependencies her own free institutions, and making them adhere to the empire without force, from a sense of mutual advantage, and the attraction of a common power and glory. It is this which has made her the heart of the world of commerce, its life-giving currents imparting strength and power to resist the combined despotisms of Europe.

What has been her policy in relation to the negroes under her control in the West Indies, and what the result of that policy? She has liberated and instructed them, and has propagated her power and influence, through their instrumentality, to such a degree as to control most of the commerce of those regions, and to sway the counsels of all the surrounding nations; whilst we, to whom the people of Spanish America once looked with confidence, and who formed their Governments upon the model of our Republic, yielding to us the largest share of their trade, and guiding themselves by our counsel, are now regarded on every hand with suspicion and detestation, because the policy of our Government is to hold in bondage the colored race, to which they mostly belong, and to extend that system by violence and fraud, until it shall embrace them in its folds. The public journals have recently given us the news of a most important acquisition of territory in Central America, made by the British empire through the instrumentality of her Jamaica negroes—a territory as large as one of our second-class States, rich and valuable in itself, but still more valuable from its position, commanding the routes across

the Isthmus, and fixing British supremacy in Central America. I allude, of course, to the cession of the Belize, or British Honduras, by Guatemala, to Great Britain—a cession completed within the last few months by a solemn treaty, wrung from the reluctant and pertinacious resistance of Guatemala by the obstinate courage and superior vigor of a few thousand Jamaica negroes. They were planted there by Great Britain, under the pretence of cutting logwood; and although they have never numbered more than twelve or fourteen thousand, they have maintained possession for more than a century, often repulsing invasion by the Spaniards during their domination, and by the whole force of Guatemala since her independence, and have at last succeeded in giving Great Britain a secure foothold for her power in Central America, to which the weaker nations around will gravitate with the same certainty that brings a falling edifice to the ground. What would our Government give for such a foothold upon that thoroughfare of nations, across which the gold of California pours itself upon us, exposed, together with the lives of our citizens, to its many hazards? And what has become of the Monroe doctrine, with which certain people have been beguiling this credulous nation, while these Jamaica negroes have made this solid conquest for the British Crown? Set this service of a reviled and despised race to their most gracious mistress, Queen Victoria, against the performances of our filibuster Presidents, and which will outweigh? Consider with what poor success one of these last went out to the bombardment of Greytown, to dispossess these same Jamaica negroes, who have there made another lodgment for the power of England, in the name of the Mosquito king. The present Chief Executive refused to ratify the treaty by which the British agreed to surrender their occupation of the Bay islands and Mosquito coast, in conformity with the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, because the convention by which this surrender was made provided "that *Slavery* shall not at any time hereafter be permitted to exist therein." Thus, it seems that England demanded a guaranty against the enslavement of her negro subjects, who had been planted along the coast and on the islands, from the Belize to Greytown, and republican America prefers that the coast and islands should remain in their possession rather than admit such a guaranty. Can any other reason be imagined for such conduct, except that the power which controls this Government looks to the acquisition of these regions for the purpose of subjecting them to Slavery? Gen. Walker was invited to Nicaragua, and received there with open arms. He might have maintained himself, and established our power and influence in that country permanently, but he was induced to issue a decree re-establishing Slavery, by assurances of assistance from the dominant power in this country. The native inhabitants of Nicaragua, of whom nine-tenths belong to the colored races, took the alarm, very justly apprehending that they would be re-enslaved if that system again took root; and they united to expel Walker, whom they had so recently invited among them. It is by such acts that we have brought home to these people the knowledge of our intention to enslave them.

The British have studiously and ostentatiously proclaimed and practiced a policy exactly the reverse. The mass of the people being negroes and mestizos, and afraid of being made the subjects of Slavery, have learned to detest this Government, whilst the few remaining families of pure Spanish blood are Monarchists, and naturally turn to Europe rather than America. It is curious enough that the Liberal or Democratic party of most of the Spanish-American States is composed of the mixed bloods and colored races. It is what would be called the free-negro party in this country. They are not very profound in their political philosophy, and have not discovered that Slavery is the foundation of Liberty, and hence they are averse to the schemes of their fellow Democrats in the United States, to regenerate them by reducing them to Slavery. Let them hold fast to that faith, and the world is not without hope for them yet. It is the fair star of morning, which ushers a bright and glorious day.

