

Appendix 4: Race, Slavery, Freedom

The following excerpts and newspaper accounts illustrate the complicated and sometimes contradictory attitudes of white northerners toward race and slavery in general and toward the struggle of John Randolph's former slaves in particular. The racism evident in many, if not all, of these passages will be found offensive by readers today. For more on the subject of race and racism in Ohio and in *Our Cousins*, see the general introduction to this edition.

'John Randolph's Slaves,' *Cincinnati Chronicle*, 1 July 1846.

Alderson drew on or quoted from this article in several letters, though she very sensibly chose to omit the comparison of the people to 'a drove of sheep coming to market.' As was common in the nineteenth-century periodical press, the article was reprinted, more or less as is, in various publications, including the Christian Register, the Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture, the Emancipator, and the Friend.

Main Street, on Wednesday morning, presented a singular scene—one which never before occurred here and which may not occur again. In front of our office, and occupying the centre of the street for half a square, was a cloud of negroes—men, women and children—like a drove of sheep coming to market. They were dressed in coarse cottons. apparently comfortable in bodily circumstances. and walked along from the river to the canal. They were, in his life-time, the slaves of the celebrated John Randolph of Roanoke!

This extraordinary man remains extraordinary even in the transactions which follow his death. The word 'REMORSE,' written on a card, in his death scene, expresses fully the sentiment which often conflicted in his life-time with much of his singular conduct.

In one of these repentant moods he made a Will, liberating his slaves, and providing for their transportation and support in a free State. This WILL was contested almost as a matter of course—because the eccentricity of his conduct and the doubtful sanity of his mind made its legality questionable. The Will, however, after passing through a long course of litigation in the Virginia Courts, was at length established. Judge Lee, the Executor, then proceeded to make the most advantageous arrangements he could, to carry out the objects of the Will, and provide for

the comfort of the people. For this purpose, he last year visited Ohio; and after consulting with a number of intelligent gentlemen, fixed upon a spot in Mercer county for their abode.

Yesterday they arrived here, and this morning have resumed their journey. They are of all ages and conditions—from the infant upon the breast, to the old man tottering under the weight of time and infirmities. They numbered, we believe, 395, in all. Whether they were all present, we are not informed. They had their baggage wagons along,—and all in all, had a more comfortable appearance, by much, than have N. Carolina ‘Emigrants,’ who have been immortalized in the picture of our townsman, BEARD. The last one, was a stout, but old and bent over man, who walked with a cane. We thought of him as one, who, perhaps, had been reared with and played with the Orator of Charlotte, and who, when ‘Remorse’ played round his heart, had been remembered in the WILL OF JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE.

John Randolph's Negroes. Editorial, *Cincinnati Gazette*, reprinted in *The True American* July 15, 1846, p. 3.

This editorial demonstrates the capacity of northern white opinion to decry the cruelty of slavery in one breath and, in the next, to deny accommodation to its victims.

John Randolph, by will, gave freedom to his slaves and provided the means for their settlement in Ohio. Yesterday they passed through our city in Ohio on their way to the settlements purchased for them in the interior.

The troop was a large one. There appeared to lie some three hundred in it. It was composed of people of all ages and all sizes, and attracted no little attention.

In themselves, as they marched along, they bore testimony against Slavery. Their master had enjoyed the benefit of their services while he lived. For him they toiled. They worked daily, year in and year out; but the sweat of their face was spent for another, and not for themselves. Was *this* just? Death drew nigh; he felt its approach, and when told he must pass away, he summoned all his energy, as he remembered his slaves, and the various contradictory wills he had made with regard to them, and, also, what they had done for him, and said to the Physician by his side, "*Remember they are free.*" He would be just to them ere he met his God. He dared not die with the iniquity of human bondage resting upon his soul.

Well—they are free! The boon of mankind is theirs. But are they prepared to enjoy it? Their old master had means enough out of their labor to prepare them all for this step. He could travel in foreign lands; sport and spend freely on the race course; scatter profusely, or hold closely the money made by them, as fitful gleams of generosity, or hard grippings of avarice, seized and controlled him. For self, he would do as whim or caprice directed; but *for them*, in the way of enlightenment, he did nothing. And it was not till life's doings were spread out before him, and all of the past was concentrated in the brief hour of death, that he had the courage to declare orally that they should enjoy, untaught and unprepared as they were, what God meant should be common to all his creatures—freedom!

