

Democrat and Sentinel.

THE BLESSINGS OF GOVERNMENT, LIKE THE DEWS OF HEAVEN, SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED ALIKE, UPON THE HIGH AND THE LOW, THE RICH AND THE POOR.

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SPEECH OF HON. S. S. COX,

OF OHIO,
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Special Exposure of the Evils and Inconspicuousness of Emancipation—Its Costs—Its Effects on White Labor—How it would Affect Ohio.

EMANCIPATION.

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 what it will take in time and trouble to pay by other labor equally as good. It is a loss to the country of the labor of the laborers themselves, estimated at \$200,000,000.

Then we have the following results: Compensation to owners of slaves, \$1,200,000,000. Cost of transportation and maintenance one year, 600,000,000. Land to be purchased, 20,000,000. Cost of labor and laborers to the country and to the masses, 500,000,000.

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This sum almost equals the national debt of Great Britain, which as the accumulation of centuries amounts to \$2,787,000,000! Here is a bridge of gold for the African exodus! Ohio builds a span for one tenth the cost \$34,114,450; my district pays one twentieth of that, or \$1,705,722. But how much of the accumulations of our people will this span take? Secretary Chase tells us that according to the census of 1860, the real personal property of the people of the United States is \$16,102,924,116!—Here, one fifth of all we have would barely meet this enormous liability!

In the name of advantage, economy, and humanity, will not the people repudiate this prodigious expenditure?—The man who levies it, sir, are running a desperate hazard. Where secession has failed by tax to put it down, only yokes of food on the people, which they will willingly pay, this scheme makes yokes of gold. Think you the authors of so grand a scheme can escape the vengeance of the people by resignation or exile?—This will be a doom worse than that of the Gueche of Robespierre.

But these dreamers do not intend to free and colonize. Their ethics, like their speeches, are cribbed from the pharisaical sermons of Exeter Hall. The House has voted down the subject of colonization proposed by the gentlemen 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! No, no. Is this not the land of their birth? Even the colonization members do not propose coercion. Their bills demand compulsion.

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 distinguished Senator from Vermont (Mr. Collamer) fixed the proportion of the distribution at one negro to every five or six whites. I refer to the following in the speech of Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin, made at this session.

"A distinguished gentleman from Vermont was first elected to Congress in 1843. He went to do farmers in his neighborhood called upon him the evening before he was going to Washington, to pay his respects. He found him in his office, and told him he had come for that purpose, and to bid him good bye. 'And now, Judge,' said he, 'when you get to Washington I want to have you take hold of this negro business and dispose of it in some way or other than slavery abolished and be done with it.' 'Well,' said the Judge, 'as the people who own these slaves, or claim to own them, have paid their money for them and hold them as property under their State laws, would it not be just if we abolish sla-

very, that some provision should be made to make them compensation?' He hesitated thought earnestly, for a while, and in a serious tone, replied, 'Yes, I think that would be just, and I will stand my share of the taxes.' Although a very close and economical man, he was willing to bear his share of the taxes. 'But,' said the Judge, 'there is another question: When the negroes are emancipated, what shall be done with them? They are a poor people; they will have nothing; there must be a place for them to live. Do you think it would be any more than fair that we should take our share of them?' 'Well, what would be our share in the town of Woodstock?' he inquired. The Judge replied: 'There are about 2,500 people in the town of Woodstock; and if you take the census and make the computation, you will find that there will be one for every five.' 'What?' said he, 'five hundred negroes in Woodstock? Judge, I collect to pay my respects; I bid you good evening; and he started for the door and mounted his horse. As he was about to leave, he turned around and said: 'Judge, I guess you need not do anything more about the negro business on my account.' (Laughter.) Mr. President, perhaps I am going too far when I say the honorable gentleman sits before me now [Mr. Collamer.]

"Mr. COLLAMER—As the gentleman has called me out, I may be allowed to say that the inhabitants of the town were about three thousand, and that the proportion was one to six.

He was right. By the census of 1860 there was in the United States 27,008,081 whites, and 3,999,525 slaves. If the slaves were equally distributed North and South this would make one negro to every seven white men, 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 whites.

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 flocked 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 a fair average of the North. There every inducement is offered for his immigration. He is made a voter, he is admitted to the bar, he is made even better than a white man in suffrage, provided that the white man comes from Germany or Ireland.—Yet, in a population of 1,231,065, the blacks number only 9,451, or on 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 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 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 2,303,371 white people. She would then have at the ratio of one black to every three white 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 110,911 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, 7,821.

