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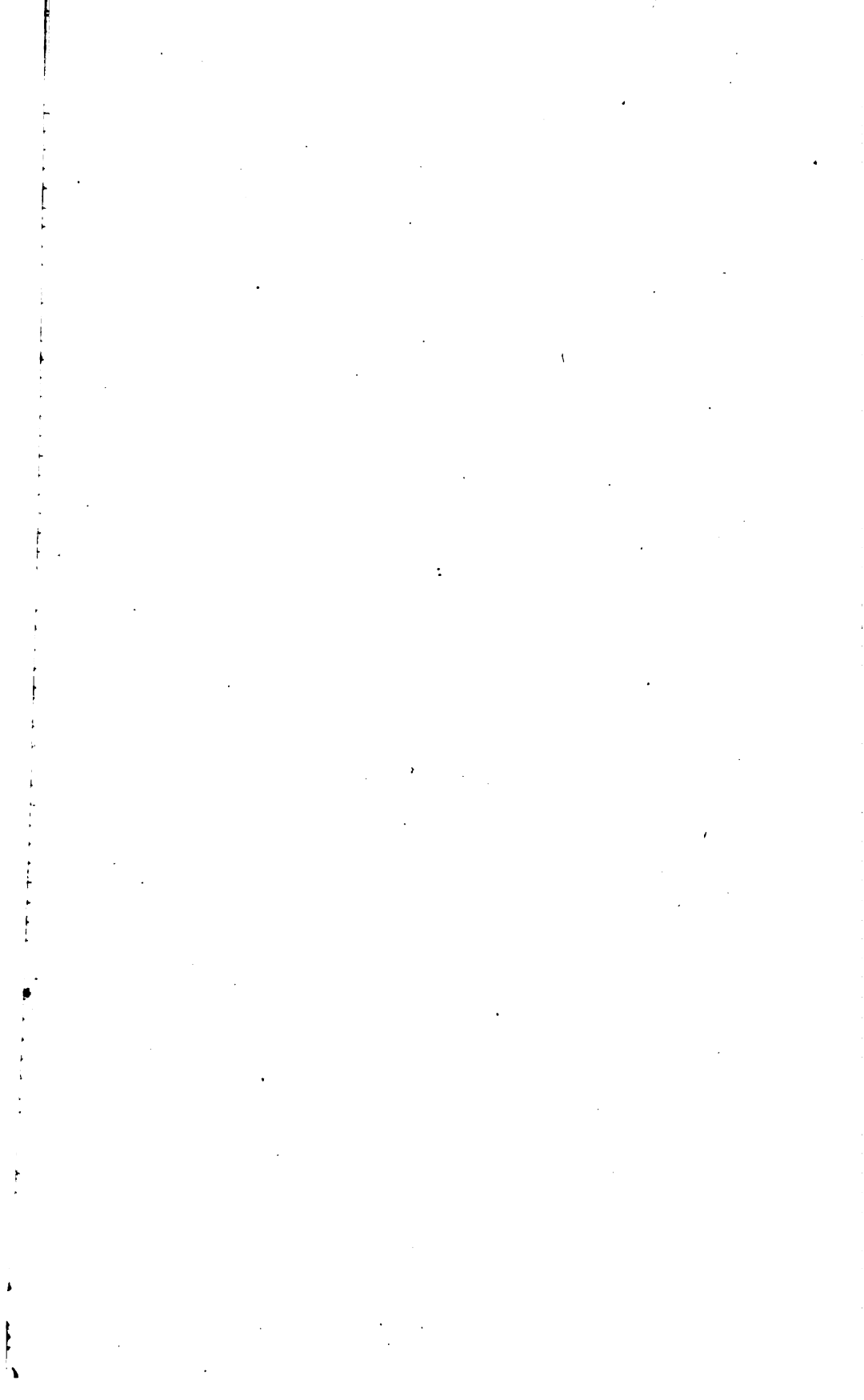
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ADDRESS

TO THE

VIRGINIA STATE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY,

ON THE EFFECTS OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY ON THE MANNERS, HABITS AND  
WELFARE OF THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION OF THE  
SOUTHERN STATES; AND THE SLAVERY  
OF CLASS TO CLASS IN THE  
NORTHERN STATES,

BY EDMUND RUFFIN, PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

READ

AT THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING,

IN THE

HALL OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES, DECEMBER 16, 1852.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE VIRGINIA STATE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.

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## ADDRESS.

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### **MEMBERS OF THE VIRGINIA STATE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY:**

Upon this occasion of the first annual meeting of your body since its organization, and also in conformity with time-honored usage, it is probably expected that something will be said by your presiding officer, laudatory of the past labors, or in hopeful anticipation, thence deduced, of the future prospects of the Society. It is not in my power to apply any such "flattering unction." The efforts of the Executive Committee, and the few other members who have labored to promote the objects of the Society, have not been seconded by much the greater number of actual members, well qualified to render good service; still less have they had the aid or sympathy of the great agricultural community; and our objects and efforts have had neither aid nor countenance, nor even notice of the Legislature of Virginia. In the past session of five months' length, the Legislature did not find time to give the slightest consideration to, still less to act upon, the petitions of this Society, for aid to agricultural instruction and improvement. Even the taxes levied upon agriculture, through the pretended and delusive legal inspections of manures, for relief from which the assemblage of farmers which formed this Society unanimously petitioned, not only still remain in force, but our petition for their repeal has not received the slightest consideration.

We may, and ought to continue to urge the affording of that governmental aid which is justly due to agricultural instruction and improvement. But is not to be disguised that there is but little ground for hope of obtaining such aid from the Legislature of this almost exclusively agricultural commonwealth, which has never yet granted as many single dollars to promote this incomparably the greatest of all public interests, as it has squandered thousands, perhaps millions, for private interests and visionary schemes, and even jobs for selfish and predatory individual interests, under the specious but deceptive guise and name of public

improvements and promotion of public interests. The former abortion of a Board of Agriculture, and the recently still-born enactment of an Agricultural Commissioner and Chemist, (enacted, but remaining suspended,) do not deserve to be named as exceptions to the general rule of total neglect of all agricultural improvement and interests.

Perhaps it may be considered as at least impolitic for me, in this place, to express these plain truths. The utterer only and individually is responsible for them, and they cannot be charged to the Society. But in any case, no harm can result from thus stating the truth. Whether, like the idol-worshipper of the ancient fable, we continue to pray to a deaf and wooden deity, or abuse and maltreat it, in either case we will obtain nothing for our object.

Still, if we, the members of this Society, perform faithfully the duties we have undertaken, there is no reason for despairing of our cause. Few and weak as we are, in comparison to the numbers which the great agricultural community of Virginia ought to supply, and even if still continuing without aid or countenance of the government, we alone can render important services to agricultural improvement and progress. All that is necessary for this great and beneficial result, is that each member shall contribute his individual useful knowledge to the general stock. Let but this be done, and we shall do well—even though unaided by the far greater number of our as intelligent and capable brother farmers, and still utterly neglected, in common with all other agricultural claims and interests, by the Legislature of our country. I earnestly invite and urge each one of you all to determine so to act. As an individual member, and in the private capacity in which only will henceforth be my service, I pledge myself to strive thus to labor to promote the great and noble object of our Association, so long as my fast-failing powers, of both body and mind, may permit, and enough fellow-laborers shall continue to aid and further the good work.

Without farther reference to this Society, or its members, I will proceed to more general considerations. The subject upon which I propose now to offer my opinions and remarks, though not strictly agricultural, is of the highest degree of interest and importance to the whole agricultural community of this and the other southern states of the confederacy. This is, the influence of the institution of domestic or individual slavery on manners, intellect and morals, and on the welfare of both masters and

slaves; and in these respects compared to the influence of the slavery of class to class, which, in one or other form, either now prevails, or soon will occur, in every civilized country where domestic slavery is not found.

The institution of domestic slavery, its effects, influences and probable consequences, constitute the great and all-absorbing subject of discussion at the present time—of defensive and too often apologetic argument in the southern states, and of aggressive and fierce denunciation throughout the northern states of this confederacy. The subject is as broad and varied as it is important. To be fully discussed it would require consideration in sundry aspects, but of which each one may be treated separately and distinctly. The expediency and rightfulness of slavery may be considered either as a question of religion and morals—of public policy and political influence—or of domestic economy and influence upon private interests and on the habits and manners of society. The former and chief branches of the general question have been already discussed by able writers, to whose arguments I could add no light, even if this occasion permitted so wide a range of discussion. But the latter-named branch has had less attention, or defence, on our part; and as its consideration is intimately connected with agriculture and agricultural interests, in this connexion mainly, and as suitable to this occasion, I will now offer some remarks upon the influence of the existing institution of African slavery, on the social qualities, manners and welfare of the agricultural class in these southern states.

This one and limited relation of slavery to agricultural interests, requires a still further division, into 1st: The question of the comparative pecuniary profit of slave labor, or of its absence and its substitutes; and 2d: The question of social and moral advantages and disadvantages. The first of these subdivisions, important as it is to our interests, and certain and easy as would be the demonstration of the result, cannot be here discussed. The superior pecuniary profit of slave labor is a subject of statistics, of calculation and detail, which would be inadmissible at this time and place. But it is not required to reach the proof through such a course of argument. I may assume as granted and unquestionable, the fact almost universally admitted in the southern states, that slave labor is in our circumstances, more profitable to the employers, and to agricultural interests, than could be any possible substituted labor. Dismissing, then, this important subdivision of

the subject as settled, I will direct my observations to private interests other than pecuniary, as affected by the influence of the institution of slavery.

It has been a fertile subject of declamation and denunciation among the opposers of slavery, that the existence of domestic slavery operated to corrupt manners and morals. Every widespread and pervading institution, however beneficial in general effect, must also have some adverse effect or influence in minor points, or exceptional cases. This is true in regard to slavery, as it is in regard to every great institution of public economy, government, morals or even religion. He is a poor reasoner who judges not by general rules, but by the exceptions. And that is the mode of argument generally adopted to oppose and denounce the institution of slavery. The so-called facts or premises, if not either entirely false and impossible, as is generally the case, are but rare exceptions to general rules.

The great economical objections to slave-labor are these: The compulsion of authority, and the fear of punishment, to the slave, are less potent than the pressure of want, and desire of gain, stimulating free laborers. Hence slaves labor less assiduously than necessitous free laborers. Next, with all this loss of effort, still the labor of slaves is so profitable that their owners are tempted by their prosperity and the ease of obtaining a living, to be themselves indolent and wasteful. These are effects which everywhere follow similar causes. Their existence is certainly a great detraction from what might otherwise be the profits of southern agricultural industry and capital. But when this detraction is urged (as is continually done) by the opposers of slavery to prove the evils of the system, they are in fact but asserting the truths that the labors of the southern slaves, in general, are lighter, and yet the profits of their owners greater, than in regard to the corresponding classes of laborers and capitalists in Europe or the northern states. Northern farmers who are now thriving by greater economy of labor and products, would become bankrupt if subjected to the waste of both, which is general throughout the southern states. These evils are the effects certainly of slavery—but effects which are the strongest evidence of the greater benefits of the system, and of the falsehood of the charges against it, as a question of profit for the proprietors, or of oppression and suffering of the slaves.

Much is certainly wanting among the agricultural class of the

southern states, in education and mental culture; and great have been and still remain the obstacles to the higher attainment of these benefits. This also is one of the attendant minor evils of the institution of slavery, caused by the necessary dispersed residences of the superior class of population. Still, in no other class of cultivators of the soil, whether in this young and great confederacy, or in old Europe, can there be found, in proportion to numbers, so much of mental improvement, enlargement of views, and general information, as in the southern and slave-holding states. In no other agricultural class, throughout the world, are better nurtured or so well preserved the purity of all the domestic and family virtues of daughters, wives and mothers. To the most intelligent and fair judging of foreign travellers and visitors to our southern country, who have had opportunities to observe domestic manners and country society—whether such visitors were natives of Europe or of our northern and slavery-hating states, nothing has seemed more marked and peculiar than facts observed, which were but illustrations of the propositions I have asserted, and necessary results of our peculiar social position. Yet it has not occurred to these intelligent strangers, who have admired and eulogised the domestic manners and refinement of the southern country population, that the main cause, the essential foundation of the permanence of the peculiar merits which they witnessed with surprise and admiration, are due to the institution of African slavery. It is this institution, which, by confining the drudgery and brutalizing effects of continued toil to the inferior race, (and of which the subjection, notwithstanding, has served greatly for its benefit and improvement,) gives to the superior race leisure and other means to improve mind, taste and manners. In countries where domestic slavery does not exist, (or some equivalent condition of society, such as I will advert to,) and where the owners of the soil and all members of their families are necessarily laborers in the lowest departments or most degrading menial services, there may be much industry, greater economy and frugality, and possibly, (under the peculiarly favorable, though transient circumstances of a newly settled territory and cheap and fertile lands,) there may be even much general accumulation of profit and of wealth. But, nevertheless, such a population, of necessity, must be, or in a few generations will become, rude in manners, and greatly deficient in refinement of feeling and cultivation of mental and social qualities. No one appreciates more highly than myself the ad-

vantages to a nation of producing and accumulating wealth by the individual members of the great community, and especially, as the greatest public gain, the increase of agricultural production and riches. To advocate and urge the forwarding of the latter results is the especial object of my present service and employment, as it has been one of the most important objects of all my public efforts and labors. Still, God forbid that we should deem the accumulation of wealth—even if from its most beneficial and best possible source, the fertilization and culture of the soil—as compensation for the loss or deterioration of the mental and moral qualities of southern men, and more especially of southern women! And if brought to the hard necessity of choosing between the two conditions, with their opposite disadvantages, I would not hesitate a moment to prefer the entire existing social, domestic and industrial conditions of these slave-holding states, with all the now existing evils of indolence and waste, and generally exhausting tillage and declining fertility, to the entire conditions of any other country on the face of the globe. Our country population would lose largely in grade by exchanging conditions with the industrious, economical and thrifty Flemish farmers—long and deservedly celebrated for the excellence of their agriculture, and who yet, beyond the routine of their regular work, are almost as uninformed as their most ignorant hired laborers. Far worse would be a change to the condition of the proprietary class of France, among whom land generally is so minutely subdivided, that its possession is usually accompanied by all the toils and privations of day-laborers to the farmer and his family, and of course by the ignorance, coarseness of manners, and moral degradation, which are the necessary consequences of such unceasing toil, exposure and privations. In Britain, it is true, that with much of gross ignorance and rudeness of manners among the lower class of farmers, and with all the agricultural laborers, there are, in the higher classes, both of proprietors and tenants of lands, many persons of high intellectual attainments. But this exception to the general rule is owing to the almost universal mode of tenure of the landed property in that country, and the usual separation of its possession, as capital, by men of wealth and leisure, and the conducting of the cultivation by tenants upon rent. Even many tenants are men of wealth, who find it more profitable, as tenants, to conduct very large agricultural operations and capital, than the being proprietors of small farms, and upon a necessarily very limited scale of opera-

tions. These causes are there further aided in operation by the high price of land, which keeps it in the possession of the wealthy and educated, and also the great plenty and cheapness, and degradation, of agricultural labor—much cheaper in that thickly populated country than our slave-labor. Of these several conditions of British agriculture, serving to improve and refine the higher agricultural classes, and only the higher classes, not one exists in this country, or possibly can occur for centuries to come.

In the northern and north-western states of the confederacy, there are also to be found, (as yet, though they must certainly and soon disappear,) many proprietors and cultivators of land who are men of education and intelligence, and whose wives and daughters have a high degree of refinement of manners. But in nearly every such case, it will be found that this intelligence and refinement were derived from some previous and different training and position; and that these qualities have been so far retained in agricultural life by the large agricultural profits and accumulations of wealth available in a newly settled country. But even now, the general condition of the agricultural class in these non-slaveholding states is much lowered, and tending to what must be hereafter a state of general and deep degradation, in intellectual and social qualities. And with them, the degradation will not stop when as low as that of the tenantry of England, or of the boors who reap rich harvests from the fat soil of Belgium. The comparative poverty of soil in the older northern states, and the general and repeated divisions of property therein, by inheritance, indicate a future condition of the proprietors more like to that of the wretched and ignorant proprietary class of France.

Even now, it is comparatively a rare case in the northern states to find, what is so common in the southern, a highly intelligent man, with a well educated and refined family, all natives of and still residing in the country, and belonging strictly to the agricultural class. Such persons have little inducement to remain in (and still less to commence) country life and agricultural employments in the northern states. And should any such, perchance, be so situated, they must either abandon their pursuits and their locality, or be content that their children shall sink to the general level of the surrounding residents, in coarse manners and uncultivated intellect. A sufficient proof of the working of this law of circumstances is presented continually to the world in the contrast of the representation in Congress from the country districts of the



northern and southern states respectively. The most distinguished men, and especially statesmen, of the south, have (at least) as often been natives and continued residents of the country as of towns—and in talent and in numbers they have far exceeded all from the north in our public councils. In the northern states there are indeed many men of the highest talents, education and learning—and, it may be, in the latter respects exceeding any in the south, because of the greater advantages offered by great cities for literary and scientific pursuits. But these great men are either produced in or gathered to the great cities only. They are men who have acquired their just renown either as lawyers, physicians, divines, or professors in scientific and literary institutions. All of great intellectual power that now exists in the great states of Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, is to be found in their populous cities only—and almost exclusively in their respective great capitals. Some truly great men may be (and sometimes are) furnished from these cities to aid the public councils. But never does one such come from all the twenty-fold greater country and village constituencies—which even when disposed thus to honor the highest talent (which is not often the case, either in town or country—north or south)—could not possibly find among themselves any high talent to honor. The difference between the intellectual conditions of the northern and southern agricultural population, is the cause of the usual long existing and well known commanding influence in the federal government of the southern states, through their representatives, in whatever measures of national policy are directed by wisdom, or intellect, or for the benefit of general interests. But we are now much the weakest in votes, and in whatever of public policy is connected with sectional interests, or still baser private self-interest—superior intellect has no influence, and we are governed by the brute force and cupidity of superior numbers.

The peculiar defects of northern agricultural labor in its influence on social and domestic relations, do not (as yet) forbid great pecuniary success in agricultural pursuits. Indeed, when no far-reaching intellectual power is required to devise or direct a system of culture or improvement, or while enough of such direction, derived from former influences, yet remains in operation, the returns of agricultural capital are even increased by the existing condition of things in the northern states.

A farmer or planter of the south, not rich, but in independent

and comfortable circumstances, gives a portion of his time to social and mental occupation. Perhaps his whole object in seeking such relaxation is present enjoyment. But the final result is not the less improvement of mind and manners. His sons and daughters grow up under these advantages and influences of social communication. And, if in the end, because of such indulgences of a family, even though moderately and properly enjoyed, there may be less money accumulated, there will be acquired other values much more than compensating the difference of pecuniary gains. Elwood Fisher, (in his excellent lecture on "The North and the South,") has observed most truly that the ordinary social intercourse of the people of the south serves admirably as a school of instruction. Quoting by memory only from this profound thinker and able advocate of southern institutions and rights, I am not sure whether I am indebted directly to his expressions, or indirectly, (by deduction from them) for the opinion which will here be added—that this social school, in its operation for improving manners and morals, for enlarging observation and thought, and for affording general and useful information, is far better than the much lauded common-school education of the New England states. Spelling, reading and common arithmetic are indeed necessary and excellent first steps in the pursuit of useful instruction and knowledge. But he who goes no farther in the pursuit, might as well have not moved at all.

A farmer of New York or Pennsylvania, in like moderate, but independent circumstances as to amount of property to those just supposed for the southerner, would be compelled to be one of his own continual laborers. His wife would be the most unceasing drudge on the farm. His sons, and not less his daughters, would be brought up to continued labor in the lowest and most repulsive employments, and without any improving, social intercourse, because its cost could not be afforded. Under such circumstances, aided by the usual accompaniments of industry, frugality, and parsimonious expenditure, wealth may and probably will be increased. But the possessors will seek and find nearly all their objects and pleasures in such accumulation, and they, or the next generation, will descend as much in refinement and intellect, as the stock of wealth may be increased. Such a proprietor, in mere money valuation, is just so much the richer as the value of the wages of himself, his wife, and his children, as day-laborers on the farm, or in the house. A life of continued, moderate and

regular labor, is not a life of pain. When encouraged by the prospect, and rewarded by the fruition of gain, it becomes a life of pleasure. Thus the accumulation of wealth, by an industrious northern farmer, does not usually induce any intermission of his early labors, or change the habits, labors, or training of his children. When he may have acquired \$30,000 worth of property, he continues to labor as steadily, and to live nearly as rudely as when under the pressure of his early poverty. His son still drives his father's wagon or his hogs to market—in no way distinguished in appearance or habits from the other hired laborers. His wife is still the most laborious domestic drudge. His daughters have no improving society, and their daily and continuous employments are those of menial servants—whose services it would be too costly to hire.

This is the general condition to which agricultural society and manners must tend, are tending, and have already reached, to great extent, in the older non-slaveholding states. This is the condition from which we are saved, and immeasurably exalted, by the subjection and slavery of an inferior race. The superior race here is free. In the so-called free countries, the far greater number of the superior race is, in effect, enslaved, and thereby degraded to a condition suitable only for a race made inferior by nature. There exists slavery, or the subjection of man to man, in every country under the sun, except, perhaps, the most barbarous and ignorant. In these southern states we have the slavery of individual to individual, and of a naturally inferior to a naturally superior race; which, of all, is the condition best for both masters and slaves. In the so-called free countries, in addition to the sometimes most oppressive rule of a despotic and grinding government—or it may be under free constitutional government, there is the slavery of class to class—of the starving laborers to the paying employers. Hunger and cold are the most exacting of all taskmasters. The victims of hunger and cold are always, and of necessity, slaves to their wants, and through them, to those who only can supply their wants. The great argument urged by English and northern advocates for the abolition of our system of slavery, (while totally regardless of their own) is that hired labor is cheaper than slave-labor. And this is unquestionably true, as to both Old England and New England, and all other countries where the formerly existing domestic slavery has been abolished, because (and only because,) it had ceased to be the most profitable

to the slaveholders. Whenever continued severe suffering from hunger and cold, and the number of the sufferers, compel the destitute class to compete eagerly with each other in lowering the wages of their labor to obtain bread, then the payment for such labor of so-called free men necessarily becomes cheaper than would be the support of a domestic slave. Of course, if domestic slavery then remained in that country, the owners of slaves would hasten to get rid of them, and to employ instead the cheaper laborers furnished and tasked and driven by hunger and cold. Thus, and for these reasons, acted our English ancestors, when manumitting their white slaves. Thus, and still better for their own interest, did our northern brethren. For when convinced that domestic slavery was too costly in their wintry region, they first sold their negro slaves to the south, and while thereafter avoiding their costly use, they continued, as long as permitted by law, to steal new supplies from Africa to sell to the southern states. If the former southern demand for Africans still existed, and the African slave trade was open by law—or if it were safe and profitable to violate the new prohibitory law—enough of our northern brethren would be now as ready as ever to supply the demand. And if their access to the coast of Africa was prevented, they would be as willing (if safe and profitable,) to supply all the south with slaves, by kidnapping the subjects of their now desired ally, the negro emperor of Hayti.

Nearly all of the many vessels which have been engaged in the African slave trade, in violation of the prohibitory laws of the United States, were fitted out for that purpose from northern ports and by northern capital, and were manned by northern crews. This trade, since being prohibited and made piracy by our laws, has been carried on to supply slaves to Cuba and Brazil, with incomparably more inhumanity and cruelty, than attended the formerly legalized and regulated traffic. From time to time, we have seen announced the detection of sundry vessels, or persons engaged in this now atrocious business of torture and murder in the sea-voyage; and legal proceedings have often been commenced against the supposed offenders in the northern cities to which they respectively belonged. But in not one such case have I ever heard of the conviction followed by due punishment of any of these worst of criminals. And when such detections of these acts of legal piracy are announced in northern newspapers, it is usually done in as few words as would serve for any other commercial

occurrence, of innocent or legal character. Yet, besides the illegality of the trade, any one such voyage, made by the order and funds of merchants of a northern city, would furnish more true facts of suffering, crime and horror, than could possibly occur among all the slaves in the southern states in the same length of time. No furious popular and philanthropic indignation has been aroused against these detected pirates—neither the crews and their commanders, nor the rich capitalists, who were the owners and real traders, torturers and murderers. The great gain of the trade seems to serve as a veil and excuse for its deep iniquity. D'Wolf, who was alleged and believed to have been one of the great slave-trading capitalists of Rhode Island, (while the trade was yet legal,) was not therefore the less a leading man of that state, as is evident from his having been subsequently elected by its Legislature to the Senate of the United States. If any such African slave trader had lived in the southern states, all his wealth would not have lifted him to a respectable position; and he could not have obtained the lowest office, from either people or government, as readily as did his compeer of Rhode Island attain the highest official station, and I suppose the highest estimation, in slavery-hating and puritanical New England.

There are still other kinds of slavery besides those produced by force, and by want and suffering. General ignorance leads to the corruption of a people, and of subjection of mind to mind. And this kind of slavery, as it is in effect, tending to the most awful political and national evils, is already growing rapidly in the so-called free northern states. It is in their circumstances—of the land cultivated and owned by an unenlightened and still deteriorating country population—of large cities, in which, with a few men of highest intellectual powers, or popular influence, there is collected an enormously predominating number of ignorant, needy, and unprincipled men—when a very large proportion of the population of these cities is composed of newly arrived foreigners, often vicious and turbulent, and necessarily unacquainted with the principles of free government, and unused to freedom in any form—I say, it is certain, in such circumstances as these, that the body of the people will be directed, governed, and in effect enslaved by a few master-minds—and these minds generally acting solely for the promotion of base self-interest and personal aggrandizement. No safe-guards in written constitutions can preserve such a people from being made the tools and slaves of able political knaves and

unscrupulous demagogues. With such population of both towns and country—with such influences at work, and their tendencies—with such unprincipled leaders and managers, and such followers—in the great state of New York, political liberty, in effect, is already at an end; and individual property, and even life, are unsafe. If the doors of every dwelling house in the southern country were left nightly without locks, or bolts, and if every slave on each farm had full command of deadly weapons, (and both such circumstances, in effect, are real in innumerable and continuing cases,) our property and our lives would be much safer from any attempts thereon by our slaves, than soon will be the property and lives of the wealthier people of New York from their fellow-citizens, notwithstanding all the protection afforded by the constitution and laws of their nominal free government. Indeed, the beginning of this terrible consummation is already clearly indicated in the successful progress of the anti-rent-paying combination and movement of the state of New York. For many years, numerous occupiers of rented lands have openly and avowedly leagued to withhold the payment of the rents due to the proprietors, and yet hold to the land. The laws have been trampled upon by this felonious league, and the decrees of courts frustrated or silenced. The agents of the proprietors and creditors have been outrageously maltreated, (as would have been the principals, had they dared to appear,) and the officers of justice, when attempting to enforce legal processes, have been resisted by arms, and in some cases have been murdered by these defiers of the laws. Growing more powerful and bold with time and success, these anti-renters have assumed a political position and organization, and thus exercise great influence in state elections. And as a crowning act of triumph, they were enabled to secure the election of a candidate for the chief magistracy, upon the understood engagement of that candidate that he would prostitute his pardoning power as governor, to discharge from the state's prison some of the most desperate felons of the anti-rent party, who by rare chance had been convicted and sentenced to punishment in that confinement. Whether this corrupt and most vile pledge had been expressly given or not, it was charged as being understood, and was acted upon by the anti-renters—and was faithfully redeemed by the governor so elected, by his speedy pardon of the desperate criminals, for whom his aid had been thus sought to be purchased.

In these so-called free northern states, there are two powerful

and counteracting influences at work, each tending to establish a very different kind of class slavery. The ultimate fate of these states will depend upon which of these two adverse influences will move the faster towards its own peculiar evil and calamitous conclusion. Either the laboring population will be enslaved, through want and suffering, to the employers and capitalists, (as is already complete in Britain and other old countries where individual slavery has ceased—) or otherwise, if popular licentiousness, or demagogue rule, is too strong in opposition to capital, then the spirit of agrarianism, communism and anti-rentism—all tending to anarchy and the destruction of the rights of property—will govern. Then may be looked for such regard to property, liberty and life, as was seen in the like calamitous time of the Reign of Terror and of Robespierre. This latter end will be more likely than the former to mark the last scenes of the tragic farce of free government in the state of New York especially, and of the northern states generally. If they are to be saved from this threatening consummation. It will be by the protection of the federal union—and that only permitted and exerted by the operation of the conservative influence of domestic slavery on the government and policy of the southern states and through them on the whole confederacy. That conservative influence, serving as “the balance wheel of the government,” (so-called by a great statesman) has already had much beneficial influence. Should that remote and unseen, but not the less real conservative influence be lost to the northern states, by either the abolition of slavery, or by their separation from the southern states, then the downward career of the northern states will become more and more rapid into one or the other of these abysses of class slavery which have been named. Should the anarchists and the mob, under their master demagogues, obtain the victory over capital, how that victory will be used has been already indicated in the acts of anti-rentism in the state of New York, the murderous riots of the cities of New York and Philadelphia, and the burning of religious edifices, inhabited only by defenceless women, by the people of the “law-abiding” and pharisaical city of Boston—and all followed by either the partial or complete impunity of all these flagrant violations of law, justice and humanity.

One of the great benefits of the institution of African slavery to the southern states is its effect in keeping away from our territory, and directing to the north and north-west, the hordes of im-

migrants now flowing from Europe, and which accession of population has already so much demoralized not only the states receiving the largest supplies of such population, but the federal government itself. Every political aspirant, aiming for the highest offices, deems it to his interest to conciliate and attempt to bribe to his support, this new and enormous element of political power. Hence we see unprincipled, but not the less influential and dangerous aspirants for presidential honors, competing with each other, as to who shall offer the highest bids for this support, in bestowing the public lands gratuitously on immigrants from all the world. It will not be long before this foreign power, so fostered and increased, will be so strong, that the grants, conditions, or acquiescence of the government, will be altogether superfluous and worthless.

Far is it from my intention to stigmatize any of our population upon the ground of foreign birth. We should value men for their known merits, and not for their places of nativity. We ought to feel even the more indebted to a good citizen, or a public benefactor, if a foreigner, who had sought our land and government from preference, than if the mere accident of native birth had placed him in our country. Hence we are the more indebted for the services and talents and the patriotism of Montgomery, Charles Lee, Hamilton, Lafayette, Kosciusko, Pulaski, Gallatin and Soulé, as foreigners, than if they had been among us by birth, instead of by preference. To hundreds of thousands of immigrants from Europe our country has been greatly indebted for their useful private or public lives. But I speak of classes, and not of individuals—of the general rule, and not of its exceptions. Taken altogether, the recent and present immigration from Europe is lower in intelligence than the lowest class of native citizens, and immeasurably inferior in knowledge and appreciation of the principles of free government. An infusion of such new population, amounting to a small minority only, could do no political harm. But the danger of prospective evil is enormous, when this new population can control entire states, and, if not able to elect a president, is so powerful as to be offered bribes for that purpose by every ambitious and unprincipled seeker of the office, who can so influence the legislation of the Congress of the United States.

The pretended philanthropists of the northern states are well aware of the effects which the success of their efforts for the abolition of southern slavery would produce. The Wilberforces and Clarksons and Benezets of former times doubtless were deceived,



and believed all they professed as to the expected beneficial results of negro emancipation. But since the experiment of Hayti, now of fifty years' standing, and of others of later date, in the British West Indies, and all the latter made with the utmost care and under the most favorable auspices, no abolitionist of good sense and information can believe in the benefits of emancipation even to the slaves themselves, or in the fitness of the negro race for freedom and self-government. The present leaders in this northern warfare against southern slavery are actuated much less by love for the slaves than by hatred for their masters. Their lust for political power is a still stronger operating motive than either. They know that the complete fruition of their machinations would be to reduce the southern states to the condition of Jamaica, if not to the still worse state of Hayti. If they, or other as malignant and more powerful enemies, should ever succeed in abolishing this institution in these southern states, it will not only be the utter ruin of these states, but one of the heaviest blows to the well-being of the world—the most powerful obstacle to the settlement, culture, civilization, and highest improvement of all this western continent, and the extension of free government and the true principles of freedom among all the superior races capable of appreciating and preserving those blessings. And even the northern states, all of which are now desirous, if not striving for the abolition of slavery in the south, would be, next to the southern states, the greatest losers by that result, both in their pecuniary interests and political safety.