And now, the poor creatures are among us!— Why should this be? We have nothing to do with Slavery, and it is neither our interest, nor our duty, to add to the ignorance of our state, in

any way. Let us recall, in part, this remark. This emigration of John Randolph's negroes proves that we *have* something to do with slavery. And evidently, the people of Virginia think so too. For whenever their eyes get opened, because they hear the call of death, or know it is nigh, the first step is, to free their slaves, that they may lull the unquiet knowings [sic] of conscience—the next, to send them to Ohio, that they may be free! We have already several colored settlements among us,— And pray, why does not Virginia and Kentucky retain their freed blacks? What right have they to be pouring in upon us their helpless, new made free! We very much fear that the common objection made in the Slave States, that we, as Free Slates, have nothing to do with Slavery, will turn out on examination, to be eminently untrue, in more respects than one. Cincinnati Gazette.

from “Randolph’s Manumitted Slaves” *The Emancipator* (London), August 5, 1846, p. 60.

This article from an English abolitionist paper illustrates the international interest taken in the story of the ‘Randolph Negroes.’

Our heart sickens at the cold-blooded cruelties which this REFINED and CHRISTIAN people can inflict without remorse on their *innocent* fellow men!— We cannot find language to express our pain and disgust at such heartless depravity.

“There is no flesh in man’s obdurate heart.”

Talk not of the cruelties of the savage, the Arab, and the Turk. The cruelty of our *refined feelings*—prejudice against African color—seeks in vain for a parallel among them. The inflictions of the savage can show a far better reason, and one infinitely more becoming the dignity of a man, than that unprovoked hate with which we persecute the unoffending negro. Our pretensions to humanity! on what are they based? The half-civilized Turk and Algerine may well point the finger of scorn at them.

What have these persons done or what do they threaten to do, that they should be made the victims of such unfeeling treatment? Virginia casts them out—Ohio casts them out—the provision of their late master, and the care of his faithful executor, are unavailing to procure them a resting place in our country. An exile to the frozen regions of Canada, or the tropical malaria of Africa, or a return to hopeless slavery is the only condition on which we will permit them to breathe the vital air which God has provided for them.

If the feelings which thus persecutes [sic] them were confined to the vicious rabble, whose hate is steeped in potations of the doggery, it would appear less appalling. But alas! it finds too much countenance in the higher classes of the community. We have been exceedingly pained at the unfeeling and contemptuous tone of the press among us, on this subject, calculated to proscribe these poor creatures from the pale of humanity. Would to God that we could awaken the benevolent sensibilities of the Christian community to an apprehension of the cruel consequences which grow out of their oft-expressed feelings of prejudice against the negro! When we witness the legitimate fruit of this cherished prejudice, as in the present instance, we

cannot but remonstrate against it, and repent before God that our own hearts have ever participated in it.

We are aware, however, that remonstrance against the cause of the evil, comes now too late for the relief of these persecuted outcasts. We may awaken the compassion of our readers in their behalf, but it will be powerless. The arm of a cruel law and the popular hate that enacted it, is too strong for the feeble remonstrance of humanity. All our compassion can do for them, is to invoke the interposition of the stronger arm of the Almighty. This we can do, and with the assurance too, that there is both mercy and power there which prayer can move. We feel assured, brethren, that the God of the oppressed, the Father of these outcast children, will interpose and provide them a resting place on the earth which he has made for their use, and in hearts which his grace can open for them, if you will earnestly supplicate this mercy at his hand. We trust your prayers will not be wanting in this case,

Samuel Sullivan Cox. from “Emancipation and its Results” a speech Delivered June 6, 1862, reprinted in *Eight Years in Congress, from 1857 to 1865: Memoir and Speeches*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1865. 236–259.

This speech by an Ohio and New York congressman and diplomat illustrates the tenor of northern racism, which professed a distaste for slavery and a sympathy with enslaved laborers, but entirely rejected the possibility of equality or integration. Almost twenty years after the passage of the “Randolph negroes” through Cincinnati and the theft of the land they had legally purchased, Cox follows the logic of the 1845 mob in denying their right to settle in the state. Please note: the following excerpt contains many racist and otherwise offensive remarks.

The right and power to exclude Africans from the States North being compatible with our system of State sovereignty and Federal supremacy, I assert that it is impolitic, dangerous, degrading, and unjust to the white men of Ohio and of the North, to allow such immigration. By the census of 1860, in Ohio, we have 36,225 colored persons out of a population of 2,339,559. As a general thing, they are vicious, indolent, and improvident. They number, as yet, one black to about sixty-three whites; but their ratio of increase, during the last ten years, has been 43.30 per cent., while that of the white increase is only 17.82 per cent. About one-tenth of our convicts are negroes. I gather from the census of 1850, that four tenths of the female prisoners are blacks, although they compose but one eightieth of the female population of Ohio. In Massachusetts the convicts in the penitentiary are one-sixth black; Connecticut, one-third; New York, one-fourth. In Ohio the blacks are not agriculturists. They soon become waiters, barbers, and otherwise subservient to the whites. They have just enough consequence given to them by late events to be pestilent. The resistance of the abolitionists to the Federal authority in Ohio, within the past three years, was abetted by colored men, some of whom had received schooling enough at Oberlin to be vain and ostentatiously seditious.

