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H A Y T I

AND THE

M U L A T T O.

C. Sherman & Son, Printers,

Seventh and Cherry Sts., Philad.

REMARKS ON HAYTI

AS A

PLACE OF SETTLEMENT

FOR

AFRIC - AMERICANS;

AND ON

THE MULATTO

AS A

RACE FOR THE TROPICS.

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C. SHERMAN & SON, PRINTERS,
Corner Seventh and Cherry Streets, Philadelphia.

REMARKS ON HAYTI AND THE MULATTO.

DEAR SIR :

I HAVE received your letter, asking for information and advice in respect to Hayti as a place of settlement for our black and colored people. I have not visited Hayti since the last inauguration of a republican form of government. My information may not therefore be of the freshest, nor my advice the best, but such as they are, they shall be at your service and that of our countrymen of African blood.

I will first give you some brief account of the trades of Hayti, and then speak of its agriculture. I am aware that few of the African race, in this part of the country, have been bred to mechanical occupations. This, however, is not the case with all of them elsewhere; and besides, the subject naturally includes facts of some general interest.

The sedentary trades of the tailor and shoemaker are popular, and tolerably well supported, in the towns of Hayti,—the former the most so. The best tailoring establishment in Port-au-Prince is conducted by two young men of color from one of our Southern States. The Haytiens delight in many changes of raiment, though the more wealthy import some of their clothes, and most of their boots and shoes, ready made, and the garments of the common class of people are few and simple, especially in the country.

Baking bread and biscuit is a thriving trade, as in towns no bread is baked by families. When flour becomes too dry, or otherwise inferior, which it does in about ten weeks after

arrival, it is turned to biscuit, which are consumed by the army, the country people, and laborers about towns. Ground provisions and native rice are less abundant now than they formerly were, owing to excess of soldiering among the country people for some years past, and the consumption of flour, as well as the employment of bakers, has consequently increased. One of the most prosperous bakers in Port-au-Prince is a colored man from New Orleans. In the country, however, baked plantains and cassava,—the latter a preparation from the manioc root, which furnishes the tapioca of commerce, are mostly eaten as substitutes for bread.

Cabinet-making, mahogany being plentiful, is carried on sufficiently to supply nearly all the furniture of this sort used in the island, but chairs. There is little variety wanted. An elaborate *armoïre* or clothes-press, which often serves as a general lock-up for valuables, some high-post bedsteads, wash-stands, a few simple tables, and a dozen or two of gaily painted cane-seat chairs from Boston, comprise the cabinet furniture of an average city house. A few years ago, the proprietor of one of the best cabinet-making establishments at Port-au-Prince was a colored man from Philadelphia; but the unsettled state of the country caused him to remove to Jamaica.

The native carpenters and masons of Hayti are generally neither skilful nor quick workmen. None among them seem to possess capital, make contracts and carry them out, as with us. The owner of property who would build a house upon it, must usually be his own architect. The houses in towns are mostly of wood, substantially built, and suitable to the climate. The principal materials come from this country. The bricks wanted are imported as ballast in the dry goods vessels from Germany.

Lime sufficient for the masonwork is burnt in the island, through which the stone abounds. Coral rock is also fished up from the reefs near the coast and burnt into lime. The lime, however, is allowed to “air-slack” at the kilns, and it thus loses much of its adhesive power before it reaches the market.

Distilleries are the only establishments in Hayti to which the

term "manufacturing" can be properly applied. The cane which is grown is turned into syrup by the initiatory process of sugar-making, and the portion of it which is not used as a substitute for sugar (much refined sugar is imported) is distilled into rum and *tafia*. Foreign rum is prohibited in order to protect these drinks, which are consumed very freely by the inhabitants, native and foreign, much to their injury, though there is less gross drunkenness among them than might be expected from the little moral restraint that exists. These distilleries are generally built in or near towns, and carried on by merchants and other men of capital. Cordials, and other sweet *liqueurs*, are made in the French way.

Coopers are required to make and repair casks for these distilleries. The staves generally, and sometimes the casks, are imported. Kegs holding three or four gallons are also wanted by the water-carriers, who supply families with fountain water. No other casks, large or small, are made, but persons knowing something of coopering obtain considerable employment about the wharves and warehouses, in opening and repairing casks and packages of merchandise.

Wheelwrights find some work to do, though the roads, as one leaves a town, become first poor and then impassable for wheels. A few wealthy Haytiens import carriages for taking drives, and for ceremonial occasions. This, I presume, is done less frequently now than it was during the late empire. Some rough ox-carts (though not with spokeless wheels, as in Mexico) are used by the country people to bring to the market their log-wood, which grows so rapidly on the old sugar lands, as still to keep rather abundant near most of the seaports, notwithstanding the constant and large exports of it. Small, rude donkey carts are employed to transport produce and merchandise to and from the custom-house, through which the entire cargoes of imports and exports pass. The wheels are frequently imported.

Saddles, as the Haytiens ride much more than they drive, are made to some extent; but many saddles, and the articles connected with saddlery, are imported. The business is a profitable one, and most of the saddlers are men of means.

Blacksmiths are needed chiefly to make repairs. Native horses are not shod, though they make long and rapid journeys over rocky and mountainous roads, with as little apparent inconvenience as ours do with shoes. There are few foreign horses in the island.

Tin-ware is made in sufficient quantities for use, tin being imported only in plates. Each of the larger towns support one or more small shops. There are several at Port-au-Prince.

Hat-bodies, and the other component parts of hats, are imported and made up in Hayti, though many hats are imported ready for wear.

Boats, sloops, and sometimes schooners are built at the ports, for the purpose of distributing merchandise along the coast, and bringing back produce. Haytien navigators rarely go out of sight of their island. Their principal foreign voyages, and these are only occasional, are to Jamaica, Turk's Island, and St. Thomas. Some of this coasting trade is done by small American vessels which have been condemned in Hayti, and repaired. Coast freights are high,—half as much, per barrel, between Cape Haytien and Port-au-Prince, as they are between the latter place and New York. Good, steady, master-mariners being scarce, make money. The construction and rigging of vessels require sailmakers. A few years ago the principal sailmaker of Cape Haytien, like the principal sailmaker, at present, at Port-au-Prince, had formerly been apprenticed to the late James Fortin, of Philadelphia.

In the South, a few articles of coarse, red, unglazed pottery are made in considerable quantities. The chief of these are pots or jars for household purposes, called *canaris* (the word and thing both of Indian origin), and bottles (*cruches*), used to hold water, and being porous, to keep it cool.

Some printers are required for the small weekly newspapers of Hayti. These sheets, since the Republic has replaced the Empire, have been increased from three to five, at Port-au-Prince, and one has been established at Cape Haytien. Printing is rather poorly done in Hayti, as may be seen by a copy of Madiou's history of the island, in three volumes, at the Astor

Library, the only considerable work, in size, which has been printed in Hayti, since the days of Christophe.

