

REPORT

OF

THE SELECT COMMITTEE

ON

EMANCIPATION AND COLONIZATION,

WITH

AN APPENDIX.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1862.



IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *July 16, 1862.*

Resolved, That ten thousand copies of the bill entitled "An act giving the aid of the United States to certain States upon the adoption by them of a system of emancipation, and to provide for the colonization of free negroes," together with the report of the select committee, be printed in pamphlet form for the use of the House.

EMANCIPATION AND COLONIZATION.

[To accompany bill H. B. No. 576.]

Mr. ALBERT S. WHITE, from the select committee on emancipation, made the following

REPORT.

The select committee appointed in pursuance of the resolution of April 7, 1862, to wit:

“*Resolved*, That a select committee, to consist of nine members, be appointed to inquire and report to this House, at as early a day as practicable, whether any plan can be proposed and recommended for the gradual emancipation of all the African slaves, and the extinction of slavery in the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, by the people or local authorities thereof, and whether such an object is expedient and desirable; and further, that they inquire and report whether colonization of such emancipated slaves on this continent or elsewhere is a necessary concomitant of their freedom, and how, and in what manner, provision may be made therefor; and that they further inquire and report how far, and in what way, the government of the United States can and ought equitably to aid in facilitating either of the above objects; and that the committee be further authorized, if in their judgment the subject requires it, to extend the same inquiries as to the other slave-holding States, and report thereon”—

And to which have been referred sundry memorials and petitions on the subject of the emancipation and colonization of African slaves; also resolutions of the date of June 14, 1862, by the convention of the State of Missouri on the same subject; also a special message, of the date of July 14, 1862, from the President of the United States to the two houses of Congress, transmitting the draught of a bill in aid of gradual emancipation by the States, report:

That the spirit and terms of the resolution clearly characterize it as a measure of peace and conciliation. The object and policy it contemplates, while they do not and should not arrest the strong military arm of the government in its present struggle against treasonable members and disloyal sections, look beyond the present contest, to a period where the dominion of law shall have succeeded to the trial of arms, and, as we would fain hope, to the far distant future of our reunited country. They appeal for their sanction, not to the

sovereignty of our national government, nor even to its ordinary legislative powers, but to those milder agencies in the spirit of which our institutions were laid. They address themselves to States, not in the language of authority or menace, but in that of kindly deference to their separate jurisdictional powers, to expunge by an easy process from their social and political organisms a principle that has proved itself in the hands of designing men hostile to the continuance of republican government, and which, being effete and peculiar, cannot assimilate to the growing influences around it. Before our Union, under the present Constitution, and since, a thousand mutual dependencies between the States and the confederation have shown that their rational appeals, by whatever name they may be known—memorials, propositions, resolutions—may be made by one government to the other without the imputation or encroachment on the one side or humiliation on the other. Ours has been emphatically termed a government of reason. This is the very soul of freedom; and almost the first experiment (certainly the first on a large scale) in which authority has been tempered by so mild an element.

We premise at the threshold, therefore, that however supreme the general government must and ought to be in time of civil war, even to the destruction of all antagonistic forces, the duties of this committee do not propose any constraint either upon States or individuals. The committee propose to use freedom of argument because the subject and the crisis alike demand it. Aiming to rise above the mists of party, and fully impressed with the solemnities of their trust—disrobing themselves of all sectionalism, any suspicion of which is forbidden by the very constitution of the committee, they remember only that they are the representatives of a nation which is the palladium of the individual liberties of thirty millions of people, and of a Union which alone can guarantee dignity and security to the States composing it, and that that Union, and consequently those States and their institutions, are in imminent danger—a danger springing from within, which the war cannot eradicate; for, however its present weapons may be blunted by the national power, it will continue to exist in forms more insidious but not less threatening, and when it cannot strike it will, cancer-like, eat into the vitals of the republic. Our nation is yet vigorous, and if wisdom shall guide its councils, and public virtue inspire its rulers and its people, it will not only survive the present shock, but come out purified and instructed to run the race of that manifest destiny which has been its boast. It is not within the province of your committee to enlarge upon their illustrations of power and their mighty resources, physical, financial, and political, it has exhibited in this contest against internal convulsions and foreign envy; but there is one feature in this civil war and its experiences so sublimely beautiful and benign that we cannot forbear an allusion to it, especially as it proceeds from a principle that dictated the creation of this committee, and marked out its field of deliberation. We allude to the fact that wherever our arms have gone we have not carried vengeance, or even the storm and repelling

justice of retaliation; but, on the contrary, have opened alike to the loyal and disloyal, on the condition only that the latter forbore their opposition to the government, commerce, security, the gentle administration of the civil law, and have almost forced upon an unwilling people the blessings of forgiveness and peace. The ancients represented the god of war in a chariot drawn by the furious horses Flight and Terror, preceded by Discord in tattered garments, while Clamor and Anger followed behind. We, on the contrary, have blended the beautiful with the terrible; the Cornucopia, rather than the Gorgen, is engraved on our shield; and pursuing the same allegorical representation of the mild and genial tendencies of our government, we have celebrated the Eleusinian mysteries on the very field of Mars. Montesquieu, contrasting the spirit of the Roman wars with those of Alexander, says, "the aim of the Romans in conquest was to destroy—his, to preserve;" and he thus apostrophizes the Macedonian hero: "What a conqueror! He is lamented by all the nations he has subdued!" Alexander sought for universal empire, not by a consolidated kingdom, but by making himself, as it were, the separate monarch of the nations he conquered to be parcelled out after his death among his successors. It is his policy in war, and not his ambition, that has been held up for our imitation.

These views are presented for the single purpose of showing that war itself need not be followed by implacable hate or revenge, and, under the guide of civilization, may even be made the minister of social reform. Virtue is best learned in the school of tribulation. Foreign nations learn their duties to each other when they are tasked to the utmost, each to preserve itself from destruction by antagonistic forces. How much more forcible is this lesson, and how much easier should the national conscience be reached in a time of civil war, whose spoils, if they are but the trophies of arms, are taken from the treasury of the conqueror himself? The fact admitted that there exists among us something to break the unity of our people and to promote discontent against the spirit and workings of our government, it has nevertheless been said that this is not the time to propose healing measures and to address the conscience and the reason of the nation or of its discontented members; that moral influences are to be repudiated, and that the power of arms, the *ultima ratio*, is not alone the *highest*, but the *only* argument suited to the hour; and that our single duty is, in the inexpressive language of the objector, to "crush out the rebellion," as though the rebellion were personified in the marshalled ranks of our misguided countrymen now in arms against us, many of whom are conscripts to the unwilling agents of a tyranny which for years has been entangling their feet and enveloping them in its folds, having first shrouded their reason in a delusive atmosphere of sophistry and studied falsehood. They seem to assume that rebellion has a body but no soul—some Caliban who may be taught subordination by sensible thwacks.

And this objection of time is founded, too, in another error—that the government while it wages war must be deemed to be stimulated by

vengeance alone, and that any proposition it might make to the disaffected portions could be interpreted only as a mandate of conscious superiority coming from the stronger power, and therefore insulting to the party to whom it is made. Nothing could be more unjust to our government or to its righteous motives than such an imputation. The very fact that the proposition is made deferentially to State authority at a time when the safety of the nation is on the hazard, it may be, of a single battle—when convulsions from within and tornadoes from beyond are threatening to rend the solid earth on which we stand, and when the highest duty of self-preservation is deemed by many to remove all minor restraints upon the action of the only power authorized to employ the warlike energies of the people, ought to be a sufficient defence against any charge of usurpation, and a sufficient quietus to the States against any alarm that their proper and appropriate functions are to be invaded. The mighty rebellion has not broken, on the side of the government, the bond of sympathy that binds it to the people and the States. Though forced into the attitude of a belligerent, it does not disclaim its paternal jurisdiction over every interest and every section with which it was ever charged, or feel released from any duty that the Constitution or the Union has ever imposed upon it. That jurisdictional protection which the government thus owes to all its members at all times, and under all circumstances, must, however, be manifested according to the various exigencies that may demand its exercise, whether it be in the form of authority or reason—sometimes by arms, sometimes by treaty, (which seems to have no landmarks for its objects,) sometimes by legal enactment, sometimes by executive proclamation, and sometimes by resolution (without the force of law,) submitting to the option of the States a change in their local policy or even in the fundamental law. An ancient philosopher declared that “he esteemed nothing human as foreign to himself;” so it may truly be said “nothing American is foreign to our government.” Constitutions may be disregarded, the cement of parchment may be dissolved; but a people united by a common sentiment and a mutual sympathy can never be corrupted or estranged and not easily conquered—and government is but the mould in which this sympathy is cast.

The President, while performing the active duties of commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and while prosecuting a war for the preservation of the Union with land and naval forces such as have followed the standard of no conqueror in ancient or modern times, has thought it not inopportune to recommend the adoption by Congress of the following joint resolution :

“*Resolved*, That the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid to be used by such State in its discretion to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.”

This resolution was promptly adopted by both houses of Congress. It does not derogate from its peaceful aspect that the message in which it was communicated contained this prophetic admonition that

“if resistance continues the war must also continue;” and that since “it is impossible to foresee all the incidents which may attend, and all the ruin which may follow it, such as may seem indispensable or may obviously promise great efficiency towards ending the struggle must and will come.”

The President well knew, the country and the world knows, that such a war as this must not and cannot long continue, be the consequences what they may to the resisting sections. The Peloponnesian war was the knell of Grecian liberty as well as of the independence of the several States engaged in the conflict, which, falling at first under Macedonian rule, soon became a province of the Roman republic. Greece was permitted to be her own destroyer by a wasting war of twenty-nine years. She had little commerce, and her civil convulsions, unlike ours, did not affect the interests of surrounding nations. Sooner than see “Achaia” written upon our history, the President was justified in sounding the alarm that he might be compelled, if such a fate impended, to invoke even ruin to our aid.

But our Chief Magistrate preferred rather to be a minister of peace than the artificer even of a partial ruin. If the blood of innocents must flow in ruthless and unnatural war by those “incidents” sure to attend a protracted struggle, and which “it is impossible to foresee,” it was his duty to clear his skirts and the skirts of his constituents of these terrible responsibilities; and that he has nobly done so all christendom will bear witness. Your committee gladly embrace the duty of endeavoring to give practical effect to his wise and humane recommendation. They see a volume of meaning and of hope in his simple declaration that “the federal government would find its highest interest in such a measure as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation;” and with the President they are ready to make the appeal when it will find a response to “*all* the States tolerating slavery,” if they will heed it—if not, to “the more northern,” and concur with him that by such a step these States will bind themselves forever to the Union.

The colonists who first settled our country, and the men who framed our form of government, were of one blood, and sprang from a common ancestry. They brought with them no national antipathies, and, whether Cavalier or Roundhead, they all had a common impulse. There was not so zealous a republican among them as to forget his loyalty to the crown and government of Great Britain even during the violent administration of the Stuarts. The annals of Puritanism in the colonies may be searched in vain for any such exhibition—nor was there a Jacobin among the sons of the Cavaliers. A common impulse and a common motive governed all the British colonies. Religious toleration soon became the settled policy of the colonies, and religion has never since been a disturbing element. The common law of England was everywhere adopted, and at an early day every badge of aristocracy was discarded from our political systems, including entails and primogeniture. Intimate commercial relations were established between the colonies, and at the close of our war of independence nothing had occurred to promote the least discord,

jealousy, or unfavorable rivalry. No people ever began their career under such favorable auspices.

True, the idea of a large consolidated republic was not at first entertained, and a form of government was devised more in consonance with the models that history had furnished, which were evidently drawn from the Grecian commonwealth, or from the union of the free cities of more modern times. The republic of Rome served rather as a beacon than a guide, being purely military and controlled by a compact central power. The founders of our state had no idea of a pro-consular form of government, or of anything else than a commonwealth, whose most distant portions should have all the privileges of the metropolis, and whose power should be distributed among all its members. They never seem to have contemplated colonial appendages, as is evident from the early surrender of their territorial properties to the common government and provisions for the future introduction of these Territories into the Union on an equal footing with the original States.

It is difficult to believe that the secret purposes of the leaders of the now discontented and rebellious sections do not contemplate a total change in the structure of our free and popular form of government, and a departure from all our traditional republican theories. This degeneracy of sentiment is of modern growth. We must look within ourselves and to recent developments of politico-social structures for its explanation and its causes. If our ancestors, looking forward to the future for which they were preparing their country, could have divined any single cause threatening the disruption of their government or any convulsive change in its policy, it was not to that only anomalous element which then existed—slavery—because it is evident they supposed this cause would soon cease to exist. They had been constantly exclaiming against the influx of this evil, and attributing it to the rapacity of British merchants, sustained by a partial government at home, at the expense of the colonists and to their great detriment; and when, in the Constitution, the power was lodged in Congress to “regulate commerce among the several States,” and to prohibit, after a certain period, “the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now (then) existing shall think proper to admit,” every guarantee was thought to have been given for as speedy a termination of the evil as was consistent with its then magnitude, and its inter-ramification with the interests and business of the people. We need not recur to cotemporary testimony for proof of this. Our annals are full of it.

The phraseology of the 9th section of the first article of the Constitution above quoted is most significant, bearing not only on the main question in hand, but on some of its collateral issues, which happily have not yet arisen to disturb the harmony of our government, but, in the strange times on which we have fallen, may possibly arise. It will be observed that the 9th section does not vest in Congress the exclusive power to *control* or *regulate* merely the importation of slaves and other persons, but absolutely to *prohibit* it after 1808, although the traffic intermediately was intended to be discouraged by

the onerous tax that might be laid on each person, reaching to ten dollars per head ; and that the limitation during twenty years upon the power of Congress over the subject was made in favor of States then existing. And this clause by the 5th article was made inviolate against any amendment of the Constitution prior to 1808. Two inquiries have naturally arisen : first, why was this limitation in the power of Congress over the importation of slaves only made in favor of the States then existing, when it was clearly contemplated that new States might be formed or added within the specified period of twenty years ? secondly, why did the 5th article only preserve that clause inviolate against amendment until the year 1808 ?

The answer to these questions furnishes the material of much instructive reflection. As to the first inquiry, it is true that the large territory lying northwest of the Ohio river, which had been ceded to the confederation by Virginia, was already protected against the licentiousness of this traffic by the memorable and immortal ordinance of 1787 ; but several of the States, Virginia inclusive, had still large appendages of territory that might (as in fact they were) be admitted as independent States prior to 1808. It must have been a high motive that would exclude these States from the same commercial privileges, and from the same facilities to provide for and establish their peculiar institutions, that were for this period to be enjoyed by the original thirteen. In this respect their necessities might even be greater than those of the older States. When the convention thus forced an inequality of privilege upon the States to be admitted within the next twenty years, it must have arisen from their utter condemnation of the system, and have been based upon the supposition that importation was the only channel by which it could be fed or maintained. The horrible idea of reducing American-born free men, or freed men, to slavery does not seem to have entered into the conception of the founders of our Constitution, and its toleration by any authority is inconsistent with the 4th article of the Constitution, which makes it the duty of the United States to guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government. If slaves cannot be brought from Africa by purchase from their acknowledged chieftains, *a fortiori* they cannot be made in the United States. The reservation of the right of importation to the thirteen States for the period of twenty years was for the obvious reasons of compromising any possible conflict of opinion, and not producing too sudden a spark either upon the maritime or agricultural interests, of which slave transport and slave labor then formed so large a staple.

In replying to the second above inquiry, "why the clause against the importation of slaves was not guarded against amendment or repeal after 1808," we have already anticipated in part what we have to suggest. It cannot for a moment be supposed that the influences which were then moving the philanthropists, the cabinet, and the legislature of the mother country in favor of the abolition of slavery in all the British colonies, were not equally operative upon the representatives of these colonies when slavery and the slave trade were most of all odious. The committee are not unmindful that the ap-

parent and manifest object of this provision was to prevent the earlier withdrawal of that power from the several States; and their anxiety to gain this security is only evidence of their appreciation of the prevailing sentiment in this direction. Their willingness to part with the power after twenty years is proof of acquiescence in the progressive sentiment of christendom which had been so plainly announced in our Declaration of Independence.

This temporary inviolability of a clause reserving to the several States control for a limited period over a subject in which a sudden and radical change would have been so injurious to them, is the only clause in our Constitution made even temporarily unrepealable, except the one that forever secures to each State its equal suffrage in the Senate. On all other subjects the framers of the Constitution were willing to trust their posterity to mould their organic law, and of course every minor institution, to suit the demands of progressive civilization and the wants of the succeeding ages. To suppose that they designed to make any reservation in favor of this barbarous relic of Asiatic policy, or ever expected American sentiment to go backward on such a subject, is to do their memories the greatest injustice.

Your committee, therefore, conclude that our fathers who, when they brought their fortunes to this wilderness, came also with these fixed principles, opposition to prerogative and all hereditary right of rule, to aristocracy and titled nobility in all its forms, to tyranny of conscience, to limited privileges, and to burdensome oppressions of rulers upon the ruled, could not have intended to leave within the core of the republican government they erected a principle hostile to all these.

It is not necessary to examine in detail the causes that have produced in certain sections of our country a change of sentiment adverse to the removal of an evil towards which our early policy was directed, whose existence was deplored by all the fathers, and from which some of the States most oppressed by it strove violently to free themselves within the last third of a century. These causes doubtless exist partly in economical, but more in social and political influences. It was not until our country began to develop its great resources that it became in any considerable degree an element of discord between the sections. The tendency of the system of plantation slavery, especially in countries whose staples, being cotton and sugar, are so expensive in their culture and manufacture, is, that the larger establishments gradually swallow up the smaller; and thus while the aggregate wealth of the section may not be diminished, it will be very unequally distributed, and population will be feeble relatively to neighboring sections where agriculture and commerce abound. This, in a government where the numerical majority, slightly mixed with the federal element, is the rule and standard of power, is apt to breed envy and discontent. Even though it enjoy a full share of public patronage, or be able to dictate the policy of the country, it will remain restless and unsocial, being perpetually haunted by the fear that such power will be ultimately lost by the

force of natural causes. Hence they come to regard political relations as of more importance than social or industrial privileges, and are constantly confusing the public mind with governmental dogmas and new canons of constitutional construction. The practical and manifold legislation of an industrious people, the springing wants of a growing and versatile community furnish to them just so many subjects for complaint and mutiny against the action of the majority.

Your committee do not believe there is, over our wide-spread territory, anything in climate, in diversity of pursuit, or variety of production—anything in the laws, that may be necessary to foster and protect their various interests, to engender or promote lasting jealousy or discord, if we were in our social systems a homogeneous people. This is proved by the fact that the various policies that have engaged our public counsels have ultimately sprung from the different sections of the country, and have been in turn recommended or dissuaded by the same section. The author of the intended revolt of 1832 was the author of the very system of policy which furnished the pretext for that revolt. Never was a whole country more prosperous, never were laws more equal, or administration better equivoiced, than when the present rebellion was begun; and their feigned list of grievances, in its very terms, refers more to imaginary evils in the future than to any past injustice.

This, in connexion with the fact that the politicians and writers of the southern school who have inflamed this rebellion have pointed their weapons against the recognized principles of free and republican government, proves that it is the theory and not the administration of our government against which this rebellion has been reared; that revolution, not redress, is its object; that the Constitution is the especial object of its vengeance, and that they will no longer tolerate that the power of the government shall be lodged in the masses of the people. Mr. Calhoun does not attempt to disguise this in his "Disquisition on Government," and in his "Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States"—elaborate and posthumous treatises written in the year 1848. He there denounces the government of the numerical majority, and demands in lieu of it the rule of what he terms the concurrent majority, which is, that "each separate interest or portion" should give their consent before any act should be authoritative, so "as to give to the weaker section, in some one form or another, a negative on the action of the government."

It is difficult to believe that the author of such heresies intended anything else but anarchy and the destruction of our government, especially when the remedy he too plainly recommends is forcible resistance. He nowhere defines, by geographical or other descriptions, the limits of those "interests" or "portions" that are thus to control the general will, but holds the tempting bait as well to petty interests and pampered lordlings as to States and sections; and he offers but one practical illustration of the anticipated tyranny of the majority, and that is, that the relation of master and slave will be violently assailed.

The protection of slavery has been undoubtedly the pretext of the present rebellion; but even the well-organized power of the superior

classes, the few favored slave-owners of the planting States, could not have enlisted, on such a pretext, the sympathies of millions of their poor and laboring fellow-citizens to join in this crusade against the government, if they had not, by years of studied preparation and deception, prepared them for the catastrophe. The love of country is innate in all men, even the most abject. They had been taught that the decay of their section was due to the unequal action of their government. Shut out from the light of education and the irradiations of a daily press, they were the easy dupes of such sophistry, and, whether convinced or not, their loyalty was soon overwhelmed and turned to treason by the wizard power and machinery of government held in the hands of the favored few.

It is a much more difficult problem how some of the border States were so readily drawn into the abyss, and can only be accounted for on the principle that social sympathy is the strongest bond of union known among men.

Thus it is that against every law of reason, every dictate of self-interest, every patriotic hope and all pride of country, almost the entire slaveholding section of our country has been suddenly plunged into revolt against their government, endangering at once their own well-being and the general interests of humanity.

Such a startling result, the suicide of a nation, does not proceed from transient or momentary causes, any more than its effects have been slight or momentary. Those causes are known; the long line of ages may be necessary fully to disclose the results. Providence has so ordained that the least offending have suffered the most. In this way it is, perhaps, He appeals most strongly to men to do their duty. If the march of the destroying angel could now be stopped, by bare possibility the border States might, after painful trial, recover themselves upon the basis of their former status. But without some reinvigorating principle, human chances are against them, and their decay is the decay of the whole country, as their restoration would make them, from their central position, the greatest of the sisterhood. A false affinity has hurried part of their strength into alliance with southern treason. If they would save themselves and the country they must break this mystic symbol of alliance with discontented and disloyal States.

Your committee entertain the solemn conviction that the border slave States hold in their hand the destinies of our country; and if they would join the great brotherhood of free labor and republican equality; that it is not yet too late for national salvation. Unwillingly they constitute the strength of the rebellion. It derives all its dignity from their alliance, as it draws all its sustenance from their bosom. They are not unaware that such an exhausting civil war cannot long continue; that it must soon become a war of extermination; a wild, convulsive, and revolutionary struggle of social elements, in which the humanities of war may be forgotten; and it is easy to see where, amid the general ruin, would be the blackest desolation.

It is painful, even in imagination, to advert to such possible consequences; but the highest duty of a public counsellor now is truth,

not flattery, and your committee congratulate themselves that it is their peculiar province to bear the olive branch, and not the sword. They go on a hopeful mission to the living, and not to the dead. When the reproductive principle will kindle again into patriotic life and action the mouldering heart of confirmed treason, Omniscience alone can determine; but human wisdom may not condemn as hopeless our solemn appeal to the border States, allied, as they yet are, to our glorious Union, and to its supporting elements, by so many kindred attractions. They have but to pronounce a mystic word, and the heavens are bright again. It requires on their part no abatement of dignity, no concession of State rights, no personal humiliation, no sacrifice of interest. The humiliation, if any, is the crown of glory that our President has earned in waiving his high prerogative and becoming a suitor to a small but most controlling portion of his constituents. The border States throughout all the mutations of their past or future fortunes will be weighed in the balances of the present hour. They may turn prophecy into history, and prove the truth of that glorious prediction that "a nation shall be born in a day."

It would be equally incompatible with the dignity and self-respect of this nation, as it would be idle and fruitless, to tender, in the present condition of affairs, any proposition of this nature to the States in complete revolt, and where the heart of treason, even where we have restored our benign authority, with forgiveness on our banner, is as rancorous as ever. They must be committed to those inevitable results invoked by themselves that follow in the character and train of war. They have threatened, and still threaten, unpromising and endless resistance; and, in the language of the President, "if resistance continues the war must also continue, and it is impossible to foresee all the incidents which may attend and all the ruin which may follow it. Such as may seem indispensable *or may obviously promise great efficiency towards ending the struggle must and will come.*"

But, fortunately, in the border States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, including Tennessee, the temper of the people, schooled as they have been in this terrible crucible of national tribulation, of which they have been made, involuntarily, at once the principal victims and partial agents, and alive to those sympathies that bind them, as agricultural and carrying States, to an undivided Union of which they are properly the keystone, to say nothing of their participation in the ruling sentiment of the age, are not averse to this only possible mode of reconciliation, if fair expression can be given to their will. Nor is the evil there of such magnitude as to exceed the remedial powers of those States aided by the general government. By the census of 1860 the slave population of those States was 1,196,112. Making due allowance for slaves already lost by the war or removed further south, and for those held by rebellious owners and now entitled to their enfranchisement by act of Congress, it is fair to presume that not more than half the foregoing number are at this moment held in legitimate slavery.

We assume a total, then, of 600,000 slaves, young and old, whose manumission is to be provided for, now held by loyal owners within the limits we are considering. At the maximum valuation set upon slaves by the late emancipation law for the District of Columbia, which is the same allowed by Great Britain to her West India owners, these would mount to \$180,000,000. The President has called the attention of Congress and the country to the fact that the current expenses of the war would very soon purchase at fair valuation all these slaves.

If this were, then, our last plank, and a desperate emergency required the putting forth an extraordinary financial effort, the country would not long hesitate between an appropriation of \$180,000,000 for six months more of war, which, whatever its triumphs, might be uncertain in its moral result, or the same appropriation for a different object when moral effect would be to end the war, make us one people in interest, in habit, and in feeling, and restore perpetuity to the Union by reducing to insignificant dimensions every antagonism.

But no such strain is necessary on our public credit or resources. If this committee felt itself charged with all the details necessary for the instant removal of an evil that has the accumulated growth of centuries, they might canvass the many forms in which the government, easiest to itself, could aid the States in such act of emancipation without an immediate drain on the national treasury, or a pressure on the public credit beyond the ability of the nation. They would consider the availability of our vast territorial possessions and public domain; the fact that most of these border States are oppressed by a heavy weight of local debt, the assumption of which at a distant day, or an equitable proportion by the general government, would the better enable them to adjust the inequalities among their own citizens by the act of emancipation; they might propose a specific application of the share of direct taxes falling upon these States, or of the confiscated estates of the rebels within their own limits or elsewhere, who have murdered and exiled their brethren. If immediate emancipation, and direct and immediate compensation were the demands of the question, it would be the duty of the committee to inquire diligently into the ways and means.