The last Legislature of Ohio, by their committee, gave their *protégés* this certificate of character in their report:

The negro race is looked upon by the people of Ohio as a class to be kept by themselves—to be debarred of social intercourse with the whites—to be deprived of all advantages which they cannot enjoy in common with their own class. Deprived of the

advantages here enumerated, it could not be expected that he should attain any great advancement in social improvement.

If this be true, it would be well to inquire why energetic legislation was not had, in view of the emancipation schemes here impending, to prevent this lazy, ignorant, and vicious class from overrunning our State. Such legislation was asked and refused. ...

If further testimony is needed as to the feeling of the people of Ohio and the northwest as to the blacks, I refer you to the speech of an Ohio Senator [Mr. SHERMAN]. Speaking in favor of emancipation in this District, he balanced himself on the slack wire after this fashion:

“This is a good place to begin emancipation for another reason. *This is a very Paradise for free negroes.* Here they enjoy more social equality than they do any where else. In the State where I live we do not like negroes. We do not disguise our dislike. As my friend from Indiana [Mr. WRIGHT] said yesterday, the whole people of the northwestern States are, for reasons, whether correct or not, opposed to having many negroes among them, and that principle or prejudice has been engrafted in the legislation of nearly all the northwestern States.”

It is a fine thing, the Senator thinks, to have free negroes here; not so good in Ohio. Here they have a paradise; in Ohio, its opposite, I suppose. If the Senator could visit Green's Row, within the shadow of this Capitol, henceforth “Tophet and black Gehenna called, the type of hell,” and note the squalor, destitution, laziness, crime, and degradation, there beginning to fester—if he could visit the alleys in whose miserable hovels the blacks congregate, he would hardly be reminded of the paradise which Milton sang, with its amaranthine flowers [laughter], its blooming trees of life, its golden fruitage, its amber rivers rolling over elysian flowers, its hills and fountains and fresh shades, its dreams of love, and its adoration of God. Alas! he would find nothing here to remind him of that high estate in Eden, save the fragrance of the spot and the nakedness of its inhabitants. [Laughter.] If the rush of free negroes to this paradise continues, it would be a blessing if Providence should send Satan here in the form of a serpent, and an angel to drive the descendants of Adam and Eve into the outer world. If it continues, you will have no one here but Congressmen and negroes, and that will be punishment enough. [Laughter.] You will have to enact a fugitive law, to bring the whites to their capital. [Laughter.] The condition of the negroes here is not unlike their condition in Ohio. Perhaps it is worse here than in Ohio, for

their numbers are greater here in proportion to the population. This population already on our hands in Ohio we can take care of; but if we cannot stop more from coming, there is no sense in beginning to colonize the free blacks which we have on hand. I make no proposition as to them now. They do not, except in certain localities, interfere greatly either with our laws or our labor. But the question of allowing more to come in, is the question I discuss, not as to what we shall do with what we have. This is a question as gigantic as the schemes of emancipation. It is a practical question, as the war is already throwing them within our borders in great numbers. Slavery may be an evil, it may be wrong for southern men to use unpaid labor; but what will be the condition of the people of Ohio when the free jubilee shall have come in its ripe and rotten maturity? If slavery is bad, its condition, with an unrestrained black population, only double what we now have, partly subservient, partly slothful, partly criminal, and all disadvantageous and ruinous, will be far worse.

I do not speak these things out of any unkindness to the negro. It is not for the interest of the free negroes of my State that that class of the population should be increased. I speak as their friend when I oppose such immigration. Neither do I blame the negro altogether for his crime, improvidence, and sloth. He is under a sore calamity in this country. He is inferior, distinct, and separate, and he has, perhaps, sense enough to perceive it. ...

The advantages and equality of the white man can never be his. As Dr. Fuller expresses it:

“He sees and knows that it is his color only, that color given him by God, which excludes him and his posterity from this noble and ennobling competition. And now, what must be the effect upon his character? It is impossible but that the worst feelings, envy, hatred, vindictiveness, will secretly work in his bosom, rendering him unhappy in himself, and dangerous to the country. Already have we had fearful premonitions flashing up here and there; and rest assured, nothing but fear represses the utterance, deep and loud, of passions which are only the more fierce because as yet they can have no vent. If the *free African* is to remain in this country, he must either enjoy social equality and amalgamate with the white race, which is impossible, or he will be discontented, unhappy, and will be ultimately exterminated. He would not be fit for freedom, he would not be a man, if he could be satisfied with his position.”