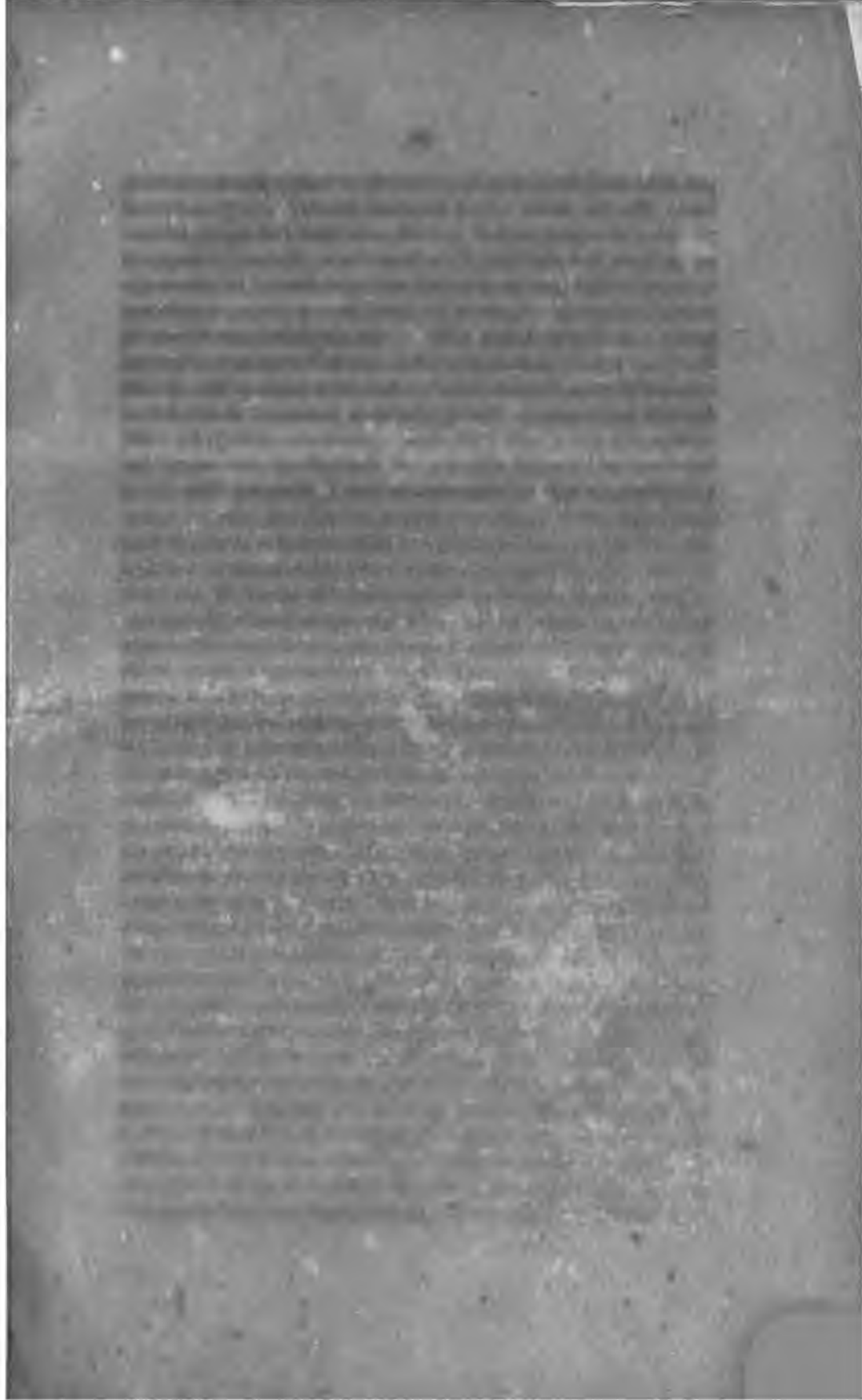
If there is any existing institution of divine origin, and manifestly designed and used by the all-wise and all-good Creator to forward his beneficent purposes, slavery, and especially African domestic slavery, is such an institution. Personal slavery has existed from the earliest known existence of society. Slaves were held by the most virtuous and the most favored of God's ancient worshippers and servants. Slavery has ever been the means, if it is not the only possible means, of civilizing barbarous tribes and regions, spreading the culture of the earth, and instructing the most ignorant and degraded races of men. Still better and peculiar features belong to African slavery, under civilized and white masters. By this, a race made inferior by nature, and always enslaved to barbarous and cruel masters, was raised greatly in the scale of comfort and happiness, as well as of improvement. Civilization and Christianity have thus been communicated to millions, who

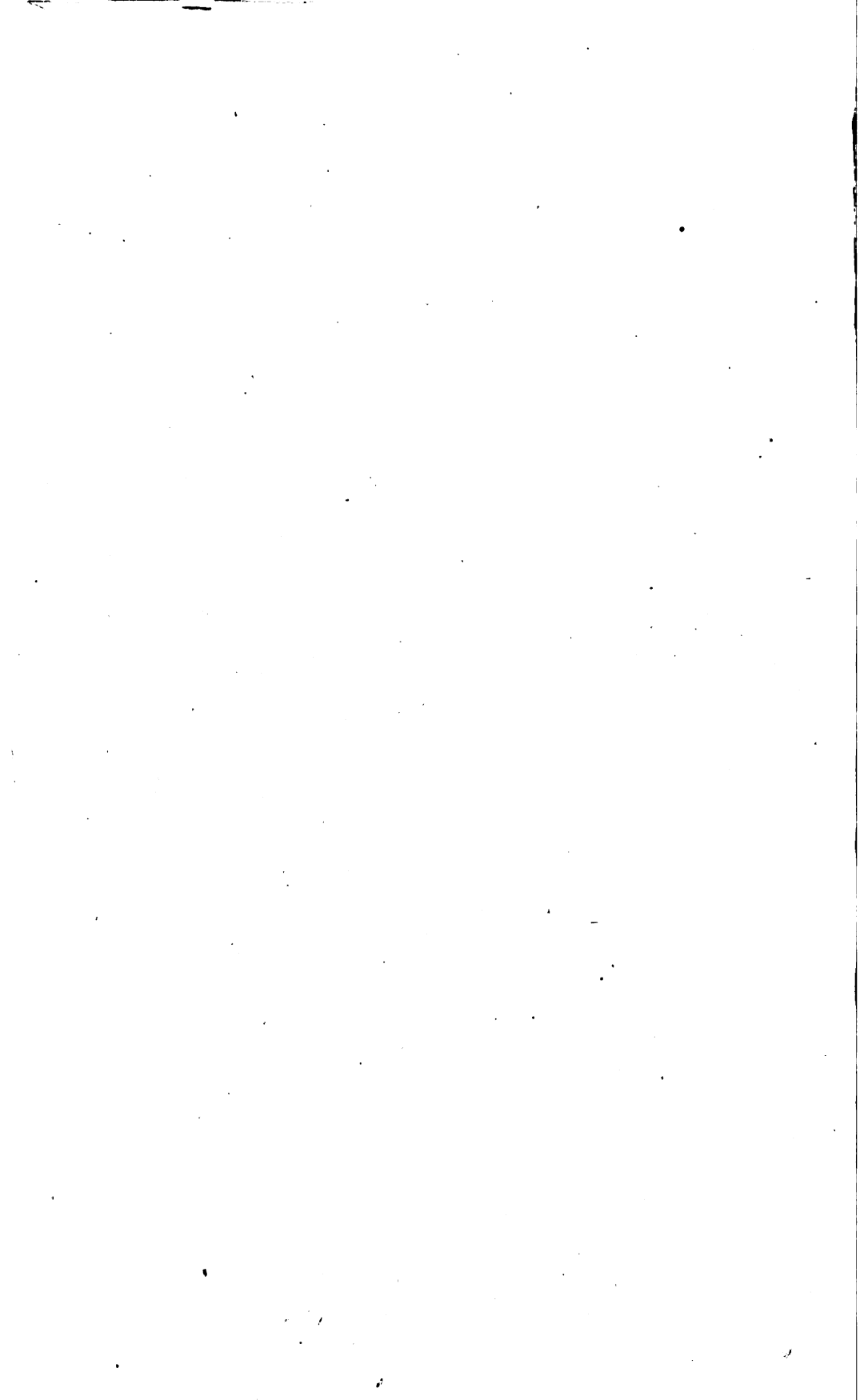
otherwise would never have heard of either. By aid of negro slavery only, could these southern states, and still more the tropical regions of America, have been settled and cultivated by the white race. All that has been done in the south, and much of all done even in the northern states, for industrial and moral improvement, refinement and even religion, has been more or less due to the existence of African slavery. For even all the older northern states had the benefit of this institution at first, when it was most needed, and retained it as long as it continued to be beneficial, and until the now fast growing slavery to want began to operate as a substitute.

It is true that the institution of slavery is attended by many and great particular evils. And where is the great social institution which is not? Even in the blessed relations of husband and wife, and of parent and child, there are cases of great unhappiness and evil, and crime, growing out of these very relations. Yet, because there are husbands and wives, and parents and children, who are monsters in human shape, and who can avail themselves of these respective characters to perpetrate the most horrible crimes, and inflict the direst calamities on helpless and innocent sufferers, who would, therefore, condemn, and strive to abolish, the institution of marriage, or the subjection of children to parents? The legal institution of apprenticeship, prevailing among every civilized and refined people, is precisely slavery, only limited in the time of duration. In this generally beneficial relation of master and apprentice—and not less among the northern philanthropists than elsewhere—there occur numerous cases of great injustice and cruelty, and of extreme and unmerited suffering. Yet, who, among these even sincere worshippers of a sickly philanthropy, has proposed as the proper safeguard against such particular cases of oppression and crime, the abolition of the entire system of apprenticeship?

Judging from the early existence and continued duration of the institution of domestic slavery—its almost universal extension—its beneficial influence in subduing barbarism and savage indolence and ignorance—in inducing the culture and improvement of the earth, and promoting the industry, civilization, refinement, and general well-being of mankind—it seems to me an inevitable deduction, that the institution of slavery is as surely and manifestly established by the wise and benevolent design of God, as the institution of marriage and of parental rule—and it is next to these,

and inferior to these only, in producing important benefits to mankind. To the direct aid of domestic slavery, every cultivated portion of the earth owes its first improvement, and every civilized people their first emerging from barbarism. The only exceptions to the existence (past or present,) and operation of this great element of improvement, are to be found among the most rude and ignorant of savage tribes, such as the aboriginal inhabitants of North America and Australia. And if it had ever been, since the creation of man, that all mankind had been sunk in that lowest depth of barbarism, they would have so continued to this day, if without the aid of the institution of domestic slavery, for their improvement, or otherwise, the still more direct exercise of the miraculous, as well as benevolent power of Almighty God.







equal political rights is powerful for evil aggression. Most fortunately for the preservation of the political freedom and safety of all of the ruling class, known as citizens by the constitution, the lowest, and necessarily, the most ignorant and degraded class in the south, are not, as in the north, citizens and voters, but are negro slaves, who have no political rights. Thus, the much greatest amount of ignorance, vice, and carelessness for the public weal, is entirely excluded from all direction of, or influence upon, public affairs, and from every political function. And by this one great conservative measure of exclusion, in the slaveholding States, the popular vote and action are as much purified and exalted, as could be in the so-called "free States," by any constitutional provision that would serve to designate, and exclude from the polls, the worst and most degraded half of its male population. Such free or republican governments as the southern States would present if all their slave and free negro population had votes equally with the whites, now are, or would be, in the governments of the northern and non-slaveholding States.

Among the false and dangerous, but yet legitimate deductions from the broad doctrine of the equal natural rights of man, there subsequently was started the then novel claim of freedom for the negro slaves. This deduction from general principles was at first set forth quietly, obscurely, and regarded as a mere theoretical opinion, impossible to be reduced to practice. The principle was admitted, whether by design of some, or the carelessness and inadvertence of all, by the fathers of the Revolution and of American independence. From the warm and zealous advocacy of the equal English rights of the free people of the colonies, it was but a step of hurried reasoning by analogy, to advocate the equal natural rights of all mankind. This folly, which attended the otherwise grave and profound political wisdom of the great men of those times, was admitted, perhaps by a few through design, but certainly through the inadvertence of the many, amidst the general prefatory declamation of the Declaration of Independence—and, without a word of objection by southern slave-holders, who no more then thought of legislating for, or producing, the freedom and equal political rights of their negro slaves, than they did of their horses and oxen. Yet this mere sounding verbiage, these empty reverberations of a baseless and obscure theoretical doctrine, which did not then attract enough notice to arouse opposition or denial to what was probably deemed the mere superfluous and unmeaning embellishments of a frothy rhetoric, have since served as the citadel of defence, for the new and zealous party of abolitionists of negro slavery, and the arsenal to supply their chosen weapons to assail that institution.

In earlier times, of British and European history, there was scarcely raised a voice, either in Europe or America, to question the expediency or morality of the institution of

negro slavery—or even to oppose the African slave-trade, then in full operation. The first serious opposition to both was begun, and grew, with the doctrines of the men, and with the movements, of the American Revolution—and almost exclusively in these now United States of America. Thus the opposition to negro slavery had commenced, and was gradually extending in slave-holding America, long before the same ideas had been recognized in England. By the latter country, the African slave-trade was still carried on extensively, and its morality scarcely questioned by but a few, long after nearly all the American slaveholding States had abolished the trade for themselves. The people of the southern States, who had scarcely any agricultural labor other than that of negro slaves, could not have divested themselves of that labor, without certain and general ruin, to themselves and to the country. Of course, the practical extinction of slavery was scarcely thought of by any, and was advocated by none. Even if any had then deemed slavery an enormous wrong, no individual slave holder would have condemned himself for the existence of a national evil, (or even a national sin,) which he had had no agency in establishing—and which, indeed, was forced upon the colonies by the avarice and power of the ruling mother country. But almost every man of good feeling and cultivated mind, in later time, came (under the teaching and influence of the growing anti-slavery school) to consider the institution of negro slavery as a great evil, public and private, and whether viewed as a political, moral, or economical question—and which, if possible to remove, ought to be removed, at any cost that would not be intolerably injurious to the welfare of the community. Such opinions grew to be general in the southern States; and previous to 1820, (perhaps as late as 1830,) they were almost universal in Virginia. Some individuals went farther—and were ready to share in all the sacrifices necessary for general emancipation, upon some one or other of the impossible or ruinous plans proposed and advocated by different wild and fanatical philanthropists. In England, which now had abolished the African slave-trade, and in the northern States, which had got rid of slaves, (never very profitable to them except to sell,—) and neither of which countries had then remaining their previous mercantile interest in the profits of the slave-trade—there was no sense of self-preservation, nor any lighter interest, to oppose the growing hostility to slavery. Nothing is easier, or more inviting to self-complacency, than for us to declare benevolent feelings and impulses, and to urge their being put in practice, when at other people's expense. Therefore it was quite natural that the northern States and England, when no longer having any interest to maintain and to increase negro-slavery, should carry their benevolent opposition to it to the extent of the wildest fanaticism—and call for its extinction, even at the risk, (or with the certainty,) of the utter ruin

of the master race in the slave-holding States.

Under the influence of such incitements, the now practical abolition doctrines, and the present abolition party, of the northern States, were brought into existence and action, and grew and strengthened, until they are now supported by the greater number of votes of every northern State. This growing power, threatening evil and ruin, with its success, to the whole slave-holding States, at length produced a reaction in the minds of the southern people generally. Men began, for the first time, to enquire into, and carefully to study the whole subject of slavery, through the means of facts and sound reasoning—and not, as before, under the deceptive influence of a false theory, and sickly sentimentality, and mistaken philanthropy. This reaction began about 1820, (the time of the first abolition movement, through and by aid of federal legislation in the enactment of the Missouri "compromise," and unconstitutional restriction,) and only received its first vigorous and effective impulse from the publication of Professor Dew's "Essay on Slavery," the earliest and also one among the ablest vindications of the institution that has yet been published. Since then, the change of opinion has been both rapid and general. Formerly, it would have been difficult to find, in Virginia, a man of education who did not deem slavery both a public and private evil. Now there are almost as few such men who do not deem the institution a positive and great benefit, as there were formerly who held it to be otherwise than the great evil of the land.

In 1816, when the "American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States" was formed, and had enunciated its purpose and policy, and commenced its operations, the universal public sentiment was best suited to favor the infant organization, and its avowed objects. The policy and the scheme which were thus proposed to be supported, had been originated in Virginia. The earliest and principal early patrons and advocates of the society were slave-holders. The avowed object of the society, as indicated by its name, was to remove from the United States, by inducing their voluntary emigration, the free negroes, and to colonize them as an independent community in Africa. This class, (formed by earlier emancipations of slaves, which had been induced by the mistaken benevolence of their masters,) had become numerous, and a grievous nuisance to most of the southern States, and especially to Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. With but a few praise-worthy exceptions, the free negroes were, as they continue to be, generally indolent, improvident, and worthless as laborers or producers—and, in numerous cases, drunken, vicious, and frequent subjects for criminal justice. In their peculiar position, they served to render the slaves discontented with their more constrained, though really much better condition—and facilitated and encouraged their thefts, and other violations of duty.

The low degradation of the free negroes, in ignorance, indolence, and vice, instead of being ascribed, as truth would require, to the negro blood and propensities, and the natural inferiority of the negro intellect, left without the government and direction of a capable master, was charged to their inferior social and political condition, and their being kept down in the scale of society by the superior power and close neighborhood of the white race. In the face of all the proofs to the contrary that even then existed, (though Hayti had not then sunk to half her present depth of degradation, and the experiment of emancipation in the West Indies had not been commenced,) the near approach to, if not full equality of the negro intellect to the white, was then generally believed in, to an extent that now would seem both incredible and absurd. The European and northern Asiatic philanthropists then fully believed (and they still pretend to believe,) that the negro is naturally equal in mental power to the white man; and that equal advantages of education and position would serve to show the equality in results. If the benevolent slaveholders did not go so far, they at least believed that the negro race was capable of being so far instructed, and improved, as to be self-directing and self-supporting, if in an independent community. The benefit to the world, and especially to benighted and savage Africa, of a civilized and industrious colony being there planted, and flourishing, was a further and more captivating inducement to lovers of the human race; and all Christian philanthropists were still more interested in thus offering, with the supposed best prospects of success, the gospel, and Christianity, to the 60 millions of savage pagans and brutalized idolaters that inhabit Africa.

At that time, too, individual acts of emancipation of slaves were generally esteemed not only evidences of piety and virtue in the emancipators, but also, if accompanied by removal from the country, as being beneficial to public interests, by lessening the whole number of slaves, and thereby rendering more easy the future, though far remote, total removal of slavery, then generally deemed to be a public benefit. For this reason, there was still another (so-called) benefit expected of the Society, in its offered asylum in Africa serving to invite and encourage the subsequent emancipation of numerous slaves. This, and other more extended objects of like kind, were set forth in the speeches and publications of active and zealous agents or members of the Society. And such declarations, while they served strongly to invite and encourage the aid and coöperation of those who were most opposed to slavery, as an evil, a wrong, and a sin, did not at first offend, or excite the suspicion or opposition of slave-holders the most opposite in opinion—because even these, at that early time, generally deemed slavery an evil, and hoped for its ultimate safe extinction, although they could not see, and



would not seek, though certain loss and danger, a way to that desired end.

For these different reasons, operating on men of very different views, there were, at first, many persons disposed to become zealous supporters of the Colonization Society; while almost none opposed it, or seemed to think that there was anything in the scheme, or in its probable consequences, that called for opposition, or even required scrutiny. It had among its movers and founders, and continued to gain the names, and ostensible if not more efficient support of, many of the chief men of the various States—and every name that could have influence on the public, and was permitted to be used, was made use of in the list of officers or dignitaries, or prominent friends of the Society. As almost every man took it for granted that the Society was a good thing, and an institution of high position, he was complimented by his name being asked for its support—and few would deny the request, especially as that alone, or very little more, would serve to place the name prominently on the list of the much lauded and eminent patrons of the benevolent scheme. Many high-sounding names have been thus used, (and perhaps some without leave,) of persons who contributed but little else to the Society. The more obscure, but active functionaries of the Society, who, in or through the Board of Managers at Washington, have really directed the affairs, and the policy, and the operations of the Society, were always working on prominent political men, and easily gained the favor of all. The favor of President Monroe was by far the most important and efficient; and it served to preserve the very existence of the colony subsequently planted, in its early and most feeble condition—as will be shown hereafter.

*The avowed designs and the real and main operation of the Colonization Society, and the tendency of its policy.*

There never was a new scheme, or association for its furtherance, received with more general favor, than the American Colonization Society. The persons who most opposed slavery, and most desired its extinction, and they who were most interested in its present and continued existence, were alike friendly to the Society, and, for opposite expected and promised results, respectively favored by their opposite views. The Society was presented, though with caution, in two different aspects, to individuals, and to sections of the Union, having different and conflicting opinions in regard to slavery—and in such manner as to seem favorable to each party separately. For the first and avowed, and always claimed objects and designs of the Colonization Society, as presented in its early official papers, (proceeding from the Board of Managers, or resolutions of the Society adopted in general meetings,) there need not be many authorities cited. The record of testimony for this purpose is full and clear. "The American So-

ciety for colonizing the free people of color of the United States," is the legal title, recited in the first article of its constitution. The second article, more fully and particularly declares that "The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their own consent) the free people of color residing in our country, to Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient." The same object was held forth in the first "memorial of the President and Board of Managers" of the Society to Congress in 1817, (republished in the papers appended to Mr. Kennedy's report to H. of Reps. in 1843, Doc. 283, p. 208,) and the advantages to this country of removing the free people of color were therein stated at some length. Incidental benefits which were expected (and which would be admitted as such, and highly appreciated by all,) were also presented, in the expected indirect working of the colonization scheme, to suppress the African slave-trade—and by its influence, to civilize and christianize the neighboring savage nations of Africa. Not an intimation was there given of any ulterior object. But in a later memorial (of 1828, republished in Rep. Doc. 283 of 1843, p. 172) to Congress, the managers become bolder, or less cautious, added something more. They therein say—"The object it [the American Colonization Society] proposes to accomplish, is the removal to Africa, with their own consent, of such people of color within the United States as are already free, and of such others as the humanity of individuals, and the laws of the different States may hereafter liberate." Even this extended purpose, repeated as it had been before, and since has continued to be, by functionaries and friends of the Colonization Society, in many public speeches at the annual meetings, or otherwise, did not at first, excite any opposition or suspicion. The manumission of slaves was still legal in sundry States, and would still proceed. It would be not less beneficial to the community, and to slaveholders, that the later manumitted negroes should be removed, than the earlier. But the people of the south did not, from these indications, suspect that the leading, and most influential members of the Society, from the beginning, had in view the future entire extinction of negro slavery in the United States, to be accompanied, indeed, as professed, by the deportation of all the negroes, (visionary and even impossible, as was this latter measure); and still less did slaveholders infer that the agents of the Society would be active though covert propagandists of anti-slavery doctrines, and secret, yet efficient advocates for persuading weak-minded philanthropists that the emancipation of their slaves would be an act of very high merit, humanity, benevolence, and piety. The private and secret manner of such communication and action necessarily and effectually precludes the facts being proved by direct testimony. The facts, in general, can only be inferred from the charac-

ter and supposed anti-slavery opinions of the employed northern agents—the particular slaveholders with whom they mostly associated, and might influence—and especially from the subsequent effects witnessed, and much more in the later than the earlier years of the Society, in numerous testamentary and other manumissions of large numbers of slaves. But there is plenty of proof of more open action of functionaries and friends, showing the general spirit of the Society being in favor of extending emancipations, and putting an end to slavery. While no individual, or body, has loudly and distinctly advised slaveholders to emancipate their slaves, there has scarcely been a written report, or speech, or other public declaration proceeding from the agents and friends of the Society, in which individual acts of emancipation have been referred to, that the occasion was not used to highly laud the action and the emancipator. Such acts being thus always highly praised, as showing evidences of most exalted humanity, charity, and piety—and the (perhaps otherwise obscure) donors being thus made conspicuous for their virtues throughout the Christian world, could not fail to operate as a powerful stimulant, not only to the good, but also to the evil principles which influence mankind—as vanity, ostentation, self-righteousness, and self-worship—to thus elevate and perpetuate their fame, by their adding to the number of manumitted slaves—whose welfare and happiness have generally been greatly impaired, if not totally sacrificed on this shrine of false benevolence and humanity, and of evil both to the slaves and to our country. It is a strong evidence that such effects have been in a great degree the direct results of the teachings of the Colonization Society, and its friends, when it is seen that the manumissions of slaves, in Virginia, and especially in large numbers by individual donors, and by testamentary bequest, have greatly increased in latter years. In the earlier years of the Society, there were comparatively very few. Yet, if the avowed opinions of Mr. C. F. Mercer, and others, were correct, that many masters before 1816, would have gladly emancipated their slaves, if having such an asylum from them as the Colonization Society would afford, the number of new manumissions ought to have been much greater as soon as the asylum was open—and not, as is the fact, at twenty and thirty or more years after the open and secret machinery of the Society had been in operation.

Still more plain and undeniable, than of any of these named influences, are the evidences that the leading, and most distinguished, and influential, and early friends of the Society, have looked to it, and advocated its support, as the means for utterly destroying the institution and existence of negro slavery in the United States. Such sentiments have been uttered by many in public speeches and reports, published among the transactions of the Society, and by direction of its Board of Managers. Numerous other like expressions,

though from less respected sources, or, perhaps, proceeding from obscure individuals, have received the official impress, and virtual authorization of the Society, by being published in the "African Repository," which periodical publication, of very extensive circulation, is both the property and organ of the American Colonization Society, and must be presumed to be, in every article it publishes, the mouth-piece of the central power and head of the Society, the Board of Managers at Washington. It will be enough, for sustaining my charge, in this particular respect, to refer to the words or opinions of but a few prominent officers or ardent friends of the Colonization Society either uttered in general meetings or otherwise published through its organ. Like examples, from less distinguished sources, might be offered in any number.\*

At the first annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, in Washington, the President, Judge Bushrod Washington, in his opening speech from the chair, introduced the following expressions:

"The effect of this institution, [the American Colonization Society,] if its prosperity shall equal our wishes, will be alike propitious to every interest of our domestic society; and should it lead, as we may fairly hope it will, to the slow but gradual abolition of slavery, it will wipe from our political institutions the only blot which stains them."

At the same meeting, the Hon. C. F. Mercer, of Virginia, in advocating the claims of the Colonization Society to public favor, and urging the reasons for supporting it, said: "Many thousand individuals in our native State, as you well know, Mr. President, are restrained from manumitting their slaves, as you and I are, by the melancholy conviction that they

\*This last named procedure has been so common, and latterly so undisguised, that the Rev. Philip Slaughter, of Virginia, principal agent of the Colonization Society of Virginia, (who, though a zealous advocate for the colonization scheme, is also a loyal son of the south,) has deemed it necessary, on two different occasions, (as I have seen accidentally—there may have been more, as the need for such action has never intermitted—) to rebuke this abuse. At the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society of 1852, the report of the proceedings, (in the African Repository, at p. 100, for April, 1852,) states as follows:

"The Rev. Mr. Slaughter presented the following preamble and resolution, which were adopted:

"Whereas, the Constitution of the American Colonization Society declares that the object to which its attention is exclusively directed, is 'to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa,' therefore

"Resolved, That the publication of schemes of emancipation, and arguments in their favor, in the African Repository, and other official documents of this Society, is a departure from our fundamental law, and should be excluded from such documents."

This resolution was adopted, and, as it appears, without a word of objection. Yet it was as totally disregarded afterwards, as its object had been previously. In consequence, as I find again in my few detached numbers of the African Repository, (at p. 74, for March 1855,) at the Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society, the rebuke was renewed by Mr. Slaughter—and with as little of its desired effect as before.

cannot yield to the *suggestions of humanity* without manifest injury to their country"—which difficulty, and great obstacle to extensive emancipation, the policy of the Colonization Society was expected to remove.

In an elaborate letter and argument, to the like general purport, addressed to the American Colonization Society, Gen. R. G. Harper, of Maryland, said:

"The advantages of this undertaking [of the Colonization Society] to which I have hitherto adverted, are confined to ourselves. They consist in ridding us of the free people of color, and *preparing the way for getting rid of the slaves and of slavery.*"

The Hon. Henry Clay, then President of the American Colonization Society, at its tenth Annual Meeting, January, 1837, in his opening address, (published by the Society,) presented an elaborate argument to show the feasibility and the expediency of the whole negro race being removed from the United States. The very high position and reputation of this gentleman, and the great influence of his name and opinions, will make it proper to quote more full extracts from his speech.

After having submitted calculations, which served (as he maintained) to show the easy practicability of removing to Africa all the then free negro population from the United States, Mr. Clay proceeded to apply the same mode of calculation to the slaves, as follows:

"Assuming the future increase to be at the rate of three per cent. per annum, the annual addition to the number of slaves in the United States, calculated upon the returns of the last census, (1,538,128,) is 46,000. Applying the data which have already been stated and explained, in relation to the colonization of free persons of color from the United States to Africa, to the aggregate annual increase of both bond and free of the African race, and the result will be found most encouraging. The total number of the annual increase, of both descriptions, is 52,000. The total expense of transporting that number to Africa, (supposing no reduction of present prices,) [which had been before stated at \$20,] would be \$1,040,000," &c. \* \* \* "And this quantity [of tonnage] would be still further reduced, by embracing opportunities of incidental employment of vessels belonging both to mercantile and military marines. But, is the annual application of \$1,040,000, and the employment of 65,000, or even 130,000 tons of shipping, considering the magnitude of the object, beyond the ability of this country? Is there a patriot, looking forward to its domestic quiet, its happiness, and its glory, that would not cheerfully contribute his proportion of the burden to accomplish a purpose so great and so humane?"

This extract, alone, is enough to strip bare, and expose the false pretence set up for the American Colonization Society, when soothing down southern opposition or alarmed interests, that the policy of the Society is, as at

first announced, the removal of free negroes to Africa only. The ulterior design or object of general emancipation (whether by purchase or otherwise) need not be set forth more plainly than in this speech of the distinguished President of the Society, and as endorsed, by its reception and publication, by the Managers of the Society. It is not my business here, nor is it needed, to expose the errors of Mr. Clay's estimates, and the impossibility of carrying through the scheme, were it ever so desirable for this country; and the enormous cruelty, unprecedented in the annals of Asiatic despotism, of annually removing to remote exile, (to say nothing of cost of life, and other sufferings to be there encountered,) of the whole actual increase, necessarily including all the female children before their reaching maturity of age, of an entire race, amounting to fifty-two thousand persons annually, until, in the course of time, the parent stock left in the United States shall be extinguished gradually by death!!! No one but a thorough "philanthropist" could for a moment entertain a scheme so full of cruelty and horror, and so protracted in operation—and none but blind fanatics could be persuaded that the execution was morally, even if physically possible.

But monstrous and shocking to every feeling of humanity as are the means here recommended, as operating upon the blacks, the worst results to the masters, and to the white race, have not been named. It is clear that in this magnificent scheme of expediture, (which, however, would not serve for one-tenth the cost of its avowed objects,) nothing is allowed, or understood, for paying the owners for their slaves. Therefore, if it were possible to be executed, in addition to the general loss and great damage to all the southern States, as communities, in losing nearly all their present agricultural labor, and paying the larger amount of the expense of transportation to, and subsequent support of the colonists in Africa, the slave-owners would be deprived of forty-six thousand slaves a year, or all the increase, and at the ages of their greatest value, without receiving the smallest payment as compensation!

But no man of sound judgment can suppose that the great intellect of Henry Clay could be duped by such estimates as he condescended to use for the purpose of operating upon other minds; or that he could have believed, for a moment, that it would be possible to remove the whole black race from the United States to Africa, with any means for subsistence for the emigrants in their new homes. This utterly impossible accompaniment of colonization—removal to Africa—was stated merely to suit those who required it, and who could believe in it. All that was possible of Mr. Clay's scheme, and with the accomplishment of which part he and other clear-sighted emancipationists would have been content, would have been the general emancipation of slaves, without any (or but a nominal and fallacious) compensation to their owners—and

without the cruelty and horror of the attempt, and the impossibility of the execution, of compulsory deportation to Africa of the whole increase of the race in the United States.

My only other citations of proofs will be all from a single source, which, as a whole, may be taken as the exposition of the views and objects of all the colonizationists of the northern States, as well as of a few, (also alike opposed to slavery,) in the southern States. This source is a review which first appeared in the "Quarterly Christian Spectator," (at New Haven,) of March, 1833, and was soon afterwards reprinted in separate pamphlet form, under the title of a "Review of Pamphlets on Slavery and Colonization." From the place and manner of publication, and the rapid republications, it may be inferred that this exposition was industriously and generally distributed throughout the northern States—and very cautiously and quietly placed in the hands of but a few persons holding or inclining to like opinions in the southern States. The only copy that I have seen or heard of, was sent to a southern slaveholder, distinguished for philanthropy, generosity, and self-sacrificing devotion to whatever he deems his duty as a man and a Christian, and especially valuing the Colonization Society as a means for the ultimate extinction of the supposed evil of negro slavery. That copy is directed to the name of the gentleman referred to, "with Elliott Cresson's best respects." Mr. Cresson was a Vice President, and a principal and efficient agent and patron of the American Colonization Society. The argument is in answer, and immediately addressed to Garrison and the most violent of the abolition party, who had justly charged the Colonization Society with double-dealing—but, most unjustly, with being opposed to the abolition of slavery. It is to deny these charges, and to assert the opposite views and tendency of the Colonization Society, that this pamphlet was written. The general tenor is to this purpose. A few quotations will be enough to show this character of the work—and what must have been the author's opinion, and that of all who coincided with him, as to the certain working and final results of the Colonization Society.

"The actual tendencies of the enterprise of planting colored colonies in Africa from America, are, so far as the abolition of slavery is concerned, the following:

"It secures in many instances the emancipation of slaves by individuals, and thus brings the power of example to bear on public sentiment. This is no conjecture; it is proved by the induction of particulars. The friends of the Colonization Society, in their arguments on this subject, can read off a catalogue of instances in which emancipation has already resulted from the progress of this work. We know that on the other hand it is said that the arguments and statements of colonizationists prevent emancipation. But the proper

proof of this assertion would be to bring forward the particular facts. Tell us of the individuals who have been effectually hindered from setting their slaves at large, by what they have read in the African Repository, or by what they have heard from the agents of the Society. We say then that, unless the testimony of facts can deceive us, *colonization is bringing the power of example to bear on public sentiment at the South, in regard to slavery.* Each single instance of emancipation is indeed a small matter when compared to the continued slavery of two millions; but every such instance, occurring in the midst of a slaveholding community, is a *strong appeal to the natural sentiments of benevolence and justice* in all who witness it."

"Not Hayti has done more to make the negro character respected by mankind, and to afford the means of making the negro conscious of his manhood, than Liberia has already accomplished." (p. 20.)

"African colonization, so far as it is successful, will bring free labor into the fairest and most extended competition with slave labor, and will thus make the universal abolition of slavery inevitable." (p. 20.)

"The friends of slavery may dream that this work [colonization in Liberia] is to perpetuate their miserable system; but, if any of them do thus imagine, they err as greatly in that, as they do in supposing that the repeal of the protective tariff will relieve them from their embarrassments." (p. 21.)

"The great body of the friends of the Colonization Society at the south, no less than at the north, regard the scheme of that institution as something that will ultimately, in some way, deliver the country from the curse of slavery."

"Had the scheme of the American Colonization Society never been undertaken, who believes that projects for the abolition of slavery would have been so soon, if ever, discussed in the Legislature of Virginia?"

"The hour in which the debate on slavery commenced in the Capitol at Richmond, may be considered as having sealed the death warrant of the system, not only for Virginia, but for the nation. Certainly the greater the success which shall attend the colonization of Africa, the greater will be the progress of public opinion towards this consummation of the abolition of slavery in America. But, as the author says more at length, even were the Society now to come to an end, and its colony also, "still it will be true that the indirect influence of the American Colonization Society has secured the ultimate abolition of slavery." (p. 22.)

If any person, after having read even no more of such opinions than appear in passages quoted in this section, shall not be convinced that the continued object of the chief movers, advocates, and agents of the American Colonization Society, and the tendency of their efforts, are otherwise than the general emancipation of slaves, and abolition of slave-

ry, such persons must be so completely en-  
cased in prejudice, as to be invulnerable to  
the power of evidence or reasoning.

So much for the avowed policy and objects,  
and the more real and important and covert  
objects of the Society—or rather of the few  
functionaries who have really controlled the  
policy, and directed the appropriation of the  
funds contributed by the confiding liberality  
of thousands, who were content to give to  
what they supposed a good object, without  
examination, or interfering with, the conduct  
of the few more zealous persons who were  
willing to bear the burden of the administra-  
tive duties and services. The Colonization  
Society was at first so generally favored by  
public opinion and sentiment—there was so  
little suspicion entertained by any of those  
who were outside of the small circle which  
enclosed its acting functionaries and its lead-  
ing spirits—that there was no scrutiny either  
of its public or more secret policy, and almost  
no opposition to its procedure, for a long time.  
So the few able writers attempted opposition—  
among them, Gov. Giles and Prof. Dew of  
Virginia. But they addressed themselves to  
dead ears, and either careless or prejudiced  
minds—and without producing any important  
effect. When the men of the South generally  
lost their faith in the working of the Society,  
(for the first professed objects,) they simply  
withdrew silently from its support, but made  
no opposition to it. The double-dealing policy  
prospered and succeeded for a long time, in  
deceiving both the pro-slavery or slave-hold-  
ing interest, and the anti-slavery or abolition  
party. The latter, in the northern States,  
though truly and greatly favored by the ul-  
terior designs, and the actual working, of the  
Colonization Society, were the first offended,  
and by the mere words used to deceive and  
quiet the slave-holders. The latter, even when  
no longer so zealous for or even favorable to the  
first avowed objects of the Society, have gen-  
erally remained quiet, and also deluded still,  
to some extent, for a much longer time. And  
even now, though much the greater number  
of all the former southern friends have with-  
drawn their earlier and active support of the  
Colonization Society and its colony, there are  
but few southern men who have yet taken the  
pains to investigate the real and main ten-  
dency of the Society, and to understand and  
oppose the danger which it threatens to the  
interest of slave-holders, and of the southern  
States, and to the contentment and happiness  
of the slaves, and to the very existence of ne-  
gro slavery in the States where that institu-  
tion remains.

*The general operations of the Colonization Society in plan-  
ting and maintaining the colony of Liberia, and the general results.*

The early popularity of the Colonization  
Society was made manifest in the speedy  
formation of numerous auxiliary societies  
throughout the United States. There was one  
for each of most of the States, and many more

for different counties and towns in those or  
other States.\* All these were engaged in so-  
liciting and raising funds, from every avail-  
able source, to supply the treasury and forward  
the measures of the parent society. Under  
the influence thus operating, some of the State  
legislatures voted large supplies to the cause,  
through their respective State societies or  
otherwise. The legislature of Maryland, and  
next Virginia, gave most of such pecuniary  
contributions—and Virginia by individual do-  
nations, in the emancipation of slaves, has con-  
tributed, and sacrificed in value, very much  
more than all the large contributions of money  
to the Colonization Society.