These newspapers, besides the shipping list, price current, and a few advertisements, contain proclamations and such other public documents and articles, as the government may choose to have published, but no political discussion. During the last years of Boyer, the press had attained to some degree of freedom, but since his expulsion, to which it contributed, from the belief that he was inclined to move too slowly on the road of reform, it has been completely muzzled. As some compensation, however, individuals are allowed to bring their private griefs and mutual difficulties before the public, through the newspapers, and of this privilege they rather freely avail themselves.

I have now enumerated all the trades which are carried on sufficiently in Hayti to require notice. The same rule applies to them there as elsewhere. So far as they are necessary to the community, they are "all good, well followed." But they are carried on in a small way, and their exercise is confined mostly to the towns. The wages of a journeyman, employed at any one of them, may be broadly stated to be from forty to eighty cents of our money, in Haytien paper currency, per day.

Before any person can legally pursue any calling or profession in Hayti, above that of a laborer, he must receive permission to do so from the government, on written petition. On presenting the government permit to the municipal authorities of the commune in which he resides, the applicant will obtain from them a "patent," or license, on stamped paper, for which he must pay. This patent specifies the particular calling which alone the bearer is allowed to follow, unless he shall take out a second patent. The cost of a native carter's patent is eight Haytien dollars, or about fifty cents Spanish; that of a native shipping merchant is eight hundred Haytien, equal to fifty Spanish dollars, more or less, according to the fluctuations of the currency. Foreigners are charged fifty per cent. in addition on these rates. These patents must be renewed annually, or on removal from one commune to another. Patents for other callings range in cost between the two just described. The

formalities necessary, on taking out a patent, will serve to exemplify the tedious and complicated forms, the same formerly used by the French colonists, which obstruct business in Hayti, particularly in all affairs connected with the government, or public offices. To enter a vessel at the custom house generally requires two days, and the same to clear one.

The expenses of living are less in Hayti than in this country. The necessary cost of clothing, fuel, and dwellings, from the nature of the climate, is much less than it is here, but the living is not so good as it is in the Middle and Northern States. All kinds of butcher's meat, except sometimes mutton, are poor, and no butter and cheese are made. Fowls are abundant, but they require fattening after they come from market, and their eggs lack richness, color, and consistency, probably from scanty or innutritious food, or the quantity of vermin which they devour. The chief articles of food of the common people are American codfish, pickled herring, and salt pork, with plantains, red beans, sweet potatoes, and other vegetables. American lard, instead of butter, is used in cooking.

Trades for women there are none. The Madras handkerchief, real or imitation, furnishes a Haytien woman with a more becoming covering for the head, when arranged as they know how to arrange it, than any milliner could do. They make their own dresses, of which they like to have many—one for every Sunday in the year being desirable—and, I am told, not very uncommon. The chief material is the beautiful, and not expensive, cotton prints of France and England, in which blue and purple predominate, for they understand very well the colors which best suit their complexions; and, for mourning, they wear black, with a white head-handkerchief. The fashion and fashioning of their clothes give them little trouble. I think they are almost traditional—the daughter learning from the mother; for where civilization moves slowly, fashions seldom change.

Women, however, are free to follow any business they may choose, unrestricted by public opinion. They are bakers, coffee speculators, and coffee-housekeepers. They buy and sell

most of the dry goods and much of the salt provisions which are imported. The wives and daughters of wealthy men not unfrequently import costly fancy articles, and offer them for sale in their houses, or send them out on trays by their servants, with the prices marked on them; and several Haytien women have been known as shipping merchants, by continuing the husband's business after his death, and receiving the consignment of foreign vessels in their own names.

But the great use of immigrants to the country which they adopt, and eventually to themselves, is, in the words of Swift, "to make two blades of grass grow where but one grew before." Hayti has too many traders, and not enough producers. Agriculture there is not in a prosperous state. The various governments have pretended to encourage it by First-of-May fêtes, speeches, and small premiums, but their political system has done the reverse. In Hayti, the curse of slavery was driven out by the curse of war; and a military government, under whatever name, has ever since been the consequence.

Few Haytiens of intelligence and capital give any direct attention to agriculture. To be successful, it requires continuous labor; and no prudent man will invest largely in it, when a military expedition, at any moment, may take away nearly all the hands which he depends upon to plant his grounds or secure his crops. I have known, or heard of, several men of capital, both native and foreign white, who, within the last twenty-five years, have attempted agriculture on an enlarged and systematic plan, and, from this cause, have failed. The consequence is that the leading native talent for business, with the capital it commands, is devoted to commerce. The first class Haytien merchants have few superiors anywhere. As they are mostly men of color, they feel safest in private life. They desire no office, either in the army or civil service. Commercial business, therefore, affords the only opening available to them for the exercise of their talents, and success in this is the only object of their ambition. They are imitated by men of smaller powers and means, who crowd into the inferior branches of trade, and trading is consequently overdone.

Agriculture is thus necessarily left almost wholly to the poor and ignorant. These people are nearly all soldiers. They cannot buy themselves off from service, like the classes above them, and they may be called on to march, at the shortest notice, and in time of peace, too, to say nothing of war, from the south to the west, or from the west to the north. For it is a part of the military policy of Hayti to change often the stations of the different regiments, lest they be tampered with by the disaffected in each locality, should they remain too long in it. It is easy to see that these sudden and not unfrequent changes must have a similar effect on the farmer, that often uprooting and resetting would have upon his plants. Both alike lose heart, and wither; and at best, these Haytien farmers are only moderately industrious, in our sense of the word. Still, if left to themselves, they would look after the growth of, and, when mature, gather, the coffee, cotton, ground provisions, and such other articles of produce as are easiest to cultivate and most salable in the market; and if encouraged in this course, they would improve, like other people.

These agriculturists, or *habitans*, as they are called, exclusive of mere day laborers, may be divided into three classes. First, those who cultivate their own properties, or "*habitations*;" second, those who rent land; and lastly, those who carry on land, owned by the merchants and other non-residents, "at the halves." This last class is said to be much the most numerous. Many individuals of it are a sort of self-constituted "*glebæ adscripti*"—a relic of the old slave system. They live,—perhaps were born,—on a certain property, and have long been cultivating a portion of it on shares,—always a bad arrangement, in any country, for the owner. There are often several families on the same large property. If the owner sells this property, they do not expect to be removed from it. They expect to go on with the new owner as they did with the old one. If our black and colored people were to go out to Hayti, in any considerable numbers, for the purpose of farming, they would be nearly certain to meet with obstructions from this source. It is not conclusive to say that the owner might resort

to the law or the government to enforce his rights. I think the government could not interfere extensively in this matter, without producing disaffection. And should the law put the new claimant in full possession, it could not control secret malevolence. I have lately been informed by a resident of Port-au-Prince, that some of the immigrants from New Orleans, who went thither the past summer prepared to buy land, gave up the project and returned home, discouraged by the view of these troubles in the prospect.