If history teaches any thing, it is that it is as hard to make a servile people free, as a free people slaves, and that a conflict of races, which must result from this policy of emancipation, will only end in the destruction of the weaker. Rome, Greece, West India, all point to the great mistake of breaking rudely the social system of a people. It was only the other day that the news from Jamaica told us of the insurrection of negroes, and their attack on a principal city. A year or so ago, if we are to credit Andrew Johnson, the insurrection of negroes in East Tennessee was caused by a fear that the whites would exterminate the negro population en masse, from a jealousy of negro labor. In this city, at any moment, we may look for an émeute occasioned by the crowding out of white labor by black contrabands. The Government is now paying, to support negroes, thousands of dollars weekly, out of the hard-earned money of the people, raised to put down the rebellion; so at Fortress Monroe; so at Port Royal.

Let us heed the lesson which history has given in other times, as to what is convenient and advantageous under similar circumstances. France broke the fetters from the Haytian blacks, under the lead of Jacobins like the member from Illinois. In less than a half century, the industry and commerce of Hayti were annihilated; the Sabbath, the family, and the school became obsolete; the missionaries were more in danger-as the historian of the West Indies, Mr. Edwards, says-of being eaten than of being heard. [Laughter.] Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopalian ministers were expelled with a persecution equal to that exhibited lately on the mountains of Syria. Hayti was free! But her freedom was the freedom of fiends. Unschooled, undisciplined, she ran riot in her liberty. Her career has but one advantage. It admonishes us of what our fate shall be, if we are launched on the same stormful sea.

Mr. LOVEJOY. Will the gentleman allow me a moment?

Mr. COX. No, sir; I will not.

Mr. LOVEJOY. Then I raise the question of order, that I am entitled to ask the gentleman a question, inasmuch as he alluded to some member from the State of Illinois. I want to know to whom he referred. He called some gentleman from Illinois a Jacobin.

Mr.; COX. - That is no point of order; but I will tell the gentleman in confidence whom I meant. I meant him. [Laughter.]

Mr. LOVEJOY. That is what I wanted to know. Now, I want to ask the gentleman another question.

Mr. COX. I did not mention anybody's name; but the gentleman at once saw the appropriateness of the appellation.

Mr. LOVEJOY. We will try that when I come to answer the gentleman.

Mr. COX. The London "Times" gives a truthful picture of the freed negro of Hayti, which has its counterpart here already:

"The negro is a lazy animal, without any foresight, and therefore requiring to be led and compelled. He is decidedly inferior, very little raised above the mere animal. He is void of self-reliance, and is the creature of circumstances; scarcely fitted to take care of himself; has no care for to-morrow; has no desire for property strong enough to induce him to labor; lives from hand to mouth. In Jamaica, emancipation has thrown enormous tracts of land out of cultivation, and on these the negro squats, getting all he wants with very little trouble, and sinking, in the most absolute fashion, back to the savage state."

But it may be urged that there were too many blacks for the whites in the West Indies, and the experiment failed in consequence. Then let us go to Canada, where our slaves are under English laws, and in the midst of people not specially prejudiced. The testimony is that settlements at Chatham, Dawn, Amherstburg, Buxton, Dresden, and other points, are utter failures. It was soon discovered that the blacks preferred charity to labor. The blacks proved lazy, shiftless, improvident, there not being more than three or four families of a different character out of the one hundred and fifty which comprised the settlement at Buxton. They suffer terribly in winter for want of clothing. The Dresden settlement, planned on the principle of the Socialists, proved a total failure. A few years since Chatham was a bright and prosperous village; but now more than a quarter of its population are negroes, and three-fourths of them are worthless idlers and petty thieves." But it may still be urged, that in the North-in Ohio-the free negro will work, will rise, will add to the security of the State and the prosperity of the people. I select one from a string of black gems. I select it from the district of my friend [Mr. HARRISON], who will avouch its correctness. Greene County, Ohio, has nearly 1,500 negroes. The following extract from the Xenia (Ohio) "News" (a Republican paper in Greene County), will give some idea of their condition:

“There are about one hundred negroes in Greene County who are always out of employment. A part of these are those who have lately been freed by their masters, and furnished with a bonus, on which they are now gentlemanly loafing. Our jail is continually filled with negroes committed for petty offences, such as affrays, petty larceny, drunkenness, assault and battery, for whose prosecution and imprisonment the town of Xenia has to pay about five hundred dollars per annum. And to such persons going to jail is rather a pleasure than a disgrace. They are better fed and lodged there than when vagabondizing round our streets.

“We have seen negro prostitutes flaunting down Main street, three or four abreast, sweeping all before them indiscriminately. We have seen ladies of respectability running upon the cellar doors, and even into gutters, to avoid being run over by these impudent hussies. It was only the other evening that we saw a lady completely turned around by some black girls, who never deviated from their path in the middle of the sidewalk; and our own cheek has burned with indignation at the lecherous smile of invitation which has been flung into our faces by these swarthy demoiselles. Other gentlemen have complained of the insulting boldness of their address. But we are sickened with the recital. It is a disagreeable task to lance the sore which has long been gathering unheeded; and it is equally so to probe this evil, which unawares is growing in our midst. As we have in a former number already said, we feel no prejudice against the black man on account of color, or for mere degradation; but, at the same time, we are unwilling that we should be morally infected by contact with an inferior race, the result of which contact is in no way beneficial to the black, and highly injurious to the white.”

