WASHINGTON, D. C.

EXTRACTS FROM OUR CORRESPONDENCE.

Danville, Ky., Dec. 8, 1852.—The friends of Freedom polled but a small vote in this State on the 2d of November, and this for various reasons. The Pittsburgh Convention was convened at too late a period to allow an efficient organization. Some gentlemen, who were placed on the electoral ticket, deflected, and went over to Scott, *to be badly beaten.* The result was, no ticket was perfected till October; then it was too late to canvass the State. Meanwhile C. M. Clay, the soul of the movement, was confined at home, nearly the entire summer and fall, by affliction and business. We are not disheartened. The signs of the times betokon a brighter future. The great question is to be kept before the People. *Success* is our motto—our watchword *Onward!*

Henceforth let the Free Democracy mind their calling better; and if a National Convention be found necessary, let it be held early, without regard to the Whigs and Hunker Democrats.

Much is gained by being *first* in the field. And why should we wait for the old parties to display their colors first? Does not experience demonstrate, that whatever be their apparent hue in the beginning, they invariably assume, in their progress, the *pro-slavery die*? Thousands and tens of thousands in the North, to the scandal of the truth and great abuse of their consciences, voted for Pierce and Scott, in the humble hope of gaining some crumbs of Executive favor. They shall have their recompense. Such men, Northern men, "with seven principles—five loaves and two small fishes," held together by the "cohesive principle of public plunder," do more to perpetuate slavery than all the world beside. If Northern men would stand by Hale, Sumner, Chase, Mann, and their noble compeers who maintain the right, slavery would die in twenty-five years. But now, how long? I am a Southern man by birth and education; and though a resident for several years of a free State, I am unable to understand how a Northern man can be the apologist or supporter of our "peculiar institution." "Give me liberty, or give me death!"

KENTUCKY.

Racine, Wis., Dec. 1, 1852.—I see you are liable to be misled in some of your extracts, owing to distance from the various fields, by not knowing the full facts

You say Durkee was defeated by a coalition of Whigs and Democrats. The Whigs are hardly subject fairly to this charge.

The Whigs could hardly expect to elect Durand, in any circumstance; and probably at least half of them, especially in the country, expected and desired to vote for Durkee, and I think with the approbation of leaders in that party, especially the Seward Whigs, who are a large majority. From some cause, they thought that this State might possibly be carried for Scott by great effort. If, therefore, their candidates for Congress would put forth special and unwearied efforts, and furnish the "sinews of war," so much the more would the main chance be improved. Mr. Durand (a fellow townsman) did put forth that effort, and denouncing the Baltimore platform of his party, stumped the district on the Free Soil principles, without reservation; and of course, in the main, drew off those Whigs who were purposing to vote for Durkee, especially as their papers insisted that they could elect him (Durand) if true to their party. I do not think they were sincere in this, but they doubtless were in regard to the result in the State. I think the Free Soilers were as much mistaken, (at least I was,) and it was not keeping in mind the constant foreign addition to our population, almost all of whom, at least the first year or two, if not longer, are Democrats. You see we have made bad figures in this county.*

Four years ago, the disaffection towards Cass was nearly as great as anywhere in New York. Almost all the leaders in this place and county embraced the Van Buren principles; and, as a result, all the appliances which none but politicians know how to use, were in requisition in behalf of Free Soil. Had the Barnburners in New York stood firm to their principles in 1849 and 1850, the old line Democrats in this State would have been swept entirely away before this time; but the appliances to the party used at Washington has proved too strong, even as far as Wisconsin, and now there seems no other path, but over, instead of through, that great party. To me it seems that the next four years will be decisive as to the existence of the Free Democratic party, as such. Unless we can step into rank as one of the first parties as to numbers, we can hardly, in my opinion, maintain our organization. If Mr. Pierce goes South, we must receive large accessions from the liberal Democrats, and must absorb the liberal Whigs, unless that party adopts our principles. Are we not a little too severe towards them, when we call them, without any exceptions, a defeated and obsolete *faction!* The term faction is hardly in good taste, especially as *that party* has not manifested so much tendency to demagoguism as the Democratic, but rather their Conservatism has often led them to mistake real progress for tendency to Agrarianism.

A more perfect and thorough State organization is what we now need, together with an increase of Free Soil papers, especially German. A great and systematic and prolonged effort must be put forth, commencing from the next three or six months, and we shall succeed. The friends in Ohio have well begun. Let their Convention be well attended, and give tone to the effort. Let it be followed by one in New York, if they can make a strong demonstration. If not, by Massachusetts, and so on, as by some concert shall be most advisable, so that all the free States shall be organized in season for the spring elections, and the result will show that it will not be labor in vain.

Truly yours, F. W. DE BERARD.

* I thought I could lay my hand directly on the vote in this District, but find myself unable at this moment, and do not like to delay. In this county the vote stood—in 1848, Durkee (F. S.) 908, Finch (Whig) 563, Lynde (Dem.) 432. In 1852, Durkee 857, Durand (Whig) 955, Wells (Dem.) 1,099.