But the committee concur with the President, that "gradual, not sudden, emancipation is better for all," and such only is the scope of the inquiry submitted to them by the resolution of the House. A sudden emancipation, with compensation, would involve too heavy a financial burden; and, unless to that were added deportation and colonization, (also attended with heavy expense,) would oppress the nation with a helpless population, and might produce serious resistance on the side of the laborious interests of our own color and race. Whatever provision of this nature there may be recommended by the committee, it is evident must depend for its execution and fulfilment on the speedy termination of the war. Both the ability and temper of the government fully to accomplish this the greatest effort that human society has ever been called upon to make for its own pres-

ervation, would be lost by protracting for any considerable time this exhausting and expensive war.

In the double expectation, then, of relieving ourselves from a still greater burden by the employment of a moral influence that shall bring to a speedy conclusion this disastrous civil war and save its further horrors, and of throwing upon our posterity the responsibility of meeting a share of the engagement, the committee have assumed a period of twenty years during which the proposed process of emancipation will be going on, thus distributing through that period the labor of providing the requisite compensation to the States concerned. This will give us an opportunity to recover from the waste of war, and to re-establish under better auspices our almost boundless credit and resources. To effect its object, the mode of compensation should be certain and reliable; and the committee have, therefore, adopted the plan recommended by the President in his special message to the two houses of Congress, of the date of July 14, 1862, which is an issue of the bonds of the government to be delivered to the emancipating States.

The sum proposed as compensation to the States is one hundred and eighty millions of dollars, which would give, upon the above hypothesis, an average of three hundred dollars to the loyal owner of each manumitted slave, but nothing is payable until the State has passed her act of emancipation. If this sum were distributed ratably through the whole series of twenty years, it would require an issue of bonds to the amount of nine millions of dollars each of those years. The average annual interest, at five per cent., would be four millions and a half, and the maximum annual interest at the end of the period would be nine millions of dollars. This for a government whose ordinary revenues in times past have been eighty millions of dollars, with prospect of great increase in the future, surely ought not to deter us from the attempt to accomplish so great a good, and from an effort which will crown the present generation, in the judgment of posterity and the world, as the benefactors of their race.

The committee have proposed an amount of twenty millions of dollars, as it may be needed, for the purposes of colonization. That important subject will be fully elaborated in the after pages of this report, and we cannot doubt that the country will ratify the necessary appropriations for so great an object.

Much of the objection to emancipation arises from the opposition of a large portion of our people to the intermixture of the races, and from the association of white and black labor. The committee would do nothing to favor such a policy; apart from the antipathy which nature has ordained, the presence of a race among us who cannot, and ought not to, be admitted to our social and political privileges, will be a perpetual source of injury and inquietude to both. This is a question of color, and is unaffected by the relation of master and slave. The introduction of the negro, whether bond or free, into the same field of labor with the white man, is the opprobrium of the latter; and we cannot believe that the thousands of non-slaveholding citizens in the rebellious States who live by industry are fighting to continue

the negro within our limits even in a state of vassalage, but more probably from a vague apprehension that he is to become their competitor in his own right. We wish to disabuse our laboring countrymen, and the whole Caucasian race who may seek a home here, of this error. We are satisfied that the labor of our cotton fields, as well as of our corn fields, may be performed by the white man, and we would offer to these sons of labor the emoluments of both. There is no sounder maxim in political economy than that the cultivators of the soil should be the owners of the soil. The committee conclude that the highest interests of the white race, whether Anglo-Saxon, Celt, or Scandinavian, require that the whole country should be held and occupied by those races alone.

Of the four or five millions of colored people now in the United States, the net of their productive and unencumbered labor may be reduced, when subjected to the standard of numbers, to probably one-fifth of that amount. If this were removed, even by a speedy process, how soon its vacant channels would be filled by the natural distribution of our own redundant population, and by a newly stimulated immigration from Europe, must be apparent to all; and how suddenly and largely the material elements of wealth, land especially, would augment in value in sections relieved of this incubus, is equally apparent. In 1810 there were more than 40,000 slaves in the northern States, of whom about one-half were in the southern counties of New York. The day of thrift began with the dawn of emancipation there. When New York gave freedom to her slaves, it was a gift that did not impoverish the donor, "but made her *rich* indeed."

We shall elsewhere in this report illustrate the truth that the retention of the negro among us with half privileges is but a bitter mockery to him, and that our duty is to find for him a congenial home and country.

The African slave trade was first inaugurated in America during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, some three hundred years ago, and was continued under the auspices of the British crown for nearly or quite two centuries. There was scarcely one of the thirteen colonies into which the institution of African slavery was not introduced, and established in the face of repeated protests, on the part of the people, to the King and Parliament of Great Britain; and, although the people of the more northern colonies soon discovered the inadaptation of their rugged soil and ungenial climate to slave labor, they nevertheless continued to be the principal carriers of slaves from Africa to the more southern colonies long after they had ceased to import for themselves, and after our country had thrown off her colonial shackles, and even up to the time when the slave trade was prohibited by act of Congress.

The fortunes which have in times past been accumulated by the purchase of negroes on the African coast and their sale to southern planters were mostly amassed by people residing in those States where slavery had long been abolished by law. Moreover, from the time when the northern States began to declare the children of slave mothers thereafter born should be free, the slaves in those States

began to decline in their market value, and many owners, actuated by self-interest, transported their slaves to the more southern States for better markets. Thus it will be observed that the responsibility for the evil of slavery in the southern States rests not alone upon the people of those States. If slavery be a social, political, and moral evil, which very few will at this day deny, it is so in a national, and not merely in a local sense, and the responsibility for the curses it entails upon the country is alike national. It is also believed, whatever arguments may be adduced to the contrary, that the native instincts of every candid man instruct him that if our country had never known the institution of slavery, it never would have been convulsed by this injurious and wicked rebellion which now afflicts us.

As, therefore, the responsibility of slavery, the gains of its early traffic, as well as its evil consequences, have been and are national, so the nation ought to afford an equitable equivalent for the inconveniences attending its removal.

It is believed that the most formidable difficulty which lies in the way of emancipation in most if not in all the slave States is the belief, which obtains especially among those who own no slaves, that if the negroes shall become free, they must still continue in our midst, and, so remaining after their liberation, they may in some measure be made equal to the Anglo-Saxon race. It is useless, now, to enter upon any philosophical inquiry whether nature has or has not made the negro inferior to the Caucasian. The belief is indelibly fixed upon the public mind that such inequality does exist. There are irreconcilable differences between the two races which separate them, as with a wall of fire. There is no instance afforded us in history where liberated slaves, even of the same race, have lived any considerable period in harmony with their former masters when denied equality with them in social and political privileges. But the Anglo-American never will give his consent that the negro, no matter how free, shall be elevated to such equality. It matters not how wealthy, how intelligent, or how morally meritorious the negro may become, so long as he remains among us the recollection of the former relation of master and slave will be perpetuated by the changeless color of the Ethiop's skin, and that color will alike be perpetuated by the degrading tradition of his former bondage. Without this equality of political and social privileges, and without the hope of a home and government of their own, the emancipation of the slaves of the south will be but adding a new burden to their wretchedness by compelling them to provide for themselves and families, without setting before them scarcely a single incentive to exertion, or, if such incentive should exist, it would only be in the desperate desire that by some bloody revolution they might possibly conquer for themselves that equality which their liberators had denied them. The result of such a revolution would doubtless be their utter annihilation or re-enslavement. To appreciate and understand this difficulty, it is only necessary for one to observe that, in proportion as the legal barriers established by slavery have been removed by emancipation, the prejudice of caste becomes stronger, and public opinion more intolerant to the negro race.

To remove this obstacle is a work well worthy of the efforts of a great people anxious for their own future well-being, and moved by a spirit of humanity towards an enslaved and degraded class of their fellow-beings. How, then, can the separation of the races after emancipation be accomplished? Colonization appears to be the only mode in which this can be done. The home for the African must not be within the limits of the present territory of the Union. The Anglo-American looks upon every acre of our present domain as intended for him, and not for the negro. A home, therefore, must be sought for the African beyond our own limits and in those warmer regions to which his constitution is better adapted than to our own climate, and which doubtless the Almighty intended the colored races should inhabit and cultivate. Hayti and others of the West India islands, Central America and the upper portions of South America, and Liberia, are all interesting fields of inquiry in relation to the future of the liberated negroes of the United States. There they may be provided with homes in a climate suited to their highest physical, intellectual, and moral development, and there, under the beneficent protection and friendship of the freest and most powerful of all the governments of the world, they may enjoy true liberty with all its attendant blessings, and achieve the high destiny which the Almighty has intended man should everywhere accomplish.

If the good which would thus be effected for an oppressed people, by their removal from our midst and their settlement in other parts of the globe, were the only object to be attained by the system of colonization, that alone would be worthy the high and holy ambition of a great nation. But whilst we should confer untold blessings upon them, ours would be even a greater gain.

First among the benefits which would be felt by the removal of the slaves from any of the States would be the substitution of the system of free labor for that of slave labor. The advantages of the former over the latter have been apparent in this country to the most superficial observer for more than a century. At a very early period in the history of the colonies it did not fail to attract the attention of our fathers that those districts of country in which there were the fewest slaves increased the most rapidly in population and wealth. In some degree it might seem to be accounted for by the difference in the habits, laws, and customs of the settlers of the several provinces; but when at a subsequent day these settlers and their descendants in the peopling of the new and more fertile soil of the west intermingled with each other, the same extraordinary result was witnessed at every stage of emigration. When at last the tide of emigration, rushing from the south as well as the north, had reached that stream which the aborigines of the country had called the Beautiful River, the great superiority of free over slave labor was demonstrated with a degree of certainty which left no longer any room for doubt. To the impartial, nay even to the partial and prejudiced traveller who journeys along the banks of that majestic river, the widest and most striking distinction is observable, and has been for more than one generation, in everything that characterizes the progressive spirit

of the age. The valley which is watered by the Ohio is perhaps one of the most fertile upon the face of the globe. If there be any difference in the fertility of the soil and other natural advantages on either bank of that river the superiority in these respects is on the side of the people who inhabit that portion of this magnificent valley lying on the south of the river. To say that it is as rich as Kentucky is the highest praise that can be spoken of the fertility of any soil. The State of Kentucky lying upon the left bank of the Ohio was admitted as a State into the Union several years before the State of Ohio, which lies upon the right bank. The area of the two States is nearly equal. Kentucky was admitted into the Union almost before the sound of the axe of the white man had ever disturbed the idle dreams of the native children of the forest. In less than thirty years, however, from the admission of Ohio into the Union her population had exceeded that of Kentucky by more than a quarter of a million. In forty years that excess was over three-quarters of a million; in ten years more it was about one million, and the census of 1860 shows that the population of Ohio is now more than double that of Kentucky. Ohio now contains 2,339,599 and Kentucky only 1,155,713 people.

The difference is equally marked in the comparative wealth of the two States, not less so in their works of public improvement and in the advancement and diffusion of education and general intelligence among the people.

If a similar comparison of the progress of any one of the old free States with any one of the old slave States be instituted, as New York with Virginia, or Massachusetts with South Carolina, it will be seen that while the slave States enjoy a superiority in almost all the natural advantages of soil, climate, mineral and forest products, the free States have by their system of free labor wrought out for themselves a superiority in almost everything that can tend to elevate a State or community in the scale of progressive civilization. Or if the investigation should be narrowed to the limits of even the very smallest of all the slave States in the Union, the State of Delaware, and an exhibit made as to the comparative wealth, progress, and thrift of the several counties, it will appear that in the upper county, bordering on the free State of Pennsylvania, and where there is but one slave for every two hundred freemen, with less than one-half the extent of territory embraced in the lower county, where there are ten times the number of slaves in proportion to the free people, or one slave for every score of free persons, has far outstripped the latter county in the increase of population, and in that wealth and material prosperity which are the sure rewards of labor and industry. In New Castle, the upper county, the population is nearly 60,000; in Sussex, the lower county, it is less than 30,000. In New Castle the population has doubled in the last thirty years; in Sussex it has increased less, about 10 per cent. in the last thirty years. In New Castle the aggregate assessed value of the real estate is \$18,000,000; in Sussex it is only about \$4,000,000. In New Castle the aggregate

of both real and personal estate is \$28,000,000; in Sussex it is less than \$6,000,000. In New Castle there is one inhabitant for every five acres of land; in Sussex there is only one inhabitant for every 22 acres. In New Castle the average assessed value of land is \$67 per acre; in Sussex it is \$6 per acre. In New Castle the white farm hand commands for his services an average of \$13 per month and board; in Sussex he can scarcely command \$9. In New Castle the average product of the farm land per acre is at least 36 bushels of Indian corn and 18 bushels of wheat per acre; in Sussex the average is not exceeding 12 bushels of corn and six bushels of wheat per acre.

If we make the most liberal allowance for the supposed advantages of position, works of public improvement, and other and every other conceivable advantage that can be thrown into the account in favor of the upper or non-slaveholding county, and attribute to them one-half its superiority over the lower or slaveholding county, the disparity between them is so startling that it cannot fail to enlist the attention of every one who is candidly searching after the truth in reference to the paralyzing effects of the institution of slavery upon the growth and prosperity of the community in which it is tolerated. The gain to be derived from its removal is equally apparent and wonderful. Let us suppose that by the action of the legislature of Delaware the slaves could all be liberated by some gradual system of emancipation, and that it should have no other effect than to increase the value of the land in the slaveholding county of Sussex from its present value, \$6, to \$12 per acre, and then estimate the difference between the loss occasioned by reason of emancipation, supposing that the owners were not compensated at all, or were compensated out of the treasury of the State. The estimate is a short and simple one.

There are now in Sussex county less than 1,000 slaves, but taking the number at 1,000, and their value on the average to be \$500, which is nearly double their true worth at the prices they could command in the State, and we have the whole value of the slaves to be \$500,000. This is the item of loss. Now for the item of profit.

There are in the county of Sussex 635,520 acres of land, at present valued at six dollars per acre. If that value should be increased, as it doubtless would, to \$12 per acre, we have an increment in the aggregate value of the land of \$3,813,120, from which if we subtract the loss on slaves by freeing them, we have a net gain to the county of \$3,313,120, or if we only admit the appreciation in the value of land to be \$2 per acre, we still find the county to be the gainer by \$1,104,373.

To make them equal in their future career in prosperity requires but the substitution of honorable free white labor for the degrading system of negro slave labor. And what is true of the least is true of the largest and of all the States in which the institution of slavery now exists.

COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES OF COLONIZATION IN THE AMERICAN TROPICS.

The commercial aspect which the proposed plan of colonization presents claims especial attention at this time beyond that which under ordinary circumstances would attach to it; and instead of being deterred from embracing, by apprehension of entailing additional burdens upon the nation, it can be made to appear that it is essential to the speedy restoration of commercial prosperity, and the only mode of indemnity for the losses and destruction of property inflicted by the war. At its close it will be found that the market for the product of our factories and farms at the south will have fallen off to a vast extent. The channels into which our industry has been diverted by the war will also be closed by the re-establishment of peace, and we shall find ourselves with a large debt, diminished resources, and the market for the products of labor, which at one time made a large part of our prosperity, closed to us, in great measure, from sheer inability to purchase by the people of the south. Such circumstances impose a necessity for measures to revive our commercial and industrial prosperity, so that our people may be enabled to bear the burden of taxation entailed upon them by the struggle to preserve the government. Economy in the public expenditure is not the only means to which we shall be compelled to resort. The interest on the public debt alone will absorb that which has heretofore been considered an ample revenue; and to maintain the government which we have preserved, will, for some years, at least, require military and naval establishments costing more perhaps than the whole expenditure of the government in former years. Enterprise and the extension of the business of the country must therefore come to our aid, as well as frugality. We must make new markets for the products of the skill and industry of our people. How shall we find, or how create them? If we inquire what is the foundation of the wealth and power of Great Britain—what enables her people to endure such an enormous load of debt and maintain such expensive civil, military, and naval establishments, the answer will furnish a solution for our own difficulties. The very corner-stone of her prosperity consists in her colonial system, by which she furnishes markets for her manufactures, and swells her commercial importance by the interchange of their product for that of the soil of that vast portion of the habitable globe which acknowledges her sway. By this system she has built up an empire greater than the Roman, and rules a portion of every race of mankind; making them contribute to her wealth and power, and imparting to them what is of equal value, her free institutions and the blessings of a stable government. But for the employments thus secured for her people in the factories and workshops which furnish her vast and distant colonies with almost every manufactured article used in civilized and semi-barbarous communities, and in the countless fleets which transport these fabrics and the products which they purchase, the empire of Great Britain would shrink in an hour, and its seat become an appendage of that neighboring power of which she has so long been the peer.

We find ourselves, from causes nearly the same, burdened with a debt which begins to assume proportions like that of England, and our military establishment, for obvious reasons, must be larger than heretofore. The ordinary revenue measures, which in former years were ample, will not hereafter suffice to pay interest and increased expenditures, and we must meet the necessities of our position by opening new resources and stimulating those branches of business which experience has shown will best bear taxation. We must make other nations bear a part of our burdens, as England by becoming the world's factor makes the world share her's.

Adjacent to us there are two countries whose natural wealth transcends that of any other portion of the earth's surface. So well is this fact understood, that the governments and people of the other continents have sought, from the time of its discovery until the present, to control it by colonizing it with their own people and with subject races, in order that they might unlock its treasures, and enrich, not the colonists alone, but themselves also. The tropical regions of America, from their peculiar conformation and from other natural causes, need only to be peopled by a race able, by their physical organization, to endure its climate, to assert their pre-eminent productiveness over every other part of the world. It is only necessary to glance at the map of those regions to appreciate this fact.

The islands of the Gulf and Carribean sea, and the narrow isthmus which unites the two continents, moistened by the exhalations of the surrounding seas and stimulated by the glowing heat of the vertical sun, fully account for nature's boundless prodigality to them. As the continent becomes broad towards the south, the vast interior, remote from the ocean, receives its moisture from certain natural causes which do not exist elsewhere in the torrid zone. It will be observed, that the continent of South America assumes the shape of a right-angled triangle, the line of its western coast representing the hypotenuse—the other two sides, facing to the northeast and to the southeast, directly in the track of the northeastern and south-eastern trade winds. These winds, blowing ceaselessly in the same direction, sweeping over a vast expanse of ocean, and thus surcharged with moisture, strike at right angles upon both eastern coasts, and, penetrating far into the interior, the wet winds are congealed by the cold atmosphere of the mountains and precipitated in rain, fertilizing the vast continent, and forming large rivers, some of which are navigable for three thousand miles by seagoing vessels, and traverse the whole country. The cause which creates its fertility has also supplied the channels of access to its riches, and marked it as the seat of empire. No man can fail to perceive why it is that all nations have sought, and are still seeking, to subject these regions to their sway, and to seize its illimitable wealth; but there are other causes which have rendered these efforts abortive, and will continue to do so until they shall be possessed by a race of men whose physical organization enables them to endure the torrid climate, and who shall at the same time have attained sufficient civilization to maintain stable governments. No race of men incapable of labor in a climate can preserve

its civilization. Thus the primeval curse denounced upon mankind is revealed to us in the silent workings of nature's law.

It will not be out of place, in order that the superiority of the tropical regions of America over those of Asia and Africa may be fully appreciated, to notice the striking difference between them in the circumstances to which attention has been drawn. The islands and narrow portions of these continents are, as a matter of course, subject to the same conditions, and therefore display the same results, except where a difference is produced by a hardier race of inhabitants or controlling cause. But where those continents become broad, the prevailing winds are found to be parallel with the coast, and hence neither collect such vast amounts of moisture, nor do they penetrate into the interior, but their fertilizing effects are felt only by a belt of wind along the coasts, which are fringed with verdure, while the interior is a rainless desert, whose sands swallow up the rivers before they reach the sea. Even that portion which is fertile is subject to another condition which makes it unsuitable for the production of the most valuable staples of the tropics. The winds not being trade winds, or constant from the sea to the lands, but on the contrary unsteady and varying, produce the wet and dry seasons, deluging the land during one-half of the year, and parching it with drouth through another period. The American cotton planters selected by the English government to test the practicability of raising a supply of cotton in British India assigned this peculiarity of wet and dry seasons as the cause of the failure of the experiment. There certainly must be some inherent cause of difficulty, and this explanation appears the most plausible, as it is well known that both wet and dry seasons are inimical to the growth of the plant. In the American tropics the rains are distributed throughout the year, as is the case in the temperate latitudes, but there they make an unceasing summer, maturing two crops in the year. Cotton and sugar grow without cultivation or care, and reproduce themselves for fourteen years without planting, and in far greater abundance and better quality than in any of the southern States of the Union. Coffee is probably a profitable crop in larger portions of the American tropics than cotton or sugar, and is secured with less labor. The coffee crop of Venezuela alone is valued at 8,000,000 of Spanish dollars, and is of a superior quality. Cocoa is another most valuable commercial commodity, in which the country abounds, and to these may be added the most valuable medicinal plants, dyestuffs, spices, fruits, and precious woods. Gold, silver, and precious stones are probably as abundant as in any part of the world. Fibrous plants, other than the cotton, whose product enters largely into commerce, and are destined to be still more extensively used, are found in such abundance as to justify the belief that they may become the leading interest of these regions. The value of these fibres, and the unlimited product of the plants which supply them, taken in connexion with the fact that many of these same plants produce food and valuable fruits, while the bark or stalk yields fibres of great value, even when prepared by the rude and primitive instruments now in use, gives especial interest to this subject, which would

justify an extended notice. When these regions shall become densely peopled the yield of food will be a great object, and, with the application of machinery to the preparation of its fibres, the value of a plant which can feed and clothe untold millions and supply many other wants of the civilized world cannot be easily overestimated. This subject cannot be better illustrated than by the following brief extracts from a recent work of E. G. Squier, esq., "on The Fibres of the Tropics," bearing on one family of the seplants, that of the "musa or banana family," which is one only of the many thousand fibrous plants, and which is by no means the most valuable for the quality or prolific in the quantity of its fibre. He says:

"The various members of this family (the banana) rank only second to the agaves and bromelias in the quantity and value of their fibres. Several varieties are cultivated for food, yielding a delicious and nourishing fruit, and in such abundance that Humboldt estimates the product of a single acre as equal to the average product of 133 acres of wheat and 44 acres of potatoes. An interesting, and for the purpose which we have in view, a most important fact, is that the tree or plant, whether plantain or banana, is almost universally cut down when the fruit is gathered with proper machinery for extracting the fibre. Many millions of plants thus left to rot could be converted into articles of the first utility for mankind, such as cordage, cloth, paper, &c., &c."

Recurring again to the uses to which this fibre is applied, the writer continues:

"As already said, the coarse fibres are used to make cables, which have great solidity and durability. Ropes of great tenacity are also made from them, which are used in many ways, but particularly in rigging coasting vessels. Of the finer sorts tissues or muslins are made of great beauty, which are very dear. * * * * * I had a number of shirts made from this muslin, which lasted me a long time, and were cool and agreeable in the use. But it is especially in France that tissues of this material are best made, and of the greatest beauty. They receive all colors with equal perfection. Veils, capes, neckerchiefs, robes, and women's hats, all of great beauty and high cost, as well as of wonderful durability, are among the manufactures from the abaca (a species of plantain) fibre."

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to overstate the productive-ness of the tropical regions of America, or to find another spot on earth where labor is so abundantly repaid. The labor of one million rude and barbarous negroes in Cuba may be said, without metaphor, to support the civil, military, and naval establishments of Spain; and yet Cuba is by no means superior to many other portions of our tropics. It may therefore be well imagined what would be the result of planting five millions of American negroes, far superior in skill and intelligence to those of Cuba, in a country equal to the Queen of the Antilles, protected by our power and directed by our intelligence, and stimulated to exertion by those motives which the wants of civilization, which they have acquired among us, have never failed to supply, and which are higher and more efficient than any other which can animate men. If we add to this the certain result of extending our power and influence, through their instrumentality, over the millions of people who already inhabit these regions, we shall be able to

form some conception of the value to our commerce which the foundation of such a colony would confer.

It has been sufficiently demonstrated that the white race cannot retain its vigor and strength in that climate, but rapidly deteriorates and finally becomes effete. We have seen that in all the Spanish American States, as soon as the connexion between them and the mother country was broken, and they ceased to receive new strength from that source, the white race has swiftly sunk in importance and the colored races have as rapidly resumed their power and control. Juarez, the President of Mexico, is a pure blooded Indian, a man of liberal views, of education, and great ability; but his greatest power consists in his hold upon the masses of the people, who are of the same race, and who are swayed by the powerful sympathies of blood. Carrera, the dictator of Guatemala, is a mestizo. He began life as a common soldier, without education; but he had an enterprising and daring temper, and has ruled for nearly twenty-five years, by an undisputed title, amid the chaos which has surrounded him on all sides. Santos Guardiola, the recent ruler of Honduras, was also a mestizo, and built his power upon the same foundation. And no one can have failed to observe the power and influence which Great Britain has exercised, and the substantial advantages she has obtained in all the countries around the Gulf of Mexico, through the instrumentality of the Jamaica negroes, who are to be found scattered in small settlements through these regions. England has in numerous instances acquired territory by the vigor and loyalty of these pioneers of her power, and enjoys an almost absolute monopoly of commerce in those countries by the energy of this despised race.

At the moment that we see the colored races thus resuming sway in all these regions cut off from European dependance, it is not less instructive to observe the effort which it requires to maintain the ascendancy of the white race in Cuba and in British India. It requires an army of thirty thousand men to maintain the Spanish dominion in Cuba, and that force itself must be constantly recruited from Spain. Great Britain holds her Indian possessions by means of an enormous army, the larger part of which, it is true, is composed of Sepoy or native soldiers; but it requires a stream of English blood to be poured into India, as great almost and as constant as the flood of the Ganges, to enable her to preserve that empire. Yet Spain finds it profitable, in a revenue point of view, to maintain her power in Cuba at the cost of this vast expenditure of life and treasure, and indispensable in order to furnish a market for the productions of the mother country. It is believed that the mere governmental expenses of India have always entailed a loss on the British exchequer, and this expenditure of money, accompanied with a far more serious drain on the vigor and life of English people, is considered as well compensated by the life which the markets of India impart to British commerce and manufacture.

