WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Acquisition of Cuba.

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN P. HALE,

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

FEBRUARY 15, 1859.

I have read, Mr. President, with some care, the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations recommending this measure, and I have also read the message of the President of the United States, and I will endeavor, as well as I may, to present very briefly what I think to be the argument of the committee. They start out, not with attempting to prove, but with assuming, that the acquisition of Cuba is a matter of great importance; and they say that to undertake to prove that it is of importance, would be "as much a work of supererogation as to demonstrate an elementary problem in mathematics, or one of those axioms of ethics or philosophy which have been universally received for ages;" and, further, "that the acquisition of Cuba may be considered a fixed purpose of the people of the United States, a purpose resulting from political and geographical necessities."

I think I understand something of the doctrine of necessity—I mean political necessity. It has been characterized in all time as the plea of tyrants. Geographical necessity I do not understand so well; but I may be permitted to say, at the outset, that I do not think tropes and figures are always the best arguments. In some of the arguments which have been adduced for the acquisition of Cuba outside of the report of the committee, political gravitation has been brought in to work with political necessity and geographical necessity, and it is said that Cuba is gravitating to us. I think the Senator from Georgia [Mr. TOOMBS] would have us infer that this gravitation began a great while ago, and that the velocity has been increasing in proportion to the squares of the distances, until it has got now so great that it can hardly be resisted.

Sir, it will be a curious subject for some of those political philosophers to inquire why it is that this law of gravitation, which we have ordinarily been taught to consider as universal, operating alike upon all particles of matter, in all conditions, does not operate upon some of the adjacent islands; why, stretching itself out, it has not affected Yucatan. How, in the name of gravitation, is it, that every one of the British islands, great or small, has not been affected by this magnetic influence? Why is it that this political gravitation uniformly affects the possessions of weak and feeble Powers? Gravitation, we have not ordinarily supposed, was subject to such considerations.

But the great argument of the Committee on Foreign Relations is, that it is a very convenient island; that it will be very desirable for us to possess it. I can understand that argument. That is an argument which is not ordinarily used in legislative assemblies, but in very different places, and under very different circumstances; it may be characterized—I do not know how to characterize these doctrines independently of their authors, but I mean to do it; I mean to speak of doctrines—it is the doctrine of the highway; it is the doctrine of power and of might; it looks upon a thing, and says it is desirable, and therefore we ought to have it, and we will have it.

But the Committee on Foreign Relations go on further. They undertake to prove, and I think they do prove, pretty conclusively, that we not only want it, but that we have been wanting it for a long time past. I agree to that. If you will show me a place on God's earth that power and avarice lust for to-day, I will show you a place that power and avarice lusted for years ago, and still I shall have done little or nothing to demonstrate the morality or the justice of the feeling that is entertained. I wish, however, to examine, a little in detail, the proofs that are arrayed by the Committee on Foreign Relations, to show that this has been so desirable. These proofs are to be found in the writings of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Clay, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Alexander Everett, Mr. Edward Everett, Mr. John Quincy Adams, Mr. Van Buren, and Mr. Marcy. I concede, for the sake of the argument, that all these gentlemen have lusted after Cuba; but I think, so far as the authority of Mr. Jefferson is concerned, he goes against the acquisition; for Mr. Jefferson, in the writing quoted by the committee in their report, says nothing should ever be accepted by us which would require a navy to defend it. That is Jefferson's opinion. I apprehend, to-day, there is no man in this Senate, no man in this Congress, no man in this country, whose opinion is worth anything, who will tell you that Cuba can be defended by sea without a navy.

Mr. MALLORY. I do not wish to interrupt my friend from New Hampshire, but he is quoting Jefferson's opinion upon this point; and in that very letter from which he is quoting, Jefferson says Cuba can be defended without a navy, and that is the reason he recommends it.

Mr. HALE. Mr. Jefferson says that nothing should be ever accepted by us which could not be defended without a navy; and it is true, as the Senator from Florida says, that in the same letter Mr. Jefferson expresses the opinion that Cuba could be defended without a navy. Well, sir, as I said yesterday, I do not believe in the infallibility of the Senate, nor do I believe in the infallibility of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Jefferson had a natural and innate and an undying hatred of a navy; and I suppose that the great reason of his hatred to the navy was, that it was the pet child of the old Federal party. It was the great bone of contention between the parties of that day; and if there was one thing Mr. Jefferson abominated, it was a navy. You know, Mr. President, that one of the first measures of his Administration, when he came into power, was to undertake to substitute gun-boats for vessels of war, which had been introduced by the Federal party. But Mr. Jefferson, when he expressed the opinion that Cuba could be defended without a navy, was entirely ignorant, for the thing had not existed, of the creation of a great steam marine. If Mr. Jefferson were alive to-day, I apprehend that he, no more than any other sensible man, would venture the opinion that, at the present time, with the present state of the naval affairs of the world, Cuba could be defended without a navy, and without a large navy.