But should the immigrant obtain quiet possession of unoccupied lands, and begin to use the plough instead of the hoe, his new methods of culture would be likely to draw upon him the jealousy and ill-will of his neighbors. For when new ways are *too* new to be accepted as an example, they are very apt to be felt and resented as a rebuke. More than one of Boyer's old immigrants have told me that they were obliged to give up agriculture and take to trading in towns, on account of annoyances of this sort. They found their fences down, or their water let off, of a morning; or evidences that cattle had been fed on their grounds over night; or the neighboring idlers, of which there are many, had stolen all their plantains and sweet potatoes, fit for the market. I do not mean to say that these Haytien cultivators are worse than any other rude people. On the contrary, I believe they are less bad than many others in like circumstances. For not having great strength of character, they neither have great virtues nor great vices. The English farmers, Birkbeck and Flower, encountered similar troubles, and worse, when, forty years ago, they brought over their English habits, and settled down with them among our farmers in Illinois. On one of my first visits to Hayti, I was told by a Haytien connected with the law courts, that the commonest petty criminal cases before these courts were plantain thefts. The plantain is the chief article of vegetable food in Hayti.

Of all Boyer's thirteen thousand American immigrants of 1824-1827, I never found nor heard of one who, after 1836, was living on the land assigned him by government on his arrival. A considerable number of these immigrants, and

probably some of the best of them, and those who had means, returned to the United States. The general character of the remainder, with some exceptions, was rather poor, as may be gathered from the song of departure of those who went from Philadelphia.

“ Brothers, let us leave
 For Port-au-Prince in Hayti,
 There we'll be receive
 Grand as La Fayette.

“ No more tote the hod,
 Nor with nail and stickee,
 Nasty, dirty rag
 Out of gutter pickee.”

I might have included rag-picking among the employments of Hayti. Some rags are shipped from Port-au-Prince and Cape Haytien, and the picking is mostly done by aged Philadelphians who have resumed their old trade.

I may also observe that, on the whole, this class of people is better off in Hayti than in the United States. It is the main purpose of their existence to get through their day with as little annoyance from cold, hunger, and the police, as is compatible with the least possible amount of work, and these two ends can be better made to meet in Hayti than almost anywhere else. The climate favors this arrangement; and the government, while it does not desire, does not object to it, for it neither collects nor lays any poor-tax. To give alms is a special point in the religion of a Haytien; and it is but just to add, it is a part of the genuine expression of the Haytien character.

But for another class of Americans of African blood,—those who have intelligence, industrious habits, and some means,—the expediency of their emigration to Hayti depends upon other considerations than those just mentioned.

I know that the government lately installed has announced its return to the policy of Boyer with respect to immigration and the public lands, but it is not certain that it can carry out

these plans. I believe the President to be a good and able man, for in private life, I know he was highly respected as such. The entire freedom from bloodshed, with which he accomplished the late revolution, and his firm and pacific policy since, are worthy of all praise. The recent "warning," which he has given the press and individuals, in imitation of Louis Napoleon, is the only one of his public acts which I have noticed with regret. But it is not yet clear that his rule is morally established. Late events show that there are many discontented spirits still in the country, who have apparently not given up the hope that an opportunity will occur, or can be made, for putting him down. It was so with Soulouque, during the first thirteen months of his presidency; but his thorough suppression of the attempt at insurrection, at Port-au-Prince, on the 16th of April, 1848, established him firmly in power. Three years after that event, I asked a leading colored merchant, confidentially (for a Haytien can rarely be induced to speak of political matters), if no effort would be made to suppress the then newly projected empire. He said no. The prominent men of color, in his quarter, had refused to entertain overtures from the discontented blacks, and they would continue to do so. For no matter which party of the blacks might win, the man of color, who meddled, would be sure to lose. And he was right. Geffrard did not make his successful move against Faustin, though often urged to it, until he was compelled to do so in self-defence; and then, Faustin went down as much by his own dead weight, as from the force brought to bear on him by Geffrard. The President, like the Emperor before him, has still to demonstrate to his enemies that insurrection is hopeless. But for doing this, he lacks one great personal advantage possessed by Faustin, for, unfortunately, he is not a black man. The white blood in his veins, though said to be less than the black, is sufficient to identify him with the mulattoes. The latter possess a great preponderance of wealth and intelligence in proportion to their numbers, and the discontented of this class will not fear to conspire, in connection with the blacks, against a ruler of their own color. In any event, it will not

be amiss for our blacks and colored people to wait a little, in order to see what turn affairs may yet take there, before going out to Hayti to settle.

During the seventeen years that I have been resident in, or conversant with Hayti, I can call to mind but thirteen Americans of African blood, who have been what might be called "successful" in that country, and several of this number were only moderately so. Six of these immigrants were from New Orleans, or parts adjacent, and of course spoke French on arrival. The other seven were from South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania,—two being from the latter State. Three, perhaps more, of the thirteen, went young to Hayti. Seven of them were merchants or traders, four were mechanics, two were lawyers, and all were men of color or mulattoes.

In addition to these, I have known one black man, and one man of color from the free States, who acquired a little property as carters; and four others, two black men and two men of color, also from the free States, who cultivated in a poor way, a little land which they called their own. All the other Afric-Americans, who came under my notice, in Hayti, were in the condition of day laborers, or worse, and most of them dwelt in towns.

I saw in the New York Tribune, several weeks ago, the correspondence between the Haytien government and Mr. Redpath, respecting immigration from the United States. I have also read the various newspaper accounts of the assassination of the President's daughter, and the attempt at insurrection.

These events do not call for any change of opinion respecting the country. The assassination is exceptional, and not at all characteristic of the present moral state of Hayti. Since the days of Jean Francois, Biassou, and their associates of 1791, Hayti has been humanized, if not entirely civilized. These first black insurrectionists were mere tigers, just broken out of their cages, and acting according to their brutal instincts, which had been vitiated by brutal keepers; and this late atrocious act against woman, almost the first of its kind since the revolutionary epoch, will be likely to detach many from the insurrec-

tionary cause. That the South, where the blacks most abound, according to information received since most of the foregoing remarks were written, was quiet, indicates that the movement was not one of caste. The last quotations of the currency, also, show that confidence exists in the stability of the present government. Geffrard may, at this crisis, effectually suppress the insurrection, and establish himself morally, as well as in fact.

And should the government strengthen itself, and go on with its plans of immigration, it will doubtless, agreeably to its official letter, extend to immigrants the same protection and privileges of education which the Haytiens enjoy. But this is saying very little. The rights of native Haytiens are not sufficiently protected. It is against the government itself, or its military system, that the agricultural part of the population most needs protection. The great body of the Haytien people has no political existence. They have not advanced up to the point of political ideas; and they know, and can know, no medium between silent obedience and revolution.

The National Guard, to which the government proposes to confine the military service of the immigrants, may be put on the same footing with the regular army, and mobilised, as it always is in times of trouble, at any moment; and much of the time, since the expulsion of Riviere, in 1844, it has been in that state.

