SLAVERY.

The Influence It Has Exerted in American Politics.

History of the Divine Institution—Reasons Why It Became a Dominant Factor in Our Political Methods—An Interesting Review.

We shall fail to comprehend the political power which the slave masters have swayed in America if we are unmindful of the universal law that slavery is the natural social order. Freedom is an artificial state. It is a fight against nature, as civilization is in all those latitudes that have given highest development of man. Nor does emancipation by law abolish slavery. The masses are always seeking a master. The rule of the few is the rule of the capable. It is the survival of the fittest—nature's great law of elevation of species. The rule of the majority upturns the natural order. It puts the bottom on top. Of all rules it is the most unnatural, irrational, incapable and degrading. That it does not utterly destroy is because it is overruled by the universal law, that the masses are always led by the few.

The world has not yet proved that free society is self perpetuating. It is an experiment. Even a whole century is a mere dot in the evolution of creation. The more popular the Government, the more it runs to anarchy and degradation. Democrats are always looking for the man on horse-back.

Look at the state of the laborers in what is called freedom. Everywhere they are at war with their own subsistence. They are governed absolutely by a majority of themselves in their unions. Think of subjecting one's livelihood and chance of getting on by superior capacity and energy, to a majority! The conflict between labor and capital is irrepressible. Does not its present state, and the way it is destroying both labor and capital, give strong support to those bold economists of the South who said that the only harmonious relation of capital and labor is that capital shall own the laborer?

SLAVERY THE DIVINE ORDER.

To say that slavery is the natural order, is the same as to say that it is the divine order. Slavery is eminently scriptural. When the old world had been washed out by the flood, because it had gone to the bad, and only one family was saved for seed, and all was ready to begin right, Noah founded slavery by an inverted blessing on the posterity of one of his three sons. This started the new world on the right foundation. The blessings and curses of the patriarchs were inspired judgments and they stood for all time.

The circumstance that Noah was drunk did no more impair the validity of his curse of Ham's posterity than did the cheat which Jacob practiced upon Isaac to steal the blessing meant for Esau impair the validity of that. "Only in worked human affairs does fraud vitiate a contract and intoxication plead irresponsibility. And Noah's cursing served a twofold purpose. In his debauch he was naked. Then by the same species he established slavery, laid the foundation of the Democratic party, and "clothed himself with curses as with a garment."

Nor was servitude limited to Ham's posterity. Except in America there has been no difference between Shem, Ham and Japhet in this matter. But American slaveholders, ignoring all the rest of the Scriptures, planted their right on Noah's curse of Canaan. This was to them more precious than all the rest of the Bible. Forty years ago the American churches believed religiously that negro slavery was according to the will of the Jewish Jehovah, as given in Noah's curse of Ham's posterity. They had the bible for it. To deny it was to be an infidel. Moses speaking of Jehovah's word, gave laws for slavery—which, however, made no distinction of race. Joshua enslaved the captive of war that he did not kill.

In the natural state war supports war by enslaving the captured. Great Cæsar knew much of this and supported his great campaigns by selling the captives. We must bear in mind that the political possession which the slave masters had in the nation was supported by as firm a belief in the rightfulness and natural and Divine order of slavery as in the rightfulness of the relation of man and wife, parents and children.

SLAVEHOLDING WORKS NOT UP TO THE FAITH.

The American slaveholders did not at first come up to the height of this divine order of slavery. They had not realized the fullness of the blessing. Besides, the rebellion against the British sovereign had filled the land with radical doctrines which struck the foundation of the social order. Jefferson put this radicalism into his declaration of independence, saying that all are created equal, and that man may not be governed without his consent. These doctrines have been sown broadcast by the tracts of Thomas Paine. Liberty is always running to social anarchy. This is the reason why the common instinct shudders at the terms: Free Thought, Free Inquiry, Free Trade. Besides, they did not know the value of slavery. Not till cotton had removed the scales from their eyes did they realize the divine goodness of slavery. They were unfaithful when they allowed slavery to be excluded from the territory north and west of the Ohio. This conceded that slavery was wrong, and might be prohibited by law. Again, they were unfaithful when they allowed a section in the National Constitution recognizing the power in Congress to forbid the importation of slaves.