Mr. John Quincy Adams, who is also quoted upon this subject, speaking of this matter, says:

"Numerous and formidable objections to the extension of our territorial dominions beyond the sea, present themselves to the first contemplation of the subject."

Sir, those objections to extending our territorial possessions beyond the seas, which, upon the first blush of this matter, suggested themselves to Mr. Adams, exist to-day; and if you will go on and read every one of the opinions of the earlier statesmen of this country, such as Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Clay, Mr. John Quincy Adams, Mr. Alexander Everett, and Mr. Edward Everett, I think you will find every one of their statements qualified, and they express the idea that, with the present condition of things, as they existed at the time they wrote their letters, they were content to let Spain occupy Cuba as she did. Mr. Edward Everett delivers himself upon this subject—and I think he will obtain vastly more credit and more honor by it than he will by going about to collect funds to buy Mount Vernon—as follows:

"A respectful sympathy with the fortunes of an ancient ally and a gallant people, with whom the United States have ever maintained the most friendly relations, would, if no other reason existed, make it our duty to leave her in the undisturbed possession of this little remnant of her mighty transatlantic Empire. The President desires to do so. No word or deed of his will ever question her title or shake her possession."

That was the statement of Mr. Everett upon this subject; and you will find, I think, the sentiments of every one of those gentlemen who are relied upon to prove that the acquisition of Cuba would be desirable, thus qualified. But, sir, I do not meet that argument; I give up; we want Cuba. I mean, that is the purpose of the national will. We desire it, and we have desired it a long time. We have desired it anxiously and earnestly. We desire it because it is rich. It is rich in the natural productions of the earth, rich in its commerce, and in every way desirable for us to possess, if we could get it honorably; and if this proves anything of the justice or the rightfulness or expediency of taking it, it is an argument that might be made.

The Committee on Foreign Relations go on and argue this question at some considerable length. They say, in their report, that there are three alternatives for Cuba: first, her possession by a foreign Power, which we would never submit to; secondly, her independence, which is impossible; and, thirdly, her acquisition by us, which is inevitable. Well, sir, those are curious alternatives. One never can be, the other never shall be, and the third is inevitable; and we are called upon to-day to appropriate $30,000,000 to bring about an inevitable consequence. I think it was stated by a Senator sitting on the other side of the Chamber, in reference to manifest destiny, "manifest destiny will take care of herself." She wants none of our puny and feeble aid; and I think, in the present state of the Federal Treasury, it is a wasteful and extravagant appropriation of money, to appropriate, either actually or prospectively, $30,000,000, to bring about an inevitable consequence. That is the ground on which the committee place it.

The committee not only prove that we have always wanted Cuba, and cannot help taking it—it is inevitable—but they go on to fortify the justice and the propriety of our taking her, by the example of some of the other nations of the earth. The report says:

"Let England pursue her march of conquest and annexation in India, France extend her dominions on the southern shores of the Mediterranean, and advance her frontiers to the Rhine, or Russia subjugate her barbarous neighbors in Asia; we shall look upon their progress, if not with favor, at least with indifference."

Yes, sir, let Great Britain carry on her schemes of conquest; let her annex kingdom after kingdom in India; we look on, "if not with favor, at least with indifference." Let France extend her dominions; let her pursue and carry on her schemes of conquest in Algeria; we will not have a word to say there. Let Russia pursue unchecked her career of conquest upon the Caucasus; let her anticipate the time when that "sick man" in Constantinople will die, and seize upon Constantinople, and command the Mediterranean; we will look on, "if not with favor, at least with indifference."

"We claim on this hemisphere"—here is the ground on which the claim is put—"the same privilege that they exercise on the other."

Then there is a beautiful line in Latin poetry. I will endeavor to construe it:

"Hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim."

Sir, whenever I hear a judge in court give an opinion in Latin, I generally conclude that he is about to announce some infernal doctrine that he is ashamed to speak in English. [Laughter.]

"Hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim."

Now, I will tell you what the *petimusque* and the *damusque* are in this case. *Damusque*, we give—we give to England liberty to extend her wars of conquest and aggression in India, and swallow it all up; we look on, if not with favor, certainly with indifference. *Damusque*—take it. France, take what you want anywhere; go on with your conquests, not only where you please, but as you please—*damusque*, we give up that. Russia, go establish yourself on the Mediterranean and the Bosphorus; if the "sick man" does not die quite soon enough for you, smother him between the pillows—*damusque*; [laughter;] if we do not look on with favor, we do with indifference. This, sir, is an unchangeable world; it is an ungrateful world; but will England and France and Russia be so ungrateful and ungracious, if we have given up to them so much, if in the scale of *damus* we have thrown such tremendous weights, as not to allow us to take Cuba? Now listen to the *petimus*. We want to do a little robbing on our own account. Here is a rich, beautiful island, lying close to our shores; its political gravitation is so great that we have hardly virtue to keep it off; it is ready to fall into our hands—*petimus*. [Laughter.] Stand by while we take that—*hanc veniam*. That is all the *petimus* we ask of the world, and this is the argument, stripped of its poetry, and translated into plain English.