The free negroes will become equal, or will continue unequal to the whites. Equality is a condition which is self-protective, wanting nothing, asking nothing, able to take care of itself. It is an absurdity to say that two races so dissimilar as black and white, of different origin, of unequal capacity, can succeed in the same society when placed in competition. There is no such example in history of the success of two separate races under such circumstances. Less than sixty years ago Ohio had thousands of an Indian population. She has now but thirty red men in her borders. The negro, with a difference of color indelible, has been freed under every variety of circumstances; but his freedom has too often been nominal. Prejudice stronger than all principles, though not always stronger than lust, has imperatively separated the whites from the blacks. In the school-house, the church, or the hospital, the black man must not seat himself beside the white; even in death and at the cemetery the line of distinction is drawn. To abolish

slavery the North must go still further, and forget that fatal prejudice of race which governs it, and which makes emancipation so illusory. To give men their liberty, to open to them the gates of the city, and then say, “There, you shall live among yourselves, you shall marry among yourselves, you shall form a separate society in society,” is to create a cursed caste and replace slaves by pariahs. Again, it is neither convenient nor advantageous to the State of Ohio to have this influx of blacks. ...It may be abstractly wrong to debar them from our State; but some one has wisely said, that “the abstract principles of right and wrong we know, but not the processes nor the duration of their working out in history. All the white handkerchiefs in Exeter Hall will not force the general Congress of Nations to decide questions otherwise than by the laws of convenience and advantage.” Were there no prejudices or instincts against the color or race in our midst, a true State policy would forbid such a horde of Africans as emancipation would send to Ohio. Ohio has a larger circuit of slave territory abutting on her border, than any other Northern State. The Ohio River runs over 500 miles along our border, dividing us from Kentucky and Virginia. Illinois and Indiana forbid all negroes from other States. Since 1850 Iowa and Wisconsin have had the same policy. Is Ohio to be the only asylum for the slaves of Virginia and Kentucky and the other States south? Suppose these schemes of emancipation succeed; or suppose they do not, and the emancipation incident to the war goes on, what proportion of the slaves of the South will cross into Ohio? They will not go to Canada, not now. They will move into lower Ohio, with the consuming power of the army worm. ... By the census in Virginia and Kentucky alone, the colored people number 790,102! How many of these blacks would come to Ohio? ...

In spite, however, of the laws of Illinois, Indiana, and other Western States, the slaves of the Mississippi valley will, if freed, seek the Northwest. They will slip through into Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and Indiana. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. JULIAN], the other day, said that in his part of the State the law was a dead letter. He is no doubt partially correct. In the past ten years the ratio of increase of free colored people in the United States has been 10'97 per cent., that of the slaves 23'38 per cent., and that of the whites 38'12 per cent. In California the negroes have increased 296'67 per cent. compared to the white increase of 31084 - per cent. There are no laws of prohibition in California; while in Oregon, where such laws exist, the whole ratio of increase is 299-96 per cent. compared with a loss of 41'54 per cent. of blacks! In other States there is this ratio: Illinois, white increase of 101'49, black only 30'04; Iowa, white increase 251'22, black

increase 207'21; Indiana, white increase 37'14, black loss 3'49; Wisconsin, white increase 154'10, black 133'22. In these States the law forbids blacks; but in spite of it they get in, but not to that extent which they do in Ohio and Michigan, where such laws do not exist. In the latter State the white increase is 87-89 per cent., the black is double, viz.: 164-15! It will be perceived by an examination of the census, that it is in the Northwest that the black race is increasing; while in other States further East and North they do not increase in the same ratio. It is the Northwest which will be Africanized by the schemes here proposed. The slaves in the Mississippi valley alone, in the States of Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, and Tennessee, number 1,499,079. This does not include the free blacks, who would be compelled to share the exodus. Then Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, would be their asylum; but as the States west of the Ohio are in advance of us in preventing this vicious immigration, Ohio under the welcome of my colleague and his friends, would have more than her fair quota. Temporizing politicians cannot blink this question. While they advocate emancipation, some of them present an alternative-colonization. If more negroes are to be freed, and my State is to be their asylum, I am of Jefferson's opinion, that their freedom ought to be accompanied with emigration to some other land, compulsory if necessary. But Mr. Greeley and others do not advocate colonization to mitigate abolition. The fact that many who honestly contemplate abolition are willing to lay a tax of thousands o' millions to colonize, is a confession that they believe that free negroes cannot exist in the country without its ruin.