Durkee's vote in the district is about 600 larger than in 1848; but there has been an increase of between 4,000 and 5,000 votes in the same time.

Martinsville, Morgan co., Indiana, Dec. 4, 1852.—In all, twenty-two subscribers. I think there will be ten or twenty more, that will be sent for from this place. This county has always been in the backwoods. Formerly, the *Era* was looked upon as most abominable and dangerous, but I should not wonder if there should be eighty or one hundred copies taken now in this county, by members of the old parties.

Hartford, Conn., Dec. 6, 1852.—The Free Democracy of this city met on Saturday evening after the Presidential election, and commenced a thorough re-organization, and in defiance of all Baltimore Platforms. We are determined to agitate, until the Belshazzar of American despotism shall be compelled to call our school of Doctors and Prophets, to read and interpret the handwriting.

Fallstown P. O., Beaver county, Pa., Dec. 13, 1852.—Enclosed, please find $27, to pay for eighteen copies of the *National Era.* My prospects at present to raise a large club are very flattering, several having already signed for it, whom heretofore I knew only as the most ultra Whigs; and when they signed, they prefixed the word *Whig*, which I thought rather significant.

Lockport, N. Y., Nov. 27, 1852.—The Lockport Democratic League at their last meeting remodelled their Constitution, making their permanent officers—a President, four Vice Presidents, a Clerk, Secretary, and Corresponding Secretary—all having their specific duties. Among the objects to be carried out, was to increase the circulation of the *National Era.* They all resolved to work, and get up a club for the *Era* in the name of the League, and appointed the four Vice Presidents, (one of whom resides in each of the four election districts of the town,) to receive subscribers' names and money, and from time to time forward them in the name of the League, and report to the League at their next meeting.

Our friend J. C. has been getting up a list, and being a member of the League, has consented to have them forwarded to you in their name. We shall continue to forward names and money as fast as received, and shall expect to receive the *Era* on your most favorable terms.

Granville, Ohio, Dec. 14, 1852.—Our usual Free Soil vote in this town has ranged from 50 to 60. This fall we gave over one hundred, and that without the aid of one single Free Soil speech from any person of note; so you can see that the *Era* is bearing fruit. The Democrats in our town have now become the third party, at least in point of numbers. I presume I shall send you a number of new subscribers in a few days.

Snow Camp, Alamance co., North Carolina, Dec. 15, 1852.—The principles of Free Democracy are gaining ground in the old North State; outsiders may not think so, but we know that the leaven is in our midst, and at work. The vote for Hale and Julian was small. Cause why? The ticket was formed but a little more than two weeks before the election. The printing of tickets was contracted for to be done one week before the election; when called for, they were not done—the Slave Power said *no!* A few tickets were written, and polled at some precincts, but a majority of Free-Soilers did not vote—yes, nineteen-twentieths—because they could not get the chance; and when they did have a written copy, not more than half voted. I did not vote myself, because I thought best not to vote without we could have something like a fair showing.

He sends us a club of subscribers.—*Ed. Era.*

Middle Lancaster, Pa., Dec. 15, 1852.—I am truly rejoiced to reflect that in this region of country, in which I am acquainted, in which three years ago, to the best of my knowledge, only four or five *Eras* were taken, there are now some thirty-two or three. In our township, with scarcely any effort, and no organization, we gave 19 votes for Hale, which surprised not only the politicians of both the other parties, but most of ourselves. Some of the oldest Democrats and Whigs are no longer able, conscientiously, to vote with the old parties, and thus aid and abet the slaveholder. Go on in your arduous but glorious work, and you will find that not only thousands, but hundreds of thousands, will stand by you. Our Free Democrats are, to a man, honest, thinking, and, to a greater or less degree, intelligent men.

Elgin, Kane co., Ill., Dec. 2, 1852.—Now the election is over, and excitement subsided, it is all important that papers advocating the great cause of Human Freedom should be well supported. I have therefore used a little exertion in getting up the following list, which I have the pleasure in forwarding to you. I think it the duty of every Anti-Slavery man, in spite of the hateful Baltimore platforms, to agitate, agitate, agitate, the great question that is now shaking this nation from centre to circumference. Let us all go to work with renewed energy for the next four years; and in 1856, if every man does his duty, we may elect our noble standard-bearers, John P. Hale and Geo. W. Julian, to the highest offices in the gift of the people.

Ohio City, O., Dec. 12, 1852.—The annexed list of subscribers for your paper is the result of an hour or two's time spent to procure them. They, as I believe, are all new subscribers, and made up of intelligent, reading, thinking men, and among them are members of each of the three *great* political parties, and will appreciate truth and sound principles, from whatever source they may emanate. Had I time to devote, I could easily increase the list to fifty, and perhaps a hundred, in this city. The people are becoming more and more willing and anxious to investigate, thinking less of old party ties, and more and more of principle. The friends of justice and human rights have reason to be encouraged; the time is not far off when many of the great political reforms will be accomplished, when truth and justice shall prevail. I expect to see the day when the poor, the homeless, and the landless, may, if they will, possess of the broad fields of earth a spot which they may call home, and when the chains of slavery shall be broken and the bondmen set free.

