DE BOW'S REVIEW

AND

Industrial Resources, Statistics, etc.

DEVOTED TO

COMMERCe, AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, POLITICAL ECONOMY, GENERAL LITERATURE, ETC.

"Commerce is King."

EDITED BY

J. D. B. DE BOW,
PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, ETC., IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA, SUPERINTENDANT U. S. CENSUS.


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not tenfold the discontent and uneasiness that really exists. "What American, North or South," triumphantly asks the reviewer, "would like to change places with the slave?" What scaly inhabitant of the deep, O most sapient brother, or the reviewing brotherhood, would like to change places with an oyster? and yet oysters are, and God made them; and, although the sportive denizen of the ocean, as he glances to and fro through its briny recesses, might not fancy being suddenly caught by the tail and glued down in some muddy shoal or gloomy submarine recess, yet have we a fair right to conclude that, as the oyster has, as evidently as his more sprightly brother of the deep, his object and destiny in existence, so is he by nature suited to its functions and its contingencies; and yet we might imagine the poor devil of an oyster made exceedingly uneasy in his position, should some whispering demon of mischief set up a submarine school of communism, and lecture on the propriety of general abolition. "Liberty! liberty!" cries the oyster; "am I too not a brother of the deep?" Alas! what knows he of liberty? He fancies that he need but be released from that rock, and, without further effort, he may skim the waves, or plunge, sporting, beneath the billows. "Liberty from these cursed bonds!" exclaims the agitator. "Liberty!" echoes his deluded victim. Behold! if the bond be burst, has he found liberty? Nay, rather destruction. True liberty consists but in the freedom to exercise those faculties which God has given, and the oyster, upon his rock, is as free as his nature permits him to be.

As regards negro-nature, he who runs may read. The negro (as a people) cannot be free. He has not the faculty of freedom. In no age and in no land has he lived free from restraint, except as the savage. Scarcely by the grossest quibble upon words can the imputed savage, in his native wilds, be called a freeman. Does he promise better under England's pet experiment of enfranchisement in Jamaica? He has been watched over, helped—and what is the result? So long as England will make his clothes and bake his bread, he will wear the one and eat the other; but (we quote from the London Times)—

"Our legislation has been dictated by the presumed necessities of the African slave. After the emancipation act, a large charge was assessed upon the colony in aid of civil and religious institutions for the benefit of the enfranchised negro, and it was hoped that these colored subjects of the British Crown would soon be assimilated to their fellow-citizens. From all the information which reaches us, no less than from the visible probabilities of the case, we are constrained to believe that these hopes have been falsified. The negro has not acquired with his freedom any habits of industry or morality. His independence is little better than that of an uncaptured brute. Having accepted few of the restraints of civilization, he is amenable to few of its necessities; and the wants of his nature are so easily satisfied, that, at the current rate of wages, he is called upon for nothing but futile and desultory exertion. The blacks, therefore, instead of becoming intelligent husbandmen, have become vagrants and squatters, and it is now apprehended, with the failure of cultivation in the island, will come the failure of its resources for instructing or controlling its population. So imminent does this consummation appear that memorials have been signed by classes of colonial society hitherto standing aloof from politics, and not only the bench and the bar, but the bishops, clergy and ministers of all denominations in the island, without exception, have recorded their conviction that, in absence of timely relief, the religious and educational institutions of the island must be abandoned, and the masses of the population retrograde to barbarism."

Again, we ask, will any quibble of words descend low enough to argue that this barbaric license is liberty?

But the most fairly tried experiment of negro independence in modern days, is the great empire of Hayti, concerning which we have lately had some most edifying developments. We refer to the correspondence of R. M. Walsh, Esq., late commissioner of the United States to Hayti. Mr. Walsh, who is a Pennsylvanian, is, we must premise, certainly not to be suspected of any bias in favor of Southern institutions. Not only the locality of his birth and education would incline him to entirely opposite predilections, but, very certainly, no one with such a bias could for a moment think of accepting such a position as the one occupied by this gentleman when writing.
to our Secretary of State the series of letters from one of which we make our extracts. The whole correspondence is such a bijou in its way that it is well worth the study of the world; quite a Koh-i-noor, which we specially recommend to the attention of Stafford-house. Let the parliament of ladies pronounce, if they dare, in favor of his supremely disgusting nigger majesty, Faustin Soulouque. We have space only for one or two short extracts, showing the impressions of an unprejudiced observer regarding the condition of the country and the general nature and improbability of its inhabitants. Mr. Walsh writes to the then Secretary of State, Hon. Mr. Webster:

"I trust, sir, you will pardon me if I sometimes wander from the serious tone appropriate to a dispatch, but it is difficult to preserve one's gravity with so absurd a caricature of civilization before one's eyes as is here exhibited in every shape.

"Nothing saves these people from being infinitely ridiculous but the circumstance of their being often supremely disgusting by their fearful atrocities. The change from a ludicrous farce to a bloody tragedy is here as frequent as it is terrible; and the smiles which the former irresistibly provoke, can only be repressed by the sickening sensations occasioned by the latter.