The African slave trade was the best part of slavery. It brought the heathen here and saved their souls. "What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" The Africans got the best end of the bargain. They were Christianized, and their souls were saved in exchange for their labor and increase. Yet it was profitable to the godliness of the masters, and the African slave trade was the only truly successful foreign missionary enterprise that was ever undertaken.

But besides the weakness of faith, which supposed that slavery would die of itself, and that the pious duty to execute the curse on Canaan would terminate the light and genteel occupation of slave-breeding, assisted to put in this bar to the importation of so many Africans, it was by way of protecting home industry. In this form did the subtle serpent, Protection, first enter our free trade garden. This was the first protection of our infant manufactures.

For a long time the slaveholders felt no alarm for the future of slavery. They could indulge in colonization schemes, and could see anti-slavery societies formed without any concern, thinking it all in the line of the eventual extinction of slavery. The acquisition of the great country called Louisiana, in 1803 gained an indefinite number of States to slavery, to keep its preponderance in the Senate; but it was made for general political reasons, and in the natural ambition for expansion of empire, and in the interest of territorial compactness and unity. If any Southern States even thought of it as in the interest of slavery, they did not make this argument public.

The acquisition of Florida in 1819 gained a future State to slavery. The acquisition was good for general reasons, but the great moving cause was that Florida was a harbor for fugitive slaves. But the Southern statesmen had now awakened to the inroad they had allowed to be made in slave territory by the exclusion of slaves from the N. W. Territory, and were entering on their strong and successful course of propagandism.

POLITICAL ABILITY OF THE SLAVEHOLDING CLASS.

However much their cause may be condemned, we must concede their ability. No governing class more capable than the slaveholders ever sprang up in a Democracy. They who believe that aristocracy is an elevating social and political relation; that one great man does more to lift up the race than any number of mediocrities; that the science of government is great and demands high intelligence, which only the few can have; that Democracy is a leveling down, found slavery a potent foundation for an aristocracy.

After the class of the gentry of the old school, who founded our Government, died out, the slaveholders constituted the governing aristocracy. When educated at the North they made a fine aristocracy. They retained the manners of the English landlords. Life on plantations, the habit of ruling men, and their superiority in social station over the nonslaveholding class, gave them a lordly and imperious bearing. Having leisure for politics, and by their social power a steadiness of tenure in the National Legislature, which was not the custom in the North, they became experienced in public affairs. Thus as a class they were more capable than the Northern members in statesmanship.

Perhaps it was only a sectional interest which led them to the three principles of political economy — specie money, free trade, direct taxation. Perhaps it was because of their mistaken belief that the South consumed the most of the manufactured goods, that they were for a tariff for revenue only—which they accepted, while still clinging in theory to free trade and direct taxation—and for economy in public expenditure. At any rate, the Southern members as a rule were superior to the Northern in public affairs. Their exclusion by the rebellion was a public loss. And it took the brains out of the Democratic party.

SOCIAL AND TRADE INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY.

The products and consumption of slavery were a very large element in our commerce. The cotton product employed a great shipping and required a great return in European and Northern goods and provisions. Northern capital made and moved the crop. The commercial and social relations between the sections were intimate. Trade, social intercourse, wealth, fashion, politics, the church, Jehovah and the devil all were combined to secure and propagate slavery.

THE OPENING TERRITORIAL CONFLICT.

The first open conflict over the territorial extension of slavery was raised upon the organization of the territory of Arkansas. That part of the Louisiana territory lying north of the State of Louisiana had been organized as the territory of Missouri. In 1819 a bill was brought in to form the territory of Arkansas, of so much as lies north of Louisiana and south of the line of 36 deg. 30 min., making that the southern boundary of Missouri. An attempt to exclude slavery from Arkansas was defeated—ten Northern members voting with the South. Then the Missouri bill was brought in.

The conflict over the question of excluding slavery from Missouri delayed her admission for two years. The influence of President Monroe and of ex-Presidents Jefferson and Madison was exercised against the exclusion of slavery from this which, by latitude, might be called a Northern State, and subject to the same reason that excluded slavery from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and the rest of the Northwest territory. The conflict was attended by Southern threats to dissolve the Union. The admission was at length carried by a measure called a compromise, introduced by Henry Clay.

