

CHAPTER XIV.

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE KANSAS OUTRAGES, AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

THE work of the slaveholding majority at Washington was now deemed complete, so far as legislation was involved. It only remained for fraud and force in the Territory of Kansas to match the infamy of such edicts. The desperate men on the frontier of Missouri, and their coadjutors from other parts, being incited so by Congress, began their invasions of Kansas, in view of the elections, under the Territorial organization just recited. The letters written thence, and not the least, those by a class of gentlemen whose facts, gleaned in the face of omnipresent danger—the special correspondents of newspapers—gave the public and Congress for its speeches, a true idea of the monstrous acts of the invaders, of the wide-spread murder, arson, and manifold violence and brutality committed—crimes which were peerless in our history, the motive considered: that of dooming a new land, and through it the vast expanse of other western territory, to hopeless Slavery. It required the villainy and cruelty which the slave-system alone can engender, to evolve such a combined system of murderous attack: but these ruffians believed that the President and a majority in Congress were their friends and supporters, forgetting, however, that public indignation would sweep the northern traitors in Congress to their appropriate obscurity; and that the spirit of the North, of private citizens alone, would prove an overmatch for the national executive and the legislative majority. Though the statements regarding the colossal crimes of the border-ruffians in Kansas were made by citizens there of the highest character, clergymen and others, including official personages, yet, in addition, there exists the sworn testimony given by many people before a Congressional Committee. On the 19th of March, 1856, the House of Representatives, in reference to the Kansas elections, empowered a Committee to send for persons and papers. This Committee were

to make full investigation of all violent and tumultuous proceedings; and the President was requested to furnish them any military force necessary to resist lawless men, in the process of their investigations. The vote for this Committee was 101 to 93; all the representatives from the Free States, except 17, voted Aye, and the remainder was from the slave States, and of course No; the oligarchs being determined to squelch inquiry, and make falsehood and high crime, committed broad-cast throughout Kansas. This Committee went to Kansas and spent several weeks in taking testimony, which occupied an immense volume of twelve hundred large and closely printed pages; this was summed up on their return by Messrs. Howard and Sherman, the majority. The chief points in summing up are as follows: When the act to organize the Territory was passed, in May, 1854, the greater portion of its eastern border was included in Indian reservations, not open for settlement, and there were but few white settlers in part of it. Its Indian population was rapidly decreasing; many emigrants were awaiting the extinction of the Indian titles; undisturbed, it would have been rapidly and peacefully settled. Its climate, soil, and easy access to the older settlements would have made it the favored course for the tide of emigration constantly flowing to the West; and by 1856 it would have had sufficient population to enter the Union as a Free State. As such, it would have been on terms of kind feeling with Missouri. The people of western Missouri, as shown by the testimony, were, previous to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, indifferent to the prohibition of Slavery in the Territory, and neither asked nor desired its repeal. This measure of repeal, however, changed the whole aspect of affairs. Intense discussion of the Slavery question ensued. A few days after the organic law passed, leading citizens of Missouri crossed into the Territory of Kansas, held squatter-meetings, and then returned to their homes. Among their resolutions were the following: "That we will afford protection to no abolitionist as a settler in this Territory. That we recognize the institution of Slavery as already existing in this Territory, and advise slaveholders to introduce their property as early as possible." Similar resolutions were passed in various parts of the Territory and in counties of Missouri. Thus the first effect of the repeal of the restriction against Slavery

was to substitute the resolves of squatter-meetings, composed almost exclusively of citizens of a single State, for the deliberate action of Congress, acquiesced in for thirty-five years. Every election was controlled not by the actual settlers, but by citizens of Missouri, and, as a consequence, every officer in the Territory, from constables to legislators, except those appointed by the President, owed their position to non-resident voters. None were elected by settlers, and the Committee in question "were unable to find that any political power, however unimportant, had been exercised by the people of the Territory." In October, 1854, Governor A. H. Reeder and other officers, appointed by the President, arrived in the Territory. Settlers poured in in great numbers, making their claims, and building cabins. At that time and before any election could be held, secret societies, with cant names, bound by oaths, and with pass-words, signs, and grips, with lodges, written minutes, and an effective organization, were instituted by citizens of Missouri, and extended into other Slave States and into the Territory; the object being to introduce Slavery into Kansas and other Territories. Their plan was to organize and send men into Kansas to vote, paying their expenses, if necessary, and to induce Pro-Slavery men to migrate to the Territory. This conspiracy would have been able at the first election to overpower all the free settlers. The Committee had great difficulty in eliciting proof of these several orders; sufficient was disclosed, however, to establish the point.

The first election was for a delegate to Congress, appointed for the 29th of November, 1854. The Governor divided the Territory into seventeen election-districts, appointed judges, and prescribed proper rules for the election. In eight of the districts there appears to have been but little if any fraudulent voting. The election in the second district was held in the village of Douglas, nearly fifty miles from the Missouri line. Into this place large bodies of men from Missouri, in wagons and on horseback, came on the day of election. Two of the judges, appointed by the Governor, did not appear; others were elected by the crowd, and all then voted. In order to make a pretense of right to vote, some persons kept a pretended register of squatter claims, upon which any one could enter his name. A citizen of the district was told by one of the strangers that he would be

probably killed if he challenged a vote; he was seized, called opprobrious names, and compelled to seek protection in the room with the judges. When they had voted they mounted their horses, and got into their wagons, and cried out, "All aboard for Westport and Kansas city!" A number were recognized as Missourians; among them Woodson, a leading lawyer of Independence. Of those whose names are on the poll-books of this second district, 25 were residents, and 226 non-residents.

This statement, officially made by the Committee of the House of Representatives, properly describes the fraud in one district, and details that in the others, which need not there be repeated. "This mockery of an election" is summed numerically by the Committee, and shows this result as regards fraud: second district, 226 illegal votes; fourth, 131; fifth, 52; sixth, 80; seventh, 584; eleventh, 233; fourteenth, 50; fifteenth, 206; sixteenth, 162. Total illegal votes cast, 1,729, to 1,114 legal. Of the legal votes cast, Whitefield received a majority. Not one-half of the settlers showed interest in the election, or voted. This was accounted for from the fact that the settlements were scattered over a great extent; that the term of the delegate to be elected was short, and that the question of free or slave institutions was not generally regarded by them as distinctly at issue. The invasion, though it did not change the result, was "a crime of great magnitude."

In January and February, 1855, the Governor of Kansas caused a census to be taken, from which it appeared that there were 2,000 voters; 151 negroes; 242 slaves; a total population of 8,501, of which 7,161 were natives of the United States. The Governor, so soon as the census was completed, ordered an election for members of the Legislative Assembly to be held on March 30, 1855. In view of the election, a vast body of armed Missourians, with provisions and tents, invaded Kansas. 4,068 illegal votes were cast to 1,310 legal. The border-ruffians had bowie-knives, pistols, guns, and rifles. The wretches overbore the judges of the polls, drew pistols and bowie-knives upon them and the citizens, and demeaned themselves in the most savage manner. The invasion of March left both parties, continues the Report to Congress, in a state of excitement, tending directly to produce violence. A mob destroyed a newspaper press

The Parksville Luminary, in Western Missouri. Malcom Lee assaulted Cole McCrea, at a squatter meeting in Leavenworth, and was shot by McCrea, it was alleged in self-defence. William Phillips, a lawyer of Leavenworth, was first notified to leave, and upon his refusal, was forcibly seized, taken across the river and carried several miles into Missouri, and then tarred and feathered, and one side of his head shaved and other gross indignities put upon his person. The right of free discussion on the subject of Slavery was denounced by resolutions passed unanimously at a public meeting. A Committee of Vigilance of thirty was appointed, to force "Abolitionists" to leave the Territory. A legislature elected by such infamous fraud and violence the Committee of Congress pronounced as devoid of authority; destroying the organic law, and reducing the people of the Territory to the condition of vassals to a neighboring State. The laws made by this legislature were all for the interests of Slavery. Kidnapping a freeman and selling him into Slavery was punished with imprisonment not exceeding ten years; but, aiding a slave to escape was punished with death. No man could vote who did not take a test oath to uphold Slavery. No man opposed to slaveholding was eligible to sit on a jury in any case in which the right of holding slaves in Kansas was involved. Writing on the slave question unfavorably to its maintenance—"calculated to produce disorderly or rebellious disaffection among the slaves"—was punishable with imprisonment and hard labor for not less than ten years.

General Stringfellow, the border-ruffian chief, in a letter to The Montgomery Alabama Advertiser, used this language as to the character of the laws of the Territory in reference to Slavery:

"They have now laws more efficient to protect slave property than any State in the Union. These laws have just taken effect, and have already silenced Abolitionists; for, in spite of their heretofore boasting, they know they will be enforced to the very letter and with the utmost rigor. Not only is it profitable for slaveholders to go to Kansas, but politically it is all-important."

The newspaper of this person, The Squatter Sovereign, which received the patronage of the General Government, and was the organ of the Democratic party in Kansas, said:

"We are determined to repel this Northern invasion, and make Kansas a Slave State: though our rivers should be colored with the blood of their victims, and the carcasses of dead Abolitionists should be so numerous in the

Territory as to breed disease and sickness, we will not be deterred in our purpose. Let those who desire graves in Kansas engage in this unholy and unjust war against the extension of our beloved institution that is now being waged against the South by the fanatics of the North."

The people of Kansas next sought redress by electing delegates to a convention held at Topeka, to frame a State constitution, and for a memorial to Congress, asking admission into the Union under that constitution; and provided that the question of the adoption of the constitution and other questions be submitted to the people, and accordingly an election to this end was held on 15th December, 1855. 1,731 votes were cast for the constitution, and 46 against it. The Executive Committee named the 15th of January, 1856, for the election for State officers and members of the General Assembly of the State of Kansas. The election took place—Robinson was chosen Governor; A. H. Reeder was elected delegate to Congress. Murder and violence attended the elections. Dow was killed by Coleman; a horrid murder. Sheriff Jones, Atcheson, Lecompte and Stringfellow were particularly distinguished for violence. Thomas Barber was murdered. Many scenes of savage ferocity, exhibited by the Pro-Slavery men, are officially detailed.

President Pierce at first pretended he had no right to interfere in Kansas. This was effectively an invitation to chronic violence and murder on the part of the Border-Ruffians. When, however, the tide of free settlers, largely stimulated by the Emigrant-Aid Association, and the liberal introduction of the backwoodsman necessity, the rifle, had enabled the settlers to contest their ground against the land-pirates, and to take measures to organize a free government, then the President found it his duty to issue his proclamation in February, 1856, "of assuring immunity from violence, and full protection to the persons, property, and civil rights of all peaceable and law-abiding inhabitants of the Territory." The first result of this proclamation was to intensify the villainy of the Border-Ruffians. Lawrence was sacked; houses destroyed; printing presses broken up and kindred outrages practiced.

The manner in which the Southern States contributed their quota of armed men to stifle liberty in Kansas, is thus described by Ex-Governor Reeder, of Kansas, in his speech at the Broadway Tabernacle, in New York, on the 26th of August, 1856:

"These men landed there in the spring of 1855, the first detachment of them under the command of Col. Buford. Gentlemen in the South at the time, told me that these men resided among the idle vagabonds of the Southern cities, with drum and fife and promises of free expenses and free living upon the plains of Kansas, they were brought to that State; they were marched from the steamboat to the shore in military array; the articles were read to them, and by these articles they were bound to live under military organization; bound to fight their battles; bound to vote the Pro-Slavery ticket. From that time to this, with the exception of those who deserted from them, they have lived in camps, making no attempt at settlement, with a purely military life, roving over the face of the Territory, attacking men alone in their cabins, depriving them of their arms, waylaying them, allowing no man to travel back and forth except he has a pass from their leaders, or from some friend whom their leaders recognize. The citizens were not even allowed to procure the necessaries of life, and no industrious settler could pass down to the City of Kansas, for the purpose of buying a load of provisions, without being arrested and robbed by these men. Man after man was robbed of his load and provisions, of his horses, and all the money that he happened to have in his pocket, and too frequently his body left cold and dead upon the ground. A gentleman who passed the camp of these ruffians at Battle Creek, upon the California road, saw seven bodies lying upon the ground. Lieut. Drum, of the U. S. Army, communicated to a friend of mine that in another place he found five murdered men, and consigned them to the earth. And add to this, that the bodies of men, murdered by these people, are found everywhere on their track, then you may have some idea of the state of things that existed while these men held the keys of the Territory."

The Rev. S. L. Adair was at Ossawatimie, when that place, with only forty Free-State men to defend it, was attacked by nearly four hundred of these ruffians. In a letter dated Ossawatimie, September 1, 1856, Mr. Adair says of the engagement, which made the name of John Brown, the leader, illustrious:

"The first thing I heard on Sunday morning was the sound of the feet of the horses of the advanced guard of our foes. They shot down a nephew of mine, who chanced to be in the road about 100 yards from my house. This was soon followed by a cousin of mine, an amiable Christian man, who was near, and tried to escape. He fled to the woods; horsemen pursued him and shot him. Another man was badly wounded near by. Soon, about four hundred, all mounted and armed, having also cannon, were seen formed in solid columns, on the high ground that commanded our village. The few families that the rumored invasion had not driven from their homes (a few had gone away and had again returned, thinking the alarms all false, for rumor had said they were coming for nearly two weeks,) fled to the woods for their lives. About forty Free-State men, armed, was all the force we had to repel them. About one hundred, who had been here for a few days, left on Thursday evening.

"The firing commences. The party, shielded partly by timber, stood until they had killed about each man one, and wounded as many more. They then fled; some of them had to swim the river—one was killed while crossing—one killed and two wounded on climbing up the bank. Loss on Free-State side, four killed and four wounded, two missing. Pro-Slavery loss uncertain. As near as we could learn they had about forty killed, and something over that number wounded."

The following is a private letter from the redoubtable Capt. Brown to his wife, on this event:

"LAWRENCE, Sept. 2, 1856.

"MY DEAR WIFE: Ossawatimie is all in ashes. The boys are safe, but our house is burned and the safe broken and robbed. Three Free-State men were wounded, and there were three wagon-loads of killed and wounded among the Pro-Slavery men. It was a desperate fight between thirty and forty Free-State men against three hundred Missourians. The whole country is now one desperate scene of fighting, plunder, robbery and murder, and scalping of Free-State men. Nearly 1000 Free-State men are in the field, and giving the Border Ruffians fight where they can find them; but, like all cowards, they do the work of darkness, or only attack when they have three to ten against one. They, in force of 400 to 800, fled before General Lane on Saturday and Sunday, refusing to fight, and leaving several loads of provisions on the field. Last week (Wednesday), at the battle of Middle Creek, six miles south of Ossawatimie, the Free-State men were victorious—got thirty horses and quantities of plunder. One Pro-Slavery man's leg was broken; others were wounded. A company of cavalry go down to Ossawatimie in the morning to bring up the families there, and I expect the boys up. I have been sick, but am now better. I have not a dollar in money. I shall stay here now. The United States troops will all be here to-morrow with the prisoners. No man can get out of the Territory now. It is fight or die with many of us. But death hath no terrors for our people. They rush to the battle as a hungry horse to his oats. Nothing can compare with the enthusiasm and courage of our people. A nobler set of fellows never graced a cause; never were gathered in an army. You see boys of sixteen and men of eighty carrying guns, camping on the prairies, and living on melons and green corn; making forced marches by day and night. One hundred and fifty have left this evening to make a forced march to save Topeka. They will probably have a fight on the way, as the Leecompton Pro-Slavery forces, 500 strong, are camped near the road. But they fear nothing. Their cause is just; their wrongs unnumbered. They are bound to defend their liberties to the death, and avenge their cause upon the enemy to the last. Not enough. I am glad you are away from these scenes of strife and blood. I hope to see the boys in a day or two. What think you? A friend congratulated me upon having nothing left me in Kansas but the suit upon my back. I must close. Love to all. When Hoyt left his friends before he was murdered, he remarked, (it was in prospect of a shower,) 'The thunder meets my ear.'