How fortunate would Spain or Great Britain deem themselves if they possessed such a race of men as our American negroes with

whom to propagate their power and influence in this country of fabulous wealth and infinite beauty—a country lying within reach of our outstretched arms, courting our embrace, and panting to repay our protection with all its lavish charms. England does not hesitate to promote the productiveness of the few fragments of earth she possesses in these regions to bring the wretched coolies from the far off antipodes, and Spain submits to be the last nation of christendom to encourage that “opprobrium of the infidel powers,” the African slave trade, in order to supply the waste of labor in the Island of Cuba. Our American negroes surpass in skill and intelligence all the other colored races of the world as much as the American tropics surpass all other regions in natural wealth and productiveness. They possess that mysterious quality of organism which makes its torrid glare—so fatal to all other men—to them the very elixir of life and health. They have been instructed in agriculture and the mechanic arts; they have learned our language, our religion, and have become familiarized with our customs, which forms the body of our law and science of government, by long contact with our people. And when to this is added a natural docility of temper and subordination to authority, no one should doubt their capacity to maintain a free and independent government under the guidance and patronage of our republic; especially should such doubts give way when we have before our eyes such examples of their ability for self-government as they have furnished in Liberia and Hayti. But if further testimony should be demanded, they can point with a just pride to the letter of Earl Grey to Lord John Russel, in speaking of the various transplantations made for the improvement of the Island of Trinidad, in which he uses this remarkable language :

“Steps have also been taken, within the last two years, for procuring immigrants of a far more valuable description than those from India. I refer to the free black and colored inhabitants of the United States. These people are regarded as an encumbrance, and their presence is considered a most serious evil in the States which they now inhabit, while there can be no doubt that many of them would be the best possible settlers who could be introduced into Trinidad. Speaking the English, with habits of industry and of civilized life, and well adapted by their constitution to the climate, there seems to be no reason to doubt the success of black and colored immigrants from the United States. Provided a proper selection is made of the individuals to be brought, their introduction could not fail to be of the highest value to the colony, not only from the actual accession of its population, which would be thus obtained, but from the example which they would afford to its present inhabitants. Such an addition to the existing population of Trinidad would have a tendency to raise the whole community in the scale of civilization; whereas, there is precisely the opposite tendency with respect to immigration from almost any other quarter, and this is no slight drawback to the advantage to be obtained from it.”

In treating the question of the vast commercial importance of bunding colonies of enfranchised slaves in the intertropical regions of America, it may not be out of place to recur to the relations we once held with these countries. At the period of the independence of the Spanish-American states, as they caught the fire of freedom from

our example, so they also followed our lead in the forms of government which they established, and their feelings of enthusiastic admiration for the great American republic drew them into the closest commercial relations with this country. As an illustration of the enormous value of this traffic, it is worthy of being mentioned that almost the entire export of silver bullion centered at the city of New Orleans, and led to the establishment of the mint at that place, and what was perhaps of greater importance, a system of banking secured by the precious metal, which has given it a solidity and character far above that which has generally obtained in this country. This bullion traffic has for many years been in the hands of the English, and, as a consequence, English manufacturers have superseded ours to a very great extent in the Mexican markets. So with respect to the other Spanish-American states, and the other products of those states. The lucrative commerce which we once enjoyed with them has almost entirely ceased. Colonel Benton, who of all our statesmen was most familiar with these subjects, stated, in a public speech, that, if the government had cherished this valuable interest, the commerce of these nations would amply compensate the loss of the entire "southern trade," as the traffic of our great manufacturing districts with the cotton States has sometimes been called.

Many causes have conspired to deprive us of this once most profitable intercourse with the Spanish-American republics, of which it will be necessary to mention the most prominent, in order that it may be seen if it is possible now to correct them.

The first of these is the anarchy which has followed the ever recurring revolutions in many of these countries, by which production, the very source of commerce, has been depressed and destroyed. And second, the indifference displayed by our government towards all these republics, arising from our maxims against interference in the affairs of foreign nations, which, however, finally gave place to a policy aggressive and most offensive to these republics, under the lead of our recent slavery propagandist and fillibuster administration. We contrived first to cool the ardor of their enthusiasm for the great republic of the north by total neglect and indifference, when perhaps our friendly offices would have served to sustain their struggling people against the intrigues of ambition, fomented by monarchists, to bring republics into disrepute. And finally we succeeded in alienating them by waging war to wrest from them vast provinces, to be planted with slavery, and sent forth our fillibusters to harass and annoy them even when at peace with their governments. Is it surprising that they transferred their good will, and with it their commercial intercourse, to other nations? The time has come when we should arrest the disorders which have torn these countries, and also the ill-feeling which has grown up between the other republics of this continent and our own. The time has come, and with it events most propitious for the accomplishment of purposes so full of good omen to us and to them. Events in our own country have brought to an end the vile policy of slavery propagandism to which our power has so long

been perverted, and which made all the colored races of the tropics regard us with a just detestation and fear, because they could not misunderstand the object which inspired those who inaugurated and maintained that policy, and which was to include them in an empire to be founded on the slavery of the colored races. Other events have taken place which have taught the Spanish-American states that they have another danger to dread in European design to erect thrones upon this continent for the scions of European loyalty, to be supported by European bayonets as a means of composing the territorial disputes and dynastic schemes of Europe, and at the same time to make the teeming wealth of America subservient to their commercial necessities. This design, made palpable by the recent tripartite invasion of Mexico by France, England, and Spain, can only be frustrated by our power, and this has been made manifest to the intended victims of this policy by the fact that the moment of our trouble has been seized upon to put it into execution. When, therefore, we shall be called upon to deliver Mexico and her kindred republics from this European conspiracy, we shall have purged ourselves of the suspicion of designs no less odious and detestable. These events will place the United States at the head of a grand confederacy of American republics, will restore the good feeling and confidence which once prevailed, and confer commercial advantages more valuable and important to us than England derives from her vast colonies, and without the trouble and expense of armies to hold and protect them. To accomplish this, it will only be necessary to offer our friendly offices and guidance, instead of the indifference and neglect with which we have treated their disorders and misfortunes. It is our interest as much as theirs to protect them against the policy which seeks to transfer the feuds of European dynasties to this continent. They need also our moral support against those ambitious chieftains whose restless struggles have been instigated from Europe, in order that it might appear that stability in government under republican institutions was impossible, and thus prepare the way for their ulterior designs. They need our assistance to organize their own strength for the maintenance of domestic tranquility, and to repel aggression. They need our example of moderation and magnanimity, to which the good men among them can point to encourage their people to perseverance, and as a refutation to the slanders of the enemies of free institutions.

The first step in this direction is to give back to the tropics its own children, who will carry with them the native vigor and endurance to withstand the climate, united with habits of labor, skill, and knowledge acquired here, to give a new impulse to industry, and stability to their governments. They will carry with them also the pledge of the protection of this republic, which will secure them a cordial welcome from every republican state on the continent. These are not novel views, now for the first time broached to the public, but, on the contrary, they have been well considered by thoughtful

and sagacious men, and often put forward, but at a period when other and less worthy designs occupied and controlled this government. In a paper which appeared in the *Westminster Review* several years ago, marked by the editor with an unusual notification, ascribing it "to an able and distinguished contributor," and which described the missions of the "four empires—France, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States"—there appear the following sentences, which show that these thoughts are familiar to some of the statesmen of England:

"In spite of Clayton-Bulwer treaties, and Dallas-Clarendon interpretations of them, the United States will stretch their shadow ever further south. Revolution will cease to tear the empire of Montezuma. The falling republics of Central America will not forever be a temptation, by their weakness, to the attacks of lawless ruffians. The valley of the mighty Amazon, which would grow corn enough to feed a thousand million mouths, must fall at last to those who will force it to yield its treasures."

This "manifest destiny," which, when perverted to the purposes of our late fillibuster administrations, become so detestable, has received a higher and nobler interpretation from some of the best and most sagacious American journalists. The following article, which appeared in the *New York Tribune*, in June or July, 1857, shadows forth so fully and clearly the ideas we have attempted to recommend for adoption, that we cannot refrain from appealing to the aid of its clear and conclusive statements:

"It is an unquestionable fact, not only that the torrid zone embraces an extent of territory capable of cultivation far exceeding that of all the rest of the world put together, but also that the resources of this wealthy region—including on the western continent vast tracts of territory remaining as yet in a state of nature—have hardly as yet begun to be developed.

"The first great requisite for the extension of civilization and of the ideas and industry of enlightened Europe and North America into these regions is to find a body of men to be the apostles and disseminators of these ideas, able to withstand the climate. The extension of the Caucasian race, so called, into these climes, to displace the present inhabitants, or to fill up the countries now uninhabited, must be given up as not feasible. Within the torrid zone, except upon high table-lands brought by their elevation above the ocean level into the range of temperate climates, the Caucasian race cannot for any length of time propagate itself. It is only in these exceptional regions that even the Spanish colonists of the two Americas, though drawn from a semi-tropical climate, have been able to increase or even to maintain their numbers. Throughout the West India islands, if we except Cuba, into which a very recent flood of white emigration on a large scale has been poured, the whites, in spite of constant accessions from Europe, have been unable to keep up their numbers.

"The negro race, on the contrary, is perfectly well adapted to this tropical climate, and luxuriates in it; and it is through the agency of negro labor, and exclusively through that agency, that some small part of the American portion of the torrid zone has been hitherto brought within the circle of civilized industry. Of this negro race, seemingly predestined by Providence, after contact with the Caucasian races, to a higher development, a very large section is under the immediate tuition and influence of the people of the United States.

"Already as much Christians as ourselves, year after year they adopt more and more our ideas, language, habits.

"Now, it is obvious that in this great body of civilized negroes, we have, if we did but know how to use them, and were willing to do so, a most powerful and essential instrument toward extending ourselves, as it were—our ideas, our civilization, our commerce, industry and political institutions—through all the American torrid zone. Instead, however, of making the most of this great instrumentality toward bringing within our grasp these vast regions upon which we have fixed such covetous glances, we set to work, as it were, to cut off our own fingers.

"And what makes our policy in this matter the more absurd and suicidal is, that Great Britain, of whose designs upon the tropics *the south* evinces so great a jealousy, has adopted precisely the opposite course. She, too, has, in her West India colonies and elsewhere, a considerable section of the negro race under her immediate control; and, as if well aware of the great field which the uninhabited tropical regions present, and of the impossibility of occupying that field except through negro agency, she has set herself zealously to work by liberating and educating the negroes, and by acknowledging those under her jurisdiction as British subjects, with all the rights and privileges of Englishmen, to create for herself a body of black Englishmen, who, along with the education, intelligence, skill, self-esteem, self-reliance, and English ideas generally, of their white fellow-subjects, will possess also the capacity of enduring tropical climates, such as does not belong to the races of the temperate zones."

A correspondent of the New York "Courier and Inquirer," July 23, 1857, speaks to the same point. He says:

"But the great consideration is that which men appear resolved to conceal from themselves. It is, that this negro race must necessarily take possession of the tropical regions on this continent and the islands adjacent, to which they may be transported. They will expel the whites by the same law of nature which has given the blacks exclusive possession of corresponding latitudes in Africa. The white man has not been able to subplant and absorb even the Indians of the tropics. From the borders of Mexico to the south line of Brazil, the Indian remains the remaining type of mankind. And it is the negro and his mongrel modifications which are gaining upon the copper-colored."

"In the eventualities of the future, we may hope that the southern States of our Union may desire to relieve themselves of the pressure of slavery. In that case, the West Indies and the northern portion of South America will be the natural and fit receptacle of their freedom. It is therefore of the highest importance that these regions should be kept open for that contingency."

It is worthy of remark that the negroes of our country have themselves had this subject in their thoughts. In 1857 a delegate convention of these people held its sessions at Cleveland, Ohio, and after deliberation and debate, marked by knowledge and ability, they passed resolutions and issued an address in favor of the colonization in the American tropics, to which their instincts pointed as their future home, and to which their hopes beckoned them to become the founders of empire. Experience, painful and sad, had convinced them that here they would forever remain an inferior caste, denied every right which distinguishes or gives value to personal freedom, while the conviction that the torrid zone, their natural organization fitting them to endure its climate, where fervid heat enervates and emasculates all other races, gave the best guarantee against the degradations with which they had been afflicted.

There is scarcely a motive which impels human action that does not conspire to the execution of this policy. Justice, humanity, and hope invite us to undertake it; the bitter recollections of the past, the sufferings of to-day, and every noble aspiration of the heart and mind combine to recommend it. Those who believe the negro will not embrace it must in their hearts believe that the race is unfit for freedom and will be content to remain in a country in every part of which they are denied those social, civil, and political rights without which there is no absolute freedom and none which can satisfy the heart of a man capable of appreciating its blessings.

There are, perhaps, those who are much disposed to underrate the value of colonies of our free blacks to our commerce. The following extracts from a work compiled by the State Department, under the authority of Congress, upon the subject of our commercial relations, (vol. 1, p. 570,) will disclose a state of facts tending to correct this opinion:

“Among the countries with which the United States have commercial intercourse, Hayti holds the ninth rank as respects tonnage. All the States are more or less interested in the Haytien trade. The northeastern States find a market there for their fish and other merchandise. Pennsylvania, northern Virginia, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, for their salted pork; Vermont, New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Ohio, for their salted beef; Philadelphia and Boston, North and South Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky, for their household furniture, their rice and tobacco. The manufacturers of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, have already secured an extensive market in Hayti for their cheap cotton textures, and successfully compete with European manufacturers. The official returns of the United States show that Mexico, with a population of 8,000,000, imported from the different ports of the Union, in 1851, less by \$350,596 than Hayti. The trade of the United States with the latter country is therefore more profitable than with Mexico. Indeed, American vessels generally return in ballast from Mexican ports, or go to other States in search of freight, while in Hayti they always find cargoes. * * * In 1851 the United States exported to Hayti cotton goods valued at \$296,000 while the value of similar goods exported to Cuba reach only \$26,000. The soap exported from the United States to the former country (Hayti) exceeded 1,928,082 pounds, to the latter (Cuba) only 289,748. Hayti received from the United States in 1851 eight times as much flour as Cuba, and six times as much salted pork.”

The writer adds these pregnant sentences :

“Notwithstanding the United States has not recognized the independence of Hayti, nor entered into any treaty with its government, the restrictions and petty annoyances to which our merchants and citizens in that country have heretofore been subjected are now removed, and the fruits of this more liberal and friendly feeling are witnessed in our annually-increasing commerce, and in the preponderance of, and preference for, American merchandise in the markets of Hayti. This liberal state of things may, however, at any moment, change. In the absence of a commercial treaty between the two countries, our relations with Hayti are dependent on the will or caprice of the emperor. In this respect France and England are on a safer footing than the United States.”

These statistics should dispose of the objections of those persons who contend that the negroes in the tropics will sink into idleness

and sloth, and finally relapse into barbarism. No candid man who reflects upon the brutal massacre of the entire white population of Hayti by the negroes when they first emerged from slavery, and then turns his thoughts to the peaceful and bloodless revolution by which, after the lapse of three-quarters of a century, the same people exerted their will in the overthrow of Faustin and the re-establishment of the republic under Geffrard, will fail to observe and admit the immense progress they have made. Perhaps no people have ever made a greater advance in civilization, in the same length of time, than is marked by these two epochs in the history of Hayti. If the latter event does not give them a title to be regarded as a civilized people, the progress they have made since that bloody catastrophe of their early history should teach us hope and patience. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that the labor of the logwood and mahogany cuttings of Central America (and no labor can be more severe) is performed entirely by the free negroes of Jamaica and the black Caribs, and that but for these people the Panama railroad would have remained unbuilt, every other species of labor having been tried and failed.

Mr. Welles, an American gentleman, a late visitor and a most acute observer, has made a report on the condition of Honduras. He confirms the general impression in regard to the *effete* state of the Spanish race in Honduras and the other Central American states; the insurrectionary disposition of the Indians and mestizos of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, which produces incessant civil war and revolution; and he shows that the African race constitutes the basis on which some energetic and intelligent power must build a stable structure of free government. The negroes and mulattoes in Honduras number one hundred and forty thousand; the Indians one hundred thousand; the whites about fifty thousand; but of this caste he remarks, that—

“Indiscriminate amalgamation has nearly obliterated the former distinction of caste, and few families of pure Spanish descent are known. Some of the wealthiest merchants of the department of Tegucigalpa are blacks, possessing a surprising degree of business tact. Two of the largest commercial houses have negro proprietors, whose mercantile relations extend to Europe, whence they import most of their goods. Though the great majority of the negroes of Honduras are a thoroughly debased and ignorant class, there are numerous exceptions. The senate and assembly have contained many highly-intelligent blacks and mulattoes, thoroughly educated in the Central American school of politics, and with sufficient discernment to foresee the decline of their own influence, and the power of the negro race, with the introduction of the Teutonic stock. Hence their violent opposition to foreign enterprises, in the national councils and in their private circles. The clergy are mostly negroes or mestizos. Their power for evil has been largely contracted since the independence; but, with a few exceptions, these men exercise rather a favorable influence over the people, and are generally respected.”

One of the most practical and efficient modes for the accomplishment of the policy recommended will be found in the negotiation of reciprocity treaties with the Spanish American states, whenever it can be effected, and the establishment of lines of mail steamers be-

tween our ports and the most important ports of the Carribean sea and the two oceans, to afford facilities for the colonization of the enfranchized blacks and for the renewal of commerce. The establishment of these lines might be offered as an inducement to make reciprocity treaties, and would not fail to be accepted as marking the inauguration of an enlarged and liberal policy, and would accomplish more for our country, in securing the commerce of a continent, than could be exerted by violence and injustice.

It has been justly said that "the policy of commerce and not of conquest was the true policy of the United States." To give effect to this no national effort has ever been made by our government, and all that has been attained has been through the energy and enterprise of individuals. It is not unreasonable to expect that the government should at length enter upon the performance of duties which are of such vital interest to the nation, and which are beyond the power and control of any of its citizens. It would seem that the two continents of America were fashioned, by the hand of nature, to become the seats of two empires, and to supply each others wants by an interchange of productions. The difference of climate and production indicates that, which is also established by existing facts, these continents are to be peopled and possessed by different races of men. The population of Central and South America and the islands of the Gulf, which, in 1840, was estimated at 25,000,000, consisted of three and a half millions of the pure white race and twenty-one and a half millions of the colored races. In North America the preponderance of the white races over the colored races is in nearly the same proportion. Thus, whilst the difference of climate and production and the races of men that occupy them seem to be designed to promote this beneficent intercourse, the very configuration of the earth and the rivers which form the natural channels of commerce also invite it. The great Mississippi, flowing from the furthest north, and draining the whole central basin of this continent, pours out its wealth into the lap of the tropics. The Orinoco and the Amazon, with still more lavish tides, flow from the opposite direction, through regions of vaster wealth, and all unite in that "river in the ocean," as the Gulf stream has been called, which pours its floods along the face of both continents. Thus nature has provided the heart and the arteries of an interchanging commerce, whose pulsations may be felt in the remotest extremity.

Your committee herewith report the following bill :

A BILL granting the aid of the United States to certain States, upon the adoption by them of a system of emancipation, and to provide for the colonization of free negroes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whenever the President of the United States shall be satisfied that any one of the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, or Missouri shall have emancipated the slaves therein by law within and throughout such State, it shall be the duty of the President, assisted by the Secretary of the Treasury, to prepare and deliver to such State an amount of bonds of the United States, bearing interest at the rate of five per centum per annum and payable at thirty years from the date thereof, equal to the aggregate value of all the slaves within such State, at the rate of three hundred dollars for each slave, as the same shall be ascertained by an enumeration to be made by the federal authorities designated for that purpose, at the time of emancipation; the whole amount for any one State to be delivered at once, if the emancipation shall be immediate, or in rateable instalments if it shall be gradual: *Provided,* That no State shall make any compensation to the owner of any slave who shall be proven to have willingly engaged in or in any manner aided the present rebellion, or who at any time may have accepted and held any office, either civil, naval, or military, under the so-called Confederate States of America, or under the State government of any one of said Confederate States, and shall have willingly taken the oath of allegiance to said so-called Confederate States: *And provided, further,* That, in the enumeration of said slaves, as aforesaid, no slave shall be computed who shall have been brought into the State so emancipating, as aforesaid, from any other State or country after the passage of this act.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the whole amount of bonds so to be made and delivered, as aforesaid, shall not exceed in the aggregate the sum of one hundred and eighty millions of dollars.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That for the purpose of deporting, colonizing, and settling the slaves so emancipated, as aforesaid, in some state, territory, or dominion beyond the limits of the United States, the sum of twenty millions of dollars is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended for the purposes aforesaid, at the discretion of the President.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the benefits of this act shall only inure to such State or States as may pass such act or acts of emancipation, as aforesaid, within five years from the date of the passage of this act, and shall provide for the complete and entire emancipation of the slaves therein within the period of twenty years from the date of the passage of said State act or acts.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That if any State shall at any time after having received any such bonds, as

aforesaid, by law introduce or tolerate slavery within its limits, contrary to the act of emancipation upon which such bonds shall have been received, such State shall refund to the United States all the principal and interest which may have been paid on any such bonds.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

A. S. WHITE,
Of Indiana.
F. P. BLAIR, JR.,
Of Missouri.
GEO. P. FISHER,
Of Delaware.
WM. E. LEHMAN,
Of Pennsylvania.
K. V. WHALEY,
Of Virginia.
S. L. CASEY,
Of Kentucky.
A. J. CLEMENS,
Of Tennessee.

I have had no opportunity of reading the foregoing report, but, without expressing an opinion upon its merits, concur in presenting it to the House.

C. L. L. LEARY,
Of Maryland.

H. Rep. Com. 148—3

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN RELATION TO
CO-OPERATING WITH ANY STATE FOR THE GRADUAL ABOLISHMENT OF
SLAVERY.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

I recommend the adoption of a joint resolution by your honorable bodies, which shall be substantially as follows:

“*Resolved*, That the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.”

If the proposition contained in the resolution does not meet the approval of Congress and the country, there is the end; but if it does command such approval, I deem it of importance that the States and people immediately interested should be at once distinctly notified of the fact, so that they may begin to consider whether to accept or reject it. The federal government would find its highest interest in such a measure, as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation. The leaders of the existing insurrection entertain the hope that this government will ultimately be forced to acknowledge the independence of some part of the disaffected region, and that all the slave States north of such part will then say, “The Union for which we have struggled being already gone, we now choose to go with the southern section.” To deprive them of this hope substantially ends the rebellion; and the initiation of emancipation completely deprives them of it as to all the States initiating it. The point is not that *all* the States tolerating slavery would very soon, if at all, initiate emancipation, but that while the offer is equally made to all, the more northern shall, by such initiation, make it certain to the more southern that in no event will the former ever join the latter in their proposed confederacy. I say “initiation,” because in my judgment gradual, and not sudden, emancipation is better for all. In the mere financial or pecuniary view, any member of Congress, with the census tables and treasury reports before him, can readily see for himself how very soon the current expenditures of this war would purchase, at fair valuation, all the slaves in any named State. Such a proposition on the part of the general government sets up no claim of a right by federal authority to interfere with slavery within State limits, referring, as it does, the absolute control of the subject in each case to the State and its people immediately interested. It is proposed as a matter of perfectly free choice with them.

In the annual message last December I thought fit to say “the Union must be preserved; and hence all indispensable means must be employed.” I said this not hastily, but deliberately. War has been made, and continues to be, an indispensable means to this end. A practical reacknowledgment of the national authority would render the war unnecessary, and it would at once cease. If, however, resistance continues, the war must also continue; and it is impossible to foresee all the incidents which may attend and all the ruin which may follow it. Such as may seem indispensable, or may obviously promise great efficiency towards ending the struggle, must and will come.

The proposition now made, though an offer only, I hope it may be esteemed no offence to ask whether the pecuniary consideration tendered would not be ot

more value to the States and private persons concerned than are the institution and property in it, in the present aspect of affairs?

While it is true that the adoption of the proposed resolution would be merely initiatory, and not within itself a practical measure, it is recommended in the hope that it would soon lead to important practical results. In full view of my great responsibility to my God and to my country, I earnestly beg the attention of Congress and the people to the subject.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, *March 6, 1862.*

JOINT RESOLUTION declaring that the United States ought to co-operate with, affording pecuniary aid to, any State which may adopt the gradual abolishment of slavery.

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.

Approved April 10, 1862.

No. 2.

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, TRANSMITTING A DRAFT OF A BILL TO COMPENSATE ANY STATE WHICH MAY ABOLISH SLAVERY WITHIN ITS LIMITS, AND RECOMMENDING ITS PASSAGE.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives :

Herewith is a draft of a bill to compensate any State which may abolish slavery within its limits, the passage of which, substantially as presented, I respectfully and earnestly recommend.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

JULY 14, 1862.

A BILL providing for the payment of persons held to service or labor liberated by any State.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whenever the President of the United States shall be satisfied that any State shall have lawfully abolished slavery within and throughout such State, either immediately or gradually, it shall be the duty of the President, assisted by the Secretary of the Treasury, to prepare and deliver to such State an amount of six per cent. interest-bearing bonds of the United States, equal to the aggregate value, at \$—— dollars per head, of all the slaves within such State, as reported by the census of the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty; the whole amount for any one State to be delivered at once, if the abolishment be immediate, or in equal annual instalments, if it be gradual; interest to begin running on each bond at the time of its delivery, and not before.

And be it further enacted, That if any State, having so received any such bonds, shall, at any time afterwards, by law reintroduce or tolerate slavery within its limits, contrary to the act of abolishment upon which such bonds

shall have been received, said bonds so received by said State shall at once be null and void in whosoever hands they may be, and such State shall refund to the United States all interest which may have been paid on such bonds.

No. 3.

ADDRESS ISSUED BY A NATIONAL EMIGRATION CONVENTION OF COLORED PEOPLE HELD AT CLEVELAND, OHIO, AUGUST 24, 1854.—WRITTEN BY M. R. DELANY, ONE OF THEIR NUMBER.

POLITICAL DESTINY OF THE COLORED RACE ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

To the colored inhabitants of the United States.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: The duty assigned us is an important one, comprehending all that pertains to our destiny and that of our posterity—present and prospectively. And while it must be admitted that the subject is one of the greatest magnitude, requiring all that talents, prudence and wisdom might adduce, and while it would be folly to pretend to give you the combined result of these three agencies, we shall satisfy ourselves with doing our duty to the best of our ability, and that in the plainest, most simple and comprehensive manner.

Our object, then, shall be to place before you our true position in this country—the United States—the improbability of realizing our desires, and the sure, practicable and infallible remedy for the evils we now endure.

We have not addressed you as *citizens*—a term desired and ever cherished by us—because such you have never been. We have not addressed you as *freemen*—because such privileges have never been enjoyed by any colored man in the United States. Why then should we flatter your credulity, by inducing you to believe that which neither has now, nor never before had an existence. Our oppressors are ever gratified at our manifest satisfaction, especially when that satisfaction is founded upon false premises; an assumption on our part of the enjoyment of rights and privileges which never have been conceded, and which, according to the present system of the United States policy, we never can enjoy.