Lancaster, Jeff. co., Ind., Dec. 11, 1852.—We seem to have been slighted by all men, notwithstanding we have more than seven thousand who have not bowed their necks to the yoke, nor their knees to the dark spirit of slavery. The friends abroad seem to have given us over to our own defence, whilst we had the most powerful odds to contend against of any of the free States. Mr. Hale was used up by the States where his personal influence was not needed as much as it was here, before he got to our State. But that old champion, Samuel Lewis, came, and gave us an excellent lift. We are getting up a more thorough organization, and are going right to work. I have not as much faith as some of your correspondents; but, depend upon it, twice seven thousand won't count the votes that will be given for Hale and Julian in 1856.

Unionville, Darby Creek, Union co., Ohio, Dec. 7, 1852.—The Free Democracy were never in higher spirits than at the present time. This county has given a much larger vote for Hale and Julian than at any former period. The Whig party, which has the ascendency here, have been taken all aback at the defeat of General Scott. They now begin to manifest a willingness to pause and inquire what are the principles of the Free Democracy. I have heard a number say, since the election, that they had voted with the old parties the last time. All we want is the circulation of Anti-Slavery truth.

CUBAN ANNEXATION.

SPEECH OF HON. J. R. GIDDINGS,

OF OHIO,

In the House of Representatives, December 14, 1852,

DELIVERED

In the Committee of the Whole, on the motion to refer the Annual Message of the President to the several committees.

Mr. GIDDINGS. Mr. Chairman, I have risen with no intention to participate in this discussion of the tariff. I abstain from it for the reason that it has been discussed for more than thirty years, by the ablest men in the nation, and no new theory or thoughts are likely to be elicited at this time. I abstain from it for the reason that there is now no party which avows the protective policy. I also abstain from its discussion for the reason that the ablest advocates of protection have, since the late Presidential election, declared that policy to be *dead*—that it now *sleeps with its great advocate, Henry Clay.*

Why, sir, during the recent campaign, a Whig missionary, formerly a member of this body, was sent from New York city to Ohio, to inform us that unless the tariff were *increased*, the country would be ruined; and here, sir, on the second day of the session, his Whig successor, elected with the aid of his vote and influence, moved a resolution to *reduce* the tariff. Now, it is quite evident that whether it be increased or diminished, the Whigs of New York are to enjoy the victory, for they are on both sides of the question. But I think there is an intention, on the part of the majority of the House, to do neither, and thereby disappoint both factions of the New York Whigs. [Laughter.]

Its discussion at this time, is unseasonable and out of place. The short session will not afford sufficient opportunity to mature a readjustment of the duties on imports; and, sir, we are all conscious that the responsibility rests upon the majority of this body, who are evidently disinclined to enter upon it at present. Our country was never more prosperous; and never did the people feel less desirous of a change of tariff than at this time. That indifference was very apparent during the late political campaign. If our most popular speakers attempted to discuss this subject, their meetings would "grow small by degrees, and beautifully less." So, too, during the three days this body has been occupied by it. Members would not listen to the eloquent speeches presented by their colleagues; and most of that time, our hall has been nearly deserted.

The discussion has become "flat, stale, and unprofitable." And whatever my feelings may be, I cannot disguise the fact, that the popular tendency in England, throughout Europe, and in this country, is toward free trade. Experience is the only test which can be applied to these theories. The truth of this remark is exemplified in the operation of the present tariff. At the time of its adoption, we were told that it would not produce revenue sufficient to carry on the Government. Yet although our expenditures were nearly doubled by the Mexican war, we have now more revenue than sufficient to meet all demands upon our Treasury. These facts should teach us to be less tenacious of our theories, and more willing to be guided by experience.

We are all conscious that but one great interest in these United States is now protected by a prohibitory tariff that is, the slave-breeding interest of Virginia and the other Northern slave States. We protect the slave-grower by visiting the penalty of death upon those who import slaves to the injury of our own citizens, who rear boys and girls for the market. These facts stand prominent upon the history of our times. We have secured to the slave-dealers of this nation a monopoly of the crime of buying and selling human flesh.

Now, sir, with all kindness, I will say to those advocates for protection to Northern labor, that while they make merchandise of the Southern laborer, of his wife and children, it will be in vain for them to profess humane sympathy for the free and independent laborers of the North. While you profess an anxious solicitude for the pecuniary interest of the laborer in the cotton mill, and at the same time make merchandise of the bone and sinews, the blood and muscle of him who cultivates the raw material, the people will pronounce you hypocrites.