By this compromise Missouri was to be admitted as a slave State, but slavery was to be excluded from the territory west of Missouri on the same parallel north of the line of 36 deg. 30 min. The usual contingent from the new States, of those whom John Randolph, for their subserviency to slavery, called doughfaces, voted to carry this bill to extend slavery into new Northern territory. It caused much feeling in the Northern people, who now realized that the slave power—the name given to the political power of the slave lords—was paramount in the Nation, and that it had entered upon a crusade of propagandism.

THE TEXAS CONSPIRACY.

The next territorial gain for slavery was by the annexation of Texas. The natural desire for expansion and empire would make this desirable. But Texas was stolen from Mexico, and we were the instigator of the thief and the receiver of the theft. And it was openly and avowedly to extend slavery into free territory, to preserve its political sympathy in the Nation. Filibusters from the southwest migrated to Texas, encouraged by politicians. A strange adventurer, Samuel Houston, who had been naturalized among the Indians, and made a Chief, and had returned to civilization, went to Texas in 1832 and became a leader in the conspiracy.

They formed a State constitution that year, for erection into a State of the Republic of Mexico, and in 1836 proclaimed secession and independence. President Santa Anna came with five thousand troops. Houston retreated. But while the Mexican forces were crossing the San Jacinto River, Houston surprised and routed the part which had crossed, and took Santa Anna prisoner. He made a treaty with Houston, agreeing to withdraw the rest of his army, and acknowledge the independence of Texas. Some savage massacres had been before this, and Santa Anna was probably under fear for his life. This treaty, made by a prisoner, could not bind Mexico, and the war nominally continued. But the fact of independence was gained by this easy victory over a small detachment, and it was strengthened by immigration from the United States.

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

Our Government quickly recognized Texas as an independent Nation. The Texas Minister in 1837—Van Buren being President—made overtures for entry into the United States, but as this would adopt a war with Mexico it was declined. But active intrigue went on in the South to promote annexation. This bold aggression of the slave power, and the piratical way of it, aroused great opposition in the North. But this spread of empire had elements of popularity which weakened public men, and in the nature of things it was not possible to hold out against temptation.

After the death of President Harrison in 1841, acting President Tyler became an active instrument in the annexation intrigue, which was not carried out till after the next election of Electors of President. Before the nominations for that election, Henry Clay had written a letter against annexation, as bad faith to Mexico, and as [illegible] the great opposition feeling in this Nation. After he was nominated he wrote a letter in favor of annexation on certain terms. President Van Buren was the leading candidate in the Democratic Convention, but he had written a letter against annexation, because of which he was prevented by a new rule, requiring a vote of two-thirds to nominate, which was then and there invented for this purpose, and James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was nominated, who had been a zealous promoter of annexation and of the slave power.

Clay's two letters cut him on both sides, and Polk was elected. Before he was installed the last session of Congress in Tyler's term took up the annexation project with determination. All motions to exclude slavery from any part of the territory were voted down. At length resolutions were adopted declaring the consent of Congress to annexation, the conditions being that Texas was to transmit to the President evidence of her consent, and a copy of her State Constitution, and was to retain all the Mexican public lands, and to be allowed to set off four other States, to be admitted when they had the requisite population. The original thirteen States had ceded all their lands, making one vast public domain, but Texas was to keep the public lands that belonged to Mexico.

These conditions were so extraordinary that a stratagem was made to cloak them. This was in the form of an alternative resolution authorizing the President to open negotiations for annexation, the terms to be submitted to the next Congress. Those that wanted to be fooled, or that wanted a cover, pretended to think that acting President Tyler would take this alternative, and leave the whole affair to the next Congress. But Texas was willing and waiting, and Tyler forestalled all by dispatching a messenger to get her consent according to the first terms. Thus he had the glory of fixing annexation before Polk came in.

But there was a meaner deception than this. It was in the form of a pretense of a concession to freedom, by a stipulation that in such of the Territory of Texas as lay north of the latitude of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes the new States should be admitted with or without slavery, as the inhabitants might desire. Texas never owned a foot of land north of that line. This was a trick to set up for her a claim to Mexico, the meaning of which will appear further along.