The parent society, and also many of the  
auxiliary societies, as if acting (as most like-  
ly was the case) on a concerted plan of op-  
erations, soon began to petition for aid from  
Congress. Some of the petitions were express-  
ed in general terms—some stated definite pro-  
posed means, especially in the defending and  
sustaining the colony of Liberia, by the money  
and arms of the United States. No direct aid  
was granted by Congress—or could have been,  
with any regard to the legitimate powers and  
duties of the Federal Government, or of the  
administrative authorities. But indirectly, as  
will be seen, under the shallow pretext of re-  
turning re-captured Africans to their country,  
enough aid, pecuniary, military and naval,  
was afforded, to save the existence of the col-  
ony, and to secure it from the attacks of the  
surrounding savage tribes, which, timid and  
placable as they are, otherwise would have  
speedily extinguished its existence.

The ministers of religion, throughout the  
United States, were, with scarcely any ex-  
ceptions, friendly, and in most cases zealous  
and efficient friends, to the colonization  
scheme and the Colonization Society. In nu-  
merous localities, they recommended the  
supposed benevolent and pious work, and solici-  
ted contributions to it from their congregations,  
and took up collections in their churches.  
When the name and reputation of the Society  
stood highest, it was a usage in many places  
(adapted on public and general recommenda-  
tion of friends of the Society,) to appoint and  
use the anniversary festival of the Declaration  
of Independence, July 4th, and when sermons  
and speeches were then generally delivered in  
commemoration of the occasion, to solicit and  
collect contributions for the Colonization So-  
ciety.† The very selection of this day, for  
this work, was a covert but significant indi-  
cation that the same great end of freedom, and  
independence, which had been secured on that  
anniversary for the whites, was also, and prop-  
erly as the movers thought, in view for the  
blacks. Other, and more efficient means were  
used in sending out agents, itinerant or sta-

\* In 1829, there were fifteen State Auxiliary Soci-  
eties—and in 1830, there were in all two hundred Aux-  
iliary Societies.—[Reports A. C. S.]

† "The Fourth of July collection during the year,  
[1830,] amounted to \$10,978." [App. to 14th Ann.  
Rep.—African Repository.]

tionary, into all the States that promised the best harvest of gain and support to the objects of the Society, or rather of its active managers and the real directors of its policy. As was then usual, when paid agents for any so-called pious work were wanted, nearly all so employed were northern men. It may be safely inferred that they were generally, if not without exception, hostile to the existence of negro slavery. Many of them were ministers of religion. Their most intimate and private intercourse, in the southern States, would necessarily be with benevolent and religious individuals, who were previously disposed to view slavery as a public and private evil—if not also a grievous wrong to the slave, and a sin of the master. With the aid of the previous general views of slavery in Virginia, and which had not been yet removed by better information with many slaveholders, it may be safely concluded, that such agents as these, operating especially on the sensitive or feeble minds, or morbidly tender consciences, of slave-owners—especially of wealthy old men and old women, who had no direct heirs, or whose heirs would be otherwise well-provided for—would exercise great influence in inducing the emancipation of slaves, and the contribution of other aid to the Colonization Society. These counsellors could act with similar facilities and success, in inciting as a pious work the testamentary emancipation of slaves, as did the priests in the middle and dark ages of Europe, when inducing rich sinners to smooth and pay their future passage to heaven, by bequeathing their estates to the church, or for other pious uses. Such emancipations have been made to great amount, and in many cases. And not only (in immediate donations, to the personal loss of the donors,) by the unquestionably benevolent and pious, (however mistaken in the direction of their benevolence,) but also, in testamentary bequests, which cost nothing to the donors—and sometimes the latter by some persons whose lives and actions, both as men and as masters, had indicated anything but piety, benevolence, or a delicate sense of propriety—or even of just and good treatment of their slaves, or a decent regard for public opinion in that respect.

The American Colonization Society was established in 1816. The first action of the Board of Managers, and use of the first subscribed funds, was to search out a proper site for the designed colony, on the west coast of Africa. Some years were spent for this purpose and other preparations. This was very judicious in intention, but, nevertheless, the disasters to the first settlers, and the errors of procedure, seemed not to have been lessened, or at all guarded against, by this long preliminary preparation. The first shipment of emigrants was in 1820. After all the strengthening by subsequent supplies of settlers and aid from the Society, and still more by the supplies of money and necessaries by the Government of the United States, the colony could

not possibly have existed through three years, (and perhaps not three months,) but for the defence and support afforded to it by United States vessels of war, and military aid. It had fortunately happened for the Society, and its proposed colony, that a slave ship had not long before been captured and carried into the United States; and that under a law enacted in 1819, the President of the United States was directed to send all these and any other recaptured Africans back to Africa. When this law was enacted, there remained only about 30 of these recaptured Africans, to be returned.\* By a most liberal and indulgent and illegal construction of this law, by President Monroe, for the benefit of the Colonization Society, the whole appropriation of \$100,000, first and last, was permitted to be used, through United States agents, for the benefit of the Society's colony. This was done by means of a system of charges that deserve no softer designation than the grossest and then unprecedented fraud on the treasury—unprecedented then, but not since. The first principal agent appointed by the President to receive the Africans was also the agent of the American Colonization Society, as his successors generally were; and he acted as if exclusively the Society's agent, in the lavish expenditures made, nominally in preparing for the future reception of 30 Africans—but really for the benefit of the Colony and the objects of the Society. The report of Amos Kendall, 4th Auditor, in 1830, to the then Secretary of the Navy, on this subject, says:

"In the simple grant of power to an agent [by the act of 1819.] to receive recaptured negroes, it requires broad construction to find a grant of authority to colonize them, to build houses for them, to furnish them with farming utensils, to pay instructors to teach them, to purchase ships for their conveyance, to build forts for their protection, to supply them with arms and ammunitions of war, to enlist troops to guard them, or to employ the army or navy in their defence."

All these things were done, as is afterwards shown, under the pretext of receiving 30 Africans only—and not one of whom was even embarked until long after these expenditures had been going on. The circumstances and charges, upon this pretext, are so monstrous, that the enormity and criminality of the fraud on the treasury and the nation are like to be smothered and forgotten in the ludicrous appearance of the acts. The readers of the cheats and thefts committed by a Scapin, or a Scipio, can scarcely avoid being indulgent and favorable to the adroit and amusing rogues, instead of gravely and equitably passing sentence upon their acts, according to the dictates of the statute book or the decalogue.

Long before even the first of the recaptured

\*This is the number stated in Mathew Carey's "Letters on the Colonization Society,"—(p. 10)—which publication is, as was its author, entirely favorable to the Society. I have not seen the number stated elsewhere.

Africans had been embarked from the United States, and much longer before the larger portion of the thirty had been sent, the first United States agent (the Rev. Samuel Bacon) with an assistant agent, as the beginning of his duties to receive recaptured Africans, went out in 1820, in the first vessel (the Elizabeth) that conveyed emigrant negroes from the United States to begin the colony of Liberia. This shipment of American born emigrants, consisted (according to the Fourth Auditor's report) of thirty-three men, eighteen women, and thirty-seven children—eighty-eight in all. All these, men, women, and children, were received and rated, and wages and support charged for, as in the service of the United States, either as mechanics, laborers, cooks, nurses, *seamstresses*, or *washerwomen*, for the thirty African savages then still remaining in the United States, and which were not to be sent to Africa until a much later time. For the future reception of the same barbarous and ignorant savages, the agent took out in the first ship "a wagon, several wheelbarrows, ploughs, iron-work for a saw and grist mill, a fishing seine, and a variety of farming implements." There were also munitions of war, "two six-pounders, with shot, one hundred muskets with accoutrements, ten kegs of common, and two of priming powder." A four-oared barge was carried from America, and a schooner was subsequently purchased at Sierra Leone. Notwithstanding the previous examinations of the country, and preparatory information obtained, during three previous years, through visiting agents, &c., these first emigrants had to settle temporarily on Sherbro Island, which was found out subsequently to be an extremely unhealthy locality. There, the agent and his assistant soon sickened and died, and most of the settlers also soon after either died or removed to other places. The provisions, stores, &c., were mostly wasted or destroyed. (Fourth Auditor's report, 1830.)

Later, in 1820, another United States agent was appointed, and another assistant. The new agent took out another shipment of emigrants for colonists, and also the first four (only) of the thirty recaptured Africans. Why these only were taken, and the others again left, does not appear. Thirty-eight emigrants, men, women, and children, were employed by the agent "to supply deficiencies among the mechanics and laborers first sent out, caused by death and dispersion." The schooner before purchased by Mr. Bacon "being much out of repair," another was purchased "for the use of the establishment." Among the numerous articles sent out in after time (under Ashmun's agency) there appear charged "ten dozen [bottles of] porter, and ten gallons of Madeira wine."—(*ib.*)

"In May, 1822, the Secretary of the Navy directed that ten liberated Africans should be delivered to J. Ashmun, for transportation to Africa, who also with these, took out fifteen men, twelve women, and ten children [Ameri-

can negroes] to be attached to the [United States] agency." "Ten liberated Africans, sent out in 1823, were returned to their own country, which was within forty or fifty miles of the settlement."—(*ib.*)

In January, 1825, the Rev. J. Ashmun, the then United States agent, and also governor of the colony of Liberia for the Colonization Society, in his former capacity, among numerous other expenses for the United States Government, reported—

"That he was proceeding to build a stone pier at the landing: was about to build a tower for defence; and by building and repairing had two boats transporting rice. He had organized a regular guard, and enlisted seven men for the service." He had previously on his ration list two hundred persons, but they were then reduced to sixty-eight. He expected, however, to furnish rations for about eighty. He had fifteen pieces of cannon, three swivels, besides small arms. The salaries and allowances of all the officers appointed, men enlisted, and persons employed in these improvements, and cost of materials, were all charged to the U. States. The number of liberated Africans then under charge of this formidable agency was *fifteen*."—(*ib.*)

It would be wearisome and superfluous to copy even one-half of the monstrous charges made against and paid by the United States Government, and in some cases previously authorized by the Secretary of the Navy. The Fourth Auditor's report says:

"Indeed it would be difficult to imagine an expenditure incident to the business of human life, which is not in principle embraced in the settlement heretofore made of the accounts of the agents for the reception of liberated Africans at Liberia."

It will be enough to state the total expense to 1830, the date of the report.

"The whole number of negroes transported to Africa by the Government," says the Auditor, "according to the best information I can collect, is less than two hundred and sixty. The appropriations for their support in the United States, transportation to Africa, and superintendence there, have amounted to \$264,710. Every liberated negro has, therefore, cost the United States near [more than] \$1,000."

But enormous as is this amount, it is only a small part of the cost to the Government of indirectly sustaining and defending and affording general and complete protection to the negro colony of Liberia, even to the same early date of 1830. From the first settlement, American vessels have frequently visited the colony, and have remained long in the ports or roadsteads—near the shore—and their commanders thereby gave to the colony all the great, even if entirely indirect, benefit of the appearance of perfect alliance, or rather of identity of nationality, of Liberia with the United States, and of common action in war,

offensive and defensive, to the understanding of the ignorant natives of the surrounding tribes. In addition, in the war in which the colony was very early involved with the natives, there was much of direct military and naval aid given from and by our naval force on the coast, and by men landed therefrom—all the aid indeed that was required at the time—and without which the colony would have been speedily and completely destroyed. Men from the United States naval force built and fortified a fort—joined with the colonists in carrying on war, both offensive and defensive, with the (at first) hostile natives—and aided Gov. Ashmun, (the Napoleon, or the Jackson, of Liberia), to make foreign conquests. All the force of the United States ships of war, formerly irregularly but frequently visiting Liberia, and for long times cruising just off the coast—and all the force of the regular squadron, carrying eighty guns, that has been constantly attached to, and kept cruising near the African coast, and in service since the Ashburton treaty, in 1842, for the suppression of the slave-trade—must have been necessarily deemed by the natives as the force of a powerful nation always engaged in guarding and protecting Liberia. This has been the great and effectual safeguard of the colony. The cost of all this aid and protection, or so much as was designed for and essential to defend and secure Liberia—and thus directed without legal authority—is impossible to be estimated. But it may be approached near enough, and yet within the certain limits of truth, to show that the share of the Government of the United States alone, in the cost of establishing Liberia, is much more than the colony is worth in any mode of estimation whatever.\*

The existence of these enormous abuses, permitted to exist, unpunished and unchecked, for so long a time, would alone be enough to prove the great and dangerous influence that the functionaries of the Colonization Society, working at Washington, have been able to exert over the public men, and the functionaries of the United States Government.

The colony of Liberia has now existed for thirty-nine years, if counting only from the landing of the first eighty-six settlers in 1820.

\*The value of such aids from the United States Government acknowledged by Gov. Ashmun, and which aids have since been so freely and often rendered by the United States naval force, and also partly by the British cruisers, may be inferred from the following extracts from his letters to the Secretary of the Navy. On November 22, 1822, just after an attack by the then hostile natives on the colony, Mr. Ashmun wrote—

"We expect another assault to be made on us in two or three days. The force is powerful in numbers, poorly armed, and cowardly. Now, if a single vessel of war lay in the road, all these hostile movements would probably have been prevented." [Again on the same day.] "We can only resolve to stand, and wait assistance [from the United States Government.] The presence of one vessel of war would deter them forever from attacking the settlement."

From the same to the same, December 7, 1823:

"We are at present reinforced by thirteen men, marines, under the command of a Midshipman, belonging to his Britannic Majesty's ship *Driver*, provisioned for six weeks."

And if counting the three previous years of preparatory action, and of expenditures thereby incurred, the colonization scheme has been forty-two years in operation and progress. Liberia, for more than eleven years, has been declared and called an "independent Republic," and is indeed a burlesque imitation of what it is called. The functionaries and advocates of the colony claim, in its present position, the achievement of great and unprecedented success; and that, in the natural advantages of the country, and in the character and conduct of the colonists, there exist the elements of far greater success to be surely reached hereafter. On the contrary, I maintain that the colony has, throughout, owed its support to the continual receipt of alms and support from the people of the United States through the Colonization Society—that its very existence being continued has been owing to the naval and military protection and to the other and illegal contributions from the United States Government—and that even with all these former aids, if they were now withheld, Liberia, and all its civilization and other supposed values, would disappear within much less time than has been used to nurse the Republic to its present feeble and contemptible condition.\*

\*Not only has the colony been defended and sustained by the arms and naval force of the United States, but also by the favor of the British government, and even by the French government. During the war made by the natives on the colonists, in 1822, when the latter had just before been in great peril, "His Britannic Majesty's schooner *Driver* fortunately arrived in the harbor at this time, and the commander kindly offered his services as mediator, which were gladly accepted by both parties;" and the native princes signed an engagement "to observe an unlimited truce with the colony."—(M. Carey, p. 13.) Besides this, and all the other countenance and indirect support afforded by the frequent presence of the British armed vessels always cruising off the coast of Liberia, the British government has given to the "republic" an armed schooner, the *Lark*, completely equipped. The French government has also given 1000 muskets, and has promised a vessel of war, to the present Liberian government.

The direct aid of the naval and military forces of the United States, has been continued to the now independent Republic of Liberia, of which the following case is copied from the "African Repository" of 1852, pp. 93, 4. It was during a war with the natives.

"The President [Roberts] himself, fearing another attack on Bassa Cove, before reinforcements could be ready to leave Monrovia, made application to Commander Pearson of the United States ship "*Dale*," then in the harbor, to take him to the scene of war; and represented to him that the presence of his ship in the harbor of Grand Bassa would very probably have a tendency to influence the natives from another attack before the arrival of the reinforcements. Commander Pearson kindly met the wishes of the President, and the next morning set sail for Grand Bassa, (distant about sixty miles.) On the same day, a company of seventy-five men properly armed and equipped, embarked for the same place on board the Liberian Government schooner "*Lark*." The arrival of the President in the harbor of Grand Bassa in the United States ship *Dale* was very opportune. Grand and his allies had contemplated another attack on Bassa Cove; but the presence of the American man-of-war, with the President, and the reinforcements by the *Lark*, had the effect of deterring them from their course."

What distinction could the ignorant native chiefs and tribes understand to exist between the military and naval power that sent the "*Dale*" and the "*Lark*," and between the governments to which they respectively belonged?



But a mere past failure, however complete, if acknowledged and abandoned, would not be so bad as the actual and progressing condition of things. I have exposed the system of deception practised in regard to the objects and policy of the Colonization Society in the United States. A similar system of deception, by concealment and suppression and perversion of truth, even if not by intentional publication of direct falsehood, has characterized the whole general purport of the official or authorized publications concerning the condition of Liberia. The most favorable and partial reports have been published of every thing; and when the dismal realities necessarily came out in the course of time, each such undeniable exposure was either pronounced to be but a particular and rare exception to the rule of general success, or false excuses were offered in mitigation. Thus the benevolent masters have been deceived, and the free negroes who had enough means for information to know of the reported blessings of the country. The ignorant emancipated slaves, who could only know the opinions of their deceived masters, were made the victims of the deception of some, and of the false confidence of others, whom they trusted and obeyed as being their best friends. I will proceed to expose the measures and reveal the truth, and to show the extent and the true causes of the failure of this experiment of negro independence.

*The progress and kind of immigration.—Alleged prosperous condition of the colonists.*

Let us now trace and compare the progress and the success of the first avowed "exclusive design" of the Colonization Society, the removing the nuisance of free negroes from the United States, with the actual chief operation of taking away slaves, to be converted to free colonists of Liberia.

The earliest three successive shipments of designed colonists were entirely of free negroes. The same class supplied much the greater number for years after. To January 1832, inclusive, making the first twelve years of emigration, and the twenty-five first shipments of emigrants, there had been sent out from the United States to Liberia 1,195 free-born emigrants, and 536 slaves emancipated for the purpose. In the next thirteen years, to January, 1843, the free emigration was but 482, and the slave portion was 1,754. The only full census table of Liberia affords full information to the last named date only. But from that to the present time, the free emigration has continued to be very small, and the emancipation and emigration of slaves generally has increased in proportion to the decline of the other. The free negro emigrants may be safely inferred to have been the best of their class—which, low and degraded as it is in general, contains some few individuals who are worthy and useful members of society. These, the industrious, thrifty, and respectable—especially those who had acquired some

property and education—would most sensibly feel the degradation of their position, and would be most readily prompted by ambition to seek the great advantages which, they were promised by the Colonization Society, would be found by colonists in Liberia. The most destitute of the free negroes could not emigrate, for want of pecuniary means; and the most ignorant and degraded of them have never been induced to form the wish, and make the effort, even if they had known of and believed all the inducements falsely urged. In addition, in the earlier years, while the favorable reports of the colony were generally believed, there were more persons willing to emigrate than could be taken care of; and the agents of the Society, very properly, chose the best subjects for colonists, either in reference to their character and habits, or their means for support, or for both. The few emigrants who had purchased their freedom, by that very action, proved their superior worth of character. And the same general rule, with some modifications, applies to the slaves emancipated for emigration to Liberia. They were mostly selected by their benevolent masters for their good conduct; and if not so in every individual case, at least as to heads of families; and the vicious and worthless must have been generally excluded. It is to be presumed that none of the vicious adults, or those otherwise supposed to be bad subjects for colonization, would have been offered by their masters, and friends of the Society, or accepted by the agents to receive emigrants. For these reasons, it may be safely assumed, that the settlers of Liberia, throughout, whether previously slaves or free, were generally among the best of their respective classes, and also of the whole negro race, and of the portion previously the most improved, by the only great means for their considerable improvement, slavery to masters of a superior race. Further, the fact should not be overlooked that many of the free negroes, (as usual of that class, and especially in towns,) were of mixed race, having from one-fourth to three-fourths of white blood, and of course possessing in as large proportion the ordinary measure of intellect, energy, and other superior qualities of the white race. It is probable that almost every one of the few cases that have occurred in Liberia of acts or efforts, and of intellectual qualities far superior, and appearing in strong contrast, to the general order, the individuals so elevated in mental qualities above the mass, were more nearly allied to the white than to the black race.

The Colonization Society at first professed, as its main and great and even "exclusive" object—and on that ground the Society was favored and aided by upholders of the institution of slavery—the removal of the evil and nuisance of the free negro population from the United States. That operation, as has been shown, has been effected to but a very small extent as it regards numbers—and, in the mode and selection of emigrants, rather to the

loss than the gain of our country—and whether it was for our gain or loss, the emigration from this class has greatly declined, and is nearly at an end.

On the other hand, the operation which had been denied by the Colonization Society as being designed or sought, that of promoting the emancipation of slaves, has already become far more extensive than the other—and is extending more and more in numbers, and increasing the excess of the evil over the supposed good work of the Society. It has already nearly become a power operating almost exclusively for the emancipation of slaves. The means used for inducing such emancipations have already been adverted to. The effects are of more importance. Every slave thus emancipated and removed is a loss to the owner and to the commonwealth of the full nett value of his labor—and labor is the greatest want of the agriculture of Virginia, and of all the southern States. But there is still a much worse effect. The statements (of the benefit of accepting freedom, and of enjoying it in Liberia,) used to induce reluctant slaves to accept the offered boon, are not confined to the first auditors, but are communicated, with amplifications, to all the neighboring slaves. Every statement designed, and most effective, to make a particular slave desirous to accept his offered freedom, must be as much calculated, (and, indeed, is so designed for the particular case,) to render him dissatisfied with his then condition of slavery—and thence to view as a previous wrong to him the conditions with which he had been contented before. Such lessons, when designed to operate on one individual, and even without having direct effect on that one, may reach hundreds of others, to the injury of their contentment, and their worth as laborers and slaves. Much worse are such operations and results, when, (as is now not uncommon,) a number of slaves are emancipated by the master's testamentary bequest, but are held to labor still for some years later, either to provide funds for their removal to and their establishment in Liberia, or for any other purpose. The necessary consequences of such cases are that the prospectively freed slaves become disobedient, lazy, and worthless, and their condition, present and expectant, and their teachings, (derived immediately or remotely from the false information and delusive reasoning of colonization agents and publications,) serve to spread error and discontent among all the neighboring slaves—each of whom will understand that the boon of freedom has been bestowed on, and all the blessings of the Liberian paradise promised to his fellows because it was their just due—and will correctly infer that it is not less his right than theirs. In the recent testamentary emancipation of the deceased G. W. Custis' slaves, (about three hundred in number,) which is to take place after they shall have been kept in bondage for five years longer, the whole market value of these slaves is not

greater than will be the amount of loss incurred in their continued limited service, and of the damage of the example on all the slaves of the surrounding country. An instance of the first of these effects has recently been published in the newspapers of a notable case of colonization philanthropy. The slaves emancipated by the will of McDonough, of Louisiana, nearly all males, and mechanics, or otherwise of unusual value, having still to serve for a term of years before being sent to Liberia, forthwith became so worthless that they did not earn enough to pay the expenses of supporting them; and the commissioners, having the estate in charge, desire to give up the slaves, to immediate emancipation, to prevent greater loss than would be incurred in retaining them at labor as slaves.\*

Such are some of the evils to the State, and to the remaining slaves. Let us now inquire whether there are compensating benefits of the system of as much amount, that enure to the emigrants to Liberia, the special objects of colonization philanthropy.

First, the free negroes have already for themselves answered the question in the negative, by their general and obstinate refusal to emigrate to Liberia, since the earlier times of colonization, and since they have learned general facts, and also reports from previous colonists, of tenor very different from the former publications of the Colonization Society. There is a standing appropriation of the legis-

\* "The New Orleans 'Bulletin' calls attention to the eighty-six negroes belonging to the McDonough estate. By the will of McD. they were to be sent to Liberia after serving fifteen years. Knowing that they are hereafter to be free, these negroes have become discontented, refractory, and troublesome. They have incurred the habit of running away, and have fallen into excesses calculated to deprave their morals and injure their health. The Commissioners cannot exercise the supervision of masters over them, and the consequence is that they are subject to bad treatment, and sometimes severe punishment. The sum received for their hire is a mere trifle, (\$2,000,) and no adequate remuneration for the trouble and expense they afford the managers of the estate. The Commissioners recommend that some reciprocal understanding should be arrived at forthwith, between the cities of New Orleans and Baltimore and the Colonization Society, for the transportation of these negroes to the colonial settlement of Liberia, and that some sufficient sum be applied for carrying out the provisions of the will in reference to the preliminaries, for consummating the benevolent purposes of the testator."

In addition to the large number of slaves emancipated by McDonough for Liberia, he bequeathed to the American Colonization Society an annuity of rents, estimated at \$25,000 a year for forty years—which will amount to \$1,000,000. For the accomplishment of this great philanthropic object, and for its renown, the rich bestower of the legacy left his near relatives in penury, has consigned his much favored slaves to misery and final barbarism or extinction, and has damaged the interests of his country as much as could be by any equal waste or misdirection of as large an amount of property.

"MORE VIRGINIA SLAVES EMANCIPATED.—Isaac N. Robertson, of Charlotte county, Va., who died a few days since, emancipated all his negroes, numbering one hundred. He also divided his remaining property among them, for their removal to Liberia or a Free State. This is the third case of wholesale emancipation in that State that has been announced within two months. In one instance ninety-two were set free, and in the other, seventy-five." (African Repository, 1857, p. 316.)

lature of Virginia, from which there is authority to pay \$50 to the State Colonization Society for every free negro who will emigrate to Liberia. The law is almost a dead letter, for want of subjects that will accept the offered bounty.\* Scarcely a free negro will willingly leave his early home, and the neighborhood and guardianship of white men, (badly as he is sometimes treated by them,) to enter a negro community, to be ruled by men of his own color. If all the free negroes of Virginia were compelled to choose between emigrating to Liberia, or to be sold to the highest bidder, into perpetual slavery, three-fourths of them, at least, would deliberately choose the latter alternative.

Next as to the slaves emancipated as colonists. If the accounts published by direction or authority of the Colonization Society, and its zealous friends, are to be believed, it was very rare, and to some of the reporters impossible, to find any colonist, of either class, who was discontented with his then situation, or who would be willing to leave the colony, and return to America. Enough of such testimony will be added below, to establish this position of my argument.

Extract from report of Capt. Kennedy, U. S. N., 1880:

"Under these impressions, [very unfavorable to the condition and prosperity of the colony] therefore, I commenced my inquiries with great caution. I sought out the most shrewd and intelligent of the colonists, many of whom were personally known to me, and, by long and wary conversations, endeavored to elicit from them any dissatisfaction with their situation, if any existed, or any latent desire to return to their native country. Neither of these did I observe. On the contrary, I thought I could perceive that they considered that they had started with a new existence, &c."

Sixteenth Annual Report of Colonization Society, says: "The intelligent master of the ship James Perkins, 'did not hear, while at the colony, a discontented expression from any one,' but found 'all with whom he conversed, apparently happy and pleased both with the country and government.'"

Extract of letter from Capt. Abels, of emigrant schooner Margaret Mercer, February, 1882:

"On the 14th of December, I arrived [in Liberia.] All the colonists appeared to be in good health. All my expectations [manifestly sanguine] in regard to the aspect of things, the health, harmony, contentment, industry, and general prosperity of the settlers were more than realized." "Among all I conversed with, I did not find a discontented person, or hear one express a wish to return to America. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one." "Most of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property, &c."

\*Mathew Carey (a thorough friend and partizan of the scheme, in his "Letters on Colonization," 1832,) said—"The passage [of an emigrant to Liberia] is at present calculated as about \$20, and the expense for the maintenance of each emigrant for six months [in Liberia] at about \$15; making in all \$35." This was the estimate made and offered as one of the premises to urge the gradual transportation of all the free negroes, or of all the negro inhabitants of the United States, and adopted by Mr. Clay, in his calculation before quoted. Latterly and now, other objects being in view (to get as much money as possible from Government,) it is made a subject of complaint that the \$50 offered by the State of Virginia, to the Colonization Society of Virginia for every free negro (of any age) conveyed to Liberia, is too little to defray the expense—and the appropriation is therefore asserted to be inoperative, and of no value.

The Rev. Mr. Rockwell, a chaplain of the U. S. N., in a public address delivered in Richmond, Virginia, and published in the "African Repository," 1837—

"Stated that he found the people universally contented. He asked many if they did not wish to return to live in the United States; and in all cases received a negative answer. At length he found an afflicted mother, who had been reared as a house servant in one of the best families of a neighboring State. She went to Africa a few years since with her two children, leaving her husband in this country. One of her children she had committed to the grave, and one only was left. Here said Mr. R. 'I thought I had found the person for whom I had been looking—one who would choose to return to this country.' But he was disappointed. This woman in her affliction, dependant on her labor for subsistence and for the support of her surviving child, would by no means be willing to return to this country as her home."

Dr. Goheen, physician to the Methodist mission in Liberia, wrote, (August, 1835)—

"I have inquired diligently, and I have yet the first man to find who would leave Liberia for a residence in America, on any terms."

"If well built houses, tables furnished with the necessaries, and some of the luxuries of life; dresses, comfortable and fashionable, and good farms in the country, furnish proof of families being above want, then are those in Greenville above want. I did not see, nor did I hear of one, even one, that was poor in the common acceptance of that word."—*Rev. Eli Ball, (African Repository),* p. 86, 1853.

Such reports in particular cases, however false and deceptions, may have been made in good faith by the reporters. If they were naval officers, or other as hasty visitors and observers, they could easily be directed to converse with and to inquire of chosen and fortunate persons, who would concur in giving favorable answers. It is certain, however, that many colonists are discontented, and many would rejoice to leave, if they were able to pay their passage, or were not too lazy to earn as much, even if to return to their former slavery.\*

It would, indeed, be very strange if there were such perfect and general contentment in a colony which, though settled by families, with fair proportions of men, women, and children—and all well fed and nursed, and cared for, during six months, and then provided with enough of fertile land—after thirty-nine years of successive immigrations and settlement, with all the increase by births, does not now contain as many inhabitants, by more than two thousand, as there have been actual and abiding immigrants and settlers! Gradual and successive colonization during thirty-nine years, for births, should be equal to the average of nineteen and a half. Now if all the ten thousand emigrants, (in round

\*All the slaves of John Watson, sixty-six in number, were emancipated by his will, and shipped to Liberia, in 1857, with a liberal allowance of money to each one. Two of them, who only had not spent their money, paid their passage by the earliest vessel to the United States, which vessel was bound to Baltimore. Thence they travelled under great difficulties, and danger of being arrested as runaway slaves, to their former home in Prince Edward county, Virginia. There, as they expected and desired, they were again enslaved, being sold for that purpose at public auction, and were bought by the persons whom they preferred as their masters. They reported that many others of their former fellow-slaves would have been glad to accompany them, but for the want of money to pay their way to Virginia.

numbers) had been slaves in Virginia, for nineteen and a half years, and with the usual chances here of good or bad treatment, and of living and dying, their number now living would undoubtedly be doubled, or increased to twenty thousand—whereas, free in Liberia, with all their numerous bounties and blessings of abundance, they are reduced to 8000!\*

In a conversation which, not long since, I held with a distinguished and well informed advocate, and zealous functionary, of the colonization cause, I asserted that the actual emigrants would have been happier if remaining as slaves in Virginia than as free in Liberia. To my surprise, the gentleman assented readily and entirely to my opinion. When I asked what then were the grounds for his (or others) advocating the colonization scheme and action, when the emigrants were expected to suffer by their change, he answered that the great benefit in view was not for the emigrants themselves, but for the native inhabitants, in converting them to Christianity. This would, indeed, be a great good to the savages—the fruition of which, however, to much extent, and by such means, I more than distrust. But if, indeed, it is admitted (as certainly it is true,) that the average amounts of happiness, and of life, of the poor emigrants are to be lessened for the better chance of the souls' salvation of the savage Africans, it would be but fair so to instruct the chosen instruments of the pious work. But when, as heretofore, they are inveigled and seduced to emigrate to Liberia, by delusive representations of their own prospective and worldly advantage and gain, they are made blind and deluded victims to (supposed) self interest, instead of being voluntary and glorious martyrs who offer their lives for the spreading of the Christian religion among heathens. If they were informed truly of the great object of their emigration, and then consented thereto, the perishing emigrants would indeed be truly martyrs. But, in that case, it is probable that as few negroes would seek this glorious and holy life and death, as there would be of their advisers who would themselves go, instead of sending others to earn the crown of martyrdom.

Most persons who have had opportunities of hearing from individual colonists, settled for some length of time in Liberia, cannot have failed to know of cases of discontent and complaint, and of alleged suffering for want of necessities—and of frequent begging claims addressed to the kindness and charity—and sometimes strong appeals to the justice—of their former master or mistress, to whom they were indebted for their freedom and their misery. If all the recipients of such disagreeable information, and urgent requests for relief, would permit them to be published, they

\*The later statements of Mr. Cowan. (for 1858) which will be cited hereafter, will show the decrease of population to be much greater, and therefore the case to be so much the stronger for evidence and argument, than I had previously stated, as above.

would probably make as large a volume, as would all the evidence heretofore published of the comfort, contentment, and success of the colonists.\* The causes of these mortifying results, I hasten to admit, are not because the soil and climate do not offer rich and bountiful productions to labor. I ascribe them mainly to the natural peculiarities and defects of the negro mind and character. Such results are inevitable, to the true negro in a state of freedom, and in the absence of all compulsory guidance and direction of a race of superior intellect. Of this more hereafter.

From the beginning to this time, almost every report and statement concerning Liberia, and the results of the operations of the Colonization Society, have proceeded from the employed functionaries, or zealous and prejudiced (or deceived) friends of the Society. The subject has not been enough attractive to induce full examination and investigation by impartial and qualified persons, or by those who were otherwise than friendly to the scheme. The communications of private colonists to their friends in the United States were not likely to proceed from the most ignorant, who are the most numerous, and who would usually be the greatest sufferers. Others, if qualified to make their voices heard abroad, yet, by their superior intelligence and position, probably were enabled to derive profit to themselves by means of the very circumstances which served to depress and ruin the greater number of their fellows. At all events, after an emigrant had settled in Liberia, and became ever so dissatisfied, it would be very difficult for him to return to the United States, even if having property. If without property or money, in hand, it would be impossible.

\*The following extract of a letter, of this character is inserted, because it has already been published, and also for the following notable facts. The letter is from a minister of the gospel, and a preacher to those who pay no other preacher, (as the Missionary Societies of this country pay for the support of all the churches,) and who, long a free man, in this plentiful country, writes to ask charitable contributions from slaves!

"GRAND CAFE MONT, LIBERIA,  
August 5th, 1858,

"The times are so hard here that we have hard work to get along, and this makes me that I am obliged to beg you all a little. I wish you to have this letter read in all the Baptist Churches and try and send me a little help. I want an over-coat and some shoes No. 11. I would also be very glad to receive any thing that any of my friends may have to spare such as Clothes, Tobacco or Provisions, and I hope that you will remember the aged servant of the Lord, and what is given to the poor is lent unto the Lord. Give my best respects and love to all the Christian Brothers and Sisters and all my enquiring friends. Please let me hear from you by the return of the M. C. Stevens, and you will greatly oblige your Father. Pray for me that I may prove faithful until death.  
Your Father,  
"MOSES DENT."

"Persons unacquainted with the facts can hardly be aware of the extent of contributions at the African churches in this city. Not long since \$218 was raised at one church, to assist friends who have gone to Liberia. Only think of it—*slaves* sending a part of their surplus earnings to help to feed and clothe *free persons*."—(African Repository, 1867.)

And all who were thus tied to the colony would have some interest to serve in striving to induce as many others as possible to come to share their fate, and, in some way, to alleviate their sufferings. Every new emigrant would either bring money to spend, or have wants to be supplied by purchases from the older settlers, and to be paid for by the bounty and funds of the Colonization Society. Every provident and thrifty colonist in the neighborhood might count upon profiting by the expenditures of and for every new immigrant—and even the most thriftless would hope to gain something in the general scramble for these foreign supplies to the colony. Hence, even as to individuals who know and might tell the truth of Liberia, there are enough reasons why nothing should be heard by the public from the far greater number—and that, of those who speak to the public, the statements should be eulogistic and exaggerated of the natural advantages of the country, and of the progress and success of the colony. Further, almost all the printed accounts have appeared in the only periodical publication in Liberia, the "Liberia Herald," (which has lately stopped,) and which was the organ, and I believe also the property of the Liberian Government—or in the "African Repository" published in Washington, which is certainly the property and the organ of the Colonization Society. Of course whatever is admitted into the pages of this publication must be understood to be what the managers of the American Colonization Society approve, and choose shall go to the public, and design to be believed. And certainly nothing would there appear (if possible to be avoided,) that would be injurious, or otherwise than favorable, to the condition of the colony, or the operations and designs of the managers of the Society. Therefore, in effect, the affairs of Liberia, throughout, have been as much concealed from the public, as if, for this purpose, the Colonization Society had been able to enforce and to exercise as strict a censorship of both the American and European press, in regard to Liberia, as the present despotic Emperor of France does for his own subjects and dominions. All the religious newspapers and most of all other kinds, have been advocates of the Society and its colony. And of the few editors who were indifferent or careless, or even distrustful of and opposed to the Society, it was rare that one published any opposing notice, or charge, lest its insertion might offend the friends of the Society. For its friends only paid attention to the subject, or cared whether any publication was favorable or unfavorable to the Society and its scheme.