"A sad farewell.—Yours,

"YOUR HUSBAND."

The committee decided against Whitfield, and for Reeder, as delegate. Reeder and Lane were chosen the first Senators from the State of Kansas to the United States Senate, and M. W. Delahay, Representative. Kansas, it is hardly necessary to say, has not been admitted as a free State, owing to the slaveholding majority in the Senate. President Buchanan has proved himself worthy of his authorship of the Piratical Ostend Manifesto, and sided always with the Border Ruffians, and their fraudulent, brutal efforts, to fasten Slavery on Kansas. He has announced in his messages that Slavery already exists there as much as it does in slave States. Rapid changes in the Territorial Governors of Kansas—Reeder, Stanton, Geary, Walker—who laid bare the villainies of her invaders, and the final imposition of Medary upon the people there, indicates the bad persistence of the Federal Executive.

The statements made to Congress of the crimes committed in Kansas, drew forth vehement discussion. Mr. Sumner, in the Senate, having made a speech on the subject, Mr. Douglas assailed him in a coarse, vulgar, unparliamentary style, and threatened him with retribution at the hands of Senator Butler, of South Carolina, then absent, when he should take his seat. The meaning of this threat was evident. But Mr. Brooks, a member from that State, and relative of Mr. Butler, while Mr. Sumner was sitting at his desk writing, the Senate not being in session at the time, attacked him, striking him with a heavy cane, and knocking him senseless. Mr. Brooks was attended by two friends; the party were armed, and as it afterward appeared, ready to shoot any one interfering. Mr. Sumner being down, was rescued by Mr. Crittenden and others. This deed was hailed with ecstasy throughout the South, and Mr. Brooks, upon his journey homeward, met with lively demonstrations, and at home with a presentation of gifts therefor. In the North, except among the dependents of the Government, and the lowest vulgar, the assault was received with astonishment and horror. The majesty of Massachusetts and of Freedom were stricken down together. The indignation excited by this event assisted to intensify and strengthen the Republican sentiment and action for the canvass of 1856. Mr. Sumner was long an invalid, but recently returned from Europe, retook his seat, to which he had been reelected, and again spoke unreservedly against the slave-power. The Republicans, however, now are morally and numerically strengthened, and are no longer overborne by threats of violence or duels. It required courage like that of Giddings, Wilson, Burlingame, Potter, and others, to stem the current, and establish a new position.

Every election in Kansas, since 1854, when not crushed by border ruffianism, has been on the side of freedom. The people rejected by an overwhelming vote that stupendous fraud called the Lecompton Constitution. Nevertheless, Medary vetoed an act of the Territorial Legislature, excluding Slavery. The attempt to fasten a Border Ruffian Constitution on Kansas—to kill the patient instead of letting him die—led to a split in the Democratic party. Douglas seeing the North aroused, and inflexible for liberty, decided that it was against the will of the majority—it was not popular or squatter sovereignty

—and took issue with the President. For this Douglas was recently rejected at the Charleston Democratic Presidential Convention, and the extreme slave party, a portion of which is for immediately opening the slave-trade with Africa, afterward set up Breckinridge. These facts show the inevitable results of the march of the slave power, the resistance engendered, and the virtue of an avenging Nemesis.

In 1858, the extemporized Republican party was defeated through fraudulent votes in Pennsylvania, and would have triumphed but for executive corruption, afterward sanctioned by President Buchanan, as will be shown in these pages. That party has held steadily to its original principles, declared at the Philadelphia Convention, not to interfere with Slavery in the States, but not to let it enter the Territories. On this issue it elected its Speaker in the House, and all the tendencies are now in its favor. The overwhelming majority against it in the Senate will be changed: soon there is every reason to believe the Republican force in that pulsant body will reach thirty-two votes, preparatory to its absolute preponderance.



CHAPTER XV.

THE STATE LAWS FOR SLAVERY.

The laws for Slavery, terrific as they are, exhibit, it will be conceded, not the most harsh and cruel attributes of the system; for experience, wide and patent, shows that the individual despotism—engendered by it according to Jefferson, Muckney, and other southern authorities—and the wrath of mobs and committees of vigilance, overreach in atrocity even the code of the masters.

The following are the radical provisions of the slave code, the whole being baseless—baseless in regard to law establishing Slavery, for none exists, as even Mr. Mason, author of the new Fugitive Slave law, acknowledged; baseless, too, as respects the Common Law, which disavows murder and piracy, as it rejects their fruit.

First. No marriage can exist between the slaves; there are, therefore, as many prostitutes as enslaved women, and paramours as enslaved men. This ghastly fact applies to all the southern States, and to four millions slaves.

Second. As there is no law for husband and wife, there is none for parents and child, and Slavery being hereditary and perpetual, they may be torn asunder as though God had denied them heart, sense, and soul.

Third. The slave can, by law, acquire no property; all that he earns, belongs by law, to his master.

Fourth. The slave is by law not a human being but a chattel personal, as a horse, mule, ox, or dog; and may always be disposed of as a chattel, and mortgaged, or leased as such.

Fifth. This liability to be sold places him at the mercy of the creditors of his master, whether the debts be considerably or desperately contracted, and extends to the action of executors on the decease of the master.

Sixth. No amount of cruelty inflicted upon him entitles the slave to redemption, and the testimony of a slave is not taken against a master, or any white person, under any circumstances.

Seventh. The nature and amount of labor, and the food and raiment of the slave, are determined by the master.

Eighth. The master may recover damages done to the slave as property, but the slave has no redress.

Ninth. The slave being denied will and affection can make no contract of business or sentiment.

Tenth. The slave has no right to free himself by any industry, talent or moral nobleness.

Eleventh. The slave is denied education, and religious instruction is discountenanced by law.

Twelfth. The punishment of slaves is severer for crimes than that of whites, and general submission to the whites as a class is exacted.

Thirteenth. These laws are matched by enactments or practices touching the liberty of speech and action of the non-slaveholding whites in the slave States, the poor, unlettered masses there being equate in degradation with those actually in bonds.

Let us compare the modern with the ancient code, as summed up

by Dr. Taylor in his Elements of Civil Law; this latter code being softened eventually under the later emperors.

"Slaves were held *pro nullis, pro mortuis, pro quadrupedibus*; they had no head in the State; no name, title, or register; they were not capable of being injured, nor could they take by purchase or descent; they had no heirs, and, therefore, could make no will; exclusive of what was called their *peculium*, whatever they acquired was their master's; they could not plead or be pleaded for, but were excluded from all civil concerns whatever. They could not claim the indulgence of absence *reipublicæ causa*: they were not entitled to the rights and considerations of matrimony, and, therefore, had no relief in case of adultery; nor were they proper subjects of cognation and affinity, but of quasi-cognation only; they could be sold, transferred, or pawned as goods or personal estate, for goods they were, and such they were esteemed; they might be tortured for evidence, punished at the discretion of their lord, or even put to death by his authority."

Add Lynch-law to the code, and we find southern Slavery equal in cruelty, and surpassing in meanness the ancient system: the *peculium* of the ancient slave has no legal existence in the slave States. Christianity, according to the South-side view, has found a lower deep of codified robbery.

Judge Ruffin, of North Carolina, in the case of *The State against Mann*, thus describes southern Slavery.

"The end is the profit of the master, his security and the public safety. The subject is one doomed in his own person and posterity to live without knowledge, and without the capacity to make anything his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits. Such services can only be expected from one who has no will of his own; who surrenders his will in implicit obedience to that of another. Such obedience is the consequence only of uncontinued authority over the body. There is nothing else which can operate to produce the effect. The power of the master must be absolute to render the submission of the slave perfect. In the actual condition of things it must be so. There is no remedy. This discipline belongs to the state of Slavery. They cannot be disunited without abrogating at once the rights of the master and absolving the slave from his subjection. It constitutes the curse of Slavery to both the bond and free portion of our population; but it is inherent in the relation of both master and slave."

The law of Louisiana, Civil Code, Article XXV., condenses the subject thus:

"A slave is one who is in the power of the master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor; he can do nothing, nor possess nothing, nor acquire anything, but what must belong to his master."

Judge Stroud, in his invaluable compendium of the Laws of Slavery, summarily disposes of such as attempt to mitigate the master's cruelty, by showing, that in no instances is a slave's evi-

dence taken against a master or overseer, or any white man. Not even against an overseer, who, in the language of Mr. Wirt, of Virginia, in his *Life of Patrick Henry*, is thus described: "Last and lowest, a feculum of beings called overseers, the most abject, degraded, unprincipled race, always cap in hand to the dons who employ them, and furnishing ample materials for the exercise of their pride, insolence, and love of domination." The punishment for killing a slave in South Carolina, is a proper commentary on the southern system as regards the legal protection of the slave: "If any person shall, on a sudden heat or passion, or by undue correction, suddenly kill his own slave, or the slave of any other person, he shall forfeit the sum of three hundred and fifty pounds, current money." The penalty is now diminished to \$500. The murder of a slave is compensated for by \$500 damages, provided a white witness can be found, to warrant such punishment. In Alabama such killing is murder in the second degree, always provided the white witness be found, and the juries independent of the prejudices of caste, or the warpings of Lynch-law. Cruelty inflicted with whipping, ironing, or imprisonment, is thus established by the Christian legislation of South Carolina:

"In case any person shall willfully cut out the tongue, put out the eye, or cruelly scald, burn, or deprive any slave of any limb or member, or shall inflict any other cruel punishment, other than by whipping or beating with a horse-whip, cowskin, switch or small stick, or by putting in irons, or confining or imprisoning such slave, every such person shall for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds currency."

This is, practically, license to commit as much cruelty as the master may desire, with whips and irons, without penalty; and damages for mayhem, provided always there is a witness. The Mississippi code makes \$500 the penalty for cruel and unusual punishments; but what is cruel or unusual? Moreover, as "a slave is not capable of being injured," the damages are never awarded to him. In a word, the relation of master and slave being *contra naturam*, legalized justice is as impossible as mercy.

The difference between the punishments inflicted upon whites and slaves, for the same crimes or offences, in the State of Virginia, for example, is this: Four crimes carry the death penalty, in the laws for the whites. Sixty-eight crimes or offences, carry the death pen-

alty for the slaves. When the shootings and stabbings among the citizens, called "difficulties," not punished, or meeting with a mitigated verdict, are considered; and the remorseless manner in which slaves are hung, for indulging in the same knightly propensities, the contrast becomes still more sickening and dismal.

The food of the slave may be judged from the Louisiana code:

"Every owner shall be held to give his slaves the quantity of provisions hereinafter specified, to wit: One barrel of Indian corn, or the equivalent thereof, in rice, beans, or other grain, and a pint of salt, and to deliver the same, to the said slaves in kind, every month, and never in money, under a penalty of a fine of ten dollars for every offence."

North Carolina is not near so liberal as this in quantity, but equally illustrious as regards quality; and, excepting South Carolina and Georgia, which generalize against short-commons in their slave code, everything in the gastronomic line, in all the other Slave States, is left to the discretion of the master. As to clothing, the provisions are equally munificent in Louisiana, which, provided the slave be not allowed to cultivate a lot of ground on his own account, affords its French fashions for him thus: *une chemise et une culotte de toile*—a whole shirt, and pair of trowsers, for summer wear—and the same for winter, a great coat thrown in. Upon the subject of the modes, Saxendom, down South, is discreetly silent, except in the Carolinas, where the unknown quantity of enough is legally required—the slave not allowed to testify upon this x or unknown quantity; and in Georgia, where the clothing, as well as the food *minus*, and the work *plus*, must be such as not to injure or impair the slave's health; the slave again not being allowed to testify.

The statute-law for curbing the whites of the South, who have no interest in Slavery, but would be socially emancipated by its discontinuance, are of the same iron texture with those dealing death to the slave. For example, in the Revised Code of Louisiana, "Imprisonment at hard labor, for not less than three years nor more than twenty-one years, or death, at the discretion of the Court," is the penalty for free speech, or print, "which has a tendency to produce discontent among the colored population." Here is the law:

"Whoever shall make use of language in any public discourse, from the bar, the bench, the stage, the pulpit, or in any place whatsoever, or whoever shall make use of language in private discourses or conversations, or shall make use

of signs or actions having a tendency to produce discontent among the free colored population of this State, or to excite insubordination among the slaves, or whoever shall knowingly be instrumental in bringing into this State any paper, pamphlet, or book having such tendency as aforesaid, shall, on conviction thereof before any court of competent jurisdiction, suffer imprisonment at hard labor not less than three years nor more than twenty-one years, or death, at the discretion of the court."

Such a law is appropriate to Slavery, and its spirit was logically transferred to Kansas, and would be to every Territory, not saved for freemen on free farms: rigidly construed, it carries the death penalty for circulating the Declaration of Independence, which takes liberty or Anti-Slavery as its base; or the Constitution of the United States, whose first phrase is concordant with that revolutionary instrument; or the writings of the leading Southern statesmen against human bondage; or even the speech in 1832, before the Virginian Legislature, of the present Minister to France.



CHAPTER XVI.

BURNING HUMAN BEINGS ALIVE AT THE STAKE.

As the slaves augment, while their chances of escape and incentives to restlessness multiply through steam travelling and the increased intercourse with the Free States, stringent measures for keeping them in subjection, outside even the horrible slave-code, become more common. Among these, preëminent for savage cruelty, stands the growing custom of burning men at the stake. The poor wretches, born of forced prostitution, unable to read or write, being kept in dark ignorance, denied the rank of human beings, and pronounced chattels, are logically not amenable to law; but notwithstanding, are subject not only to the demoniac statutes but to lynch-law, such as is without parallel in the nineteenth century. That such burnings are inevitable under the system, is not to be disputed; and so no special indignation should be expressed in regard to them, or any other forms of savage punishment included.

It is difficult to reach the facts regarding plantation horrors, the

dissemination of intelligence in the South being comparatively so limited. But enough is known to warrant the affirmation, that burning slaves alive for "crimes," is to some extent systematically pursued in the South, although there is no such punishment on the statute-book. The journals North, have published from time to time, such accounts of these roastings as escaped into the circle of publicity; but yet, notwithstanding, the following debate took place in the House of Representatives, on the 7th March, 1860, as reported in *The Congressional Globe* of the 8th :

"Mr. VAN WYCK.—Sir, I will indulge in no unkind remark to wound the feelings of any man, but the charge must be met, and history vindicated, let the consequences fall where and as they may. One other gentleman spoke of Massachusetts burning witches in the ancient times. Does he not know that your own people burn slaves at the stake, and it seems to waken no horror in your minds.

"Mr. DAVIS, of Miss. (interrupting).—I pronounce the gentleman a liar and scoundrel. I pronounce the gentleman's assertion false—utterly false.

"Mr. VAN WYCK.—My time is short, and I hope not to be interrupted.

"Mr. DAVIS, of Miss.—You have no right to utter such foul and false slanders.

"Mr. GARTRELL.—I rise to a point of order. It is that no member upon this floor has a right to libel the people of any section of this country, and then deny to the representatives of that people the right to reply. I pronounce the assertion made by the gentleman false and founded.

"(Cries of "Order" on the Republican side.)

"Mr. VAN WYCK.—I have heard such words before, and I am not to be disturbed nor interfered with by any blustering of that sort. I am not here to libel any part of the Union.

"Mr. DAVIS (Miss.)—Will you go outside the District of Columbia and test the question of personal courage with any Southern man?

"Mr. VAN WYCK.—I travel any where, and without fear of any one. For the first eight weeks of this session you stood upon this floor, continually libeling the North, and the people of the Free States, charging them with treason and all manner of crimes; and now you are thrown into a great rage when I tell you a few facts."