Thus was one State at present and four States in the future gained to the slave power to keep its preponderance in the Senate. And these were gained out of her territory, for Illinois had abolished slavery some twenty-five years before. Said Henry A. Wise, a Whig, in arguing the necessity of this annexation, to secure slavery and all which it implied:

"True, if Iowa be added on the other side, Florida will be added on the other. But there the equation would stop. Let one more Northern State be added, and the equilibrium is gone—gone forever. The balance of interests is gone—the safe-guard of American property—of the American Constitution—of the American Union, vanished into thin air."

And more of the same fearful sort. What a remarkable Republic, which would be thrown into everlasting smash by the admission of a free State without a slave State to balance it! Yet he was sincere, and that idea was paramount in our politics. Nothing but slavery was constitutional in this good old time. Freedom could not be made constitutional save by a preponderating balance of slavery.

SLAVERY AND MANIFEST DESTINY.

In those times a tone was [illegible] in politics which scoffed at the idea that Nations should have a conscience or be bound by morals. Filibusterism to steal territory for slavery was encouraged in all the South, and was countenanced by the Northern Democrats. The doctrine of manifest destiny was proclaimed as the principle of this Republic by which it had the right because it had the power to seize the territory of other American Republics. The great Republic was loudly proclaimed to be a great pirate. And yet it was not above the practice of the sneak-thief in concealing filibustering expeditions to steal territory for annexation. The National conscience was debauched in the glittering name of manifest destiny, which destiny was to absorb all the continent and the neighboring islands. Yet it meant only slavery. For it was contented in giving away large territory to Great Britain on our northeast and northwest, and it made no effort to gain the friendship of the Canadians. Our title was good to the whole of Oregon, up the line of fifty four deg. forty min. Yet that territory for an empire was easily given up. Slavery was not only the constitution and Union, but was the limit of expansion.

THE INVASION OF MEXICO.

But the end was not yet of the gain of slave States by the annexation of Texas. The new Polk trumped the trick of the stolen [illegible] by setting up a false claim on the part of Texas to a boundary which took in a large territory in Mexico. The line of the Nueces River had of old been established as the boundary of Texas. Polk now invented a claim to the Rio Grande, taking two thousand miles of Mexican territory in New Mexico, Chihuahua, Coahuila and Tamaulipas.

The state of war still continued between Mexico and Texas—though in a state of suspended animation—when the annexation was accomplished. But by decent negotiation the consent of Mexico could have been obtained; and this Nation could have afforded her a money indemnity. The fact of annexation was consummated by Tyler, and the formal ratifications were in due time exchanged, [illegible] by Congress [illegible] at the beginning of the Ninetieth Congress in 1845. Yet our commercial intercourse with Mexico went on as before, our ships freely entering her ports.

But the Administration—Marcy, of New York, being Secretary of War—ordered our disposable troops, about one thousand five hundred, to advance on the western boundary of Texas, under General Zachary Taylor, to defend the country "to the Rio Grande that had been claimed by the people of Texas." In accordance with this, General Taylor stopped at the Nueces. Here were given him to advance to the Rio Grande, but he did not take them. At length he received a positive order from President Polk, and he marched on Mexican territory more than a hundred miles to the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras, through a country in which the Mexican laws were in undisputed operation.

The Mexican General notified him to return and await the issue of the pending question relative to Texas. General Taylor answered that he was acting under orders. The Mexican officer warned him that his refusal would be regarded as a declaration of war. About a month after this General Arista crossed the river with a force of 6,000 and attacked General Taylor—whose force had now been increased to 2,300—at Palo Alto, and was badly defeated. The war spirit was excited by the taste of blood and victory. Polk sent a message stating the lie that Mexicans had invaded our territory, and shed the blood of our citizens on our own soil.

Congress rose to the lie by resolving that war existed by the act of Mexico, and by calling for 50,000 volunteers and appropriating ten millions, which was only a beginning of this costly war. By this we may see how easily a President may make war, under a Constitution which strictly confers on Congress the war-making power. And this was by the party of strict construction of the Constitution, but the strictness was only for freedom, while for slavery there were no constitutional limitations. Slavery was the divine order, and was above human laws.

Mexico was weak because of an excess of State rights and an incapable people. Our military successes, under the lead of the Whig Generals Scott and Taylor, were so brilliant that the National administration tried to eclipse them. Mexico was conquered; our armies were in her capital and other seaports, levying military contributions and collecting customs. But the administration was vague as to its intentions of peace. General Scott was for peace, and Mexico came to regard him as her benefactor. He says in his memoirs that Polk had a design to annex all of Mexico.