But there is another trope, and the report does great credit to the committee, and that is, one originally, I believe, introduced by Mr. Adams, and incorporated by the committee in their report. They say:

"If an apple, severed by the tempest from its native tree, cannot choose but fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly disjointed from its own unnatural connection with Spain, and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only towards the North American Union, which, by the same law of nature, cannot cast her off from its bosom."

It is inevitable. I do not think the poetry applies. We have not to use *petimus* to which is inevitable, and will come whether we will or not. Now, sir, this argument of the apple is a beautiful one. It is one that boys can understand; for we can remember when we look up upon ripe apples hanging upon the trees, and we have all of us deplored the waste that was accruing, if the ripe apples should fall to the ground and rot upon the soil; and, sometimes, I am not certain but some of us, had such an extravagance as that should happen, and the apple should grow ripe and fall when we were not by to catch it, have used a club to hasten this process of nature, and knocked the apple off before it got quite ripe. [Laughter.] But the committee say the apple is absolutely ripe. Now, I am not certain that this judgment may not have been formed a little by the hankering appetite of the committee for ripe apples, instead of a precise knowledge of what the state of the fruit is. [Laughter.]

These, I think, are the arguments that have been adduced by the committee, in prose and in poetry. It is desirable; it is a rich island; we want it now, and you cannot prove that there ever was a time when we did not want it; we want it very much, and are determined to have it; we cannot help it; this is the only alternative there is for us—to take it. We will let France, Russia, and England, take all the world—*damusque*—if they will only allow us to have this *petimus*—to do what we cannot help doing. Now, sir, cannot we reason with the rest of the world, that they are acting unreasonably?

Having fairly stated and answered, as well as I could, (for I am not acquainted with these tropes,) the argument of the committee, I will now proceed to answer some of the positions assumed by the honorable Senator from Louisiana, [Mr. BENJAMIN.] By a remarkable coincidence, it turns out that this knowledge of the political necessity and the geographical necessity, and the argument growing out of ripe fruit, and everything of that sort, seems to be better appreciated by the Senators from Louisiana than by Senators from any other part of the United States. I do not know that it is strange that it does. The magnetic influence of that political gravitation which has been going on will be more likely to be felt in that part of the coast nearest the magnet, than it would in the more remote parts. But, sir, there is one portion of the argument of the Senator from Louisiana which, I doubt not, he thinks I cannot answer, which he considers it is folly to attempt to answer, which I will now undertake to answer. I shall not undertake to controvert one single word that he said about the coolie trade. If he has found a system of human slavery on the face of earth worse, and greatly worse, than any that he has seen on our continent, I am perfectly willing that he may expend his sympathies and his philosophy upon it. I shall not undertake to controvert it. I yield to him for the sake of the argument, though I do not profess to be instructed in the matter, that so far as his censures have fallen upon the coolie trade, they are just. I will not undertake to controvert them. So far as his censures have fallen upon the trade carried on in African apprentices, I will not controvert one word of them.

But, sir, when the Senator stands up here in the Senate, and undertakes to assume, as he did, that the experiment of emancipation tried by the British Government in their islands, and the abolition of domestic slavery, has been such a total failure that it is admitted and acknowledged by everybody to be such, and is treated as such at the present day, I beg leave to say to that honorable Senator, to the Senate, and to the country, the evidence upon that subject is not all one way. I admit, further, for the sake of the argument, that the experiment of the emancipation of slaves in the British West Indies has not been favorable to the cultivation of the sugar estates. If there was no other destiny to be developed in the future, if there was no other lot that was desirable for mankind than to be converted into sugar planters, I would yield him the argument; but, in my own State, in the whole of the six New England States, in Pennsylvania, and in New York, I believe there is not a single sugar planter; and yet we think that we have, in some tolerable degree, answered the great purposes of a Christian civilization in those communities; we believe that, upon the whole, we are not a whit lower in the scale of morals, of intellect, of mechanical arts, of industry, and of everything which elevates and refines and advances human society, than any of the sugar-growing States. I will not trespass upon that by alleging any superiority. It is enough for the argument that we do not conceive that we are inferior, notwithstanding we have not a sugar planter among us.

But, sir, aside from the fact that the cultivation of sugar may have suffered somewhat considerably in the British West India islands, where this great experiment of emancipation has been tried, that beyond that it has been a failure I utterly deny, and I do not stand here to speak without the book upon that subject. I hold in my hand a report made to the British House of Commons in 1857, entitled "Accounts and Papers." The first piece of evidence to which I desire to call the attention of the Senate is a copy of a dispatch from Governor F. Murray to the Right Honorable H. Labouchere, dated "Bermuda, June 18, 1856." I think the Senator will find that every authority which I quote to him is older and later than those which he gave to the Senate in the remarks which he submitted. Governor Murray, in his report, says:

"Sir: I have the honor to transmit the Blue Book for the year 1855.