I this morning read in one of our papers an account of a slave mother, having four children whom she tenderly loved. Her soul yearned for their happiness. But her master contracted to deliver them to a slave-dealer. She vainly implored him to desist from his purpose. He persisted; and as she saw her offspring about to be torn from her embrace, she felt unable to meet such separation, and, in order to save her loved ones from the suffering and degradation to which your laws consigned them, she mercifully deprived them of life. A few days afterwards, she was herself consigned to the gallows, for this manifestation of her affection, and the whole family of five persons were placed beyond the further cruelty of your laws.

Now, sir, while we continue in force laws which inflict such suffering upon one portion of our fellow-mortals, and at the same time profess an anxiety for the pecuniary interest of another portion, will not all candid men charge us with hypocrisy and falsehood?

Mr. JOHNSON, of Tennessee, said, if he understood the gentleman from Ohio, he was in favor of removing the protection to slave labor by repealing the law which prohibits the importation of slaves.

Mr. GIDDINGS. The gentleman is mistaken; it was the protection of the slave-*grower* to which I referred. It is the law of Congress, which authorizes the domestic slave trade, that I condemn. That traffic is far more barbarous than the foreign slave trade, which we very properly characterize as *piracy*, and punish with death. Dealing in human flesh is, in a moral point of view, a naked, undisguised piracy; it is so regarded by all reflecting men; and those who traffic in human flesh, either here, in Africa, or elsewhere, and all who advise, aid, counsel, or encourage such traffic, are guilty, and deserve death upon the gallows. The manner in which we aid and encourage this crime is immaterial. If we lend that encouragement by passing laws to protect the slave-dealer, or by lending our influence to retain such laws in force, we are as guilty as he who actually buys and sells the victims of this traffic, and we, sir, deserve death as much as he does. I would not hang the ignorant sailor who goes to Africa and purchases men and women there, and spare the member of Congress who exerts his influence to continue the same crimes here. Had I the power to punish these crimes, I would inflict the same penalty upon every man who deals in human flesh, or who authorizes or encourages such traffic.

I observed that the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. JONES] took occasion, while discussing the tariff, to say that the Democracy of his State were in favor of the Fugitive Law; but it is somewhat remarkable that the President in his message, makes no mention of that law. It is said, that during the last three months more fugitives have found their way to Canada than ever previously emigrated to that province in the same space of time. They went singly, in pairs, in companies of five, of ten; and sometimes twenty or more travelled together. Scarcely a slave-catcher interposed to prevent this tide of emigration; and those who made attempts to stop them were unsuccessful. The emigrants were armed and ready for the combat. They laughed at your Fugitive Law, and ridiculed those who enacted and who advocate its continuance. As the President is about to retire from office, he witnesses the contempt into which this, his favorite measure, has fallen, yet he fails in his last annual message to notice these facts, nor does he make even an effort to modify the popular odium which has pronounced those Compromise measures *infamous.* He sees the country rapidly separating into two parties—the supporters of slavery and the advocates of liberty. He must be conscious that these parties will soon swallow up all other organizations. The *free* Democracy and the *slave* Democracy will soon characterize our political distinctions, and the Democratic principle of man's national right to liberty will be vindicated and sustained; yet he remains silent on the subject.

And here I wish to say to the friends of liberty, that our cause is advancing rapidly, and with firmer and surer pace than at any former period. The old political organizations have lost their moral power. The election of the great Western statesman, Thomas H. Benton, in opposition to both the Whig and Democratic parties, shows the tendency of men to think and vote agreeably to the dictates of their own judgment, and not according to caucus dictation, or party rule. He, sir, was unconnected with all parties. He was the exponent of his own views; the people approved his sentiments, and, setting party dictation at defiance, they elected him. Nor was the election of the distinguished philanthropist from New York, Gerrit Smith, less a triumph of independent political thought and action. These distinguished gentlemen were connected with no political parties, but each was elected upon his own merits.

I have not time to speak of the election to this body of the Free Democratic members, and of Whig and Democratic members elected by aid of the Free Democracy; nor are these elections, triumphant as they are, even an indication of the extent of our progress. Our principles are cherished by hundreds of thousands of the other parties, who have heretofore been unable to separate themselves from their long-cherished political organizations, but who now say they have acted with them for the last time.

Again, sir, we have enlisted the literati of our country on the side of truth, liberty, and justice. To my fair countrywomen I would say, that a lady, with her pen, has done more for the cause of freedom, during the last year, than any savant, statesman, or politician of our land. That inimitable work, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," is now carrying truth to the minds of millions, who, to this time, have been deaf to the cries of the down-trodden. It is arousing the sensibilities of this country and of Europe. It goes where no other Anti-Slavery work ever found its way, and quietly carries conviction to the hearts of its readers. It has been dramatized, and both in this country and in Europe the play-going public listen with intense interest to the wrongs, the revolting crimes, of slavery. Thus, the theatre, that "school of vice," has been subsidized to the promulgation of truth, and the hearts of thousands have been reached, who were approachable in no other way.