The debate on slave-burning had its origin, as may be seen, in the assertion by a member—that Massachusetts burned witches centuries since. But even this off-set to the barbarities of the South in the nineteenth century is wanting, for Massachusetts put witches to death not by burning. But in proof of the accuracy of Mr. Van Wyck's statement, that the South does now burn slaves alive, the following cases are on record. *The Union Springs Gazette* of Alabama, of the 13th January, 1859, gives an account of the burning of a slave for murdering his master, said to be kind and humane:

"The deceased has the reputation of having, even to fault, ever been a kind and humane master. On the day before the murder, Mr. J. had whipped this

boy, Milford, or had him whipped, for some misdemeanor, and had him chained or locked till Monday morning, when he went to him, took off his chain, and told him to 'go to the mill and go to work.' The boy made some impudent reply, when Mr. J. told him if he did not stop his insolence he would knock him down with a lock, and turned to walk away. The boy then took an axe that was lying near and struck Mr. J. on the head, and knocked him down, dropped the axe and walked away a few steps, then turned and went back, took the axe and struck him three times more on the head, and retired a short distance and sat down, making no attempt to escape.

"A public meeting of the citizens, indiscriminately, was called on Wednesday, to determine what should be done with the negro, when the proposition was made to burn him alive, every one, to the number of 200 or 300, voting for it. That evening, at 3 o'clock, in the presence of 500 persons, he was chained to a tree and burned. Just before the fire was set, he confirmed the above statement in every particular. He stated also, that he had determined to kill his master some time before—that his having him whipped the day before had not instigated him to the brutal deed—that he had his knife open in his pocket to do the deed when his master should come to unfasten him, but his heart failed him; but that when he told him that if he did not stop his insolence he would knock him down, he proceeded to execute his fell purpose. The culprit ceased to show any signs of life two and half minutes from the time the torch was applied."

"The kind and humane master," according to the Southern journal, had the slave whipped and chained—kindness and humanity it would seem in the South, meaning whips and chains.

Another instance of slave burning is thus recited, the incentive for the murder committed by the slave, being the same as in the above, that of corporeal punishment; whether the master in this case was a model of kindness, is not related.

"On the first day of last year, 1859, at the annual negro sales at Troy (Ky.), Mr. James Calaway, the brother-in-law of one Simon B. Thornhill, who, it seems, had been murdered by a slave in revenge for some punishment, mounted a box in the street, and exhorted the people to do speedy justice upon the murderer, and closed by saying, 'All that feel as I do will follow me.' Eight hundred, or a thousand followed him. They went to the jail, took out the prisoner, and in the jail-yard itself drove down a stake, to which they chained him hand and feet. Fine split wood was piled around him, and he was miserably burned to death. 'He gave,' says a correspondent of The Maysville (Ky.) Eagle, 'some of the most hideous screams I ever heard come from any human being.'"

The Philadelphia Bulletin, of April 11, 1860, presents this statement of a case in the present year:

"A SLAVE BURNED AT A STAKE.—The Vicksburg Sun has come in possession of the following facts in relation to the burning of a negro man at Mr. Woolfolk's plantation on Deer Creek. It seems that the negro thus summarily dealt with was a vicious, self-willed fellow, and becoming offended at a woman (black) on the same plantation, walked up to her as she was working in the field and deliberately plunged the knife into her breast. Upon perpetrating this bloody deed he fled to the woods, not, however, before giving several other

negroes to understand that their time would come next, and after them two white men living hard by. Dogs were put on his tracks, and after a chase of several hours he was captured, though not without a desperate struggle—the pursuers being put to all they knew to take him alive. The residents of the vicinity decided to burn him at the stake, which was done in the presence of all the negroes on that and several of the adjoining plantations, all of whom seemed terrified out of their wits on viewing so awful a scene. The spirit of the doomed negro never was subdued. He died cursing his judges—his last words being that he would ‘take vengeance on them when they met each other in —.’”

Mr. O. E. Fuller, of the State of Michigan, obtained from Mr. J. F. Norrell, the account of the burning of two slaves, in the township of Extra, in Ashley County, Arkansas, in September, 1857, one of the slaves having belonged to Mr. Norrell. They were suspected of murder and arson. Mr. Fuller says: “Ike (one of the “suspected) was whipped nearly to death, in order to extort from “him a confession; but he persisted in denying any knowledge of “the affair. Mr. N. then poured on his bleeding back spirits of tur- “pentine, and set it on fire.” Ike then confessed that he and a negro, named Jack, were guilty. The slaves were taken by “the “regulators,” chained to stakes, and burnt to death “with fat pine “wood.” It is worthy of remark, that the considerate regulators took up a subscription, to indemnify the owners for the value of the slaves, so roasted by the supreme lynch-law of the South.

The Montgomery Alabama Mail thus speaks of a negro-burning fete, which was likely to come off on the 16th of March, of the present year, 1860. “We hear that it has now been ascertained who “committed the murder of Alfred Jones, on Saturday night, in this “county. It seems, that two or three days previous to this murder, “he gave one of his negroes, Adam, a whipping, and that the negro “then said, it would be the last one he would ever give him, “and persuaded another boy to hold his master’s horse, while he “knocked him on the head with an axe. The two negroes, we un- “derstand, will be burned to death on Friday, the 16th instant.”

The New York Times quotes the following:

“MURDER BY A SLAVE.—The Atlanta Georgia Intelligencer gives the substance of a letter from Hon. W. R. Nicholl, of Oglethorpe County, Georgia, detailing a horrible murder perpetrated by a negro, in the employ of Mr. Wm. P. Smith. Jim, the negro, was ordered by Mr. Smith to do a piece of work, which he refused to do, peremptorily. An altercation ensued, and Mr. Smith told the negro, if he wished to quarrel with him, to go to the house. The two started together, Mr. Smith walking in front. Just as he entered the gate, the

negro asked Mr. Smith what he intended to do with him. As he made no reply, the negro sprang upon him, and stabbed him sixteen times, jumping upon his victim as he fell. Mrs. Smith, with some negroes, who were in the house, witnessed the scene, and managed finally, to drag the murderer away. He fled to a straw-house, where he was captured the next morning. Mr. Smith died soon afterward. The people had determined to burn his murderer alive."

This is the case of which the following telegraphic report appeared in *The Philadelphia Bulletin*, of June 12, 1860, showing that the design of the lynch-legists had been put in execution.

" AUGUSTA, GA., June 12.

"MURDER OF A GEORGIA PLANTER BY HIS SLAVE—THE SLAVE BURNT AT A STAKE.—A man, named William Smith, a planter in Oglethorpe County, Georgia, was murdered by a slave on Saturday. The slave was captured, and burnt at a stake on Monday."

Referring to this case, *The Atlanta Georgia Intelligencer* says: "Mr. Smith had treated this negro with great kindness—had raised him, and never struck him a lick. He was, doubtless, demented, and instigated by the devil. His fate should be an awful warning to others of his color, who are alike ungrateful." If "demented" mean insane, this Georgia editor justifies the burning of an insane man.

The *St. Louis Evening News*, of the 14th of March, 1860, copies from a journal of that city, of the 22d of July, 1859, an account of the burning at the stake, by a mob, at Marshall, Saline County, Missouri, on the 19th of the latter month, of a negro, who had been condemned to be hung by the legal tribunal for the murder of a gentleman, named Hinton. He was taken by the mob from the sheriff, who was conveying him to prison, chained to a stake, dry wood was piled around, and he was burned to death. "As the flames gathered about his limbs and body, he commenced the most frantic shrieks and appeals for mercy—for death; he seized his chains, they were hot, and burned the flesh off his hands; he would drop and catch them again and again. There must have been upward of one thousand people present." The mob, at the same time, hung two other negroes whom they had taken out of jail.

The statute-book of the South, cruel as it is, does not meet the wants of the sovereign people there; so they break open jails, and burn and hang at pleasure.

The *New York Tribune*, of March 12, 1860, contained an account

of a slave-burning, in Charleston, S. C., upon the authority of the late John Parish, of Philadelphia, a preacher of the Society of Friends. His statement is, "That a slave was burnt to death, at a stake, in Charleston, surrounded by a multitude of spectators, some of whom were people of the first rank. The poor object was heard to cry, as long as he could breathe, 'Not guilty, not guilty!'" In reference to this case, a correspondent of another New York paper signing himself J. Jeffreys, states, that he was present at the burning, and justifies it, because the crime was the rape of a young lady, intrusted to the slave to take to school, for which he had been tried, and condemned to be hanged; the day, however, came for the execution, "but the people," says Mr. Jeffreys, "rose *en masse*, high and low, and determined that hanging was too good for him;" and gives a description of how the negro was chained to an iron bar, and roasted to death. "He lived," says Mr. Jeffreys, "about ten or twelve minutes, and caved in: and the cry was, 'Pile on the fagots; others ought to be served the same way, white or black.' 'I would lend a hand to pile on the fagots for the same crime, in this enlightened day.'"

The New York Tribune, of April 21, 1860, contains the following:

CINCINNATI, Ohio, April 13, 1860.

"To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune:

"SIR: On the 18th of August last, I saw a negro hung by a mob, in Springfield, Mo. The cause of the lynching was an outrage committed upon the person of a lady residing near that city. On the same evening, a member of the Missouri Legislature, residing in Springfield, informed me that five years before he saw two negroes burned at the stake, in Jasper, one of the western counties in that State. He gave me full details of the affair, asserting that many slaves were brought in from the adjacent country to witness it; that the victims seemed to lose their consciousness immediately after the flame struck their faces, etc. I have every reason to believe that my informant is a reliable gentleman, and will cheerfully furnish his name to any one desiring it.

"A. D. RICHARDSON."

The Montgomery, Alabama, Herald, of a late date, contained the following: "WE THINK SO TOO.—The Editors of The Hayneville, Alabama, Chronicle, very justly observes: 'It is questionable whether burning negroes by whites has any better effect than to brutalize the feelings of the community. Several have already been burned in Montgomery County, without, it seems, decreasing crime among them.'"

Here we have the authority of two Alabama newspapers, that several slaves have been roasted alive in one county. If that be taken as the average of the number of burnings through the South, the cases would number by thousands.

Nearly all the instances above cited, are recent. Others of older date could be given, for example:

About twenty years ago, an overseer in Goochland County, Virginia, was tried and imprisoned for having burned a slave to death.

In 1836, a freeman of color, named Macintosh, was burned at the stake at St. Louis, Missouri, by a mob who took him from the jail, and burned him alive in the presence of three thousand people. He was twenty minutes dying. He was steward of a steamboat, and his crime was the killing of a man who had arrested him on a charge of rescuing another freeman of color who was under arrest.

A correspondent of *The Cincinnati Herald*, in July, 1845, wrote to that paper an account of the burning of the house of an overseer, near Oakland Cottage, Mississippi, by slaves who had been emancipated by the will of their master, but were exasperated and desperate at being still held in bondage. A white child was burned to death in the overseer's house. The incendiaries, eight or nine in number, were seized by the neighbors, and two of them immediately hanged. The rest were chained to the floor of a log-house, and therein slowly roasted to death. This statement was extensively published in the papers at the time, and was not denied or refuted.

A correspondent of *The New Orleans Picayune*, writing from Jackson, Mississippi, 20th December, 1855, gave the account of a negro who was chained to a stake and burned alive for having attempted to commit a rape upon a young lady. The execution was at Lexington.

The Montgomery, Alabama, Mail, of April 3, 1856, says: "We learn, that the negro who murdered Mr. Capeheart, was burned to death yesterday at Mount Meigs. He acknowledged himself guilty."

In the *Travels in the South* of Dr. Parsons, of Boston, published in 1856, an account is copied by him from *The Sumter, Alabama, Whig*, of a then recent slave-burning in that county. The slave

Dave belonged to J. D. Thornton, and was accused of murdering a young lady. Thornton and his friends took the slave, by stratagem, from jail: "they left in high glee," says *The Whig*; "he was tied to a stake, with fat, light wood piled around him, and the torch was applied in the presence of two thousand persons." *The Whig* denied the rumors afloat, that Dave was tortured—burning alive not being considered torture in Alabama. Dr. Parsons also gives another instance which occurred not long before his visit to Georgia, the details of which he had from eye-witnesses. A slave, who had been cruelly whipped, wounded his mistress with a hatchet: he was given to the mob for punishment; they whipped him for five successive days, fifty lashes a day, and on a Sunday he was taken from the jail, stripped naked, and tied by his hands to the limb of a large oak-tree, near the court-house. A fire of hard pine shavings was then kindled beneath him, and while burning to death, he was stabbed and cut by knives fastened to poles, the executioners shouting that this was the punishment of every slave who would murder his mistress. Ten thousand people were present at this scene, which took place in 1855.

John King-ley, of Portsmouth, Ohio, published a statement on the 7th of January, 1857, of the burning at the stake of a negro, which he witnessed the preceding week in Carter County, Kentucky. The victim was the slave of William McMinnis. He was suspected of planning an insurrection, and before being burned received two hundred lashes to extort a confession, which he did not make.

It will thus be seen, that lynch-law is universal in the South, and will not wait for the hangman, but executes punishment of a kind utterly unknown to Christendom elsewhere, and supposed to pertain alone to the cruelties of past ages. Such atrocities in the nineteenth century, belong exclusively to Slave States, and to the aboriginal savages only. They are a part of the system, and cannot be dissociated therefrom.

Are they not reasons for restricting Slavery within its present limits, covering, as it does, nearly two-thirds of the surface of the States, and threatening with blood and fire, to spread itself to the Pacific?

CHAPTER XVII.

THE IMPOVERISHED PEOPLE AND SOIL OF THE SOUTH.

THE number of slaveowners in the South was estimated once loosely in millions, in concordance with the gross white population. The national census of 1850, besides other incisive facts, showed that the entire body of the slaveowners was but 347,525. Of these, the larger proprietors, or the oligarchy, dictating politics, is estimated to be between only 60,000 and 90,000. The entire white population of the South was 6,222,418. How small a proportion of the Southern people have effectually a voice in the State and federal politics of the South may be judged. Of the condition of the overwhelming majority of the whites, South, called poor whites, and even an opprobrious cant term being applied to them, we have ample evidence from Southern authorities. Mr. Olmstead, of New York, in his Journey to and through Texas, treating of society, South, speaks of a "devilish, "undisguised and recognized contempt for all lumber classes. It "springs from their relations with slaves, 'poor whites,' and trades- "people, and is simply incurable." It is incontestable that the line between these masses and the great land and slaveowners is trenchantly drawn. The statute law of Louisiana even speaks of the necessary respect to different classes of society. This practical contempt of poor white men is a necessary accompaniment of the creed now shaping all Southern oligarchic politics, and declaring that the capitalist must own the laborer, white as well as black. That there is to be an uprising of these white masses, with an assertion of their proper rank in the political and social scale, is anticipated. Mr. J. H. Taylor, of South Carolina, in an article on Southern manufactures, sounds a note of alarm to that State, blessed with a legislature composed of men, each owning \$10,000 worth of "skillful mechanics and prime field-hands," or their equivalent in five hundred broad acres. He says: "They are fast learning that there is an almost "infinite world of industry opening before them, by which they can "elevate themselves from wretchedness and ignorance to competence and intelligence. It is this great upheaving of our masses "that we have to fear, so far as our institutions are concerned."

Well stated. *Fas est*: the competence and intelligence of the masses depend on the restriction, and finally, the squelching of a system which despises labor and appropriates its wages. Mr. Taylor has apprehended essential statesmanship; his mode of presenting it was adapted to the atmosphere which punishes freedom of speech with many stripes, and has death in reserve to meet extreme cases. Mr. William Gregg, of South Carolina, favors manufactures for the "poor white people, wholly neglected, and suffered to while away an existence but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest." This is the residuum of Mr. Calhoun's sublime theory of government, so far as it can be carried out in South Carolina. Governor Hammond, of that State, is equally complimentary to the vast body of his fellow-citizens there: "They obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or folds, and, too often, by what is in its effects far worse—trading with slaves, and seducing them to plunder for their benefit." The Hon. J. H. Lumpkin, of Georgia, hazards this assertion: "But I am by no means ready to concede that our poor, degraded, half-fed, half-clothed and ignorant population—without Sabbath-schools or any other kind of instruction, mental or moral, or without any just appreciation of character—will be injured by giving them employment, which will bring them under the oversight of employers, who will inspire them with self-respect by taking an interest in their welfare."