"It is a conviction which has been forced upon me by what I have learned here, that negroes only cease to be children when they degenerate into savages. As long as they happen to be in a genial mood it is the rattle and the straw by which they are tickled and pleased; and when their passions are once aroused, the most potent weapons of subjugation can alone prevent the most horrible evils. A residence here, however brief, must cause the most determined philanthropist to entertain serious doubts of the possibility of their ever attaining the full stature of intellectual and civilized manhood, unless some miraculous interposition is vouchsafed in their behalf. In proportion as the recollections and traditions of the old colonial civilization are fading away, and the imitative propensity, which is so strong a characteristic of the African, is losing its opportunities of exercise, the black inhabitants of Hayti are reverting to the primitive state from which they were elevated by con-

tract with the whites—a race whose innate superiority would seem to be abundantly proved by the mere fact that it is approaching the goal of mental progress, while the other has scarcely made a step in advance of the position in which it was originally placed. It is among the mulattoes alone, as a general rule, that intelligence and education are to be found; but they are neither sufficiently numerous, nor virtuous, nor enlightened, to do more than diminish the rapidity of the nation's descent, and every day accelerates the inevitable capacity by lessening their influence and strength.

"The contrast between the picture which is now presented by this country and that which it exhibited when under the dominion of the French, affords a melancholy confirmation of what I have said. It was then indeed an "exulting and abounding" land—a land literally flowing with milk and honey; now, it might be affirmed without extravagance, that where it is not an arid and desolate waste, it is flooded with the waters of bitterness, or covered with noisome and poisonous weeds."

"The government, in spite of its constitutional forms, is a despotism of the most ignorant, corrupt and vicious description, with a military establishment so enormous that, while it absorbs the largest portion of the revenue for its support, it dries up the very sources of national prosperity, by depriving the fields of their necessary laborers, to fill the town with pestilent hordes of depraved and irreclaimable idlers. The treasury is bankrupt, and every species of profligate and ruinous expedient is resorted to, for the purpose of obtaining the means of gratifying an insane passion for frivolous expenditure. A great portion of the public revenue is wasted upon the personal vanities of the emperor, and his ridiculous efforts to surround himself with a splendor which he fancies to be pre-eminently imperial. It is a fact, that the same legislature which voted him several hundreds of thousands of francs for some absurd costume, refused an appropriation of twenty-five thousand francs for public schools. The population for the most part is immersed in Cimmerian darkness that can never be pierced by the few and feeble rays which emanate from the higher portions of the social system, whilst there is a constant fermentation of jealousies and antipathies
between the great majority and the only class at all capable of guiding the destinies of the land which threaten at every moment to shatter the political vessel in which they are so perilously working. As to the refining and elevating influences of civilized life— the influences of religion, of literature, of science, of art— they do not exert the least practical sway, even if they can be said to exist at all. The priests of the altar set the worst examples of every kind of vice, and are universally mere adventurers, disowned by the church, who alone can come here in consequence of the assumption by the Emperor of ecclesiastical authority, which militates with that of the Roman pontiff. The press is shackled to such a degree as to prevent the least freedom of opinion, and people are afraid to give utterance, even in confidential conversation, to aught that may be tortured into the slightest criticism upon the action of the government.

"In short, the combination of evil and destructive elements is such, that the ultimate regeneration of the Haytians seems to me to be the wildest of Utopian dreams. Dismal as this picture may appear, its coloring is not exaggerated. It is as faithful a representation as I can sketch of the general aspect of this miserable country—a country where God has done everything to make his creature happy, and where the creature is doing everything to mar the work of God."

What is this but a rapid descent to barbarism, faintly combated by the relics of a fast-dying semi-civilization? Such is and has ever been the fate of the negro when left to his own guidance. Childlike in intellect he needs a perpetual leading-string. Under the dominion of the white man among us, as formerly in Hayti, with the imitiveness, careless docility and disposition to dependance, which form a part of his childlike nature, he follows in the track of his master and becomes the half-enlightened, useful, and contented being exhibited under our slave system. Set him free from the wholesome check of authority, and behold what he must be.

We have made throughout this article no reference to the important subjects of cotton, sugar, coffee, &c., without which productions the world would now get on but badly. Cotton is, for England particularly, of such vital importance, that the cessation of two crops from America would set her in the blaze of revolution. Do our philanthropists contemplate this among the results of emancipation? Or do they fancy that the emancipated negro of the United States will grow their cotton better than those of Jamaica and St. Domingo have done their sugar and coffee? We have made no reference to this great point in the question, because we have turned our argument principally to combat the accusations of cruelty and abstract injustice brought against our system, and are anxious to show that, quite independently of the benefit accruing to the white man, the negro is happier, ex necessitate rei, in his position with us, than is possible in any other circumstances. Amalgamation being put (as we presume the bitterest of our antagonists will allow us to do) out of the question, what must become of him if released from this salutary bondage? Let the ladies of Stafford-house deliberate upon this question. Let them contemplate, if they can, the flood of barbarism which, following their wished-for measure of emancipation, would inundate the world. For, strange to say, at this moment, upon the negro and negro slavery depends all that the world has of highest civilization. America in ruins—England in revolution—what becomes of the world? Ladies, at your next meeting, think of this, and then, if you dare, send your incendiary appeals across the Atlantic to try whether, like a nation of Tarpeians, we women of America can be either frightened, bribed, or flattered, to our country's ruin.

And now, "glory to God in the highest—on earth peace, and good-will toward men." Ladies of Stafford-house, thus you end your appeal; thus, too, dare we. Our tongue shrinks not the ordeal. We hold out to you the right hand of fellowship; we say to you, as women, slander not so your sex as to consent to believe, on the blind testimony of careless and misinformed, if not mischievous scribblers, the libels which you have so thoughtlessly accredited. Are we mothers without mothers' hearts? Are we wives, sisters and daughters, yet have no heart-throb for those mothers, wives, sisters and daughters whom Providence has committed to our supervising care? Are we alone marked out by nature as devoir of that God-given woman instinct whose privilege it is to pity and to sothe? Believe us, no! Woman is woman still,