The clergy of the North are awakening to duty, to the calls of humanity. No longer are we called to listen to "lower law" sermons, nor are the feelings of our Christian communities shocked by reading discourses from Doctors of Divinity, intended to sanctify and encourage the most transcendent crimes which ever disgraced mankind. Churches and ecclesiastical bodies are beginning to move in behalf of truth, of Christian principles. They are purifying themselves from those who deal in God's image; they are withdrawing church fellowship from those pirates who deserve the gallows and halter, rather than a seat at the communion table of Christian churches.

I have glanced at these facts in answer to those who have spoken before me, and for the encouragement of our friends, in order to assure them, that while Whigs and Democrats in this Hall are discussing the propriety of protecting "*cotton cloth*" and "*cut nails*," the advocates of freedom have not forgotten the duty of protecting the rights of our common humanity.

But, Mr. Chairman, my principal object, in rising, was to call the attention of this body and of the country, to the first in the series of resolutions presented by the honorable Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, [Mr. HOUSTON.] It refers to our "foreign relations." The position we hold towards the Governments of Spain, Great Britain, and France, is unusually important at this time. The recent publication of the correspondence between our Executive and the Spanish Ministry has excited a deep and pervading interest throughout the country.

And, sir, I here take pleasure in vindicating the President against the assaults made upon him by some presses of the South, for publishing this correspondence. With its publication he had no concern whatever. We, sir, by resolution, called for the correspondence. As the Representatives of the sovereign people, we had a right to it. He had no right to withhold it. As he was bound by his oath and by the Constitution, he sent it to us. *We* ordered it printed. The people had a right to see and understand what their servants were doing on this as well as on all other subjects.

This correspondence is highly important. It shows to the country and to the civilized world, that for thirty years the Executive has exerted our national influence to maintain slavery in Cuba, in order that the institution may be rendered more secure in the United States. This policy stands out in bold relief; it pervades the whole correspondence, and was also incorporated into the instructions of our Commissioners to the Congress of Panama, although those instructions are not embraced in the communication now before us.

Both Whig and Democratic Administrations have adopted this policy; and although I have but little time to read extracts from this correspondence, I will give one from the letter of Mr. Webster, Secretary of State, marked "*Private and Confidential,*" to our Consul at Havana, dated January 14, 1843, in which the author refers to reported intentions of British Abolitionists and the British Ministry to aid in the abolition of slavery, and in the establishment of an independent Government in Cuba; he says: "If this scheme should succeed, the influence of Britain in this quarter, it is remarked, will be unlimited. With six hundred thousands blacks in Cuba, and eight hundred thousand in her West India Islands, *she will* (it is said) *strike a blow at the existence of slavery in the United States.*" These, sir, are the words of a man who opposed all expression, by this Government, of sympathy with oppressed Hungary; who was so strongly opposed to all intervention with the affairs of other Governments in favor of liberty.

We, sir, hold our own institutions by the right of revolution, which he so severely condemned. He appears to have been shocked at the idea that liberty should be enjoyed in Cuba, and avowed himself willing to prostitute the naval and military power of the United States to uphold a system of oppression in that Island, which consigns to premature graves one tenth part of its whole slave population annually—a system by which eighty thousand human victims are said to be sacrificed every year to Spanish barbarity and Spanish cupidity. Sir, at this moment the Senate are engaged in eulogizing the statesman who has himself erected this monument to perpetuate his own disgrace. They, sir, are endeavoring to falsify the truth of history; to cover up those stains upon his character which no time can erase, and no effort of friends can purify. They can never separate his memory from the great errors of his life. Sir, it is right and proper that the evil deeds of public men should be remembered, that posterity may avoid their crimes, and duly estimate their moral and political worth. Yet, sir, we were told during the recent canvass, that unless we voted for the Whig candidate, if we permitted the Democratic candidate to be elected, Cuba would be annexed and slavery extended and strengthened in the United States. Plausibility was given to this argument by a certain distinguished Senator from the West, who travelled somewhat extensively, making speeches in favor of Cuban annexation and fillibustering expeditions to that Island. I desire to say, very distinctly, that in my opinion, that gentleman "*ran before he was sent.*" He appeared anxious to obtain Southern favor, by making himself the advocate of what he deemed Southern measures. I think if he had waited a few months, and consulted the sober reflecting statesmen of the South, they would have told him to remain quiet. But he hastened to acquire Southern favor, and, like some who have gone before him, he will find hereafter that he has run his bark upon the same rock on which so many Northern statesmen have made shipwreck of their political hopes. Other Democratic candidates of the North have pursued the same policy, and some Whigs have striven to keep pace in this race of servility. Among others, I notice a Whig paper in New York, of somewhat extensive circulation, avowing the policy of annexing Cuba. Others have taunted the Free Democracy with having lent our influence to that policy, by refusing to vote for the Whig candidate.

Now, sir, I would say to them, that the Free Democracy is not altogether composed of boys and unfledged politicians; nor is it guided by men destitute of experience and forethought. We, sir, look not to the other parties for guidance; we do our own thinking and our own voting. We have our own views upon this question as well as on all others.