In regard to education, there are some (not enough) respectable public schools in the towns, where the ordinary elementary branches, not forgetting something of military tactics, are taught; and a still better education may be obtained at the private schools, especially those of Port-au-Prince. But no public schools are established in the rural districts. And during my residence, I only once noticed an instance of private teaching amongst the country people. A few years ago, in travelling, I met a lad of some sixteen years old, two or three leagues from Dondon, with a book in his hand. The sight was unusual; and in reply to my inquiries, he told me that for some small pay, he occasionally taught the neighboring

children to read and write. But so very few of the country people possess these acquirements, that the merchants with whom they trade do not expect to find them in use with this class of customers at all. In fact, so large a portion of their town customers are in the same category, as to make it impossible, although credits are allowed, to settle accounts generally, by note; therefore notes are never given, nor are interest accounts kept, in the ordinary commercial transactions of Hayti.

The Haytien government also promises to protect immigrants in the enjoyment of their religious privileges. This it will probably do. It professes to tolerate all religions, though it has not always uniformly kept up to its professions in this matter. I have been told by the Wesleyans that they have never been able to establish a church at Aux Cayes, the opposition of the local authorities there having been allowed to prevail over the government license. The English Wesleyans have a church and school at each of the other five principal towns of Hayti, namely, Port-au-Prince, Cape Haytien, Gonaives, Jacmel, and Jeremie. None of them can be said to be very flourishing. Not a great many native converts have been made. They are mainly supported by immigrants and other foreigners, though their schools, simply as such, are patronized by all classes. The establishment at Port-au-Prince, under the Rev. Mr. Bird, has been the most successful, and all of them are doing some good. There is also an English Baptist Church at Jacmel, and an American church of the same sect at Port-au-Prince. All these establishments are conducted, or superintended, by foreign whites. The American black and colored people have likewise a Methodist Church, of their own, at Port-au-Prince, under the care of Mr. Jackson, commonly called *Père* Jackson, a colored man, formerly of Philadelphia. He works industriously all the week, as a master-carter, book in pocket for any leisure moment, and on Sunday conducts, to their satisfaction, the religious services of his countrymen; and as he is a man of great worth of character, he probably does as much good during the six days of the week by his example, as he does on the first by his precepts.

All these religious sects confine their labors mostly to the towns. Religious teachings and privileges can hardly be said to exist at all in the rural districts. It is true, wherever I have found, far back in the interior, a little knot of our Americans, there I have also found some semblance at least of religious exercises. The minister was generally self-constituted; his only title to administer baptism and the other rites being that, long ago in the United States, he had received them himself. I am afraid, too, in some cases, his moral character was rather indifferent. But, if he was a sinner, so were his hearers. He uttered good words and Bible phrases, to which they listened with great apparent interest. More or less emotion was the result. They all, no doubt, meant sincerely; and who shall say that even these attempts to keep alive the religious instincts were not better than none?

The Haytien authorities have generally been indifferent, if not unfriendly, to Protestantism. The Roman Catholic, as is well known, is the established religion of Hayti. Although they believe in the Pope, they do not allow him to interfere in the ordering of their religious establishment; they are consequently badly provided with priests. Many of their priests are grossly immoral, many are very ignorant, and most of them are said to be not priests at all, or priests who have been "unfrocked." They are all foreigners, and all, except two, white. Of these exceptions, one is a black, born in Africa, and educated in France; the other is a man of color, from the island of Dominica. They were introduced into Hayti by Soulouque. Before his time, all the priests were white; and a prejudice is said to have existed among the Haytiens against the ministrations of black or colored priests. They had a saying that "black baptism would not stick."

The Haytien women in the towns are generally very devout and attentive to the formal duties of religion, from the influence of these priests, as they are also to many of its informal and more genuine duties, from natural goodness of heart. The Haytien men who are religious in the technical sense are comparatively few. The ignorant are mostly stolid and indifferent,

—willing, perhaps, to believe the priest, and sometimes to practise his formal teachings, but a great many of them have a much stronger affinity for the traditional pagan rites, of African origin, which have always been practised, secretly or openly, in the island, since slavery was introduced, called *vaudouxisme*. Many of the educated are about where the French were when they left the island. They believe in Voltaire, whom I have not unfrequently heard them characterize as the greatest man who ever lived.

Both men and women are impulsive, and for right conduct, their feelings are more to be relied on than their principles. Marriage is far from common, and its obligations, where it exists, are frequently broken by the husband, especially after the wife has reached the age of forty. If you ask the number of a man's children, he will sometimes tell you how many he has at home, and how many outside. And yet Haytien couples are not very seldom found quietly living together from youth to age, merely *placés*, and bringing up a family of children with as much order as others do who are married. Such couples occasionally marry late in life, at the instance of their children. Haytiens drink freely, without being grossly intemperate. They are passionate, but not tenacious or revengeful. Many challenges pass, but few duels are fought, and yet they are by no means wanting in personal courage. They are hospitable, and delight in acts of charity—easy of sympathy, and turn out in throngs at funerals. In genuine politeness they are superior to many foreigners who affect to despise them, and like all people in the tropics, who are in part descended from the French, or the nations of the south of Europe, they surpass Northern people in personal deportment. In this respect they also contrast favorably with the people of Jamaica. They are of a cheerful and healthy mental temperament. Suicide, formerly so common amongst the slaves, is now almost unknown in Hayti. Since 1842, only three instances of it, in which Haytiens were the subjects, have come to my knowledge: an officer, disgraced, hanged himself; a retired citizen, insane, cut his throat; a merchant, embar-

rassed in his affairs, took poison. All were men of education and light color. Although the political disturbances of the last sixteen years, since the departure of Boyer, have not passed over the population without leaving an evil mark on the public morals, great crimes and traits of brutal atrocity are much less common in Hayti than in more civilized countries. On the other hand, they are not strong in the higher virtues. Still, those Haytiens, in whom education has increased the number of their wants, are not deficient in energy and perseverance. The success of many of them, mostly men of color, proves both their desire and ability to advance themselves; but the number of these is yet too small to have produced anything like national industry.

The greatest bar to the industry, and therefore to the general progress of Hayti, is her army. In 1843, after the expulsion of Boyer, the provisional government attempted to substitute civil for military forms, but unfortunately failed to do so. This army of forty thousand men, probably the largest standing army in the world, in proportion to the population, supplies no national want. The only foreign enemies of Hayti are the Dominicans, to whom the Haytiens are greatly superior in numbers and resources, and who would willingly let the Haytiens alone, if the latter were equally forbearing. Every one of the late expeditions against the Dominicans, originated entirely in the ambition of the Haytien rulers, and not in any animosity on the part of the people, and hence their failure. All their military appointments, therefore, but serve to stimulate factions among themselves, arm one against the other, destroy property, and keep the people from their work. This is the only reason why the government now calls for agricultural immigrants. Let Geffrard gradually reduce the army, and allow the men who compose it to cultivate the soil—substitute civil for military forms of administration—establish schools and open roads in the rural districts—keep clean the seaports, whose unwholesome condition is often so fatal to persons connected with the foreign commerce and shipping—dare to maintain the freedom of the press, even when it attacks his own measures,

remembering the words of one of our wisest statesmen, that “error of opinion may be safely tolerated, when truth is left free to combat it”—admit whites to the rights of citizenship, who would then immigrate in larger numbers, and immediately begin to be absorbed by, and infuse Caucasian vigor into the population,—and the great natural resources of Hayti, dormant since the departure of the French, would again revive, and be rapidly developed. I know it is easier to say this than to do it; but until the Haytiens shall, at least, begin to make these changes, no intelligent foreigner, of any color, should wish to become a Haytien citizen. It is for the causes just indicated that no white resident of Hayti is ever known to regret the “*Aucun Blanc*” clause, which has been carried forward, like an unsettled account, from each old Haytien constitution, and transferred to the next new one, since the days of Dessalines, who suggested it, and which declares that “no white man, whatsoever his nation, shall ever set foot on the soil of Hayti, in right of proprietor.” On occasions of political disturbance in Hayti, the white resident always feels that his quality of foreigner is his chief protection; and it would be the same with the black or colored foreigner, but that the government, at such times, generally insists that he shall either become a citizen, and by consequence a soldier, or leave the country.