It has been said that we ought to free the African, even though we build a bridge of gold over the chasm from slavery to freedom! It will prove a Bridge of Sighs to both black and white. Its piers and arches are to be built out of the moil and toil of American labor. But to its cost: I have some data on which to calculate. In 1858 I voted (according to an old law existing since the time of Mr. Monroe) money to send back slaves taken on board the slave ship "Echo," on the 21st of August, 1858. That law requires all such slaves to be taken back to Africa, and supported there for one year on the coast. This is a humane law, but an expensive one. By a contract made between the Colonization Society and Mr. Buchanan (see Ex. Doc., 2d Sess. 35th Cong., vol. 2, pt. 1), the Government agreed to pay \$45,000, or \$150 apiece, for the transportation and support of the 300 Africans one year. It did not include buying lands for them. There was no expense for compensation to slave owners. Now, if the slaves of all the South are to be paid for at the rate of \$300 apiece-the amount paid here in the District-and land is to be bought beside, you may

approximate to the result of this enormous utopian scheme. Mr. Goodhue, a gentleman who is connected with the Government, and a statistician, makes this estimate:

“By the census of last year, there were 3,952,801 slaves in the United States and territories. I have already shown that 454,441, which belonged to the border States, would be worth, at \$300 each, \$136,332,300. There remain to be disposed of, therefore, 3,498,360 slaves embraced in the country subject to the rebels, but including, of course, large numbers belonging to friends of the Union, who have been constrained into obedience to the rebel authorities against their wills. At the rate of \$300, the slaves in the rebel States would be worth \$1,049,508,000; and adding the cost of compensation to the border States, at the same rate, the aggregate expense of emancipation would be \$1,185,840,300. Or, for the convenience of round numbers, the cost of emancipation would be, at \$300 per head, twelve hundred million dollars (\$1,200,000,000).”

Add to this \$1,200,000,000 the cost of transportation and maintenance for a year, at \$150 per negro, and you have \$1,800,000,000. Add further, for the price of the soil to be bought for them, say ten millions; and the cost of starting them in a strange land, without roads, houses, teachers, and leaders, ten more; and you may approach the stupendous result. This is no violence of mine upon arithmetic. This is the cool calculation of men eager to carry out, at small cost, their schemes. I give credit to the motive which prompts colonization. But where are these enormous sums to come from? “- Oh, the war expenses are as much, and ought to pay it;” or, as Sir Boyle Roche would say, “every man ought to give his last guinea to protect the remainder.” Are not the war expenses already run up to such a sum that men flounder in their calculation of them? But, it is said, the war expenses are not yet done, and by this scheme we may save the remainder. I would like to think so. Such schemes of emancipation will only prolong the war and add to its expenses. This enormous tax is to be paid, it is said, in thirty-seven years, at an annual tax of \$150,000,000! We are to use our credit by bonds, and thus establish a national debt. Great as our resources are, this burden is too enormous. It leaves no hope. It creates despair. Ask the question of the people: “Can you meet these liabilities in addition to the war debt, now estimated by Senator SIMMONS, at the end of July, 1862, at \$555,000,000, and to be doubled before the war is over, supposing that it will end in a year?”

Such a scheme even destroys a large portion of the means to pay for itself. The labor of the negroes after they are freed and colonized is nothing, worse than nothing. It is a loss to the

country of just what it will take in time and trouble to replace it by other labor equally good. It is a loss to the country of the labor and the laborers themselves, estimated at \$600,000,000.

Then we have the following results:

Cost of compensation to owners of slaves.....	\$1,200,000,000
Cost of deportation and maintenance one year.....	600,000,000
Cost of land to be purchased, bridges, houses, roads, &c.'.....	20,000,000
Loss of the labor and laborers to the country and to the masters before a new supply of labor can be had.....	600,000,000
Debt already, according to Secretary Chase's last report.....	491,445,984
War debt additional by 1863, according to Senator Simmons.....	<u>500,000,000</u>
	\$3,411,445,984

This sum almost equals the national debt of Great Britain, which, as the accumulation of centuries, amounts to £757,486,997, or about \$3,787,000,000! Here is a bridge of gold for the African exodus! Ohio builds one span of one-tenth, to cost \$34,114,459; my district pays one twentieth of that, or \$1,705,722. But how much of the accumulations of our people will this sum take? Secretary Chase tells us that, according to the census of 1860, the real and personal property of the people of the United States is \$16,102,924,116! Hence one-fifth of all we have would scarcely meet this enormous liability! In the name of economy, sense, and humanity, may not the people be tempted to repudiate this prodigious expenditure? The men who levy it, sir, are running a desperate hazard. Where, by the tax to put it down, secession has placed only yokes of wood on the people, which they will cheerfully bear, this scheme makes yokes of iron! Think you the authors of so grand a scheme can escape the vengeance of the people by resignation or exile? Theirs will be a doom worse than that of the Gracchi or Robespierre!