The consequent wide diffusion of exaggerated or false statements, and the successful suppression of unfavorable truth, served for a long time to continue the emigration of free negroes. But the truth of the deplorable sufferings, or later condition, of the preceding colonists, was at last obliged to leak out, and

be admitted; and these voluntary emigrations diminished in consequence, until they have almost ceased. But this deficiency was much more than compensated (to anti-slavery views) in the greatly increased number of slaves emancipated for emigration. These, of course, had no information except the erroneous views of their kind but deluded masters, derived from colonization agents and publications—and had no free-will or choice in their destination. They could not have refused to go to Africa, as nearly all would have wished to do, without also refusing the emancipation offered on that condition. Even such freedom has been positively and persistently rejected by many to whom it was offered—and would have been by all, but for the delusive representations made, by and through their deceived owners, to attract the consent and inclinations of these ignorant and deceived victims of false philanthropy. Such has been the working of the colonization scheme. The free negroes and mulattoes that have been induced to emigrate were mostly of that small portion of their class who were valuable members of Society, for their good conduct and character, industry and thrift. Almost none of the worthless of that class have been removed—or even if they were desired, could be persuaded to emigrate. Thus, while the promised general benefit of the emigration of free negroes has been too small to be worth consideration—and has been so conducted as to do much more harm than good to our country, in the actual emigration—the much greater effect has been to induce the emancipation and removal of slaves—all of which are greatly needed in Virginia, and in all the South, for labor, and the total loss of which portion is a costly infliction upon the agricultural and general prosperity of the whole community. From 1820 to 1848, the whole number of emigrants, from the United States to Liberia, (according to the official reports,) amounted to 4,454, of which only 1,687 had been previously free, (census of 1843,) 2,290 were emancipated to emigrate—and 97 had obtained their freedom by purchase. Of this whole number of emigrants, 4,454, (to 1843,) Virginia alone had supplied 1,649, of which only a small proportion had been previously free. To the close of 1856, the whole number of emigrants to Liberia was 10,502, including, as 1,000, the emigrants to the at first separate Maryland colony, at Cape Palmas, which since has been annexed to Liberia. Of the total of emigrants, 9,502, to and inclusive of 1857, and excluding the 1,000 at Cape Palmas, 3,670 were born free, 5,500 were emancipated to emigrate, and for 326 their freedom was bought. (African Repository.) The emigrants from Virginia alone, to 1856, amounted to 3,315, nearly all the additions since 1843 being of emancipated slaves.

The general results, to the present time, are, that the former colony and the now so-called "Republic" of Liberia, is established independent of all foreign power, except of the still

really directing and truly parental influence of the Colonization Society. But it is not yet a self-supporting community or country, as both the continued alms and guardianship contributed from the United States, are essential to the existence of the Republic. The general results of the colony, as availed by the Colonization Society and its agents and publications, constitute an eminent success, to which the world has previously shown no parallel or equal. On the contrary, to all who will take any care to examine, it will be manifest, that the whole scheme has been a "delusion and a snare" in its operation and progress—and still more a failure when considered in detail, and with reference to the great and true advantages, and means for success, which the country really offers for occupants capable of making use of these advantages. I will proceed to cite, and to comment upon, the grounds for expected success asserted by the publications of the Colonization Society—to admit what is true, and, so far as known, to expose what was false in these alleged advantages—and also in the long withheld and finally reluctantly admitted obstacles to more successful progress, or causes of failure of the promised results of the Colonization Society and its colony.

*The actual condition of Liberia—and results of negro independence.—The true causes.*

If the full statistics of the Society and its colony were accessible, my desired exposition and argument might be but little more in extent than a few pages of tables and figures, presenting statistics of expenses, population, labors, products, &c., for the different years, and showing the comparative progress of the colony. And, if so provided with materials, my conclusions thence drawn would be as certain and as clear as any results of arithmetical statement or calculation. But, unfortunately for the cause and establishment of truth in this case, though the materials for such statistics are in existence, and could easily be furnished by the authorities of the Colonization Society, they are not open to the public in any complete and available form. The only mode to obtain such materials, by one not authorized to call for them, would be the laborious search through all the voluminous mass of documents published by or for the American Colonization Society, and the State and other auxiliary societies, through the forty-two years of operations. Neither these entire publications nor any large connected portion of the series, are within my reach—and I have in vain sought to obtain, and from the supposed best sources, the few general items of statistics, as to income of the Society, population, births, and deaths, exports and imports, public revenue and expenses, &c., of the colony—which would furnish unquestionable indications of the well or ill-doing, or success, or failure, of Liberia. I have been enabled to obtain only a few and fragmentary parts of the reports and other documents of

the Society and of the colony—and everything to which I have had access, and which I have to use, and shall rely upon as authority in matters of statistics, is either in statements of the authorities of the Society, or of the colony, or publications authorized by one or the other, and of writings of warm friends and advocates of the scheme. This latter disadvantage to my argument would still exist, even if every record and publication were open and accessible, and their matter digested, and arranged. For there has scarcely ever appeared, from any respected authority or source, any publication of statistical facts, or any argument founded thereon, in opposition to the Colonization scheme, or its success in Liberia. Every such opposing matter, or charge, that I have seen, was quoted and embraced in the reply thereto by some friend, and published by the Society or its agents as satisfactory and triumphant refutation. Therefore, not only all my statistical facts and premises, but also nearly all the written testimony that I shall adduce, have been gathered from such publications as the Colonization Society, or its agents and thorough advocates, have approved, and thought proper to publish. It is often from the words of designed and direct approval, and highly wrought eulogy, that I am enabled, indirectly, to deduce materials sufficient for full condemnation.

There are, however, two public documents, which, though also of matter selected and compiled by functionaries or friends of the Society, and consequently as favorable to its cause, at least, as truth would permit, would be all that could be desired for my object, if they were of late date. But neither embraces any thing later than 1843. One is a collection of "tables showing the number of emigrants and recaptured Africans sent to the colony of Liberia," &c., &c. The other is a voluminous collection of various documents in relation to Liberia, appended to, and accompanying a report (of 1845) to the House of Representatives by Mr. Kennedy, of Maryland, and which was designed to be entirely favorable (as certainly was the reporter and compiler) to the Colonization Society and its policy. This collection extends to 1086 pages—and the mere publication of this document alone, must have added a large item to the expenses of Government incurred for the benefit of the Colonization Society. For nearly all later facts, and some earlier than these two documents, I am indebted to some recently chance-acquired and broken sets of numbers of the "African Repository," which periodical publication is the property, organ, and mouth-piece of the American Colonization Society.

From these different sources of information, I will proceed to show what has been set forth by the Colonization Society, and its agents and friends (and always published by the Society, or in its organ, the African Repository,) of the great fertility and productiveness of the soil of Liberia, of the comparative healthfulness of the climate, and the other

natural advantages of the country—the comfort and happiness of the colonists, and the certain means for the welfare and success of those invited by these statements to emigrate and become colonists. The different subjects, so far as they are kept distinct by the writers quoted, will be presented in order—though different subjects are often referred to in the same passage.

First, as to the fertility and productions of the country, and available comforts and profits of its settlers and cultivators:

From memorial of the Colonization Society to Congress:

“At length, the agents of the Colonization Society were enabled to effect the purchase of an extensive territory at the mouth of Montserado river \* \* \* and there the colony has been established. The soil is fertile, the land elevated nearly one hundred feet above the sea, the climate as healthy as any in Africa.”

Extracts from “Address of the colonists to their colored brethren in the United States,” a publication circulated by the Colonization Society, September, 1827:

“The soil is not exceeded in fertility or productiveness, when properly cultivated, by any soil in the world. The hills and plains are covered by perpetual verdure. The productions of the soil go on through the year, without intermission.” “We have no dreary winter here, for one-half the year, to consume the products of the other half. Nature is \* \* \* constantly pouring her treasures, all the year round, into the lap of the industrious.”

Rev. Mr. Ashmun, (United States agent and also Governor of Liberia,) quoted by M. Carey:

“For beauty and fertility, the country is surpassed by none in the world.” \* \* \* “The original growth is exuberant, and the soil a rich, deep, and loose loam, entirely destitute of stones, exhibiting in some places a prevalence of sand, and in others of fat clay—but all about equally productive.”

The Rev. Mr. Ashmun also reported that the whole country between Cape Mount and Tradetown is rich in soil, and capable of sustaining a numerous and civilized population, *beyond almost any country on earth.* \* \* \* “The country directly on the sea, although verdant and fruitful to a high degree, is found everywhere to yield in both these respects to the interior” [at the distance of a very few miles from seaboard, as explained in connection.]

From the same “Address of the Colonists” embodied in the 11th Annual Report, 1828, of the Managers of the Colonization Society:

“A more fertile soil and a more productive country, so far as it is cultivated, there is not we believe, on the face of the earth. Even the natives of the country, almost without farming tools, without skill, and with very little labor, make more grain and vegetables

than they can consume, and often more than they can sell. Cattle, swine, fowls, ducks, goats, and sheep, thrive without feeding, and require no other care than to keep them from straying. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and the sugar-cane, are all the spontaneous growths of our forests, and may be cultivated at pleasure, to any extent, by all who are disposed. The same may be said of rice, Guinea corn [dhourra,] millet, and too many species of fruits and vegetables to be enumerated.” Yet the same report adds, “Agriculture, it must be confessed, has received too little attention. The reasons for this are found in the perplexed and difficult circumstances of the early settlers; the unfavorable nature of the lands of the Cape [Montserado, the earliest place of permanent settlement]; the habits of many who first emigrated, acquired by their long residence in our large cities, and the ignorance of all the modes of cultivation best adapted to the climate and productions of Africa; the necessity of employing time in the erection of houses and fortifications; and above all, the strong temptation to engage in the very profitable trade of the country.”

“Truly we have a goodly heritage; and if there is any thing lacking in the character and condition of the people of this colony, it never can be charged to the account of the country; it must be the fruit of our own mismanagement, or slothfulness, or vices.”

“The agricultural habits of the present occupants of this tract [the lands on the St. Paul's river] concur with the advantages of their situation in affording promise of success to their exertions. Nothing, says the colonial agent, but circumstances of the most extraordinary nature, can prevent them from making their way directly to respectability and abundance.”

The colonial agent, Dr. Meehlin says:

“For fertility of soil, and the facilities for procuring articles of trade and subsistence, I know of no place within our limits that can compare with the country in the vicinity of St. John's river.” (17th Col. Report.)

Dr. James Hall (an agent sent out to examine and report facts, and also a munificent benefactor to the colony, in 1842 says:

“With regard to the fertility of the soil, it is unequalled in richness, and abundantly productive of all the great variety of tropical fruits and vegetables, and of the most valuable staples of export in the world.”

The next following passages occur in a pamphlet called “Information about Liberia,” published and widely circulated by order of the American Colonization Society, and which also was reprinted in the African Repository:

“The soil of Liberia, like that of other countries, varies in appearance, quality, and productiveness. There is, however, no very poor land in Liberia; and most of it is very rich, not surpassed perhaps by any other country in the world.”

"Among the numerous agricultural products of Liberia, we may specify as *exportable articles*, rice, coffee, cotton, sugar, arrow root, ginger, pepper, and ground-nuts, all of which can be raised in quantity and quality not surpassed by similar products in any other part of the world."

"It requires no sagacity to foresee that, at the end of half a century from its foundation, Liberia will present a far greater array of population and wealth than did Virginia in the same period."

"Domesticated animals of every necessary kind, and in any required number, may be raised with much less trouble and expense than in this country [the United States]—such as beeves or bullocks, cows, sheep, goats, swine, &c."

"To the industrious agriculturist therefore Liberia offers an inviting home—a home in which the necessaries, and many of the luxuries of life may be produced with much less labor than in this country."

The Rev. John Seys wrote in 1856, in the African Repository—

"There is no finer country in the world for sugar-cane than Liberia. This I said twenty years ago, in public places everywhere, and every day demonstrates the truth of my saying. Messrs. Jordan, Richardson, Blackledge, and others, have acres upon acres of cane, and such cane as no one of fifteen West India islands I have been in, can excel."

The great exaggerations of sundry of these statements, and of many others like them which might be added—whether owing to ignorance, or want of correct information, in all the first writers, or to design with some of them who were better informed—have all served to do their part in the general work of deception practised on the dupes and victims of the colonization scheme. But, if allowing but one-half of the laudation to be true, of all the statements above quoted, that half would be amply enough to present a country having a sufficiently high degree of fertility, and productiveness, on which to found a most prosperous agriculture, and general success of industrial pursuits. With all these advantages offered to agriculture, by soil, climate, and with very high prices for all such articles as might be produced for export, and yet are imported—with more than as much land bestowed on every new settler as he can till, and as much more as he may want at fifty cents the acre—what is the cause that every man and every family are not living in comfort, and increasing in property—and the whole community increasing rapidly in population, and wealth, and improving in condition in every respect?

Yet, for whatever causes, almost every article of food consumed, that can be brought, without damage, across the Atlantic ocean to Liberia, is purchased from abroad—and for the whole consumption, except part of the rice, and most of the Indian corn, usually—and

even sugar, coffee, and cotton, indigenous growths, and capable of being raised most successfully, are not only not raised for exportation, but are almost entirely imported for consumption! A wagon, plows, and the iron works for a grist mill were brought in with the earliest colonists, (at the expense of the Government of the United States,) and yet neither plows, wagon, teams, nor grist-mill, have, as it appears, yet been used, after thirty-eight years of agriculture. There are no team animals, nor anything better than hoe and hand tillage! There are plenty of statements published by the Colonization Society of the finest sugar cane growing—of sugar mills going to be constructed, or to be put in operation—of sugar going to be produced in large quantities, and for exportation—of coffee and cotton, products in like near approach—of oxen going to be worked, and of mules going to be imported—of plows, about to be used—or of such improvements being actually in progress—and of which improvements nothing more is afterwards heard, unless it may be of their failure. Some of these notifications, and promises of speedy performance, were made more than twenty years ago—and such are still repeated in the latest publications of the Society in the African Repository, and in various other papers favorable to the colonization scheme. A few of the most striking examples will be here copied:

In the tenth Annual Report (January, 1837,) of the American Colonization Society, it is stated, that "oxen were trained to labor in the colony in 1825, and it was then expected that the plow would be introduced in the course of another year."

As early as in the twelfth Annual Report, for 1828, the managers state, when "enumerating the different species of domestic animals and the various products now rearing in the colony, and which cannot hereafter be wanting, unless through the inexcusable negligence and indolence of the settlers—Of animals, Horses, Cattle in abundance. Asses are lately introduced, &c."

"LIBERIA A SUGAR PRODUCER.—Letters from Liberia state that the culture of sugar has been carried on so prosperously that several sugar growers are talking about exporting it largely to the United States. One of them, named Richardson, expects to ship two hundred hogsheds of sugar, of his grinding." (African Repository, 1857.)

The actual fruition of this then growing crop, as reported in the African Repository for 1858, (p. 115,) was that the whole quantity of sugar made, (though stated to be from only half of the crop of cane,) amounted to 2,000 lbs. only—or about 1½ hogsheds, in place of the expected 200 for exportation.

In the official report of the census, &c., of 1843, (published by the American Colonization Society in 1845) there are full statements of the extent of agricultural industry for that year. And as each proprietor must necessa-



rily have stated his amount and value of property, and extent of cultivation, according to his own judgment, to the official reporter—and as there was no tax to be imposed, or increased, and nothing to be lost in consequence of any errors of excess—further, as nearly every man would be naturally desirous to have the extent of his cultivation and the value of his property stated as high as was true—we may be very sure that none of the items of the general official report were stated at less than the true and full amount. An abstract, or general summary of the report, together with some other general facts from the accompanying census, will be here presented.

In September, 1843, there had been of emigrant colonists, exclusive of re-captured Africans, in all..... 4,170  
 Remaining living inhabitants, with all the increase by births, including forty-six children of native parents, and twelve of native mothers, and excluding five hundred and twenty emigrants removed to other places... 2,390  
 Number of separate farms, or cultivated properties..... 115  
 Of these, the number of acres in sugar cane were..... 54  
 Rice..... 62  
 Indian corn..... 105  
 Ground nuts, [peas,]..... 31  
 Potatoes and yams..... 306  
 Cassada, &c..... 326

Total number of acres cultivated, (here stated of these separate crops) 884  
 Or by adding together the totals of cultivated ground of each proprietor, as stated elsewhere in the report..... 940  
 Total number of acres owned by farmers in the colony..... 2,529  
 Total number of cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, [no horses, asses, or mules,] and dozens of fowls owned by farmers..... 418  
 Number of cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, and dozens of fowls owned by colonists who are not farmers... 276  
 Total of same altogether owned in the colony..... 689  
 Supposed value of property owned by farmers, including \$9,000 owned by benevolent societies in the United States..... \*\$21,775  
 Or by colonists, farmers only, (deducting the \$9,000,)..... 12,775

There were also reported for the colony 21,197 coffee trees. But as these were not stated by acres, as of all other crops, it is presumed that they stand on land also plant-

\* This very small amount, (even if excluding all town lots and houses and other property,) seems incredible. I have copied it precisely, in words and figures.

ed in other crops, and were included in the other enumeration of spaces.

It appears from the report, (as corrected in some of the additions to make totals,) the acres cultivated in the colony, (taking the much largest total,) of 940 acres, make one acre for every 2½ (2.54) inhabitants of the colony; that the acres owned by farmers were but little more than one acre for each inhabitant; that there was one head of cattle, sheep, hogs, or goats, or one dozen of fowls for about every 3½ inhabitants; and the whole value of the property owned by colonist farmers, \$12,775, was equal only to \$5.35 average for each of the inhabitants (2,390) of the colony at that time. In lower Virginia, of which the general exhaustion and consequent barrenness has been made a by-word—and which condition (when truly stated in former times, and also since,) has been adduced often by opposers of slavery to prove the destruction of fertility, capital, and products, necessarily caused by the use of slave-labor—there are sundry farms, much less fertile than Liberia, which, for the labor of every fifty ordinary slaves, men, women, and children, have more acres annually cultivated, (and also kept improving,) and more surplus products sold, than those of all Liberia, and more nett annual sales made of surplus products than the stated total value (\$12,775) of the whole farming property and capital in Liberia. No actual products of the cultivated land are stated, and therefore no comparison with them on that score can be made.

There probably are errors in my construction of some of the above items—especially as there were errors of arithmetic in the printed report, which had to be corrected. But if one-half of the items are stated and valued correctly, either as in the printed report or as aimed to be corrected above, the general results make a most astonishing as well as contemptible and ludicrous exhibition of the farming of a fertile colony of then twenty-four years settlement and culture.

Though no products were reported, there is light thrown on that omitted part of the agricultural report, by the commercial statistics accompanying the former, of exports and imports for the two years preceding September 30th, 1843. The exports do not show a single product of agriculture, or of the industry of the colonists. There are only four articles of export named—cam-wood, palm-oil, ivory, and tortoise-shell—all of which are obtained in trade from the savage natives. The total value of exports for the two years stated amounted only to \$123,694. The imports for the same time amounted to \$157,829. Among the imports there are, of breadstuffs and other articles of food, (which might be substituted by home products,) and of other articles that could be raised abundantly for sale and exportation, the following:

Pickled and dried fish, value of..... \$1,809  
 Flour..... 6,086

Beef and pork.....	\$8,333
Butter and lard.....	2,363
Coffee.....	771
Navy and pilot bread and corn meal.....	2,353
Vinegar and molasses.....	1,093
Hams and bacon.....	3,761
Lumber.....	1,079
Tobacco.....	13,324
Cigars.....	480
Ardent spirits.....	2,230
Sugar.....	3,546
Soap.....	1,655
Candles.....	891

It cannot be alleged, in excuse for their purchase, that the articles which might be well raised for exportation are imported cheaper than they could be produced—for they sell at very high prices. According to a statement of usual prices in Liberia, published in the newspapers, and elsewhere, some ten months ago, and which I have not seen contradicted or questioned, some of the foregoing commodities were priced as follows: "Flour, \$12 to \$16 the barrel; hams and bacon, 20 to 25 cents the pound; hard bread, \$18 to \$21 the 100 lbs.; rice, \$5 the bushel; butter 62½ cents the pound; salt fish, \$12 to \$14 the barrel; sugar 25 cents the pound; potatoes, \$1 25 the bushel."

Besides the agricultural products imported into Liberia, the report shows every manufactured or other commodity that the colonists can be supposed to require, and able to pay for.

Putting together all these facts, they serve to indicate clearly, even if indirectly, that the agricultural industry of Liberia, as a whole, is beneath contempt—mere hoe-tillage of such vegetables as will be mostly eaten by the cultivator's family, leaving very little in any cases to sell—and that all that is made of profit, by any individuals, or by the community, is by trading with the natives, and so obtaining the products of their industry to export.

What then are the causes of this remarkable neglect to cultivate rich, productive, and cheap land? The reasons and excuses offered in Reports of the Colonization Society, and other of its publications, are unworthy of consideration or notice. Among such, are seriously alleged the want of prior knowledge of many of the colonists of agriculture, and of all of them of tropical agriculture—the want of proper implements and teams, and the colonists being too poor to buy them—and (what has most force,) that trading with the natives offers stronger inducements, and better profits, than agriculture, and causes the latter to be neglected. A few years experience of any capable and willing culturist would serve to supply all before defective experience and instruction—a productive agriculture (independent of the higher profits of trading,) would soon enable the farmer to buy all the required implements and teams. And if trading is (as alleged,) so much more profitable than this

bountiful agriculture, then the traders ought soon to become rich by this most profitable pursuit, and, as landholders, be enabled to do everything needed for agriculture. Yet the colony, or the now independent "Republic," still receives, and to great extent lives upon, the continued alms of the people of the United States, furnished in the annual expenditures of the Colonization Society, of some \$70,000, and the contributions of former masters to their emancipated slaves—amounts much greater than the value of all the annual exports of the colony in 1842-'43—to which years the only known report refers.

The true cause of the great and general neglect of agricultural pursuits, and omission of labor, would not be far to seek, for any who are not too much prejudiced to see and acknowledge the truth. It is simply the natural aversion of the negro to regular and laborious toil—and his unwillingness to resort to continued labor so long as he can live, though ever so poorly, in idleness. This disposition implanted in the negro by nature, will last, and continue to operate in like manner, as long as the only laboring class in Liberia is free; or until, truly and generally, the colonists shall use the natives as slaves. For indolent as all men are, and averse to bodily labor, in tropical climes, and as negroes are everywhere and always, yet civilized negroes, even within the tropics, would not fail to make their slaves labor, for the ease, luxury, and profit of their masters. This policy, if adopted in time, possibly may save Liberia from utter ruin, and final and speedy extinction, whenever the bounty, and the parental direction and rule, of the Colonization Society shall cease to be afforded. This policy would be no less beneficial for the native slaves, thus transferred from savage to civilized masters, than it would be for the labor-hating colonists. And the economical benefits and success of this policy would lead gradually to the conquest and occupation of all the adjacent territory, the absorption of the inhabitants, by transference of ownership of the enslaved, (and these are the far greater number,) and by these means only, these enslaved natives, or their children, may be civilized and christianized. For, as all the experience of the world has shown, there is no possible mode of either civilizing or changing the religion of a savage and numerous people, other than by subjugating them, and subjecting them to slavery in some form—and of all the different forms, domestic slavery, or the slavery of individual to individual, is best for the negro, and for his more enlightened master. To follow out this proposition would lead me too far from the question under consideration, which is the cause of the general failure of agriculture in Liberia. The reason here stated applies to the negro race, and is illustrated by the habits of the negro everywhere—and is to be seen wherever negroes are free from control, and able to live in idleness, whether it be in Africa, Virginia, Massachusetts, or Canada.

But the same general rule, of aversion to labor, applies to all men, white or black, and more especially in hot climates. And for this reason, mainly, the great productions of southern countries, cotton and sugar, never have been, and never will be raised largely for sale and exportation to foreign countries, except when cultivated by slave labor.

*The climate of Liberia as affecting the health of the colonists.*

In regard to the question of health, as of previous questions, I will first cite statements which have been published, either directly or indirectly, by the Colonization Society, and their truth thus vouched for—or if there are any exceptions, they at least proceed from official reports and sources all friendly to the Society, the high authority of which none will question. Some such evidences, to the same purport, have already been presented when intermixed with other matters.

From "Address of Colonists to their Free Colored Brethren in the United States," (1827):

"We enjoy health, after a few months residence in this country, as uniformly and in as perfect a degree as we possessed that blessing in our native country."

"In the early years of the colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the hardships and discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness, which prevailed to an alarming extent, and were attended with great mortality. But [in 1827, observe,] we look back to these times as to a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten. Our homes and circumstances are comfortable, and for the last two or three years not one person in fifty, from the middle or southern States, has died from change of climate."

Dr. Randall, in a letter dated December, 26th, 1828, said—"The climate during this month is most delightful. *Though this is regarded as the sickly season*, we have but little disease, and none of an alarming character." In February, Dr. Mechlin wrote—"This month, although called by those resident here *the sickly season*, has not, to judge from the few cases of illness that have come under my notice, merited that appellation. Indeed, I do not know any part of the United States where the proportion of the sick is not fully as great as here; nor are the cases of a refractory nature, almost all yielding to medicine." In April, he having mentioned the prevalence of fever among the newly arrived emigrants, adds—"I never saw any fever in the United States yield more readily to medicine than the country fever among the emigrants at this season."—(*Thirteenth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society.*)

If there is any one disputed point in this discussion, which would seem perfectly settled by the testimony published by the Colonization Society, it is the proposition that Liberia

is not generally or greatly unhealthy, but, on the contrary, rather healthy than otherwise to the black colonists, and especially to all such emigrants from the southern States, and to all, at least, who have safely passed through the first "seasoning" or African fever, or the first few months of residence in the country. I would readily have acquiesced in this opinion, so strongly fortified by evidence, and without any other opposing evidence being offered, but for other and formidable facts of the frightful mortality that has prevailed, not only in early years, but throughout. The official reports of the colony show that to this day, the births in the colony have not kept pace with the deaths, nor approached them, to the last accounts, by more than two thousand. By so much decrease, the recent population, with all the births to aid, fell short of the actual number of original colonists and permanent settlers. Such results, after thirty-eight years of colonization, and experience, would be impossible, if the statements published by the Society in regard to health had been correct. If they were mistaken and false, and known to be false by the authorities of the Society, then most unpardonable deception has been practiced on the ignorance of the poor emigrants, and on the benevolence of the emancipating masters, and also of the confiding and paying public. It is not for me to attempt to settle these differences, or to pronounce where the truth lies.

It may be admitted, and deemed reasonable and unavoidable, that even after the long and careful preliminary investigations of the localities of the coast, and every precaution used, that the early settlers, for some few years might suffer greatly by disease and death, even though the same localities might subsequently be healthy. But if the great early extent of sickness and of deaths in Liberia had been the consequence of ignorance, imprudence, and of other causes to be learned by experience and to be thenceforth avoided, the unfortunate beginning would not have continued long. But it is now manifest that these great sufferings from disease were not temporary, and were not caused only by the necessary effects of the early fever and seasoning—nor were they usually escaped or passed through with safety, by emigrants from the southern States, as alleged in the deprecatory reports and apologies. The whole number of emigrants to December, 1856, amounted to 10,502—allowing, as then estimated, 1,000 for the Maryland colony at Cape Palmas. Of this whole number, 698 only went from the non-slaveholding States, and the remaining 9,804 from the slaveholding States, and therefore, for much their greater number, from southern localities. Virginia alone had then contributed 3,315 to the number of emigrants. (*African Repository.*) Therefore, much the greater number, by previous residence were well prepared (as the statements declare,) to pass through the early "seasoning" in Liberia with but little danger—and, subsequently, to

find the climate as healthy as that to which they had been previously accustomed.

*Negro colonization impossible.—How it may be possible to save and utilize Liberia.*

So far, the facts which I have adduced have gone to prove the entire failure of the particular experiment of negro colonization made in Liberia. But a broader ground may be safely assumed, and the more general proposition successfully maintained, that the negro race is incapable of separate colonization—as well as of separate civilization and of independent and free government. This would be sufficiently proved by the facts, if fully stated, of the actual settlement of Liberia—which was not only first devised, but has throughout been induced, conducted, cared for, supported, defended, and governed, by the intellect, funds, and arms, of the white race. And this is the only example, and the only attempt, of separate negro colonization that has been known since the negro race has existed in Africa. In the United States, the free negroes, whether treated best or worst, are in a wretched condition, and are much worse off than either the lowest class of whites, or the negro slaves. If any white men had been placed in a like degraded position, as much deprived of the civil and political privileges enjoyed by the great body of the community, were subjected to so many injuries, and to the scorn and contempt so generally offered by the superior class—and were as hopeless of any improvement of condition in their actual location, and yet were as free to escape from it, as are the free negroes—many, if not all of such whites would have sought equality of rights, or independence, in other places of refuge, even if in danger of perishing in the attempt. White men would have found such places—or would have died in seeking them. Evils and oppressions much less heavy served to induce the English Puritans to seek relief on the forbidding and desolate coast of New England—the French Huguenots to settle among the pestilential swamps of South Carolina—the unarmed and defenceless Quakers to colonize Pennsylvania. Of the first settlers of Virginia, the spirit of adventure alone was enough to invite hundreds of victims to expose their lives to the malaria of Jamestown. All these colonists, too, were surrounded by ferocious and warlike savage tribes, and left to be sustained only on their own resources, and defended by their own courage. Our free negroes, no less than these European emigrants, were free to go into, and to settle apart from and in advance of white men, in our far western territory, as did Daniel Boone and others who went almost alone—or as the Mormons, who went indeed as a community, and in numbers, but also who moved onward more than a thousand miles in advance of all other civilized men, and of any other then existing means for civilized life. Not only were the remote wild lands of our own dominion thus available, had any disposition existed so to

use them, but also, our free negroes, if unwilling to bear their yoke, might have found new homes and fertile lands, and civil and political equality with the other inhabitants, either in Spanish America, or Hayti, or (latterly) in Jamaica, and the other British islands. Free negroes find their way to every remote and newly settled territory of the United States. But it is only as timidly following, and under the protection and government of numerous preceding and bolder white pioneers and settlers. Who has ever heard of even a single case of a negro, or any number of negroes, seeking a new and separate home away from that in which they had previously lived, and where they had been subjected to rulers, no matter how tyrannical, either of their own or of a superior race? Certainly there has been, and for thousands of years, enough of cruelty and misery suffered by the native negroes in Africa, for them thus to flee from the horrible oppressions of their ignorant and cruel chiefs and masters, and the bloody superstitions of their priests. That, of the many millions of negro Africans, during 4,000 years, there has never been any voluntary emigration, for colonization, or independent existence, may be accounted for in the great fact of their universal and profound ignorance. But that objection does not apply to our free negroes, civilized as they have been through slavery—and they have presented no exception to the general rule. If any such desire had existed, the islands of Polynesia would have offered every thing desirable for new settlers, that a new country could afford. Even now, after all that the colonization by the whites has covered, or appropriated, in Australia there are millions of square miles of territory unoccupied, and unclaimed, unless by a few wandering, cowardly, and feeble natives. But not a single negro, savage or civilized, has yet gone to any such new and wild country, except as the timid follower and humble and willing subordinate of the white man. The present settlement of Liberia, the only alleged example of negro colonization, or even of separate and substantive migration, though composed almost entirely of negroes and mulattoes, has been, and is, in its direction, its control, and in all of its very small measure of success, the enterprise and work of white men—and if left without white aid and direction, never could have existed for ten years, and perhaps not as many months.

In the actual immigrants, the incapacity for colonization is strongly exemplified. When landed in the towns, on the sea coast, they exhibit the same reluctance and fear to leave the crowd, and the protection and government of the older settlers, and to move, ahead of, or among the foremost, to the far better, cheaper, and healthier lands of the interior, as negroes do everywhere to remove from more weighty and oppressive control and rule. If the settlers of Liberia were not, in this respect, and by natural disposition, altogether different from and inferior to the white race—

or could they be stimulated to like efforts by the same motives—they would, long ago, have been pressing forward on the better lands of the interior, and at the same time subjecting the lands to culture, and the savage inhabitants to labor, and thereby to civilization. But nothing of this kind has ever been done, as a movement of negroes only. In this respect the civilized negroes are like the savages of the same race, not one of whom has ever voluntarily gone beyond the confines of the negro territory on which he first was placed, unless persuaded or forced by the white man, and under his guidance, care, protection and control. If white men had been among the colonists of Liberia, and even though assuming and maintaining the chief political authority, and acquiring, by greater industry and frugality, (as they certainly would have done,) the possession and direction of most of the property and capital of the country—still under these circumstances, it would have been, and would continue, far preferable to negroes than to emigrate to and settle in Liberia, than under the present condition of exclusive negro government and magistrates. And by such means only—such radical change of policy—can the long continued and costly experiment of the settlement and sustaining of Liberia be saved from entire and hopeless failure, almost as soon as the present connection with, and support of the Colonization Society, and defence by the white race, shall cease.

*Confirmatory evidence, from the latest examiner and a friend of Liberia.*

After the first writing or (rough draft) of the foregoing argument had been completed, I first obtained (by my special application to the author, in Frankfort,) the recently published work "Liberia as I found it," by the Rev. Alexander M. Cowan, agent of the Colonization Society of Kentucky. The book is the result of a visit of seven weeks to Liberia, in the beginning of this year, 1858, and of personal observations made with industry and care, and, I doubt not, as truthfully and candidly reported, as is possible by any one who is manifestly partial to and a partizan of the colonization cause, and therefore necessarily prejudiced in favor of the colony. Nor does this opinion of mine detract from the high respect that the reading of his book has taught me to entertain for the author. It would be indeed strange if he was not partial, and more favorable than strict justice would dictate, to a cause to which he has zealously devoted his services for twelve years. While dissenting from the author in some of his immediate deductions, and in all as to the remote future of the colony, I readily and fully admit his premises, and facts, in all cases in which he saw or witnessed them, and in which he could not be misled, or mistaken, by incorrect information. Such corrections of my statements as he has furnished, or any different or additional facts bearing on the argument, I shall present—and, in part, have used to some

extent, already, as marginal notes to some of the foregoing pages. Mr. Cowan corrects much of the previous erroneous or exaggerated favorable statements of preceding visitors and reporters—and therein he corrects me, when I had too readily received and adopted some of these statements. But, in the general, and as to the inherent causes of failure of the colony, my views are still more strengthened by Mr. Cowan's observations.