The *political policy* of this country was solely borrowed from, and shaped and modeled after, that of Rome. This was strikingly the case in the establishment of immunities, and the application of terms in their civil and legal regulations.

The term citizen—politically considered—is derived from the Roman definition—which was never applied in any other sense—*cives ingenui*, which meant one exempt from restraint of any kind. (*Cives*, a citizen; one who might enjoy the highest honors in his own free town—the town in which he lived—and in the country or commonwealth; and *ingenui*, *freeborn*—of GOOD EXTRACTION.) All who were deprived of citizenship—that is, the right of enjoying positions of honor and trust—were termed *hostes* and *peregrini*; which are public and private *enemies*, and foreigners, or *aliens* to the country. (*Hostis*, a public, and sometimes private, enemy; and *peregrinus*, an *alien*, *stranger*, or *foreigner*.)

The Romans, from a national pride, to distinguish their inhabitants from those of other countries, termed them all “citizens,” but consequently were under the necessity of specifying four classes of citizens, none but the *cives ingenui* being unrestricted in their privileges. There was one class, called the *jus quiritium*, or the wailing or *supplicating* citizen—that is, one who was continually *moaning, complaining; or crying for aid or succor*. This class might also include within themselves the *jus suffragii*, who had the privilege of *voting*, but no

other privilege. They could vote for one of their superiors—the *cives ingenui*—but not for themselves.

Such, then, is the condition, precisely, of the black and colored inhabitants of the United States; in some of the States they answering to the latter class, having the privilege of *voting*, to elevate their superiors to positions to which they need never dare aspire, or even hope to attain.

There has, of late years, been a false impression obtained, that the privilege of *voting* constitutes, or necessarily embodies, the *rights of citizenship*. A more radical error never obtained favor among an oppressed people. Suffrage is an ambiguous term, which admits of several definitions; but according to strict political construction means simply “a vote, voice, approbation.” Here, then, you have the whole import of the term suffrage. To have the “right of suffrage,” as we rather proudly term it, is simply to have the *privilege*—there is no *right* about it—of giving our *approbation* to that which our *rulers may do*, without the privilege, on our part, of doing the same thing. Where such privileges are granted—privileges which are now exercised in but few of the States by colored men—we have but the privilege granted of saying, in common with others, who shall, for the time being, exercise *rights* which, in him, are conceded to be *inherent* and *inviolable*. Like the indented apprentice, who is summoned to give his approbation to an act which would be fully binding without his concurrence. Where there is no *acknowledged sovereignty* there can be no binding power; hence the suffrage of the black man, independently of the white, would be in this country unavailable.

Much might be adduced on this point to prove the insignificance of the black man, politically considered in this country, but we deem it wholly unnecessary at present, and consequently proceed at once to consider another feature of this important subject.

Let it then be understood, as a great principle of political economy, that no people can be free who themselves do not constitute an essential part of the *ruling element* of the country in which they live. Whether this element be founded upon a true or false, a just or an unjust basis, this position in community is necessary to personal safety. The liberty of no man is secure who controls not his own political destiny. What is true of an individual is true of a family; and that which is true of a family is also true concerning a whole people. To suppose otherwise is that delusion which at once induces its victim, through a period of long suffering, patiently to submit to every species of wrong; trusting against probability, and hoping against all reasonable grounds of expectation, for the granting of privileges and enjoyment of rights which never will be attained. This delusion reveals the true secret of the power which holds in peaceable subjection all the oppressed in every part of the world.

A people to be free must necessarily be *their own rulers*: that is, *each individual* must in himself embody the *essential ingredient*, so to speak, of the *sovereign principle* which composes the *true basis* of his liberty. This principle, when not exercised by himself, may at his pleasure be delegated to another, his true representative.

Said a great French writer: “A free agent, in a free government, should be his own governor;” that is, he must possess within himself the *acknowledged right to govern*: this constitutes him a *governor*, though he may delegate to another the power to govern himself.

No one, then, can delegate to another a power he never possessed; that is, he cannot *give an agency* in that in which he never had a right. Consequently, the colored man in the United States, being deprived of the rights of inherent sovereignty, cannot *confer* a suffrage, because he possesses none to confer. Therefore, where there is no suffrage there can neither be *freedom* nor *safety* for the disfranchised; and it is a futile hope to suppose that the agent of another’s con-

cerns will take a proper interest in the affairs of those to whom he is under no obligations. Having no favors to ask or expect, he therefore has none to lose.

In other periods and parts of the world, as in Europe and Asia, the people being of one common, direct origin of race, though established on the presumption of difference by birth, or what was termed *blood*, yet the distinction between the superior classes and common people could only be marked by the difference in the dress and education of the two classes. To effect this the interposition of government was necessary; consequently, the costume and education of the people became a subject of legal restriction, guarding carefully against the privileges of the common people.

In Rome, the patrician and plebeian were orders in the ranks of her people—all of whom were termed citizens (*cives*)—recognized by the laws of the country, their dress and education being determined by law, the better to fix the distinction. In different parts of Europe at the present day, if not the same, the distinction among the people is similar, only on a modified, and, in some kingdoms, probably more tolerant or deceptive policy.

In the United States, our degradation being once—as it has in a hundred instances been done—legally determined, our color is sufficient, independently of costume, education, or other distinguishing marks, to keep up that distinction.

In Europe, when an inferior is elevated to the rank of equality with the superior class, the law first comes to his aid, which, in its decrees, entirely destroys his identity as an inferior, leaving no trace of his former condition visible.

In the United States, among the whites, their color is made, by law and custom, the mark of distinction and superiority; while the color of the blacks is a badge of degradation, acknowledged by statute, organic law, and the common consent of the people.

With this view of the case—which we hold to be correct—to elevate to equality the degraded subject of law and custom, it can only be done, as in Europe, by an entire destruction of the identity of the former condition of the applicant. Even were this desirable—which we by no means admit—with the deep-seated prejudices engendered by oppression with which we have to contend, ages incalculable might reasonably be expected to roll around before this could honorably be accomplished; otherwise we should encourage and at once commence an indiscriminate concubinage and immoral commerce of our mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters, revolting to think of, and a physical curse to humanity.

If this state of things be to succeed, then, as in Egypt, under the dread of the inscrutable approach of the destroying angel, to appease the hatred of our oppressors, as a license to the passions of every white, let the lintel of each door of every black man be stained with the blood of virgin purity and unsullied matron fidelity. Let it be written along the cornice in capitals, “The *will* of the white man is the rule of my household.” Remove the protection to our chambers and nurseries, that the places once sacred may henceforth become the unrestrained resort of the vagrant and rabble, always provided that the licensed commissioner of lust shall wear the indisputable impress of a *white* skin.

But we have fully discovered and comprehended the great political disease with which we are affected, the cause of its origin and continuance; and what is now left for us to do is to discover and apply a sovereign remedy—a healing balm to a sorely diseased body—a wrecked but not entirely shattered system. We propose for this disease a remedy. That remedy is emigration. This emigration should be well advised, and like remedies applied to remove the disease from the physical system of man, skilfully and carefully applied, within the proper time, directed to operate on that part of the system whose greatest tendency shall be to benefit the whole.

Several geographical localities have been named, among which rank the Canadas. These we do not object to as places of temporary relief, especially to the fleeing fugitive—which, like a palliative, soothes ‘for the time being the misery—

but cannot commend them as permanent places upon which to fix our destiny, and that of our children who shall come after us. But, in this connexion, we would most earnestly recommend to the colored people of the United States generally to secure by purchase all of the land they possibly can, while selling at low rates, under the British people and government; as that time may come when, like the lands in the United States Territories generally, if not as in Oregon and some other Territories and States, they may be prevented entirely from settling or purchasing them; the preference being given to the white applicant.

And here we would not deceive you by disguising the facts that, according to political tendency, the Canadas—as all British America—at no very distant day, are destined to come into the United States.

And were this not the case, the odds are against us, because the ruling element there, as in the United States, is, and ever must be, white—the population now standing, in all British America, two and a half millions of whites to but forty thousand of the black race; or sixty-one and a fraction whites to one black!—the difference being eleven times greater than in the United States—so that colored people might never hope for anything more than to exist politically by mere suffrance—occupying a secondary position to the whites of the Canadas. The Yankees from this side of the lakes are fast settling in the Canadas, infusing, with industrious success, all the malignity and negro hate inseparable from their very being, as Christian democrats and American advocates of equality.

Then, to be successful, our attention must be turned in a direction towards those places where the black and colored man comprise, by population, and constitute, by necessity of numbers, the *ruling element* of the body politic, and where, when occasion shall require it, the issue can be made and maintained on this basis; where our political enclosure and national edifice can be reared, established, walled, and proudly defended on this great elementary principle of original identity. Upon this solid foundation rests the fabric of every substantial political structure in the world, which cannot exist without it; and so soon as a people or nation lose their original identity just so soon must that nation or people become extinct. Powerful though they may have been, they must fall. Because the nucleus which heretofore held them together becoming extinct, there being no longer a centre of attraction or basis for a union of the parts, a dissolution must as naturally ensue as the result of the neutrality of the basis of adhesion among the particles of matter.

This is the secret of the eventful downfall of Egypt, Carthage, Rome, and the former Grecian states, once so powerful—a loss of original identity, and with it a loss of interest in maintaining their fundamental principles of nationality.

This, also, is the great secret of the present strength of Great Britain, Russia, the United States, and Turkey; and the endurance of the French nation, whatever its strength and power, is attributable only to their identity as Frenchmen.

And, doubtless, the downfall of Hungary, brave and noble as may be her people, is mainly to be attributed to the want of identity of origin, and consequently a union of interests and purposes. This fact it might not have been expected would be admitted by the great Magyar in his thrilling pleas for the restoration of Hungary when asking aid, both national and individual, to enable him to throw off the ponderous weight placed upon their shoulders by the House of Hapsburg.

Hungary consisted of three distinct “races”—as they call themselves—of people, all priding in and claiming rights based on their originality—the Magyars, Celts, and Slaves. On the encroachment of Austria each one of these races—declaring for nationality—rose up against the House of Hapsburg, claiming the right of self-government premised on their origin. Between the three a compromise was effected; the Magyars, being the majority, claimed the precedence. They made an effort, but for the want of a unity of interest, an identity of origin, the noble Hungarians failed. All know the result.

Nor is this the only important consideration. Were we content to remain as we are, sparsely interspersed among our white fellow-countrymen, we never might be expected to equal them in any honorable or respectable competition for a livelihood. For the reason that, according to the customs and policy of the country, we for ages would be kept in a secondary position, every situation of respectability, honor, profit, or trust, either as mechanics, clerks, teachers, jurors, councilmen, or legislators, being filled by white men, consequently our energies must become paralyzed or enervated for the want of proper encouragement.

This example upon our children and the colored people generally is pernicious and degrading in the extreme. And how could it otherwise be when they see every place of respectability filled and occupied by the whites, they pandering to their vanity and existing among them merely as a thing of convenience?

Our friends in this and other countries, anxious for our elevation, have for years been erroneously urging us to lose our identity as a distinct race, declaring that we were the same as other people, while at the very same time their own representatives were traversing the world and propagating the doctrine in favor of a *universal Anglo-Saxon predominance*. The "universal brotherhood, so ably and eloquently advocated by that Polyglot Christian apostle (Elihu Burritt) of this doctrine, had established as its basis a universal acknowledgment of the Anglo-Saxon rule.

The truth is, we are not identical with the Anglo-Saxon or any other race of the Caucasian or pure white type of the human family, and the sooner we know and acknowledge this truth the better for ourselves and posterity.

The English, French, Irish, German, Italian, Turk, Persian, Greek, Jew, and all other races have their native or inherent peculiarities, and why not our race? We are not willing, therefore, at all times and under all circumstances, to be moulded into various shapes of eccentricity to suit the caprices and conveniences of every kind of people. We are not more suitable to everybody than everybody is suitable to us; therefore, no more like other people than others are like us.

We have, then, inherent traits, attributes, so to speak, and native characteristics peculiar to our race, whether pure or mixed blood, and all that is required of us is to cultivate these and develop them in their purity, to make them desirable and emulated by the rest of the world.

That the colored races have the highest traits of civilization will not be disputed. They are civil, peaceable, and religious to a fault. In mathematics, sculpture, and architecture, as arts and sciences, commerce and internal improvements as enterprises, the white race may probably excel; but in languages, oratory, poetry, music, and painting, as arts and sciences, and in ethics, metaphysics, theology, and legal jurisprudence; in plain language, in the true principles of morals, correctness of thought, religion, and law or civil government, there is no doubt but the black race will yet instruct the world.

It would be duplicity longer to disguise the fact that the great issue, sooner or later, upon which must be disputed the world's destiny, will be a question of black and white; and every individual will be called upon for his identity with one or the other. The blacks and colored races are four-sixths of all the population of the world; and these people are fast tending to a common cause with each other. The white races are but one-third of the population of the globe, or one of them to two of us, and it cannot much longer continue that two-thirds will passively submit to the universal domination of this one-third. And it is notorious that the only progress made in territorial domain in the last three centuries by the whites has been a usurpation and encroachment on the rights and native soil of some of the colored races.

The East Indies, Java, Sumatra, the Azores, Madeira, Canary, and Cape Verde islands; Socotra, Guardafui, and the Isle of France; Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Barca, and Egypt in the north, Sierra Leone in the west, and Cape

Colony in the south of Africa, besides many other islands and possessions not herein named; Australia, the Ladrone islands, together with many others of Oceanica; the seizure and appropriation of a great portion of the western continent, with all its islands, were so many encroachments of the whites upon the rights of the colored races. Nor are they yet content, but, intoxicated with the success of their career, the Sandwich Islands are now marked out as the next booty to be seized in the ravages of their exterminating crusade.

We regret the necessity of stating the fact, but duty compels us to the task, that for more than two thousand years the determined aim of the whites has been to crush the colored races wherever found. With a determined will, they have sought and pursued them in every quarter of the globe. The Anglo-Saxon has taken the lead in this work of universal subjugation. But the Anglo-American stands pre-eminent for deeds of injustice and acts of oppression, unparalleled, perhaps, in the annals of modern history.

We admit the existence of great and good people in America, England, France, and the rest of Europe, who desire a unity of interests among the whole human family, of whatever origin or race.

But it is neither the moralist, Christian, nor philanthropist whom we now have to meet and combat, but the politician—the civil engineer and skilful economist, who direct and control the machinery which moves forward, with mighty impulse, the nations and powers of the earth. We must therefore, if possible, meet them on vantage ground, or, at least, with adequate means for the conflict.

Should we encounter an enemy with artillery, a prayer will not stay the cannon shot; neither will the kind words nor smiles of philanthropy shield his spear from piercing us through the heart. We must meet mankind, then, as they meet us—prepared for the worst, though we may hope for the best. Our submission does not gain for us an increase of friends nor respectability, as the white race will only respect those who oppose their usurpation, and acknowledge as equals those who will not submit to their rule. This may be no new discovery in political economy, but it certainly is a subject worthy the consideration of the black race.

After a due consideration of these facts, as herein recounted, shall we stand still and continue inactive, ~~the~~ passive observers of the great events of the times and age in which we live; submitting indifferently to the usurpation, by the white race, of every right belonging to the blacks? Shall the last vestige of an opportunity, outside of the continent of Africa, for the national development of our race, be permitted, in consequence of our slothfulness, to elude our grasp and fall into the possession of the whites? This may heaven forbid! May the sturdy, intelligent, Africo-American sons of the western continent forbid!

Longer to remain inactive, it should be borne in mind, may be to give an opportunity to despoil us of every right and possession sacred to our existence, with which God has endowed us as a heritage on the earth. For let it not be forgotten that the white race, who numbers but *one* of them to *two* of us, originally located in Europe, besides possessing all of that continent, have now got hold of a large portion of Asia, Africa, all North America, a portion of South America, and all of the great islands of both hemispheres except Paupau or New Guinea, inhabited by negroes and Malays, in Oceanica; the Japanese islands, peopled and ruled by the Japanese; Madagascar, peopled by negroes, near the coast of Africa; and the Island of Hayti, in the West Indies, peopled by as brave and noble descendants of Africa as they who laid the foundation of Thebes, or constructed the everlasting pyramids and catacombs of Egypt. A people who have freed themselves by the might of their own will, the force of their own power, the unflinching strength of their own right arms, and their unflinching determination to be free.

Let us, then, not survive the disgrace and ordeal of almighty displeasure, of two to one, witnessing the universal possession and control by the whites of every habitable portion of the earth. For such must inevitably be the case, and that, too, at no distant day, if black men do not take advantage of the opportunity by grasping hold of those places where chance is in their favor and establishing the rights and power of the colored race.

We must make an issue, create an event, and establish for ourselves a position. This is essentially necessary for our effective elevation as a people, in shaping our national development, directing our destiny, and redeeming ourselves as a race.

If we but determine it shall be so, it *will* be so; and there is nothing under the sun can prevent it. We shall then be but in pursuit of our legitimate claims to inherent rights, bequeathed to us by the will of Heaven—the endowment of God, our common parent. A distinguished economist has truly said: “God has implanted in man an infinite progression in the career of improvement. A soul capacitated for improvement ought not to be bounded by a tyrant’s landmarks.” This sentiment is just and true, the application of which to our case is adapted with singular fitness.

Having glanced hastily at our present political position in the world generally, and the United States in particular—the fundamental disadvantages under which we exist, and the improbability of ever attaining citizenship and equality of rights in this country—we call your attention next to the places of destination to which we shall direct emigration.

The West Indies, Central and South America, are the countries of our choice, the advantages of which shall be made apparent to your entire satisfaction.

Though we have designated them as countries, they are in fact but one country—relatively considered—a part of this, the western continent.

As now politically divided, they consist of the following classification, each group or division placed under its proper national head:

FRENCH ISLANDS.

	<i>Square miles</i>	<i>Popul'n in 1840.</i>
Guadalupe.....	675	124,000
Martinico.....	260	119,000
St. Martin, N. part.....	15	6,000
Mariegalante.....	90	11,500
Deseada.....	25	1,500

DANISH ISLANDS.

Santa Cruz.....	80	34,000
St. Thomas.....	50	15,000
St. John's.....	70	3,000

SWEDISH.

St. Bartholomew.....	25	8,000
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DUTCH.

St. Eustatia.....	10	20,000
Curaçoa.....	375	12,000
St. Martin, S. part.....	50	1,000
Saba.....	20	9,000

VENEZUELA.

Margarita.....	..	16,000
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SPANISH.

Cuba.....	43,500	725,000
Porto Rico.....	4,000	325,000

BRITISH.

	<i>Square miles.</i>	<i>Popul'n in 1840.</i>
Jamaica	5,520	375,000
Barbadoes	164	102,000
Trinidad	1,970	45,000
Antigua	108	36,000
Grenada and the Granadines	120	29,000
St. Vincent	121	36,000
St. Kitts	68	24,000
Dominica	275	20,000
St. Lucia	275	18,000
Tobago	120	14,000
Nevis	20	12,000
Montserrat	47	8,000
Tortola	20	7,000
Barbuda	72	..
Anguilla	90	3,000
Bahamas	4,440	18,000
Bermudas	20	10,000

HAYTIEN NATION.

Hayti	800,000
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In addition to these there are a number of smaller islands belonging to the Little Antilles, the area and population of which are not known, many of them being unpopulated.

These islands, in the aggregate, form an area—allowing 40,000 square miles to Hayti and her adjunct islands, and something for those the statistics of which are unknown—of about 103,000, or equal in extent to Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and little less than the United Kingdoms of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the principality of Wales.

The population being on the above date, 1840, 3,115,000, (three millions one hundred and fifteen thousand,) and allowing an increase of *ten per cent.* in ten years on the entire population, there are now 3,250,000 (three millions two hundred and fifty thousand) inhabitants, who comprise the people of these islands. Central America consists of:

	<i>Population in 1840.</i>
Guatemala	800,000
San Salvador	350,000
Honduras	250,000
Costa Rica	150,000
Nicaragua	250,000

These consist of five states, as shown in the above statistics, the united population of which in 1840 amounted to 1,800,000 (one million eight hundred thousand) inhabitants. The number at present being estimated at 2,500,000, (two and a half millions,) shows, in thirteen years, 700,000, (seven hundred thousand,) being one-third and one-eighteenth of an increase in population. South America consists of:

	<i>Square miles.</i>	<i>Population in 1840.</i>
New Granada	450,000	1,687,000
Venezuela	420,000	900,000
Ecuador	280,000	600,000
Guiana	160,000	182,000
Brazil	3,390,000	5,000,000

	Square miles.	Population in 1840.
North Peru	300,000	700,000
South Peru	130,000	800,000
Bolivia	450,000	1,716,000
Buenos Ayres	750,000	700,000
Paraguay	88,000	150,000
Uruguay	92,000	75,000
Chili	170,000	1,500,000
Patagonia	370,000	30,000

The total area of these states is 7,050,000 (seven millions and fifty thousand) square miles, but comparatively little (450,000 square miles) less than the whole area of North America, in which we live.

But one state in South America—Brazil—is an abject slaveholding state; and even here all free men are socially and politically equal, negroes and colored men, partly of African descent, holding offices of honor, trust, and rank without restriction. In the other states slavery is not known, all the inhabitants enjoying political equality, restrictions on account of color being entirely unknown, unless, indeed, necessity induces it, when in all such cases the preference is given to the colored man, to put a check to European presumption and insufferable Yankee intrusion and impudence.

The aggregate population was 14,040,000 (fourteen millions and forty thousand) in 1840. Allowing for thirteen years the same ratio of increase as that of the Central American states—being one-third (4,680,000)—and this gives at present a population of 18,720,000 in South America.

Add to this the population of the Antilles and Guatemala, and this gives a population in the West Indies, Central and South America, of 24,470,000 (twenty-four millions four hundred and seventy thousand) inhabitants.

But one-seventh of this population, 3,495,714, (three millions four hundred and ninety-five thousand seven hundred and fourteen,) being white, or of pure European extraction, there is a population throughout this vast area of 20,974,286 (twenty millions nine hundred and seventy-four thousand two hundred and eighty-six) colored persons, who constitute, from the immense preponderance of their numbers, the *ruling element*, as they ever must be, of those countries.

There are no influences that could be brought to bear to change this most fortunate and Heaven-designed state and condition of things. Nature here has done her own work, which the art of knaves nor the schemes of deep-designing political impostors can never reach. This is a fixed fact in the zodiac of the political heavens, that the blacks and colored people are the stars which must ever most conspicuously twinkle in the firmament of this division of the western hemisphere.

We next invite your attention to a few facts upon which we predicate the claims of the black race, not only to the tropical regions and *south temperate zone* of this hemisphere, but to the whole continent, north as well as south. And here we desire it distinctly to be understood that, in the selection of our places of destination, we do not advocate the *southern* scheme as a concession, nor yet at the will nor desire of our North American oppressors, but as a policy by which we must be the greatest political gainers, without the risk or possibility of loss to ourselves. A gain by which the lever of political elevation and machinery of national progress must ever be held and directed by our own hands and heads, to our own will and purposes, in defiance of the obstructions which might be attempted on the part of a dangerous and deep-designing oppressor.

“From the year 1492, the discovery of Hispaniola—the first land discovered by Columbus in the New World—to 1502, the short space of ten years, such was the mortality among the natives that the Spaniards, then holding rule there, ‘began to employ a few’ Africans in the mines of the island. The experiment

was effective—a successful one. The Indian and the African were enslaved together, when the Indian sunk, and the African stood.

“It was not until June 24, of the year 1498, that the continent was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, who sailed in August of the previous year, 1497, from Bristol, under the patronage of Henry VII, King of England.”

In 1517, the short space of but fifteen years from the date of their introduction, Carolus V, King of Spain, by right of a patent, granted permission to a number of persons annually to supply the islands of Hispaniola, (St. Domingo,) Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico with natives of Africa to the number of four thousand annually. John Hawkins, a mercenary Englishman, was the first person known to engage in this general system of debasing our race, and his royal mistress, Queen Elizabeth, was engaged with him in interest and shared the general profits.

The Africans, on their advent into a foreign country, soon experienced the want of their accustomed food, and habits and manner of living.

The aborigines subsisted mainly by game and fish, with a few patches of maize, or Indian corn, near their wigwams, which were generally attended by the women, while the men were absent engaged in the chase, or at war with a hostile tribe. The vegetables, grains, and fruits, such as in their native country they had been accustomed to, were not to be obtained among the aborigines, which first induced the African laborer to cultivate “patches” of ground in the neighborhood of the mining operations, for the purpose of raising food for his own sustenance.

This trait in their character was observed and regarded with considerable interest; after which the Spaniards and other colonists, on contracting with the English slave dealers—Captain Hawkins and others—for new supplies of slaves, were careful to request that an adequate quantity of seeds and plants of various kinds, indigenous to the continent of Africa, especially those composing the staple products of the natives, be selected and brought out with the slaves to the New World. Many of these were cultivated to a considerable extent, while those indigenous to America were cultivated with great success.

Shortly after the commencement of the slave trade under Elizabeth and Hawkins, the Queen granted a license to Sir Walter Raleigh to search for uninhabited lands, and seize upon all unoccupied by Christians. Sir Walter discovered the coast of North Carolina and Virginia, assigning the name “Virginia” to the whole coast now comprising the old thirteen States.

A feeble colony was here settled which did not avail much, and it was not until the month of April, 1607, that the first permanent settlement was made in Virginia, under the patronage of letters patent from James I, King of England, to Thomas Gates and associates. This was the first settlement of North America, and thirteen years anterior to the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock.

And we shall now introduce to you, from acknowledged authority, a number of historical extracts to prove that previous to the introduction of the black race upon this continent but little enterprise of any kind was successfully carried on. The African or negro was the first *available contributor* to the country, and consequently is by priority of right, and politically should be, entitled to the highest claims of an eligible citizen.

“No permanent settlement was effected in what is now called the United States till the reign of James the First.”—*Ramsay's History U. S., Vol. 1, p. 38.*

“The month of April, 1607, is the epoch of the first permanent settlement on the coast of Virginia, the name then given to all that extent of country which forms thirteen States.”—*Ib., p. 39.*

The whole coast of the country was at this time explored, not for the purpose of trade and agriculture—because there were then no such enterprises in the country, the natives not producing sufficient of the necessaries of life to supply

present wants, there being consequently nothing to trade for—but, like their Spanish and Portuguese predecessors, who occupied the islands and different parts of South America, in search of gold and other precious metals.