But these dreamers do not intend to buy and colonize. Their ethics, like their speeches, are cribbed from the pharisaical spoutings of Exeter Hall. The House has voted down the project of colonization proposed by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAIR]. They will not so outrage human nature-not they What! says Wendell Phillips, export the four millions which are the

fulcrum of the lever by which the nation is to be restored! Oh, no. Is not this the land of their birth? Even the colonization members do not propose coercion. What then?

It is proposed to free all, and leave chance to distribute them among the people. Chance, sir, is a poor economist, and a worse ruler. Let us consider the effect of this proposition. A senator from Vermont [Mr. COLLAMER] fixed the proportion of this distribution at one negro to every five or six whites. He was right. By the census of 1860, there are in the United States 27,008,081 whites and 3,999,535 slaves. If the slaves were distributed equally north and south, this would make one negro to every seven whites; but if all are driven north by social convulsion, as shown by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MALLORY], it would make more than one black for every five white persons. But we know that the African will not go to New England, at least in such numbers as to other States. He does not thrive there. In Boston the city register shows that for the last five years there were 134 births to 376 deaths among the colored people. If Ohio were open, as my colleague advocates, we would have at least twice as many negroes flock into that State as to the rest of the North, and twice as many in central and southern Ohio as in northern Ohio; or one negro for every three white persons in the State, and perhaps twice that ratio in southern and central Ohio. Take Massachusetts as the fair average of the North. There, every inducement is offered to his immigration. He is made a voter; he is admitted to the bar; he is even made better than a white man in suffrage, provided the white man comes from Germany or Ireland. Yet, in a population of 1,231,065, the blacks number only 9,454, or one black to 130 of the population; while in Ohio, with not double the population, there is one black to 63 of the population. The increase of blacks in Ohio is 43.30 per cent., while in Massachusetts it is only 23.96 per cent. So that I am justified, not alone by the census, but most by the geographical position and nearness of Ohio to the South and the extent of its slave State border, in inferring that she would receive more than double the number assigned to the States north by Mr. Collamer's apportionment. What, then, would be the result? Ohio has 2,303,374 white people. She would then have a ratio of one black to every three persons, an addition of 767,791 to her black population! My district, composed of Franklin, Licking, and Pickaway Counties, where negroes seem to congregate more than among their professed friends in northern Ohio, would have scattered among its 110,941 persons, blacks to the number of 36,980! This is nearly equal to the whole population of Licking County! They would be distributed as follows: Licking, 12,370; Franklin, 16,787; and Pickaway, 7,823.

But even this does not do justice to the inexorable figures, for -my district is peculiarly blessed with negro population. Whether it is because the people are more generous in their treatment of the blacks; whether Kentucky and Virginia families who settled in it are more numerous; or whatever is the cause, still it is true, by the census of 1860, that with a population in my district of about one-twentieth of the whole population of the State, it has one-fourteenth of its blacks, or 2,660 out of 36,673.

One would suppose that in the Western Reserve, where the profession of philanthropy is ever arising in prayer, in speech, and in print, where for years they cultivated no civil discipline which interfered with their notions of slavery, there would be throngs of blacks. Is it so? Thou iron-tongued census, speak! In the ten counties of the Western Reserve there are but 1,854 blacks, a few more than in one county of my district! Why they especially avoid Ashtabula, where there are only twenty-five negroes, I cannot say. Is it the prodigal profession and scant practice of humanity? [Laughter.] Or has Mr. Giddings, with a view to protect property and keep up its price, coaxed them into Canada, where happily he is now domiciled? And there is Geauga, with not as many negroes as Fulton County has Indians! What a commentary on representative fidelity is here! The member from Ashtabula, Mahoning, and Trumbull [Mr. HUTCHINS] speaks for 166 negroes; but from his piteous ado, one would suppose that he represented at least as many Africans as the King of Dahomey. [Laughter.] And there is my smiling colleague from the northwest [Mr. ASHLEY], whose rotund form is ready to become like Niobe—all tears—by his grief for the poor negro [laughter]; whose gushes of eloquence in their behalf remind one of the Arab lyrics in praise of the dark maidens of Abyssinia when they sung:

“Oh! the black amber, the black amber! Its perfume by far

Is sweeter than all else on earth or in star;

The lotus of Nile, the rose of Cashmere,

My senses enthrall, only when thou art not here.” [Great laughter.]