Unless, then, some of our intelligent and industrious Mulatto-Americans wish advisedly to go to Hayti, from a high missionary impulse, without the technical missionary’s narrowness of purpose, I cannot at present recommend them to go thither. And for the black man, I cannot honestly advise him to go to Hayti at all, for I think too many of his race, for present need, are already there. He is not likely to benefit the Haytiens, nor they him, by his being sent amongst them. It is like adding salt where there is too much, or sending the blind amongst the blind. And although I believe the tropics are his true home, I cannot counsel him to go to any part of them, to which the white man does not go likewise.

There is a long view, as well as a short view, to be taken of every great question which bears upon human progress; but

we are often unable or unwilling to take the former, until some time after a question is settled. Almost everything in nature which works, is working for two results, while intending but one. The coral zoophyte, in making a house for itself, does not know that it is also adding an island to the world, and men apply themselves to their great works almost as blindly and instinctively. It is thus that, for three hundred and fifty years, they have been working at this problem of negro slavery.

We can acknowledge to-day, that the persecution of the Puritans by Laud and his predecessors, only intended, as it was, to produce conformity to the Church, really produced New England. And we can now see that the obstinacy of George the Third was as much a cause of the Declaration of Independence, at the time it was made, as the perseverance of John Adams,—the one being the necessary counterpart of the other, the two together forming the entire implement which clipped the tie. Now if we can make the above admissions in respect to these, the two greatest settled questions of modern times, without excusing either persecution or obstinacy in wrong, but keeping steadily in view that every man is responsible for the motives which govern his conduct, be the result of that conduct what it may, why should we not begin to look at this, the third great question, of the same class, still *unsettled*, from the same point of view?

If, then, I were asked what was probably the final purpose of negro slavery, I should answer,—to furnish the basis of a free population for the tropics of America.

A few words will suffice to enumerate the leading facts which connect the black man with this Continent: America discovered and the exploration of the west coast of Africa completed, nearly at the same time;—Europeans lured to St. Domingo by its gold;—the Indians soon worked almost to extinction in digging it;—the want of more able-bodied laborers;—the now well-known fact that the coast right opposite could supply them;—the art of navigation, just then sufficiently improved to afford easy means of transportation;—neither conventional Christianity, nor public opinion opposing this

tempting arrangement, which almost made itself. On the contrary, the Christian bishop, Las Casas,—“a great philanthropist, a great reformer,”—says Arthur Helps, who has studied his character, suggested and procured the license of the slave-trade, in negroes, out of pity to the Indians. The rest, for some two hundred and fifty years, was looked upon as a mere matter of “supply, and demand, and carrying trade” A few individual voices, at long intervals, were raised against the cruelty and wickedness of it,—little heeded at the time, but not lost, for they were the seeds of a future public sentiment—and the trade went on, until the islands and the coasts of the Continent were stocked with negroes. Then, but not till then, arose other great philanthropists and reformers, and, aided by a purer Christianity, and a public sentiment now grown strong enough to support them, they arrested the legal traffic. The same power which stopped the trade, has since given freedom to the slaves of all the Protestant countries in the world, except those of our Southern States. Their centuries of rude apprenticeship being at length ended, they have set up for themselves. They should have the sympathy of every good man. Some of them are known to be fulfilling successfully the duties of freemen, and it is to be hoped that, in time, they will all do so. But they have not yet been long enough out of bondage to have had a fair trial. A period of feebleness generally succeeds to every transition state, and in any event, a few hogsheads of sugar, more or less, are not always to be put in competition with justice and human happiness.

The Southern slaveholders are not responsible for the institution of slavery, to which they were born; but, at best, it was never intended to be more than provisional, and in keeping it up longer, they are simply mistaking the scaffolding for the house. The civilized world has outgrown it, and it now calls on them to prepare to give it up, as all other Protestant, and many Catholic, Christians have done; or, at least, to listen to and debate propositions having that end in view. And it asks them to do this now, because, counting in their white dependents, they are now more numerous than their

slaves, and they can, therefore, easily control and direct the change from slavery to freedom, which will not be the case when their slaves shall outnumber them. "Rivers," says Pascal, "are travelling roads, which carry us whither we wish to go." Civilization is such a river, but it sometimes carries those who resist or obstruct its current, whither they do *not* wish to go. The advance of civilization has always required the removal of obsolete institutions, as well as other obstructions; and it demands the removal of slavery as naturally and justly as it does that of the dense forest and the wild animals which breed and harbor in it. The land, so long covered by slavery, is now wanted to sustain a better culture, both moral and physical, than it can ever receive while slaves are on it; and the slaves, whenever their present holders shall spare them, will be wanted elsewhere, to set up for themselves, as their brethren have done. And I suppose there is little doubt, at the present day, that most of the Southern States can well spare their labor. The words of De Tocqueville are still true, that "the southern parts of the Union are not hotter than the south of Italy and Spain, and it may well be asked why the European cannot work as well there as in the two latter countries." Our Southern planters can now neither urge the necessities of climate nor the prospective want of labor, in extenuation of slavery, as was not unreasonably done by the planters of Jamaica; for it is now abundantly clear that, as slave labor recedes, a better kind is both able and ready to take its place; and probably there never was a people in the world, and certainly not in Christendom, who have held on to slavery with so much tenacity and so little need. Their policy is like that of the English "frame breakers" of the last century, who resisted with violence the introduction of labor-saving machinery into their manufactures.

It is not probable that agitation against slavery will ever cease, in civilized communities, while it exists. Those who deprecate agitation, on account of its acknowledged evils, might just as reasonably insist that the atmosphere should be purified by perfectly noiseless thunder and harmless lightning,

or not at all. Moral agitation is as necessary, and as much the result of an imperative and inevitable law, as physical agitation. A wholesome public opinion is a better and cheaper reformer than brute force. When men have once made up their minds that a thing must be done, they, in the French phrase, "accept the situation," and set about doing it in the best way. Let all who have a conviction on the subject of slavery, whatever may be their office or position, give it utterance. In truth, they can hardly keep silence and be innocent; for if these shall hold their peace, the stones will cry out.