Gentlemen of the Democratic party, who have spoken here, have alluded directly to this policy, but have carefully withheld all expression of their own views, or the views of their party, in reference to it. I had hoped to hear from gentlemen the designs of the incoming President. At least I hoped to hear what they themselves think of this policy. Are they, individually, in favor of it or against it? No one has presumed to avow his own thoughts. Now, I would say to those members, you were sent here to represent the people. Franklin Pierce was elected to carry out and execute the laws which we enact—not to represent the voice of the people in enacting laws. God has given to you the powers of thought and reflection. He has given to you judgment and conscience. It is your duty to exercise those judgments and obey your own consciences—not to wait for General Pierce to tell you how to act and what to do, nor to obtain instructions on these subjects from the incoming President, or from the members of his Cabinet. If you do this, you are not *representatives of the people*, but of General Pierce, who will take care to represent himself. If you do this, you will not deserve the name of *freemen*. No, gentlemen, you and I were commissioned to avow the popular will of the nation; and God forbid that we should wait to receive instructions from any other human being.

But, as I have remarked, no Democrat has as yet intimated the policy of the incoming Administration in regard to Cuba; and as the country is desirous of understanding what that policy will be, I will volunteer to speak for the President elect. [Laughter.] As my colleague in the Senate yesterday remarked, "I am a *Democrat*, by the grace of God, *free* and *independent*;" and as I have no doubt as to the policy of General Pierce, I will give my opinion as to his course on this subject. If he be the man—the statesman—that I take him to be, he will neither say nor *do anything about it.* He will leave it in silence. He will not follow the example of one of his predecessors, who, in his inaugural address, declared our title to the *whole* of Oregon to be *clear* and *unquestionable*, and when the British lion began to growl and show his teeth, our President backed out of his position, and surrendered one-half to British rule. No; General Pierce will not be likely to follow such an example. He will look thoroughly into this subject before he commits himself in regard to it.

It is certain that former Administrations and a portion of the people of the United States have long coveted Cuba, and would gladly now wrest it from the control of Spain, if they could do so with safety. The objects for which they would do it, I have already adverted to. But an omniscient, all-wise Providence has thrown around the consummation of that great national crime such difficulties, and embarrassments, and positive dangers, that, in my opinion, it will never be perpetrated.

The first, and only mode, in which we can hope to obtain Cuba, is by *peaceful, quiet purchase.* Suppose the Spanish Crown should consent to take $100,000,000, as proposed by Mr. Buchanan, for the transfer of Cuba to this Government, and our President should stipulate to pay it; I would yet say to the Spanish Cortes, and to British and to French statesmen, that not one dollar of that amount can go to the possession of Spain until this House shall make the appropriation. I wish them to understand that the people here are the source of all political power, and their Representatives control the Treasury of the country.

Now, sir, what benefit will the people of Ohio, or of any free State, receive by the annexation of Cuba, for which they are to be taxed to such a large amount? The first effect would be to bring to this Hall eleven Spanish members, to enact laws to govern our people. Those Spaniards will be ignorant of our language, bred and educated under Spanish despotism, unacquainted with our institutions; men who never exercised the right of suffrage, and who have no just views of Free Governments. I do not think the influence of such men in this Hall would be worth $100,000,000. But the Spanish poulation of Cuba would not only be brought into full political association with our people, but they would come into the Union with greater advantages, influence, and power, over our rights and interests, than we ourselves possess. Their influence under our Constitution will be proportioned to the number of their slaves, counting five of those newly-imported Cuban negroes, fresh from the African coast, equal in moral and political influence to three of our free citizens of the North; so that the holder of five of those slaves will wield the same influence in the Federal Government which four of our Northern men exercise. Now, let those Representatives who really think their constituents to be worthy of only one-fourth part of the moral and political influence to which those Cuban slaveholders are entitled, vote to give the $100,000,000 to degrade their constituents and posterity to the level of those Cuban slaves. Sir, I deny the right and the constitutional power of this Government thus to degrade and disgrace the freemen of Ohio. Will my Democratic colleagues, or my Whig colleagues, take issue with me on this point? Will either of those parties inscribe Cuban annexation upon their banner at the next election? Yet, sir, until the people consent thus to disgrace themselves and their children in coming time, this insult to our dignity cannot be consummated. Will not such a proposition stir up agitation? But, sir, we have merely commenced upon the difficulties which surround and embarrass the purchase of Cuba. The eight hundred thousand slaves of Cuba were mostly born in Africa, and imported to that island. They are desperate, and have little regard for human life. For many years past the military force required to hold them in subjection has been estimated at twenty thousand men, or twice the military force now maintained by this Government. The annual cost of maintaining such an army in that island would not probably fall short of $20,000,000; and the expense of civil government, including light-houses, local legislation, pay of members of Congress, &c., would not be less than $3,000,000; while the revenue, under our laws being assessed only upon imports, would not exceed $2,500,000. Thus there would be a net annual expenditure of more than twenty millions of dollars over the revenues of the island to hold their slaves in subjection. That amount would be drawn mostly from our laboring men of the free States. And now I ask, in all kindness, how long do you believe the laboring people of Ohio would consent to pay troops at that rate to stand sentinel over the slave drivers of Cuba, while they lash these degraded minions into submission?