Testimony to any extent could be exhibited that the poor whites of the South are just as these eminent authorities of that region, daguerreotyping them on the spot, represent them. By the census of 1850, the number of whites of native birth, who were unable to read and write in certain States, is as follows:

| STATE. | WHITES. | UNABLE TO READ AND WRITE. |
|---------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| New England States, | 2,509,651 .. | 6,209 |
| New York, | 2,321,101 .. | 23,240 |
| Alabama, | 419,008 .. | 33,618 |
| Arkansas, | 160,721 .. | 16,792 |
| Kentucky, | 750,012 .. | 64,340 |
| Missouri, | 515,434 .. | 34,420 |
| Virginia, | 871,847 .. | 75,163 |
| North Carolina, | 650,413 .. | 73,226 |
| South Carolina, | 276,183 .. | 15,540 |
| Georgia, | 515,121 .. | 40,794 |
| Tennessee, | 751,198 .. | 77,017 |

The difference between the intelligence of New England and the Slave States, is that between civilization and barbarism.

This ignorance of the white man rivalling the slave, engenders a desperate style of agriculture. Mr. Olmstead, a practical farmer, says, in

A LETTER TO A SOUTHERN FRIEND:

"You may think it too soon to form a judgment of any value upon the prosperity of Texas, as measured by the other criterion I proposed, namely, 'the completeness with which the opportunity for profitable labor is retained.' But what do you say to the fact that in 'the eastern counties that spectacle so far, liar and so melancholy in your own State, in all the older Slave States, is already not unfrequently seen by the traveller—an abandoned plantation of worn-out fields, with its little village, now a home only for wolves and vultures? This but indicates a large class of observations, by which I hold myself justified in asserting that the natural elements of wealth in the soil of Texas will have been more exhausted in ten years, and with them the rewards offered by Providence to labor will have been more lessened than, without Slavery, would have been the case in two hundred. Do not think I use round numbers carelessly. After two hundred years' occupation of similar soils by a free laboring community, I have seen no such evidence of waste as, in Texas, I have after ten years' of Slavery. And indications of the same kind I have observed, not isolated but general, in every State but two—which I have seen only in parts yet scarcely at all settled. Moreover, I have seen similar phenomena following Slavery in other countries and other climates."

Parallel opinions to excess could be afforded, showing that the desolations of Slavery are destroying the earth's fecundity, the same now as those which ruined ancient empires. One more, however, will only be given, that of the brilliant Ex-Governor Wise, of Virginia, who thus gives a commentary on the effects of Slavery on the soil and people of that State.

After deploring the death of commerce in Virginia, and that manufactures were never born there, Mr. Wise says:

"You have no commerce, no mining, no manufactures. You have relied on the single power of agriculture, and such agriculture! Your sedge-patches outshine the sun. Your inattention to your only source of wealth, has seared the very bosom of mother-earth. Instead of having to feed cattle on a thousand hills, you have had to chase the stump-tailed steer through the sedge-patches to procure a tough beef-steak. The present condition of things has existed too long in Virginia. The landlord has skinned the tenant, and the tenant has skinned the land, until all have grown poor together."

The eminent Chief Justice Read, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, says:

"In the South, no large cities call for free white mechanical or other labor, and the interior is virtually closed to all free white labor by the wealthy slave-

owner, who employs only his white overseers and his black slaves, whether in the labor of the field, the house, the shop, and even in the manufactory. In a southern State, all free white male, and in some places female, inhabitants are liable to do patrol duty, that is, to watch over the slaves of their rich neighbors, and they are called out at least once a fortnight, and may correct with stripes, all slaves infringing the slave regulations in the slightest particular. Does any free white man with his family and their labor think of going to South Carolina, the headquarters of southern Slavery? If this be so, why should such a system be tolerated for a moment in territory now free, and thus exclude the native Pennsylvanian, or the hardy emigrant from Europe, from settling in the far West. The introduction of Slavery is the permanent exclusion of the white freeman and white free labor."



CHAPTER XVIII.

COMPARATIVE WEALTH OF FREE AND SLAVE STATES.

THE southern States have the advantage of richer soils and shorter winters than the northern, but, nevertheless, have steadily declined, either in actual or comparative resources. While the North has great cities, and ripened, elegant industry, the South is without either, and relies, to a proverb, on her neighbors for mechanical and artistic works, affecting the while to despise the pursuits of a people, whose superb impetuosity in the race of civilization, has done more for New England in two hundred years, than has been achieved in two thousand, in the old lands of Europe. From the crib to the coffin, the planter looks to the artisan of the Free States; and the sad dependence of her "Roman population" upon "the ingenious and parasitical Greeks" of the North, is a uniform homily at her commercial conventions—those facetious, impracticable, but ever-recurring congresses.

Against such cities as New York and Philadelphia, the great pioneer State of Virginia, it is to be deeply regretted, owing to her devotion to Slavery, can only show the decayed Norfolk, with 9,075 inhabitants; and South Carolina, for a like reason, presents Charleston with but 20,012; and Georgia, Savannah, with 8,395.

The reduction of much land, in a brief period of time, to the purposes of civilization, by a scattered population, has stimulated mechanical ingenuity, in the manufacture of labor-saving machinery

and utensils, to a degree, that neither positive calculation nor ideal longings anticipated. But, in this magnificent work of multiplying artificial hands, and vitalizing latent motive-power, it is northern genius that has worked nearly alone—southern competition being almost dead. When it is mentioned, that about six thousand patents are taken out by the State of New York, to one hundred and twenty-five by South Carolina, the practicabilities and possibilities of their two systems, in evolving the great scientific and mechanical needs of the epoch, require, perhaps, no further comparative elucidation. The same trenchant contrast is exhibited in the journalism, literature, and the whole material and æsthetical scope of the two regions. Nor can the argument be maintained, that climate forces the South to hug the dire falsehood, or that slave labor is alone practicable in Virginia, North Carolina, or in the cotton and sugar growing regions. White men can, and do work by hundreds of thousands the fields of the South, and the dishonor, placed on toil by the presence of the slave, taken away, free labor would extend, liberal rewards following earnest efforts. It is not denied that African labor best suits the rice-fields; but the war against Kansas—Kansas producing neither cotton, rice nor sugar, was universally upheld in the South, by sympathy, by money, or by men, and by her united legislation at Washington, proving thus, it is not fervid latitudes, and their products, which alone extend Slavery, but the rabid lust of power, which would gloat in seeing it in the corn-fields of Ohio, or circling Bunker Hill. If we acknowledge the necessity of the South extending the area of the cotton-growing regions, because, as her statesmen and publicists truly say, its culture exhausts the land, and ever requires new additions of territory, we simply affirm that national barbarism and suicide belong to the southern problems of Government: but that dark rule, coming of a total eclipse of the intellect, cannot be applied to the fields of the West; and only a spirit, having made a league with death, and a covenant with hell, could sow the wrath of the furies over vales and hills, primeval in loveliness, and maiden in liberty, in order that the discordance of the chain and the lash might be echoed back with the bay of the bloodhound.

The constant effort of the South has been to clutch more territory, and by an imperious, hectoring front, and threats of Disunion,

alarming nervous fools and cowards in the North, she has succeeded in covering the greater portion of the States with the shames of human bondage. By this means, she shows, with but half the white population of the North, an area of 851,508 square miles, to 612,597 of the latter region. According to the census of 1850, there were 13,464,586 people in the northern States, and but 6,184,477 whites in the southern, or, the colored population added, 9,612,009 inhabitants.

With all her splendid, natural superiorities, with the vantage of time and political ascendancy in the national Government, the South is deplorably and desperately in the rear of the North, as proved by the plain, irreversible facts and figures contained in the census of 1850. The excess of the wealth of Free over Slave States in that balance-sheet of the united people, including, even as it does, slaves as property, is more than eleven hundred million dollars; but not considering them property, and excluding their valuation of sixteen hundred millions, as accuracy and humanity alike demand, the wealth of the North exceeds that of the South, by the census in question, to the amount of over **TWENTY-SEVEN HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS.**



CHAPTER XIX.

THE RE-OPENING OF THE SLAVE-TRADE WITH AFRICA.

THE extension of Slavery into new States and Territories, and the yearning for the addition of yet more, including Cuba—which, according to the Ostend Manifesto of Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, should be seized, if Spain will not sell—carries with it a sleepless effort to reopen the slave-trade legalized with Africa; rendering thus the whole Union responsible for the chronic wars of the African tribes, wars begun solely for the purpose of making and enslaving the prisoners, and conducted upon rules of pristine savagery with an exterminatory spirit, and having their sequences in the forced marches of the captives to the coast, the whole line marked by the bones of

those who expire by the way under fatigue, famine or violence, and the agonies of the survivors crowned by the proverbial horrors of the middle passage. To the conflict of interests between the northern tier of slave-breeding States and the southern tier of slave-working States, is due the fact that the statutes against this slave-trade have not already been repealed, for the aggressions of the South and the subserviency of the North, in all points where the former has been absolutely united, have proved that there is no moral principle on the part of the present northern Democracy as a party, which would prevent their acquiescence in such a measure. That the democratic city of New York has been constantly the head-quarters of the surreptitious slave-trade, carried on through the connivance of democratic office-holders, establishes this assertion. The ethical sentiment of the community has been seared by familiarity with the details of fitting out slavers for Africa, by the landing of their victims in the South, and kindred narrations; but never yet has it been quickened by a conviction and punishment with death of any one of the thousands of pirates and murderers who pursue the traffic unchecked as though it were a legitimate business. During the last ten years full twenty cases have been tried in New York; and in one only, that of Captain Smith, of the slaver *Julia*, was there a capital conviction; but a new trial was granted, the prisoner's plea of voluntarily serving on board taken, and he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. In some cases, the pirates against whom evidence was sufficient, undoubtedly, to convict, have escaped from Eldridge street jail before trial. As the marshal's officers have been proved guilty of bribery and corruption, such escapes look suspicious, to speak mildly.

In the recently-made confession of the pirate Hicks, executed under the federal law at New York, on the 13th of July, for the murder of Captain Burr, of the schooner *Johnson*, he relates that in one of his slave-voyages, the slaver was chased by an armed vessel, and in order to destroy the evidence of the presence of the captives, they were all tied to the cable and the anchor let go, which carried them overboard, and they were thus murdered.

It has been computed that for ten years past from twenty to thirty slavers a year have been fitted out at the port of New York alone,

and thus the Democratic party has been instrumental in founding and sustaining a school for pirates, capable of deeds like this cited, and of producing such colossal criminals as Hicks, who confessed to have been concerned in the commission of not less than one hundred murders. Those who sustain or fail to oppose Slavery and its inevitable accompaniments, the slave-trade with Africa, are rearing a legion of Thugs in the midst of our civilization, and causing murder to be a profession. The impunity of the slave-traders has recently led to a hideous increase of the outfit of slavers from the port of New York. The Leader, edited by Mr. Clancy, a well-known Democrat, on the 26th May, said: "We believe we do not overstate the matter in announcing that an average of two vessels each week clear out of our harbor bound for Africa and a human cargo." If this statement be correct, which it probably is, New York is now contributing at the rate of one hundred vessels a year to the slave-trade.

The Hon. John McKeon, late United States District Attorney for New York, in whose praise he it said, one of the few government officials who would not prostitute his office to the slave oligarchy, told the author that the difficulty up to almost impossibility of obtaining evidence in regard to the fitting out of slavers, was the complicity of the lower officials. Of this, the recent arrest of two deputy marshals, Henry Munn and Theodore Rynders, the latter a relative of the marshal himself, for being bribed to connive at the escape of the slaver, The Storm King, affords ample proof. The operations of the marshal's officers with the slave-traders are thus described in The New York Leader, above-mentioned:

"We have received information, which we shall verify and publish as soon as possible, to the effect that the price for the clearance of a slaver is as well known to those in the trade as the price of a barrel of pork. It is said that a certain amount of gold is placed in a locker in the cabin; the officers board the ship and commence a search for materials arguing the intention of the vessel to carry slaves. They search all the lockers especially, and suddenly find the particular one in which the gold—commonly ranging from \$2,500 to \$5,000, according to the size of the vessel—is concealed. This, the inference being that it is at least part of a sum designed to purchase negroes from the King of Dahomey, the officers at once proceed to confiscate; but failing to find any other evidence of a slave-trading purpose on board, they merely remove the treasure and offer no further resistance to the departure of the ship. This was the course said to have been followed by the Deputy U. S. Marshals, who have been dismissed; but of course none of those still retained could possibly be suspected of practicing a like course. Let us hope that Marshal Isaiah Rynders, now that his eyes have been opened, will be more active and energetic in seeing that his subordinates more faithfully discharge their duties."

Marshal Rynders himself, whose duty it is to arrest the men so implicated in the slave-trade, is represented in the reports of the Charleston Democratic Presidential Convention, of May 1, as almost or quite echoing the sentiments of Mr. Gauden, a delegate from Georgia, who made a speech in favor of immediately legalizing the slave-trade with Africa. Mr. Gauden, in the course of his remarks, said:

"Now, fellow-democrats, so far as any public expression of opinion of the State of Virginia—the great slave-trading State of Virginia—has been given, they are all opposed to the African slave-trade."

"Dr. RYSD, of Indiana.—I am from Indiana, and I am in favor of it."

"Mr. GAULDEN.—Now, gentlemen, we are told, upon, high authority, that there is a certain class of men who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. Now,

Virginia, which authorizes the buying of Christian men, separating them from their wives and children, from all the relations and associations amid whom they have lived for years, rolls up her eyes in holy horror when I would go to Africa, buy a savage, and introduce him to the blessings of civilization and Christianity." (Cheers and laughter.)

"Mr. RYDERS, of N. Y.—You can get one or two recruits from New York to join you."

It is clear, that there is no hope, except in the success of the Republican party, for the suppression of the African slave-trade, as now carried on; for every man in office, from Mr. Buchanan down to a tide-waiter, openly avers that Slavery is right, just, and proper, and exists in the Territories by virtue of the Constitution; and the chief magistrate, moreover, on his accession to office, stated that the annexation of Cuba was the object dearest his heart; and to indurate this universal sanction to Slavery in civil functions, it appears that the little squadron on the coast of Africa is almost useless from two causes: its inefficiency, first, the vessels being mostly old sailing-ships and unable to catch slavers if they tried; and second, the apparent want of disposition on the part of Southern naval officers to suppress a trade which so many of them must approve; to this may be added the difficulties thrown in the way of the the best-disposed naval officers of Great Britain, by the rigid construction of the laws regarding the right of search, interpreted by our Pro-Slavery Government, the entire slave trade on the coast of Africa being now carried on under the American flag. A letter in *The New York Times*, March 2, dated, "United States Ship Portsmouth, St. Paul de Loando, Tuesday, December 20, 1859," gives a full account of "the alarming increase and rapid growth of the slave-trade," and shows that it is all carried on under the American flag. Some extracts from this correspondence. Speaking of the treaty between Great Britain and the United States, it says:

"In the making of a treaty of this kind, it is to be supposed that it meant something more than a dead letter; yet it seems, from the vague and indeterminate nature of the instructions given to our naval officers, and the facility with which vessels are cleared in the United States, even if captured, that on the part of the United States it has been almost virtually inoperative to the suppression of the trade, beyond the mere presence of two or three ships, occasionally, at a few points along the coast. Things have gone on this way for years. The trade has increased beyond measure; our flag has been subject to continual annoyance and surveillance from British cruisers, because our ships have not been near to attend to their duty, to fulfill their obligations, to board and examine American ships, to take their own prizes, and to keep in check the overbearing spirit of English officers. Consequently, everything is in confusion; there are no united, harmonious, co-operative efforts made to suppress the trade, and our national reputation has suffered lamentably in the eyes of England.