But "nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that the slaves are to be free;" and it is not so much my purpose to show that they ought to be and will be so, as it is to give, if possible, some intimations, drawn from observing the present instinctive movements of communities, as to what may be their fate, after freedom. And among these movements, the most commonly noticed, are the natural decline of slavery in the border States,—Virginia breeding and selling slaves to go further South, as a trade; Missouri selling hers from the fear that they will become free on her hands; the regular and rapid increase of slaves in some of the States on and near the Gulf; the certainty that the institution will one day become too unwieldy to manage, and especially after the more northern slave States become free; the tendency to monopolize this kind of labor on the part of the great planters; poor and adventurous young Southern men turning filibusters in consequence of this monopoly, and striving to work their way out to the islands and countries further south, hoping there to establish the institution and themselves; the absorption of Texas by slaveholders—of California by non-slaveholders. These facts show a current, both of whites and blacks, setting in towards the tropics.

Meantime these countries on the continent seem to have been preparing themselves to invite invasion. They have ceased to be colonies, and therefore neither have any claim, nor afford any excuse, with one small exception, for European protection or interference. They have abolished slavery. They

are in a "chronic state of insurrection," and show little capacity for self-government. They support few persons on their soil, in proportion to its extent,—Nicaragua possessing but a little over four individuals to a square mile. The Indian element, mixed or unmixed, never a good amalgam, prevails too strongly in their population. This population, as now constituted, does not seem formed for permanency and progress; it is rather like the first, coarse "breaking-up crop" of a soil, merely intended to prepare it for a more valuable growth. The restless and rapacious Southern adventurer is attracted by this state of things, just as the vulture is drawn to, and hovers over, the sickly animal which is soon to become carrion; while the only possible objection which the North can have to the just acquisition of territory in these regions would be obviated by the abolition of slavery in the Southern States.

"Manifest destiny" has now been, for some years, a familiar and accepted phrase in the mouths of our politicians, and each class suggests a plan for carrying it out in accordance with its own specific interests, or some preconceived theory. The pro-slavery adventurer may yet gain a footing in Central America, but it will not be to establish slavery. Slavery once abolished, has never been re-established in the same place, in America, except in one instance—that of the smaller French colonies, now again free. The vain effort to re-enslave St. Domingo cost the French forty thousand men. The free negro, that nothing else can arouse, will fight against the replacement of the yoke which he has once thrown off; and the number of these in Central America is sufficient to prove a stumbling-block, if not a barrier to its return. To re-establish slavery permanently, where it has once been abolished, is to swim against the great moral current of the age.

The plan of Mr. Blair, which is that of Jefferson, revived and developed in detail, is more in accordance with the spirit of the age; but its success may well be doubted. It does not seem to me just or practicable to turn out the emancipated slaves, when they can no longer be held in bondage, and send

them forth into new regions, and amongst a race as ignorant and uncivilized as themselves, and differing from them in habits and language. According to Mr. Blair, when the slaves are emancipated, the whites are to spread themselves over the West, while the blacks, separating from them, are to go towards the South, there to form new states, under our protection. It is difficult to suppose them capable of forming durable states, emigrating under these circumstances, even if conducted by whites, they were placed on the desirable territory. But they will hardly consent to turn to the left hand, while the white man goes to the right. The marvellous and burr-like tenacity with which they stick to the white man and his localities, is the trait which has most availed to hold them in bondage, and it will not be found so easy to shake them off when they shall have become free. To induce them to go away in numbers, numbers of white men must go with them.

Nor yet, with Mr. Thayer, do I think it possible that organized companies of white Northern laborers can colonize with success these countries, even with the aid of moneyed corporations, steam-engines, and the implements of husbandry. The climate of Nicaragua, lying, as it does, between $9^{\circ} 45'$ and 15° north, would probably be fatal to the project, were it attempted; and the impulse of keen rivalry, under which Kansas was settled, may not be always at command.

There is too much patronage and too little individual spontaneity presupposed in both these projects to look like success, though something might be done by a union of the two.

For neither the white race nor the black race will do any ultimate good in these latitudes by itself. That the purpose for which the tropics were made may be carried out, the white and the black man must go thither together, or eventually meet there, and become one race. Whenever they have met in the tropics, there has always been an effort of nature to bring them to unity. They are made to supply each other's characteristic deficiencies in the torrid zone. The white man can furnish a Caucasian intellect, and the black man the physical powers, for

laboring in the climate ; and when the union of these qualities shall be completed by a thorough amalgamation, and the head and the hand are thus placed on the same person, then the problem of negro slavery will be solved, and the tropics of this hemisphere, for the first time since their discovery, will possess a race capable of doing God's work in them.

I believe that the Anglo-Americans, with the Africans, whom a part of the former now hold in bondage, will one day unite to form this race for the tropics, with or without combination with the races already there. But whether the African quota of it shall be transferred thither by convulsive or organized movements,—or be gradually thinned out from their present abode, as from a great nursery, by directed, but spontaneous transition,—or retire, by degrees, with the “poor whites,” before the peaceful encroachments of robust Northern labor, it would be useless now to conjecture. Let their present holders once agree to their conditional release, and then settle the terms of it with the nation, and the great practical mind of the country would quickly bring this question to a solution. It is enough now to know that labor, like capital, goes, in the end, to the place where it is most wanted ; and that labor, free from the destructive element of caste, has been, and still is, the great desideratum of the tropics, as it is of all other places which do not already possess it. I have already spoken of the presumed ability of the Southern States to spare this kind of labor. Should there, however, prove to be any part of the Union where the climate or the culture really requires the labor of the black man, then there he will remain, and eventually be absorbed by the dominant race ; and, from that point, the complexion of our population will begin to shade off into that of the dark belt of Anglo-Africans, which will then extend across the northern tropics.

I know that most of our Northern people, while they demand, in the strongest terms, all the rights of man for the negro or mulatto, are unable to eradicate from their minds a deeply grounded prejudice against his person. In spite of themselves, they shrink from the thought of an amalgama-

tion, such as the foregoing observations imply. But these friends are not aware how quickly this prejudice begins to melt away, as soon as one has entered any part of the tropics where the African race is in the ascendent, or where people of colored blood have attained to such social consideration as to make themselves respected. I suppose no Northern man ever forgets the occasion when, for the first time, he arrives at such a place, and the colored merchant, to whom he is addressed, comes forward, with the self-possession which attends self-respect, and offers him his hand. He begins to be healed of his prejudice from that hour. The oft-quoted line of Horace, "Those who cross the sea change their climate, but not their character," is not always strictly true, when applied to a change from a temperate to a tropical climate.