"I am happy to report that the general state and prosperity of the colony is satisfactory; that is strongly exemplified by the fact, (as you will perceive by the tabular returns,) that the exports have increased in value, when compared with last year, from £25,563 to £41,420, and that the imports have increased from £120,389 to £162,556. To this sum must be added imports to the value of £9,332 for the use of her Majesty's military and naval forces, and that of the convict establishment, making the total imports £171,888. There has also been an increase in the revenue, notwithstanding that the *ad valorem* percentage duty on imports had been reduced one per cent. Agricultural and commercial enterprise are steadily augmenting, and improved habits of industry are observable among the people generally."

That is the Bermudas. I next read from a report made from Lieutenant Governor Shortland to Governor Hincks, dated the 16th day of June, 1856, and written from Tobago. He says, in this report:

"Your Excellency submits to me the question relative to the employment of the negro population not engaged in the culture of sugar—'whether they are industrious, or, as represented to be the case in some colonies, abandoned to slothful habits, and content with the mere necessaries of life.' The negroes of this island cannot be termed slothful or abandoned; they bear the character of being orderly and well-disposed, and, I believe, deservedly so. The black and colored classes have acquired a considerable amount of property. Many have raised themselves to the position of lessees of sugar estates, and a spirit of emulation seems to be on the increase. I am aware of offers having been made to proprietors by the negroes to rent estates, and to repair the works at their own cost; indeed, in one instance, three negroes have taken the lease of an abandoned sugar works, and have repaired both the mill and the boiling-house. Several other instances might be adduced of equal enterprise. I am not, however, prepared to say that the negro, as a class, can be called industrious, in the true sense attached to the word. He is not fond of continuous labor."

This is what the Governor says, and in that, I would add, he is not singular:

"But, when working for himself, taking the average of a year, he performs a considerable quantity of work. When working for hire, he gives his employers the smallest quantity he finds will be submitted to. The struggle, too, never ceases; he must be constantly urged forward, or he would fail to work. Nevertheless, I am induced to extend to him a decided preference over all other laborers for general purposes in a tropical climate."

I next read from the report of the Colonial Secretary to Lieutenant Governor Shortland, dated June 5, 1856, and some memoranda attached thereto, I believe, by the stipendiary magistrate. Speaking still of the island of Tobago, he says:

"The fact that a great majority of the negro population—whether plantation laborers or otherwise—have, since emancipation, left the plantation negro-houses, and acquired comfortable residences of their own, may be taken as *prima facie* evidence that they are industrious and saving. No man, contented with the mere necessities of life, will work, and save up money to buy a piece of land and erect a house, and pay the taxes to which he thereby subjects himself. I have been upwards of twenty years in Tobago, and I deny that its peasantry are abandoned to slothful habits. I assert, on the contrary, that a more industrious class does not exist in this world—at least, when working for themselves. I see no reason, either, for employers on estates to find fault. In the face of our taxation, '8*d.*' a day is not a very remunerative wage to laborers whose employers in Great Britain are comparatively untaxed for the produce which they extract from Tobago. Better wages will procure an increase of work. A minimum of wages naturally purchases a minimum in return, and prompts the peasantry to labor for themselves rather than for their employers."

The next is a report from Antigua, another of the British West India islands. I read from a dispatch from Governor Hamilton to the Right Honorable H. Labouchere. Governor Hamilton says:

"Although there has been a great diminution in the value of tropical produce, and the labor of the plantation cultivation has proved in various years unremunerative, yet, upon the whole, the success of the cultivation, by free labor, of the valuable staple commodities of the West Indies, in well-peopled colonies, is demonstrated by the results produced in this island, as well as in the neighboring island of Barbados; and experience has sufficed to convince the public mind that there is no sufficient cause for despondency in the agricultural condition of the West Indian colonies."

Here is another colony, not one of the West Indies, but one in which the experiment of the abolition of Slavery has been made—Mauritius. What I am about to read is taken from a report of Governor Higginson, dated May 13, 1856. He says:

"Our sugar crop, for the past year, reached one hundred and two thousand tons, and that now about being reaped promises to be still more abundant. Should the season continue as favorable as it has hitherto been, the coming crop may be estimated at not less than one hundred and twenty thousand tons—about double that exported in 1850; and as large tracts of cultivable land still lie unreclaimed, only awaiting the hand of the husbandman, provided nothing occurs to obstruct the steady influx of immigrant labor, it is hardly possible to estimate the limit of producing power attainable within another five years."

These are all official documents, sent to the House of Commons by the Governors of those islands. But I have a later and a more minute authority. Last year, in 1858, a gentleman residing in Boston addressed a series of queries to Governor Hincks, Governor of the five Windward Islands; and I will read you an extract from his answer:

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, BARBADOS,
January 9, 1858.