But a standing army of twenty thousand men will not be sufficient to maintain this system of oppression. That island now imports some thirty thousand African slaves annually. They are ignorant and stupid; they have no common language, and are incapable of any concerted movement for freedom. By annexing Cuba to the United States, this foreign slave trade will be cut off, and the supply of victims will then be drawn from our slave-trading States. This, sir, is the great object for which annexation is sought. It will enhance the price of human chattels in our Northern slave States. But here, again, God has thrown around this gigantic crime, dangers which cannot be avoided. These slaves will be more enlightened; they will speak the English language, which is spoken in all the British Islands. They will have some knowledge of their rights, and of the means of obtaining them. Nor will they want for leaders to guide them in the work of achieving their liberty. The whole eight hundred thousand free colored people in the neighboring islands will sympathize with them. Some Douglass, some Remond, some Ward, or other hero, will be found to plan and conduct insurrections, some Touissant to lead them in battle. Your troops will find active employment. Fire and sword will be called into service; devastation, rapine, and slaughter, will be carried by the infuriated slaves over the plantations and villages. Two hundred thousand colored men, rendered desperate by barbarous oppression, will constitute no mean force, when fighting for life and liberty. In that struggle, Mr. Jefferson has assured us the Almighty possesses no attribute which will permit him to take sides with the oppressors. No, sir, our consciences and our sympathies must be with the oppressed. Our prayers will be that justice shall take place; and if the oppressors be laid low in death, we shall view it with Christian submission. Then, sir, this Government will possess the constitutional power to conclude a peace by the total abolition of this accursed system of oppression. And do you think that Congress will long continue such a war? Will they shoot down those who thus strike for liberty? Or will they not rather consent to return to them their God-given rights?

And, sir, I would say to our Southern friends, that when this spirit of liberty shall once be aroused among the blacks of Cuba, they will be very likely to bring the war into Florida, Alabama, and other Southern States. Mr. Chairman, annex Cuba now, with its present slave population, and you and I may live to see our slave States devastated by a servile war. Indeed, I am surprised that the colored population there have remained supinely inactive so long. These States are at this time suppressed volcanoes, ready to burst forth whenever the elements shall become agitated. The annexation of Cuba will rock this Union to its centre, and the hidden flames will find vent, and the fire will extend until slavery be consumed. When that day of retributive justice shall overtake our Southern friends, we, sir, will interpose, not by shooting down the victims of oppression, by murdering those who have been oppressed, wronged, and outraged, but by making peace with them upon terms of justice, and admitting them to the enjoyment of their liberty.

But, Mr. Chairman, I have spoken only of the peaceful purchase of Cuba, and its consequences. It is the only mode in which we can obtain it. We can get it in no other mode. Slavery sits like an incubus upon our nation, paralyzing all our energies, and rendering a war with any powerful nation impolitic and dangerous. We cannot go to war for the conquest of Cuba. And, sir, from what we learn by the correspondence before us, as well as from other sources, Spain will not be likely to sell it to us. She has taken her position on this point, and has long maintained it. She will continue to maintain it. The old Castilian determination of purpose will guide her councils in future. I am, therefore, very clearly of opinion that we shall not have Cuba, so long as the friends of liberty continue to call public attention to the wrongs and crimes of slavery.

The policy of the Spanish Government to set the slaves of Cuba free, in case of formidable invasion, forbids all hope of obtaining it by conquest. It is now well known that, prior to the Lopez expedition, the Governor General had express orders, if he found it necessary to defend the island, to abolish slavery and put arms into the hands of the emancipated slaves. Now, sir, our fillibustering politicians will have no object in obtaining Cuba, unless they can thereby obtain it with slavery. They fight for oppression, not for freedom. With these facts before the country, we shall have no more fillibustering expeditions. Our political fillibusters will now disappear. They will escape the garrote, but will be reserved for political suffocation.