"The few months' experience we have had on the coast has not altogether been thrown away. It has thoroughly convinced us that the whole slave coast is, we may say, lined with slavers, who are generally from New York, cleared from the Custom House, bringing all the appliances of the trade with them, and manœuvring about on the coast, under various pretences and disguises of legal traffic; particularly under that most specious blind—the obtaining palm oil—until the favorable moment having arrived, the cargo is shipped, and a few hours puts them out of danger, on the way to the West Indies."

The writer then proceeds to prove that the palm-oil trade, the name of which is abused by slavers, is nearly all a lie. He cites also awful cases of suffering in slavers, and earnestly implores reforms.

Very recently several slavers have been captured, and their cargoes of slaves taken to Key West, where nearly two thousand slaves were congregated in barracoons, under the care of the United States marshal of Florida. According to law, the Government is bound to liberate and send back to Africa slaves so captured. Southern, and even northern Democratic journals have protested against such rendition, and called loudly for an apprenticeship law, by which all blacks so brought shall be kept here. This is a new phase of slaveholding pretension. In these cases the slave-pirates have been set at liberty, of course, by southern judges; and, moreover, extraordinary delay, on the part of the Government, in sending back the captives to Africa, has resulted, according to official statements, in the death of about two hundred of them; but accord-

ing to surmise, in the burial of two hundred empty coffins, and the conveyance to southern plantations of the living men. The decisions of southern federal courts in African slave-trade cases, read more like the pleas of the pirates' counsel than juridical statements. For example: in the recent case of the United States against H. M. Gould and others, tried before Judge Jones at Mobile in the United States Circuit Court, involving the question of the purchaser's right to property in negroes illegally brought from Africa and sold there—part of The Wanderer's cargo probably—the court decided that slaves were, by the Constitution, property, like any other property; that “so long as unbroken merchandise arrives in unbroken bulk, the federal jurisdiction extends over it; but so soon as the cargo is broken, and the merchandise disbursed, among several purchasers, it can only be reached by process of the State courts. Hence, whatever laws Congress may enact against the original importer of African slaves, they cannot be made to apply to the purchaser, who acquired the property within the limits and by the laws of the individual State.”

The atrocious phraseology of this decision only matches its essence. It will be seen that the moment a ship-load of slaves is landed, it is only necessary to distribute them among two or more thieves, thus breaking the cargo of merchandise, and the case ceases to be one over which a federal court has jurisdiction. What southern State courts would do to suppress Slavery may be readily imagined. When we conjoin with this decision the impunity of slavers fitted out from New York, and their freedom from molestation by the squadron on the coast of Africa, we have the three essentials for the slave-trade between Africa and the United States. We will not touch on that of Cuba, except to mention that the cruelties of the sugar plantations, said to use up slaves in seven years, require a corresponding supply from Africa: this reaches, according to a debate in the British House of Commons in June last, from 30,000 to 40,000 annually. The Cuba trade affords, it is said, a retail business with the southern States; the fishermen carrying fish to Cuba bringing return cargoes of two or three slaves in their smacks.

The sentiment of the southern, as well as the northern Democracy, is divided for this reason: the extreme southern States want to import negroes from Africa at a hundred dollars each; Virginia and Maryland want to manufacture them at a thousand dollars each. It is with the party an economical question. In the Charleston Presidential Convention of May, Mr. Gauden delivered, as has been mentioned, with acceptance and applause, a fervid speech in favor of legalizing this trade; and at the adjourned Convention at Baltimore he uttered similar remarks. Although there never has been at any time a question so awful in its aspects, physical, moral and political, as deluging one continent in blood that another may blast the bosom of the virgin earth with unnumbered slaves, yet the Democracy of the North looks indifferently upon it, and permits its masters in the South to gibbet liberty and make it a stench in the nostrils of the world. It must be borne in mind, in reference to the foreign slave-trade, that the savages of Africa are debarred from civilization and held in a perpetual warfare among themselves, to make prisoners to supply the slave-traders; that several are killed for every slave taken in these wars; that many die on the road to the barracoon; that when placed aboard ship, they are stowed in the least compass, and so closely that a large proportion, from a fifth to a half, die in agony on the passage; that sometimes all are destroyed to escape capture; and that the lot of those who survive, to be delivered to Cuban or American sugar plantations, is probably to be worked to death in a few years.

CHAPTER XX.

ACTUAL WHITE SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH.

It may be laid down as a proposition, that any person who, through the force of education and habit, has had the moral sense so petrified, as to approve of Slavery and become the holder of black slaves, will not hesitate to hold them of all shades, up to pure white included, when his supposed interest and his pride may be subserved. If the South have not yet put in their Democratic Platforms the brazen statements of their journals and politicians, that "Slavery is the proper condition of the laboring man, white or black." it is out of deference to their Northern allies, the Democratic office-holders, who fear to be equally candid with their dupes, or the unlettered portion of their partisans.

The law which makes the child follow the condition of the mother, makes all the children of slave-mothers, slaves, whether their fathers be white or black paramours. Concupiscence, on the part of white men with slave-women, is common in the South; quadroon slave-girls are allowed even to acquire certain little accomplishments, so that they may fetch high prices as mistresses to Southern bashaws. The mixing of bloods has resulted in the rearing of a new race; and the bleaching process is going on so rapidly, that soon the claim to enslave white freemen will be justified by pointing to the fact of a million white slaves—so white, at least, "as to pass themselves off as such"—as the language of advertisements of run-away slaves now describe them. Peculiar circumstances, such as these advertisements, or judicial records, generally bring this new phase of Slavery before the Northern public. For want of space, only a few cases can be here cited—but they may be received as specimens of many thousands similar in the journals, which any one can gather up:

"The Galveston (Texas) News, January 19, gives an account of a man named Suarez, who passed himself for a white freeman; being suspected of having one-eighth black blood, he was sold by the sheriff to the highest bidder, for six months. This is according to Texas law. The man was arrested for the crime of entering Texas, and supporting himself there; and by Judge Griffiths, after an examination by Doctors Friedman and Banks, was ordered to be sold as above; the law being, that after the first six months' sale, if the culprit does not leave the State, he must again be arrested, and sold for five years."

It may be remarked of the frequent kidnapping, especially in Illinois, and the reduction of Free people to Slavery, that there is very little probability of any one so sold for a period, white or black, escaping the condition of permanent Slavery. Here is a piece of Southern testimony, by a correspondent of The Wheeling (Virginia) Intelligencer, which occurred last January; the writer, it will be observed, exhibits no surprise at the dénouement—horrible though it is—that poetical loveliness, beautiful as a dream, fair as eve—should be in the hands of a slave-dealer, bought in Maryland, to be taken to the New Orleans market:

"On my way hither from Washington, not long since, travelling by the Orange and Alexandria railroad, I went forward to the smoking car for the purpose of enjoying the fumes of my fragrant Havana. I there found a negro-trader, with half a dozen sons and daughters of the descendants of Ham, whom he had purchased in the State of Maryland, and was on his way with them to the New Orleans market. I was particularly struck by the beauty of a white girl, about seventeen years of age, whom I was surprised to see sitting beside the negroes; but I concluded that she must be the young and handsome daughter of the trader. I sat myself down beside the stove, smoking my cigar, and took a position where I could see and admire the mingled white and rosy, transparent complexion, and the finely chiselled features of the young girl, with her lips like two rosebuds, her eyes liquid in their brightness, and her auburn tresses, that Love himself might delight to nestle in. I had actually begun, almost, to think about poetry, and Iona, and Peria, and stars, and connect them with the fair being before me, when all at once a coarse negro laugh broke out from beneath those pearly teeth, and those rose-bud lips—called forth by some remark made to her by the swarthy black at her side. That laugh and that voice of hers alone betrayed the negro descent—for a negro she was, and a slave, too. The trader told me he had paid twelve hundred dollars for her, up in Maryland, to a man whose wife had become jealous of her. And he was taking her, with a lot of blacker ones, to sell again in New Orleans."—N. Y. (Sunday) Courier, Jan. 29, 1860.

The Petersburg Virginia Express, Feb. 1, has the account of a slave who had been North, and returned South, with this curious phraseology: "The negro was regarded as a white man at the Pittsburg Hotel. He was purchased by Mr. Cross from his owner, Wm. Burwell, Esq." Bob further says, "that ever since he left Lynchburg he has passed for a white man, and has never associated with persons of his own race."

A child, named Sally Driggs, with only one-sixteenth African blood, her father a prominent physician, of Port Tobacco, Md., her mother an octoroon slave, and perfectly white to all appearance, was redeemed from Slavery in February, by the members of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. The mother and several other children had all been sold by the owner. The owners of this one were a firm of slave-traders. A party sought to buy the child before it was redeemed, to keep it to grow for a brood-slave; to raise the finer cattle on two legs, out of it; such being the democratic custom South.

The St. Louis Democrat, of Feb. 1, says, that among a party of 47 slaves, recently sent down the river, was a beautiful young girl of 13, nearly white, with straight hair, blooming complexion, and her bearing and appearance gentle and attractive. She is the daughter of a Missouri River merchant, whose well-known intention was to emancipate her; but he died, and the executors thought it would not do to bring her up with her free white sister, the merchant's other daughter, and so sold her South.

"Lot No. 5," so described in the catalogue of an auction sale of slaves, at Montgomery, Feb. 6, represented by an eye-witness, as "Bob, a boy about 16, so nearly white, that only an experienced person could detect any negro blood. I had not the slightest suspicions he was a slave. He was knocked down at \$1,050."

The Virginia papers give an account of a white man, married to a white woman, and the father of white children, a citizen and voter, in that State, who was discovered to be black, and tied with ropes, and taken away by his master; also, a very facetious history of a handsome, well-dressed, intelligent white slave, taken to New Orleans, who, meeting a trader on the lookout for slaves on the levee, as the vessel had just landed, pointed out the white dealer on board as a superior boy, whose weakness was to pass himself off for white; the trader was willing to humor such weakness, paid \$800 for him on the spot to the white slave, who immediately absconded, and betook himself to a vessel bound to Europe, and escaped. The trader had much difficulty to prove himself free.

These cases are taken from a very few newspapers, in a single month. A search through the press generally, for an extended period, of course, multiplies them in the same proportion, and proves that if white Slavery be not as common yet as black, it is because "the era" has not yet arrived when the general process of bleaching has been perfected. Of the effects of such intercourse, in carrying shame and sorrow to the hearts of noble-minded southern wives and ladies, there is ample proof in their own statements.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE NUMBER OF SLAVES AT VARIOUS PERIODS.

THE following table shows, according to the census, the number of slaves in the different States, from 1790 to 1850. No slaves were returned for Minnesota, New Mexico and Oregon. The number in New Jersey applies to apprentices by the State act, to abolish slaves, of 1846. In ten years the number of slaves has vastly increased. From 1840 to 1850, the increase on 2,487,355 was 716,958, or more than one-third. By the same law of augmentation, the slaves would now reach over four million :

| States. | 1790. | 1800. | 1810. | 1820. | 1830. | 1840. | 1850. |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Maine, | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| New Hampshire, | 158 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 1 | 0 |
| Vermont, | 17 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Massachusetts, | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Rhode Island, | 952 | 851 | 103 | 48 | 17 | 5 | 0 |
| Connecticut, | 2,769 | 951 | 810 | 97 | 25 | 17 | 0 |
| New York, | 21,824 | 20,348 | 15,017 | 10,088 | 75 | 4 | 0 |
| New Jersey, | 11,428 | 12,492 | 10,551 | 7,657 | 2,254 | 674 | 236 |
| Pennsylvania, | 8,787 | 1,706 | 795 | 211 | 403 | 64 | 0 |
| Delaware, | 8,537 | 6,158 | 4,177 | 4,502 | 8,292 | 2,605 | 2,290 |
| Maryland, | 103,036 | 103,635 | 111,502 | 107,828 | 102,294 | 89,787 | 90,868 |
| Virginia, | 208,427 | 345,796 | 892,518 | 425,153 | 469,757 | 448,987 | 472,523 |
| North Carolina, | 100,572 | 133,296 | 163,524 | 225,017 | 235,601 | 245,517 | 288,548 |
| South Carolina, | 107,094 | 146,151 | 196,365 | 258,475 | 815,401 | 827,038 | 884,984 |
| Florida, | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 15,501 | 25,717 | 89,810 |
| Georgia, | 29,264 | 69,404 | 105,218 | 149,656 | 217,531 | 280,944 | 881,688 |
| Alabama, | ..... | ..... | ..... | 41,879 | 117,549 | 238,582 | 842,844 |
| Mississippi, | ..... | 8,489 | 17,058 | 82,814 | 65,659 | 195,211 | 609,578 |
| Louisiana, | ..... | ..... | 84,660 | 69,064 | 109,588 | 163,452 | 244,609 |
| Texas, | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 68,161 |
| Arkansas, | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1,617 | 4,576 | 19,995 | 47,100 |
| Tennessee, | 8,417 | 13,584 | 44,535 | 80,107 | 141,603 | 183,059 | 239,459 |
| Kentucky, | 11,580 | 40,843 | 80,661 | 126,782 | 165,218 | 182,258 | 210,951 |
| Ohio, | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Michigan, | ..... | ..... | 24 | ..... | 82 | 0 | 0 |
| Indiana, | ..... | 185 | 257 | 190 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Illinois, | ..... | ..... | 168 | 117 | 747 | 831 | 0 |
| Missouri, | ..... | ..... | 8,011 | 10,222 | 25,091 | 58,240 | 87,422 |
| Wisconsin, | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 11 | 0 |
| Iowa, | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 16 | 0 |
| California, | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 0 |
| Dst. of Columbia, | ..... | 8,244 | 5,395 | 6,377 | 6,119 | 4,694 | 3,687 |
| Total, | 697,897 | 898,041 | 1,191,364 | 1,539,064 | 2,009,031 | 2,487,855 | 3,204,818 |

CHAPTER XXII.

WHAT A SLAVE YEARLY COSTS HIS OWNER, AND WHAT A SLAVE
YEARLY YIELDS HIS OWNER.

In the United States Senate, on the 16th June, 1860, Mr. Hammond, of South Carolina, in the debate upon an appropriation for steamers for the African coast to suppress the slave-trade, said:

"I have experience enough to know that ten dollars a year is amply sufficient to support one negro."

The Philadelphia Bulletin, of May 12, 1860, has the following:

"The fugitive slave who honored the steamer S. R. Spaulding with his presence from Charleston to Boston, and who escaped from thence to Canada, is named Norris. He was a steam engineer, and was let out for \$50 a month (\$720 a year) to a Mr. William Burton, an extensive steamboat owner. He is owned by Charles Dixon, a son of the noted Dixon, of Mason and Dixon's line celebrity. Norris, though not the manager or captain of the boat, often acted in that capacity. His skill as an engineer was not surpassed by any with whom he was brought in competition. Norris has been sold nine times, and has therefore passed through an eventful life, the scenes of the last ten days of which are by no means the least notable. His wife and children (six in number) were sold several years ago to the South."

CHAPTER XXIII.

DESPOTISM, TERRORISM, AND MURDEROUS VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH.

THE author has extracted from the public journals of the past six months, accounts, sufficient to fill a large volume, of acts of despotism and terrorism in the South toward northern and southern men, expressing, or supposed to entertain, Republican principles, and of kindred murderous violence belonging to a society which upholds Slavery. In this limited work a mere allusion to these is only possible.