"MY DEAR SIR: I willingly comply with your request, that I should communicate to you the opinions which I have formed as to the results of the abolition of Slavery in the British West Indies, as well in their bearing on the civilization of the emancipated classes, as on the general prosperity of the colonies. I do this the more readily, because, being thoroughly persuaded that most erroneous opinions on this important subject prevail generally, both in Europe and America, I think that every possible assistance should be given to those who take the trouble to inquire into the actual condition of these colonies.

"The errors to which I shall more especially advert are, first, the assertion that slave labor is cheaper than free. Secondly, the charge of habitual indolence advanced against the creoles of African descent, which has led, it is alleged, to the abandonment of the sugar estates, and the consequent ruin of the proprietors.

"On the first point, namely, the comparative cost of free and slave labor, I believe that little if any difference of opinion exists among the proprietors of this island. It is, however, much to be regretted that the West Indian planters have more than once, since the period of emancipation, made formal complaints to the Imperial Parliament, founded on their inability to compete in the production of sugar by free labor with the slave labor of foreign countries.

"The object of the complainants doubtless was to obtain a continuance of the protective duties then levied upon foreign sugars. I can, however, state with confidence, that many who at one time held the opinion that the increased production of sugar in Cuba was to be attributed to the cheapness of slave labor, have long since discovered their error. For my own part, I entertain no doubt that the productiveness of Cuba is to be mainly attributed to its rich virgin soil, on which ratooning can be carried on for many years with little labor. Land in that island is abundant and cheap, and labor is in great demand for clearing and preparing it for cultivation." * * *

"As to the relative cost of slave and free labor in this colony, I can supply you with facts, in which the most implicit reliance may be placed. They have been furnished to me by the proprietor of an estate containing three hundred acres of land, and situated at a distance of about twelve miles from the shipping port. The estate referred to produced during Slavery equal on an average to one hundred and forty hogsheads of sugar of the present weight, and required two hundred and thirty slaves. It is now worked by ninety free laborers—sixty adults and thirty under sixteen years of age. Its average product during the last seven years has been one hundred and ninety-four hogsheads."

In Slavery, 230 slaves produced 140 hogsheads, and after emancipation 90 free laborers produced 194 hogsheads. Again:

"The average of pounds of sugar to each laborer during Slavery was 1,043 pounds, and, during Freedom, 3,664 pounds. To estimate the cost of slave labor, the value of 230 slaves must be ascertained," &c.

Another extract from the same letter. He says:

"I shall now proceed to the consideration of the complaint against the creoles of African descent, that they are indolent, and that they have abandoned the sugar plantations. This is a subject involved in much greater difficulty than the one on which I have already treated. I admit that the planters generally, in several of the British colonies, would vehemently maintain the correctness of the charge. I am, however, bound to affirm that, after a most patient investigation, I have been unable to arrive at such a conclusion. There is no doubt that the condition of the laboring classes ought to be worse in Barbados than in any of the other colonies. In Barbados, land is exorbitantly dear, being worth, in small quantities, from four to six hundred dollars per acre. Wages are from ten pence to one shilling per day, as I have already stated. There are only five working days in the week, except during crop time. With all these disadvantages, the small proprietors in this island, holding less than five acres of land, increased, in sixteen years, from about eleven hundred to three thousand five hundred and thirty-seven. I doubt much whether such a proof of industrious habits could be furnished with regard to a similar class of laborers in any other country in the world. I adduce the above remarkable fact to prove that in this island there has been no want of industry on the part of the creoles of African descent. I think that in those colonies in which the sugar estates have been partially abandoned, we must look to other causes than the indolence of the laborers."

Again:

"With regard to the condition of the African race, I can answer your queries with unmixed satisfaction, and with the conviction that there will be little, if any, difference of opinion among well-informed persons on that subject. The improvement which has taken place in the religious condition of the people of all classes, and the progress of education, is quite equal to what could reasonably have been expected. The creoles are advancing rapidly in civilization."

That is the opinion of Governor Hincks, dated this year, of the state of things in the island of Barbados. I now wish to show you that, in other respects than the mere physical one, this experiment has not been a failure. I read from a letter from the Bishop of Barbados. He gives some other statistics. The Bishop says:

"The following is a comparative view of our church schools in Barbados at the dates mentioned:

Daily Primary or National.

Year.	Schools.	Scholars.
1825	8	600
1834	27	1,574
1841	49	3,994
1857	70	6,180

Daily Dame or Infant.