Amalgamation is mostly a thing of climate. There is little of it at the North, much of it at the South. As the latitude congenial to the black race is approached, we find the disposition of the white and black races to amalgamate increase. In the British West India colonies, I have heard "respectable" men gravely lament, that since emancipation prejudice was dying out, just as at the North we sometimes hear complaint that this unchristian quality cannot be eradicated. And here, to the newspaper question, "What is to be done with the colored people of the Free States?" I would answer,—let them alone. The presence of these people at the North occasions us little trouble. They sometimes give an awkward turn to a question in an ecclesiastical assembly, but in secular affairs their numbers cause small inconvenience, even to the most prejudiced; and they are never likely to cause more than they do at present; for, in any probable event, the whites must always increase relatively faster than the black and mixed races. So far as the North is concerned, therefore, looking at the question from the lowest, that is, the most prejudiced point of view, these people may be safely left to go and come as they may choose.

I am also aware, that the notion prevails generally in the United States that the mulatto has no vitality of race; that

after three or four generations he dies out. This idea, I believe, finds its strongest advocates among the slaveholders and other readers of De Bow's Review, and possibly it may be correct when applied to the colder latitudes; but I have no reason to think it so in or near the tropics.

The former Spanish colony of St. Domingo, now called the Dominican Republic, has, for more than a century, been virtually a nation of mulattoes. In this colony large importations of slaves soon ceased, the attention of the Spaniards being drawn to their settlements on the Continent, and from the early days of slavery, prejudice against color was less strong, and the disposition and facilities for manumitting slaves were much greater, than in the neighboring French colony. Domestic relations on equal terms began early to be established between the whites and mulattoes. The colonial laws enacted shortly after the introduction of slavery, which forbade free people of color to hold offices, were soon disregarded. They were appointed registrars and notaries, and "in respect to the priesthood," says the Licentiate Valverde, Prebend of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, writing previously to 1785, "people of color are admitted into it, without difficulty, according to the principles of equality which form the basis of the Christian religion." Moreau de St. Mery, in his description of this part of the island, when it was a Spanish colony, tells us that "It is true, and even strictly so, that the major part of the Spanish colonists are a mixed race: this, an African feature, and sometimes more than one, often betray." Madiou, the living Haytien historian of the island, puts down the mixed race of the Spanish part, at the commencement of the French Revolution, at eleven-twelfths of the whole population. Since that date, many of the whites, or reputed whites, at the several revolutionary epochs,—the conquest by Toussaint in 1800, the occupation by the French from 1802 to 1810, and the accession of Boyer in 1821,—have left the island. The increased intercourse of the inhabitants with the Haytiens during the first forty years of this century, has deepened the complexion of the Dominicans, and they are now emphatically a nation of mulat-

toes. In other words, the white race, which was always the most numerous, has absorbed the black. They are not a progressive people, from causes which I shall not enter into, further than to say, that the Spaniards, from whom they are in part descended, are not progressive, and that possibly the quantity of African blood in their veins is still too little to give them energy in the tropics; but no one, acquainted with the country, pretends to say that they are dying out.

The author just quoted, Moreau de St. Mery, a French proprietor and slaveholder of Cap François, has left us a minute and truthful "Description of the French Part of St. Domingo," in two quarto volumes, as the colony existed in 1789. It was then rich, compact, and prosperous, and so firmly established, that it was expected to last indefinitely. The author doubtless hoped and believed that his book would long continue to be the guide and monitor of future colonists; but even while he yet wrote, the colony entered upon the last year of its existence. In this work, the St. Domingo mulatto of that date is thus portrayed:—

"Of all the combinations of white and black, the mulatto unites the most physical advantages. It is he who derives the strongest constitution from these crossings of race, and who is the best suited to the climate of St. Domingo. To the strength and soberness of the negro, he adds the grace of form and intelligence of the whites, and of all the human beings of St. Domingo he is the longest lived. . . . I have already said they are well made and very intelligent, but they are as much given to idleness and love of repose as the negro. These men are capable of succeeding in all the liberal and mechanical arts, and some of them have proved this in a manner which would excite them all to imitation, if idleness were not their supreme good. . . . All that has been said of the mulatto will apply equally well to the people of color of lighter shades, except in what relates to temperament, disposition to pleasure, and longevity. It should be observed that the quadroon, the *metif* and the *mameloue* are in all respects inferior to the mulatto; and that in all degrees of color lighter than the *quar-*

teronné, the physique of the white race is found.¹ The people of color in general are good, and susceptible of elevation of mind; and the women are kind to the poor, and above all to the sick, to a degree which cannot be too much praised. The want of education, and the imitation of the vices and follies of the whites, in which they surpass their originals, are their greatest faults. They are hospitable, and if they could conquer their indolence, the colony would possess in them persons of great value (*des êtres précieux*). They may be reproached with vices, but they are men, and men, perhaps, still too near slavery for us to be surprised at it."

Notwithstanding the defects of character and disadvantages of position mentioned in the preceding extract, we are told by Pamphile de la Croix, the able French historian of the Revolution in St. Domingo, that, in 1789, the free people of color had become "generally rich as landed proprietors and artisans, and that the colonial authorities represented them to the home government as possessing, at that time, one-third of all the real, and one-fourth of all the personal estate, of the colony, and as equal in numbers to the whites." And yet, the white planters made this powerful caste their implacable enemies at this important crisis, by refusing to allow to any of its members the rights of citizens; and the utter extermination of these planters was the swift consequence.

When, for the last time, the French took account of stock in St. Domingo, they found, in addition to their five hundred and nine thousand negro slaves, fifteen thousand mulattoes, who were in the same condition, and about forty thousand free mulattoes. The two classes of mulattoes or colored people together, outnumbered the whites by about twelve thousand. In the insurrections of the slaves and the succeeding wars, which resulted in the destruction or expulsion of the whites, many of the colored people lost their lives. And at later dates, from 1800 to 1820, under the respective rules of Toussaint, Dessalines, and Christophe, they were put to death in great numbers. The colored

¹ The *metif*, the *mamelouc*, and the *quarteronné* are, in the French nomenclature, the three grades of color immediately lighter than the quadroon.

inhabitants of whole villages were collected together, taken out and bayoneted. It was at one time the apparent policy of Toussaint to exterminate them in the North and West, on account of their adherence to Rigaud, the mulatto chief of the South, and his rival in power. Since these events, few white men have resided, at any one time, in the island, to assist in making up these losses of population. No census is, for obvious reasons, ever taken of the colored class, separately; nor, in fact, has there been more than a partial census of the population, generally, taken, since the expulsion of the French. But it seems to be the opinion of all classes now in the island, that the people of color increase quite as fast, in proportion to their numbers, as the blacks. Whatever tendency to any special class of diseases, may once have been noticed amongst them, none such is now found; and if any formerly existed, it was probably only one of the many evil results of slavery, which has become extinct with its cause. Mr. Slack, a planter of Jamaica, writing in 1858, informs us, that scrofula and other cutaneous diseases, which prevailed extensively in that island, during the existence of slavery, are now disappearing, since the laborers have acquired the disposition, and have taken the time, to clean their persons, and thus remove from the skin the "cane down" and other irritating substances, which are supposed to have caused these diseases. When the question in respect to their dying out is suggested to a Haytien, he looks incredulous, and points, in answer, to men of color of the fourth and fifth generation from the whites with large, healthy families.