Trade and the cultivation of the soil, on coming to the new world, were foreign to their intention or designs; consequently, when failing of success in that enterprise they were sadly disappointed.

“At a time when the precious metals were conceived to be the peculiar and only valuable productions of the new world, when every mountain was supposed to contain a treasure, and every rivulet was searched for its golden sands, this appearance was fondly considered as an infallible indication of the mine. Every hand was eager to dig. * * * * *

“There was now,” says Smith, “no talk, no hope, no work; but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold. With this imaginary wealth, the first vessel returning to England was loaded, while the *culture of the land* and every useful occupation was *totally neglected*.

“The colonists thus left were in miserable circumstances for want of provisions. The remainder of what they had brought with them was so small in quantity as to be soon expended, and so damaged in course of a long voyage as to be a source of disease.

* * * “In their expectation of getting gold the people were disappointed, the glittering substance they had sent to England proving to be a valueless mineral. Smith, on his return to Jamestown, found the colony reduced to thirty-eight persons, who, in despair, were preparing to abandon the country. He employed caresses, threats, and even violence, in order to prevent them from executing this fatal resolution.”—*Ibid.*, pp. 45, 46.

The Pilgrims or Puritans, in November, 1620, after having organized with solemn vows to the defence of each other and the maintenance of their civil liberty, made the harbor of Cape Cod, landing safely on “Plymouth Rock,” December 20, about one month subsequently. They were one hundred and one in number, and from the *toils and hardships* consequent to a *severe season*, in a *strange country*, in less than six months after their arrival, “forty persons—nearly one-half of their original number”—had died.

“In 1618, in the reign of James I, the British government established a regular trade on the coast of Africa. In the year 1620 negro slaves began to be imported into Virginia; a Dutch ship bringing twenty of them for sale.”—*Sampson's Historical Dictionary*, p. 348.

It will be seen by these historical reminiscences that the Dutch ship landed her cargo at New Bedford, Massachusetts—the whole coast now comprising the old original States then went by the name of Virginia, being so named by Sir Walter Raleigh in honor of his royal mistress and patron, Elizabeth, the virgin Queen of England, under whom he received the patent of his royal commission to seize all the lands unoccupied by Christians.

Beginning their preparations in the slave trade in 1618, just two years previous—allowing time against the landing of the first emigrants for successfully carrying out the project—the African captives and Puritan emigrants singularly enough landed upon the same section of the continent at the same time, (1620;) the Pilgrims at Plymouth, and the captive slaves at New Bedford, but a few miles, comparatively, south.

“The country at this period was one vast wilderness. The continent of North America was then one continued forest. * * *

“There were no horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, or tame beasts of any kind. * * * There were no domestic poultry. * * * There were no garden, orchards, public roads, meadows, or cultivated fields. * * * They often burned the woods that they could advantageously plant their corn. * * *

“They had neither spice, salt, bread, butter, cheese, nor milk. They had no

set meals, but ate when they were hungry, or could find anything to satisfy the cravings of nature.

“Very little of their food was derived from the earth, except what it spontaneously produced. * * The ground was both their seat and table. * * Their best bed was a skin. * * They had neither iron, steel, nor any metallic instruments.”—*Ramsay's History*, pp. 39, 40.

We adduce not these extracts to disparage or detract from the real worth of our brother Indian—for we are identical as the subjects of American wrongs, outrages, and oppression, and therefore one in interest—far be it from our designs. Whatever opinion he may entertain of our race, in accordance with the impressions made by the contumely heaped upon us by our mutual oppressor, the American nation, we admire his for the many deeds of heroic and noble daring with which the brief history of his liberty-loving people is replete. We sympathize with him, because our brethren are the successors of his in the degradation of American bondage; and we adduce them in evidence against the many aspersions heaped upon the African race, avowing that their inferiority to the other races and unfitness for a high civil and social position caused them to be reduced to servitude.

For the purpose of proving their availability and eminent fitness alone, not to say superiority, and not inferiority, first suggested to Europeans the substitution of African for that of Indian labor in the mines; that their superior adaptation to the difficulties consequent to a new country and different climate made them preferable to Europeans themselves; and their superior skill, industry, and general thriftiness in all that they did, first suggested to the colonists the propriety of turning their attention to agricultural and other industrial pursuits than those of mining operations.

It is evident from what has herein been adduced—the settlement of Captain John Smith being in the course of a few months reduced to thirty-eight, and that of the Pilgrims at Plymouth from one hundred and one to fifty-seven, in six months—that the whites nor aborigines were equal to the hard and to them insurmountable difficulties which then stood wide-spread before them.

An endless forest—the impenetrable earth; the one to be removed and the other to be excavated. Towns and cities to be built, and farms to be cultivated; all presented difficulties too arduous for the European then here, and entirely unknown to the native of the continent.

At a period such as this, when the natives themselves had fallen victims to the tasks imposed upon them by the usurpers, and the Europeans also were fast sinking beneath the influence and weight of climate and hardships; when food could not be obtained, nor the common conveniences of life procured; when arduous duties of life were to be performed, and none capable of doing them, save those who had previously by their labors, not only in their own country but in the new, so proven themselves capable; it is very evident, as the most natural consequence, the Africans were resorted to for the performance of every duty common to domestic life.

There were no laborers known to the colonists, from Cape Cod to Cape Look-out, than those of the African race. They entered at once into the mines, extracting therefrom the rich treasures which for a thousand ages lay hidden in the earth; when plunging into the depths of the rivers, they culled from their sandy bottoms, to the astonishment of the natives and surprise of the Europeans, minerals and precious stones which added to the pride and aggrandizement of every throne in Europe.

And from their knowledge of cultivation—an art acquired in their native Africa—the farming interests in the north and planting in the south were commenced, with a prospect never dreamed of before the introduction on the continent of this most interesting, unexampled, hardy race of men—a race capable

of the endurance of more toil, fatigue, and hunger than any other branch of the human family.

Though pagans, for the most part, in their own country, they required not to be taught to work, and how to do it; but it was only necessary to bid them work, and they at once knew what to do, and how it should be done.

Even up to the present day it is notorious that in the planting States the blacks themselves are the only skilful cultivators of the soil, the proprietors, or planters, as they are termed, knowing little or nothing of the art, save that which they learn from the African husbandman; while the ignorant white overseer, whose duty is to see that the work is attended to, knows still less.

Hemp, cotton, tobacco, corn, rice, sugar, and many other important staple products, are all the result of African skill and labor in the southern States of this country. The greater number of the mechanics of the south are also black men.

Nor was their skill as herdsmen inferior to their other proficiencies, they being among the most accomplished trainers of horses in the world.

Indeed, to this class of men may be indebted the entire country for the improvement south in the breed of horses. And those who have travelled in the southern States could not have failed to observe that the principal trainers, jockies, riders, and judges of horses, were men of African descent.

These facts alone are sufficient to establish our claim to this country as legitimate as that of those who fill the highest stations by the suffrage of the people.

In no period since the existence of the ancient enlightened nations of Africa have the prospects of the black race been brighter than now; and at no time during the Christian era have there been greater advantages presented for the advancement of any people than at present, those which offer to the black race, both in the eastern and western hemispheres, our election being in the western.

Despite the efforts to the contrary, in the strenuous endeavors for a supremacy of race, the sympathies of the world in their upward tendency are in favor of the African and black races of the earth. To be available, *we* must take advantage of these favorable feelings, and strike out for ourselves a bold and manly course of *independent action and position*; otherwise this pure and uncorrupted sympathy will be reduced to pity and contempt.

Of the countries of our choice, we have stated that one province and two islands were slaveholding places. These, as before named, are Brazil, in South America, and Cuba and Porto Rico, in the West Indies. There are a few other little islands of minor consideration—the Danish, three, Swedish, one, and Dutch, four.

But in the eight last referred to slavery is of such a mild type that, however objectionable as such, it is merely nominal.

In South America and the Antilles, in its worst form, slavery is a blessing almost compared with the miserable degradation of the slave under our upstart, assumed superiors, the slaveholders of the United States.

In Brazil, color is no badge of condition, and every freeman, whatever his color, is socially and politically equal, there being black gentlemen of pure African descent filling the highest positions in state, under the Emperor. There is also an established law by the congress of Brazil making the crime punishable with death for the commander of any vessel to bring into the country any human being as a slave.

The following law has passed one branch of the general legislative assembly of Brazil, but little doubt being entertained that it will find a like favor in the other branch of that august general legislative body:

1. All children born after the date of this law shall be free.
2. All those shall be considered free who are born in other countries and come to Brazil after this date.

3. Every one who serves from birth to 7 years of age, any of those included in article 1, or who has to serve so many years, at the end of 14 years shall be emancipated, and live as he chooses.

4. Every slave paying for his liberty a sum equal to what he cost his master, or who shall gain it by honorable gratuitous title, the master shall be obliged to give him a free paper, under the penalty of article 179 of the criminal code.

5. Where there is no stipulated price or fixed value of the slave, it shall be determined by arbitrators, one of which shall be the public *promotor* of the town.

6. The government is authorized to give precise regulations for the execution of this law, and also to form establishments necessary for taking care of those who, born after this date, may be abandoned by the owners of slaves.

7. Opposing laws and regulations are repealed.

Concerning Cuba, there is an old established law giving any slave the right of a certain *legal tender*, which, if refused by the slaveholder, he, by going to the residence of any parish priest and making known the facts, shall immediately be declared a freeman, the priest or bishop of the parish or diocese giving him his "freedom papers." The legal tender, or sum fixed by law, we think does not exceed two hundred and fifty Spanish dollars. It may be more.

Until the Americans intruded themselves into Cuba, contaminating society wherever they located, black and colored gentlemen and ladies of rank mingled indiscriminately in society. But since the advent of these negro-haters, the colored people of Cuba have been reduced nearly, if not quite, to the level of the miserable degraded position of the colored people of the United States, who almost consider it a compliment and favor to receive the notice or smiles of a white.

Can we be satisfied in this enlightened age of the world—amid the advantages which now present themselves to us—with the degradation and servility inherited from our fathers in this country? God forbid. And we think the universal reply will be: We will not.

A half century brings about a mighty change in the reality of existing things and events of the world's history. Fifty years ago our fathers lived; for the most part they were sorely oppressed, debased, ignorant, and incapable of comprehending the political relations of mankind, the great machinery and motive power by which the enlightened nations of the earth were impelled forward. They knew but little, and ventured to do nothing to enhance their own interests beyond that which their oppressors taught them. They lived amidst a continual cloud of moral obscurity, a fog of bewilderment and delusion, by which they were of necessity compelled to confine themselves to a limited space—a *known* locality—lest by one step beyond this they might have stumbled over a precipice, ruining themselves beyond recovery in the fall.

We are their sons, but not the same individuals, neither do we live in the same period with them. That which suited them does not suit us, and that with which they may have been contented will not satisfy us.

Without education, they were ignorant of the world and fearful of adventure. With education, we are conversant with its geography, history, and nations, and delight in its enterprises and responsibilities. They once were held as slaves; to such a condition we never could be reduced. They were content with privileges; we will be satisfied with nothing less than rights. They felt themselves happy to be permitted to beg for rights; we demand them as an innate inheritance. They considered themselves favored to live by sufferance; we reject it as a degradation. A secondary position was all they asked for; we claim entire equality or nothing. The relation of master and slave was innocently acknowledged by them; we deny the right, as such, and pronounce the relation as the basest injustice that ever scourged the earth and cursed the human fam-

ily. They admitted themselves to be inferiors; we barely acknowledge the whites as equals—perhaps not in every particular. They lamented their irrecoverable fate, and incapacity to redeem themselves and their race. We rejoice that, as their sons, it is our happy lot and high mission to accomplish that which they desired and would have done, but failed for want of ability to do.

Let no intelligent man or woman, then, among us be found at the present day exulting in the degradation that our enslaved parents would gladly have rid themselves had they have had the intelligence and qualifications to accomplish their designs. Let none be found to shield themselves behind the plea of our brother bondmen in ignorance; that we know not *what* to do, nor *where* to go. We are no longer slaves, as were our fathers, but freemen, fully qualified to meet our oppressors in every relation which belongs to the elevation of man, the establishment, sustenance, and perpetuity of a nation. And such a position, by the help of God, our common Father, we are determined to take and maintain.

There is but one question presents itself for our serious consideration, upon which we *must* give a decisive reply: Will we transmit, as an inheritance to our children, the blessings of unrestricted civil liberty, or shall we entail upon them, as our only political legacy, the degradation and oppression left us by our fathers?

Shall we be persuaded that we can live and prosper nowhere but under the authority and power of our North American white oppressors; that this (the United States) is the country most, if not the only one, favorable to our improvement and progress? Are we willing to admit that we are incapable of self-government, establishing for ourselves such political privileges, and making such internal improvements as we delight to enjoy after American white men have made them for themselves?

No! Neither is it true that the United States is the country best adapted to our improvement. But that country is the best in which our manhood, morally, mentally, and physically, can be *best developed*; in which we have an untrammelled right to the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty; and the West Indies, Central and South America present now such advantages superiorly preferable to all other countries.

That the continent of America was designed by Providence as a reserved asylum for the various oppressed people of the earth, of all races, to us seems very apparent.

From the earliest period after the discovery various nations sent a representative here, either as adventurers and speculators, or employed laborers, seamen, or soldiers, hired to work for their employers. And among the earliest and most numerous class who found their way to the New World were those of the African race. And it has been ascertained, to our minds beyond a doubt, that when the continent was discovered there were found in the West Indies and Central America tribes of the black race, fine looking people, having the usual characteristics of color and hair, identifying them as being originally of the African race; no doubt being a remnant of the Africans who, with the Carthagenian expedition, were adventitiously cast upon this continent in their memorable adventure to the "Great island," after sailing many miles distant to the west of the "Pillars of Hercules," the present Straits of Gibraltar.

We would not be thought to be superstitious when we say that in all this we can "see the finger of God." Is it not worthy of a notice here, that while the ingress of foreign whites to this continent has been voluntary and constant, and that of the blacks involuntary and but occasional, yet the whites in the southern part have *decreased* in numbers, *degenerated* in character, and become mentally and physically *enervated* and imbecile; while the blacks and colored people have steadily *increased* in numbers, *regenerated* in character, and have grown mentally and physically vigorous and active, developing every function of their manhood, and are now, in their elementary character, decidedly superior to the white race? So, then, the white race could never successfully occupy

the southern portion of the continent; they must, of necessity, every generation, be re-peopled from another quarter of the globe. The fatal error committed by the Spaniards, under Pizarro, was the attempt to exterminate the Incas and Peruvians, and fill their places by European whites. The Peruvian Indians, a hale, hardy, vigorous, intellectual race of people, were succeeded by those who soon became idle, vicious, degenerated and imbecile. But Peru, like all the other South American States, is regaining her former potency, just in proportion as the European race decreases among them. All the labor of the country is performed by the aboriginal natives and the blacks; the few Europeans there, being the merest excrescences on the body politic, consuming drones in the social hive.

Had we no other claims than those set forth in a foregoing part of this address, they are sufficient to induce every black and colored person to remain on this continent unshaken and unmoved.

But the West Indians, Central and South Americans, are a noble race of people; generous, sociable and tractable, just the people with whom we desire to unite, who are susceptible of progress, improvement, and reform of every kind. They now desire all the improvements of North America, but being justly jealous of their rights, they have no confidence in the whites of the United States, and consequently peremptorily refuse to permit an indiscriminate settlement among them of this class of people, but placing every confidence in the black and colored people of North America.

The example of the unjust invasion and forcible seizure of a large portion of the territory of Mexico is still fresh in their memory; and the oppressive disfranchisement of a large number of native Mexicans, by the Americans, because of the color and race of the natives, will continue to rankle in the bosom of the people of those countries, and prove a sufficient barrier henceforth against the inroads of North American whites among them.

Upon the American continent, then, we are determined to remain, despite every opposition that may be urged against us.

You will doubtless be asked, and that, too, with an air of seriousness, why, if desirable to remain on this continent, not be content to remain *in* the United States? The objections to this, and potent reason, too, in our estimation, have already been clearly shown.

But notwithstanding all this, were there still any rational, nay, even the most futile grounds for hope, we still might be stupid enough to be content to remain, and yet, through another period of unexampled patience and suffering, continue meekly to drag the galling yoke and clank the chain of servility and degradation. But whether or not in this, God is to be thanked and Heaven blessed we are not permitted, despite our willingness and stupidity, to indulge even the most distant glimmer of a hope of attaining to the level of a well-protected slave.

For years we have been studiously and jealously observing the course of political events and policy, on the part of this country, both in a national and individual State capacity, as pursued toward the colored people. And he who, in the midst of them, can live without observation, is either inexcusably ignorant or reprehensibly deceptive and untrustworthy.

We deem it entirely unnecessary to tax you with anything like the history of even one chapter of the unequalled infamies perpetrated on the part of the various State and national governments, by legislation, against us. But we shall call your particular attention to the more recent acts of the United States; because whatever privileges we may enjoy in any individual State will avail nothing, when not recognized as such by the United States.

When the condition of the inhabitants of any country is fixed by legal grades of distinction, this condition can never be changed except by express legislation. And it is the height of folly to expect such express legislation, except by the inevitable force of some irresistible internal political pressure. The force neces-

sary to this imperative demand on our part we never can obtain, because of our numerical feebleness.

Were the interests of the common people identical with ours, we, in this, might succeed, because we, as a class, would then be numerically the superior. But this is not a question of the rich against the poor, nor the common people against the higher classes; but a question of white against black—every white person, by legal right, being held superior to a black or colored person.

In Russia the common people might obtain an equality with the aristocracy; because, of the sixty-five millions of her population, forty-five millions are serfs or peasants—leaving but twenty millions of the higher classes, royalty, nobility, and all included.

The rights of no oppressed people have ever yet been obtained by a voluntary act of justice on the part of the oppressors. Christians, philanthropists, and moralists may preach, argue, and philosophize as they may to the contrary; facts are against them. Voluntary acts, it is true, which are in themselves just, may sometimes take place on the part of the oppressor; but these are always actuated by the force of some outward circumstances of self-interest equal to a compulsion.

The boasted liberties of the American people were established by a constitution borrowed from and modelled after the British *magna charta*. And this great charter of British liberty, so much boasted of and vaunted as a model bill of rights, was obtained only by force and extortion.

The Barons, an order of noblemen under the reign of King John, becoming dissatisfied at the terms submitted to by their sovereign, which necessarily brought degradation upon themselves—terms prescribed by the insolent Pope Innocent III, the haughty sovereign Pontiff of Rome—summoned his Majesty to meet them on the plains of the memorable meadow of Runnymede, where, presenting to him their own bill of rights—a bill dictated by themselves, and drawn up by their own hands—at the unsheathed points of a thousand glittering swords, they commanded him, against his will, to sign the extraordinary document. There was no alternative; he must either do or die. With a puerile timidity he leaned forward his rather commanding but imbecile person, and, with a trembling hand and single dash of the pen, the name KING JOHN stood forth in bold relief, sending more terror throughout the world than the mystic handwriting of Heaven throughout the dominions of Nebuchadnezzar, blazing on the walls of Babylon—a consternation, not because of the *name* of the King, but because of the rights of *others*, which that name acknowledged.

The King, however, soon became dissatisfied, and, determining on a revocation of the act—an act done entirely contrary to his will—at the head of a formidable army, spread fire and sword throughout the kingdom.

But the Barons, though compelled to leave their castles, their houses and homes, and fly for their lives, could not be induced to undo that which they had so nobly done—the achievement of their rights and privileges. Hence the act has stood throughout all succeeding time, because never annulled by those who *willed* it.

It will be seen that the first great modern bill of rights was obtained only by a force of arms—a resistance of the people against the injustice and intolerance of their rulers. We say the people, because that which the Barons demanded for themselves was afterwards extended to the common people. Their only hope was based on their *superiority of numbers*.

But can we in this country hope for as much? Certainly not. Our case is a hopeless one. There was but *one* John, with his few sprigs of adhering royalty, and but *one* heart at which the threatening points of their swords were directed by a thousand Barons; while in our case there is but a handful of the oppressed, without a sword to point, and *twenty millions* of Johns or Jonathans, as you please, with as many hearts, tenfold more relentless than that of Prince

John Lackland, and as deceptive and hypocritical as the Italian heart of Innocent III.

Where, then, is our hope of success in this country? Upon what is it based? Upon what principle of political policy and sagacious discernment do our political leaders and acknowledged great men—colored men, we mean—justify themselves by telling us, and insisting that we shall believe them, and submit to what they say; to be patient, remain where we are; that there is a “bright prospect and glorious future” before us in this country? May Heaven open our eyes from their Bartemian obscurity.

But we call your attention to another point of our political degradation—the acts of State and general governments.

In a few of the States, as in New York, the colored inhabitants have a partial privilege of voting a white man into office. This privilege is based on a property qualification of two hundred and fifty dollars' worth of real estate. In others, as in Ohio, in the absence of organic provision, the privilege is granted by judicial decision, based on a ratio of blood of an admixture of more than one-half white; while in many of the States there is no privilege allowed, either partial or unrestricted.

The policy of the above-named States will be seen and detected at a glance, which, while seeming to extend immunities, is intended especially for the object of degradation.

In the State of New York, for instance, there is a constitutional distinction created among colored men, almost necessarily compelling one part to feel superior to the other, while among the whites no such distinctions dare be known. Also in Ohio there is a legal distinction set up by an upstart judiciary, creating among the colored people a privileged class by birth! All this must necessarily sever the cords of union among us, creating almost insurmountable prejudices of the most stupid and fatal kind, paralyzing the last bracing nerve which promised to give us strength.

It is upon this same principle, and for the self same object, that the general government has long been endeavoring and is at present knowingly designing to effect a recognition of the independence of the Dominican republic, while disparagingly refusing to recognize the independence of the Haytien nation—a people four-fold greater in numbers, wealth, and power. The Haytiens, it is pretended, are refused because they are *negroes*; while the Dominicans, as is well known to all who are familiar with the geography, history, and political relations of that people, are identical, except in language, they speaking the Spanish tongue, with those of the Haytiens, being composed of negroes and a mixed race. The government may shield itself by the plea that it is not familiar with the origin of those people. To this we have but to reply, that if the government is thus ignorant of the relations of its near neighbors, it is the height of presumption, and no small degree of assurance, for it to set up itself as capable of prescribing terms to the one, or conditions to the other.

Should they accomplish their object, they then will have succeeded in forever establishing a barrier of impassable separation, by the creation of a political distinction between those people, of superiority and inferiority of origin or national existence. Here, then, is another stratagem of this most determined and untiring enemy of our race—the government of the United States.

We come now to the crowning act of infamy on the part of the general government towards the colored inhabitants of the United States; an act so vile in its nature that rebellion against its demands should be promptly made in every attempt to enforce its infernal provisions.

In the history of national existence there is not to be found a parallel to the tantalizing insult and aggravating despotism of the provisions of Millard Fillmore's fugitive slave bill, passed by the thirty-third Congress of the United

States, with the approbation of a majority of the American people, in the year of the Gospel of Jesus Christ eighteen hundred and fifty.

This bill had but one object in its provisions, which was fully accomplished in its passage; that is, the reduction of every colored person in the United States, save those who carry free papers of emancipation, or bills of sale from former claimants or owners, to a state of relative *slavery*; placing each and every one of us at the *disposal of any and every white* who might choose to *claim* us, and the caprice of any and every upstart knave bearing the title of "commissioner."

Did any of you, fellow-countrymen, reside in a country the provisions of whose laws were such that any person of a certain class, who whenever he, she, or they pleased, might come forward, lay a claim to, make oath before (it might be) some stupid and heartless person authorized to decide in such cases, and take, at their option, your horse, cow, sheep, house and lot, or any other property bought and paid for by your own earnings, the result of your personal toil and labor, would you be willing, or could you be induced by any reasoning, however great the source from which it came, to remain in that country? We pause, fellow-countrymen, for a reply.

If there be not one yea, of how much more importance, then, is your *own personal safety* than that of property? Of how much more concern is the safety of a wife or husband than that of a cow or horse, a child than a sheep, the destiny of your family to that of a house and lot?

And yet this is precisely our condition. Any one of us, at any moment, is liable to be *claimed, seized, and taken* into custody by any white, as his or her property, to be *enslaved for life*, and there is no remedy because it is the *law of the land!* And we dare predict, and take this favorable opportunity to forewarn you, fellow-countrymen, that the time is not far distant when there will be carried on by the white men of this nation an extensive commerce in the persons of what now compose the free colored people of the north. We forewarn you that the general enslavement of the whole of this class of people is now being contemplated by the whites.

At present we are liable to enslavement at any moment, provided we are taken *away* from our homes. But we dare venture further to forewarn you that the scheme is in mature contemplation, and has even been mooted in high places, of harmonizing the two discordant political divisions in the country by again reducing the free to slave States.

The completion of this atrocious scheme only becomes necessary for each and every one of us to find an owner and master at our own doors. Let the general government but pass such a law, and the States will comply as an act of harmony. Let the south but *demand* it, and the north will comply as a *duty* of compromise.

If Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts can be found arming their sons as watch-dogs for southern slave-hunters; if the United States may with impunity garrison with troops the court-house of the freest city in America; blockade the street; station armed ruffians of dragoons and artillery in hostile array against the people; if free, white, high born and bred gentlemen of Boston and New York are smitten down to the earth,* refused an entrance on

* John Jay, esq., of New York, son of the late distinguished jurist, Hon. William Jay, was, in 1852, as the counsel of a fugitive slave, brutally assaulted and struck in the face by the slave-catching agent and counsel, Busteded.

Also, Mr. Dana, an honorable gentleman, counsel for the fugitive Burns, one of the first literary men of Boston, was arrested on his entrance into the court-house, and not permitted to pass the guard of slave-catchers till the slave agent and counsel, Loring, together with the overseer, Suttle, *inspected* him, and ordered that he might be *allowed* to pass in! After which, in passing along the street, Mr. Dana was ruffianly assaulted and murderously felled to the earth by the minions of the dastardly southern overseer.

professional business into the court-houses until inspected by a slave-hunter and his counsel—all to put down the liberty of the black man—then, indeed, is there no hope for us in this country!

It is, fellow-countrymen, a fixed fact, as indelible as the covenant of God in the heavens, that the colored people of these United States are the slaves of any white person who may choose to claim them!

What safety or guarantee have we for ourselves or families? Let us for a moment examine this point.