It is the fashion in some quarters to deride all attempts to improve the condition of the negro race, and thus justify the cupidity which enslaves them by proclaiming them unfit for every higher condition. No examples are oftener cited to uphold this theory than the condition of Cuba and Hayti. I am content to stand or fall by these examples. I find in a work published under the authority of Congress, upon the subject of our commercial relations, (vol. 1, p. 570,) the following remarkable statement:

"Among the countries with which the United States have commercial intercourse, Hayti holds the ninth rank as respects tonnage. All the States are more or less interested in the Haytian trade. The Northeastern States find a market there for their fish and other merchandise. Pennsylvania, Northern Virginia, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, for their salted pork; Vermont, New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Ohio, for their salted beef; Philadelphia and Boston, North and South Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky, for their household furniture, their rice and tobacco. The manufacturers of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, have already secured an extensive market in Hayti for their cheap cotton textures, and successfully compete with European manufacturers. The official returns of the United States show that Mexico, with a population of 8,000,000, imported from the different ports of the Union, in 1851, less by \$350,596 than Hayti. The trade of the United States with the latter country is therefore more profitable than with Mexico. Indeed, American vessels generally return in ballast from Mexican ports, or go to other States in search of freight, while in Hayti they always find cargoes. * * * In 1851, the United States exported to Hayti cotton goods valued at \$296,000, while the value of similar goods exported to Cuba reach only \$26,000. The soap exported from the United States to the former country (Hayti) exceeded 1,928,682 pounds, to the latter (Cuba) only 389,748. Hayti received from the United States in 1851 eight times as much flour as Cuba, and six times as much salted pork."

When we reflect that Hayti has little more than one-third of the population of Cuba, and that the United States have never had a commercial or any other kind of treaty to encourage or protect our commerce with that people, these results are absolutely astounding, and refute in the most conclusive manner the idle stories of the wretchedness, poverty, and squalor, of the Haytiens. Whence comes their ability to maintain such a commerce, and whence their means to take the large amount of exports from the United States, exceeding so largely all that we send to the 8,000,000 of Mexico, and to Cuba? The simple facts which I have read from the official returns of our commercial intercourse stamp with unerring certainty the fallacy of the partial and prejudiced statements of the apologists of Slavery.

In like manner we have had it dinned into our ears for nearly a quarter of a century, that the British West India Islands have been ruined by emancipation. The facts of the case, taken from authentic sources, so far from bearing out this theory, prove precisely the reverse. It is beyond dispute that their ruin had already been accomplished by Slavery; that almost every estate in those islands was mortgaged for what it was worth, and a great many for much more, before the act of emancipation; that in 1830, a few years prior to emancipation, petitions were presented to the British Parliament, describing the condition of these colonies in the darkest colors, and earnestly soliciting relief; that the production of sugar in the island of Jamaica alone, for the ten years ending with 1830, was 201,843 hogsheads less than for the ten years ending with 1820. At this period the sugar planters of the British West Indies enjoyed a monopoly of the British markets, the sugars of the British colonies of India and Singapore not even being allowed to compete. This monopoly and the high price of sugar stimulated the production to such a degree that the slaves were actually worked to death; and whilst the free negroes were steadily increasing, the slaves were dying off at a rate which was described at the time as "appalling." In eleven out of eighteen of these islands (by a statement in the *Edinburgh Review* for April, 1849) the slaves decreased "in twelve years no less than 60,219, namely, from 558,194 to 497,975." Then came emancipation, and in the next twelve years there was an increase of 54,076 in the number of negroes of but ten colonies. There is no possible doubt about these facts, taken as they are from the population returns made to Parliament, for they are corroborated by Senator Benjamin, of Louisiana, one of the strongest advocates for what he delicately denominates "compulsory labor." He declares that the same state of facts exists now in Cuba, where the average life of a slave is seven years, and nothing prevents the extinction of Slavery in that island by the extinction of the slaves, (working them to death,) except the African slave trade, through which their numbers are kept up. The same cause has ruined the Dutch colony of Surinam, where Slavery was allowed to flourish, until "out of 917 plantations, 636 have been totally abandoned," and the remainder are on the road to destruction. No better proof of the ruinous tendency of this institution need he sought, however, than a comparison between the free-labor and slave States of this Union. Not only were the British West Indies made bankrupt by Slavery, with sugar at high prices, and a close monopoly of the British home market, but, even after emancipation took place, they were by act of 1846 deprived of this monopoly, and the British market thrown open to the sugars of Brazil and Cuba and the whole world. This made their ruin complete. Our Louisiana sugar planters tell us every day, that if the duty of thirty per cent. is taken off of sugar, and our ports are thrown open to the competition of Cuba and Brazil, that they will also be utterly ruined. By the admissions of the planters themselves, the people of the United States pay \$12,000,000 annually, to protect 15,003 Louisiana sugar planters, and save them from bankruptcy. But after