Wherever slavery exists, there freedom of speech and print must be suppressed. As a rule, too, under the system, the dominant class must go armed; and those who habitually carry deadly weapons, use them hastily, violently,

and frequently. Hence, society becomes effectively barbarous. Mr. C. M. Clay, of Kentucky, has maintained his position as the leading expounder of Republican doctrines in the South, through his personal influence, his courage, and his appearance at public meetings, surrounded by his adherents with rifles in their hands, ready to repel assault. Such is the South. No matter how profane, revolting, and awful the sentiments of any southern man coming North, and there openly and freely expressed, on the subject of slavery; no matter how insulting to the industry and position of free mechanics and laborers, there is no record of any personal assault or indignity committed on him. But, on the other hand, if a native of the North is merely suspected in the South of entertaining free principles, he is hunted like a wild beast, obliged to fly, at a moment's notice, from a farm he has been years in cultivating, or from business built up with the labor of a life, and constituting his sole support. Women as well as men are the victims of these habitual outrages. No such irresponsible despotism exists in any other country in the world; that of France, Austria, or Turkey, is decent in comparison; and such infernal brutality reigns over nearly two-thirds of the area of the Union.

To talk of free elections in such a country, is a falsehood too great for characterization in appropriate terms: hence Buchanan was not constitutionally elected, because discussion South was forbidden, without counting the democratic frauds and corruptions of the northern States, brought to light by the Congressional Investigating Committees, by whom he really was elected. The Post Office too, is entirely prostituted by the Government to the service of the plantation; any postmaster, in a southern State, has the privilege to rob the mail of any northern newspaper, called incendiary—The New York Tribune for example—and to hand over the intended recipient to the mercies of a mob.

Thirty-six persons, respectable farmers, artisans, and others, with their wives and little ones, neighbors all, were together driven out of Madison County, Kentucky, on the 23d of last December, for being suspected of holding northern views on Slavery.

James Craagle, an Irishman, was imprisoned at, and driven from Augusta, Georgia, by a first-society mob, through the instigation of persons upon whom he had a pecuniary claim: they had denounced him as an abolitionist.

James Power, an Irishman born, and a citizen, working as a stone-cutter on the new Capitol of Columbia, S. C., was, in December last, seized, imprisoned, taken out, and received in public 39 lashes on the bare back, and was tarred and feathered. During this he was menaced with death by armed men. He states, that several thousands were present. He was accused of abolition sentiments; he denies the charge. "A lover of truth," writing from Columbia, S. C., Jan. 10, attacks severely the moral character of Power; but the Charleston papers gave an account of the outrage as inflicted for abolition sentiments; and Power appeared in New York, and showed the author of this volume the bruises and scars from the whipping he received.

The Washington (Pa.) Tribune, of Feb. last, gives the following:

"A STRANGELATORY ARGUMENT.—Albertis Patterson, of Washington County, Pa., crossed the State line the other day. While in Harrington, Va., he was asked his political opinions. He replied that he was a Know Nothing, when his interrogators charged him with being a 'Black Republican or Abolitionist,' and asked him if he did not sympathize with John Brown. To this he answered, that he was a Republican, and as for John Brown, he 'believed that Governor Wise was just as big a fool as he was.' Upon making this declaration, he was violently seized by two men, named Seaton and Caldwell, a rope was procured, looped, and thrown round his neck, and the desperadoes immediately proceeded to strangle him, which they most unquestionably would have succeeded in doing, had it not been for the interference of two men, named Armstrong and Benner, who happened to be on the street at the time. When Patterson was rescued from his brutal assailants, his face was black from strangulation, and his neck bruised and discolored by the abrasion of the rope."

The Lynchburg Virginian, of February, says:

"We were shown on yesterday, a beautiful cane, gotten up by a gentleman of Bedford, to be presented to the Hon. H. A. Edmundson, as an appreciation of his conduct in 'switching' John Hickman, in the streets of Washington, the other day. The cane has a heavy silver head, upon which is engraved, 'To Hon. H. A. Edmundson, the man who whipped one of the eighteen million.'"

"The Memphis Argus of the 14th February, relates that a Northern passenger was pitched headlong from the cars when in motion, on the Tennessee Central Railroad, a few days before, for venturing to converse in condemnation of Slavery with the passengers, who seized him by the collar, then kicked him to the door, and off the platform. The Argus says: 'We did not learn that the rascal broke his neck by the fall; but if such was the case, the country hasn't experienced any very great loss.'"

Similar acts of violence were attempted last winter in Philadelphia, on the occasion of a lecture by Mr. Curtis, but checked by a large police force; the Southern medical students being prominently active. Judge Kelly, a distinguished citizen of Philadelphia, in a speech at a public meeting in that city, March 17, thus spoke of this affair:

"It is known to us that men in broadcloth, men from Walnut street, from Chestnut street, men who are proud of the quarters in which they live, some of whom have names honored in their ancestry, and, I was about to say, disgraced by the descendants of these ancestors (applause), have in our public streets, have in our large halls, have through the columns of the organ of James Buchanan, endeavored to stimulate, by felonious conspiracy, arson and murder, for the suppression of free speech in Philadelphia. (Applause.) Worse than stimulating arson and murder, they have sent their myrridons into a hall in which four hundred women were gathered, and armed themselves with vitriol, to mar the beautiful faces of our sisters. Sir, but for the patriotic devotion of Alexander Henry, there would have been a chapter in the history of Philadelphia, before which the most frightful outrages of Kansas would have paled away. (A voice, 'that's so.') Aye, it is so, and known to all men. The contest this spring, my fellow-citizens, involves not the freedom of Kansas; it involves not alone the freedom of broad Territories. It involves the freedom of Pennsylvania. It involves our own safety and that of our country."

According to the Quincy (Illinois) Whig of February 28 last, Frederick Schaller, a German Democrat, a resident of Lagrange, Missouri, was falsely accused, with his brother and another person, named Mattis, by certain ruffians, of aiding in the escape of slaves. He thus describes it:

"Our hands were tied and we were driven in the hack about three miles on the Memphis road, where the hack stopped and I was taken out. To my question where they were taking me to, I got the answer that I was to be hanged. I asked them what for, and received as an answer, that I should tell them all about the nigger scrapes, about Vandoorn, etc. As I knew nothing about them, had never seen or heard of Mr. Vandoorn, I could not give the answer they wanted. They took me about a quarter of a mile into the woods and hanged me. I caught the tree, but by beating my hands with sticks, they compelled me to let go my hold. Soon I was senseless. When I came to again, I felt two persons, one on each side, whipping me with whips or cowhides. My hands were tied to the tree above my head, and I was entirely naked. The night was very cold, and soon my back was covered with a crust of frozen blood. I became weaker, and when they untied me, I fell to the ground. I heard one of them say, 'Now you can go, you son of a —!' When I put on my clothes again, I found my money (\$128 in gold) and watch gone. As I could not stand, I crawled as well as possible, to the house of my father-in-law, where Doctor Niemeyer treated me. My brother, whom they had released, told me that they must have abused me for more than an hour. I again say, that I am as innocent of the charge as a child, and have never aided in the escape of slaves. The American (Mattis) is still in Lagrange, sick from a similar treatment. "FREDERICK SCHALLER."

The Philadelphia Bulletin, of March 16, has the following:

"On the night of the 2d inst., a free colored man, named John Brown, residing in one of the tenant houses of J. Williams Thorne, Sadbury township, Lancaster county, Pa., was kidnapped. Pursuit was made, but the kidnappers escaped with their victim, in the direction of Maryland."

"The Pro-Slavery men lately broke up a school, taught by Robert Milliken, at Kirksville, Missouri. He was conceded to be a good teacher and personally unobjectionable, but was guilty of having a father who had incautiously expressed anti-slavery sentiments in a letter to a friend in New York!"

"The number of persons driven out of the South as *suspects* upon the negro question, since John Brown's affair, is over 200," says the Baltimore Patriot.

Mayor Wood, of New York, in a recent speech, defending Slavery and denying the right of free utterance to Northern men, and exposing the antagonism North and South, and the danger of Northern men travelling in Slave States without certificates as to their soundness on the Slavery question, incidentally stated, that not a day passed that he was not called upon to give passports, to enable the holders to travel in security! The name of the model Mayor is, of course, a passport through places where there is no law.

These are a few, taken at random, of the hundreds of cases which have been

published in the journals, as occurring within the last few months. They show a state of society depraved, cruel, and barbarous.

Owing to Slavery, the universal habit South, of going armed with six-shot pistols, or bowie-knives, results in desperate murders among the better and educated portions of society. From an account, in the Petersburg (Virginia) Express, of Feb. 29, 1860, of an affray in that neighborhood, between gentlemen of the highest social position, the following naïf extract is made. The scene is before a court—the question a divorce case.

“Mr. Witcher asked a question, which greatly exasperated the husband, Mr. Clemmens. He immediately arose, drawing a pistol at the same time, and fired at Mr. Witcher. Mr. Witcher, it seems, also quickly rose, and drew a pistol from his pocket, and as the ball of his antagonist grazed around the abdomen, he fired, striking Clemmens in the forehead, and killing him instantly. A nephew of Mr. Witcher, and a Mr. Smith, brother of Mrs. Clemmens, hearing the firing, rushed into the room. A brother of Mr. Clemmens, who had also been attracted by the pistol reports, fired at a nephew of Mr. Witcher, the ball taking effect, and producing, it is feared, a fatal wound. Upon seeing his nephew shot, Mr. Vincent Witcher again fired, striking Mr. Clemmens No. 2, and killing him instantly. At this stage of the sanguinary affair, Mr. Smith, a brother of Mrs. Clemmens, drew a bowie-knife, but had scarcely unsheathed the blade, when he was fired upon by a second brother of Clemmens, the ball taking effect in the shoulder, and producing a painful wound. Infuriated by his wound, Mr. Smith rushed upon his antagonist, and with one powerful thrust of the knife, completely disemboweled Clemmens No. 3, the unfortunate man falling dead on the spot. Three of the parties dead, and the other three all wounded, the horrible tragedy here ended.”

“Vincent Witcher, Esq.,” the venerable and talented, the chief actor in this “affair” is, we are informed by the journal, 75 years old, and well known as the former President of the Danville Railroad Company. He was proposed as a candidate for Governor of Virginia. All the parties are represented of the best social position; yet we find them all carrying pistols and bowie-knives like the border-ruffians. The cool mode of reporting this is inimitable. If pistols were pocket-handkerchiefs, and bowie-knives gloves, they could not be treated as more appropriate to carry into society, even before juridical sanctities.



CHAPTER XXIV.

SLAVERY PREPONDERANCE IN CONGRESS, THE EXECUTIVE, AND THE SUPREME COURT.

Each State being entitled to two senators, the Free States have thirty-two, but their white population, according to the census, was 13,280,670; but the fifteen Slave States, with 6,186,477 whites have thirty senators. The inequality in the House is as striking. The Free States have 144 members, the Slave States have 90: but the basis of representation is, for the Free States, one member for 91,935 of the white population; and in the slave, one member for 68,725; so that the slave oligarchy has thus a preponderance of thirty votes in the House. The South, accordingly, has governed the country through the Executive being Presidents born South, or northern men known to be devoted to the slaveholding interest; and the revenues of the country, now swelling toward one hundred millions, are dispensed for the slaveholding interest. No man whose

abstract opinions on the subject of Slavery are identical with those of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Henry, Pinckney, George Mason, Peyton Randolph, of the South; or Franklin, Jay, John Adams, Rufus King, Gouverneur Morris, of the North; is now allowed to hold any, the meanest, office under the federal Government: if he do exercise a freeman's right of opinion, he is called an abolitionist—the term most frequently qualified with an adjective not admitted in good society. During this century, there has been but one President from the Free States, not known as “sound on the question;” and he, J. Q. Adams, was elected at a time when there was no agitation on the subject of Slavery, on the calm following the Missouri Compromise. But this illustrious statesman and scholar only received two electoral votes south of the Potomac, and those from the (French) State of Louisiana. John Adams was opposed by the South, although he nominated, in the Continental Congress, George Washington, of Virginia, to be commander-in-chief of the armies, and supported Washington's administration; and during his own one term as President, appointed John Marshall, of Virginia, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and himself, during the Revolution, was considered, in council and debate, “the leading spirit of the Revolution.” Seven of the Presidents have been from Slave States; five of these served two terms; one, Polk of Tennessee, one term, and the other, Taylor of Louisiana, died not long after his election. Harrison, who was born in Virginia, and had, as governor of the Indian Territory, sought to suspend the Ordinance of 1787, and introduce Slavery into the West, also so died. The two Adamses were elected by northern votes, and permitted to serve one term only, and Van Buren was voted for South, as “a northern man with southern principle,” and Pierce and Buchanan for their blatant fidelity to the South, the last declaring even his personality gone and that he was resolved “into the Cincinnati Platform;” but none of these northern men with southern principles were ever allowed the dignity of two terms, and hence, through five southern Presidents have been chosen a second time, no northern man has received that distinction. Seventy-two years have elapsed since the inauguration of the first President; during forty-eight of these, southern men and slave-owners have been in the office. The preponderance of the minority South—the South, with one-half the population, and with one art, that of party-drill—in other federal functions is equally great with that of President. Besides its having, up to the time of Buchanan's election, eleven of the sixteen Presidents' terms, they had fourteen of nineteen attorney-generals, sixty-one of seventy-seven presiding officers of the Senate, twenty-one of thirty-three speakers of the House, eighty of one hundred and thirty-four foreign ministers; and, excepting speaker, all these offices are now in Pro-Slavery hands. The chief expenses of the Government are those of army and navy; and the departments have been carefully looked after by the South, as well as the premiership, the secretaryship of state. In the appointment of committees of the Senate and the House, the same oligarchic preponderance has been exhibited—Douglas, a large Mississippi slaveholder, by marriage, being Chairman of Territories, affording a sample how the hallowed inheritance of the Public Lands—free homes for free men—has been jockeyed with by those who declare that they loathe liberty—that the mechanics and laborers of the North are “the mud-sills of society,” as the democratic Senator Hammond characterizes them—that the capitalist should own the laborer, white or black.

The Supreme Court, too, which was once regarded as the ægis of liberty, has sunk to be politically a record of the majestically savage egoisms and edicts of the slave-oligarchy. It is most sad to speak of venerable silk gowns which fond patriotism would turn to as symbolizing the gentleman-like decency and elegance, the calm and clear authority, which should characterize a hall sacred to law, so different from tobacco-soiled, rowdy-haunted parlours, where the votes of shoulder-bitters and slungshot gentry are considered with what should be deliberations of justice tempered with mercy. This court has sought to put out the moral eye of the universe; it has stricken down Freedom—it has

decided that the humblest man cannot petition, cannot appeal—that “the least of these” is voiceless among a people which sought to secure “the blessings of liberty” by its Constitution—that human nature is that of the beasts which perish, and that we are a nation of liars and robbers. Such is the Dred Scott decision, stripped of legal rhetoric, technical squirmings, and all the solemn amplifications of the debris of dead authority, based upon an age which hung, drew, and quartered, slit noses, chopped off hands, dug out eyes, killed the poor as nuisances, roasted martyrs, and interpreted this as the spirit of the meek and lowly Teacher. By the decisions of the State Courts, over and over again—by those of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Kentucky, as well as of Free States, it was determined that the slave taken out of the Slave State is legally free. By the decision of the United States Circuit Court, in the case of Jones against Vanzant—second McLean, U. S. Circuit Court Reports—this point is laid down:

“The Constitution treats slaves as persons. The view of Mr. Madison, who thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution that there could be property in man, seems to have been carried out in that most important instrument. Whether slaves are referred to in it as the basis of representation, as migrating or being imported, or as fugitives from labor, they are spoken of as persons.”