Supposing some hired spy of the slave power residing in Illinois, whom, for illustration, we shall call Stephen A., Counsel B., a mercenary hireling of New York, and commissioner C., a slave-catcher of Pennsylvania, should take umbrage at the acts or doings of any colored person or persons in a free State, they may with impunity send or go on their knight errands to the south, (as did a hireling of the slave power in New York, a lawyer by profession,) give a description of such person or persons, and an agent with warrants may be immediately despatched to swear them into slavery forever.

We tell you, fellow-countrymen, any one of you here assembled (your humble committee who report to you this address) may, by the laws of this land, be seized, whatever the circumstances of his birth, whether he descends from free or slave parents, whether born north or south of Mason and Dixon's line, and, ere the setting of another sun, be speeding his way to that living sepulchre and death chamber of our race—the curse and scourge of this country—the southern part of the United States. This is not idle speculation, but living, naked, undisguised truth.

A member of your committee has received a letter from a gentleman of respectability and standing in the south, who writes to the following effect. We copy his own words:

“There are at this moment, as I was to-day informed by Colonel W., one of our first magistrates in this city, a gang of from twenty-five to thirty vagabonds of poor white men, who, for twenty-five dollars a head, clear of all expenses, are ready and willing to go to the north, make acquaintance with the blacks in various places, send their descriptions to unprincipled slaveholders here, (for there are many of this kind to be found among the poorer class of masters,) and swear them into bondage. So the free blacks, as well as fugitive slaves, will have to keep a sharp watch over themselves to get clear of this scheme to enslave them.”

Here, then, you have but a paragraph in the great volume of this political crusade and legislative pirating by the American people over the rights and privileges of the colored inhabitants of the country. If this be but a paragraph, (for such it is, in truth,) what must be the contents when the whole history is divulged! Never will the contents of this dreadful record of crime, corruption, and oppression be fully revealed until the trump of God shall proclaim the universal summons to judgment. Then, and then alone, shall the whole truth be acknowledged, when the doom of the criminal shall be forever sealed.

We desire not to be sentimental, but rather would be political; and therefore call your attention to another point—a point already referred to.

In giving the statistics of various countries, and preferences to many places herein mentioned, as points of destination in emigration, we have said little or nothing concerning the present governments, the various State departments, nor the condition of society among the people.

This is not the province of your committee, but the legitimate office of a board of foreign commissioners, whom there is no doubt will be created by the convention, with provisions and instructions to report thereon, in due season, of their mission.

With a few additional remarks on the subject of the British provinces of

North America, we shall have done our duty, and completed, for the time being, the arduous, important, and momentous duty assigned to us.

The British provinces of North America, especially Canada West—formerly called Upper Canada—in climate, soil, productions, and the usual prospects for internal improvements, are equal, if not superior, to any northern part of the continent. And for these very reasons, aside from their contiguity to the northern part of the United States—and consequent facility for the escape of the slaves from the south—we certainly should prefer them as a place of destination. We love the Canadas, and admire their laws, because, as British provinces, there is no difference known among the people—no distinction of race. And we deem it a duty to recommend, that for the present, as a temporary asylum, it is certainly advisable for every colored person, who desiring to emigrate, and is not prepared for any other destination, to locate in Canada West.

Every advantage on our part should be now taken of the opportunity of *obtaining lands* while they are to be had cheap, and on the most easy conditions, from the government.

Even those who never contemplate a removal from this country of chains, it will be their best interest and greatest advantage to procure lands in the Canadian provinces. It will be an easy, profitable, and safe investment, even should they never occupy nor yet see them. We shall then be but doing what the whites in the United States have for years been engaged in—securing unsettled lands in the territories, previous to their enhancement in value, by the force of settlement and progressive neighboring improvements. There are also at present great openings for colored people to enter into the various industrial departments of business operations; laborers, mechanics, teachers, merchants, and shopkeepers, and professional men of every kind. These places are now open as much to the colored as the white man in Canada, with little or no opposition to his progress; at least in the character of prejudicial preferences on account of race. And all of these, without any hesitancy, do we most cheerfully recommend to the colored inhabitants of the United States.

But our preference to other places over the Canadas has been cursorily stated in the foregoing part of this paper; and since the writing of that part it would seem that the predictions or apprehensions concerning the provinces are about to be verified by the British Parliament and home government themselves. They have virtually conceded, and openly expressed it—Lord Brougham in the lead—that the British provinces of North America must, ere long, cease to be a part of the English domain and become annexed to the United States.

It is needless, however much we may regret the necessity of its acknowledgment, for us to stop our ears, shut our eyes, and stultify our senses against the truth in this matter, since, by so doing, it does not alter the case. Every political movement, both in England and the United States, favors such an issue, and the sooner we acknowledge it the better it will be for our cause, ourselves individually, and the destiny of our people in this country.

These provinces have long been burdensome to the British nation, and her statesmen have long since discovered, and decided as an indisputable predicate in political economy, that any province as an independent state is more profitable in a commercial consideration to a country than when depending as one of its colonies. As a child to the parent, or an apprentice to his master, so is a colony to a state. And as the man who enters into business is to the manufacturer and importer, so is the colony which becomes an independent state to the country from which it recedes.

Great Britain is decidedly a commercial and money-making nation, and counts closely on her commercial relations with any country. That nation or people which puts the largest amount of money into her coffers are the people who may expect to obtain her greatest favors. This the Americans do; consequently, and we candidly ask you to mark the prediction, the British will in-

terpose little or no obstructions to the Canadas, Cuba, or any other province or colony contiguous to this country falling into the American Union, except only in such cases where there would be a compromise of her honor. And in the event of a seizure of any of these, there would be no necessity for such a sacrifice; it could readily be avoided by diplomacy.

Then, there is little hope for us on this continent short of those places where, by reason of their numbers, there is the greatest combination of strength and interests on the part of the colored race.

We have ventured to predict a reduction of the now nominally free into slave States. Already has this "reign of terror" and dreadful work of destruction commenced. We give you the quotation from a Mississippi paper, which will readily be admitted as authority in this case:

"Two years ago a law was passed by the California legislature granting *one year* to the owners of slaves carried into the territory previous to the adoption of the constitution to remove them beyond the limits of the State. Last year the provision of this law *was extended twelve months longer*. We learn by the late California papers that a bill has just passed the assembly, by a vote of 33 to 21, *continuing the same law in force until 1855*. The provisions of this bill embraces *slaves who have been carried to California since the adoption of her Constitution*, as well as those who were there previously. The large majority by which it passed, and the opinions advanced during the discussion, *indicates a more favorable state of sentiment in regard to the rights of slaveholders in California than we supposed existed.*"—(*Mississippian*.)

No one who is a general and intelligent observer of the politics of this country will, after reading this, doubt for a moment the final result.

At present there is a proposition under consideration in California to authorize the holding of a convention to amend the constitution of that State, which doubtless will be carried into effect; when there is no doubt that a clause will be inserted granting the right to *hold slaves at discretion* in the State. This being done, it will meet with general favor throughout the country by the American people, and the *policy be adopted on the State's right principle*. This alone is necessary, in addition to the insufferable fugitive slave law, and the recent nefarious Nebraska bill, which is based upon this very boasted American policy of the State's right principle, to reduce the free to slave States without a murmur from the people. And did not the Nebraska bill disrespect the feelings and infringe upon the political rights of northern *white* people, its adoption would be hailed with loud shouts of approbation from Portland to San Francisco.

That, then, which is left for us to do is to *secure* our liberty; a position which shall fully *warrant us against the liability* of such monstrous political crusades and riotous invasions of our rights. Nothing less than a national indemnity, indelibly fixed by virtue of our own sovereign potency, will satisfy us as a redress of grievances for the unparalleled wrongs, undisguised impositions, and unmitigated oppression which we have suffered at the hands of this American people.

And what wise politician would otherwise conclude and determine? None, we dare say. And a people who are incapable of this discernment and precaution are incapable of self-government, and incompetent to direct their own political destiny. For our own part, we spurn to treat for liberty on any other terms or conditions.

It may not be inapplicable, in this particular place, to quote from high authority language which has fallen under our notice since this report has been under consideration. The quotation is worth nothing, except to show that the position assumed by us is a natural one, which constitutes the essential basis of self-protection.

Said Earl Aberdeen recently in the British house of lords, when referring to the great question which is now agitating Europe: "One thing alone is certain,

that the only way to obtain a sure and honorable peace is to *acquire a position* which may *command* it, and to gain such a position *every nerve and sinew* of the empire should be strained. The pickpocket who robs us is not to be let off because he offers to restore our purse;” and his grace might have justly added, “should never thereafter be intrusted or confided in.”

The plea doubtless will be, as it already frequently has been raised, that to remove from the United States, our slave brethren would be left without a hope. They already find their way in large companies to the Canadas, and they have only to be made sensible that there is as much freedom for them south as there is north; as much protection in Mexico as in Canada; and the fugitive slave will find it a much pleasanter journey and more easy of access to wend his way from Louisiana and Arkansas to Mexico, than thousands of miles through the slaveholders of the south and slave-catchers of the north to Canada. Once into Mexico, and his further exit to Central and South America and the West Indies would be certain. There would be no obstructions whatever. No miserable, half-starved, servile northern slave-catchers by the way, waiting, cap in hand, ready and willing to do the bidding of their contemptible southern masters.

No prisons nor court-houses as slave-pens and garrisons to secure the fugitive and rendezvous the mercenary gangs who are bought as military on such occasions. No perjured marshals, bribed commissioners, nor hireling counsel, who, spaniel-like, crouch at the feet of southern slaveholders, and cringingly tremble at the crack of their whip. No—not as may be encountered throughout his northern flight—there are none of these to be found or met with in his travels from the Bravo del Norte to the dashing Oronoco—from the borders of Texas to the boundaries of Peru.

Should anything occur to prevent a successful emigration to the south—Central, South America, and the West Indies—we have no hesitancy, rather than remain in the United States, the merest subordinates and serviles of the whites, should the Canadas still continue separate, in their political relations from this country, to recommend to the great body of our people to remove to Canada West, where, being politically equal to the whites, physically united with each other by a concentration of strength, when worse comes to worse, we may be found, not as a scattered, weak, and impotent people, as we now are, separated from each other throughout the Union, but a united and powerful body of freemen, mighty in politics, and terrible in any conflict which might ensue in the event of an attempt at the disturbance of our political relations, domestic repose, and peaceful firesides.

Now, fellow-countrymen, we have done. Into your ears have we recounted your own sorrows; before your own eyes have we exhibited your wrongs; into your own hands have we committed your own cause. If there should prove a failure to remedy this dreadful evil, to assuage this terrible curse which has come upon us, the fault will be yours and not ours, since we have offered you a healing balm for every sorely aggravated wound.

MARTIN R. DELANY, *Pennsylvania.*

WILLIAM WEBB, *Pennsylvania.*

AUGUSTUS R. GREEN, *Ohio.*

EDWARD BUTLER, *Missouri.*

H. S. DOUGLASS, *Louisiana.*

A. DUDLEY, *Wisconsin.*

CONAWAY BARBOUR, *Kentucky.*

WM. J. FULLER, *Rhode Island.*

WM. LAMBERT, *Michigan.*

J. THEODORE HOLLY, *New York.*

T. A. WHITE, *Indiana.*

JOHN A. WARREN, *Canada.*

No. 4.

The following memoirs of Yucatan, Venezuela, and the islands of Cozumel and Barbuda are from reliable sources.

STATE OF YUCATAN.

The State of Yucatan comprehends the peninsula between the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean sea. It is at Cape Catoche, the extreme northeast point of Yucatan, that Mexico appears, before the irruption of the ocean, to have been joined to the island of Cuba, Cape San Antonio, the western end of the island, being 150 miles distant.

The following historical sketch of Yucatan is what I compiled for Butterfield two years ago, when he was endeavoring to start the New Orleans and Gulf line of steamers. It contains much of the information you need.

YUCATAN.

Columbus, in his first three voyages, did not reach the continent of America, but on his fourth ill-fated and final expedition, after sixty days' tempestuous weather, he discovered a small island, supposed to be that now called in the charts Bonaca. While on shore in this island he saw coming from the west a canoe of large size filled with Indians, who appeared to be a more civilized people than any he had yet encountered. In return to the inquiries of the Spaniards for gold, they pointed toward the west, and endeavored to persuade them to steer in that direction. "Well would it have been for Columbus," says Mr. Irving, "had he followed their advice. Within a day or two he would have arrived at Yucatan, the discovery of Mexico and the other opulent countries of New Spain would have followed, the Southern ocean would have been disclosed to him, and a succession of splendid discoveries would have shed fresh glories on his declining age, instead of sinking it amidst gloom, neglect, and disappointment."

Four years afterward Juan Diaz de Solis held the same course to the island of Bonaca, and then steering to the west discovered the east coast of Yucatan.

From the time of the conquest Yucatan existed as a distinct captain generalcy, not connected with Guatemala nor subject to the viceroy of Mexico. So it continued down to the Mexican revolution.

The independence of Yucatan followed that of Mexico without any struggle, and actually by default of the mother country in not attempting to keep it in subjection.

Before the conquest one language, called the Maya, extended throughout the whole peninsula, and the whole land of Maya was united under one head or supreme lord.

This great chief had, for the seat of his monarchy, a very populous city, called Mayapan, and had under him a great many other lords, or caciques, who were bound to pay him tribute and serve him in war.

These lords, too, had under them cities and many vassals. Becoming proud and ambitious, they rebelled against the power of the supreme lord, and besieged and destroyed the city of Mayapan.

This took place about one hundred years before the arrival of the Spaniards, and may perhaps account, more or less, for the origin of the mysterious palaces buried deep in the solitudes of Yucatan.

To quote the eloquent words of Stephens: "The existence of most of these

ruins was entirely unknown to the residents of the capital, but few had ever been visited by white inhabitants; they were desolate and overgrown with trees. For a brief space the stillness that reigned around them was broken, and then they were again left to solitude and silence. Time and the elements are hastening them to utter destruction. In a few generations their façades, covered with sculptured ornaments, already cracked and yawning, must fall, and become mere shapeless mounds. It has been the fortune of the author to step between them and the entire destruction to which they are destined; and it is his hope to snatch from oblivion these perishing but still gigantic memorials of a mysterious people."

The State of Yucatan is situated between latitude $17^{\circ} 49'$ north, and $21^{\circ} 37'$ north, and longitude $6^{\circ} 33'$ and $12^{\circ} 28'$ east of the city of Mexico. Its shores are washed on the west and north by the Gulf of Mexico, and on the east by the sea of the Antilles; on the south it is bordered by Central America, and by the English territory of the Belize, of which the boundary is the Rio Hondo, or Deep river. On the southwest is the former territory of Cármen, which has been divided between Yucatan and Tabasco.

Two depressed chains of mountains traverse the State, but in the main it is a level country, and generally covered with rank vegetation, either wild or cultivated. Yucatan offers a peculiarly fine field to the explorer, and here are found some of the most curious and stupendous relics of the ancient inhabitants. Stephens and Catherwood obtained the interesting material for their publications in this State. There are extensive regions yet unexplored by white men.

The character and variety of the productions of the State of Yucatan may be learned from the following account of the several districts:

DISTRICT OF MERIDA; CAPITAL, MERIDA.

Horned cattle, horses, mules, tallow, jerked beef, leather, salt, gypsum, hemp, raw and manufactured, straw hats, guitars, cigars, logwood, and corn.

DISTRICT OF CAMPECHE; CAPITAL, CAMPECHE.

Salt, logwood, rice, sugar, marble of good quality, and corn.

DISTRICT OF LERMA; CAPITAL, LERMA.

Logwood, timber, rice, and fish-oil.

DISTRICT OF VALLADOLID; CAPITAL, CITY OF VALLADOLID.

Cotton, sugar, gum-copal, tobacco, cochineal, saffron, vanilla, cotton fabrics, yarns, &c., wax, honey, castor oil, horned cattle, hogs, skins, and corn.

COAST DISTRICT; CAPITAL, CITY OF IZAMAL.

Horned cattle, horses, mules, tallow, jerked beef, castor oil, hides, wax, honey, timber, indigo, hemp, raw and manufactured, straw, cigars, barilla, salt, and corn.

UPPER HIGHLAND DISTRICT; CAPITAL, CITY OF TEKAX.

Horned cattle, horses, mules, hogs, sheep, skins, sugar, molasses, timber, rice, tobacco in leaf and manufactured, spirits, arrow-root, straw hats, cotton lace, ochre, flints, grindstones, and corn.

LOWER HIGHLAND DISTRICT; CAPITAL, TEABO.

Horned cattle, horses, mules, hogs, sheep, skins, tallow, dried beef, hemp, raw and manufactured, cotton lace, and corn.

UPPER ROYAL ROAD DISTRICT; CAPITAL, JEQUELCHAKAN.

Cattle, horses, mules, skins, tallow, dried beef, logwood, tobacco, sugar, rum, and corn.

LOWER ROYAL ROAD DISTRICT; CAPITAL, MAXCANU.

Horned cattle, horses, oil of palma christi, tobacco, hemp, fine straw hats, and corn.

UPPER BENEFICIOS DISTRICT; CAPITAL, ICHENUL.

Sugar, molasses, rum, tobacco, rice, pepper, gum, sarsaparilla, hats, hammocks, ebony, barilla, gypsum, skins, and corn.

LOWER BENEFICIOS DISTRICT; CAPITAL, SOTULA.

Horned cattle, horses, mules, hogs, skins, tallow, dried beef, and corn.

DISTRICT OF TIZIMIN; CAPITAL, TIZIMIN.

Tortoise shell, skins, timber, logwood, India-rubber, incense, tobacco, achiote, (a rich yellow dye,) starch from the yucca, cotton, wax, honey, molasses, sugar, rum, castor oil, salt, amber, vanilla, hogs, cochineal, and corn.

DISTRICT OF SEIBA-PLAYA; CAPITAL, SEIBA-PLAYA.

Timber, rice, logwood, and salt.

BACALAR DISTRICT; CAPITAL, BACALAR.

Logwood, valuable timber, inferior sugar, tobacco, rum, fine hemp known under the name of *pita*, resin, India-rubber, gum-copal, pimento, sarsaparilla, vanilla, gypsum, and corn.

These, with all the tropical fruits, afford an astonishing variety of natural productions.

Mining has never formed a branch of industry among the present race of inhabitants. There are traditions pointing to the existence of gold and silver mines in the State, but there is no disposition evinced to discover and work them.

Salt is obtained on the island of the Mujeres. The island of Cozumel, on the east coast—which was the first land discovered by the Spaniards on their voyage to Mexico—is now almost uninhabited.

The extension of its coast is as follows:

From Point Bacalar to Cape Catoche.....	276 miles.
From Cape Catoche to Punta Desconocida, in Campeche sound....	250 "
And from thence to the Bar of San Pedro.....	281 "
In all.....	807 miles

CITIES, POPULATION, ETC.

Yucatan has four large cities in the interior, viz :

1. Merida, capital of the State, is situated on the centre of a spacious plain at an elevation of twenty-four feet above the level of the sea, the breezes of which maintain a cool and pleasant temperature.

Its population is 23,575, and its distance from Mexico 1,005 miles, and from Sisal twenty eight miles.

2. Valladolid, at a distance of ninety-four miles from Merida, and 135 from Campeche, with a population of 2,389 inhabitants.

3. Izamal, thirty-nine miles from Merida, has a population of 4,797 inhabitants.

4. Tekax, fifty-seven miles from Merida, with a population of 4,348 inhabitants.

PORTS.

The most important ports are Sisal and Campeche. Sisal is in 21° 10' N. latitude, and 9° 06' longitude E. of Mexico; population, 942.

Campeche, the most important of the two, is situated on the west coast of Yucatan, and contains a population of 15,000 inhabitants, the greater part of whom are connected with the logwood trade, of which it is estimated that 650,000 quintals are exported annually, whilst the value of other articles of merchandise by the way of the English territory of Belize amounts annually to \$2,110,000, all of which ought to be diverted into American channels.

Ascension, on the east coast, opposite the island of Cozumel, is said to be a pretty good harbor.

According to the calculation of Mr. D. G. Rigil, which appears the most free from exaggeration, there were produced in 1853 20,416,200 pounds of sugar and 306,243 barrels of aguadiente.

With respect to the genequen, which may be called an industry peculiar to Yucatan, and of which are made sacks, hammocks, curtains, cables, &c., there are exported of it annually in its manufactured state 560,500 pounds.

Other products are as follows :

	<i>Consumption.</i>	<i>Exportation.</i>
Maize.....	20,000,530 bushels.	16,350 bushels.
Rice.....	1,750,000 pounds.	93,700 pounds.
Frijoles.....	24,000,000 “	144,550 “

Besides the articles above mentioned, there is an extensive production of cotton, tobacco, gum-copal, indigo, &c., &c., of which large amounts are exported. Of course, these products might be doubled or trebled if the inhabitants would be at the pains of making good roads, which might be formed at small expense, from the level nature of the country, which in many places only requires the undergrowth to be cut down to admit the passage of mule trains.

From the fact of there being no swamps, the climate, although hot, is uniformly healthy.

LAGUNA.

The port of Cármen (Laguna de Términos) may be considered as the best port in the Mexican part of the Gulf. Its entrance is by a wide-spread bar of soft mud; the depth of water at low tide is thirteen feet, and fifteen at high tide. After passing the bar, vessels go to anchor near the island where the city of Cármen stands, and there the depth of water is from four to six fathoms. Vessels are sheltered in this port from all winds, and only a westerly hurricane can endanger the security of their anchorage.

The city of Cármen has about 5,000 inhabitants; its aspect from the port is very picturesque and beautiful. Mariners, on their entering, may be guided by a fine fixed light in the Indian village opposite the place, which light can be seen fourteen miles at sea. The principal commerce of this town consists in the extraction of logwood, the annual exportation of which is from four to six hundred thousand quintals. The price generally ranges from 75 cents to \$1 25, according to the demand, or the great or small supply in the market.

The logwood is carried to Cármen in canoes of from four hundred to a thousand quintals burden, from Tabancuy, Chiboja, Candelaria, Chumpan, the Ranchos of the East, Palisada, and principally from all the ranchos on the river Usumacinta, passing through Palisada. The interior of the country is generally swampy, and its greatest production to this day is logwood. There is also in the interior of the country a large quantity of cedar, mahogany, and divers other kinds of fine and valuable timber, especially for ship-building; but, until now, they have not been an object of great extraction or exportation.

There are at present ten or twelve establishments for the elaboration of sugar and *aguadiente* (sugar-cane rum,) and with time these articles may be produced in abundance for exportation.

What is now considered as the territory of Cármen has about 20,000 inhabitants.

If the country was more thickly peopled, so as to facilitate labor for agricultural pursuits, it would probably be one of the richest tracts of country in the world.

Steam communications could be established from Cármen to the rivers of Palisada, Chumpan, Candelaria, Mamantel, and Caño de Tabancuy, by deepening a little the bars of these rivers, which could be done without any great outlay, and with lucrative results to any one who would undertake the enterprise.

The distance by sea from Vera Cruz to Laguna is two hundred and seventy miles; from Laguna to Frontera de Tabasco, by sea, forty-eight miles; or to San Juan Bautista one hundred and fourteen miles by sea and river.

Statement of logwood exported from the port of Laguna.

	Quintals.
1849.....	598,832
1850.....	442,949
1851.....	384,251
1852.....	472,636
1853.....	455,920
1854.....	466,561
1855.....	678,988
1856.....	584,810

Of the 584,810 quintals of logwood exported from Laguna in 1856, but 36,859 quintals went to the United States.

The state of Yucatan contains 47,253 square miles, just the area of Pennsylvania. *Siliceo*, in his *Memoria*, published in 1857, gives Rigil's computation of the inhabitants in 1853 as 668,623: cities, 5; incorporated towns, 7; haciendas 1,388; raucherias, 2,040.

M. Gilbert, an intelligent traveller who visited Yucatan in 1801, estimated the population at 500,000.

Yucatan was, under Spain, a captain generalcy, distinct from the vice-royalty of Mexico; it was called the *Intendancy of Merida*.

Humboldt, in his *New Spain*, vol. 2, p. 244, writes of the intendancy of Merida, in 1808, as follows:

"The peninsula of Yucatan, following exactly the direction of the current of rotation, is a vast plain intersected in its interior from northwest to southwest by a chain of hills of small elevation. The country which extends east from these hills towards the bays of the Ascension and Santo Spirito appears to be the most fertile, and was earliest inhabited. Since the settlement of the English between Oneo and Rio Hondo, the government, to diminish the contraband trade, concentrated the Spanish and Indian population in the part of the peninsula west from the mountains of Yucatan. Colonists are not permitted to settle on the eastern coast, on the banks of the Rio Bacalar and Rio Hondo; all this vast country remains uninhabited, with the exception of the military post of Salamanca."

"The intendancy of Merida (Yucatan) is one of the warmest and yet one of the healthiest of equinoctial America. This salubrity ought undoubtedly to be attributed in Yucatan, as well as at Coro, Cumana, and the island of Manguerita, to the extreme dryness of the atmosphere. On the whole coast, from Compula, or from the mouth of the Rio de San Francisco to Cape Catoche, the navigator does not find a single spring of fresh water. On the northern coast of Yucatan, at the mouth of the Rio Sargortas, 400 yards from the shore, springs of fresh water spout up from amidst the salt water."

The following table of the temperature of Merida, the capital, situated about 30 miles from the coast, I made up from a table to be found in the appendix to *Stephens's Yucatan*, vol. 1, p. 425:

	Noon, highest.	Noon, lowest.	Noon, average.
January, 1843.....	80°	74°	77°
February.....	81	74	78
March.....	85	81	82
April.....	86	80	84
May.....	87	81	85
June.....	88	84	87
July.....	88	82	86
August.....	88	85	86
September.....	86	84	85
October.....	86	76	82
November.....	84	73	79
December.....	88	73	77

In the interior the temperature may be somewhat higher, but there is no great variation.

Stephens's Yucatan, vol. 1, p. 152, says: "Throughout Yucatan 'el campo' or the country it is considered unhealthy in the rainy season, which begins in June and ends in October.

"Among all the haciendas Uxmal had a reputation pre-eminent for its unhealthiness. Every person who had been at work among the ruins had been obliged by sickness to leave them. Mr. Catherwood has had sad experience, and this unhealthiness was not confined to strangers. The Indians suffered every season from fevers. Many of them were at this time ill, and the major domo had been obliged to go away."

It must be remembered that Messrs. Stephens's and Catherwood's experience was principally among ruins, where, in any country, but more especially in the tropics, the air is heavy with noisome vapors produced by decay and the rank vegetation which always flourishes in those localities.