a while, the freedom which Great Britain gave to her slaves worked off the deadly effects of Slavery, and nobly breasted the competition of the slave labor of Cuba and Brazil, where negroes continued to be worked to death, the void being filled up from Africa, and prosperity has again dawned upon these fair islands.

"In the last two years of Slavery, 1832-'33, (says the official returns,) these islands exported 8,471,744 cwt. In the two years 1857-'58 they exported to Great Britain alone 8,736,654 cwt., and besides that a large trade, altogether new, has sprung up with Australia and the United States, and other countries, of which we have no account."

The laborers, being free to do so, have also turned their attention to the production of other articles for their own comfort or greater profit. The returns made by the authorities in these islands are most emphatic in declaring that their prosperity is reviving, and that the improvement in the condition of the negroes is unspeakably great, and that morally and intellectually they are advancing. I put this clear and unequivocal testimony of those who know whereof they speak, against the loose assertions of the advocates of "compulsory labor," who admit that the Cubans work their slaves to death in an average of seven years, recruiting the decimated ranks from Africa, and yet hold up this system for our admiration and guidance.

I do not pretend that emancipation has with a stroke of magic converted the negroes of the British West Indies into polished, refined, moral, and intellectual beings. Neither did emancipation work these miracles instantaneously upon our own race, and yet it is among the earliest and most powerful of the causes of all the civilization and refinement that we possess. I do say, however, that the negro race in the tropics have made a marvellous advance, considering the short space of time they have possessed the boon of freedom. Who that has read of the horrible barbarities inflicted by the brutal negroes who massacred the entire white population of St. Domingo, and has lived to behold the moderation and magnanimity with which Geffard deposed the tyrant Faustin and restored the Republic, can doubt that such is the case? I contend, however, that what emancipation has done for the British West Indies, in redeeming them from the atrophy of Slavery to partial prosperity, or what the Haytiens have been able to do, emerging through blood and the most awful convulsions, from a condition the most abject and brutal, to a position far more respectable than that of most of the Spanish American States, is no measure of what could be accomplished by our freed men, should they be permitted, under our protection and guidance, to plant themselves in the tropics. They would bear with them a knowledge of our civilization and government; they would carry habits of industry acquired among us, and a morality and religion not possessed by any of the people of those countries; and if we should accord to them free homesteads, withheld from the enfranchised slaves of the West Indies, we should at once impart independence with their freedom, elevate them in character, and assure their prosperity. The Emperor of Russia, with wisdom learned in the stern school of adversity, finding that his millions of serfs could not defend his empire against a few thousand men animated by the ardor of freedom, has led the way for us

in this reform, and not only has given his serfs liberty, but forced his reluctant nobles to give them homesteads also, that they may soar at once to the full stature of men whom the law can no longer enslave, nor want reduce to subservency. Wise and gracious Prince, he has built his throne in the hearts of grateful millions, a fortress more impregnable than Sebastopol. The nobility still resist the execution of this great measure of inspired wisdom. They have not the sense to see that it is the only thing which can save them from the humiliation of defeat by foreign foes, or the sure, if long delayed, resentment of those whom they have despoiled of their manhood, without depriving them of the strength which enables them to destroy. They are like the senseless oligarchy of our Southern States, who weaken their country by filling it with a degraded race, and who, in trampling down freedom, have obliterated from the hearts of their bondmen the principle which humanizes the heart, leaving the brutal vigor and the quenchless passions, which will one day bring swift destruction on all, unless a wise policy shall prevail.