At length a special agent, Mr. Nicholas Trist, whom Polk had sent to Mexico to take the negotiations out of the hands of General Scott, but who eventually came to a good understanding with him, took the bit in his teeth and negotiated a treaty and sent it home, much to the disgust of Polk, although it acquired large territories; but he felt constrained to submit it to the Senate, which ratified it. By this treaty we acquired New Mexico, Utah, Arizona and California. But Mr. Trist, who negotiated all this, was ostracised, because Polk had ulterior designs which he did not venture to reveal to the country.

THE WILMOT PROVISO.

That all this high-handed course to gain territory for slavery, and its complete success in gaining territory, failed of its object seems incredible. But this avowed purpose to acquire free countries for slavery, and the bold aggression of the war, stirred up a fire in the rear in the form of the Wilmot proviso, introduced by David Wilmot, a Democrat, of Pennsylvania. In the session in which the war was adopted, a bill was introduced to place two millions in the President's hands to be used at his discretion in making a treaty. Wilmot moved a proviso to this bill that slavery should never exist in any territory acquired from Mexico.

This proviso was adopted in Committee of the Whole, only three Northern Democrats passing through the tellers to vote no. It promptly passed the House and was lost with the bill in the closing moments of the session without coming to a vote. The proviso was brought up again at the next session and again passed the House, but was never adopted by Congress. But the subsequent result was that the attempt to create territorial governments for New Mexico and California was defeated by the holding of this proviso over them. Because of this California was kept under military government.

In spite of all the efforts of the Administration and of the army influence and of the Southern leaders that were sent there, the emigration from the free States defeated the purpose to make two slave States of California, by forming a free State Constitution and asking admission.

The pro-slavery crusade worked badly in another way. For military glory, added to the popular opposition to this spread of slavery, elected the Whig General Taylor President. The regular Democratic nominee, Mr. Cass, was opposed by the Democratic ex-President, Martin Van Buren, on the platform of opposition to any extension of slavery.

The new House of Representatives, after a long struggle over the election of Speaker, admitted a plurality rule, by which Howell Cobb of Georgia, a Democrat, was chosen. President Taylor used his influence in favor of the formation of a free State of California, and a free Territory of New Mexico, but the slave power refused to admit California as a free State, and refused to organize Territorial Government for New Mexico, because the Wilmot proviso was held over it.

THE COMPROMISE OF 1850.

And now the great compromiser, Henry Clay, thought the time had come for another great compromise, to save the Union again. [illegible] should have to be made to [illegible] agitation for the admission of a State with a free constitution fairly formed by her own people. But freedom had always to compensate for its existence in the [illegible]. Mr. Clay's propositions, as fixed by the committee, were that California should be admitted with her own Constitution; territorial governments in the territory acquired from Mexico to be silent as to slavery; that it was inexpedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; that the slave trade in the District ought to be forbidden; that a more effective law for recovering fugitive slaves ought to be made; and Congress has not power to obstruct the inter-State slave trade.

After a long debate during which President Taylor died, the substance of these propositions were enacted into laws. California was admitted, the territories of New Mexico and Utah were organized without any anti-slavery proviso, the slave trade was forbidden in the District of Columbia, and a thorough law for the recapturing of escaped slaves was enacted. And as a tribute to [illegible] under pretense of defining the northern boundary of Texas, ten millions were given her to relinquish her claim on New Mexico, whereby a great speculation was caused in Texas bonds, a part of which had been placed where they would do the most good.

SLAVERY ELIMINATED FROM POLITICS.

And now was proclaimed that the slavery question was compromised and settled for all time, and that any further agitation of anti-slavery measures would be inexcusable and wicked. Democracy and Whiggery, North and South, united in declaring that the millennium had come. The great Whig Daniel Webster made a speech arguing the impropriety of putting any slavery exclusion into the Utah and New Mexico bills, because he said the climate and soil had forbidden slavery there, and to forbid it by law would be to re-enact the law of God.