From my personal knowledge of the *tierra caliente* throughout the entire Pacific coast of Mexico, and on the Mexican Gulf coasts down as far as Tabasco, (which is the extent of my travels) and from what I have learned about Yucatan, I consider the latter the most healthy, even for the white man. I have never heard of the *vomito* in Yucatan. Perhaps the ordinary fever of the

country may, in certain districts and in certain seasons, assume a malignant type among strangers. But in these countries what is death to the whites is life to the negro.

There is really less statistical and general information about Yucatan than of any other Mexican State. A great portion of the interior is yet an unexplored wilderness, and yet, singular to relate, but three of the twenty-three Mexican States are more populous than Yucatan. Of course the great mass of the population is Indian. The relative proportion of whites, mixed races and Indians, I have not been able to obtain accurately. The proportion of whites and mixed races principally settled near the coasts is not large.*

The Spaniards found the Indians of Yucatan equal, if not superior, to the Aztecs, and far ahead of the Cuba Indians in civilization. They were warlike and brave, and the first attempt of the Spaniards to conquer Yucatan or Maya was a failure. To this day the natives do not acknowledge the name of Yucatan or themselves as Yucatecos, the common Spanish term. They know only *Maya*. As a whole, however, the natives have become, I would not say demoralized, but tamed down, generally docile, servile and ignorant; with more intellect, but in the main like the general run of our negro slaves. In certain remote districts the Indians, it may be said, have maintained their independence to this day. And it is a curious fact that there are, at the present time, communities resembling somewhat the oldest republics of Greece, when the individual was merged in the citizen; or perhaps they might more properly be considered exemplifications of the principles of *Fourier*. There are communities of Indians in Yucatan where lands and everything else are owned in common, and each contributes a share to the commonwealth. There is a common cook-house, where, at certain hours, each citizen goes for the food of his family and bears it home to his habitation.—(See Stephens, vol. 2, p. 14.)

Previous to the independence of Yucatan from Spain, 1821, the Indians were all held by the Spaniards as slaves. There were also a few negro slaves in this State, and fugitive negro slaves from other parts of Mexico and from Cuba occasionally found their way to the peninsula. The condition of affairs between the white race and the Indians, or between master and slave, was, in other days, considered quite happy—very much of the patriarchal order—but of late years a war of castes has raged in certain parts of Yucatan.†

The State of Yucatan differs very materially from the other Mexican States geologically. The peninsula is for the most part low and flat. The highest surface of its hills or low mountains is but little over 4,000 feet. It is destitute of living springs, rivers and lakes. The clay strata is probably wanting, as the soil will not hold water for any great length of time. The rainy season prevails from June till November, and then comes four or five months of what is called the dry season. During these months the inhabitants for the most part are dependent on *norias* or wells,‡ usually deep, or *aguados*, which are large artificial ponds filled during the rainy season. In some sections there are also natural hollows in the rocks which fill during the rainy season and furnish an adequate supply to ranches and towns through the dry season. These *norias* and *aguados* are found all through Sonora and Chihuahua. On opening a copper

* When the civil war was raging in Yucatan in 1848 the whites were estimated at 50,000. This probably included the mixed race. Of foreign whites and creoles I do not believe there are 5,000 in the country.

† I am somewhat doubtful whether the civil war that we have heard of at various periods during the last twenty years can be called strictly a war of castes. There was quite a lengthy debate on the President's message in 1848, proposing the temporary occupation of Yucatan in order to protect the whites from the Indians.—(See Congressional Globe, May 4, 1848.) I can gather a few grains of truth and useful information only relative to Yucatan from that debate.

‡ Some of these wells are supposed to reach underground rivers.

mine in the eastern part of Arizona, I built aguados which supplied the mining company with water nine months of the year.

Stephens has considerable to say about the scarcity of water in Yucatan, the norias and the aguados. He states that in the dry season the watering places are frequently a league from the towns. At the ranch of Shawil, three or four months in the year they go half a mile under ground for water. For remarks of Stephens on these points, see vol. 1, pp. 248, 250, 333; vol. 2; pp. 12, 14, 77, 83, 87.

The scarcity of water in Yucatan, as I understand it, is just sufficient to cause the inhabitants to live together either in large or small communities. There is no such thing as individual squatting over the country anywhere and everywhere. The soil is good and the vegetation rank throughout the country.

You have a very good list of the productions of Yucatan in the printed pages. Corn and hogs flourish all over the country; horses and cattle abound in every section where water is abundant.

The best of sugar-cane can be produced in great abundance. The entire coast between Campeche and Tabasco is devoted to the culture of sugar.—(Stephens, vol. 2, p. 171.)

The same may be said of cotton. There has been very little inducement to cultivate cotton. Considerable of the article has been produced in the neighborhood of Valladolid, but the natives made poor work in cleaning it, and two-thirds of its value is absorbed in freight. Even common roads, which are easily made in that county, saying nothing about railroads, would change all this. Yucatan is pre-eminently an agricultural, wood-chopping, dye-extracting, hog-raising country. It has no mines, and here again it differs materially from other parts of Mexico.

There must be something particularly favorable to the increase of population in Yucatan. In no other part of Mexico, and perhaps of Central America, are such evidences that a dense population existed in ancient days as are found in Yucatan. Arbitrary causes have prevented the natural flow and settlement of population in that State since the conquest by the Spaniards, and I believe the *best portion yet remains to be explored and populated*. From the central part of the State to the Caribbean sea and to Guatemala, the State is unexplored by white people, except here and there a point on the coast. Near the western coast, even now an Indian town gets to be over-populated, and a few of the more enterprising take their machets and cut their way through the rank growth of vegetation to some other favorable locality, and forthwith another ranch or village springs up as if by magic.

Some 25 years ago a solitary Indian was prospecting for a field, and, finding a good locality, he made a clearing, and, in so doing, he struck a running stream very near the surface; he followed the stream until he came to the water gushing from the rock. In a very short time a large population, some 6,000, settled around this water, and called the place Becan-chan, (Running Well).—(Stephens, vol. 2, p. 231.)

Iturbide, quite a large village towards the interior, was populated in five years.

It has been generally supposed that Yucatan affords no safe harbors or anchorage which would facilitate commerce. Sisal, on the northern coast, is the port of the capital, Merida. It is an open roadstead, and unsafe in a norther. Campeche, the principal port, is not much better. But there was a British survey of the coast of Yucatan in 1845, I think; and this survey gives a fine harbor for vessels of any size, under the island of Mujeres, where they may ride at anchor protected from winds in every direction. The harbors of Ascension and Espiritu bays, on the eastern coast, are represented by this survey to be very good. That of Espiritu bay will contain a fleet of the largest frigates and war steamers.*

*A copy of this British survey is to be found in the bureau at Washington.

Taking into consideration the peculiarities of Yucatan, its geographical position, in a great measure isolated, its geological features, climate, soil, productions, inhabitants, and great extent of unoccupied country which can be had for the cultivation, I have thought this State one of the best and most available portions of the earth upon which to carry out an extensive system of negro colonization by the United States.

1. The negroes and natives will at once affiliate.
2. The expense of placing the negro in a condition to maintain himself will be very light.
3. Owing to the peculiar geological character of the country the negroes will be forced to acknowledge the rights and demands of society, though that society may be of a primitive order.
4. Being out of the main line of travel by land and by sea, and having few harbors, it may be that in Yucatan the negro will be left to work out his destiny undisturbed by the neighboring white race.

For various reasons I have thought other parts of Mexico were not desirable for negro colonization purposes. Certain districts of the *tierra caliente* on the Pacific and Gulf coasts are well enough adapted to the negro so far as the climate and productions are concerned. But negro slavery in those districts never was a success under the Spaniards. I have written considerable on this subject. The following is from the last number of the Mexican papers published more than a year ago :

In 1530 considerable numbers of negro slaves were found in the State of Vera Cruz. As the country was explored and occupied by the Spaniards, this class of laborers came into demand, principally, to work the sugar plantations. Hence, in certain portions of the States of Vera Cruz, Puebla, Oajaca, Tabasco, Chiapas, Guerrero and Colima, the valleys of Cuernavaca, Cuautla, &c., negro slaves in considerable numbers were employed for upward of two and a half centuries.

It cannot be said, however, that negro slavery in Mexico was ever carried out extensively, or proved much of a success. From the first of the eighteenth century to the latter part of the same, the institution was at the height of all the prosperity it ever enjoyed in that country; and the number of negro slaves at any one time during this period could not have exceeded 100,000.

The natives of Mexico, in numbers and hardihood, proved too much, even for the iron rigor of Spanish rule, and although millions were destroyed, enough remained—probably as many as could be managed—to serve the general purposes of labor throughout New Spain.

In the early part of the nineteenth century we find the institution of negro slavery in Mexico tending to rapid decay. In the first place, the expense and risk of introducing negroes into those sections not immediately contiguous to Vera Cruz, had considerably increased; the Indians evinced more than ordinary restiveness, which had a bad effect on the negro; and the negro slaves raised in the country, with their descendants by the Indians, called *Zambos*, were becoming vicious and unmanageable. Consequently, the demand for negroes fell off, and in certain sections measures were adopted to emancipate the negro slaves and work them under a system of free labor.

This experiment was fully and successfully tried on some of the largest sugar plantations. In the valleys of Cuernavaca and Cuautla Amilpas the principal proprietors liberated a certain number of their slaves annually, and encouraged them to remain on the estates as free laborers. So successful did this system prove, that, on many of the largest estates in Cuernavaca, there was not a single negro slave in the year 1808. The policy of this measure became still more apparent in 1810, for as soon as the revolution broke out those planters who had not adopted the system of gradual emancipation were abandoned at once by their slaves, and forced, in some instances, to give up working their estates; while

those who had provided themselves, in time, with a mixed caste of free laborers, retained, even during the worst of times, a sufficient number of hands to enable low them to cultivate their lands, although upon a reduced scale.

The labor of the estates in Mexico worked under the free system proceeded without compulsion, anything like coercive measures being scarcely known. But such a mixture of negroes, Indians and Zambos was productive of a very low order of civilization.

We find in "Ward's Mexico," written in 1827, a comparison made between the result of free labor on sugar estates in Mexico, and slave labor on sugar estates in Cuba, as follows:

"One hundred and fifty slaves are employed, in the Island of Cuba, upon a plantation capable of producing one thousand cases, or 16,000 *arrobos*^o of sugar (vide Humboldt's *Essai Politique sur l'île de Cuba*.) while in the valley of Cuautla, one hundred and fifty free laborers are found sufficient for a hacienda, which yields from 32 to 40,000 *arrobos*. Thus (supposing the expense in other respects to be the same.) in the one case, the produce of each individual would be 2,666 lbs., and in the other 5,332 lbs., or even 6,666 lbs., taking the maximum of 40,000 *arrobos*. The correctness of this calculation depends of course upon the comparative fertility of the soil of the Island of Cuba, and in the valley of Cuautla Amilpas, respecting which I am not competent to give an opinion. There is no reason, however, to suppose that there is any superiority, in the soil of Cuautla, sufficiently great to account for so marked a difference in the amount of the sugar, raised by an equal number of laborers; for the elevation of the valley above the level of the ocean renders it impossible to apply Humboldt's estimate of extraordinary fertility of Vera Cruz to the plantations of Cuautla or Cuernavaca."

In view of the foregoing, let it not be said that the experiment of free negro labor in the tropics, on a large scale, was never successfully tried.

It is a curious fact, and worthy of note, that the process of gradually abolishing negro slavery commenced simultaneously in New England and the Spanish colonies of Mexico, for precisely the same cause, namely, the institution had become unprofitable.

In New England slavery was abolished by law, while in Mexico the measures taken to this end were voluntary on the part of the Spanish planters.

Here we find the cold and sterile north and the hot and fruitful tropics, the cool, calculating, and thrifty New-Englander, and the extravagant, showy, hard-hearted Spaniard, giving in their evidence against negro slavery and abolishing it as an unprofitable institution.

Before the Mexican revolution had terminated, in 1821, nearly every vestige of negro slavery in Mexico had disappeared. Many of the slaves fled, others were liberated, and when GUERRERO issued his decree of immediate and universal emancipation in 1829, there were not 10,000 negroes and mulattoes held as slaves throughout the entire republic to take advantage of the liberty thus decreed.

In the northern tier of the Mexican States, in Durango, San Luis Potosi, Jalisco, Michoacan, and Queretaro, the negro was rarely seen except as the servant of a Spaniard. Considerable numbers of mulattoes are found in the State of Guerrero. Some remain in the States of Oajaca, Tabasco, and Chiapas. The term *Lobo* is generally applied to these mulattoes, from the peculiar tint of their complexion, which resembles that of the Mexican wolf called *Lobo*. In Vera Cruz and vicinity a few negroes and quite a number of mulattoes, known as *Jarochos*, are concentrated. In 1803, HUMBOLDT, in his classification of the inhabitants of the city of Mexico, gave 10,000 mulattoes. This race has disappeared, and the pure negro is not to be found on any of the table-lands of the country. The dry and rarefied atmosphere of those regions is destructive to his race.

We do not believe there is enough negro blood in all Mexico to make 20,000

* An arroba is 25 pounds

pure negroes, notwithstanding a prominent legislator very gravely remarked to us recently that he calculated one-third of the Mexican population was of the pure negro race, which would give about 2,500,000 negroes to the republic.

The question of re-establishing or extending negro slavery over Mexico, which is now a prominent subject of agitation in the public mind, can be disposed of in very few words.

The Cordilleras occupy the great central portion of Mexico, leaving a strip of low land on either coast, narrow and irregular in outline, known as the *tierra caliente*; and these low lands are cut up at frequent intervals by mountain ridges and spurs—the whole being a volcanic formation. Now the apostles of the “irrepressible conflict” doctrine must make it appear, in the first place, that the slavery propagandists can cause the Mexican Cordilleras, the backbone of the country, with all the detached spurs and ridges, to sink into the earth, and leave in their place low, hot, moist and rich plains. Next, the irrepressibles must prove that the slavery extensionists can speedily annihilate some seven or eight millions of Mexicans, who, in their turn, will fight for freedom to the last drop of their blood. And lastly, it must be made to appear that the slave trade can be opened, and the price of good field hands reduced to \$200. All this being accomplished, slavery extension into Mexico might stand some chance.

The great extent of unexplored and unoccupied land in Yucatan belongs to the Mexican government, which donates a certain amount to any one who will settle upon and cultivate the same. The land reverts to the government whenever the settler abandons and ceases to cultivate it; but the settler can sell his right to the land and his improvements, and the vendee is recognized as the owner by the government, and thus the property may pass from one to another, so long as its settlement and cultivation are maintained.

I believe an arrangement can be made with the Mexican government—and without paying anything for it—to permit almost any number of our negroes to enter upon and possess the unoccupied lands of Yucatan under the existing public land law of Mexico.

The following are accessible authorities on Yucatan:

Stephens's Yucatan.
 Humboldt's New Spain.
 Brantz Mayer.
 Ward's Mexico.
 Silecer, Memoria del Ministro de Fomento.
 Encyclopedia Popular, by Jesus Hermosa.

The above authorities I have at hand. At the Geographical Society's room in New York I could doubtless find considerable definite and valuable information respecting Yucatan.

VENEZUELA.

The northern half of Venezuela, from Cumana on the east to the Gulf of Maracaibo is extremely productive. Even on the sides and in the valleys of the Andes there are coffee estates, producing a berry only exceeded in value by the best Mocha or Java, while the rich valleys of the Aragua and other warm lands more to the south produce a superior article, and yield as rich a return, especially at the prices now prevailing, as any known crop.

In order to understand this matter of coffee-raising in Venezuela, I must mention that nearly all the coffee trees of the country are shaded in most cases by a large tree called the bucharè, which affords the moderate protection from the sun necessary to a perfect ripening of the berry. These estates, in many cases, are over a half century old, and were carefully planted. A good estate consists of a hundred and fifty thousand trees, and with fair attention will pro-

duce 200,000 lbs. of coffee, worth at present prices some \$28,000 in Venezuela, or \$40,000 here. The attention required is not great, and the principal labor is in gathering, which is done by men, women, and children; and the only skill exercised is in hulling and preparing the berry for market.

A little attention to the sources of our coffee supply will show that the countries producing the best article are pretty much in the same latitude, and reference to the soils will prove that Venezuela possesses peculiar advantages in this respect.

I do not hesitate to say, after my experience in testing the higher grades of Venezuela coffee, and especially those raised on what are called the cold lands, that they are quite equal to Java, and perhaps, as a general thing, surpass the choice *Costa Rica* now occasionally found in our markets.

As to the profit there can be no doubt. These lands are healthy, and near the seaports on the Caribbean, now visited by the merchantmen of England, France, and the United States.

As nearly as I could ascertain the extent of the present coffee estates of Venezuela, they contain to-day near, or quite, sixty millions of trees, capable, at a low estimate, of yielding one pound each, and consequently producing in the aggregate sixty million pounds coffee, worth at the ports of the republic eight millions Spanish dollars.

Of course, it is understood that, at the present time and for some time past, their estates are seriously deranged by the civil war prevailing, which prevents their cultivation, and runs the proprietors to the larger cities of Venezuela, or compels them to leave the country entirely. In fact, the condition of the country is such that all property will soon be without a particle of value; and it is for this reason that the masses of Venezuela would hail with delight any substantial evidence of sympathy from abroad. But especially would that portion desiring a constitutional government expect, in any position, evidence of aid and sympathy from us, the peace and prosperity they have long expected and prayed for.

With a return to peace, and such an organization of the labor of the country as would occur in a few years of repose, the coffee crop could be increased to double the crop of former good years, say, to one million quintals, (a quintal is 100 lbs.); while with a population from us of 100,000 *black* laborers, the production would far exceed the consumption of the United States. We must not lose sight of the fact that the portion of this great country especially adapted to coffee, sugar, cotton, and cocoa, is as large as *Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana*; none of it 150 miles from the sea, and most of it within 50 miles of a port on the sea, or one of the rivers flowing south into the Orinoco.

The sugar-cane of Venezuela is stronger than that of Louisiana, but requires more skill both in planting and crushing to make it productive. The country is supplied with estates sufficient to furnish the inhabitants with all they need, but at the present time, owing to those civil commotions and the high tariff, the article is sold at exorbitant sales, and only a few of the best estates are worked.

Cotton.—There is no mistake about the *cotton* of Venezuela; the best portion for the purpose of cotton culture is the centre, north, or the streams, such as the *Apure* and others flowing into the Orinoco.

English agents have carefully examined this country and reported, but their reports are not nearly as full as those of the Cotton Supply Association of Venezuela, who are in possession of all the facts, and will publish them as soon as our matters favor the cultivation of cotton in Venezuela. Information on this subject (historical) is on file at the State Department.

Cocoa.—One of the productions of Venezuela, famed in France and Spain, and exceedingly profitable to the proprietors, is the cocoa; no other country has yet supplied its equal, and the estates can be extended with immense profit. You can form some idea of the present profit when I inform you that it is selling

at the ports of Venezuela for fifty pesos, about \$37 50 per 100 pounds, (a quintal,) and does not cost 15 cents per 100 pounds to raise it.

You can learn the political condition of the country from the State Department, or rather you can see the difficulties that at present embarrass the people from my despatches. My own opinion is, that on the United States and the United States alone can they rely for that aid which will once more place them on the road to prosperity. With a delightful climate, a country very healthy, except on the sea shore, with productions required so extensively by us and which they can raise in competition with any country, it seems strange that it has been so long neglected, or that Central America, not so highly favored by nature, not as well situated for trade with the world, and especially the United States, and, in fact, more remote and isolated in every respect, should have received so much more attention.

The common people of Venezuela are quiet and docile, not rapid, but disposed to moderate labor; degraded principally by these internal discords, and impoverished to an extraordinary degree, they feel the necessity of exertion, and will willingly return to labor on the estates and plantations whenever they can feel sure of protection.

The higher classes are intelligent and enterprising; have free estates, love the country, live like the people of the *south*; have pretty much the same political views, without being extreme, and being *now* almost ruined by their continued efforts to *rule* the masses, who protest against the impositions of the military and political revolutionists, seem also willing to accept any *aid* from England, France, or the United States, that will insure them the quiet enjoyment of their property and estates.

When I hear anything from Caraccas concerning the two parties warring for the control of the country, I will communicate it to you; meanwhile be assured *there is more* to be gained from such a *country* with *such* productions, than from the *untried* and desolate lands, rich though they be, of Chiriqui and other obtainable districts of Central and South America.

THE ISLAND OF COZUMEL.

The island of Cozumel is in the Caribbean sea, fifteen miles from the eastern shore of Yucatan. It is in latitude 20° 30' north and longitude 87° west from Greenwich. Accounts as to its size vary; it must be about thirty miles long and eight miles wide.

The statements relative to Cozumel by the first European voyagers represent it as swarming with Indians who were "very ingenious." They built of stone and mortar, and practiced some of the arts of civilized life, being much in advance of the natives of Cuba and the other West India islands. They had many temples and teocalis, some of which were massive and of pleasing appearance.

The island was found to be beautiful, fertile, abounding in all the tropical productions, wild waterfowl and the smaller animals. It was a great place of resort for religious enthusiasts from Yucatan.

But the Spaniards were the besom of destruction, and nowhere has its progress been attended with devastation so complete as upon this once thickly populated and happy "Island of Swallows," or, in the Indian tongue, Cozumel.

The account of Juan de Grijalva's discovery of this island in 1518. (See Kerr's Narrative of Voyages, vol. 3.) An itinerary of this voyage was also published in Paris in 1838.

Stephens visited Cozumel in 1841. He skirted along the northern end in a canoe down the western shore to within ten miles of the southern extremity,

when he landed on the "desolate island of Cozumel," at a ranch recently abandoned by a Spaniard who had commenced the cultivation of cotton. Owing to a mutiny among his Indian laborers, he was obliged to give up the attempt.— (Vol. 2, p. 271.)

Stephens says, (vol. 2, p. 272:) "The whole island was overgrown with trees, and, except along the shore or within the clearing around the hut, it was impossible to move in any direction without cutting a path."

Owing to the difficulty of making his way through the rank vegetation that covered the whole island, Stephens did not penetrate into the interior, but limited his observations to several views on the shore.

Speaking of the abandoned ranch, Stephens says: "In the afternoon we walked over the clearing, which was covered with a fine plantation of cotton, worth, as the patron said, several hundred dollars, with the pods open and blowing away.*"

"There was a well of pure and abundant water on the ranch shaded by large cocoa-nut trees."

Again Stephens says, (vol. 2, p. 283:) "The canoe entered a cove embosomed among noble trees. The water was twenty feet deep, and so clear that the bottom was distinctly visible, and from one end ran a creek which the patron said was navigable for canoes into the centre of the island where it expanded into a lake."

At the conclusion of his account of the island, Stephens says: "There was no place on our whole journey that we left with more regret."

Stephens says, (vol. 2, p. 271:) "One George Fisher had appeared on the island, the purchaser of six leagues or eighteen miles. He came with surveyors and set up his crosses, in order to make the island known to the commercial world."

This George Fisher was a Hungarian with an Anglicized name; a wandering adventurer. What became of him or his purchase I have learned nothing. I do not believe he had any money to pay for lands, and he probably obtained from the Mexican government a contingent right to colonize and cultivate a certain portion of the island. The enterprise was doubtless abandoned long ago.

At the present time the island of Cozumel is not known to be inhabited by a living soul. The island was once populous and fruitful, but it is now abandoned to the desolation of nature, and only awaits the reviving touch of enterprise and civilization to start it into new life, beauty, and usefulness.

From all accounts I should judge the island of Cozumel to be better watered and more generally fertile and productive than the main land. Also that being more within the influence of the sea air, its temperature is lower and its climate healthier than that of Yucatan, to a degree even that makes it not only tolerable but desirable for the white man.

Does the island of Cozumel afford one good harbor? This is an important point in estimating the value and availability of the island. Commerce has as yet developed none of the advantages possessed by Cozumel. The British coast survey of this region, in 1846, of which there is a copy in the Coast Survey department in Washington, says: "There is good anchorage off the northeast point of the island of Cozumel."

Mr. Stephens landed at but one place on the island, and that was near the abandoned ranch of which mention has been made. He paid no attention to harbor facilities.

The ancient accounts do not mention any difficulty in finding harbors and landing upon the island. Cortez, on his first expedition to Mexico, must have remained at this island with his whole fleet several days. He landed his forces and reviewed them there. He destroyed some of the idols of the natives and

* I am inclined to believe that the whole island of Cozumel is adapted to the culture of sugar and the finest kind of Sea Island cotton.

erected Christian altars in their places. This was in the season of northers—the winter of 1520-'21.

There are sea captains in New York who have landed on Cozumel and watered their vessels from the pure springs which they say abound on the coast. One of these captains speaks of a *good harbor* on the western coast of the island. There is no knowing what thorough explorations and, perhaps, some artificial means, might develop in the way of harbor facilities at the island of Cozumel. The small island of Mujeres, a little north of Cozumel, is said to have a really fine harbor.

EDW'D E. DUNBAR.

BARBUDA.

I learned, from a conversation with the Episcopal clergyman at St. Thomas, that he has visited this little island, (northeast of St. Thomas,) containing not more than five hundred inhabitants, all negroes. He was much interested in them, and described the colony as a perfect success; and this after seeing nearly all the British West Indies. He said, I think, that the island belonged to a single proprietor, who was determined to give the experiment of free labor (black) a fair trial. He was liberal and considerate, portioned out the land, attended to its judicious cultivation, rewarded and encouraged in various ways those who were industrious, and showed a disposition to improve, gave them all opportunities for education and good religious privileges, and was as careful to *root out* every feature tending towards idleness, decay, and degeneracy.

I am sorry that I cannot recollect this pastor's name. He has tended on the British West Indies a quarter of a century, and is *well posted* on everything pertaining to them. He is also a man of liberal views, and I have no doubt would form a valuable correspondent.

No. 5.

THE ISTHMUS OF CHIRIQUI.

The province of Chiriqui, in the republic of new Granada, is situated between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, the province of Veragua and the republic of Costa Rica. It gives its name to the isthmus which divides at that point the two great oceans, and it is the connecting link between South and Central America. Having a fine and healthy climate, rich and productive lands, and great mineral wealth, it offers inducements of no ordinary character to peaceful and industrious emigrants.

Situated in the great route of commerce between the continents and islands of the Pacific, and the shores of Europe and America, which are watered by the Atlantic, its future, when its splendid harbors are connected by a railroad, must be one of unprecedented prosperity.