1825	–	——
1834	3	261
1841	2	173
1857	14	1,140

Again, on another point:

	1825.	1834.	1841.	1858.
Number of clergy in Barbados	15	29	33	43
Churches and chapels	14	23	35	50
Amount of church accommodation	5,000	7,750	22,500	28,000

So, sir, when tried both by the standard of progress in schools and in churches, the experiment of emancipation in the West Indies does not seem to be so disastrous as the Senator would suppose. A letter from the Hon. B. T. Young, written to the same gentleman in answer to the same letter, dated January 13, 1858, says:

"The religious condition of the people generally has greatly improved since the abolition of Slavery; and, undoubtedly, emancipation has removed many of the obstacles that existed during Slavery, and stood in the pathway of the slave in improving his religious condition."

In regard to education, he says:

"Greatly improved, but by no means to the extent desired. Popular feeling is now pressing the enlargement of education to all classes, and the Legislature of Barbados is quite willing to carry it out to the extent desired, by increasing the annual grant towards education."

In respect to crime, he says:

"I do not think there is more crime now than in the days of Slavery; because the owner, during Slavery, had the power to punish all crime short of capital offence. Now, all crime is punished by the courts, and thus a wide publicity is given to it."

In answer to the question, "Are the estates, generally speaking, better cultivated under free labor than they were under slave?" he says:

"In Barbados, the estates are, generally speaking, better cultivated with free labor than they were under the slave labor.

"I believe it is generally admitted that the cost of production is generally less under a free-labor system.

"The voice of one and all pronounces it to be a blessing. * * * There can be no question that emancipation has worked most beneficially for the emancipated classes.

"The condition of the poor whites in Barbados is lamentably deteriorated, but from causes quite apart and distinct from emancipation."

Now, sir, I desire to call the attention of the Senate to the island of Jamaica, in which it is said, I believe, that the most disastrous consequences have ensued from this experiment of emancipation. The Governor, in writing from Jamaica, says:

"The returns from the several jails continue to testify to the comfortable condition and peaceful disposition of the lower orders."

Instead of Jamaica being about to be abandoned as hopelessly given over to barbarism, the Governor says:

"Such a revival is distinctly traceable in these returns; the comparison for the last four years standing as under, after correction of an error into which I was last year betrayed by the total omission from the custom-house tables, which were very carelessly prepared by the then Comptroller of Navigation Laws, of the value of British goods imported:

	Imports.	Exports.
'1852	£837,894	£927,377
'1853	864,094	837,276
'1854	926,166	932,316
'1855	899,508	1,009,325"

Again he says:

"Last year I could sum up my report with no greater amount of encouragement than an assurance that the position of the colony had grown no worse, and that its prospects were by no means desperate; this year, I am fairly entitled to found on the facts and figures I have passed in review much more sanguine inferences; and though difficulties and drawbacks still remain to be encountered, I feel far more confident of the ultimate restoration of prosperity than I ever did before."

So, sir, even in Jamaica, affairs are not quite so hopeless as the Senator from Louisiana supposes; and I hope that he will come to the conclusion that the experiment of emancipation in those British West India islands has not been so utter a failure as he had been led to imagine. The people, instead of working upon the plantations, have become land-owners, and in sixteen years the small land-owners, holding small estates of five acres and upwards, have increased more than three hundred per cent. I am glad that the honorable Senator has based the argument for the annexation of Cuba upon what he says is the conviction that compulsory labor is absolutely necessary to the maintenance of that island. He argues that compulsory labor can only be maintained there, first, by the introduction of the coolie trade, which he condemns in no measured terms; by the apprenticeship, to which he is equally opposed; and by the foreign slave trade, which, I suppose, from the tenor of his remarks, does not meet his approbation. He would have it left for us to infer that the only alternative by which this demand for compulsory labor by which the agriculture of Cuba is to be maintained is, that these slaves are to come from the United States of America; that when Cuba is annexed to us, the foreign slave trade being cut off, the necessities of compulsory labor still continuing, the United States of America must then take the place and occupy the position which the coast of Africa now occupies, and instead of foreign slavers going from Cuba to the coast of Africa to get their cargo of human muscles with which to carry on the agricultural labor of Cuba, that they are to come to the United States; and that this great demand for compulsory labor is to be supplied by annexation. That I understand to be the argument.

The President of the United States puts it on the ground, also, that it will tend to the abolition of the foreign slave trade. Now, sir, I confess that I am not entirely clear in my convictions of the propriety of this suggestion from the present Executive. I think, before it becomes us to annex foreign territories to our possessions for the purpose of putting down the African slave trade, that we see to it that we put it down in the possessions we have now got. I believe, from the commencement of the Government down to the present day, it has never transpired that any man has been convicted, in any of your Federal courts in any of the States of this Union, for being engaged in the foreign slave trade. I may be mistaken in that, but I think I am not. The Federal judiciary is utterly powerless, to-day, if newspapers be relied upon, for the enforcement of the laws against the slave trade in the States of this Union. The doctrine has been openly avowed within a few days, within a short distance of where I stand, that this foreign slave trade must be reopened, to enable the Southern States to contend with that species of labor against the emigration which is coming from Europe into the Northern and Eastern States.