Dred Scott, accordingly, being taken out of a Slave State, into free Territory and a Free State, became free by American decisions, and by English during Colonial times, and by the higher law of the human heart; and by the Constitution, “no person”—and the law had decided he was a person—“shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,” and yet he was held in bondage, and the Supreme Court—most supreme should it be when the poor and oppressed ask justice at its hands—decided that the taint of original African blood forbid citizenship, and only a citizen could appeal to it for the right. Not satisfied with this, several of the judges meandered in their long-winded written opinions into the mazes of the philosophy of man-stealing, as to the right of the slave-dealer to take his victim into the northern States—to legalize slavery on the soil of freemen.

These decisions of the Supreme Court naturally lead to an analysis of its character and constituents, and we thus find them. Although the North is superior in men and mind, the judicial districts give a majority to the South, five judges out of nine; and those from the Free States are chosen because of their devotion to Slavery. The venerable Judge McLean, appointed long since, before new heresies had soiled all departments of Government, is an exception.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CHIEF ARGUMENT OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS UPSET: OR, EMANCIPATION SUCCESSFUL IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

THE emancipation question in the British West Indies demands a brief consideration here, although it might at first be considered as foreign to the discussions of the Republican party. The extension of human bondage into our Territories is claimed for Slavery on its

merits, and on the pretension that wherever it has been abolished on a large scale, the free laborers have relapsed to barbarism, and universal ruin to master and slave has ensued. Pro-slavery arguments are deemed incomplete without making this a prominent or chief point, garnished with innumerable misstatements. It was really only a moral question whether the few whites in the British West Indies should live off the labors of 760,000 slaves, or the latter should work for themselves and receive whatever they chose to earn: an economical phase of it is alone considered by the pro-slavery advocates, and that is always misrepresented. This economical question, however, may be treated to prove that the material gain of emancipation is consonant with the moral principle thereby asserted; or, in other words, that liberty and prosperity are inseparable.

Emancipation in the British West Indies has succeeded. If men of the lowest possible form of degradation could not be elevated in ten or twenty years to the condition of intelligent citizens, it would not be surprising—only logical and natural. But liberty works marvels. The testimony of travellers now is that the emancipation in question is a magnificent triumph: out of the purlieus of Kingston, and in the beautiful and productive country of Jamaica, the colored population are happy, contented, industrious, and prosperous. They own their own farms; raise fruits, vegetables, and grains for their own use, instead of sugar for masters. Their children fill the school-houses and churches. They have neither whips, chains, bloodhounds, nor bonfires of human flesh, nor any other of the "South-Side" pandemonium institutions. They make sugar, too, in such quantities as is appropriate to a civilized people of diversified agricultural pursuits: slaves worked to death in seven years have unfortunately made more sugar than the freemen of Jamaica now do. The crop of sugar in Jamaica fell off after emancipation, but it was decreasing before that event. The production from 1810 to 1820 was less than from 1800 to 1810 by more than 600,000 hogsheads, and the decline of sugar-estates did not begin with abolition. Beckford, a Pro-Slavery writer on Jamaica in 1790, which he left thirteen years before, says, "a great number of the estates were in the hands of the mortgagees in possession." The importation into British ports alone was, from 1841 to 1846, 14,629,550 cwt.; from 1847 to 1852, 17,918,362 cwt.; from 1853 to 1858, 18,443,331 cwt. The product had been decreasing fifty years, and had reached its lowest point; and since then, and during emancipation, here is shown an actual increase of 3,288,812 cwt. According to the returns made to the British Government, the exports of the British West India Islands to the United Kingdom, exclusive of Jamaica, were, in the last three years of Slavery, 7,405,849 cwt., and in the years 1855-6-7, 7,427,613 cwt., an actual increase of 21,769 cwt., and this does not include the large export to other countries. The exports from Jamaica, which were valued at 837,256 pounds in 1853, rose in 1856 to 1,003,325. The white man of Jamaica, who has now to work, instead of appropriating the labor of other people, is benefited morally and intellectually, as well as the emancipated slave. The emancipation question in the West Indies is settled in favor of liberty. On this point we have the evidence of intelligent correspondents of public journals, of *The New York Times* and *The Tribune*, who have travelled specially on the islands to investigate this subject and speak *ex cathedra* respecting it, and have earnestly, systematically, and truthfully investigated its details, and given the results of their researches to the world. There should, therefore, no longer be tirades, nonsense and falsehood, in and out of Congress, respecting the effect of emancipation in the islands. We cannot better close this chapter than by quoting from *The New York Times* of July 21, a leading article, summing up and annotating on the facts and deductions of its correspondent. The question is forever settled. The slave can be freed and prosper in the tropics. Argument against his emancipation, and for his chronic barbarism, falls to the ground.

"Considering how often the Pro-Slavery misrepresentations with regard to Jamaica

have been exposed; considering that every traveller who has penetrated into the interior of the island, and travelled through it, has testified to the enormous advances made by the negro population in civilization and comfort since 1820, it is very difficult, in dealing with these misrepresentations, to dismiss them with the good natured contempt which humane people usually bestow on mere fatuity.

"The evidence which shows that while a small clique of selfish aristocrats have been ruined by the overthrow of their tyranny, and by the incapacity entailed by their own vices, the masses in Jamaica have gained by it mentally, morally and materially; have risen from the rank of beasts of the field into that of useful citizens: that for one plantation which has been abandoned, a hundred small farms, supporting happy families, have sprung into existence; that all Jamaican negroes dependent on their daily labor are as willing to work for regular wages, as white men in the same circumstances; that negroes who have farms of their own to cultivate are no more blamable for not neglecting them in order to work on other people's farms for small wages, than Yankees or Englishmen; that the export of sugar and coffee has fallen off for the same reason that all New-Englanders are not shoemakers—because they prefer other employments to coffee and sugar raising; that Custom-house returns in the days of Slavery represented the results achieved by the labor of a whole population forced by the whip into one direction; that the Custom-house returns of to-day represent merely the surplus which remains after a civilized population, engaged as usual in a variety of occupations, have supplied their own wants. is overwhelming and unanimous. No stranger who extended his field of inquiry outside the large seaports has testified in any other sense. No Jamaicans, except those who have a direct interest in depreciating the condition of the island, either for the purpose of extracting assistance from the British Government, or excusing their own shortcomings, has ever attempted to contradict this statement. No complaint of want of labor has ever been heard from any one in Jamaica who was prepared to pay the market rate for it on Saturday night regularly. The Jamaican merchants are unanimous in their approval of emancipation in all respects. Nobody but planters, whom a long course of dependence on the unrequited labor of their fellows had demoralized, made shiftless, careless, lazy and improvident, as Slavery always makes the slaveholder, has ever made the least complaint of the negroes under freedom.

"The correspondent whose series of letters from the island is now appearing in *The Times*, has given this view of the case an elaborate and careful confirmation. We happen to know that they have received the emphatic approval of numbers of persons in this city who have been familiar with the workings of emancipation in Jamaica ever since it took place. And there is no American, who feels the smallest interest in the future of his own country, who must not feel gratified by the assurance which all these accounts convey, that there is a better issue to the 'slavery difficulty' in store, than a bloody social revolution—that negro slaves may, by honest patience and public spirit on the part of their owners, be at last converted into a thriving and industrious free peasantry."

Among the solutions of the problem of emancipation, is one urged by Senator Doolittle, of colonizing the slaves in the lower latitudes. The slave-oligarchs value their "property" in human flesh now at two thousand million dollars. The recommendation of Mr. Helper's book, *The Impending Crisis*, by members of Congress, Mr. Sherman included, prevented the election of the latter as Speaker, and stopped the business of the House of Representatives for many weeks during the last session;—this book, written by a North Carolinian, to expose to the poor white citizens of the South their pecuniary ruin and social degradation, owing to Slavery, estimates the loss of his native State alone, in the diminished or destroyed value of land, through Slavery, to be eleven hundred million dollars. Such estimates present incisively the losses of the South, and prove that emancipation would pay even for four million human beings, sold as beasts, many, many times over, in the irremediably increased value given thereby to the land. But that the southern aristocracy do not want, and will not have, if they can help it.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE PUBLIC LANDS: THE REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS FOR FREE FARMS IN THE WEST, THE DEMOCRATS AGAINST THEM, AS SHOWN BY THEIR VOTES.

THE magnificent heritage of the people—the Territories—an expanse of the earth's surface greater than ever an Alexander or a Cæsar led armies to subdue, is now involved in the present political contest; whether they shall be enslaved or freed, is the question. To call such a struggle a "campaign," is hardly a misnomer. The public lands were estimated, when under discussion immediately after the Revolution, to amount to two hundred and twenty million acres; further additions of territory added more than twelve hundred million acres. The wish of the Republicans now is, that the land should be given to actual settlers; or, according to Mr. Grow's bill, any one who is twenty-one years old and the head of a family, may enter 160 acres of land, subject to preëmption, or upon which he may have a preëmption claim, and by cultivating the same for five years shall be entitled to a patent from the Government, on payment of the usual fees of the land office, and ten dollars, to cover the expense of surveying and mapping. Mr. Grow, in his speech before the House, Feb. 29, 1860, says:

"The land policy, as now conducted, permits the President, in his discretion, to expose to public sale, by proclamation, any or all of the public lands, after the same are surveyed. Every person settled on the lands so advertised for sale, must, before the day fixed in the proclamation of the President, pay for his lands, or they are liable to be sold to any bidder who offers \$1 25, or more, per acre. During the days of sale fixed by the President, any one can purchase, at \$1 25 per acre, as many acres of land, not before preëmpted, as he desires, selecting his own location. The lands that remain unsold at the expiration of the days of sale fixed by the President, are subject to private entry; that is, any person can enter at the land office any or all of the lands, that are at that time unsold, at \$1 25 per acre, if the same have not been offered for sale for more than ten years; if for a longer period, then at a less price, according to the length of time they may have been in the market. Thus, under the existing policy, there is no restraint on land monopoly. The Rothschilds, Barings, or any of the world's millionaires, may become the owners of untold acres of our public domain, to be resold to the settler or to be held as an investment for future speculation."

MAN and LAND: When the Man owns the Land he is free, when the Land owns the Man he is a slave. The oligarchs own the land South already, and are determined that their order shall alone rule; so they seek to exclude free men from free soil.

388,858,325 acres were, up to September 30, 1859, sold by Government for cash; and 241,777,052 were given away in grants to individuals, corporations, and States. Up to that period, 180,619,638 dollars and 90 cents were received for public lands; and expended, including purchase money, extension of Indian titles, surveying and managing, 91,914,013 dollars, leaving a net balance of 88,625,625 dollars 90 cents to the Government; with 136,070,941 acres sur-

veyed but unsold, of which 80,000,000 are subject to private entry. Mr. Grow estimates that only one half of that sold by the Government was to the actual cultivator; the rest being bought at second-hand, and at higher prices than those of the Government. Of that given away in grants the same must be said; so the original settlers, the working pioneers, have first and last paid for lands about SEVENTEEN HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS. The Republicans seek to remedy this by the means mentioned; and their desire is to have free farms for free men and not slave plantations for masters, with a mass of poor whites, hardly a remove above savages, such as are described by Southern politicians to exist in the South.

The votes on the Land Bill in Congress establish beyond denial the fact, that the Republicans, as a body, favor the land reform, and the Democrats oppose it. On the 20th January, 1859, Mr. Grow moved to amend a bill so as to produce a radical reform, that no "public land shall be exposed to sale by proclamation of the President, unless the same shall have been surveyed, and the return of such survey fixed in the Law Office, for ten years or more, before such sale;"—thus giving the preëptors ten years' advantage of the monopolists; and by that time the settler would be able to buy the land. It was moved to refer the bill and amendment to the Committee of the Whole, or, in other words, to kill the amendment. The vote on this was: yeas, 90, nays, 92; all the Republicans, except six, Wood, of Maine; Burroughs, of New York; Morris and Ritchie, of Pennsylvania; and Harlan and Nichols, of Ohio. The House was thus brought to vote directly on Mr. Grow's amendment, and then the Republican vote was unanimous in its favor; and all the Southerners voted against it, except Stewart, of Maryland; Atkins, Avery, Jones and Savage, of Tennessee; and Jewett, Stevenson and Talbott, of Kentucky. Mr. Grow's amendment thus being a part of the bill, it was necessary to take vote again, which was done—91 yeas to 95 nays; so the amendment was lost. All the Republicans voted for this; all the Southern members against it, except the inflexible Republican, Blair, of Missouri; and Davis, of Baltimore—a city with but few slaves, and every day becoming more industrial, artistic, and northern in sentiment. Thus, it appears, that Stewart, Atkins, Avery, Jones, Savage, Jewett, Stevenson and Talbott, of the Southern States, were really against the amendment, though they voted for it, and voted finally against the bill with the amendment, an indirect way of killing it.

The subject was again before the House on the 1st of February, being a bill to secure homesteads to actual settlers. This was passed—yeas 120, nays 76. All the Southern members but three—Jones, of Tennessee; Jewett, of Kentucky; and Craig, of Missouri—voted against the bill; all the Republicans, except one—Nichols, of Ohio—voted for it. The Northern Democrats voted 29 for, and 6 against it. The Democratic party in the House was against it.

The Senate of course shirked this bill; see Congressional Globe, page 1074. On the 17th of February, Mr. Wade, of Ohio, moved to postpone all prior orders to take up the Homestead Bill passed in the House. Mr. Wade said: "The Homestead Bill, to which I am a good deal attached, has, I believe, twice passed the House and come to this body, but somehow it has had the go-by, and we have never had a direct vote upon it that I know of."

Mr. Wade said he did not desire debate but a vote. Mr. Reid, of N. Carolina, and Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, offered objections: too late in the session, said they. The question was then taken and carried; all the Republicans voting aye, and all the Southern senators voting nay, but Johnson of Tennessee. The Homestead Bill was accordingly before the Senate; and Mr. Hunter moved to set it aside for the Diplomatic and Consular Appropriation Bill; and pending some talk on this, the Vice-President decided that the Cuba Bill should be taken up, as the hour for its consideration—12 o'clock—had come. Mr. Wade moved to continue the consideration of the Homestead Bill—carried, 27 to 26. Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, having come in, acted in favor of the Homestead measure; Mr. Gwin, however, went back to the other side. Mr. Mason, of Virginia, said if the friends of the bill persisted, there must be "an extended

"debate," and characterized the bill as "most demoralizing." Mr. Wade and Mr. Seward spoke strenuously in its favor. Mr. Hunter's motion then was voted upon—28 to 28, a tie—and Mr. Breckinridge, the Vice-President, (a gentleman not indisposed to Northern votes at present,) voted for Mr. Hunter's motion for crushing the measure. Of the 28 votes for destroying it, all but 5 are from the South. Of 28 votes in favor of it, but three are from the South.

On the 19th February, Mr. Wade made another effort—voted down, 24 to 31. On the 25th, the motion of Mr. Doolittle, to take up the Homestead in preference to the Cuba Bill, was lost—35 to 24; Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, in the majority against Mr. Doolittle's effort. Mr. Doolittle, late at night, after the Cuba Bill had been long debated, sought to bring up the Homestead Bill again—lost, 19 to 29. Mr. Bell's vote is not recorded here. This little history will show that the oligarchs are utterly hostile to the interests of freemen in the West.

The Homestead Bill, as altered and extenuated in value by the Senate, was finally accepted by the Republicans of the House, in deference to the tens of thousands of people in Minnesota, Kansas, and elsewhere, who may be turned out of their log cabins from inability to pay one dollar and a quarter an acre. This bill for their relief passed the Senate without two adverse votes; in the House it had two to one. The first section of the bill confers the homestead rights on citizens if heads of families, who live on the land five years and then pay twenty-five cents an acre. The fifth does the same for persons who declare their intention to become citizens. This bill, not the one the Republicans wanted by any means, but the greatest concession to the claims of free labor that could be extorted from the Senate, Mr. Buchanan vetoed last June.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CORRUPTION, SWINDLING, AND STEALING, AS PRACTISED BY THE SLAVE DEMOCRACY—INVESTIGATIONS OF THE COVODE COMMITTEE—COMPLICITY OF PRESIDENT BUCHANAN IN THE PENNSYLVANIA ELECTION FRAUDS OF 1856.