Yet, from the whole eleven counties of his district, he cannot count as many negroes by half as live in my own county. I am not particularly proud of representing a greater number of Africans than my colleagues. I think, so far as the chattering goes about their inalienable rights and everlasting wrongs, I am entirely unsuited to represent them; yet I hope that in actual

kindness to them I do represent the white people of my district, whose practical benevolence has attracted to that portion of the State an undue share. What I fear is, and what I deduce is, that this disproportionate share will be continued when the bills voted for by my colleagues are law, and the black exodus has begun....I have the honor, as it is fondly believed by some, to be a prospective constituent of either my friend from the Clark district [Mr. SHELLABARGER], or the honored representative of the Madison district [Mr. HARRISON], with whose votes I so often concur. The Legislature of Ohio has made for my especial contemplation a new district, composed of the counties of Clark, Madison, Franklin, and Greene. If my two friends, who do not agree well in their votes, will consent to make the race next fall, I will, perhaps, edge in a conservative word for the general welfare. I commend to them this question I am discussing. This new district, sir, is rich in colored materials. It was the select asylum for the blacks in their northern movement. Greene County, to which I have referred for the character of its African damsels, is a second Paradise of free negroes. It has 1,475 blacks. The benevolence of Horace Mann at Antioch College led the blacks to believe that here they would repose in the green pastures as contentedly as their brethren bask in the rays of a Congo sun. They were to be elevated without effort to an equality with the white race; and here they gathered to witness the miracle. You may wash them year after year, with your philanthropic soap and water, you will not turn them white, though they may become gray. In this new district there are 3,821 negroes to 111,052 whites. Here are twice as many negroes as in the whole Western Reserve! One negro to every three white persons would give 37,017! A very pretty mosaic A sweet and fragrant nest! And this is the Afric's coral strand, to which my missionary labors are to be directed! Why, here are one-tenth of the negroes of Ohio in this district, with only one-twentieth of the population of the State! So that in this district, if the ratio continued, we should have twice as many as our fair share (at one negro to three of the white population), or some eighty thousand negroes!

How will this immigration of the blacks affect labor in Ohio and in the North? First, directly, it effects [sic] our labor, as all unproducing classes detract from the prosperity of a community. Ohio is an agricultural State. Negroes will not farm. They prefer to laze or serve around towns and cities. This is evident from the census of Cincinnati, Cleveland, Toledo, Dayton, Columbus, Zanesville, and Chillicothe, where more than three-fourths of the blacks of Ohio are to be found. But is it said that the plantation hands, when free, will work the lands? Such is not the experience on the Carolina coast. ...

Will they do any better North? We know what they have done. There are exceptions. I speak of the masses of blacks. Have they done any better at Fortress Monroe, or even here, under military surveillance? Let their condition answer. Food for the present is what they crave; and when that is had, no more work till they crave again. But suppose they do work, or work a little, or a part of them work well; what then is the effect upon our mechanics and laboring men? It is said that many of them make good blacksmiths, carpenters, &c., and especially good servants. If that be so, there are white laborers North whose sweat is to be coined into taxes to ransom these negroes; and the first effect of the ransom is to take the bread and meat from the families of white laborers. ... Nor is the labor of the most of these negroes desirable. No system of labor is so unless it be steady. They will get their week's wages, and then idle the next week away. Many will become a charge and a nuisance upon the public charity and the county poor tax. One hundred of the fifteen hundred negroes of Greene County, as we have seen, were drones and scamps. So in Brown County, Randolph's negroes, taken to Mercer County, were nuisances. ... And for this result directly to northern labor, what compensation is there to the southern half of our country by their removal? Herein lies the indirect effect of their immigration upon northern labor. By this emancipation, the labor system of the South is destroyed. The cotton, which brought us \$200,000,000 per annum, a good part of which came to Ohio to purchase pork, corn, flour, beef, and machinery, where is it? Gone. What of the cotton fabric, almost as common as bread among the laboring classes? With 4,000,000 of indolent negroes, its production is destroyed, and the ten millions of artisans in the world who depend on it for employment, and the hundred millions who depend on it for clothing, will find the fabric advanced a hundred per cent. So with sugar, and other productions of slave labor. For all these results, labor will curse the jostling elements which thus disturb the markets of the world. Another indirect effect upon the labor of the North, and especially of Ohio, is that the markets of the South will be closed, not by blockade, but forever. Our prices of corn, wheat; pork, beef, &c., will be reduced by a contracted market. The surplus in Ohio, the past year, was, of grain 25,000,000 bushels, of hogs 1,000,000, of cattle 300,000, exports from the State, or more than \$50,000,000 worth; while other articles of export were worth \$50,000,000 more. This production is above that which Ohio can use. If our market is restricted, who suffers? The farmer. If he suffers, who will pay the taxes in Ohio? Prices must be remunerative or agriculture suffers. If agriculture suffers in Ohio, every man, woman, and child feels it. If this scheme for Africanizing the State, by destroying southern

labor, succeeds, no fostering care or scientific skill can make up the loss to the farmer. Such schemes, by destroying the sources of labor, destroy themselves.