Now, sir, it is very well for the President to be desirous to put down the foreign slave trade, but I would commend to the President, and to those gentlemen who desire to put down the foreign slave trade by annexing Cuba, this simple admonition of one of the Apostles, I believe it was Paul, who, in writing to his brethren, says: "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." That saying would seem to imply that it is not very well for us to begin to strengthen anybody else, until we have converted ourselves. I would say to the President of the United States, and I would say to those gentlemen who are desirous of the annexation of Cuba for the purpose of putting down the foreign slave trade, that they had better begin by putting it down at home. They had better see that the Federal judiciary and the Federal laws are able to deal with this great sin and this great crime upon our own coasts, before we go abroad beyond the seas, for the purpose of annexing Cuba to put it down there. It will be time enough for us to enter upon a crusade for the abolition of the foreign slave trade in Cuba, when we have abolished it upon our own shores and in our own country.

Mr. BENJAMIN. Will the Senator from New Hampshire permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. HALE. Yes, sir.

Mr. BENJAMIN. I will ask the Senator, who is very urgent that the Federal judiciary shall put down the African slave trade with the United States, if he knows of a solitary instance in which a solitary African slave has been introduced into the United States except the recent case of the Wanderer, which the Federal officers are now pursuing?

Mr. HALE. I do not know, because I never visited any further south than Virginia; my opinion is derived from papers altogether. Upon that subject I have no particular information, but I have a very decided conviction. I do not know that there has been any other; but the case of the Wanderer is enough. That may be the first one that has been discovered and brought out palpably; but is the Senator so ignorant of what has transpired in the city of New York, if we are to believe the papers and the accounts that come from there, that he means to say that vessels are not fitted out, and have not been for years, in the city of New York, for the foreign slave trade?

Mr. BENJAMIN. I will state to the Senator, with great pleasure and with entire candor, that I believe a great many vessels are fitted out in the United States for the purpose of carrying on the slave trade between the coast of Africa and Cuba—not one, to my knowledge, nor do I believe one ever has existed, except the solitary case of the Wanderer, for carrying on the slave trade with the United States.

Mr. HALE. Well, sir, that is all I desire. The witness has answered everything I wanted him to answer. I am satisfied.

Mr. BENJAMIN. So am I.

Mr. HALE. So am I; and now I will proceed to argue the case. The Senator has no doubt that a great number of vessels are fitted out in the city of New York for the purpose of engaging in the foreign slave trade between the coast of Africa and Cuba, in which they violate the laws of the land and our treaty stipulations; and your Federal power has been incompetent to arrest that business in the city of New York. If it cannot take care of the slave trade in the city of New York, I think it will be very difficult to do it in Cuba.

But, Mr. President, I will deal candidly with this subject, and with the authors of this proposition. I do not believe that this measure is pushed at this time with the expectation, the remotest expectation, that Cuba is to be annexed by it. I think I hold in my hand a paragraph from a newspaper which gives the true clue to this whole movement, and I will read it. It is taken from the Carolina *Spartan*, dated February 3, 1859:

"PURCHASE OF CUBA.—In both Houses of Congress, propositions are pending to appropriate and place at the disposal of the President $30,000,000, to be used in negotiations for the purchase of Cuba. The report of the committee, in the Senate, by Mr. SLIDELL, occupied one hour in reading. On the subject of the acquisition, the Washington correspondent of the Charleston *Mercury* holds this language:

"'Among politicians, the acquisition of Cuba is the absorbing topic of conversation. It is evident Mr. Buchanan has purposely reserved this question for political capital, and intends to make it the lever by which to raise the Democratic party out of "the slough of despond" into which the Abolitionists had thrust it. It is a subject peculiarly attractive to the people of the North, who, while they are fondly devoted to free negroes, are still more ardent in their love of "free sugar," and will go for Cuba without Slavery. If anything in the future may be predicted from the present complexion of affairs, "Cuba" is to be the Democratic war-cry in the Presidential campaign of 1860, and is the only thing which is likely to give us a Democratic President.'"

I do not believe it will do that, either. [Laughter.] When I read an extract from Governor Hincks's letter, the honorable Senator from Louisiana was curious to know what paper it was published in, as if a document coming from the hands of an individual could be affected in its character for veracity, by that of a paper in which it was printed. It was printed in the *National Era*; but this that I speak of, this Democratic war-cry article, has no abolition taint about it. It comes from South Carolina, from the Charleston *Mercury*, which I understand to be the alkoran of the party. In that article it is said that the war-cry of the next Presidential campaign is to be Cuba; and that, if anything in this world can lift the Democracy out of the slough into which it has been thrust, this will do it. I think the President overrates altogether the power of Cuba, in that respect. He does not know what a job it would be to do that. General Taylor came into the Presidency an honest man, and he entertained the idea that he was going to bring the Government back to its original purity. Providence took him from the evil that was to come. It broke the old man down. He did not know what a job it was to bring this Government back to its original purity. I have heard nothing in modern times equal to it in absurdity, except this attempt to lift the Democratic party out of the slough of despond, in 1860. I have read the President's arguments; they are not new. When I read this report, I could not but be struck with the similarity of some of the arguments to those that were used in Congress on a former occasion, some fifteen years ago. I allude to the annexation of Texas.