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 settle in it are more numerous, or what it is, it is still 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-

one-fourteenth of its blacks, or 2,660 out of 36,673.

	Whites	Blacks
Licking	26,868	148
Franklin	48,783	1,573
Pickaway	22,530	939
Total	108,181	2,660

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 the throngs of blacks. Is it so?—Thou iron-tongued census speak!

Colored persons in	Ashtabula	25
Do	Cuyahoga	894
Do	Lake	36
Do	Madison	61
Do	Portage	78
Do	Trumbull	80
Do	Geauga	7
Do	Lorain	549
Do	Medina	38
Do	Summit	88
Total		1,854

So that in these ten counties of the Western Reserve, there are but a few more Africans than in one county of my district! Why then especially avoid Ashtabula, I cannot say. Is it the prodigal profession and scant practice of humanity? (Laughter.)

Or has Gibbings, 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, why 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 North-west, (Mr. Ashley) whose rotund form is ready to become like Niobe—all tears—by his grief for the poor negro; (laughter,) whose gestures of eloquence in their behalf remind one of the Arab lyrics in praise of the dark maidens of Abyssinia when they sing, 'Oh! the black amber! the black amber! Its perfume by far exceeds anything else in earth or star; the lotus of the Nile, the rose of Cashmere, my senses enrapture, 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 larger 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 understand that it is the intention of some of my Republican colleagues to begin the work of negro immigration by taking a drove of these free negroes to their districts. If they will keep them on the reserve I will not complain. Their motives may be good; humanity and duty may require it of them, since their clamor has brought them into their helplessness here; but such humanity will be like giving a crumb to a hungry man. The work of negro emancipation is stupendous, the expense enormous, and the result will be a failure.

But I propose, sir, to make a further analysis of this subject. 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. Sheltenberger,) 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 special contemplation a new district, composed of the counties of Clark, Madison,

Franklin and Green. If my two friends who do not agree well in their votes, will agree to make the race next fall, I will perhaps edge in a conservative word for their general welfare I commend to them the question I am discussing.

This new district, sir, is rich in colored materials. I was in the select asylum for the blacks in their Northern movements. Green county to which I have referred for the chastity of its African damsels is a second Paradise of free negroes. The benevolence of Horace Mann at Antioch College led the blacks to believe that here they could repose in 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 gather to witness the miracle. That it has not been effected is no fault of the distinguished philanthropist. The people of Green county well understood why it can never be accomplished. Let me, then, take this district in hand for a moment:

	Whites	Negroes
Franklin has	48,733	1,578
Madison has	12,739	276
Clark has	24,808	492
Green has	21,722	1,475
Total	111,052	3,821

Here are twice as many negroes as in the whole Western Reserve! One negro to every three white people would give: Franklin, 16,461; Madison, 4,246; Clark, 8,269; Green, 8,240. Making in all a total of blacks in this new district of 37,017! A very pretty mosaic! A sweet and fragrant nest!—And this is the African's coral stand, to which my missionary labors are to be directed! Why, here are the 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 affects our labor, as all unproductive 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 it is said the plantation hands, when free, will work the lands. Such is not the experience on the Carolina coasts. A writer in the Boston Journal, from Port Royal, on the 14th of May 1862, estimates that there are ten 10,000 contrabands on the Islands. They have planted some corn, potatoes and cotton under the Government direction. The writer says:—

"It is difficult to make the negroes work or induce them to, (if that sounds better North) as they find something to eat from Messrs. Lincoln, and seem to feel they are not free niggers if they work. So they often take a day, or several days, to themselves, when their services are perhaps most needed, and go to Hilton Head or Beaufort.—For instance, some ground had been prepared for plowing and planting, but just as they are needed the few men who understand that part went off for two days without the least notice, thus delaying the planting, which was then late. Until some method is adopted to make them feel the necessity of work for their own good, Government will receive but little benefit comparatively."

Will they do any better north? We know what they have done. There are exceptions. I speak of the masses of the 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 until they crave again.