Mr. Chairman, I speak my own opinions. No other man is responsible for what I say. I have given some attention to this subject, and have satisfied my own mind, that while the advocates of liberty shall continue their efforts for freedom, their struggles for justice to all men, *Cuba will not be annexed.* I congratulate the friends of liberty and of humanity upon the important position they have attained. The very efforts which our opponents said would secure the annexation of Cuba, have, under the circumstances to which I have referred, prevented the perpetration of that outrage. It is the bold, unflinching agitation and maintenance of truth, by political, moral, and religious efforts, that has saved us from that degradation. Had we, sir, united with the other political parties at the late election; had we then disbanded, there would have been danger of the annexation of Cuba, even at the price of war and bloodshed. But we have attained the position which enables us by our efforts to command the respect of our opponents; and more especially has our course commanded the respect of ourselves—of *good men*—of the lovers of liberty in this country and in Europe, and, as I humbly trust, the approval of God himself. Slavery can only flourish, it can only exist, in the quiet repose of peace. It cannot continue amid the storm of war or the rage of moral elements. All history shows us that slavery cannot exist amidst the agitation of truth. Justice is the great moral antagonism of oppression. They cannot exist together. I indulge the hope that slavery has reached its limits; that it cannot pass beyond its present boundaries, if we remain true to our purpose and our principles. Its proud waves are already stayed. Cuba must remain attached to the crown of Spain. Yet I would say to British and to French statesmen, that if they wish to obtain it for the purpose of establishing liberty there, of giving freedom to its down-trodden people, let them satisfy Spain and take the island. *We shall submit*, for the very obvious reason that, while we hold our own slave population in subjection, we cannot enter into a war with either of those Powers in order to maintain that institution in Cuba. We, sir, would rather see Cuba *free*, under British or French rule, than see our fellow-men oppressed, degraded, and ruthlessly murdered, under either Spanish or American authority. But if it remains subject to Spanish laws, its final redemption is not so far distant as we have been accustomed to think. The employment of Chinese laborers in that island has proved far more profitable than that of slaves. Indeed, it is said the expense of carrying on their plantations by the labor of these free people from China, is less than half that of slave labor. At this time there are said to be six thousand Chinamen on their passage to Cuba, for the purpose of engaging in the cultivation of the soil. The laws of Cuba are also more favorable to emancipation than those of our slave States. These circumstances, under the guidance of Providence, amid the lights and intelligence of the present age, are slowly but surely working out the redemption of Cuba, even under Spanish rule. Yet its annexation to this Union would, in my opinion, hasten the overthrow of slavery, both there and in our slave States.

The world is moving in favor of liberty. Redemption to the African race upon this continent must soon come. I trust it will come in peace; but I will add, in the language of our departed coadjutor, John Quincy Adams, "Let it come: if it must come in *blood*, yet, I say, LET IT COME."

THE ERA AT THE SOUTH.

"We are grateful, very grateful, for the manner in which our friends are responding to our annual circular. Never have we observed among them so much enthusiasm for the *Era*, and for the cause it represents. They have carried our list up to near twenty-five thousand, and still they come. Everywhere they are organizing clubs and circulating newspapers."

Thus the *National Era*, an Abolition paper published in Washington, D. C., glories over its success. We have no doubt that one-sixth of his 25,000 are Southern subscribers; not that they are Abolitionists, but subscribe merely to get a paper published at Washington, and to see how *this organ* talks about the institution of slavery. The editor, Mr. Bailey, often alludes to the sympathy for his enterprise in the slaveholding States, and says he feels encouraged by the *signs* to press forward in the good cause of "ameliorating the condition of the slaves." This is one of the ablest papers in the Government; and well may he occupy the ... of editor, when not only his ... the North, but a large ... the South, are clubbing together by hundreds, and ordering, with money in advance, this chief of Abolitionism. This policy is furnishing the axe which is to cleave your heads and dismember the very cord of a national existence. The papers of the South may drag out a miserable life, with scarce support, devoted to Southern soil and interests, while those which are its worst enemies grow fat and powerful through Southern support.

Will not men be influenced by interest, if not by principle, to withdraw their aid from an avowed enemy? We do not ask you to subscribe to Southern papers—they may not be worth your attention and the *exorbitant* subscription price—but we do ask the Southern man who feels himself identified with the land that gave him birth and a shelter for his children, and which yields him "bread and raiment," to see after its protection and internal strength—not only by withdrawing from these organs whose objects have already been accomplished, particularly in the late "Lemmon case," but keep your money here; educate your children in our own colleges; employ teachers who have been educated with Southern feelings upon them to instruct your children; and, above all, help those who are laboring for the harmony, strength, and perpetuity of your own "sunny land."—*Montgomery (Ala.) Times.*

We certainly do not desire to interfere with the circulation of any Southern paper. Our subscribers in the South, we are sure, are full able to support their home papers, as well as to patronize the *Era*.

The merchants, principally, in New York have subscribed $7,000 as a remuneration for the judicial robbery perpetrated by Judge Paine, in the notorious *Lemmon case.* Does any one South believe that these *ostensible sympathizers* were moved with a spirit of justness and benevolence, or rather was it not an impulse sprung by the thought of commercial gain? Do we infer that they looked to any other fact than that such a just indignation would get hold upon Southern merchants as would drive them to Charleston or Savannah to trade, in place of New York? Such would have been the case, and they, foreseeing this withdrawal, have attempted to repair the injury by the remuneration of a few thousand dollars.

Montgomery (Ala.) Times.

THE OXYGEN LAMP.

THE subscribers would respectfully inform the public that they are the sole manufacturers for the original Oxygen Lard or Oil Lamp, as patented by D. Kinnear, Feb. 4th, 1851. This lamp has been before the public for three years, during which time there have been over one hundred thousand sold, and it has received three first premiums and two