Mr. President, you have forgotten, I venture to say, the arguments by which that measure was carried through Congress. I had almost forgotten them myself; but I have been refreshing myself on that subject. I have lately read a letter published by a distinguished Senator from Mississippi—he is not one now, but was one in former days—in which he undertakes to argue the annexation of Texas; and I will tell you what the grounds upon which he put it were, and I commend that letter to gentlemen; they should go and read it. In the first place, he said it was a great abolition measure, and would tend to the rapid extinction of Slavery in the United States. Said Mr. Walker, in a letter addressed to the citizens of Carrollton, I think it was, in Kentucky, if Texas should be reannexed—why do not Senators put that *re* on to Cuba?—Slavery would be abolished in Delaware in ten years, in Maryland in twenty, and it would have been very much lessened and decreased in Virginia. Texas was to be the outlet by which Slavery, by the law of political gravitation, was to slide off through Texas into Central America, where there was no prejudice against color; and there the colored man was to be elevated, and was to create a new condition for himself, such as the blacks have acquired in the West Indies, according to the report of the Governor. That was one of the reasons then given for the annexation of Texas; and your Northern Democracy, which at that time—I will not speak of the present; I hope they have improved—were ready to do anything you asked, if you only gave them something by which, if they could not deceive others, they might themselves, caught it up, and the Democratic party in my own State resolved that they were in favor of the annexation of Texas, because it would add more free than slave States to the Union, and they had the authority of Mr. Walker for it. He said it would entirely abolish Slavery in Delaware in ten years, finish it in Maryland in twenty, and make awful inroads in Virginia. Well, sir, [Mr. MASON in the chair,] you can state how much it has done in Virginia on that subject.

There was another argument, and I almost stagger credulity when I repeat it, but I find it all in Mr. Walker's letter. It was necessary to preserve the tariff. Yes, sir, the appeal was made to the manufacturers of the New England and Middle States, that the annexation of Texas was necessary to preserve the tariff. They found out how efficacious it was in that respect. That problem was demonstrated sooner than will be the other one, of how long it will take to abolish Slavery in Virginia.

The third argument used by Mr. Walker for the annexation of Texas was, that it was necessary in a military point of view; and what do you suppose that military point of view was? That it was necessary to defend New Orleans, and to preserve the Union. Mr. Walker said, if Texas were not annexed, there would be a Southern Confederacy, the Union would be dissolved, New Orleans would be at the mercy of any foe that would come to take it. Those were the arguments. The annexation of Texas was to prepare for the extinction of Slavery, it was necessary to preserve the tariff, to protect New Orleans, and cover the land with blessings. We got it. Another prediction Walker ventured upon to manufacturers was this: if Texas should be reannexed to the United States, in ten years there was to be more cotton manufactured in the United States than there was in Great Britain. That was another of the consequences to flow from its annexation.

Well, sir, the Democratic party listened to these arguments. I did not, and I got turned out of doors for not listening. The measure was consummated, and consummated, too, by the votes of the Northern Democracy; and now they have history left to tell them how true, how specious, or how just, were the arguments by which it was advocated. There is to be the same cry always, that it is necessary in a military point of view. Why is Cuba so necessary in a military point of view? What can Cuba do towards protecting the mouth of the Mississippi? I believe the passage on the east side of the island to the capes of Florida is something like eighty miles. The fleets of the world could go in there without the fortifications on either side molesting them. On the western side, from Cuba to Yucatan, I think the channel is still wider—more than eighty miles across. How are you to protect and command the Gulf of Mexico by owning this island of Cuba, which has a channel eighty miles wide on each side of it, unless you maintain a navy to do it? Mr. Jefferson, when he, in the quotation which is made by the committee, undertook to recommend receiving Cuba into our Union, he said we should immediately erect a column on the southernmost limits of Cuba, and inscribe on it that it was to be the *ne plus ultra* to us in that direction—seeming to admit, that if we took Cuba, we were going as far as it could possibly be justifiable to go on any condition, and that we were to erect a monument when we got to Cuba, to proclaim to all the world, through all time, that our avarice and our lust for dominion and for empire were satiated, at least in that direction, and that we were to go no further.

But there was another part of Mr. Jefferson's opinion, in which he says:

"We should then have only to include the North in our Confederacy; which would be, of course, in the first war; and we should have such an empire for Liberty as she has never surveyed since the creation."

Well, sir, I have had occasion, more than once or twice, to speak about this north side of the Union. Mr. Jefferson