The slave auction block was the bright jewel in the snout of our National capital. From the adjacent slave-breeding States men and women, boys and girls, were brought to the capital, and under the eyes of the great Republic were knocked down to the highest bidder, to be driven off by the traders to the cotton States. The quarters in which these people were kept for the auction block were not pleasant to look at. Besides that effective persuader, the whip, the [illegible] mechanical appliances for slave torture, which showed that these sons of Noah did not always pay reverence to their father's curse.

The sight of men and women on the auction-block, inspected by the rough hands of the traders, was trying to the [illegible] of the Northern people even while they believed slavery a Divine ordinance. Even the ardent slave-lords saw this sight shadowed their profession in an unfavorable aspect. So the slave trade to be forbidden at the Capital, and that great slave mart was removed to Alexandria a few miles away. As New Mexico was not attractive to emigrants, and as Utah was taken by the Mormon settlers, although scriptural in marrying, were not [illegible] with slave-holding—almost all the present compensation the South got for letting in free California was the permission for hunting escaped slaves.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT.

This act [illegible] illustration of the harmonious and happy state of our country in the golden Democratic time, when the Constitution was held sacred. Under it all that any man had to do to seize any man or woman in a free State to carry into slavery was to make affidavit that he or she was an escaped slave. He could seize a person himself, could take him before a United States Commissioner, and by simply swearing to his identity could carry him off. Any interference with this summary proceeding was subject to severe penalties.

The United States officers charged with the duty of arresting persons for such claimants were empowered to call on all bystanders to assist, and to summon the posse of the county. The act took away all the common protections of law. The person claimed as a slave had no right to a jury trial, without any examination save the declaration of the claimant.

Hunting is the noblest sport of man. It is said to increase according to the elevation of the game in the scale of being. What hunting so exciting as that of men and women, which was now opened in all the free States to the gentry and negro traders and thieves of the slave States? A horde of deputy marshals were appointed to do their bidding, and [illegible] were created at places handy to expedite these abductions.

The act abolished all protection of freedom. Many free persons were carried into slavery. Many cruel scenes were enacted, causing much feeling in the free States. But the compromise of 1850 was declared to be a final finality and a sacred compact, and the power of the slave holders over the politics and government of the Nation was probably not so great at any previous time as from the consummation of this. But in less than three years the slave power violated this compromise and opened the new conflict to extend slavery into new territory.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA CONTEST.

The proposed Territory of Nebraska embraced what is now Nebraska and Kansas. As it is north of the compromise line, a Territorial Government which was silent on slavery would be regarded as free because north of that line. The bill was innocently introduced by a Northern Democrat, silent as to slavery, but it was referred to the Senate, the [illegible] opposition of the South. This was a conflict which lasted until the Southern States dissolved the Union.

The thought may occur to the reader that the subject of slavery in politics is all of American politics. Without doubt slavery is the Divine order. But the true account shows that the Divine order never did have an easy time. It was continually beaten by the other order. Thus the Divine order of slavery was shown as much by its conflicts and adversities as by its power.

Taking up casually a periodical entitled the "Homiletic Magazine," which seemed to be a magazine of plans, subjects and ideas for sermons, to be filled in by the sermonizer, there turned up the framework of a sermon on the cheerful theme that disappointment is the common lot.

It began far back, and said that the Creator was disappointed in his work of creation—"It repented Him that He had made man." He drowned all men and began anew, and that did not better it. It said that Eve was disappointed in the knowledge she gained by disobedience; that Solomon was disappointed in his expectation of happiness from riches and a thousand wives. With the usual masculine unconsciousness of the feeling and rights of women, it never mentioned the thousand disappointments of his thousand wives. And it would all in the line essential strain. Therefore that [illegible] power, and its final design [illegible] from the evidence that slavery is the divine order.

The first Nebraska bill was introduced in the House in 1852-53, and was passed by the House but defeated in the Senate. The second bill was introduced in the Senate in 1853, and was similar, and two [illegible] the previous was favorably reported to Stephen A. Douglas, Chairman of the Committee on Territories. But the slave power resisted the organization of a territory which would be free by the force of the compromise. It had now developed the logical doctrine that the Constitution carried slavery throughout the Nation. It did not put the rugged end of this principle into the enactment, but went at it by strategy. * * *

The bill was passed in May, 1854. It got in the House 44 votes from the free States; all Democrats; but the same number of Democrats from the free states voted against it. In the Senate it had 36 yeas to 13 nays.