Our task is not more difficult than that of the young Alexander. Shall we approve ourselves less courageous than he? His ancestors have often sunk under the steel of the assassin, when their policy conflicted with that of the selfish nobility; indeed, the assassin's steel is a common weapon in the hands of the cunning and cowardice which forever preside over the councils of an oligarchy. Kings and commoners have alike felt its edge, and hearts that throbbed for the oppressed have been known to stain with the red drops of life the palace walls, the Senate's floor, and the dusty plain, of distant lands; but who can find daggers for every heart in this land that loves liberty? The hope of Russia may be swept away, for it lives only with one life; but here, its votaries are like the unnumbered leaves of our forests.

I have spoken of this plan of colonizing our slaves as a means of enabling them to attain a higher position and greater comfort and happiness; but this is not the only object, or even the chief one, to be attained by this grand movement. Mr. Jefferson did not so regard it. He was not unmindful of the interests of this dependent race, and was animated in all he said and did by a sincere desire for their elevation and improvement. He recognised their claim to the rights of manhood, and desired to place them in a position where, the legal status of freemen being conceded to them, they could not be sunk into social inferiority by the pressure of a different race, stronger than themselves, and in whom "nature, habit, and opinion," had engrafted an ineradicable antipathy. Hence he favored the separation of the races for the sake of the negro, but still more for the sake of his own race. "Our physical and moral characters," "our happiness and safety," to use his own impressive words, demand that this shall be done, "or worse will follow;" if not accomplished "by the generous energies of our own minds, then it will be brought about by the bloody process of St. Domingo." He knew full well that the chief evils of Slavery do not fall on the slave; up to a certain point, it is undeniable that the slaves in this

try are improved by a mild subjection to a cultivated and enlightened race. Who does not know that the negroes in the United States are superior to what they were when brought from their native jungles, and who does not know that the interest of the master alone, if no higher motive, insures, in the main, gentle and humane treatment to the slave? Men generally do not destroy their property by bad treatment; and, apart from this, the mass of slave owners at the South are animated by the highest and purest motives in their kindness to their dependents. But "man does not live by bread alone," and the slave is denied every aspiration in this world that soars beyond the wants of his physical nature—this is its condemnation—but the institution deals more harshly still with the great mass of our own race. To them it denies bread even, for it closes upon them the door by which this bread is to be won. It injures them fatally, by monopolizing and degrading all the industrial occupations, which elsewhere supply the wants of an independent yeomanry, puts education within their reach, and makes improvement possible. Let me read you the sickening description which Senator Hammond, the orator of the South Carolina oligarchy, gives of the mass of non-slaveholders of his own State. He says:

"They obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or folds, and, too often, by what is in its effects far worse, trading with slaves, and leading them to plunder for their benefit."

Hear, also, this vivid sketch of the fatal influence of this system upon the State and county in which he lives, from Senator Clay, of Alabama:

"In traversing that county, he will discover numerous farm houses, once the abode of industrious and intelligent freemen, now occupied by slaves, or tenantless, deserted, and dilapidated; he will observe fields once fertile, now unfenced, abandoned, and covered with those evil harbingers, fox-tail and broom-sedge; he will see the moss growing on the mouldering walls of once thrifty villages, and will find that 'one only master grasps the whole domain' that once furnished homes for a dozen white families."

You have no need to inquire further to find where the pressure of Slavery falls the heaviest. It is upon the non-slaveholding masses, men born with no inheritance except their right to labor with their naked hands, and despoiled of their right by the existence of an institution which makes labor disreputable—makes permanent employment impossible, places education beyond their reach, and reduces them to the necessity of eking out existence on poor land rented of some rich slaveholder, of which the rent consumes all but the merest necessities of life. There is something in the very nature of Slavery which limits the demand for labor to the supply which it affords. It is averse to the creation of large cities, which multiply and diversify employments. It favors that kind of agriculture which spreads over a vast surface, and whose rude labors do not require skill. A large city has wants unknown to the habits of country life, and the skill which belongs only to the hand worked by a willing mind is required to supply these wants; hence cities only grow where labor is free, and they have always been the nurseries of civil liberty. The tiller of the soil in countries where labor is free is called a husbandman, to denote the tenderness and solicitude with which he cultivates his land. In countries where men cultivate the soil with the compelled labor of slaves, no such term is known. Men who devastate and destroy the lands with the