His statements of the habits and conduct of the colonists, indicate, for the community, or population in general, an unusually high grade of morality, and of religion. This might be counted upon, from causes that I have before indicated, when saying that the adult colonists were mostly selected individuals, and the best materials of their respective classes of bond and free negroes. They show, in a notable manner, and far more than even the best chosen white colonists would have done, the peculiar virtues, or good qualities more prevailing in the negro race—of good disposition and kind feelings, docility, and obedience to the ruling powers, even in cases where they have been injudiciously and improperly and even unjustly treated, either by the colonial or present local administration, or the authorities of the American Colonization Society in Washington. If the settlers had been white, there would have been much more discontent on account of their suffering, and with their rulers—and turbulence and serious disorders, if not actual mutiny, against one or the other of the two ruling powers. I am also taught to believe, by Mr. Cowan's facts and opinions, that if other localities had been selected for the "receptacles" and "seasoning" of newly arrived immigrants, and if better and proper direction had been given to their early labors, the amount of sickness and of deaths would not have been near so great, nor the general and abiding bad habits (as to economy) discomforts and difficulties, and latter sufferings of the settlers. Further—while the general fertility of the lands, and especially of those near the coast, seems to have been greatly exaggerated by former reporters, still, after making the proper corrections and abatement, I infer that the comfort and the gains of the settlers ought to have been, and might certainly and easily have been made, very much better than have been usual and general—and perhaps as great as had been represented by earlier reporters. But the obstacles, however slight, and easy to be removed or avoided by other people, have been and will be insuperable, (as I infer from Dr. Cowan's facts, and not from his conclusions,) because of the peculiar and unconquerable defects of the negro mind. Their peculiar qualities of race fit them to be the most submissive and the best of subjects, or slaves, under the intelligent and discreet rule of superiors in intellect as well as in power—and the worst possible directors or rulers of themselves or of others. With this key to the proper understanding of the condition of things in Liberia,

whatever otherwise would seem most strange, unaccountable, and inexcusable in conduct, will appear natural, if not inevitable. While there are presented in all the population of Liberia a few cases of individuals showing great and untiring industry, or of intelligent enterprise, and achieving success commensurate with their efforts, these are but marked and rare exceptions to the general rule of laziness, carelessness, improvidence, and of suffering owing to these causes, which more or less distinguishes nearly all of the colonists. The general decrease of population, the deficiency of agricultural production, the still almost total want of articles for export produced by labor of colonists, the continued general importation of almost every commodity that might be produced in abundance, all still continue. Almost every thing for export and for taxation, is derived from trading with the natives, and obtaining the products of their labor at the lowest prices, by means of a general system of the grossest extortion. The fruits of such procedure cannot continue, and they are already beginning to fail. Some few steam saw-mills which had been erected, mostly by aid and direction of friends in the United States, to supply the great want of lumber, though obtaining very high prices, are all either stopped, or are going to decay by neglect. No plow is yet in use—not more than half-a-dozen horses, mules, or asses are yet in all Liberia, and of these not one is used for draught, or other productive labor. The oxen are not broke to draught, or used by colonists, or for agricultural purposes, except in a few cases, and in part only, to press the juice from sugar cane. While vacant land is plenty and very cheap, more than half of the population are crowded on quarter-acre lots, in towns on the coast, where the soil is comparatively poor, and the localities unhealthy. In these same towns—until a very recent exception was made at Careysburg in the interior—all the new immigrants were kept six months to go through their seasoning—which would be unaccountable, except that it appears it was greatly to the interest of the older and richer settlers, and also of the government officers and physicians, that the money of the Colonization Society and of the immigrants should be there spent, and payments made for the necessary and great expenses of their maintenance. The ruling a colony by a corporation on the opposite side of the ocean has always been found to be the worst possible government for white colonists, or enlightened and self-reliant subjects. Such was the London Company that settled and first governed the colony of Virginia—the India Company that in England ruled Hindostan—and even the government of England as the ruler of Ireland, but in Liberia, (because negroes are the colonists,) the rule is reversed. The American Colonization Society in Washington, with all its defects, arising from ignorance, from delusion; or deception, or want of self-interest and responsibility,

nevertheless was and is the best, the most parental, and most discreet and judicious governing power—and the local administration, and especially that of the "Republic," since the "independent" government was established (in 1847) is worse than the former; and the good direction, the welfare, and even the just claims of the people, are much less guarded and cared for by the administration and rule of functionaries of their own election, and of their own race. It is true that, from the same premises, (all furnished by himself,) generally, Mr. Cowan reaches, or hopes for, if in the future, very different conclusions. Nevertheless, I will sustain my positions by quoting, either in substance or in his own words, sufficient proofs, as I conceive, for my purpose.

The facts, or premises to be stated, only, however, it should be understood throughout, are quoted from Mr. Cowan. For the deductions and comments, I am responsible—and in them, my conclusions are often different from such as Mr. Cowan would arrive at. I will copy his words, for authority, whenever it can be done in concise terms and with convenience. In other cases, the purport of his statements will be condensed, but with careful regard to his meaning. He has *italicized* some of the words so marked, but it is done for the greater part by myself.

By the general law of Liberia, each settler, on arrival, is entitled to draw, (without money charge,) but on condition of subsequent improvements to be made, a town lot, of a quarter acre, or land in the country of from five acres, for a single man, to ten for the largest family. (Cowan, p. 21.)

"All the land at Cape Mount, was to be laid off in [quarter acre] town lots; and the farm lots were to be laid off twelve miles up the Cape Mount river. A few of the settlers have bought a quarter acre adjoining their quarter, at \$30, the price asked by the [Liberian] government for a lot." \* \* \* "The inhabitants deserve, at the hand of Liberia, better arrangements for their welfare; and the great confidence that masters, and free persons of color, have placed in the fidelity of the American Colonization Society, demands of the Society to have other arrangements made in regard to the forced location of emigrants at this town, or any other town, or town lots. I say *forced*, for the emigrants have to take town lots, or to move to some other place [and that after the six months detention in the town] to them unknown." (p. 22.)

Further, the surveys of country farms, and locations therein, are obtained and secured with difficulty, owing to the want of any general or proper system of surveying and designating separate farms. Each farm is separately laid off when required for an occupant. The different surveys already conflict in many cases—and new as are all the locations, there is already much confusion and insecurity of titles to land, owing to the gross neglect, or incapacity, in this simple business,

(as I infer,) of the local government. (p. 68.)

Further, though the sites of the towns, (including Monrovia, the capital,) are mostly, or all, on unhealthy locations, on the sea coast, yet in these, generally, and now, with but one recent successful exception, have the new colonists been kept and supported the first six months, for their "seasoning to the climate." Besides what has just been indicated, it may be inferred that other reasons of self-interest have operated on the older settlers and town residents, and on those who control or influence the Liberian government, to persist in this policy, which has been so fatal to the health and lives of the new colonists, and, by fixing most of them as permanent residents in these first locations, has been also so destructive to their subsequent efforts, and ability to thrive, even of industrious labors.

"There is, and has been, a great effort to have the emigrants to Liberia acclimate in Monrovia. *They have some money in their hands. During the acclimation, that money is spent for things that are sold at a very high advance.* At the end of the six months, the survivors, (some of them widows with children,) are without land to live on, and without means to get away from the place. \* \* \* Others, not having exhausted their means, have found acquaintances during the six months, and continue to stay, having no land, nor the possibility of drawing land at Monrovia, until their means are gone, and they become poor—very poor. *Over 6,000 have acclimated at this place.* A great many of that number are sleeping the sleep of death in the graveyard; but many, too many, suffered from their poverty before they died, while others are now standing monuments, that it is a very rare thing for them to taste meat, but at the hand of charity. \* \* \* Monrovia has a class of poor who, if they had acclimated back in the country, where there is farm lands for them, would, I believe, in many instances be now on their lands cultivating them; or if the fathers had fallen after acclimating, the widows and children would be deriving a support from the land." \* \* \* The same policy as to Monrovia still continues, as "is seen in having, by the influence of some of her leading citizens, the new Receptacle [for the acclimating residence of emigrants] put up in the town." (pp. 41, 42.)

All persons who understand the peculiar propensities of the negro race will be at no loss to see in the foregoing facts why nearly all the settlers should have remained town residents to their so great injury. The love of society and of idleness, the greater facilities (at first) for both social and sensual indulgences, the improvidence and carelessness of the future, (increased by being supported and indulged in idleness and luxury for six months, and most of them having money to spend in waste,) the opportunities for "trading" and for getting irregular and light jobs of work in a town, the aversion to go to any new, remote, and unknown country home, to

live in comparative solitude, in (erroneously) supposed danger, and there to earn support by continuous toil and exertion—all would operate to retain in the towns the lazy, improvident, sensual, social, and timid negro, always needing a guardian or a master to coerce him to exertion, and to take care of himself. The town sites too are generally on soil of second rate or inferior quality. Many of the lots, after being occupied, have been abandoned, and remain idle and vacant. (p. 42.)

It is required by the law to erect a house within two years, to get a complete title to a lot—and, in addition, if of farm land, there must have been two acres cleared in that time. There have been drawn in Monrovia "four hundred and twelve town lots, each of a quarter acre. Some of them, by reason of rock and the declivity of position, remain as nature made the land. Many others have been drawn, and perhaps some of them used in their day, (for the town, in part at least, was laid out in 1824,) but now lie out in 'commons.' Other lots have changed hands [by forfeiture] in some cases twice, thrice, and four times, because the persons who had drawn them failed to put on them the improvements required by law." (p. 42.) The farming land next to and within the incorporated limits of Monrovia "contains four hundred and fifty-seven acres, and is divided as follows: thirty-nine lots of five acres, three of six acres, six of eight acres, six of nine acres, thirteen of ten acres, and one of twelve. Sixteen of these farm lots, making in all forty-eight acres, are under cultivation, *more or less.*" [The remaining four hundred and nine acres abandoned or left idle.] "Such a body of land to lie in commons does not bespeak much for the industry of the owners in general, nor for that of the class who have no land of their own, nor house where to lay their head." (p. 42.)

There have been stated, in Mr. Cowan's words, some of the reasons which have operated to retain the emigrants in the towns. There are still other facts which go to show that the (supposed) self-interest of the older residents, and especially of those having most influence on public measures, have been the chief inducing motives of the policy so disastrous to the later emigrants, and to the progress and welfare of the colony. Mr. Cowan, describing the swampy coast lands, and especially those near to Monrovia, says, "I have not exaggerated this surrounding prospect—for *country* it cannot be called. These swamps emit a noisome stench, especially at low water. The miasma rising from them must affect the health of Monrovia. Past emigrations tell a sad tale about its healthiness, as an acclimating rendezvous. There is too much proof that the tale is true. Dr. Roberts, [brother of the ex-president of the republic,] when in the employ of the American Colonization Society, wrote to the Secretary, in 1849, thus: 'In my opinion, the Virginia settlement on the St. Paul's river is certainly the better place for

immigrants to be acclimated. \* \* \* Monrovia is bounded on the north and northeast by extensive mangrove swamps, which emit a great deal of miasma. This is wafted in and through the town by the morning breeze. This poison impregnating the air, being inhaled by foreigners early in the morning on empty stomachs, cannot but deleteriously affect the system and add to the severity of the [African or seasoning] fever." Dr. Roberts has since become, and is now a permanent resident and practicing physician of Monrovia—and "at this time the doctor has the opinion that Monrovia is not an unhealthy place for emigrants to acclimate in." Other residents of "high authority also asserted the healthiness of Monrovia. But Mr. Cowan could not be so convinced. He adds, "In all candor, I say, it is not easy to solve in my mind *why* emigrants, for years past have been stopped here to acclimate." (p. 46.) Others, less suspicious and less guileless than the author, would be at no loss for a solution of the mystery. The location of the college for Liberia, is also to be established (and wholly by charitable contributions from the United States) in this very unhealthy Monrovia—that location having been decided upon by the casting vote of Ex-president Roberts, (p. 73,) who is to preside over the institution, and who also is a resident of Monrovia.

After viewing the lands around New Georgia, Mr. C. says: "I returned to the town with this conviction—this is not a healthy place for new emigrants from the United States." (p. 52.)

[Caldwell.] "This town was commenced in 1825. There have been drawn 803 town lots, and 76 farm lots, from 5 to 10 acres each. Lots that were once improved, [i. e. built upon] and farm lands that were once cultivated, are now in the commons. Much, very much is abandoned, that once was a delight. Here Zion Harris lived, who told in Kentucky of his farm, his horses and cattle, and sheep, and corn, and sugar cane—and he told the truth. But alas! his lands, as well as others, are as an oak whose leaf fadeth, and as a garden that hath no water. And he himself is with the dead, having been killed by lightning. \* \* \* There has been much disputing in years past, in this township in regard to land titles. Neighborhood altercations have sprung up—many lost a portion of their land, [because of erroneous surveys and locations under the law,] others lost all their improvements, [buildings,] and many moved away, while others, who remained, became indifferent to the improvement of their lands, expecting to lose the title to them. The legislature of Liberia attempted, by the appointment of Commissioners, to give the people relief, but it was attended with too much trouble and delay, and what was done by them did not give satisfaction." (pp. 55, 56.)

And this and other such evils occurred, where the Government received land in any quantity at the free gift of the American

Colonization Society, and sells it at 50 cents the acre. "I saw abundant evidence that a family would not starve on a quarter acre of land well cultivated—but a larger piece would furnish more food, and the dainties of the tropics in greater abundance. But it is too plain, the people, as a body, aim only to obtain food and clothing for the present time." (p. 58.)

"The body of the citizens [in Monrovia] appear not to have any regular business to attend to. And many of the children of those who have accumulated wealth, do nothing of a domestic character, while almost all the people think it necessary (so I judged) to have a native to carry a bundle, even to a half pound weight. And that native will be in a native dress," i. e. naked, or very nearly so. (pp. 81, 2.)

"Some of the merchants [in Monrovia] do a profitable business. I learned that, for some things, the Liberians pay 75 per cent. profit, and the natives 175 per cent. profit." (p. 84.)

"What a change for the better would a good plough make in these fields! The ploughman would soon overtake the present reaper." (p. 87.)

In Louisiana, on St Paul's river, Mr. C. saw better management than usual, and the rare operation of pressing sugar cane and making syrup—and even oxen worked, to the sugar mill. Yet, even there, "whatever is raised does not do justice to the land, in showing what it can do to remunerate the owner by a proper cultivation of it. *The native laborer works on his own system, and the Liberian has adopted it.*" (p. 86.)

[Harrisburg.] I was told that a short distance up this creek, there were falls that furnished good water-power for mill purposes. But in the present state of agriculture, there can be no use for a mill here, except for sawing lumber. *If corn were raised for bread, as it can be, and which the people, in mass, formerly used, a grist mill could find employment.*" (p. 88.)

From this it appears, (as might be anticipated,) that the entire operation of preparing for and making bread is deemed too troublesome and laborious to be compensated by the benefit—and consequently, the colonists, though always accustomed to corn bread, (and certainly preferring it,) have already ceased to eat bread, as ordinary and home-made food.

Of "Uncle Simon," a colonist of uncommon merit, and as an exceptional case, Mr. C. says: "He raises some cotton." \* \* \* And soon after, and in connection, he says "there are no fields of cotton in Liberia;" (p. 88.) Yet cotton, like sugar and coffee, is an indigenous growth.

[Millsburg.] "There is a mill here to grind sugar cane, but it is turned by human labor. \* \* \* A few had cattle, but they were not used to plough." (p. 89.)

There have been in Liberia a few most marked and laudable exceptions to the general rule, in individuals who have exhibited industry,



enterprise, intelligence in their operations, and who met with deserved success so long as the operations were so directed. Such was Zion Harris, already named. Such was Richardson, who was fast bringing into operation, and a condition for prospective profit, a large farm on St. Paul's. He had cattle broke to draught, and was provided with the various implements for good tillage, and was preparing for sugar making, when he was unfortunately drowned. As in every other such case, with the death of the pioneer improver, the improvements came to an end. These exceptions (transient as they have been,) show what good management might do in Liberia; and the general and total disregard of such admirable and successful examples of industry and thrift, still more completely prove the utter hopelessness and worthlessness of the population in general, as their own masters, and and without the direction of superior intellect.

"Coffee is raised in the yards of many citizens. One man has eight acres of coffee trees \* \* \* and yet coffee is imported here." (p. 130.)

No horses or mules, used for draught, and rarely oxen, and only for machinery. No carts or ploughs. (pp. 103, 108, 122, 130, 140, 159.) A single exception of oxen carting, (and that not for Liberians,) stated p. 117.

In a lecture published in the "Presbyterian Herald," Mr. Cowan said—"There were [only] three horses and two mules in the Republic; some twenty bullocks broke to the yoke, but none of them used for ploughing."

"Up the St. Paul's river, oxen are used by some farmers [but not to plow or carts]; and when Richardson lived [in 1856] he worked oxen to plough his land. But in Monrovia, it seems oxen cannot be worked, because [it is said] work kills them. The natives do the work of beasts of burden. There is one street leading from the river bank to Ashmun street, that could in my judgment be graded for less than \$200, so that two yoke of bullocks, if necessary, \* \* \* can take up a good load from the wharf to any lot on the mount; and yet that street has not been graded. \* \* \* All the brick and sand, all the lumber and nails, all the merchandize and groceries, yea, everything but common unhewn stone, are brought up from the wharfs on men's heads, or backs, or in their arms. \* \* \* What a strange sight, in a civilized land, to see cattle going about the streets, and a line of human carriers doing the work of beasts of burden! Twenty-five to thirty men, in single file carry on their heads the materials for the erection of a college building! [The building, entirely paid for by contributions in the United States, is to be of brick, seventy by forty feet, and three stories high.] I saw, I suppose a new improvement—a new cart, with some natives holding up the tongue, others guiding the cart by the tongue, others drawing the cart by a rope fastened to the bolster, and others behind pushing the cart. The cart was loaded with brick brought up [previously] on the head

from the wharf, and deposited in the street."

"There is a good steam saw-mill in operation [in Marshall] which is owned by a mercantile firm in Monrovia. (p. 98.) [At Greenville]—"There is a steam saw-mill going to ruin in the outer part of the town. It is true the lumber could be taken from the ground, by water, to the lower landing; and it is true that the prices would justify the running of the mill; and it is also true that logs could be brought down the river in any quantity to the mill; but it has been given up, it seems, to decay as fast as the wood frame and iron works will permit. The price of lumber is \$3 to \$5 the hundred."—(p. 130.) [At Buchanan]—"I saw a very valuable steam saw-mill going the same way that that at Greenville is going, [that is to ruin.] It is owned in part here, and in part in the United States." (p. 142.)

[At Buchanan]—"I saw a jack [male ass] the only one in the country; \* \* \* there is neither mare nor jenny [female ass] in the country. There are two mules—but both used for the saddle and not for work. Nor was there a yoke of oxen in the country. Some persons had had them, but fearing they might die, eat them." (p. 142.)

"Bexley showed a better class of farmers—though I am sorry to say they did not use oxen, mule, or plough." (p. 103.)

"The natives are the carriers of all the articles from the landing, and of wood from the woods, to the dwellings. As almost every man is a trader in Liberia, in tobacco or cloth with the natives, he gets his work done at a nominal value." (p. 131.)

"Many of the people saw hard times to get along, and I did not blame some of them for begging some assistance."—(p. 98.) "Some people do beg of their own color, and of strangers, in Liberia." (p. 159.)

"That the great body of the Liberians eat animal food every day, I do not believe; nor do I believe that those now living on town lots, with no other land to cultivate, and depending on the productions of those lots, can raise enough to buy salt or fresh provisions for their daily wants. But this is not the fault of the country. It is the result of the policy of the people in making their settlements. It is my opinion that 4,000 of the population of Liberia [more than one-half] are living on quarter acre lots." \* \* \* "As to the balance of population, 3,621, they are on farm land, farming with the hoe and bill-hook, at an average of three to four acres for each farm. Why there is not an abundance of meat, and to spare, is to be learnt from this statement." (p. 176.)

*Population, and its decrease.*—Mr. Cowan shows that the decrease of population is much more than I had estimated. He shows it to be 3,551 more than all the births which have occurred since the first settlement. On data partly official, and all of which he deems reliable, he computes the total population of Liberia, in 1858, at 7,621, including all living

children."—(p. 166.) No native is included. The American Colonization Society had sent out in all, 9,872 up to January, 1858. [This makes the actual decrease of these, 2,261, besides all the births in thirty-eight years.] The Maryland Society [acting separately at first] had sent out [to Cape Palmas] 1,800—by both societies, 11,172. After thirty-eight years, of this number, *with their offspring*, 7,621 are living, [the then total colonial population,] leaving for deaths 3,551, [exceeding births,] which is thirty-three per cent. loss by death," [and of absolute decrease in thirty-eight years.]—(p. 166.) "I do not think," adds Mr. Cowan, "that the friends of African Colonization need be ashamed to tell these facts." His present commentator thinks very differently.

"None but free-born blacks went to Liberia until 1823. \* \* \* Up to July, 1827, 655 emigrants had gone from the North and the South to Liberia: nine of these [only] were emancipated slaves. From 1823, the number of the emancipated, to go to Liberia, increased every year, until now, that class of emigrants greatly outnumber the free blacks who go there." (p. 5.)

"Many of the statements we have had about her agricultural state have been *too high colored*. The [small amount of] exports of Liberian labor, the absence of the plow, the unenclosed farms, and the [small] number of acres cultivated, prove the present deficiency, &c." (p. 178.)

"Liberia is [still] sustained by labor that is foreign. The American Colonization Society places on her shore her citizens, supports them for six months, attends them when sick for six months, by paid physicians and nurses, and buries the dead—pays for the surveys of lands drawn by emigrants, buys [all] her territory from the natives, gives the government the right to sell lands to increase her treasury, and pays the expense of agencies to superintend these matters, except that of sales of lands. The Episcopal, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian Boards of Foreign Missions, *furnish the population of Liberia with the Christian Ministry and teachers of common and high schools*. These boards expended in Liberia, in 1857, over \$90,000. Three-fourths of the sum the Liberians received, in the moral and pecuniary benefit of it." (p. 178.)

"The coast trade and the export duty was \$25,625—very near two-thirds of the reliable revenue of Liberia. But this sum is from the labor of the natives. Is there another nation that gets its national support as Liberia receives hers? As a nation, she may be said to live by the labor [and on the alms] of foreigners. \* \* \* The statistics furnished of exports show a regular falling off in the last four years." (p. 178.)

Mr. Cowan evidently found much to condemn in the treatment of the native savages within the limits of Liberia, by the colonists, and of their being neglected both by the missionaries sent from the United States, for their

especial benefit, and also by the people generally. On these points, however, he expresses himself with much caution, and in evident fear of giving offence. Among his much more full remarks, are the following:

"Liberia should pay more attention to the condition of the natives living within her political jurisdiction. \* \* \* I could not see, nor learn, what measures the *Government had in operation* to draw them into the enjoyment of civil privileges. \* \* \* It is true that in many families male and female natives are employed to work. *But there appears not a feeling of common brotherhood toward them.*" \* \* \* "I could not but notice it on the part of the Liberians as a body toward the natives. How many of those who were living in families were clothed? How many of them were clothed for the sabbath, and taken to the church for public worship? I would not judge harshly. But I fear that cheap pay, (and that pay not regulated by the rule 'do unto them as you would they should do unto you,') has much to do with the employment of the natives." (p. 180.)

[*Revenue.*]—"It is plain that her national support is depending on the labor of the natives."—(p. 163.) "The Liberian Government receives no revenue by taxing her citizens. She can pass no laws and enforce them on the tribes within her territorial limits, that will bring in a revenue from their labor. She reaches them only by the coast-wise trade that is carried on chiefly by foreigners."—(p. 164.) Of course foreign traders will soon learn to go to other ports neighboring to Liberia, which are open to them, and where no revenue laws are in operation.

"*The revenue from her own productions last year, was but \$4 65.*" (p. 179.)

How different is the Liberia as truly depicted and exposed to view in the foregoing pages, and upon unquestionable evidence, with the flattering representation which has been made to occupy most persons' minds, and which was produced by false recommendations and paregyrics of either designing, or of credulous or fanatical colonizationists! The impressions which have thus been made on strangers, and the credulous and confiding world, is indicated in the following extract from the (Wesleyan) London Quarterly Review—and which eulogy was copied in the African Repository, (of 1856,) without a word of dissent:

"The achievements of colonization on the West coast of Africa can hardly be exaggerated. There we find a national polity, municipal institutions, Christian churches and Christian ministers; schools and a sound system of education; a public press, rising towns and villages, a productive agriculture and a growing commerce. Under its rule, about two hundred and fifty thousand human beings are found living together in harmony, enjoying all the advantages of social and political life, and submitting to all the restraints which

government and religious principle demand. Means are found to harmonize the habits and interests of the colonists, their descendants the native born Liberian, and the aborigines of the coast. *As the creation and achievement of less than forty years, we insist that this is without parallel in the history of the world."*

*Some items of the pecuniary and other costs of the Colony, and Republic of Liberia, to the people of the United States.*

If the total pecuniary cost of colonizing and supporting Liberia could be set forth—without estimating other costs, in human suffering and sacrifices of life—the simple arithmetical statement would be more impressive on many than all the other facts and arguments here offered for consideration. Such a statement, for at least as much money or commodities as have been given to or through the American Colonization Society, could be supplied easily by its officials. The mere money receipts and disbursements of the parent Society are of course stated in the annual reports of the Treasurer's Accounts. I have attempted in vain, from sources deemed both available and reliable, to obtain these and other statistical facts from the records of the Society. A broken set of the Annual Reports I have but very lately obtained, (and owed to the courtesy of the Rev. W. H. Starr, Col. Agent,) but of which the series is so much interrupted, that no fair average of the whole receipts could be learned from the accounts of particular years. I could from these accounts learn that, while the receipts have varied much from year to year, they have, on the whole, been generally increasing throughout the existence of the Society. Also, since Liberia has been an "independent Republic," (for the last 11 years,) the expenditures of money by the American Colonization Society, have not lessened, but have been greater than for the before dependent colony. With such imperfect lights, I will not pretend to estimate what have been the annual or the total receipts of the American Colonization Society—but earnestly hope that some functionary of that Society will publish such a statement—and also include every thing else that may here be deficient or incorrect.

But even if it were shown what were the receipts and disbursements of the parent society, passing through the Treasurer's hands, there would still remain a vast amount of other costs—which will be merely here suggested, as proper to be embraced in a full statement of costs. The various auxiliary State Colonization Societies operated independently, and raised and used their own funds. Of course these would not appear in the parent society's accounts. Of the numerous other auxiliary societies, (and of both there were 200 in 1830,) though most of them probably paid part of their income to the parent society, none could have paid all. In the reports of the American Colonization Society, there are notices of some of the auxiliary So-

cieties resolving to pay some 30 and others 50 per cent. of their receipts to the parent society. The latter was referred to and applauded as a liberal provision. Therefore it must be that a large proportion of the collections of all the numerous auxiliary societies, did not reach the parent society, or appear on its accounts.

Were the salaries or commissions of collecting agents deducted out of their receipts—or do the accounts show the *gross*, or only the *net* receipts? If the latter, then a very large amount was collected more than would appear, even if we had all the accounts of all the auxiliary societies.

Some of the State legislatures have appropriated large sums to the colonization cause, which did not pass through the parent society. It has been stated in the public prints that the State of Maryland—the most prodigal in this way—has thus appropriated \$250,000. The legislature of Virginia has thus expended about \$25,000 out of the treasury or funds of the Commonwealth.

Besides the first outfit of emancipated slaves, furnished by their kind masters, (kind in intention, but cruel in effect,) and which will be referred to hereafter, there have been many and frequent supplies of food, clothing, or other necessaries, and to large amount, sent subsequently to the colonists from their former masters, and which were granted to their begging applications for relief, or voluntarily contributed to their ascertained wants and sufferings. In addition to commodities thus sent, there must have been much money. Within the present month, November, 1858, it was published that the regular colonization ship which was about to sail for Liberia, would carry out \$10,000 in gold, from former masters to colonists, their former slaves. As these particular contributions were expressly stated to be sent in gold, they could not cover any of the many like contributions of commodities.

The colonization ship, the *Mary Caroline Stevens*, of the value of about \$40,000, was a gift to the society from a single individual. This, and all other donations of commodities to the society probably make no part of the annual accounts of receipts.

The most important item, and which, though conjectural, may be estimated with some degree of certainty, is the value of the slaves emancipated to be sent to Liberia. According to the official report of the American Colonization Society, (*African Repository* for 1857, p. 152;) the whole number of emigrants to Liberia, exclusive of the Maryland settlement at Cape Palmas, to end of 1856, was 9,502. Of these there had been emancipated in view of emigration 5,500, and 326 had purchased their freedom—making together 5,826.

According to Mr. Cowan's enumeration, to end of 1857, (p. 166, and quoted here at p. 29,) the American Colonization Society had, to that time, sent out 9,872 colonists, and the Maryland Society, to Cape Palmas, 1,800,

making for both (included in the present Liberia,) 11,172. Of the emigrants of 1857, and of all of the 1,300 sent by the Maryland Society, the proportions of free and slaves are not known. But supposing the proportion to be the same as were accurately stated of the other 9,502, the total number of slaves emancipated and purchased, would be, within a very small fraction of, 6,850. The lowest average value of slaves in the thirty eight years, (1820 to 1857,) in the United States was \$200; and the highest, at the end of that time, was not less than \$550. This will fix the general average value of each slave to have been \$375. There can be the less of objection to the height of this estimation, inasmuch as the emigrants generally were not only morally but physically much better than their class in general—nearly all healthy, and with an over proportion of young adults. At \$375 for each, the whole number of slaves, to end of 1857, was worth \$2,568,750—which is the amount of pecuniary sacrifice and loss in the slaves themselves to the owners of emancipated slaves, and to the purchasers of those sold for emancipation.

The free negroes, as being also mostly select in morals and habits, and the best of their class, were personally worth something to themselves and to the community they left. But whatever this very uncertain value may be, it will be left for others to estimate.

Further, every emigrant, whether before bond or free, must have carried out some money or other property. Even for emancipated slaves this provision of their kind masters was rarely so little as \$30 for each. The free emigrants must have brought of their own property much more. But count this average of \$30 only for the whole 11,172 emigrants, and it amounts to \$335,160 of loss to the United States on this score.

The entire cost of both religious and scholastic instruction, for the colonists and their children, has been defrayed, (and the bounty is still going on,) by benevolent and pious contributions in the United States. Mr. Cowan states that the different Missionary boards of the United States expended in Liberia, for 1857, \$90,000—and that of three-fourths of that amount, or \$67,500, the Liberians received the "moral and pecuniary benefit." (p. 178.) Of what may have been the average on the total amount for thirty-eight years, I have no further information, and will not pretend to estimate—though the reports and records of these Missionary boards would show the full and true amounts. Let it be observed that the ground of this charge is not for any part of the portion devoted (as all was designed to be by the donors) to real missionary labors and services for heathen Africans. It is of the three-fourths spent, (as Mr. Cowan declares,) for providing schools and teachers, and preachers, and houses for worship, for the people of the already Christian colony and Republic of Liberia.

Next, the cost to the Government of the

United States in pecuniary aids to the colony under pretence of the necessary expenses of receiving recaptured Africans, and the supporting them until they are otherwise disposed of. Up to 1843, inclusive, there had been returned to Africa by the Government of the United States, and delivered to Liberia, 286 recaptured Africans. Up to 1830, there had been in all 260—and the cost to the United States Government, (and all paid for the benefit of the colony,) was upwards of \$1,000 for each African returned. (p. 10 *ante*.) I have no later record of the recaptured Africans subsequently returned. In the "Pons," captured on the coast of Africa by a United States vessel of war, there were 900 Africans, of whom 756 remained alive when landed at Monrovia, and who were there "apprenticed" to colonists. What these cost the Government I do not know. Very lately, (September, 1858,) the next such capture occurred, of the ship *Echo*, with 300 slaves. These were sent to Liberia by order of the President of the United States, in the war steamer *Niagara*, under a contract made with the American Colonization Society to receive the Africans in Liberia, and to take such care of them as would be necessary. For this service, (including "instruction" as reported—whatever that may mean—) this Government is to pay to the Colonization Society \$45,000. Of 271 Africans embarked, 200 only lived to reach Liberia—for receiving and disposing of which, this payment will be \$225 for each African.

For the additional and certainly very heavy expenses of transporting African savages in war steamers, I have no means for estimating—and still less the costs of all the naval and military aid and service rendered to Liberia by our ships of war, and by their men serving on shore, at various times, from the beginning of the colony to this time of the existence of the independent "Republic."

The irregular service of American vessels of war, going to and returning from Liberia, cruising off the coast or lying in port, and the more direct aids rendered to protect and defend, and all serving to preserve the existence and swell the income of the colony, I presume could not be estimated, separately, with any approach to correctness. Since the Ashburton treaty was made with England, in 1842, by which this Government became bound to provide and maintain vessels of war, carrying eighty guns, on the coast of Africa, (and which force has since served mainly as a squadron to protect Liberia,) the estimate of the share of cost of Liberia to this Government may be more nearly approached by competent persons having access to the accounts of the Navy Department. But as to all these government and naval expenses, nothing is now known except that they are enormous—and have been incurred for no real good, and for but little of any other purpose than for the defence, support, and benefit of the former colony, and now for the "independent republic" of Liberia. I trust that

some patriotic member of Congress will call for and obtain estimates on all these points—and that the enormous expenses, trickery, and deception, both of maintaining the African squadron, and returning recaptured Africans, for the benefit of Liberia, will be completely exposed—if the abuses, and the system itself, cannot be also entirely abolished.

Of the enormous costs in lives, incurred by the United States Government, in taking care of Liberia, (which are values not to be estimated in money prices,) I will adduce, as an example, the main facts of a single operation, out of the many cruises of vessels of the American navy on the coast, and of the waiting in the harbors or roadsteads of Liberia, for the service of the colony, and the Republic. The Seventh Annual Report of the American Colonization Society says:

"The United States sloop of war *Cyane*, Capt. Spence, had been at the colony in April, [1823] and her officers and crew left there monuments of their zealous and persevering exertions. It is impossible to estimate too highly the services of Capt. S., and his generous companions. When informed of the suffering of the colony, they immediately repaired to Sierra Leone, fitted for sea the schooner *Augusta*, belonging to the United States [it had before been bought for Liberia, at the cost of the United States—see p. 10 *ante*,] and hastening to the colony, offered it most cheerfully, every aid in his power. *Though the cruise of the Cyane had already been protracted in an unhealthy climate*, [the West Indies,] Capt. S. resolved to remain on the coast so long as should be necessary to complete a work of defence and make suitable provision for the approaching rains. He furnished the colony with *supplies* and ammunition, built a house for the agent, and erected a tower of strong mason work, which \* \* \* will, it is believed, prove an entire defence against the barbarians."

The general results of this service in sickness and consequent deaths, only, and besides the numerous cases of illness which did not close in death, were forty deaths on the homeward bound voyage "from the effects of the African climate" after the commander (himself then ill) was forced to abandon his philanthropic service in and for Liberia. The surgeon of the *Cyane*, and Lieut. Dashiell, placed in command of the *Augusta*, had both previously died.

From the tenor of Capt. Spence's official report, it is evident that he deemed this frightful exposure and sacrifice of human life, required to aid Liberia, as being highly meritorious in himself, and in the administration that authorised such and all other sacrifices for this purpose. (Official Rep. of cruise of

*Cyane*, 1823—7th Col. Report—Foote's "Africa and the American Flag"—p. 128.)

The foregoing suggestions of materials for a full and correct estimate, if made use of by those having the *data*, and the facilities and ability for the task which are wanting in me, would show such results as would be accurate, and also astounding for the amount of price that the people and Government of the United States have already paid, and still are continuing to pay, for the gigantic humbug, (and also dangerous nuisance to the slaveholding States,) of the former colony and present Republic of Liberia.