EVERY department of the Government is corrupt, under the necessary effect of the ultra slaveholding theory. All its functions, executive and sub-administrative, are directed to one great end—the spread and perpetuation of Slavery, and the supremacy of the few Slavery oligarchs, who, by tyranny, violence and murder in the slave regions, and the distribution of nearly \$80,000,000 of revenue to partisans, North and South, largely among ruffians and bullies, maintain their ascendancy. For this object, the President even has descended personally to corruption, whereby contracts were given in defiance of law to secure Democratic voters. Corruption in the so-called Democracy is the rule; with the Republicans it is the exception, and the difference is as wide as their principles regarding freedom. Any departure from honesty—witness the Legislature of New York—is visited with the heartiest maledictions of Republican

Journals, speakers, and voters. Not so with the Democracy: if all the corrupt men among the office-holders were denounced and ostracized from their party, we would have to count them by hundreds and thousands. We witness defalcations such as Fowler's carried on in the New York post-office for years, either with the complicity of the department at Washington, or through negligence of that office, which, owing to its unequalled revenues, should be most closely looked after.

A full examination of the corruptions of the Government is impossible with our limited space. We can only touch upon some of them, and first in order let us take the Congressional Investigations of the Covode Committee during the late session. This committee was appointed under resolutions offered by the Hon. John Covode, and adopted by the House of Representatives on the 6th of March, 1860. They pursued their investigations in the face of difficulties, the chief of which lay in the non-appropriation of money for their expenses in procuring witnesses and testimony. Mr. Buchanan sent a written protest against the legality of such an investigation, but the Committee were not deterred thereby from their duty. After calling for many persons and papers, and making examinations under oath, the Majority Committee, composed of John Covode, A. B. Olin, and C. R. Train, on the 16th of June, made a voluminous report, of which the following is the substance:

THE MAJORITY REPORT.

It opens by stating the embarrassments under which the Committee labored; it alludes to the President's Protest, and refers to the precedents set by Bacon's resolution of 1826 and Benton's report, from the same Committee, which were of a similar character to the present investigation. Similar action by Mr. Buchanan in 1828, Mr. Calhoun in 1835, Sam Houston in 1832, and Solon Borland in 1838, is also cited to prove that Investigating Committees of this kind are no new thing. With these precedents before them the Committee acted. On Lecompton they say they ascertained the following:

LECOMPTON INIQUITIES.

The Committee ascertained—

First. The emphatic and unmistakable pledges of the President, as well before as after his election, and the pledges of all his Cabinet, to the doctrine of leaving the people of Kansas "perfectly free to regulate their domestic institutions in their own way."

Second. The deliberate violation of this pledge, and attempt to convert Kansas into a Slave State by means of forgeries, frauds and crime.

Third. The removal of and the attempt to disgrace the sworn agents of the Administration who refused to violate this pledge.

Fourth. The open employment of money in the passage of the Lecompton and English bills through the Congress of the United States.

Fifth. The admission of the parties engaged in the work of electioneering those schemes, that they received enormous sums for this purpose, and the proof of the checks upon which they were paid by an agent in the Administration.

Sixth. The offer to purchase newspapers and newspaper editors by offers of extravagant sums of money.

Seventh. And finally, the proscription of Democrats of high standing who would not support the Lecompton and English bills.

Governor R. J. Walker's testimony is then reviewed, showing how Mr. Buchanan deceived him, and the report says: The impression, however, which will be made upon the country by Governor Walker's testimony, establishing as it does, most conclusively, the triple crime of the Administration in deserting first, a sacred principle, then faithful public servants, and finally in attempting by forgery, force and fraud, to make Kansas a slave State—strong and lasting as this impression must be, it will sink into insignificance before the astounding developments contained in the testimony respectively of Mr. Wendell, Mr. Bean and Mr. F. W. Walker. Fortunately for the cause of truth, the evidence of these witnesses does not depend upon their own admissions, however reluctantly or fully made.

LAVISH EXPENDITURE OF MONEY.

The appalling fact that money was lavishly expended to carry the Lecompton and English bills, is unanswerably proved by the books and other records of the Bank of the

Metropolis, at Washington, through which the parties conducted their business operations. With all the ingenuity of those parties to escape the responsibility of so degrading a position, the fact is proved by their unconscious contradictions of each other; and in at least one case, that of F. W. Walker, who has laid himself open to the grave charge of perjury, the House of Representatives took prompt action by expelling him from the reporters' gallery as an *attaché* of The New York Express, a decree which in itself is the best construction that could be placed upon the accusation that money was used to carry the Lecompton and English bills through the Congress of the United States.

The report takes up Cornelius Wendell's testimony, in which he swears to the vast amount of money spent in Lecompton, with the knowledge of the Administration. J. W. Forney's testimony is next taken up, to prove how the President tried to crush out or buy out the press. The evidence shows clearly that Mr. Forney was offered the printing of the Post Office blanks, worth at least \$50,000, as the condition that he should, by an editorial no longer than a man's hand, promise subserviency to the Administration on its Kansas policy.

Alexander Hay, who got \$20,000 from Wendell to spend on Lecompton, was subpoenaed by the Committee, but he fled and could not be caught. Of twenty-four Anti-Lecompton members of the House, the Committee state that twelve succumbed under the pressure of power and patronage.

Upon this Administration shall hereafter rest the awful responsibility of delaying the removal of the army from Kansas until the winter of 1857, which was the cause of the fearful loss and suffering occasioned by the inability of the army to reach Salt Lake.

The Report next speaks of recusant witnesses and goes on to treat of corruption at the Philadelphia Custom House, such as attempts by the Bakers to control primary elections, and to plunder the Federal Treasury by unjust claims. The Pennsylvanian was kept up by public plunder. The Detroit Post Office swindle is next exposed, and the enormous plunder by means of unjust charges for Executive binding of books, etc., is shown up, and the course of the Bakers is shown to be in utter contempt for law. The prosecution of G. W. Baker was prevented by the President, when Baker could have been proved guilty of gross malfeasance in office, and perjury.

THE PRESIDENT DESIRES TO CONTROL CHOICE OF DELEGATES TO CHARLESTON.

It appears by the letter of Mr. Vandyke to the President, dated 24th March, 1860, that the President desired Mr. Vandyke to permit Mr. Baker to control the choice of delegates to the Charleston Convention. The fact that these delegates had been chosen may have been and most probably was an all-powerful desideratum with Mr. Buchanan in taking the most effectual mode of preventing the prosecution of a friend whom he considered a controlling political influence in that delegation. It is now upward of three months since the fraud upon the revenue and these repeated perjuries have been brought to the knowledge of the Administration, and yet the guilty parties have not only gone unpunished, but are retained in office in charge of the revenue of the second port in importance of the United States.

COMMITTEE CENSURES THE PRESIDENT AND HOWELL COBB.

Your Committee submit that such conduct on the part of the Executive and the Secretary of the Treasury, is a subject for the highest censure.

IRREGULARITIES IN PHILADELPHIA NAVY YARD.

As a part of the same class of irregularities, your Committee call attention to the payment of salaries by the naval storekeeper in the Philadelphia Navy Yard, to Theophilus Fiske and Charles Cummings, neither of whom was at any time in the performance of any of the duties of their appointments, and to the case of Charles Clement, who signed the pay-roll, but did not receive any portion of his salary, leaving it in the hands of the naval storekeeper, John Cummings, for his own profit.

PUBLIC PRINTING.

The evidence herewith submitted, proves beyond a doubt that the prices paid for the Executive printing and for binding, have been utterly disproportionate to the work done. The excess beyond a fair price has been with the knowledge and consent, if not by the direct order of the President, squandered upon a profligate press, devoted to the interests of the Administration—upon The Pennsylvanian, The Argus, and The Union. It appears from the testimony of Mr. Wendell, that he contracted to do the printing of the Post Office blanks, agreeing to pay to Mr. Rice, of The Pennsylvanian, forty-three per cent. of the gross amount to be received for such printing.

PRESIDENT EXPECTS MONEY UNDER FORMS OF LAW.

The testimony of Mr. Wendell is confirmed by the testimony of Mr. Joseph B. Baker. No one will doubt that it was one of the first duties of the President to inform Congress of this enormous waste of the public money, that the evil might be remedied by the necessary legislation. He seems, however, to have preferred that these moneys should have been expended under the forms of law in the support of his Administration, his friends and his retainers; and for this, in the opinion of your Committee, he deserves the censure of all honest men. It is to be hoped that this evil has been remedied by the legislation of the present session, and the Committee therefore refrain from any further remarks upon the subject.

THE CORRUPTION FUND FOR PENNSYLVANIA.

The remainder of the Report is taken up with exposures of the way \$70,000 was raised and spent to carry Pennsylvania for Buchanan. It appears by the testimony of George Pitt that over \$70,000 was distributed by him as the Treasurer of the Democratic Central Committee of Pennsylvania in 1856, to carry that State for Buchanan; of this sum nearly \$20,000 was received from what is known as the New-York Hotel Fund, and \$10,000 from W. C. N. Swift, of New-Bedford, Mass., and was afterward repaid to him through the famous, as well as infamous live oak contracts. The remainder was derived from different sources, quite a large sum thereof being collected in the shape of assessments upon the employees of the Government in the offices at Washington, and the Custom House and Navy Yard at Philadelphia.

It is well known to the American people that tremendous frauds were perpetrated in the election of 1856, in Pennsylvania, by means of forged and fictitious naturalization papers. Your Committee have been enabled, just at the close of the investigation, to some degree, to trace these frauds. It will be seen by the testimony of Wm. Karnes, that these papers were first prepared and obtained in Philadelphia, some of them having the seal and the signature of a prothonotary deceased about the year 1850, and others with the forged seal and signatures, or genuine ones, obtained in some manner from the proper officers. These were distributed over the State by hundreds, and probably by thousands.

This Mr. William Karnes, of Reading, Pennsylvania, is a prominent democratic politician, and friend of Glancy Jones, the particular friend of Buchanan, rewarded with the mission to Austria upon his defeat as a Congressional candidate. Mr. Karnes having refused to answer the subpoena of the Committee at Washington, was apprehended by a special officer with a warrant, and taken thither. He testified most reluctantly, but so conclusively, on these frauds, that his evidence is worthy of reproduction.

Reuben F. Brown, mentioned in this testimony, is now in the Custom House at Philadelphia, with a salary of \$2,000.

Q. Did you reside in Reading in the Fall of 1856? A. I did.—Q. Did you, at that time, receive a quantity of blank naturalization papers from Philadelphia? A. Yes, sir, I received some blanks at that time.—Q. How did you receive them—by mail or express, or in what way? A. I think some few came to me by mail.—Q. Did they come to you under the frank of any person, and, if so, under whose? A. I think one or two came under the frank of Gov. Bigler, and some came under the frank of other persons, but am not positive who they were; Gov. Bigler's frank is the only one I am positive about; and I think there were, perhaps, three packages sent, and one of them, I know, was under the frank of Gov. Bigler.—Q. Were there large quantities of these papers sent to you? A. No, Sir; there were but few.—Q. How many did you get altogether, do you think? A. Well, I have said to persons that I had 300 to 400, but that is not so; I looked them over on Sunday last, and discovered that there were perhaps 200, or 230 altogether; some of them had what purported to be the seal of the Court and the signature of the prothonotary, others were mere blanks.—Q. Did you make application to Mr. Sallade for the use of his back office? A. No, sir; I did not.—Q. Who sent those papers to you from Philadelphia? A. They were either left at my house by Mr. Brown, or handed me in person by him, I am not positive which; I have been trying to recollect whether he gave them to me in person, or left them at my house; I think they were left by Mr. Brown at my house; at any rate, they came from Mr. Brown.—Q. Did you not receive a letter relative to the use he made of them? A. I did.—Q. From whom was that letter? A. There was no signature to it.—Q. Were there any initials to it? A. It was signed "R." at the bottom of the letter.—Q. Did you not know the handwriting of the letter? A. That letter I compared with another I had from Philadelphia, which was signed Brown.—Q. Reuben F. Brown? A. Yes, Sir

—Q. Did you know the handwriting of that letter? A. I thought the handwriting was the same as that signed Brown.—Q. Did you not know from other circumstances that the letter was from Mr. Brown? A. Yes, sir; I believe the letter was from Mr. Brown; I think he asked me afterward if I got the letter. . . . Q. We understand that this letter came with these papers? No, sir: I do not know that it came with them.—Q. In connection with them? A. A large bundle of papers, as I have stated before, was left at my house by Mr. Brown, or handed me in person by him; I am not positive that the letter came with the papers, but my impression is that it came by mail.—Q. That is the letter signed "R"? A. Yes, sir.—Q. And it was in reference to those papers? A. Yes, sir.—Q. What direction did he give you in reference to those papers? A. Am I obliged to answer that?—Q. The Committee have so decided. A. As I have stated, there were signatures, as they purported to be, of two different prothonotaries; some were signed "Vineyard" or "Vingard," I am not positive which; he was prothonotary in 1850, but is dead; this letter explained, I cannot recollect the letter exactly, though I read it last Sunday, that in filling up these papers they must be made to correspond with the date; I am not certain whether I got the impression from letter or conversation that these papers had been left over in the office and had been got out in some way.—Q. And when they were filled up, they were to be made to correspond with the time that prothonotary was alive, whose signature was attached? A. So as to correspond to 1850, the date of the signature; the others purporting to be signed by Fletcher, were signed in 1856, I suppose, but I do not know that.—Q. Where did it direct you to distribute them? A. It did not say.—Q. What else did the letter say about naturalization papers? A. Well, sir, it said that there were thousands of them being used or distributed, I do not remember which."

"How far the moneys of the Government contributed toward the commission of the crime," the Investigating Committee said, "they were unable to determine."

In the House of Representatives, on the 13th of June last, a series of resolutions was passed upon the charges of corruption and violation of law preferred against the President and Secretary of the Navy.

The first resolution, declaring that the Secretary of the Navy had, with the sanction of the President, abused his discretionary power in the selection of a coal-agent, and for the purchase of fuel for the Government.

The second resolution, that the contract made by the Secretary of the Navy in September, 1858, with W. C. N. Swift, for the delivery of live-oak timber, was in violation of law, in a manner unusual, improper, and injurious to the public service, was adopted by yeas 119, nays 60.

The third resolution, that the distribution by the Secretary of the Navy of the patronage of the Navy Yards among members of Congress, is destructive of discipline, corrupting in tendency, and highly injurious to the public service, was adopted, yeas 123, nays 61.

The fourth resolution, that the President and Secretary of the Navy, by receiving and considering the party relations of bidders for contracts with the United States, and the effect of awarding contracts upon pending elections, have set an example dangerous to the public safety, and deserving the reproach of this House, was adopted, yeas 106, nays 61.

In regard to this last resolution, the following piece of evidence shows the utter complicity of the President in acts of corruption. Two war-steamers were ordered to be built at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. When the question was under consideration for allotting the contract for the machinery of these vessels, which, by law, should be given to the lowest responsible bidder, the following letter, by a distinguished Philadelphia Democrat, was addressed "to this old public functionary."

"PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 13, 1858.

"DEAR SIR: I venture to suggest to you the importance of awarding the contracts for the machinery of the sloop, now building at the Navy Yard, at this time, and if it can be done without prejudice to the public service, to Merrick & Sons. There is the only establishment in the First District which employs a large number of mechanics; at this time, 390; when in full work, 450.

"The managing partners (Mr. M., sen., being absent, in bad health), are full of energy; straining every nerve to keep their force during this depression, and, in so far as I know, the only old Whigs of any influence in that district who are in favor of the reelection of Colonel Florence.

"I know, from former experience, the value of that influence, and feel persuaded that it is the interest of the Democratic party to increase it.

"The First District will, I hope, be carried in any event, but with that shop at work, full