Large tracts of land in this inviting country have been granted for, and are held by the Chiriqui Improvement Company, for colonization purposes.

By the constitution and laws of the country equal civil, religious, and political rights are established, without distinction of color or race. Emigrants, on their arrival, are immediately naturalized citizens, but are not subject to military duty until they have been twenty years in the country, unless to repel foreign invasion of their homes. They are exempt from all taxation, except the local municipal taxes which they themselves assist in establishing.

The following papers give interesting accounts of this region of country :

Dr. John Evans, the geologist sent out by the United States government to examine the coal formation of Chiriqui, in a letter to his family thus speaks of this country :

CHIRIQUI LAGOON, *September 16, 1860.*

I have just returned from a trip of twelve days up the Changuinola river. Found eight seams of coal, several of them of excellent quality and burn freely. There will not be the least difficulty in making this coal accessible to ship navigation. The bottom lands bordering the river are quite level, and the soil as rich as I ever met with in any of my travels ; it is from four to twelve feet in thickness, a sandy clay loam, with a large percentage of vegetable matter. All the tropical fruits are found on its banks ; oranges, limes, lemons, pineapples, bananas, breadfruit, alligator pear, prunes, dates, &c., all growing wild. Vanilla beans are also found in abundance. Mahogany trees, cocoa-nut, and several valuable trees for commerce, in addition, are found convenient to navigation.

The weather is delightful ; the thermometer ranges from 69° to 80° ; sea breezes during the day, land breezes during the night ; blankets have always been found comfortable towards morning. The coal deposit is *inexhaustible*, and accessible to navigation ; the sandstones, clays, and limestones associated with it ; also the characteristic fossils are found everywhere on the lagoon and its tributaries.

My health has never been better ; I have not had a sick hour, and consider this country as the garden of the world. Yankee enterprise is alone wanting to make it a perfect paradise.

It has filled me with **surprise** to find that nearly all the natives, Jamaicans, &c., speak English. It is the most universal tongue.

In our recent trip to the Changuinola river, in addition to our ship fare, we killed two wild turkeys, other large birds, two monkeys, &c. I must confess to some reluctance to eating monkeys ; they are too *human* ; but the meat is excellent, like young chickens.

JOHN EVANS, M. D.,

United States Geologist Chiriqui Exploration and Survey.

Dr. Evans, in his official report, also says :

Rich specimens of gold, in quartz and black sand, copper, iron, platinum, and other valuable minerals, have been discovered in various localities ; agates, jasper, opals, diamonds, similar to those used in Chinese ornaments, were found. Specimens of the coals, minerals, and precious stones have been brought home, and will be deposited in the Smithsonian Institution, or any place which may be designated by the Secretary of the Navy, for examination.

HEALTHFULNESS OF THE CLIMATE.

There is no prevailing disease between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, on the Isthmus of Chiriqui. During the whole of my explorations of the shore line of the lagoon, the islands adjacent, the various rivers tributary, and in crossing and recrossing from the Atlantic to the Pacific, not a single member of my party, either the men from the Brooklyn, or natives, was sick. It is true that at the unfavorable locality of the "Mission House," at the mouth of Fish creek, with a marsh back of the settlement filled with water at every rain, and covered with vegetable matter in a state of decomposition, washed down from the adjacent mountains, constantly accumulating, and subjected to the heat of a tropical sun, cases of intermittent fever occurred ; but they readily yielded to a

few doses of quinine. Fatal cases, if any ever occur, are very rare; a similar unfavorable locality in any section of country would produce as great, if not greater deleterious effects. My own hammock was swung for ten nights under a palm-leaf roof elevated ten feet from the ground, with the land breeze passing over this swamp, and I suffered no inconvenience, and not a moment ill-health.

The rainy season is a succession of sunshine and showers. If it rains in the morning, it is usually fair in the afternoon; and if it rains in the afternoon and night, it is bright in the morning, and until three or four o'clock in the afternoon. Sea breezes prevail during the day, and land breezes at night. The thermometer varies from 67° to 87° during the year, and towards morning it is so cool that a blanket was comfortable every night during my sojourn on this isthmus.

PRODUCTIONS.

In describing the formation of the soil, I have already briefly alluded to the productions of the country, but it will not be out of place to refer to special localities and their rich producing qualities.

On the Atlantic side there are many streams flowing down from the mountains having bordering valleys; but the most beautiful and extensive are those of the Cricamola and of the Changuinola rivers; these valleys vary from ten to twenty miles in width, their soil inexhaustible. Indigenous to it are cotton, tobacco, coffee, cocoa, sugar-cane, rice, and all the tropical fruits. These do not grow by single crops, but in succession throughout the year. Under the hand of the cultivator four crops a year could readily be gathered, and of qualities inferior to none that earth produces.

Dr. Robert McDowall, a Scotch gentleman, who has resided thirty years in Chiriqui, wrote as follows:

REPORT BY ROBERT M'DOWALL, M. D.

(RESIDING AT DAVID, PROVINCE OF CHIRIQUI.)

Of all the provinces that constitute the great American isthmus, there is none more pleasant to the eye, more valuable for its geographical position, for its agricultural capacities, and topographical superiority, than the province of Chiriqui, one of the first points of the American continent touched at by Colon, and yet at this present day scarcely known. It has one of the finest harbors in the world, (a matter of the highest importance, especially on the Atlantic coast of the isthmus,) called the Admiral's bay, on one coast, and secure roadsteads on the tranquil Pacific. It lies between 7° and 9° north latitude, and $81^{\circ} 5'$ west longitude, limited on the east by the province of Veraguas, north by the Atlantic, south by the Pacific, and west by Costa Rica. The Cordilleras divide it in two unequal parts, north and south. The northern, about one-third of the entire width, is the region of the Cordilleras from the foot of the latter to the border of the Pacific consists almost entirely of extensive plains, formed by a gradual descent of the land from the mountains, until lost in the level of the South sea. Population is all that is required to make the desert smile like the rose. Look at those immense plains, bounded north by the majestic Andes, far off in the distance, below the twinkling polar star on the one hand, and the great southern sea, stretching away towards the coast of "Rich Cathay," on the other; covered only by grazing cattle, with little or no cultivation, though from the oak region of the Cordilleras, down to the mangroves on the seaside, the industrious farmer could select just exactly the soil and temperature he requires. To one who has seen the old world with its overburdened population, a pop-

ulation of industrious, moral families, who ask no other favor from God and their fellow men than permission to "earn their bread by the sweat of their brow," he would feel, I say, that it is a pity so much fine land, and so accessible, should be barren, for want of hands to accept the bounty so freely offered. How many cold, shivering human beings could become happy here, where only wander undomesticated cattle that produce neither milk nor cheese! Here it would puzzle a well man to die of hunger. The cow and the plantain tree feed the poor native, almost without any care on his part, and if his thatched hut does not leak, he merrily bids "dull care begone."

The population of this province is about 20,000. David is the principal town. Dolega, Alange, Gualaca, Los Remedios, Tole, and one or two small villages are not of such importance; the first, Dolega, about a league from David, nearer the Cordilleras, is remarkable for the longevity of its inhabitants, many of whom have lived more than a century. The life and customs of the original inhabitants is simple and pastoral, whose uniform tenor is only broken occasionally by the processions and feast days of the church, their religion being purely Roman Catholic.

There are five races of Indians that inhabit the mountainous regions bordering upon the Atlantic, from Bocas del Toro to Cape Gracias a Dios; these different tribes are known by the names of Caribes, Mosquitos, Blancos, Valientes, and Guaimies; these last are most known, as they are in the habit of visiting the towns of the province to exchange fishing nets, bags, resins, sarsaparilla, &c., for common calico, drills, &c., to make clothing for their families. On the discovery of America the Indians had gold in abundance, but now such is the horror that the traditions of their fathers have inspired against this metal, so fatal and destructive to their race, that no consideration will tempt them to touch, or give the least information to a white man about their ancient mines. These Indians invariably inhabit what are called the "tierras baldias," or government lands. They seldom or never make their towns in the plains.

The principal products of the province are Indian corn, rice, and dried beef, the greater part of which is sent to Panama. The mode of preparing the land is by burning, similar to that used on the coast of Africa—a mode not only defective in itself, but ruinous to the best timber of the country. Cocoa and coffee produce very abundantly, and the quality of the sugar, made without the least knowledge of refining, speaks greatly in favor of the soil and the sugar-cane; cotton also, of good staple and quality; the caoutchouc tree abounds on the coasts of both oceans; sarsaparilla, croton and castor oil, balsams of copaiba and peru, with many other valuable medicinal plants abound in the forests; palm oil, with the aid of a press, could be exported in considerable abundance. The mountains besides afford very rare and curious plants of the orchidean family, including the fragrant vanilla and bignonia; all of which could be easily shipped to order, to supply the increasing wants of intellectual luxury.

A few analytical experiments on a small scale have shown the mineralogical constitution of the country to be no less interesting. Coal of a good quality is found on one of the islands, "Muerto," near the port on this side. We have evidences of the existence, in more or less abundance, of platina, gold, nickle, tin, vanadium, barium, and other rare metals, one of which seems to be new, differing from all the known habitudes of other metals; it seems, however, to have been known to the ancient Indians, as we find in their graves alloys of this metal, with copper, in the form of bats, frogs, &c., quite unoxidated; it resists acids for some length of time, has almost the color and specific gravity of gold itself. For domestic and other utensils it would be far more eligible than all the hitherto compositions in imitation of silver; united with lead it makes an excellent drawing pencil.

What is most essential, then, to make available all these untroubled riches? First, a road that shall open up intercourse between these fine plains and the

Atlantic; secondly, inhabitants to make use of the vast acres of unoccupied lands. For these great benefits the people of this generation look to your philanthropy, energy, and enterprising genius. All are anxiously awaiting the result of the road privilege now in your possession.

R. McDOWALL, M. D.

DAVID, *April 15, 1852.*

Mr. Coffin, an American who went to Chiriqui in search of the gold ornaments found in the Indian graves, thus describes, in a letter, the province of Chiriqui:

"We sailed from New York on the 25th of August last, destined for the Chiriqui lagoon. On the 18th of September we made the Zappadilla Keys, off the Boca del Tigre channel. There was a strong current and land breeze setting out, and as our captain was not acquainted with the coast, we did not enter until the next morning. In going through the channel we found 27 fathoms as the regular depth, decreasing inside the lagoon to about 14 fathoms, and finally anchored, at about 5 p. m., close to the shore in eight fathoms water. Although the rainy season had fully set in, and our view was somewhat obscured by the continued showers, yet we were astonished and delighted at the grandeur and magnificence of this unequalled harbor. The shores were high and bold, covered with the stateliest trees, in many places down to the waters' edge. The islands and headlands shutting out the view of the ocean, and making the waters around us as smooth as a mill-pond, notwithstanding they were some thirty miles in length, by more than thirteen in breadth.

"The few inhabitants on the mainland supposed our schooner to be one of Walker's vessels, and immediately fled inland, carrying their cattle with them. Owing to this, we found it difficult to procure a guide. The next morning we secured the service of an Indian, who was partially acquainted with the route across, as it had formerly existed. He had never been over, but undertook, however, to show us the new horse road, opened by the Chiriqui Improvement Company. It was some three miles from our anchorage, and upon entering it found that we could readily walk forward at the rate of three or four miles per hour. Many diverging paths had been cut to ascertain the best grades, and fearful of being misled by these, we returned to the old road, which had long since been abandoned by all but the Indians—they cling to it from a superstitious belief, which will be noticed hereafter. This old route was one of exceeding difficulty, and we regretted that we had not gone first to Bocas del Toro, and secured a guide from the agent of the Chiriqui Company, who could have taken us by the new road. After crossing the Guarume river sixteen times in two days, we finally lost the trail, and had to pursue the river bed as our only directing course. Prospecting this for gold while we were advancing, we, in four days, reached the mountains; the passes here were steep and rugged, causing much toil; but for this we were more than recompensed by the magnificent view that burst upon us as we emerged through them. It is impossible to fully or adequately describe the beauty of the sloping or gradually descending prairies which stretched off southward for forty miles towards the Pacific ocean. These lands, richer and more fertile than any I have ever seen, were covered with wild cattle, and dotted all over with wild sugar-cane, coffee, cocoa, plantains, oranges, bananas, guavas, mangoes, &c., growing in richer and increasing profusion as we descended further down the slopes. Higher up towards the mountains, through their ravines on all sides, were growing enormous trees of mahogany, cedar, basswood, sandalwood, ebony, lignum-vitæ, pehuc, oaks, palm, caoutchouc or Indian-rubber, which latter, upon being punctured, yielded a continuous flow of the milk, which quickly hardened and became dark and solid after a short exposure to the air and sun. Besides these, there is a peculiar tree of great durability, lasting twenty years or more under water or under earth, and

which the worm does not touch; it is, I think, called the Grenadilla; it is the rosewood of commerce, and is used by the residents for the underpinning of their houses. It will become of great value to ship-builders, for the framing of vessels.

We rested ourselves at Caldera, which is said to be the most healthful place in the world, no epidemic diseases ever having been known there. The atmosphere was delightfully exhilarating, whilst the abundant supply of nature, in every form, was most enticing. Fat cattle may there be purchased at three dollars, and horses and mules at from ten to fifteen dollars each. Grains and fruits can be had for the gathering. There is, indeed, a perpetual harvest of all that man requires upon these vast plains.

Early the next day we took horses for Dolego and David, and arrived at the latter place at 9 a. m. Here we found a few Americans. Most of the "huaca" hunters had left because of the rainy season. We were informed that many of them would return, both for the purpose of prospecting for gold and for permanent settlement in the country. Few, indeed, can go there without having the desire to remain, or resolving to return if circumstances force them away.

Amongst those in David was a late engineer and agent of the Panama Railroad Company. Upon meeting me he exclaimed, "My God! what a country we are in! What a place for railroads. Here you can start from the mountains to the Pacific, without fuel, using only the brakes down the long inclines, which are so gentle that a good engine can do nearly full duty in ascending them! And then so easy to make the road; you have but to lay down the cross-ties, put on the iron, and you are ready for work! And what a climate! I have never had such health. I could not believe, if I had not experienced it, that there could be such a difference in such a short distance from Aspinwall. I sleep under a blanket every night, and you cannot realize how invigorating it is after my residence in Aspinwall and Panama. I feel that I am becoming a new man in this district of Chiriqui." This gentleman was one of the first pioneers upon the Panama road; cut down, indeed, the first tree that was felled in that important work, and his great regret now is that this route was then completely unknown. Had it been, doubtless it would at this day be, what it necessarily will ere long become, the great highway to California, as well as to Australia and the East Indies.

I have been in nearly every region of the globe, and until I visited this, believed that California surpassed them all. Chiriqui, from ocean to ocean, however, equals that in every respect, and surpasses it in many of the true essentials for prosperity and happiness.

With their usual spirit of monopoly, the Pacific Mail Company had sent Mr. Pierson down to prospect for their especial benefit, intending to secure to themselves all the passenger trade, and as much of other matters as might be possible. I found Mr. Pierson delighted with the country; he considers that it is to become the centre of new gold production, as well as of a commerce between Asia and Europe, which will change the existing relations of trade. Mr. Pierson wished us to go to Boco Vita, to assist, so soon as the dry season should commence, in opening the huacas; but, as our provisions and clothing had been left at the Chiriqui lagoon, we determined to return there by the new road which had been opened for the Chiriqui company, even if we should have to do so without a guide.

Our difficulty in procuring one was great. This arose from the fact that it had been opened through a country which the ancient and still cherished superstitions of the Indians taught them was specially guarded by their deities, and was supposed by them to be the region in which dwelt the spirits of their ancestors, and to which had been carried their treasures. They believe that the evil spirits had been driven out of this sacred ground, and, becoming devils, they had taken the forms of wild hogs, tigers, serpents, mountain mouchas, &c.,

and that any improper approaches were fatal to the party. Not deterred by these representations, we made our arrangements to set out. Finding that we were determined to go, our old guides agreed to accompany us, provided we would allow them time to prepare, and allow them always after night fall to sleep in our midst, and give them double pay. After two days' detention for their preparation, we started at noon from Dolego, travelling for fifteen miles over a magnificent prairie, gradually ascending at the rate of about one foot in the hundred. At the ranche were we stopped, we found sugar cane, Indian corn, plantains, bananas, &c., growing in the greatest abundance. On reaching the foot of the Boquete, we commenced opening the huacas, but with poor success; it was raining too much to continue this work, as they filled with water as fast as we dug into them. Next day we entered the mountain passes, expecting a toilsome and difficult ascent, but were agreeably disappointed, as it was so gradual by the Chiriqui road, which we were on, that we actually crossed the ridge or backbone of the Cordilleras, and were on the descending slope, with waters flowing to the Atlantic, before we were aware that we had reached the summit. The distance from the summit is only about twenty miles, with grades which nowhere exceed eighty feet to the mile, and these by careful engineering can be much reduced. We came slowly down, camping frequently for the purpose of prospecting.

It is impossible for me to describe the beauty of the scenery on the line of this road from David to Chiriqui lagoon. It was like the most highly improved English parks, but exceeded any of them in the stately grandeur of the trees, and the wild but beautiful luxuriance of vegetable production everywhere around us—superb mahogany trees of every variety, live-oaks, bread fruit, log-wood. The grape tree, producing a fruit about the size of a pigeon's egg, having a pith similar to that of the olive, and of the most delightful taste, refreshing and invigorating, and said to possess great medicinal quality in dispelling fevers. There were also several kinds of trees producing nuts from which the natives extract oils of rich and peculiar qualities, which they use upon the hair and for softening and beautifying the skin. We found, also, the potato growing wild, quite as large and good as the cultivated Irish potato of this country. There were many productions, the names of which we could not learn, and an endless variety of trees, some of enormous size and height, the timber of which appeared most valuable. There were also great varieties of fruits on trees, bushes, and shrubs, many of exceeding delicacy to the taste and apparently most nutritious.

There is also a silk grass of great length of fibre, very strong, and far superior to the manilla. It must entirely supersede this latter article for the manufacture of rope. A sample of this, with some other articles, I send you herewith. Cotton grows wild, and the tree reaches the size of our large apple trees, with bolls of such a size that a handful may be taken from each. It appears to fully equal the Sea Island quality of South Carolina, but is shorter in fibre. In some parts of the lagoon the oranges, lemons, and limes grow in profusion; they were the largest and finest kind I have ever seen.

Game is most abundant. Amongst the varieties are deer, mountain moucha or wild cow, warrah or wild hog; thousands of each of these are roaming through the mountain passes and feeding on the rich slopes. There are wild turkeys, pheasants, quails, partridges, and birds of every imaginable plumage; the birds of paradise are here much larger than those of India. Monkeys of every size and great variety of color followed us from tree to tree, chattering and pointing at our dog. The natives eat the red monkey, considering him a great delicacy, but when killed and the hair taken off, they had so much the look of a human, that we could not be tempted to taste. Some of these monkeys are very docile, and become great favorites with the natives.

The Chiriqui road runs through a country unequalled in beauty and richness.

The land will produce an abundance with but slight tillage; and once the road is carried to a high state of improvement, sugar and tobacco as fine, if not finer, than those of Cuba will become articles of large export; while coffee, cocoa, or the chocolate nut, will be of equal importance.

On the plains the road is already in condition for carriage travel; through the mountains it is only fit for horse transport; but if vigorously worked it can, in from sixty to ninety days, be rendered fit for wagons or carriages and the transportation of mails and passengers; and the entire distance from ocean to ocean may be accomplished in a single day. The land being high, without marshes, and with but few streams to cross, and these small, a railroad may be constructed with facility and rapidity; and as this road has the only harbors of the isthmus at its termini, it must necessarily become one of vast importance to the civilized world. The commerce between Great Britain and Australia, the Indies, and China, as also to her North Pacific possessions, must take the route across the Atlantic, and by the isthmus to the Pacific. In such a trade vessels of large tonnage must be employed to make their voyages profitable. Such vessels can nowhere find a harbor on the isthmus, except at the Chiriqui lagoon, and at the terminal point of the road on the Pacific. This route must, therefore, become the European highway to Asia. The Panama route may answer the purpose of our commerce until we also use larger vessels; but ultimately the Chiriqui route must, from its natural advantages and its coal beds, become the leading commercial route.

At the period of our first arrival in the lagoon we had no time to examine its shores or islands. On our return we coasted there on our way to Bocas del Toro. At several points on the mainland and island we saw the coal veins which belong to the Chiriqui company cropping out and glistening in the sun. At Pope's island and at Splithill a vessel could lay directly under the edges of these veins, in deep water, and have the coal shovelled from the mines down her hatches.

The islands are equally fertile with the mainland. On Provision island there are thousands of cocoa-nut trees, lemons, oranges, plantains, bananas, and sweet potatoes growing wild, and rotting for want of use. The same on Cocoa-nut keys, Columbus island, and nearly all the other islands in the lagoon. All the islands, and especially Pope's island, are to a great extent covered with large trees, fit for ship timber and for the finest works; amongst them we found live-oak, cedar, locust, zappadella, granadilla, grape fruit, rosewood, satinwood, zebra-wood, and other varieties, the names of which we did not know. Some of the trees grow to the height of 120 feet before a limb shoots out. There is also the betel-nut tree, the most beautiful tree that is known; it is the same as the Java betel, the nut of which is used for chewing by the natives.

The shores of the lagoon are varied, some sandy beach, some bluff coral, some high rock, and at intervals the land stretches out with heavy timber, growing down to the water's edge. There are no marshes, and although we were exposed constantly in the rainy season for more than two months we enjoyed entire health, and this justifies us in saying that it is the most healthy, if not the only healthy, locality on the entire isthmus. The sea breeze sets in at about 11 a. m., gentle and exhilarating, and continues most of the day, dying out at 6 in the evening, when the land breeze commences, and blows gently throughout the entire night; each breeze is sufficient to enable vessels to enter or leave the lagoon. The main entrance is the Tigre channel; it is 160 miles from Greytown and 120 miles from Aspinwall, or nearly equi-distant between them. The town of Boca del Toro, on Columbus island, is pleasantly located on a handsome little bay. It contains about two hundred inhabitants. The lagoon abounds in fish. The hawkbill and green turtle are abundant.

There are never-failing springs of fresh water on all the islands, and on the

shores of the lagoon. The water of the creeks and rivers is also excellent, and is preferred by the natives because it is *warmer* than those of the springs.

Nature has spread her bounties plentifully around this favored region, and all that seems to be wanted is the full completion of the Chiriqui road into a railroad to fill the shores and the interior with a thriving and active people, and to build up commercial cities in the harbor, which will probably rival some of the most prosperous of our own country.

I have given you a brief and disinterested report upon the country and the condition of the road thus far opened by the Chiriqui company. I might go into great detail, but were I to do so, and describe accurately the face of the country and all its rich and varied productions, I might be charged with exaggeration, or even with dealing in the marvellous. It is impossible to realize its beauties and advantages except by actual observation.

In conclusion, I may add that the possessions of your company are of immense value, and their improvement ought to be pressed forward rapidly, to secure advantages which are now opening to this line of transit.

I shall return to Chiriqui in January, and may settle permanently there. If I can in any way be of service in forwarding you information, it will afford me pleasure to do so.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES E. B. COFFIN.

The late envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of New Granada, in an official paper certifying to the titles of the Chiriqui Improvement Company, thus speaks of the province of Chiriqui :

* * * * *

In addition to the foregoing certificate, I avail myself, with great pleasure, of this opportunity to give testimony, that from information, official and private, worthy of all belief, or from my own information, I am of opinion that there are few countries in the world that possess so many elements of prosperity and wealth as that part of the State of Panama which forms the province of Chiriqui. In proof of this, it is sufficient to mention its interoceanic position, the variety and comparative softness of its climate, which is most salubrious, especially in the mountainous parts, which enjoy a very fresh and bracing temperature, and in the southern part is almost populated, level, covered with grass and flowers, and abounding in flocks and herds; whilst the northern part only awaits the hand of civilized man to become no less healthful and desirable, and perhaps still better populated.

The mines of gold, from which Christopher Columbus carried with him specimens to Spain, yet remain to testify the existence of that precious metal in the gorges and ravines of the mountains; the mines of copper, of iron, of coal, and the various mineral springs which exist between the town of David and Bocas del Toro; the gum elastic, the pearls and pearl oysters, and the tortoise, furnishing the tortoise shell, abound on those coasts, in which there is already considerable commerce; the richest and most valuable dye-woods, timber for building, and especially ship timber, and resinous and medicinal woods, besides all these resources to make living easy and cheap. The most abundant game invite the chase, and all the fruits and products of the intertropical zone, from the papa, Indian corn, and garden products, to that of cocoa, the plantain, the arrowroot, the cacao, the coffee, the cotton, the sugar-cane, besides many other things to which other countries now owe their wealth and prosperity; the facility of communication, especially on the Pacific side, whilst Panama and Punta Arenas furnish convenient and secure markets for the stock and all the articles of food from Chiriqui, there being between the town of David and Panama a level road, with abundance of water, and well populated—a people simple in their manners

and habits, and principally engaged in agricultural industry and pastoral husbandry, and therefore peaceful and moral; and, finally, the magnificent entrance to this beautiful region, which Providence has arranged and the Granadian government has opened to all nations, is through Chiriqui lagoon and Admiral bay, an immense double bay, with fertile shores, one hundred and twelve miles in circumference, into which no less than twelve rivers empty themselves. Numerous harbors, among which there are two of the most commodious and secure in the world. Near to these are the coal mines, whose titles I have already certified, and they alone in the present epoch would be sufficient to render prosperous, as well as an object of desire, any country which may possess them.

A country which, in only that part of it which is known, can show such natural advantages and resources, cannot do less than to reward most prodigally the peaceful emigrant who may employ in it his capital, his intelligence, and his activity; and it is not necessary to be a prophet to predict with certainty that this region will be, at no distant day, one of the richest marts in the world.

I must add that all that I have here written of Chiriqui is confirmed by the labors of the scientific commission, which, by order of the Granadian government, are now concluding, under the direction of General Cordazzi, a chorographical and topographical description of the confederation.

I cannot omit speaking of one circumstance more, which occurs to me, in favor of Chiriqui, and that is its contiguity to a neighboring people, laborious, peaceful, and well accredited as are those of Costa Rica, which owes to its own efforts, since its independence, all its prosperity.

These two countries are evidently destined by nature to mutually assist and enrich each other.

P. A. HERRAN. [SEAL.]

WASHINGTON, *April 8, 1859.*