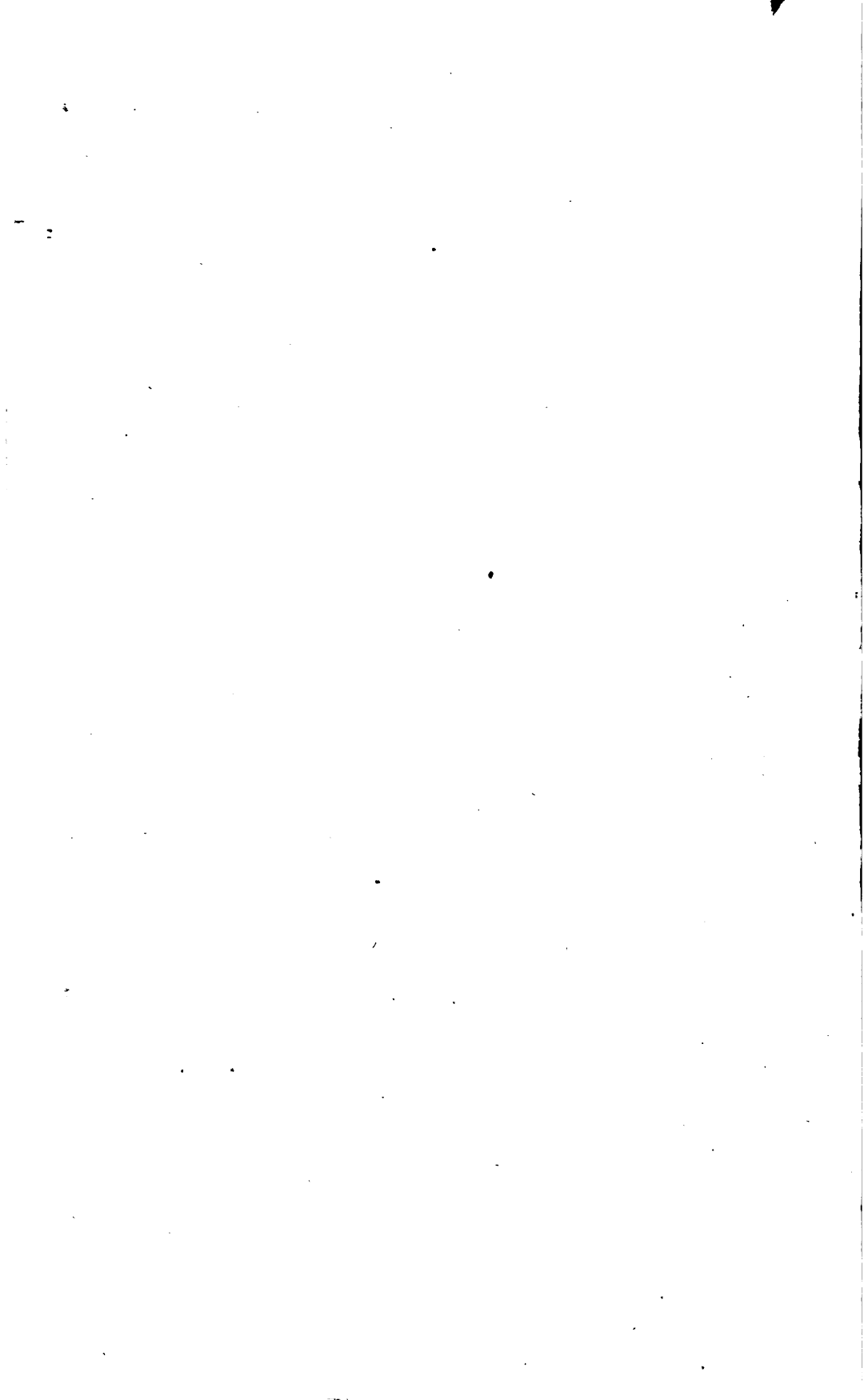
But still there is one result to be confidently expected from this effort of philanthropy, which, however different from those sought for in vain, may compensate for all the cost of the experiment. There will be afforded full evidence of the great truth, (until recently admitted but by few, and still denied and resisted by many,) that the negro race is greatly inferior to the white, in natural capacity—and is incapable of self-government, and of improvement to the extent of civilization, except under the direction and control of a superior race. The inferiority of the negro in his savage state and original birth-place—as enslaved in the United States, (though thereby greatly improved)—as emancipated in the United States, and later in Jamaica—as under independent government in Hayti—all these different degrees of admitted debasement have been ascribed (by negrophilists) entirely to the want of mental culture, or to the depressing influence of slavery, or its long remaining effects, even after it had ceased to exist. In Liberia, the colonists were the best of their respective classes—removed from every power or influence which had been supposed to depress others of their race—and greater aids, pecuniary, physical and defensive, mental, moral, and religious, have been bestowed on them by benevolence and piety, than were ever offered to, or enjoyed by, any young colony, or community, since the earliest historical records. If, when these early and long continued aids and advantages shall no longer be continued or repeated, the people of Liberia shall retrograde and decline in civilization, there then will be left not the slightest ground or pretence longer to maintain the natural equality of the negro mind, or his ability to direct and sustain himself in freedom. The longer the aid and support to the Colonization Society, and to Liberia, shall be continued, the more complete will be the experiment of the measure of the negro intellect, and the more conclusive will be the final result, in evidence of its inferiority, and its need for the direction and control of masters of a superior race.

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1865, Aug. 9.

Gift of

W. Henry Orlando Mason, esq.  
of Cambridgeport.

# SLAVERY AND FREE LABOR DESCRIBED AND COMPARED.

BY EDMUND RUFFIN.

SECTION I.—Slavery, in some form, existing almost everywhere—Political and Religious Slavery—Hunger-Slavery—Pauper Slavery in England, present and in anticipation.

The industrial operations of all the world are carried on much more extensively, and also effectively, by slave labor than by free labor. This truth is demonstrable according to any proper or even plausible definitions of these terms. But as they are generally applied and understood, they convey much more of false than of true doctrine. The word slavery is almost always used to designate one kind of compulsory and strict bondage only—which is the subjection of the will and action of individual to individual, as in the system of negro slavery, as it now exists in these southern States and elsewhere. This kind, whether it be of blacks or whites, may be distinguished as individual or personal slavery. But the most destitute people of nearly all the world—and especially of the more civilized, wealthy, refined and highly improved communities—are, in different modes of subjection and of suffering, held under a much more stringent and cruel bondage, and in conditions of far greater privation, painful and inevitable coercion, and of suffering, than our negro slaves; and,

therefore, should as much be deemed subjects of slavery in an extended and proper sense. It has been found difficult, if not impossible, to offer a general definition of slavery, which shall be comprehensive and yet strict, concise and clear—and I cannot expect to succeed in attempting what so many other and more able writers on the subject have failed to accomplish. What I understand as the general condition that constitutes slavery is the subjection of one individual, or class, to the authority and direction of another individual or class, so that the subjected party is compelled (no matter by what means) to labor, serve, or act, at the will and command, and for the benefit or objects, of the ruling individual or class. This definition will cover our system of negro slavery and that of the white serfs of Russia—and also the political subjection of some entire populations and communities to either resident or foreign despotic rulers—of inferior classes or castes, trodden into the dust by superior and privileged classes or castes—also the (mis-called free) poor laborers of every densely peopled country in Europe, where the supply of labor exceeds the demand of employers or capitalists. The definition would also, and properly, include as slavery



the abject subjection of various peoples to their priests, who, claiming authority in the name and as the ministers of God, established their own unlimited influence and rule over their superstitious, bigoted and ignorant or fanatical believers and followers. And such establishments of either religious or political slavery (of like character, and also operating through intolerant opinion) did not invest the rulers with the less power, as absolute masters, for coercion, despotism, and the infliction of cruel sufferings on the subjected, because the objects sought were not always pecuniary or personal gain, but the power to advance some theoretical doctrine deemed good and holy. Thus the people of France were for a time the completely abased and crushed slaves of the blood-thirsty Robespierre and his immediate supporters, the *commune* of Paris. The early inhabitants of Massachusetts were scarcely less the slaves of their priesthood, whose gloomy and rigid despotism was exercised as being the will of the all-benevolent God, and who were revered and obeyed as if they were scarcely inferior in piety, and in just claims of authority, to the first apostles. Yet, during the respective times of these different despotisms, the people of France deemed that they only, of all the world, possessed a truly republican and perfectly free constitution of government; and the people of Massachusetts, in their form of government, in the absence of foreign influence thereon, and in everything, except the influence and power of their priests, might have deemed (as their descendants still claim for them) that they enjoyed the freest and best government on earth. The now operating rule of the sensual, vulgar and villainous Brigham Young, Prophet, and almost the God of his many thousands of subjects and obedient Mormon followers, is one of the most stringent, efficient and oppressive systems of slavery, both of body and mind, that the world has ever known. Yet this system exists in the midst and under the shelter of our free political institutions of government, and where every slave of this vile tyranny may seek and find protection from the law, and also from public opinion.

Such and many other cases of political and religious enslavement rested upon opinion, and mere change of opinion could relieve the victims of such despotisms. But there is another kind of slavery, founded upon the conditions and circumstances of civilized, and what is claimed as free society—and which in-

creases with its progress and its improvement and wealth—which no change of opinion can alter, and for which (as it has seemed so far) no effectual relief or important alleviation can be found, even by those wise statesmen and patriots and true philanthropists who are aware of all the evil, and who most deplore its existence and prospective increase. This condition, under the general definition stated above, is the slavery of labor to want. It is an obvious truth, and undeniable by those who might object to the wide scope of my definition, that the destitute members of the laboring classes of all dense populations (as of England,) who are eagerly competing with each other for the supply of the partial demand for their labor, and who, when obtaining employment, can scarcely buy the most wretched support with their scant wages, and who, yet, for such wages, undergo the utmost amount of toil that human beings can perform and live—that these most miserable millions are, not only in their excessive toil and suffering, but in reference to their actual coercion, as truly and fully slaves to want, cold, hunger, and every threatened greater misery of destitution, as even *lash-driven* negro servants of Virginia are slaves to their masters. If the former class could be as truly compared with and deemed equal to our negro slaves as to their respective shares of comforts and pleasures enjoyed, it would be a blessing to the falsely termed "free laborers," as great as any discreet and judicious philanthropist could hope for, and far greater than the most sanguine of enlightened statesmen can even conceive as a possible result of any feasible reformation.\*

\* Among all the great and well-founded claims of the benevolent and kind-hearted Henry IV. of France, on the love and gratitude of his subjects and countrymen, and to the respect of posterity for his memory, there is not one which has been more often and approvingly referred to, and will be longer remembered, than his expressed wish that "every French peasant might be enabled to have a fowl in his pot for the dinner of every Sunday." The great improbability of the realization of this benevolent wish (for its fruition was neither attempted nor expected) was what mostly caused it to be noted and remembered. The laborers and most destitute peasantry of France have never reached the condition of ease and comfort to enable them to have a "fowl in the pot" even for so much as one dinner in the week. The laborers of England are not only much below that standard of comfort, but have long been descending, and will continue to descend still lower. It is probable that the (so-called) "free laborers" of no

The privilege of the English laborer to choose his employment and his master, even when such choice legally exists, does not prevent his service being truly slavery. For he has no choice but to toil incessantly for wages barely affording a scant and wretched support, or to starve—and no change of pursuit, or of service, can make that condition better. It is true that there is no legal prohibition to the laborer to change his service. But it is rare that any better situation can be found; and more generally, he who would abandon his actual employment in the hope of obtaining better, would be more likely to obtain neither new service or even still lower wages. This must be the case while, for every vacant place of a laborer to be filled, there are two or more idle and starving applicants ready to take the service with half if they cannot obtain whole wages. Such and other circumstances of difficulty in obtaining new employment practically debar the laborer from making the attempt to change his service. And when, after spending the prime of his life and strength as a slave to want and privation, the English laborer becomes, by sickness or age, unable to earn wages on which he and his family can exist, the regular refuge from absolute starvation is the pauper maintenance exacted by law from the parish—to which wretched condition for himself and his more helpless wife and young children, if any there are, every English laborer looks forward as his future destiny, scarcely less certain to occur than death. Under the Poor Laws and the Poor-house regulations of England,

every semblance or pretence of what is generally and falsely called freedom disappears. According to the discretion and will of the overseers of the poor (acting under the general direction and authority of the poor laws, and in reference only to the pecuniary interest of the parish,) the man is hired out to whomsoever will pay the largest proportion of the cheap sustenance allowed by the parish—the wife is, by different location, separated from her husband—the young children, as soon as able to perform the lightest service, are “put out” for their support, or a portion of it, to any who will so employ them, and, later, bound as apprentices, for labor of any kind and at any place, to serve their masters (as personal slaves) until they reach twenty-one years of age. In short, there is as much and as rigid coercion of the paupers, as painful to endure, and with as little choice of the place and manner of their service, or of care used for their comfort, as in the exceptional cases of the few negro slaves in Virginia who are, indeed, hardly and cruelly treated. It is not necessary to add, for the information of any who are acquainted with both systems of slavery, that, in comparison to the English pauper, and even to his earlier condition as the overworked, under-fed and suffering hireling laborer, supporting a family on regular wages, the general condition of our negro slaves is one of comfort, ease and happiness.\*

But between the times of the early and usual pauper slavery of the English laborer in his childhood and through his minority,

other country of Western Europe are able to indulge in the very limited consumption of animal food that the good King Henry could only venture to hope that his poor peasants might at some future time enjoy. But this blessing, unattained and unattainable by the free laborers of Europe, is truly, literally and fully enjoyed by nearly all of the negro slaves of this country; and it may be asserted in all individual cases, except of the very rare exceptions of slaves being denied animal food. Not only would the usual allowance serve to supply an ample dinner for every Sunday, if it were so appropriated, but so much more than that amount will supply some meat every day in the week to every laborer, and to every child, and to every aged, infirm and useless slave on our plantations. A deficiency of bread, so often suffered by every laboring class in Europe, is a thing almost unknown among our negro slaves. The most unfeeling master, who knew and consulted his own interest, would never permit a deficiency of bread to exist.

\* In PIGAULT LE BRUN'S romance, “Mon Oncle Thomas,” designed to satiarize the legislation and policy of the revolutionary government of France, he supposes the establishment, in the Island of Juan Fernandez, of a colony with a constitution designed to provide for a perfectly free people. One of the fundamental principles adopted was that no citizen should pay any tax except by his own voluntary choice and individual action. And there was only one general tax imposed by law, which was upon respiration. No citizen was compelled, or even required to pay this tax. He was entirely free to omit the payment, provided he preferred and choose also to cease to breathe. But to breathe, without paying the tax, would be severely punished. This satire would be not at all exaggerated if applied to the “freedom” of the English laborer. He is, by law, entirely free to choose his employer and his employment, and to refuse to labor, except for fair wages, and at his own discretion. But the certain accompaniment or consequence of his attempting to exert this legal privilege is that he must starve.

and his late pauper slavery in the decline of life, there is usually an interval of considerable though uncertain duration, through which it will, perhaps, be claimed that he is truly and completely a free laborer. This time lasts only so long as he still retains his health and the strength of manhood, and is not yet burdened with the support of an infirm wife and helpless children, and therefore, even with the existing inadequate average rate of wages, such an unincumbered and healthy individual laborer may earn more than enough for his daily maintenance. But even then, the disabilities and inflictions of pauper slavery are sensibly and oppressively felt. Every laborer, when possessing most strength and skill, and even when also exhibiting industry and general worth of character, and however healthy, and entirely free from family or other incumbrances, still is regarded by every poor-rate payer and by every parish official as a prospective pauper; or one who, though not yet chargeable to the parish, will surely become so thereafter, when his health fails, or old age approaches, if not much sooner. The most independent laborer regards himself in the same light of a pauper in a state of transition. Therefore, there is an unceasing struggle of all who have to pay poor-rates, and of the parish authorities, to prevent the entrance and legal settlement in their parish of any new laborers from abroad. Such legal settlement, and therefore a future legal claim for support, in infirmity or want, would be obtained by any new-coming laborer being hired by the year, or being the tenant or occupant of any hovel for a home as long. Therefore employment of such persons under longer engagements than as laborers by the day, and, even for them, any fixed residence in the parish, on rent or otherwise, are systematically and rigidly denied to all such outsiders. If induced by greater demand for labor, and the hope of more regular employment, or any other considerations, to seek work in a different parish from his own, the laborer can only do so by walking every morning from, and returning at night to, his legal domicile—often it may be in a crowded, filthy and pestilential village or city. This residence may be miles of distance from his place of employment and daily labor, to be twice walked over every day, and through all kinds of weather. If, by unlicensed intrusion, such laborers continue to occupy any vacant and wretched

huts for temporary shelter, the covering roofs are torn off by the owner, if he cannot certainly prevent such occupancy by more gentle means. Such a general state of things—every parish so defending itself from the entrance of laborers from all others—prevents even the most efficient laborers from obtaining new residences and settlements where better wages are offered, and discourages even the attempt to improve their condition by removal. It is very rare that any such attempt is successful. Thus, great disadvantages, amounting, perhaps, in degree to a deduction of 50 per cent. from the existing average amount of wages to be obtained, are inflicted on all of the only individuals who otherwise, and at any limited time, might be truly denominated free laborers. In this view, it may be asserted that even this class offers no partial and limited exceptions to the general conditions of pauper or hunger-wages slavery—and that there are none free of all the class of day laborers in England. If the laborers who are most independent, and most capable of earning the best wages, are thus subjected, by a system over which they have not the least control, to disadvantages and losses, amounting to the value of half of what might otherwise be their earnings, or even to half of that half, there can scarcely be a question that the laborers so burdened are, to that extent, slaves to the indirect operation of the pauper system of bondage, in advance of its direct and more complete coercion.\*

SECTION II.—The still worse Slavery in British Coal Mines—Slavery of impressed British Sailors—Military Slavery—Few free laborers, and many millions of miserable slaves of England—False pretences of England of opposing Slavery.

The foregoing positions, though applying correctly to all the necessitous hireling poor of Great Britain, were designed more especially in reference to agricultural and manufacturing day laborers. But in this broad and deep exposure of slavery, accompanied by

\* In an article of "*Chambers' Journal*," most appropriately entitled "The Slave System of England," (republished in the "*Living Age*" of July, 1847,) there are affirmed, on official authorities, both the general system of common usage, as stated in general terms above, and also sundry particular extreme cases of much greater enormity in the cruelty of the inflictions and of the sufferings of these victims of the industrial policy, and success, and grandeur of England.

extreme suffering, there is a still deeper abyss of misery and abasement, for the numerous laborers in the British coal-mines. According to official documents of unquestionable authority, presented in reports of parliamentary committees, the severity of the toil, the exposure and the physical sufferings of these laborers, and especially of the women and children, are extended beyond the limits of human endurance; and yet, are exceeded in enormity in the ordinary and general violations of all the laws of decency which should guard female modesty, and of all the restraints which are essential to the very existence of morals, and to defend young children and helpless females from vice and the lowest degradation. Such horrors are of ordinary occurrence and common usage; and, as are stated in these official reports, (and which the system demands, and no husband or father can prevent his wife or daughter being subjected to,) could not exist or be tolerated anywhere except, as are these outrages on humanity, where, hidden from the light of day, and from the sight, and almost from the knowledge of all persons, except the wretched victims, who are the corrupted and brutalized slaves of the system, and their cruel and callous employers, and their underling task-masters and drivers.

Still more manifest examples of slavery, and even of individual or personal slavery, and of cases among the worst for injustice, hardship and cruelty, are presented in the impressment of sailors (and also of many who are not sailors) at discretion, without even a rule of selection by lot, and accompanied by the most brutal exercise of force and violence, by press gangs, to man the British fleets in time of war. In this manner the most worthy and useful men, in their industrious pursuits of an honest livelihood, were seized, and if attempting to flee, or to defend their freedom or their persons from violence, were struck down by bludgeons or the edge of the cutlass, and beaten until powerless or submissive. In numerous cases armed vessels, ordered to make impressments, watched the return of merchant ships from abroad to the ports of England, and the officers used that favorable opportunity to impress as many of the ablest men as could be spared from the crews when entering the harbor. Thus the victims, after a long absence, in sight of their homes, and in the joyful hope of soon again meeting with their families, were torn away for a forced and cruel and dangerous

servitude, unlimited as to time, place or other conditions. This bondage, more usually than otherwise, was ended by death, or grievous wounds. The wife and children of the naval slave had probably passed the time of his service as pauper slaves—with the additional and worst misery of not even hearing from the captive and enslaved husband and father. Yet this system of impressment (and which has not even the direct sanction of law,) has been the custom and general usage of "free" England (professing to detest slavery), and it will be renewed in practice in the next and every naval war.\*

Who, unless an impressed English sailor, can be more a wretched and even a personal slave, than a Prussian soldier? Yet to this terrible servitude every Prussian subject is bound for fourteen years, if so long needed by the government, at any time between the ages of twenty and fifty years. And though the duration and hardships of legal military service may be less in the other countries of Continental Europe, yet throughout, all men of the lower classes are subject to suffer this addition to the rigor and wretchedness of their otherwise ordinary condition of slavery to want, hunger and misery.

According to these views, there are but few countries in the world, and few existing conditions of society, in which the destitute or the poorest laboring classes are not truly slaves, in some one or other form. And of all the various kinds of slavery, the most wretched condition for the slaves (though perhaps the most gainful for the masters) is the slavery to want and hunger, to which are so generally subjected the so-called "free

\* Adam Smith, when writing previous to the American Revolutionary War, and when the naval forces of Great Britain had never been near so numerous as since, even then stated that in time of war "forty or fifty thousand sailors are forced (by impressment) from the merchant service to that of the king," so as to increase the wages of sailors in the merchant service "because of their scarcity, from 21 and 27 shillings to 40 and 60 shillings a month." These SLAVES, in the long war with France, were increased to double or triple—and the number required to be kept up for nearly twenty-five years. In 1810, there were 140,000 sailors and marines serving in the British navy--of whom much the larger number were slaves by impressment; and of these there were thousands who were neither sailors nor British subjects, and with whom, therefore, their being forced into this slavery had not the shadow of a pretext (such as is claimed in regard to British sailors,) of either legal or acknowledged usage.

laborers" of England—and to which, at some future time, must be subjected the laboring poor of New England, and of every other community and country in which negro or other personal slavery does not exist, and where there is dense population, and the arts of industry and the accumulation of wealth are well advanced. Whether negro slavery is considered the greater or the less evil, it is certain that its existence either prevents, or is incompatible with, the presence, in the same community, of class or hireling slavery. If negro slavery does not actually operate to exclude, or long postpone, the entrance of the more wretched and cruel slavery to hunger and misery, the former must necessarily end, before the latter kind can begin to prevail.

With these views I protest against the fitness and truth of the usually received definitions and applications of "slave labor" and "free labor"—and, in contradiction thereto, maintain that, in proportion to the respective populations, there are many more slaves in England, and in very much more suffering and painful conditions, than in all the negro slaveholding States of this Confederation.

Serfdom (or villanage) is a form of slavery (admitted to be such by all) which formerly prevailed through all Europe, and by which there are still held in bondage more than forty millions of persons in European Russia and the Austrian empire. The serf is personally and individually a slave to an individual master, but is so held in connection with the landed estate on which the serf was born. The proprietor has full as much legal or other power to maltreat or abuse his serf as has a master of negro slaves in Virginia. But he must sell or otherwise dispose of his serfs and land together to a new proprietor, and cannot separate the property in the serf from the land. This limitation may generally be some protection to the serf. But in many other cases it may well operate to his greater disadvantage. For when population is crowded, or likely soon to become so, on any one great landed estate or section of country, the continuance in that condition is a privilege to the slaves of very questionable value. The great evil and iniquity of the condition of serfdom, where it still continues to exist, consists, not in its being truly slavery, but in the slaves being of the same superior race as their masters, and equally capable of receiving the highest mental improvement. The serfs of Russia and Austria are of the same Cauca-

sian blood as the nobles who own and rule them as masters, and are naturally as high in the scale of humanity as the families of the Russian Czar and the German Kaiser, and, if free, might rise as high in the scale of intellect and moral worth, with the aid of equal mental culture. Yet the existence of this great outrage on humanity, still maintained in the permanent and rigorous slavery of forty millions of Europeans, of the white and highest race, has not greatly shocked, and indeed has scarcely been noticed by, the English philanthropists, during their hypocritical and unmeasured denunciations of the slavery of the inferior negro race in these southern States of North America; which class has been as much improved, exalted, and otherwise benefitted by their slavery as the European serfs are held debased below the degree of mental and moral elevation to which they might attain, if in a state of freedom.

When considering the long-standing and loudly asserted claim and boast of England of being pre-eminently, and without exception, the "land of the free," and the enemy, the hater, and, as far as possible, the destroyer of slavery throughout the world, it is difficult to pronounce which is most remarkable of these several incidents of that claim—the entire falsehood of the asserted facts and premises, the shameless impudence of the vain-glorious boast, or the pharisaical hypocrisy of the empty pretension to superior virtue and charity.

England was formerly, and down to comparatively modern times, not only the great African slave-maker and slave-trader of the world, but also subjected the captives sent to the British West Indies to such cruel and murderous treatment, that when her late Act of Emancipation was executed (after 178 years possession of Jamaica,) there remained alive, of all the 1,700,000 Africans that had been imported and retained, and of all their increase, but a remnant of 660,000 to receive the boon of emancipation. This was about one slave left for every two-and-a-half imported and retained. Mr. Carey, who quotes this statement from the official reports, ("Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign," pp. 14,) deems the original importations understated, and that in fact there had been as many as three Africans so imported for each one left alive and emancipated. (Compare this result with the fact that the 300,000 Africans

which were imported as slaves into the new United States, have increased, under their very different treatment, to about 4,000,000!)

England—and more and more so since she has become the great advocate for and actor in negro emancipation—has reduced to the most abject and suffering condition of hunger-slavery her own many millions of British born laborers. And this is the necessary element and essential cause and condition of England's success in achieving the great industrial and commercial prosperity and profit in which she stands proudly axalted and unrivalled among the nations of the earth.

England has subjected Ireland to both political and class slavery of the severest and most crushing oppression, and in different modes, from the first conquest to the present time. If at any one time since the complete conquest of Ireland, the whole land had been confiscated at a single and general operation, (as has been done throughout more than once, by piece-meal,) and it had been entirely shared out to new English colonists as proprietors and cultivators—and further, if the whole native population had also been bestowed as personal slaves on these same individual new land-holders, and the natives and their posterity had been since held and treated in every respect as are the negro slaves in these Southern States—there would have been scarcely more of injustice, hardship and cruelty, than in the actual policy and treatment; and the population would have been placed in a condition not more truly of slavery, and beyond comparison more comfortable and happy, than they have experienced as “free” Irishmen.

Enormous as are the numbers of the miserable wretches made slaves by the home industrial system and policy of England, and of the large proportion of these murdered by the intolerable severity of its exactions, these amounts are small compared to the victims of another kind of slavery—that established by the subjugation of Hindostan. There, a population of more than one hundred and eighty millions of a superior race, though of a dark complexion, and having capacity for a high grade of improvement, has been, and are, politically enslaved, and to a degree of oppression exceeding any that Europeans could live under or submit to, and almost beyond the conception of any civilized and Christian

people. The sole object of the governing and master-power and class, is to draw from the subjected race the greatest possible amount of tribute or tax that can be abstracted by force, and even with the aid and common use of physical torture. No measure of government, or regulation of police, or military severity and outrage, is deemed wrong or inexpedient, unless by its excess of injustice and cruelty it should defeat its object, and be less productive of gain to the Government than would have been a course more mild or merciful.

In the “Coolie apprenticeship” system, hypocritical England first commenced, and has since extended over many thousands of deluded Chinese and Hindoo victims (transported to her African and American sugar colonies) a new form of slavery, which differs in its results from her former system of enslaving African negroes only in its being more cruel. The term of service (if that is regarded and obeyed) is indeed limited to a stipulated number of years—but the obligation is not, therefore, the less rigid, or the less coerced by the scourge, and solely at the will and for the interest of the master—and the infliction of this slavery is on people very far superior in natural capacity, and in actual improvement, to the negro race. The service being temporary, instead of perpetual, operates still worse for the Coolie slave, inasmuch as it is the interest and sole object of the master to get as much work as possible from the slave within his term of service. Indeed, the greater number do not live to the end of their engaged term—and of those who live longer, and might again become free, very few can be able to return to their native land. Even if the limit of the term of a Coolie's slavery is honestly observed (to which contingency there must be numerous exceptions), the very existence and obligation of that limit must operate to prevent any growth of attachment and kindly feelings between the master and the slave, such as must necessarily spring up, and strengthen with time, where slavery is permanent and hereditary—and which condition of mutual attachment is general between resident proprietors and their slaves in this country. This system of limited, but more cruel than continued slavery, has been the fate of many thousands of Africans, re-captured by British cruisers, and thus “apprenticed” in Trinidad and other of the Crown colonies. And this is the so

called "liberation" of the re-captured African slaves!\*

Yet, with all this support of slavery in its worst forms by England, Englishmen still

\* The re captured Africans added to the Asiatic Coolies did not supply enough of "free laborers," or "colonists," to England for her sugar islands, and in 1851, (thirteen years after the complete emancipation of her West Indian slaves,) after some smaller operations, under authority of the British government, there were from thirty-five to forty thousand Africans bought (precisely as in the former slave trade) and shipped to the West Indies, and there "apprenticed." This transaction was so palpably the renewal, in another form, of the old African slave trade, that the British government was shamed out of it by public opinion; and has lately denounced the like procedure as being such renewal, when the example was followed by the French government. The small probability of any "Coolie apprentice," or "colonist," living as long as his time of slavery, may be inferred from the following fact, quoted by the Hon. J. P. Benjamin, in a speech (1859) in the Senate of the United States: "Out of 4500 Coolies imported into Jamaica in 1846 and 1847, only one-half remained alive in 1851." This system, originated by England, has been adopted in Cuba, as well as by France, and with the same general features and conditions, which must necessarily produce the greatest amount of suffering, and generally also death. From 1847 to 1858, there were shipped to Cuba 28,777 Coolies. Of these, more than 4000 died on the passage. The subsequent annual deaths were at least ten per cent. They were bound to serve ten years, at \$4 a month, one-half of which is retained by the master, to be paid to the Coolie (amounting to \$240) when he is released after ten years service. Of course, few will live to receive their retained wages—which would cost the master much more to pay than to engage a newly imported Coolie, under a like murderous engagement, for every vacancy created by death—to be either complied with, or avoided in like manner. It must not be supposed that the \$2 a month contracted to be paid to the Coolie is to be at his free disposal. Out of that he must pay for clothing, medical service, and other demands sufficient to absorb the whole. It is most likely that both the wants and the ignorance of the Coolie slave enable his masters to keep him always in debt, for advances—and that no money payment is ever made, before the death of the Coolie serves to wipe out all claims of payment for his services. The precise terms of service of the Coolie slaves are not known. No doubt they vary in details in the different colonies. But whatever may be the variations, and whether under the English, Spanish, or French government and policy, the general law and operation of Coolie bondage, whether of Asiatic or negro subjects, has been correctly characterized (by the New York DAY-BOOK) as the rule or recipe "for killing the greatest number of laborers in the shortest time."

continue complacently to listen to, and rapturously applaud, and receive as the justly due eulogy of their country, the often repeated rhetorical flourish of Curran, which will be here again quoted for the purpose of standing in contrast with the true facts of English action and merits in regard to slavery

"I speak [said the eloquent orator] in the spirit of the British law, which makes liberty commensurate with and inseparable from British soil; which proclaims even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot on British earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated to the genius of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced—no matter what complexion, incompatible with freedom, an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him—no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down—no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery—the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust—his soul walks abroad in her own majesty—his body swells beyond the measure of his chains that burst from around him—and he stands redeemed, regenerated, disenthralled, by the irresistible genius of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION."

SECTION III.—The conditions of society in which only the labor of any country can be truly free—and then but temporarily.

The only civilized communities in which the laborers are not yet slaves (and of these the exemption is but a transient condition,) are the northern of the United States, or others (as Canada) under the like rare and peculiar circumstances. The necessary conditions (together with the absence of personal slavery) are, population few and sparse compared to territory, and ready means for subsistence—and, therefore, the demand for labor by employers exceeding the supply of persons desirous to be hired. Such conditions will rarely be found, except in a newly settled or thinly peopled country. Nor can they long continue even there, unless there is also a ready outlet for the subsequently growing and crowding population—and there are vacant lands and greater profits for labor inviting to emigration. The vast extent of vacant, fertile and cheap lands in the West

has served, and may long continue to draw away so much of the increase of population as to prevent in any of the northern States the supply of labor becoming equal to the demand. So long as the demand exceeds the supply, laborers can always obtain from employers fair and usually higher than fair wages. The laborer then may freely select his employer and employment—as more hands are needed for all than can be hired—and, when at work, earning much more than he needs for present subsistence, the laborer is free to be idle (if he so chooses) whenever he and his family are not destitute of the necessities of life. This is the only condition of a country in which its labor and laborers can be deemed truly free; and this condition, but for the peculiar circumstances of North America, could not continue here long. Whenever the valuable vacant lands shall have been all settled upon, and there will be no longer sufficient inducements for emigration; and when, by the retaining and crowding of population, the supply of labor shall (as is inevitable) greatly exceed the demand, then in New England, as already has been effected in Old England, slavery to want will be established completely, rigidly, and in the form most oppressive and destructive to the laborers, but the most profitable of all slavery to the employers, to capitalists, and to the industrial progress, and for the accumulation of wealth for the community. The lower the wages, and the greater the privations to which the laborers can be subjected by their eager competition for employment and bread, the greater will be the profits of the employers, or the lower they can afford to sell their products, and the greater will be the increase of trade, of profits and of wealth to the country. This is the advanced and flourishing phase of the so-called “free labor” system—to the perfection of which system England has now more nearly attained than any other country of Europe, or any people that has heretofore existed—and with which there is also the most of want, toil, suffering and misery to the laboring class, as well as the most of gain, wealth, and luxury to the employing class and to capitalists. Massachusetts already begins to see the dawn of this much lauded splendor, and much coveted economical and social condition. And in truth, if the prosperity and wealth of the higher classes, and the extent of trade and of riches of the country in general, are the only objects

sought, without any regard to increasing the destitution, misery, ignorance and vice of the poor, and the much larger number of the citizens—then I freely admit that the falsely so-called “free labor” system is the best policy, and that its ultimate fruition and results should be desired, not only for Massachusetts and all other “free” States, but also for Virginia, in preference to our existing system and policy of negro slavery.

SECTION IV.—Free labor and negro slave-labor compared in their results, and especially in reference to Massachusetts and Virginia—Causes of high prices of Massachusetts lands—The different operations and effects of the receiving and paying of government bounties and protecting duties.

Thus, the northern States, owing to peculiar but temporary circumstances, are, at this time, free labor communities, and will continue to be so until their population becomes dense enough to make the supply of labor greater than the demand. Massachusetts, as the oldest of the northern States, has longest enjoyed the alleged benefits of this condition of free labor, and has now approached nearest to the next succeeding condition of labor cheapened by competition and the beginning of slavery to want. Virginia is the oldest of the negro-slaveholding States, and has longest enjoyed the benefits and borne the peculiar and incidental evils of that condition. Therefore, when estimating the practical effects of the two systems, these two oldest States will be chiefly used as examples and referred to for comparison. The two different systems of policy and labor have each their unquestionable benefits and disadvantages. Both are good in their general operation, where long and fully established, as respectively in these two States. Yet it would be extremely disadvantageous, if not ruinous, for either Massachusetts or Virginia to exchange its own established labor system entirely for that of the other.

The slave system of Virginia gives much more command and control of labor in a new country of sparse population, and makes it continuous in effort, and therefore, even if slower and less effective for short times of actual employment, it is far more efficient and profitable on the whole than would be free hireling labor. It is more suitable for extensive culture, under one directing and controlling head; and by permitting leisure, and opportunities for much social intercourse,



to the master class, and requiring of them, and inviting to mental cultivation, there is a constant tendency to improvement of that class in mind, manners, and in social advantages and virtues. On the other hand, the facility for obtaining the comforts and pleasures of life also invite to self-indulgence, indolence, and negligent and expensive habits—and these encourage the kindred vices which often follow these errors.

The free labor system, if exclusively in operation from the beginning of a newly settled country (which, however, was not the case with Massachusetts or any of the older northern States,) would subject all employers and proprietors to great straits in the general scarcity and high price of free and hired labor. Hence, every economy of labor would be induced, and employers and proprietors would necessarily be themselves laborious, and frugal to the extent of parsimony. Their children, from an early age, would be trained to the industrious and frugal habits of their parents. No available means for gain would be neglected, nor any expensive indulgence, be permitted. Such circumstances would permit farming only on a small scale—so that the farmer, his wife, and sons and daughters, would constitute the greater number, if not all, of his permanent laborers and servants, for the farm or the house. Thus, every one is always at work, and helping to increase both private gains and the public wealth. But, on this account, none of the hard working rural population will have leisure for a high degree of mental culture, or for the improving pleasures of extended social intercourse. The very long and severe winters of Massachusetts, when scarcely any outdoor labor can be performed, more than anything else, have permitted and invited every person to acquire the lowest branches of school instruction. But this benefit does not prevent a general and increasing want of higher and more useful knowledge, for acquiring which the lower branches of school education are but the useful means.