rude hands of slaves are never called by a name so full of tenderness and affection. This fact is full of significance. It speaks of the utter heartlessness of that system which destroys two races of men, and blights the soil under their feet to render their ruin still more complete. How clear to our minds become the traditions of the past, when viewed in the light of passing events. We are told of fabulous Deities, who hurled from on high the giant Titans, for aspiring to an equality with themselves, and cast huge mountains upon their prostrate bodies. The vanquished Titans shook the whole earth with their struggles, and belched forth volcanic fires from the torn and shattered mountains, but the victorious gods sat sore on the heights of Olympus. The weak and timid were content to worship the victors, and derided the impotent rage of the vanquished. The fable typifies to the startled imagination of mankind the first great battle field where Freedom fell before the thunderbolts of power and ambition—a battle to be forever renewed through all the circling ages of the world. We have but to look forth, and the same vision is before us. The huge mountain of Slavery lies heavy upon the prostrate masses of our own race, and presses them down until they lie buried three strata deep under the enslaved and the enslavers, piled up above them like Pelion upon Ossa. Shall we bow low and worship these oligarchs who fulminate from above like the gods of Olympus? Or shall we lift from the shoulders of the people of our own race this vast and intolerable burden? Or shall we wait until despair gives them strength denied to nature, and brings deliverance and one universal ruin in the same hour?

I say, let us open up the tropics to our free blacks, and those who may hereafter become free; separate the races, and give to each the climate which the Creator has adapted to the nature of each. I do not ask that they shall be forced asunder; only put it in their power to conform themselves to those laws of their nature which so plainly indicate that each race of mankind has a zone of its own, and this grand scheme can then be safely left to work itself out, and dissolve that unnatural connection fraught with such evil to two races of men.

Under our peculiar form of government, and the circumstances which have surrounded us, we have not felt the necessity of colonies to extend our commerce. That necessity of all commercial nations has not up to this time been forced upon us, for we have been able to expand our commerce throughout the temperate zone of this continent by sending forth our own people, and receiving them back into a share of our Central Government; and undoubtedly this is a vast improvement upon a colonial system, so long as it is applied to our own people, or to a people who can assimilate to us; but it will not do if stretched beyond this line, or made to embrace discordant and dissimilar races. Now, everything indicates that our people are about to step beyond the tropical line. The necessities of commerce, and its insatiable thirst, impel us in that direction. If we are wise, we shall stop short at the line which bonds the temperate zone with our expanding system of States, and adopt the colonial policy which has stretched the empire of Great Britain around the world, and brought all the races of mankind under her sway, to add to her power and greatness. It will not do to embrace within our present system the mongrel hordes of Mexico, or Cuba, or any part of tropical America. Shall we invite to share our government and assist to govern us those who have so signally failed to govern themselves? In Mexico, out of 8,000,000 of people, 7,000,000 are Indians; they would enjoy a representation in Congress equal to that of all our Northwestern States. It is absurd to suppose that we will permit those people, who have been in a chronic state of revolution for a quarter of a century, to silence the voice of the great Northwest in the councils of our nation. Yet it does not follow that we are to allow them to drift along into anarchy and chaos, when, by stretching forth our hands, we can give them a stable Government, and enable them to maintain it under our protection, and thus restore them to the peaceful pursuits of civilization and to prosperity, planting everywhere among them our enfranchised slaves, to propagate our power and influence, as England has done with her Jamaica negroes along the coasts of Central America, and thus gradually expanding into a system of colonies, to enclose the Gulf, and subject the entire intertropical regions of America to our power, making them tributary to our commerce, absorbing the surplus products of our factories and farms, to be repaid with the wealth of the tropics, enabling us to outstrip all competitors in opulence and power, and dictate to the world as republican Rome dictated to the effete empires of Asia.

The mighty principle destined to accomplish this grand design was first planted here by him who was inspired to proclaim it to the startled nations; here the declaration of the rights of man first took the form of irrevocable law, and its vital power, lifting you into greatness, will grow with your growth, until the empire of Freedom shall claim the whole continent, through the vigor it has imparted to its own progeny.