From an instinctive precaution for the preservation of his caste, which is possibly neglected by the mixed race of some other countries, the Haytien mulatto of the present day takes care that his race shall flow on in a firm and direct channel. He does not allow what he has gained from the whites to be absorbed by the surrounding blacks, until it disappears and is lost, like a river running through sands. It is extremely rare to see a colored man with a black wife or mistress, or a colored woman with a black husband or protector—a white man with a black mistress (though white men are few in Hayti) is, I think,

quite as frequently seen. A Haytien mulatto always hears with surprise and mortification, that, in the United States, persons of all degrees of color are confounded together, and popularly called negroes. The arrival, a few years ago, at Port-au-Prince, of a black man with a white wife, from the interior of New York, called forth remarks from the colored clerks of the custom-house, very similar to those uttered on the occasion by the American shipmasters in the harbor.

It will naturally be inferred, from these facts, that if there is to be any accession to the mulattoes of Hayti, except by natural increase within themselves, it must come from the immigration of white men and their absorption by the blacks. It is popularly said, I know not how truly, that the female population of Hayti far outnumbers the male.

The statistics of the tropical countries of America, rarely take cognizance of the mulatto separately from the negro; but when they do so, they indicate the reverse of decay of race in the former. The colony of Porto Rico, previously to 1815, when foreigners were first permitted to hold real estate in it, had long been neglected by Spain, and its population, like that of Eastern St. Domingo, had been left to form itself. According to the official returns of 1835, the whites of that island were more numerous than the mulattoes. But during the years of neglect, it had been the custom to allow the free mulattoes to purchase, or otherwise obtain "white papers;" and all such persons, with their descendants, have since been reckoned as whites, under the denomination of "*blancos de tierra*." More than one hundred thousand of these "whites of the country" figure in these returns, as a part of the white population; and Schoelcher, from whom I obtain these facts, tells us, in his "*Colonies Etrangères*," quoting the Padre Inigo, the historian of Porto Rico, that the greater part of the population of that island is really composed of mulattoes.

Hermann Burmeister, Professor of Zoology in the University of Halle, who spent fourteen months, in 1850-51, in studying, at Brazil, the "comparative anatomy and psychology of the American negro," speaks thus of the Brazilian mulatto:—

“The greatest number of the colored inhabitants of Brazil are of the mixed negro and European races, called mulattoes. It may be asserted that the inferior classes of the free population are composed of such. If ever there should be a republic, such as exists in the United States of America, as it is the aim of a numerous party in Brazil to establish, the whole class of artisans would doubtless consist of a colored population. . . . Already in every village and town the mulattoes are in the ascendant, and the traveller comes in contact with more of them than of whites.” There is nothing in these extracts, or in the essay from which they are taken, to indicate that the Brazilian mulatto is dying out. These are the observations of a patient investigator and man of science, and they have the more value, inasmuch as they were not set down with a view to support any particular theory. The Professor speaks elsewhere in high, but qualified terms of the moral and intellectual qualities of the mulatto, coming to conclusions similar to those of Moreau de St. Mery, except that he does not accuse them of indolence, and his description of the negro is most exact. The essay has great value.

It would seem, according to Mr. Olmsted, that there is, even in the United States, a prosperous community of mulattoes. In his “Seaboard Slave States,” he says, speaking of Western Louisiana, “There are also, in the vicinity, a large number of free colored planters. In going down Cane River, the Dalmau called at several of their plantations to take on cotton, and the captain told me that, in fifteen miles of a well-settled and cultivated country, on the banks of the river, beginning ten miles below Nachitoches, he did not know but one pure-blooded white man. The plantations appeared no way different from the generality of those of white Creoles; and on some of them were large, handsome, and comfortable houses. These free colored people are all descended from the progeny of old French and Spanish planters and their negro slaves. Such a progeny, born before Louisiana was annexed to the United States, and the descendants of it, are entitled to freedom.” These people were described to the author as good

business men, well educated, prompt in paying their debts, some of them wealthy and increasing in wealth, and living in the same style with white people of the same means. They showed "no indications of weak constitutions," but "enjoyed better health than the whites living in their vicinity."

It is, however, to be regretted that Mr. Olmsted, contrary to his usual practice, did not visit these planters, but has given us this information at secondhand.

Since the expulsion of the French from St. Domingo, most of the important business of the island has been done by the people of color. They divide the shipping business of Port-au-Prince, and some of the other ports, with the few white residents at those places; but, with the exception of Port-au-Prince, the leading shipping merchant of each of the ports in the country is a man of color, not excepting Cape Haytien and Jacmel. The two principal importers at these last-mentioned places were correctly named in a late issue of "The Tribune," but erroneously described as black men. There are, however, one or two black shipping merchants in Hayti, and black men are more or less engaged in all the occupations and professions which are pursued in the country, excepting, I believe, the law and journalism; but they are neither prominent nor numerous, especially when the great preponderance of the black population over all other classes in Hayti is considered.

With few exceptions, the men of color are the merchants, the lawyers, physicians, schoolmasters, editors and mechanics of Hayti. Even under black rulers, many of the chief functionaries of the government are of this class, and most of the details of the public business are transacted by them. Of some dozen productions of the pen—political, historical, and literary—which, within the last fifteen years, I can call to mind as having been published by Haytiens, not one was written by a black man. And the only artists that I have known in Hayti—four in number—were all men of color. They are the organs of intelligent communication between the great body of the Haytien population and the civilized communities with which they have intercourse. As common laborers, also, if not too

light-colored, the individuals of this class are equal to the blacks in strength and endurance, and superior to them in skill and address.

This race, if on the white side it derives its blood from either the English or French stock, possesses within itself a combination of all the mental and physical qualities necessary to form a civilized and progressive population for the tropics, and it is the only race yet found of which this can be said. Now it seems to me contrary to the common order of nature, and the working and wisdom of Providence, thus to fit a people for a certain purpose, and then to defeat that purpose by withholding vitality of race.

I have no wish to undervalue the blacks of Hayti. I have found many shrewd, worthy, and intelligent men amongst them; and the country, it is well known, has produced several black men of a high order of talent; but these have been exceptional cases, like the King Philips, Hendricks, Tecumsehs, and Red Jackets, of our North American Indians. As a race, they do not get on. The same may be said of every other original race. The blacks form no exception to the well-known law, that culture and advancement in man are the result of a combination of races. The black man can contribute invaluable elements to a forming population for the torrid zone, the principal of which are physical power and docility in the lower arts of civilization. He can furnish a solid basis for a population for the tropics, but not the population.

The two islands of St. Domingo and Jamaica, lying side by side, are, in their present respective conditions, strongly characteristic of the two nations which planted them as colonies. Like "early spots" of vegetation, they each hold out to the choice of the present slaveholder a sample of the different fruits, one or the other of which will probably compose the final harvest of all slavery which is not timely uprooted. In St. Domingo, the French have been destroyed by the blacks; in Jamaica, the English are being peacefully absorbed by them.