The system of negro slavery requires large space for the best results, and large farms; and such extensive operations, and the looking to the main and great objects, lead to the neglect of details and of minor advantages. Hence, on one of our large, and also best conducted and most profitable farms—great as are the profits, and excellent the general management—there is yet enough of waste and neglected values, in small matters, to fur-

nish a good income, if saved; and all of which would be saved by Yankee farmers on their small properties. For all these reasons, in proportion to their respective amounts of capital and labor, the small northern farmer would make and save double as much profit and accumulation as would a large southern slaveholder. Nevertheless, of all the before experienced northern farmers who have bought land and settled in Virginia, and who, either with or without slaves, attempted to exercise their boasted northern skill in farming on a large scale, I have never heard of one who did not fail, or, at best, fall much below the results of the ordinary management of his more careless and wasteful neighbors.

The larger space required for farming by slave labor is obtained without much cost in a new colony or settlement. Land is but one (and then the least costly) part of the cultivator's total farming capital, and its market price cannot rise or maintain a subsequent price, higher than the owner can afford to pay, or to retain so invested. If every farmer occupies twice as much land as might serve (with every small economy practised), and such is the usage of the whole country, it will follow that the general price of land will not rise to a rate higher than one-half of what it might be, if every owner would bestow as much labor upon, and derive as much product from, one acre as he does from two. This is one only of the several causes of land being higher priced in Massachusetts than in Virginia; though not a cause necessarily produced by slavery. For in many particular cases, there are farms as highly improved in Virginia, cultivated with better knowledge of agriculture, better conducted (notwithstanding the admitted defects of economy), and more profitable for the capital invested, than can be found in Massachusetts, or any other of the old northern States. There are other and more operative causes for the higher prices of lands in Massachusetts, which will now be stated.

The tendency of the system of free labor (when the labor is also scarce and dear,) is to reduce the sizes of farms to the least possible extent on which the proprietors can make full use of their capital—and, of course, to increase in proportion the number of farms and proprietors. The unproductiveness of the soil in Massachusetts caused a large proportion of the population to devote their labors to navigation, fishing and

whaling, trade and manufactures; and their natural and proper advantages and profits in these pursuits have been greatly increased by the bounties and discriminating and protecting duties enacted by the Federal Government, and which, raised from the whole country (and as of all taxation, mostly paid by the slaveholding States), yielded their benefits, as bounties, mainly to Massachusetts and the other New England States, because these were best fitted to profit by them. Thus, while the industry of all the agricultural, and especially of the slaveholding States, has been burdened with paying for all this unjust policy (amounting altogether to many hundreds of millions of dollars), Massachusetts has received the largest proportion of the benefits of the bounties so bestowed. The direct bounties for the cod-fishery, paid out of the federal treasury alone, have amounted nearly to \$12,000,000—and nearly the whole of this has been received by Massachusetts and Maine, which was long a part of Massachusetts. As the largest shipbuilder, navigator and whaler, Massachusetts has received the largest proportion of the benefits of the indirect federal bounties to navigation interests, and especially, and to this time, to American ship-owners, and to the vessels engaged in the coasting trade. Her greater fitness for manufactures has also served to give her the chief profits derived from the protecting duty system of which the unjust and heavy burden has been chiefly borne by the slaveholding States, which have been unable to obtain any profit from these offered bounties. A protecting duty of 20 per cent on certain fabrics might afford ample protection and profit to Massachusetts' manufacturers, which rate of duty would not guard from loss a southern manufacturer. Thus, a virtual monopoly of the production and sale would be vested in the manufacturers of the section which had the best facilities to use the benefit. If then the duty were raised to 40 per cent, it would still offer so much more advantage to the northern than to the southern manufacturer, that the former, while making still increased profits, could undersell the latter, and retain the principal or exclusive business of production. For all these latter reasons, of far greater operation than better agriculture, the population of Massachusetts has been increased to much more than double of what it would have been if its whole industry were as nearly agricultural as that

of Virginia. And this additional population drew from abroad, and from the government protection and bounties, far the largest share of the profits and wealth of Massachusetts. All this additional population, possessing and expending much more than a proportional amount of the general annual income of the State, afforded to the fewer agriculturists a home market of great and sure demand, and of immense value. The consequent prodigious benefit to the fewer cultivators and land owners may well be conceived, and the necessary effects in increasing the demand for and price of the limited amount of land, none of which was too remote from towns to profit by the peculiar benefits offered. For the demand for land was not to raise grain—for the production of grain and agriculture proper have long been and still are decreasing and declining in Massachusetts—but to raise green vegetables and other products which do not admit of distant transportation, for the supply of the many towns and villages and the population not engaged in agriculture. A "home market," when it is what the term should imply, really at home, is unquestionably of great value to agriculture, and which (in many cases) if justly and judiciously selected, the agricultural interest of a country may well afford to pay for, in consideration of its benefits. But, in the case of Massachusetts, there has been created in this extra and non-agricultural population and its wealth, a vast home market, by which every individual farmer is greatly benefitted, and which home market has been built up and is paid for by the bounty of the Federal Government, and mainly by taxes and losses borne by the slaveholding States. To compare fairly Virginia and Massachusetts in these respects, it would be necessary to suppose for Virginia an additional population of industrious and wealthy consumers of agricultural products, of more than double all the number now engaged in agriculture; and further, that these consumers were mainly supported and enriched, not by Virginia, but by Massachusetts. Under such change of conditions, the prices of land in Virginia would soon be doubled, and those of Massachusetts would sink to less than half their present rates. And if the latter had never had any benefit from the bounty system, and, on the contrary, had paid as much of the costs of that system as has Virginia, at this time, the population and wealth and pros-

perity of Massachusetts, as well as the price of lands, would scarcely be one-fourth as much as are now boasted of, and which are falsely asserted to be wholly the results of the superiority of free to slave labor.

SECTION V.—Other causes of high price of land, and further views of its operation, and that of "free labor." The condition of Massachusetts, so much lauded, is the infancy of a system of evil which is approaching maturity in England, and has fully reached it in China.

There are still other causes for the high prices of lands in Massachusetts, and which operate still more strongly in older "free-labor" countries. These will be now stated, and their peculiar and powerful operation fully admitted. Where the free labor system prevails, and hiring labor is scarce and high-priced, it will be a necessary consequence (as stated above) that the small landed proprietors and their families will not only be regular laborers, but will constitute the much larger proportion of the laborers on all small properties. They will also be the most diligent, hard-working, careful and frugal of laborers—because every member of the family is not only under more perfect direction and control of the proprietors, but also has every additional stimulus to exertion and care that self-interest, family affection, and the pride of proprietorship can offer. Every exertion of a hand, every minute of time given to labor, every smallest saving of products or means, will be so much of addition to the income of the family, and to the accumulation of capital. Such proprietor-laborers—and especially when pressed by poverty as much as if they were hiring laborers on the lands of others, (which is not unusual)—are more industrious, and more saving than any free hirelings, or any individual slaves. Therefore, the smallest farms, thus cultivated, will be made more productive than any others in proportion to extent, and will be held at higher prices than larger properties. Hence, there will be a continual tendency to reduce the sizes of farms, and a consequent enhancement of the market prices of small farms, to the highest rate at which proprietors are content to buy or to hold them. This rate is raised still higher by another cause not less operative than the love of gain, or the pressure of want. Besides the intrinsic and true value which all cultivated land has founded on its actual rate of production, every property has

also an additional element of value, which enters into and increases its market price. This is the gratification and pride felt by and nourished in the owner, because of the mere fact of his being a proprietor of land. This feeling, and its effects, exist everywhere—but in the highest degree where such proprietorship is a rare distinction, and of course where such property is the most scarce, costly, and difficult of attainment. It is felt in Virginia—but with less intensity than in Massachusetts—and in Massachusetts much less than in France, (where the law has only of late permitted, and now operates to encourage and almost compel the extremely minute division of land—) and in France less than in England, where it is rare for land to be owned by any except the very rich. Independent of the products, or pecuniary profits of land, its possession confers a distinction something like the vulgar estimation of a title of nobility—which is still more empty, and destitute of real value and worth. This distinction of ownership may be rated very high in some localities, and very low in others. But everywhere it is something—and its rate is so much added to what would be otherwise the market price of lands. But this value of mere proprietorship is not in proportion to the extent, or to the productiveness or other true value of lands. It is the greater in different counties in proportion to the scarcity of the distinction, or the difficulty of its acquisition. It is also much greater, in the same countries as to small farms than large, or in inverse proportion to their respective extents. For the possessor of but five acres enjoys the much coveted and highly prized distinction and rank of being a farmer on his own land—and the owner of a thousand, or ten thousand acres, is no more. Hence, this pride of mere proprietorship might add \$50, or \$10 per acre, to the appreciation of a farm of but 5 acres' extent—and might not add more than \$500, or half a dollar the acre, to a farm of 1000 acres. Hence the strong inducement, where such demand is strongly operative, to supply it by selling land in small divisions—and so to hold it divided. The present legal policy of France compels the division of the smallest landed property among all the children of a deceased proprietor. Consequently, very many farms, and separate properties, are from five acres to less than one acre in size. From other operating causes, in some parts of Ger-

many the lands are mostly held in similar very small divisions. The owners, the "peasant-proprietors," as they are termed by J. Stuart Mills, (who greatly admires and applauds the system) are as needy as are hiring day laborers, and suffer as great privations. But, for the reasons stated above, they are the most diligent and frugal of laborers, and appreciate their position of proprietors so highly that many continue to hold and to cultivate farms which do not yield, as capital, a net profit of more than two per cent. In other words, if the fair interest of capital is five per cent, these small peasant-proprietors hold their lands (and could so sell them if choosing,) at market prices between twice and thrice the amount of their true intrinsic value, as rated by production. The distinguished (and generally correct) political economist, just quoted, pronounces these peasant-proprietors to be the most productive of all landholders and cultivators, and the most profitable agricultural workers in these countries. And he is right, if the most desirable and profitable end for the individual, and public interests of a State, is to obtain the greatest possible amount of gross products from the land, even if at the greatest cost of labor and privation, and want and misery, to the proprietors and laborers, and with the least of net profit, and of accumulation of increased capital to the proprietors and the State. Lands so held and tilled might indeed produce to the utmost capacity for every rood of surface—would be bought and sold at double prices—might perhaps bear a doubled population, all peasant-proprietors and all industrious laborers. But hand-labor would generally supersede team-labor and labor-saving machines, and net product would be diminished much more than gross product increased. Each proprietor's household would eat or consume nearly all of his own products, and leave a very small excess for sale, and to furnish any addition to the public wealth. The necessity for continual toil and privation of the whole population would forbid any indulgences in social pleasures, or intellectual improvement—and more and more, in each successive generation, extend the prevalence of general and brutal rudeness of manners, and ignorance. And, according to my views, this condition of a country population—such as exists in parts of France and Germany, and to which Massachusetts is tending, (and, if a truly

self-supporting State, would be rapidly approaching, and would soon reach)—is as truly a great and deplorable evil, as it is supposed by many to be a great benefit and blessing. Considered in reference to both private and public interests and well-being—or in regard to the happiness, health, and mental and moral position of the whole community, and of every individual, this condition would be far less beneficial, and more deplorable, than that of a negro-slaveholding community, of but half the population on equal space, with a less economical and productive agriculture, in gross, and prices of land less by one-half or more. In this latter condition of things, the negro slaves would enjoy more leisure, freedom from harassing cares, and more comfort and pleasure, than the wretched and hard-working peasant-proprietors and laborers—and the fewer masters of negro slaves would have abundance of leisure, and use it for social enjoyments, and to improve manners and social education. If there were less of gross production, there would be much more of surplus and of net products, and of sales abroad, and of accumulation of private wealth, and contributions to the general revenue and accumulated wealth of the State. It has been admitted that the more that land is divided into small properties, and cultivated by the hands of the respective owners and their families, the more effort and frugality will be used, and more of gross products made and saved. But no important facility to save hard-labor can be made on such small spaces. The farmer on five acres only may indeed obtain from it the greatest possible product—even though his tillage is entirely by the spade and hoe. But he cannot afford to use a good plough or strong team—and still less a reaping or threshing machine. The more that numbers are increased, and even of industrious laborers, the nearer will they be to the eating, or otherwise consuming, the whole annual products of the country. Population, when increased to the most that the industry and products of a country can support, does not add either to the wealth or strength of the country, but the reverse; producing instead, poverty, ignorance, and weakness, and great suffering to all of the laboring class, and destitution, misery and even starvation, to many of the crowded population. Such is the actual condition of China, which, of all countries of the world, is the most industriously and ef-

fectively cultivated, the most productive, the land most valued and high-priced, and which also supports the most dense and laborious and frugal population. Yet this great and rich country barely feeds and sustains its numerous inhabitants, and supplies but a scant amount of the cheapest food to much the greater number—poverty is general, and extreme want and famine are not uncommon—there is but little surplus production to increase the general wealth, or for public uses—and the nation is even the weaker in military condition, because of its great populousness, which is only restricted from greater increase by misery, starvation and systematic infanticide. Yet, while the wretched condition of China is admitted by all, and also the causes for it here alleged, the very same causes, in their earlier operation and progress, and as applied to this country, are supposed by many shallow reasoners to be elements and evidences of wealth, strength, happiness and general well-being and greatness for this country—causes which are alleged to be greatly beneficial to the northern States, and which are even deemed the best examples for imitation, and objects to be earnestly sought by the slaveholding States! China presents the perfection and finality of the operation, of the system of high-priced lands, cheap free labor and dense population, which system is but beginning to be effective in Massachusetts, and is more than half advanced to completion in England.

Population, when near approaching, and still more when having reached its maximum, or extreme limit (of means for subsistence,) in any country, is admitted by all sound thinkers to be an enormous evil. Another great accompanying evil, also admitted, is presented in the wages of labor being too low to support the laborers. To these evils, I would add as another the high price of land, which is always an accompaniment and aggravation of the other two—but which, instead of being deemed an evil, is as commonly as erroneously supposed to be a great and most desirable public benefit, and a certain indication of great agricultural and general prosperity.

Land, as all other farming capital, or stock, has two kinds of value, of entirely different character and operation. The one is the value founded upon, and regulated by, the products and profits of the land under culture. This is the true and only agricultural

and useful value; and which, if known and distinguished separately, will truly indicate the actual measure of the supposed agricultural prosperity of a country, where all the land is occupied. The other value of land is as capital merely, or a commodity of trade and speculation; and which is regulated entirely by the demand of purchasers, no matter for what objects, or under what delusion. There are also two different private interests of land-holders, as such, which ought to be, but are not often considered apart. The land-holder, as a cultivator or agriculturist, is not benefitted, but may eventually be much injured, by lands being priced higher than according to their true productive value. But to those who hold lands for sale; or as capital for trade, the higher the rise of prices, and the more money to be obtained by sale, the greater will be the gain of the individual sellers, in each transaction. But it is certain that such gains cannot be beneficial to agriculture, or to the common weal. For just as much as some members of the community, as sellers of land, may gain in factitious and baseless enhancement of price, is lost by others, as buyers in paying prices too high for the value of land founded on its production. If the lands of Virginia could, and as speedily as is falsely and absurdly maintained by the advocates for substituted free labor, be raised in price to the present rates of Massachusetts, or to four times as much as their true productive value will now justify, the owners might individually profit as much, in that respect, by selling their lands to others who would bear the subsequent loss. But if the sellers remained residents of Virginia, or did not flee the country with their new capital in money, its quadrupled increase would scarcely secure them, as abiding residents, from being involved in the common ruin of the country, to be produced through its prostrated agricultural interests. To the seller of land, and as such only, can the too high price of land be beneficial. To the designed and continued holder, advanced market price is unimportant; and to the buyer, it is altogether injurious.

SECTION VI.—Value of a "home market," if truly at home; and why, and in what manner to be maintained by all the Southern States.

The subject of home markets was incidentally touched upon in a preceding section.

Its importance requires the more full consideration, which it will now receive.

The value of a home market for the products of agriculture, created in the new demand for these products of neighboring resident mechanics, manufacturers, traders, navigators, &c., and their families, I would perhaps rate as highly as do the advocates of the protecting duty and bounty system of the federal government. All reasoners would admit its great value to agriculture, and to all its neighboring country, where the home market grows up naturally, or without any fostering care and aid of government. Still more valuable would be a home market to its neighboring agriculturists, even if created and sustained by legal protection, provided the burden and cost of that protection were borne, not by the community receiving the benefit, but by another and remote community and interest—as are the different conditions of the older northern and southern States under the federal system of protection and bounties. Further: I will admit that, in some cases, it would be good policy for a particular State or community to impose taxes or burdens (and which would be but of temporary operation) on itself, for the purpose of introducing and establishing new and appropriate industrial pursuits, and so far creating a real home market in the demands of new customers, resident in the same community. To insure beneficial results, it would only be necessary that the subjects of protection should be selected with wisdom and judgment, and with a single eye to the interest of the community so taxed, as well as by its legal authority only. Thus, each and all of the southern States—which are almost exclusively agricultural, and have scarcely any important home markets in manufacturers and members of other industrial pursuits—would promote their own pecuniary interest by severally imposing heavy, and, in some cases, prohibitory license taxes on the sales of all such northern commodities as might be as well, or nearly as cheaply produced in the South; and also on all products of foreign countries, of which the prices are much enhanced by federal duties for protection, or which are imported in the South, not directly from abroad, but through northern ports and traders. The certain and indefeasible right of each State to impose such license taxes it is not necessary here to maintain. So far the new policy proposed might be maintained as correct on economi-

cal grounds. But there are much more important political and protective or defensive reasons. Such a system of policy, if adopted by but a few (and more speedily and effectually if by all) of the southern States, and fully and strictly carried out, would not only give to every such southern State valuable home markets and numerous new buyers and consumers (at home) of agricultural products, but would soon serve to bring the northern Abolitionists to their senses by forcing them to see their complete dependence, for their profits and wealth, on southern products and taxation, and on the tribute heretofore levied upon southern capital and industry, and mainly derived from negro slavery.

The arguments of the protectionists in favor of creating home markets by protecting duties, operating to exclude the taxed foreign commodities, if addressed to the manufacturing and bountied States, would be impregnable. For these States pay but a small proportion of the costs, and enjoy nearly all the benefits of the home markets so created. But when such arguments, in favor of federal protection, are addressed by northern advocates to the people of the South, they are both false and absurd. And their absurdity is greatly increased, and made more manifest and glaring, when southern men advocate such protection through federal legislation. When this is effected, as has been through the whole course of the protective and bounty system of this country, the southern people bear much the larger portion of the burdens (as of all federal taxes) and of the whole cost, and the "home markets" so created are not in the southern, but almost exclusively in the northern States, and mostly in New England, where they are no more "home markets" for the southern States and people than they would be if in Europe. Mr. Henry Carey, the most earnest and able recent advocate of the protective system, is entirely correct in regard to the great advantages of home markets which he sets forth, or of what he calls "placing the loom and anvil by the side of the plough;" but for this placing to be for our benefit in the South, the newly introduced loom and anvil should be by our plough, and not by that of Massachusetts. If the southern advocates for protection will direct their arguments and zealous efforts truly for the protection of southern manufactures and mechanical and

other products, through State legislation—and thus, for building up new “home markets,” not in the North but in the South—not for northern but for southern agricultural products; they would, for the first time, have reason and good sense, patriotism and sound State policy, on their side; and then their exertions, concurred in by their former opponents, and so made effective, would redound as much to the wealth, strength and political safety of the southern States, as the federal protective and bounty system has heretofore operated in opposite directions, and with most injurious effects on all these great interests.

SECTION VII.—How the removal of slaves from Virginia would affect the prices of lands and agricultural and general interests. Some absurd and detestable doctrines on this question cited and exposed.

In a preceding article, “On the effects of the high prices of slaves,” &c. (published in *DeBow's Review* for June, 1859,) I maintained the following positions, which will here be again enunciated, but which will not require to be again proved or argued:

1. That the higher the price, or costs, of the whole of the farmer's necessary capital, the less must be the net profits of his farm and business, for products of equal amounts and values obtained.

2. That after the market prices of agricultural capital and stock have been duly adjusted and proportioned to the products and profits, if thereafter one large part of that capital, as slaves, should rise much in price, without a corresponding and equal increase of the value of subsequent products, then the market price of the other capital stock, the land, must be as much reduced, leaving the market value of the whole capital the same as before—or, otherwise, no new investments will be made in agriculture (capable of returning the ordinary profits of capital,) and no previous owners of farms can continue to hold them, unless to operate for less than fair profits on their capital, rated at its then market appreciation.

3. That the now greatly enhanced price of slaves (caused by their more profitable use and greater demand in the more southern States) has already operated to forbid new investments in agricultural capital in Virginia—and has begun to reduce, and will more and more reduce, the prices of our lands.

What was maintained, in arguing these propositions, as the effect of an undue high price for slaves, in lowering, in equal degree, the prices of lands (the only other great subject of our farming capital), would be equally true if these two subjects could be made to change places. That is, if, because of any artificial or extraneous influence, our lands could be raised to, and maintained at, for a time, a much higher rate of price than their products would justify, or than could return fair business profits, then the other great subjects of farming capital must be reduced in proportion—or otherwise investments in agriculture would cease, until the price of capital, in some other parts, or generally, for want of purchasers, had fallen low enough for profitable investment. As such reduction of price could not occur as to slaves, (because their price is regulated by the great and increasing foreign demand), the necessary and inevitable fall of price would take place in regard to lands, which therefore would soon lose all their recent undue or factitious appreciation, if not further sink below their former and then fair market value.

It will be a subject for separate and later consideration, whether (as usually supposed) the high price of land of itself is advantageous to agricultural interests, or the reverse. But the opposers of negro slavery having assumed as true the affirmative of this proposition, have eagerly seized upon the actual difference of the prices of lands in the northern and southern States, to use as their great argument for the destruction of negro slavery and its substitution by free labor. To strengthen this argument, the actual differences of prices have been greatly exaggerated, and the great and especial causes of high priced lands (as in Massachusetts) have been entirely overlooked, or designedly ignored. Further: It has thence been inferred, no less foolishly than falsely, that the removal of all the slaves from Virginia by sale (or, as many have contended, even by gratuitous emancipation,) would have the simultaneous or speedy effect of introducing as much free labor from abroad, and thus speedily and greatly would the prices of our lands be raised, and all to the great benefit and gain of the agricultural interest and of the commonwealth. Formerly, when theoretical anti-slavery opinions were general in Virginia, many persons, otherwise intelligent and judicious, would have readily concurred

in this false doctrine. That time of general delusion in regard to negro slavery, happily for Virginia, has passed away. Recently and now there are but few who still entertain such opinions. But, lest I should be charged with contending against shadows, and exposing errors and absurdities for which no respectable authority or voucher can now be found, I will quote two passages from editorial articles of Virginian newspapers, holding different political creeds, and respectively attached to the two great opposing political parties. One of these is the Norfolk *Herald*, the oldest newspaper, and still conducted by the oldest editor of the commonwealth. In an editorial article of this paper (of 1853, as supposed) there was the following passage:—

“Let those who are lured by the prospect of gain, or who really believe that they can better their condition by emigrating to the new States, follow their bent, and take their slaves along with them. The vacuum may cause a momentary weakness, but it will be only to recruit with two-fold vigor. The places of every slave will in time be filled with hardy, industrious, tax-paying, musket-bearing freemen, of the right stuff to people a free State, which Virginia is destined to be one of these days, and the sooner (consistently with reason) the better for her own good.”

This passage is but a strongly expressed enunciation and repetition of the old and hacknied general proposition of the anti-slavery school, and therefore needs no further notice. The next quoted authority requires more consideration, though upon other grounds than that of respect due to the opinions advanced, or the reasons on which they are placed. The following passage is part of an editorial article in the Richmond *Enquirer* of 1858, commenting on the movements in the then recent session of the Southern Convention. It was deliberately set forth and cautiously worded, and was subsequently reaffirmed by the editor:

“If a dissolution of the Union is to be followed by the revival of the slave trade, Virginia had better consider whether the south of the northern Confederacy would not be far preferable for her than the north of a Southern Confederacy. In the Northern Confederacy, Virginia would derive a large amount from the sale of her slaves to the South, and gain the increased value of her lands from northern emigration; while,

in the Southern Confederacy, with the African slave trade revived, she would lose two-thirds of the value of her slave property and derive no additional increase to the value of her lands.”

The *Enquirer*, in former years, and for a long time, was one of the ablest and certainly the most influential of the political journals of Virginia, and, perhaps, of all the southern States—and even now may retain something of the remains of that deference which formerly was due to its then influence if not to its always asserted claim (not always, however, even formerly, well founded) of being the zealous and faithful advocate of the rights and interests of the southern States. Further: in recent and at the present time, and in States other than Virginia, this paper may have acquired undeserved consideration as a supposed exponent of now prevailing public opinion, or of the opinions of some of the leading politicians of Virginia, founded on the known family as well as partizan relations of the chief editor. But for these different circumstances, either or all of which may operate abroad to invest the *Enquirer's* doctrines with some factitious and undeserved importance or false *prestige*, the several propositions above quoted would not, for their own worth or influence at home, demand either reply or notice. As it is, some comments will be submitted on the main and also the incidental positions of the editor. And first, before adverting to the older fallacies of the removal of slaves serving to bring in free labor and to raise the price of lands, I will ask attention to some other opinions expressed in this notable passage, which ought to excite indignation or contempt in the mind of every Virginian who is true to Virginia and to the South.

So far as I know or believe, there is not any other editor, or any respectable and known individual writer in Virginia, who would endorse and support these doctrines of the *Enquirer* in regard to preferring for Virginia a northern rather than a southern political connection. If there are any persons in Virginia, except the few northerners in feeling, and the still fewer abolitionists or incendiary northern emissaries and agents, who would, in any contingency, prefer that Virginia should be attached to the northern rather than to the southern States, there is yet no evidence of such preference—or at least of any but in the above-quoted declaration. If all the votes of Virginia could



be polled on this particular question, at least nineteen-twentieths of them would strongly oppose the choice implied in the words quoted. And if there can be as many persons as one-twentieth who would, in any contingencies, prefer political connection with the northern States to the southern, the fear of public indignation would prevent the avowal of that opinion, which would be so generally deemed hateful and abominable.

There is great virtue in an "if." It is easy enough to see that the "if" of the *Enquirer* was designed to serve as a safe passage through which to crawl out of the difficulty, which, without the "if," would have been obvious to every reader. The *Enquirer's* implied preference and recommendation for Virginia, in the event of a dissolution of the Union, to side with and remain attached to the northern rather than the southern States, were presented as if based on a condition precedent—the re-opening of the African slave trade—which was then, and is even now, so unlikely to occur soon, that such a test of the *Enquirer's* principles was not likely to be practically applied. For various reasons, good and bad, strong, feeble, or entirely fallacious—the great body of the people of Virginia are strongly opposed to the re-opening of the African slave trade; and by very many of them that policy would be held in detestation and abhorrence. With all of this large number, and also with other very cursory readers, the words of the *Enquirer* might well pass as a mere indirect assertion that the re-opening of the slave trade would be an evil greater than the separation of Virginia from the South and her adherence to the North; or, in short, as but a hyperbolical expression of disapprobation of a policy that could not be too strongly denounced. Further, it is only upon the occurrence of the contingency that the Union is about to be dissolved, and, as a consequence, the African slave trade to be reopened, that the *Enquirer* recommended to Virginia to side with the North against the South. Until this very improbable and double contingency shall occur, the *Enquirer*, by virtue of its "if," will still assert its claim to be strongly southern, both in principle and in every doctrine advocated. But whatever may be claimed for it, the "if" of the *Enquirer* should not be deemed of the slightest value as protection from the general indignation which would be incurred by a naked and unconditional avowal of prefer-

ence for the connection of Virginia with the northern States rather than the southern, in the event of a dissolution of the Union. The "if" is as worthless as a part of the argument, as is the entire series of propositions false as a whole. If the possible occurrence of the reopening of the African slave trade, after a separation of the Union, will indeed render it expedient and preferable for Virginia to separate both her natural and political connection from the more southern States and to adhere to the northern, then there would exist precisely the same reasons for such preference and action, without the re-opening of the slave trade, or any prospect or possibility thereof. What are the alleged reasons? In the "northern confederacy," as says the *Enquirer*, "Virginia would derive a large amount from the sale of her slaves to the South, and gain the increased value of her lands from northern emigration, while in the southern confederacy she would lose two-thirds of the value of her slave property, and derive no additional increase to the value of her lands." Now, if the latter portions of these assertions were true (as they are not), then they would operate as strongly, as reasons, without the revival of the slave trade. Without its being revived, the prices of slaves will be, as now, much higher—higher by two-thirds, the *Enquirer* says—than if the trade were reopened. Therefore, according to this doctrine, there are not only as great, but greater reasons and inducements operating now to sell off all our slaves, and have the vacuum so caused, in population and labor, filled by northern or European free laborers. And if by selling all our slaves, it were true, as the *Enquirer* maintains (and as I deny), there would be gain to Virginia in the (thereby caused) increased value of her lands, effected through northern emigration, then it is no less desirable now to seek that end, and through the means stated, and before the possible reopening of the African slave trade shall begin to diminish the present high prices of our slaves. Further—even if admitting fully the argument of the *Enquirer*, stripped of its non-essential contingencies—that it would be good State policy to sell all our slaves, and so invite immigration—yet as this can be done generally and completely only by legislative and coercive enactments, it is a legitimate deduction that this proper State policy ought to be so enacted and enforced, and thus that Virginia shall be, and

as speedily as possible, freed from the presence of negro slaves, and rendered in policy, and, of course, in sentiment, one of the hireling-labor, Abolition and northern States. It the propositions of the *Enquirer*, fairly argued and carried out, do not lead inevitably to these conclusions, it would throw much needed light on the propositions asserted for any other legitimate deductions from them to be maintained by legitimate argument.

In pursuing the main course of the discussion, there were some important side issues passed by, which would well deserve the consideration of those who have faith in any of the propositions above quoted. Even if the contingencies supposed by the *Enquirer* had actually occurred, or were manifestly about to occur, *i. e.* "a dissolution of the Union, to be followed by the revival of the slave trade," it may be asked whether Virginia, if waiting so long to act, as recommended by the *Enquirer*, could then, even on the false grounds assumed, obtain the promised profit in selling her slaves to the South? Would the then all-powerful non-slaveholding and slavery-hating States of the northern confederacy (even now, eighteen or nineteen in number) permit the only two adhering slaveholding States, Virginia and Maryland, to continue the "iniquity" of either selling or holding slaves? And even if there would be any possible ground to suppose such permission to be granted, and the involved rights to be respected by the then all-powerful northern States, there is still another as important difficulty in another quarter, *viz*: What possible interest would the people of the more southern States then have to buy all the negroes of Virginia, at prices three-fold greater (as estimated by the *Enquirer*) than would be required for other slaves that they could then freely buy from Africa? And, even if pecuniary interest did not forbid so absurd a preference, what other inducement would there be for the more southern States to minister to the benefit and profits of Virginia by buying her slaves at higher, or even at any prices, and so facilitate her change to free labor, after Virginia had deserted and basely betrayed her section and her principles, and for this absurd hope of pecuniary profit, had chosen alliance with, and political bondage to, the northern States?

SECTION VIII.—How the substitution of free labor for slave labor would finally operate on agricultural interests—High price of land, of itself, not a benefit to agriculture, and may be the reverse—Still greater evil in fluctuating prices.

But enough of reference to the incidental and minor question. I will now proceed to the consideration of the main proposition of the opposers of negro or personal slavery—which is (as enunciated above at home, and by thousands of anti-slavery authorities abroad), that the removal of negro slavery and slave labor will bring in a sufficient supply of free laborers—and that the change will operate speedily, greatly and profitably for the land owners, in raising the prices of lands. I deny the general proposition, and also each of its minor parts; and, so far as the present land-owners' interest are concerned, will maintain that the pecuniary evils of the change would scarcely fall short of the evil political and social results which have been previously and elsewhere asserted.

The same general positions were assumed by the English anti-slavery party, to advocate and prove the expediency of the general emancipation of slaves in the British colonies. There, however, it was argued that the emancipated negroes would be more industrious when freed, and therefore their labor would be cheaper than the previous slave labor. The same reasoning was then used and believed in by every emancipationist in these United States—of whom there then were many in the southern States. Since the utter failure of obtaining labor from the emancipated slaves in the West Indies can no longer be denied, the opposers of slave labor can no longer promise free negro labor as a substitute. But, in this country, the old argument is still maintained, with the mere change of terms, of free northern and European labor being now promised as the substitute for the negro slave labor lost—and an improvement is claimed in the change, which, while retaining to the owners the high prices of their slaves, by selling them, will serve also to more than double the present price of their lands.

In reply to these assertions—first, let us inquire in what manner, and by what new inducements, the removal and scarcity of negro slave labor will operate to bring in free labor. That the removal of slaves, and a consequent greatly increased demand and price for hireling labor, will bring from

abroad some amount of the latter, is freely admitted. Also, that, in a very long course of years, the low prices of land, reduced to one-fourth or less of their present rates, may invite so many foreign and new purchasers as gradually to fill the country with new and small proprietors, who, with the aid of other mere hireling laborers, may even till all the land now under culture, or more. Further: the longer continuation of the (so-called) free labor system at a much later time, by reducing the extent of farms and creating greater demand for lots and residences by the then more crowded population, may raise the price of land to higher than the present or slave labor rates for land. All this may be admitted without strengthening the anti-slave labor argument in the least. For even if free labor shall be so invited, and shall, in a long course of time, become never so plenty and cheap—and if land shall finally be appreciated never so highly—the early, and also a long continued operation of the change will be to make labor much scarcer and more costly at first, and for a long time, and land must sink very low in price, and be reduced as much in extent of culture, before an important reaction can be expected, and before higher than the present prices of land will be caused by a new demand of immigrant or other buyers. If such final results are, indeed, to be deemed benefits in any aspect, it would be at least fifty years, and more likely more than a century, before they could begin to be realized, and very long after the present owners were dead, after having been utterly ruined by the removal of slave labor, or after they or their children had fled from Virginia to avoid the manifestly approaching ruin of all property-holders who remained.

If the mere removal and scarcity of slave labor would serve to invite enough of free and hireling labor from abroad, why is Maryland now so much wanting in labor of every kind? Why are our counties, which border on Pennsylvania and Ohio, (where slaves cannot be kept in safety, because of the danger of their loss by Abolition action,) so deficient in labor? There is in all Maryland, and these parts of Virginia, great demand for hireling labor, yet the supplies have not, by half, filled the void made by the removal or absence of slave labor. And the sufficient reason is, that the free labor that is offered, and which would come in any amount, if at high enough wages, is now dearer and less suitable than slave labor, costly and hazard-

ous as is the employment of the latter. Higher wages are required by white hirelings, and greater indulgences, while they are more intractable, less contented, and often more lazy, and always less serviceable and reliable than negro slaves. These are truths known to every experienced Virginia farmer. And to the experience of all such, whether on our borders nearest to the free labor and slave-stealing States, or in our interior counties, I appeal to sustain my position of the greater cheapness and economy of using negro slave labor in preference to free labor. There is no position, in regard to agricultural or political economy, which could be better sustained by reasoning and by evidence. But I will not occupy more time and space on this point, than to refer the decision to every farmer's experience and knowledge of the comparative prices charged for hireling and slave labor, and their respective advantages and disadvantages.