But suppose they do work, or work a little, or 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. If the wages of white people are reduced, they will ask the cause.—The cause will be found in the delusive devices of members of Congress. The helps of German and Irish decent, the workmen and mechanics in the show and mud field, will find some, if not all of these negroes, bought by their toil, competing with them at every turn. Labor will then go down to a song. It will be degraded by such association. Our soldiers when they return one hundred thousand strong, to their Ohio homes, will find these negroes, or the best of them, filling their places, felling trees, plowing ground, gathering crops &c. How their martial laurels will brighten when they discover the result of their service! Labor, which now ranges from one to two dollars per day, will fall one half. Already, in this district, the Government is hiring out the fugitives at from two to eight dollars per month, while white men are begging for work. Nor is the labor of 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 county poor tax. One hundred of the fifteen hundred negroes of Green county, as we have seen, were drones and scamps. So in Brown county, Randolph's negroes, taken to Mercer county, were misuses. If they are distributed into the country, they may work for a little while, and for small wages, and work well for a time; but when work grows irksome, and they "become too lazy to play," they will steal. Corn and chickens disappear in their vicinage with the facility of shirts from the hedges where Falstaff marched his tatterdemalions.

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, machinery, &c., where is it? Gone. What of the cotton fabric, almost as common as bread among the laboring classes? With four millions 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 million 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 cease the jostling elements, which thus disturb the market 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 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 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. Yet these dreamers cling to their notions with the happy impudence of Munchausen, who went to the moon for the silver hatchet by means

of a Turkish bean which grew up to its horns. When his bean was dried up by the heat he twisted a rope of straw by which to descend, fastening one end to the horns. Alas! like many similar schemes, it was too short. But, holding fast by the left hand, with the right he cut the long and useless upper part, which, when tied to the lower end, brought him safely to the earth! Such will be the result of these frantic experiments upon labor systems of the country. The sooner they descend from the moon with their rope of straw the better. Thus, with loss to the South and damage to the North, both irreparable, and no gain to either, the year of negro jubilee is to be ushered into existence.

In conclusion, then, if the negro cannot be colonized without burdens intolerable, and plans too delusive; if he cannot be freed and left South without destroying its labor, and without ruin to Northern industry and society, what shall be done? Where shall he go? He answers for himself. The *petty tyrants* of a drove of negroes, the other day, in the valley of Virginia, was asked, "Where are you going?" "Dun no, massa, dun no, gwine somewhere I reckon." [Laughter.] His friends can answer very little better. But such answer is not statesmanship.

What shall be done? I answer, Representatives! that our duty is written in our oath! It is in the Constitution of the United States! Leave to the States their own institutions where that instrument leaves them, keep your faith to the Crittenden resolution, be rid of ambiguous schemes, and trust, under God, for the revelation of His will concerning these black men in our land, and the overthrowing by our power of this rebellion. Have you no faith in God, who writes the history of nations? Great as is our power, wise as is our system of government, brave as are our soldiers, unequalled as are our fleets of iron, it is only for Him to breathe upon us, and our power will fade. I know that His power can solve these dark problems of our fate. Let us do our duty to the order established by our fathers, under His wise inspiration, and all may be well.

In this night of our gloom my faith has been in Him, even as my oath to the Constitution, which He inspired, is made, "so help me God!" Clinging to that, I can see the dawn of hope! Leaving it, I see nothing but perjury, fraud and a dark-night of disaster. In our Constitution, alone, under God, is our national salvation enshrined!

But I have no faith in and no hope of this Congress, for they have no faith in God or the Constitution. Greece had a law called the indictment of illegality, whereby any man was tried and punished in a common court like a criminal, for any laws which had passed on his motion in the assembly of the people, if that law appeared unjust or prejudicial to the public. If there were such a law here, how few of the majority of this House would escape the dock of the criminal and the rope of the gibbet. The member from Illinois (Mr. Lovejoy) would then receive the benedictions which follow suspended animation. [Laughter.] But what of the member from Pennsylvania, (Mr. Kelley.)—He has been ever ready, in his defenses of black men and black character, to assail personally those with whom he differed. He could not pass by my humble speech as to Hayti without some sarcastic flings and much misrepresentation, which he refused to allow me to answer. He did not like my style of description, and wondered why there was no laugh at my humor about the negro in court dress. He is more successful. He never speaks but he is laughed at. His speeches have been well described as being every word a scupper, every sentence a tomb, and every speech a grave yard. [Laughter.] In this grave yard he thought to bury me, as he had buried others. But even that voice—*vox et preterea nihil*—which is likened to the cry of an itinerant bull in