As I aimed to show, in a previous article, the actual and increasing operation of the too high price, and consequent removal of our slaves by sale to the South, is to reduce the price of land; and to prevent investments of capital in agriculture, until the price of land shall be enough reduced to compensate in its lower cost to the new purchaser the increased cost of his investment in slaves at their enhanced prices. As there is nothing in these changes, or their causes, to increase the amount or the prices of agricultural products, we may suppose that they will maintain the previous average rates. Then the gross income of the farmer will remain the same—while either the removal of labor, or the decline of land in price, or the certain approach, or even expectation of either or both, will serve to render the farmer's position uncertain, his prospects of the future still more doubtful—to discourage the effort to improve his land and his business, by presenting, plainly in view, the probability of his necessarily selling his land and removing with his negroes to a region where their productive or laboring value is equal to their market price. Under such circumstances of beginning actual loss, or prospective and much greater future loss, in his general business—when his slave-labor (as capital) costs him much more than he can afford to pay for or to retain as an investment, and when free hireling labor, even if to be obtained, would be certainly much dearer—could it be

possible that, thus situated, Virginia farmers could pay still higher prices for the free labor of white immigrants? If the farmer who is the best supplied with slaves, even now, cannot obtain fair profits from their labor (as the profits of invested capital), because of their high appreciation for sale, can others, having no slaves, afford to employ free labor at still higher rates?

But suppose, notwithstanding all these reasons and all losses, our farmers, deprived of slave labor, whether gradually or suddenly, would, by their necessity, be compelled to hire the free labor of immigrants, at any price required. At first, and during the greatest scarcity and demand, the price would be exorbitant. And should the high price serve to increase the supply of labor so as to bring it, within some eight or ten years, to fair and uniform rates for free labor, these rates, for the reasons stated, would still be higher than those of slave labor now. During all these changes, the farmers would have to bear either greater or less of annual loss, if counted on their original capital stock. But, in truth, under such circumstances, (as the price of wages would not fall below a fair rate so long as labor was truly free,) their other capital; land, must fall, until, whether to the original possessor or to a new buyer, the value of the whole capital was so reduced, that the reduced profits still offered a fair return for cultivation. This might take place, possibly, after many years of continued depression and loss to the occupants, and of the ruin of one or more of them in succession, before the prices of land were reduced to their lowest rates. Then, a new purchaser, who bought a farm for one-fourth (or it might be one-tenth) of its former price, might make a profit on his cheap land investment, even with having to pay the high price of free labor for its cultivation.

Next, let us inquire what would be the inducements that would operate to incite new purchasers of land in Virginia, and especially from abroad, whose increased demand for land shall serve (as promised) to greatly raise the price of lands. It is admitted that new purchasers may be so brought into the land market by prices being reduced sufficiently low, and by that inducement only. Passing by the universal ruin to be caused to the present and even later proprietors and successive generations by such a decline, so great and long continued, the

question occurs, how low a rate of price will serve to induce new buyers to occupy our reduced and partially abandoned and desolate fields? Let it be remembered that while the prices of land were sinking, and the owners, also, were being reduced to less labor, income and means to live, the lands would also, and necessarily, get into bad condition, and partly out of cultivation; the buildings would go to decay or utter ruin, and the whole face of the country would be generally becoming waste, desolate, and much of it returning to the original wilderness state, except that its prior fertility had been exhausted before its bad culture had been abandoned. Under the necessary conditions, the land now valued at \$20 the acre, would, probably, not be fit to yield a fair farming profit to a purchaser at \$4. And if to be bought at \$4, or even at half that price, there will still be no inducements for purchasers and new cultivators to come from abroad, so long as rich new lands in the West can be bought of the United States government at \$1 25 the acre; or be settled upon and occupied, and a preemption right thereby acquired for the occupant to buy at that low price, whenever the government shall subsequently order the sale of the territory.

Now, under these, or any possible conditions and results of the removal of all our slave labor, and the change to the free labor system, such as above described, would be the manner in which only could be finally reached the alleged benefits, promised by the anti-slavery school, of substituted immigrant free labor, and immigrant land buyers and farmers. The opposers of negro slavery and slave labor are welcome to my broad admissions, and to make the most of them for their cause and argument.

But my admissions of consequences, and the supposed progress of events, so far, have merely reached the supposed filling of the country with enough free labour, at the ordinary higher wages of free labour—and found enough purchasers for the land at greatly reduced prices. I am willing to extend the views to such far-remote time as will serve to crowd the population, and thereby raise the prices of lands to any rates required for the opposing argument; and, in short, to admit that Virginia, in a very long course of time, may be brought to as near the present condition of Massachusetts as can be, in the entire absence of

all the government protection and bounties which have operated to build up for Massachusetts full one-half of the navigation trade, manufactures—the population, the extent and the demands of the towns, and the consequent high price of lands, and the general profits and wealth of the people. But putting aside these great advantages bestowed by the federal government, and which Massachusetts has fully enjoyed and profited by, and which Virginia has largely helped to pay for, but never can receive—let it be admitted that, under the then free labour system, Virginia may, in two or three centuries, become more populous, and the lands be raised to much higher prices than now—still there would not necessarily be a more prosperous, happy, or worthy community. Increased population and increased prices of lands, both are important benefits when resulting from the true and growing prosperity of a country. But either may be the accompaniment, if not even the result, of the privations or misery of the people. For a long series of years in recent times (preceding and up to the Irish famine, which operated to change circumstances,) Ireland increased more rapidly in population than any country of Europe—was more densely populated than any except Holland, Belgium, and some others of the most fertile and highly cultivated small Territories—the land was exceeded by no country in fertility, and its price, to the occupier and cultivator, was enormously high. The poor Irish peasant had to pay to his landlord, or more often to the “middle man,” more per acre for the annual rent of his potato patch and its wretched hovel, and to live on potatoes only, than would have bought the full property, in fee-simple right, of as much and as good land in the United States. Yet, with all the greatly lauded and coveted benefits of dense and rapidly increasing population and high-priced lands, Ireland was the most wretched country, with the most destitute and miserable people of all Europe, and, indeed, of the civilized world. The extreme case of Ireland never can be paralleled in America. But even that condition of dense population, high price of land, and low price of free labour, (improperly then so-called,) as is coveted by some persons as an improvement and blessing for Virginia, could only be reached through a long course of early loss to the property-owners, and of late

privation and suffering to the poor and more destitute inhabitants.

The high price of land, of itself, and considered in regard to the then present and future time only, is not a benefit to agricultural interests, nor the community—but the reverse. It operates to increase the cost of investment in agriculture without increasing the products, and, therefore, serves to lower the profits of, and so to discourage agriculture. The low price of lands, by the reverse operations, offers cheaper investments, consequent higher profits, and, therefore, greater encouragement to agricultural pursuits.

When lands rise in price, slowly and gradually, and the rise is based upon the improvement and increased capacity for production of the lands, such rise is the best indication of the sound prosperity of agriculture, and is also a stimulus to increased industry. But the attainment of the highest rate of price, (even in this beneficial manner,) however truly indicating a previous and past progress of prosperity of agriculture, is not an element of, or as a means for, future profit and prosperity, as would be low price of lands, supposing all other facilities for their use to be equal.

But of all evils of either high or low prices of land, none are so injurious to the owners, and to the agricultural and general interests of a country, as fluctuating prices—and are changes caused, not by any changes of the intrinsic worth of the land itself, or at all dependent on the will and action of the owners, but by artificial and extraneous circumstances. Such causes have operated most banefully in Virginia, especially in the great expansion of irredeemable bank issues in and after 1814—(which caused apparent and great increase of the prices of land, which was, in fact, but the depreciation of paper money, and the stimulus of speculation thereby produced)—the succeeding collapse of bank and paper credit, and consequent extensive losses and bankruptcy of proprietors, and therefore great and undue depression of prices generally—and the great emigration from Virginia, and especially of slaves, caused by losses to proprietors, and invited by the higher profits of agriculture offered to them on the cheap and rich cotton lands of the new South-western States. After struggling through those opposite evils and fluctuations of too high and too low prices of

lands, a time began of general moderate and continuous profits from cultivation of very general improvement of farms, and a consequent gradual rise of the value and of the market prices of lands, as well as of slaves, and both founded on the real products and profits of agricultural property and the then existing investments. This, the best and most prosperous time of agricultural progress and profit in Virginia, began (varying in different localities) between 1830 and 1840, and continued until recently, when a check and then a decline of the price of land and of agricultural prosperity began, and must become more extensive and rapid, with the continuance of of the producing cause—the high price of slaves—already increased to a higher rate than the products of their labour in Virginia will remunerate, and, accordingly, operating to forbid new investments in agriculture, and so to reduce the prices of lands and to discourage their improvement and best cultivation.

SECTION IX.—The actual working and practical results of the free and slave-labour systems compared, as shown by evidence furnished by the United States Census and other public statistics.

Throughout the foregoing argument, the positions assumed have been mostly maintained by reasoning *a priori*, and by deductions made by reasoning from established premises. In this, and all like cases, however satisfactory may be the general facts used as premises, or adduced as proofs, such facts and evidences, from the nature of the subject, are liable to be doubted, or objected to as insufficient, by hostile and prejudiced disputants. This is a necessary defect of all discussions by argument of disputable questions and doctrines, and especially where the spirit of party or fanaticism has strong influence. Fortunately for my argument, it has not to rest on reasoning, or deductions, or general evidence, the authority or force of which may be called in question by captious and prejudiced opponents. There have been presented in the last United States Census (for 1850) many remarkable results of the practical and long-continued operations of the free labour and negro slavery systems of this country. This array of practical proofs, and the comparisons and contrasts they afford, will serve as an appropriate and impressive conclu-

sion to the preceding general argument. For the substance of most of the following evidences of this kind, and for the great labour of research and investigation which was required to extract them from the census and other reports, I shall be indebted to a preceding writer, the Rev. Thornton Stringfellow, who has set forth and commented upon these evidences at length in his "Scriptural and Statistical Views of Slavery," (4th edition, 1856,) an excellent and admirable, though plain and unpretending little book. In all the following evidences cited from the censuses, &c., I shall make use of the valuable labours of my predecessor, and rely entirely on his high authority for the correctness of the citations. My own part of this statistical statement will be but little more than condensing and arranging Mr. Stringfellow's more diffused statements, and by using numerical figures, (instead of numbers expressed in words,) and a tabular form, where suitable, to place the contrasts and conclusions in more striking points of view, as well as in much smaller space.

Mr. Stringfellow has very properly and judiciously taken for comparison the six New England States, and the five most Southern old slave States, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. There are remarkable points of similarity between these two great sections of the United States, which make them so much the better subjects for comparison and contrast, in regard to their great difference, in their respective kinds of labour. Both these sections are bordered by the Atlantic—are composed of the older States, and were settled nearly within the same limits of time. They have long had in operation their different kinds of labour and systems of economy. In addition, their respective numbers of free inhabitants, in 1850, were so nearly equal, that they may be fairly considered as equal, for all purposes of argument, as will be done here.

Until recent investigation and discussion had elicited more truth, it had been claimed by the people of the North and by all the opposers of slavery, and even was generally admitted by the people of the Southern States, that the free-labour States of New England were greatly superior to the old Southern States in obtaining the fruits of industry and capital—were richer, and better off in every economical view. South-

ern capital and industry were almost exclusively devoted to agriculture—northern capital was much more vested in commerce and manufactures, which are deemed much more profitable than agricultural investments. In addition, these pursuits of New England industry were richly endowed with governmental favour and bounty, at the expense, and to the greater impoverishment, mainly, of the southern States.

It has also been especially and loudly claimed, for and by the people of the New England States in the support and the good fruits of religion, and in their religious and moral position and tendency—and that such difference was the necessary result of the blighting and demoralizing effects of negro slavery in the South, and of its absence in the North. Moreover, the early settlers of New England were almost universally devoted to their extremely strict doctrine of religion, and as strict code of morals. On the contrary, these southern States,

(with the small exception of the first Catholic settlers of Maryland, and the Huguenots of South Carolina, were settled by persons not under any influence of religion, and certainly not of better than average morality, and habits of life. Upon such foundations of very different material, and after a long course of trial, the results of the different systems, in these respects, may be judged of by the facts and numbers furnished by the extracts from the census.

Not only the alleged and claimed better moral and business habits of New England, but its bracing climate, deemed so much more healthy than the low country of the Southern States, would promise greater increase of population. The authentic reports of births and deaths will present a very different account—which, with other facts from the census, bearing on other parts of this general question, will now be submitted.

**COMPARISON IN REGARD TO FREE POPULATION OF THE SIX NEW ENGLAND STATES WITH THE FIVE OLD AND MORE SOUTHERN STATES—BY CENSUS RETURNS OF 1850.**

	New England States.	Five old South'n States.	Excess for N. or S.
Total free population in 1850,.....	2,728,016	2,732,214	S. 2,198
Annual births,.....	61,148	77,683	S. 16,535
Annual deaths,.....	42,368	32,216	N. 10,152
Number of churches erected and in use,.....	4,607	8,081	S. 3,374
Valuation of all the churches,.....	\$19,362,634	\$11,149,118	N. \$8,313,516
Church accommodation for hearers,.....	1,893,450	2,896,472	S. 1,003,022
Excess of persons over seats in churches,.....	834,566	.....	.....
Excess of seats over number of persons,.....	.....	164,528	.....
Number of families,.....	518,532	506,968	N. 11,564
Number of dwellings,.....	447,789	496,369	S. 48,580
Number of families without separate dwellings,.....	70,743	10,599	N. 60,144
Number of paupers (receiving regular and continued public support),.....	33,431	14,221	N. 19,220
Number of native paupers, (excluding foreigners,).....	18,966	11,728	N. 7,238
Ratio of native paupers to total population,...	1 to 143	1 to 234	.....
Ratio of all paupers to total population, (including slaves,).....	1 to 81	1 to 171	.....
Insane persons,.....	3,821	2,326	N. 1,495
Of negroes free in New England and slaves in the five Southern States:—	.....	.....	.....
Insane and idiots,.....	1 in 980	1 in 3,080	N.
Blind,.....	1 in 370	1 in 2,645	N.
Deaf mutes,.....	1 in 3,005	1 in 6,552	N.
Total value of property,.....	\$1,003,466,181	1,420,989,573	S. 417½ mil.
Average value for each white person,.....	\$367	\$520	S. \$153

Lest the condition of the States referred to should be supposed peculiar, the average of property to each white person

will be stated for sundry other particular States as follows:—

*Non Slaveholding States.*

New York has for each,.....	\$231
Pennsylvania,.....	214
Ohio,.....	219
Illinois,.....	134
New England, (as above,).....	367
Next richest Non-slaveholding States in their order severally as follows: \$280, \$231, \$228, \$219, \$214; and the remaining States range from \$166 down to \$134 for Illinois.	

*Slaveholding States.*

South Carolina,.....	\$1,001
Louisiana,.....	806
Mississippi,.....	702
Georgia,.....	638
Alabama,.....	511
Maryland,.....	423
Virginia,.....	403
Kentucky,.....	377
North Carolina,.....	367
Tennessee,.....	248
Missouri. (the poorest),.....	166

For all the fifteen Non-slaveholding States in 1850, (excluding California,) the value of property to each white person was,..... \$233  
 For the same in all the fifteen Slaveholding States,..... 439

And even if every slave is counted as free, and then averaging the division of value of property among the total population, the superiority would still remain to the slaveholding States—the share for each inhabitant, including slaves, being \$291; and for all the non-slaveholding States, as above stated, \$233.

This last mode of estimation will serve completely (and it is stated for that purpose) to shut out an objection that would be ready to oppose the previous estimates; that is, the counting the slaves as property and not as persons. But whatever force there might be in this objection in other respects or with other reasoners, Northern anti-slavery partisans have no claim whatever to urge the objection, for they have persistently and zealously maintained that slave-labour, and investments in slaves for use, were more unprofitable than the employment of free labour. It is, therefore, entirely proper and called for, that this, the great argument and position of opposers of slavery (Northern and Southern) shall be thus met, by showing the greater profits of slaves as property, compared to other investments for industrial operations.

A few more particular remarks will be offered—either as comments on some of the foregoing items, or on other points. For these also, I am indebted to Mr. Stringfellow's selections of statistics.

In the five old Southern States (under consideration) the births (of free population) exceed those of New England by 27 per cent.; while the deaths of the latter exceed those of the former by 33 per cent.; or added together, making a difference of 60 per cent. in favour of the increase of Southern population. In this estimate, the

slaves are not included; but the census shows that among them also, the births are more numerous and deaths fewer, than among the free men of New England.

In the city of New York, in 1847, there were received at the principal alms houses, 28,692 persons—and out-door relief from public funds was given to 34,752 more—making in all, 73,264; or 1 in every 5 inhabitants of the city “dependent more or less, on public charity.”

In the city of New York alone, in 1848 and 1849, there were sent to the States Prison, the Penitentiary, and the City Prison, 1,235 criminals—which (says Mr. S.) “equals all in the 15 slave States together. In the State of New York, with a population of 3,097,304, there were 10,279 convictions for crime; and in South Carolina, with a total population of 668,507 (considerably more than one-fifth,) there were only 46 convictions for crime.” If the free and the slaves of South Carolina had furnished criminals in proportion to New York, the numbers would have been 2,218 instead of 46 only.

“In 1845, according to her statistical report, Massachusetts had 7 of every 8 of her marriageable young women working in factories, under male overseers.”

“Pauperism in Massachusetts and New York, according to the State census, between 1836 and 1848, increased ten times faster than wealth or population.”

The foregoing numerical statements, both in the table and elsewhere, will speak for themselves to every reader who will examine and compare the details. But if more extended comment is needed by any, or deductions to be more fully and forcibly set



forth, I would refer the reader to the statistical portion of the excellent essay by Mr. Stringfellow, to which I again acknowledge my especial obligation for the substance of the foregoing statements, as well as for my share of the common obligation of the whole southern people, and also of the right-minded northern, for his plain and strong exposition and defense of truth.

I will add some other facts, of like kind, on other good authority. Preceding quotations have shown the great excess of crime, among the whites of the northern states compared to those of the southern. The following statistical facts will furnish additional evidence that the northern free negroes are far more debased, and addicted to crime than the whites—so little has been effected by their freedom, and equal civil or political privileges, and all the aid of northern philanthropy, for the moral improvement of the free negroes, or to prevent their continued degradation.

The Rev. Dr. Bascom, in his Review of the Methodist Controversy, p. 57, (quoted by Estes,) states the following proportions of the negro and white populations in several states, and of criminals of each :

Ratio of free negroes to total population :			
Massachusetts,	1 in 74,	which furnish of total	criminals, 1 in 6
Connecticut,	1 in 34,	" "	1 in 3
New York,	1 in 35,	" "	1 in 4
New Jersey,	1 in 13,	" "	1 in 3
Pennsylvania,	1 in 34,	" "	1 in 3

In all the northern states, "one-fourth of the whole expense of the prison system is incurred by crime committed by [the free negroes, making but] one-twentieth part of the population." "The same is true as to the pauper expenditures of all the northern states."—*Id.*

The next following statistics of pauperism and crime, I have extracted from the official tables of the census of 1850, as presented in the "Compendium," prepared by order of Congress, and which serve to compare, in these respects, the states of Massachusetts and Virginia. See pages 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167.

	In Massachu-	In
	setts.	Virginia.
Free negro population,	9,064	54,333
White population,	985,450	894,800
Total free population,	994,514	949,133
"Whole number of pau-		

	In Massachu-	In
	setts.	Virginia.
pers supported in whole or in part, within the year ending June, 1," 1850, [out of, as well as in poor houses,]	15,777	5,118
"Annual amount of support,"	\$392,715	\$151,722
"Paupers in Poor Houses, June 1, 1850," aggregate.	3,712	1,539
Of which were free negro paupers, June 1, 1850," aggregate,	89	186
[Or 1 pauper free negro to 101.84 for Mass., and 1 to 292 for Va.,		
"Whole number of [negro,] criminals convicted within the year," [including slaves?]	7,250	107
"In Prison, June 1, 1850,"	1,236	313
Of Free Negroes—"Convicts in Penitentiaries, 1850" and "Persons in Jails and Houses of Correction" [added together,]	139	95
[Or 1 convict in every 65 free negroes for Mass., and 1 in 572 for Va.]		

Abstract from "table 182. Rates of Improvement."

	Whites.	Free colored.	Ratio of white to col'd. as 1 to
"Virginia—Ratio, for 10 years, ending 1850, of convicts in penitentiaries to the average population [of the respective classes?] as 1 to	23,003	3,001	7.18
Mass. in the same period, [as 1 to]	7,587	727	9.58
Mass. for year ending Sept. 30th, 1852, according to the population of 1850.	6,527	488	13.37

As slaves are not referred to under that name in this table, and as criminal slaves in Virginia are not sentenced to confinement in the Penitentiary, for punishment, it is inferred that the "average population" was meant to include the only classes named,

"whites" and free "colored." If so, then the ratio of white convicts, for 10 years, in Massachusetts was more than three times, and of free colored largely more than four times as great, as respectively of these classes in Virginia. The later report of Massachusetts, for 1852, much increases the previous disproportion and excess, and especially of the free colored criminals." If, however, the slaves of Virginia were designed to be included in the "average population," then that understanding and correction would serve to lessen the above estimates of excess of criminals by about one-third—still leaving an enormous excess to Massachusetts over Virginia.

In table 179, page 166, there is stated the number of colored convicts (including slaves and free) for every 10,000 of such population, then in "State Prisons and Penitentiaries." In Massachusetts the number was 46.377, and in Virginia only 1.309, in 10,000 of the total colored population. It should be observed, however, that most of the minor criminal offences of slaves are punished by their masters, or by sentence of a magistrate, and do not appear in public reports and records. This omission, perhaps, may serve to cause even the larger portion of the apparent vast excess of colored criminals in Massachusetts. But on the other hand, the previous items of the "whole number of criminals, &c., and "in prison June 1," must have included all the imprisoned slaves, and thereby served improperly to increase, by so many, the stated number of colored convicts of Virginia, and so lessened the true comparative excess, and disproportion of crime of the free colored class in Massachusetts. But after making every due allowance from these or any other defects or omissions of the census reports, there will be enough of indisputable evidence to show very great excess of both pauperism and crime in the whites of Massachusetts, and all New England, over Virginia and the other older southern states—a still greater excess of pauperism and crime of the northern free-negro population over that of the slave-holding states—and still more of free negro criminals, every where, so far as known and believed, over slaves convicted for like offences.

There is one condition of moral debasement and depravity which is not punished by law, or noted among criminal offences, but which is extremely common in the

north, and so rare in the south, that cases of parricide and incest are not more unfrequent and remarkable occurrences. This is the marriage, or cohabitation, of white women with negro men. It is notorious that such connections are of common occurrence, and excite there no such surprise, deep disgust, or popular indignation, and prompt repression, as every such offence would in the slave-holding states. As a sample, I will quote the case of a single northern city only. Detroit, as reported by one of its own newspapers, (the "Free Press,") in a recently published paragraph, which has been copied by many other papers. "The extent to which amalgamation is carried in this city, is really beyond the knowledge of nine-tenths of the inhabitants. There are hundreds of families, the parents of which are of opposite colors, and although the marriage of whites and blacks is illegal and void, yet they live together and bear children. It is a remarkable fact, that out of all this number, no instance exists where a white man lives with a black woman. They are all white women, and generally the blackest kind of men. . . . The same condition of affairs prevails on the other side of the river, to the intense disgust, we are happy to add, of all good and loyal Canadians."

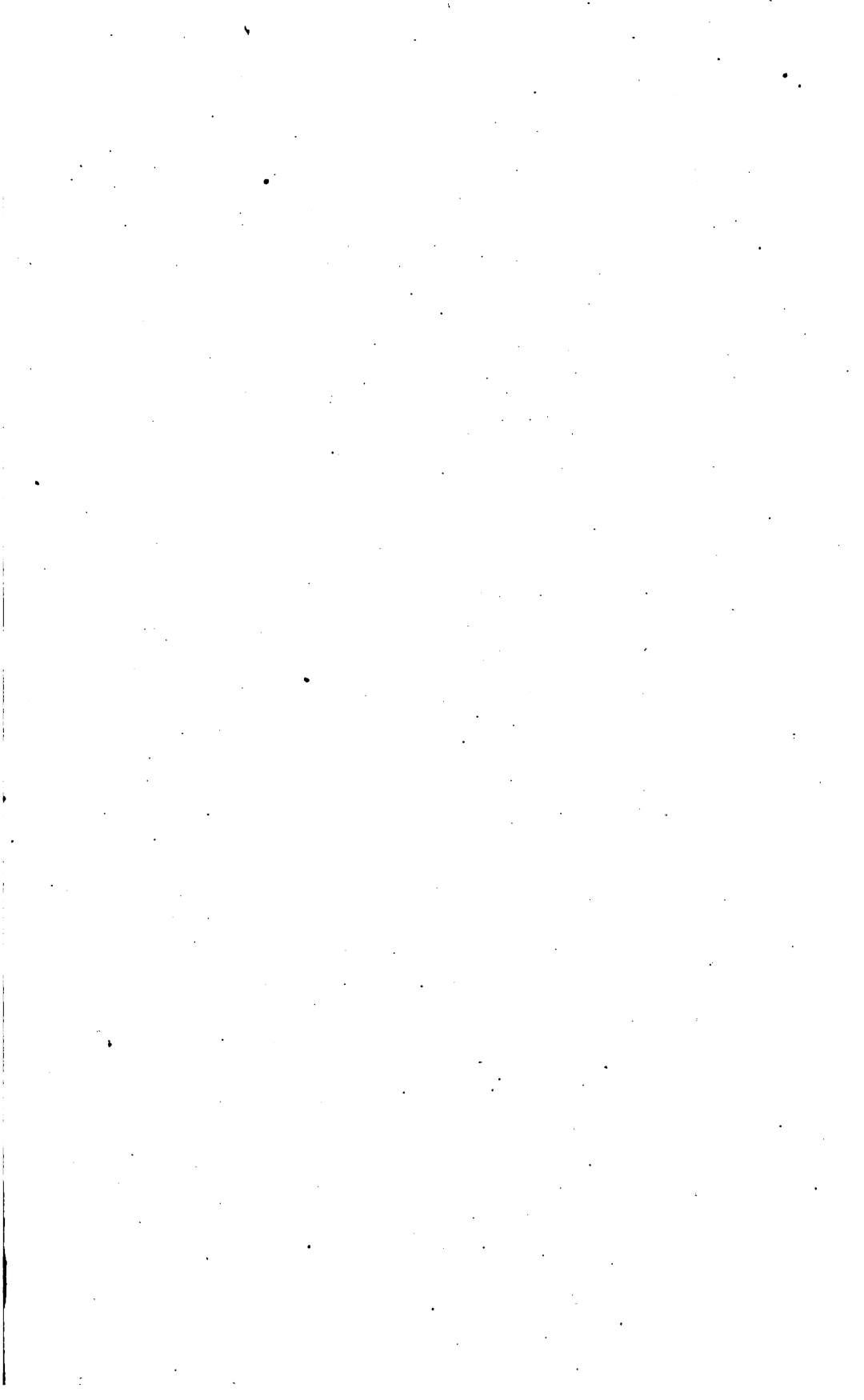
The foregoing statistical facts show a remarkable superiority of the slaveholding section in view, over the New England States (and would over all the free States,) in almost every thing that is desirable to all, or of which the possession has been made the pride and boast, or ground of self-laudation, of the people of the North. This is especially noticeable in the statistics of religion and morals—and also in regard to population, wealth, pauperism and crime. The measure of true religion of any people cannot be learned from statistics—though it may be indirectly inferred from the amount of crime. But whether there is more religion in the South, or not, there is certainly far less immorality and crime—and far more of facilities and accommodation for public worship and religious instruction, and both for blacks and whites, than are provided in the North. "Ecclesiastical statistics," says Mr. Stringfellow, "will show an increased amount of prosperity in religion [in the Southern States] that is overwhelming."

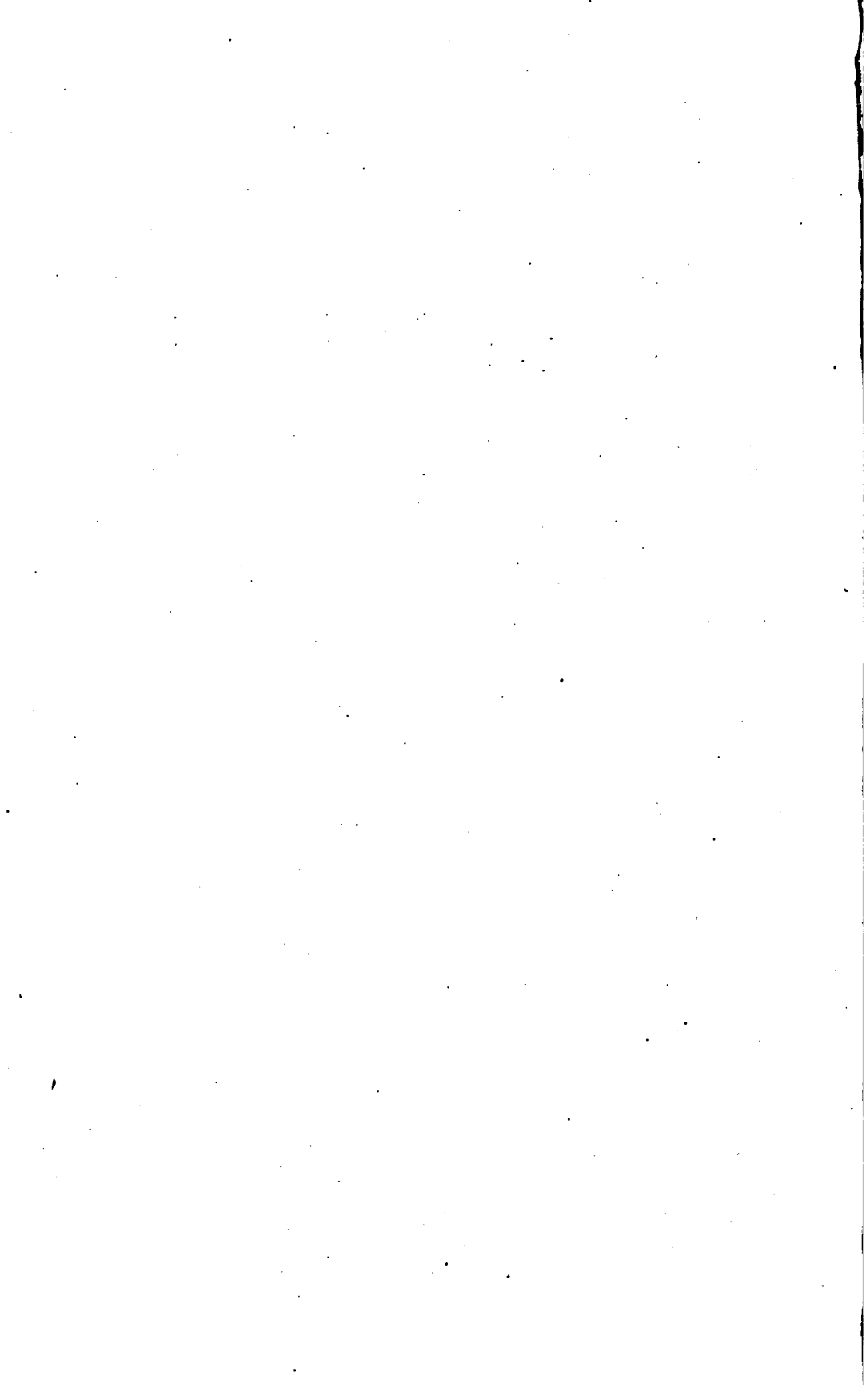
Despite our sickly climate over a large portion near the coast, the births are more

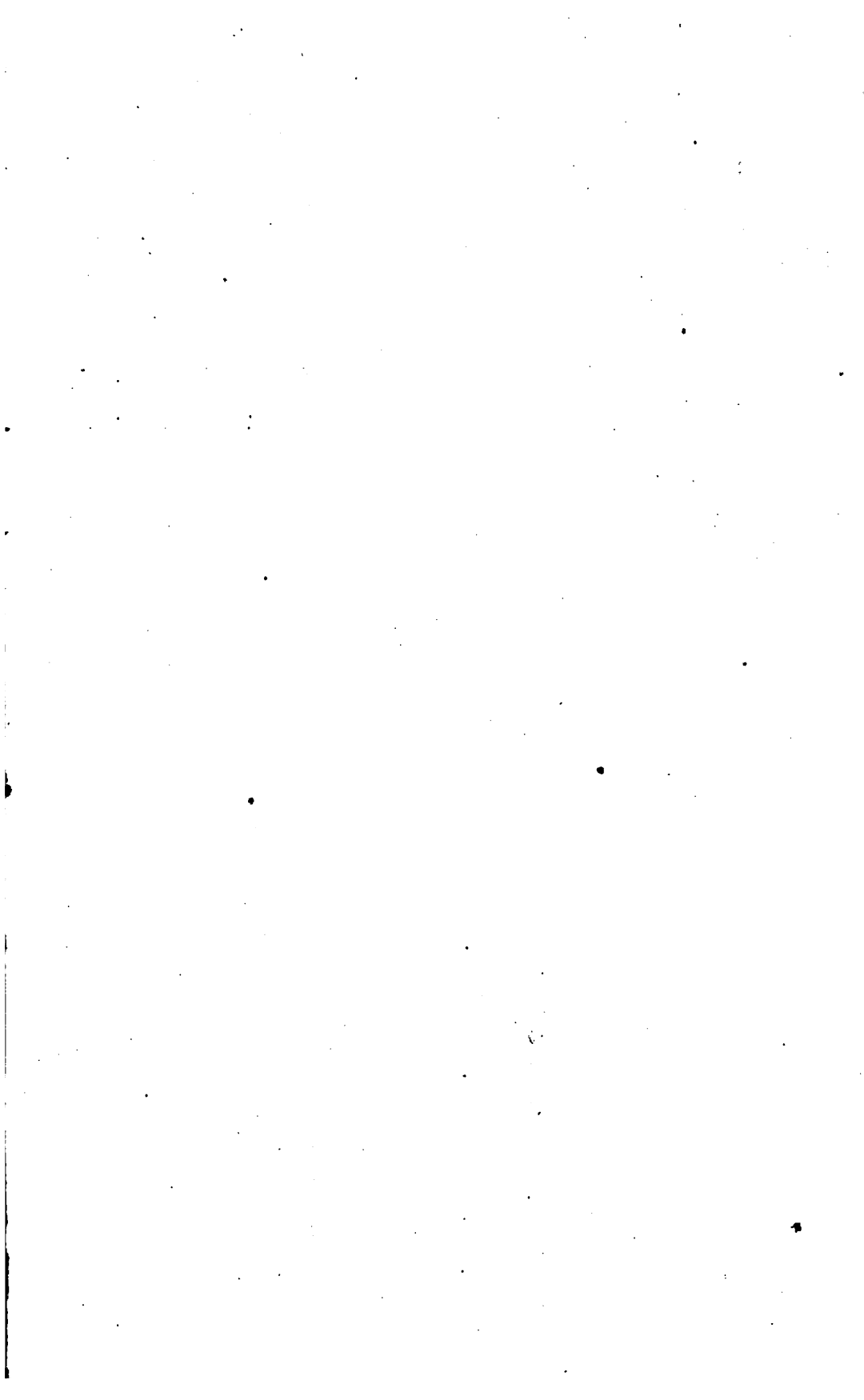
numerous, and the deaths by far fewer, than in New England.

Instead of our labors and investments in slave-labor being less profitable than northern operations, it is manifest that the slave-holding States are much richer than the free States, and to make this result the more striking, even if counting every slave as if free, and supposing the whole property to be divided among all the population, (slaves included,) still on this general average, the individual share of every one, bond or free, would be considerably larger than in the free States. The greater number of houseless families, of paupers, of criminals and of insane—as well as of deaths—all show in their calamitous effects

that there is much more suffering, of both body and mind, in the North than in the South, whether comparing total populations, or whites only—or our slaves to the free negroes of the North. And, generally, these statistics clearly show that all the general evils—physical, economical, moral, or mental—which have been falsely ascribed to the existence and injurious influence of slavery, are to be found existing in much greater number and force in the non-slave-holding, or free-labor communities of the North, which have especially denounced and exaggerated the demoralizing effects of slavery, and pharisaically claimed for themselves a superiority in every respect over slave-holding communities.













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