The meanest part of the plot was the debauching of the Supreme Court to do a job to extend slavery, which the party did not dare to do openly by legislation. To carry this out the Dred Scott suit was trumped up—Dred Scott, a slave of an army officer, then in Missouri, being supposed to be suing for his freedom on the ground that his master had formerly taken him into territory which had been made free by the Missouri Compromise. Thus it was contrived to enable the court to spread itself over all points.

The court decided that only a citizen could sue in the courts, and that the term citizen meant one having the elective franchise. Therefore, Dred Scott, a negro, who in all our history had no rights that a white man was bound to respect, had no standing in the court. This ended the suit. But the court did not stop with that. It went on and declared that Congress had no power to forbid slavery anywhere; that slave property stood on the same footing as other property, and that Congress had the power and the duty to protect the owners in their rights of property throughout the jurisdiction.

Therefore it declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional because it forbade slave property north of a certain line, and that Dred Scott did not become legally free by being carried by his mother into territory where that compromise forbade slavery. This dictum of the court could make the Constitution carry slavery into the free States the same as into the territories; but this sequence was not thrust forward at present.

The decision that none but a voter had ever been a citizen was historically a falsehood. The decision that only voters have the right to the protection of the law was atrocious. Law is made to protect the weak. The strong can protect themselves. It was the meanest of Governments. The dictum on slavery proved that the court was a tool of the Kansas conspiracy, and destroyed its character in the public mind. The Kansas-Nebraska act and its sequence became an all absorbing political agitation until the election of Lincoln, which was its direct consequence. Since then the subject was never to cease from troubling the discussion of slavery.

THE CIVIL WAR IN KANSAS.

But while depending on the judiciary to declare that the Constitution carried slavery over all, the slave power was pushing to play the game of popular sovereignty in Kansas. Organized bodies of armed ruffians from the border counties of Missouri took possession of the polls and elected a Legislature of their own, which enacted slavery and barbarous slave laws. President Pierce's administration favored this usurpation, and Reeder, the first Governor, was removed for [illegible] the Territory of Kansas [illegible] slavery [illegible] the border ruffians, with all [illegible].

[illegible] in the Territory and the [illegible] of the [illegible] Free State settlers [illegible]. [illegible] was that slavery [illegible] treated as [illegible]. They were murdered by [illegible] raids, and supplied with [illegible] the town of Lawrence in [illegible] a border ruffian invasion.

In free State settlers were in a large majority. They called a convention, framed a free State constitution and elected a Legislature; Congress would not admit Kansas under the free State constitution. Invasion by border ruffian bands continued, destroying settlements, and still pressing the settlers to tumult. The conflict in Kansas, and the national agitation and recriminations attending it, would take a whole history.

The brief summary is that the border ruffians presented to Congress a pro-slavery constitution, not made by the vote of the people, and asked admission. On the other hand, the border ruffian convention presented a slave State constitution to be imposed to cover the State without being submitted to a vote of the people.

All the influence of the Administration was applied to force through Congress this slave State usurpation. But there were Northern Democrats afraid of the fire in the rear, who could not be brought up to the rack. There were others who, like Douglas, wanted to contravene for doing. [illegible] This prevented the admission of Kansas until after the slavery lords had withdrawn from the Senate and the Union.

CUBA AND MANIFEST DESTINY.

While this was going on the slave lords were looking to Cuba to make two slave States to keep their preponderance in the Senate. By order of President Pierce, in 1854, our Ministers at London, Paris and Madrid—James Buchanan, John Y. Mason and Pierre Soule—convened at Ostend to confer about getting Cuba.

They issued a pronunciamento—known in history as the Ostend Manifesto—declaring Cuba essential to the United States for defense, and that Spain was bankrupt, and might be compelled to sell the island to her British creditors, and that it was frightfully misgoverned, and that if Spain would not sell it for a fair price, she had a right to seize it by force. Thus did the great Republic proclaim to mankind that its higher law was that of the pirate. But the Democratic party got so much adrift on its hands, and was so fading to pieces in the North, that this fine scheme was not carried out. All that came out of it was the extinction of our National morals, and some filibustering expeditions, subjecting Spain to great expense.

THE CHARLESTON CONVENTION.

The slavery contest sent the Democratic party to the National Convention at Charleston, in 1860. The Southern lead, recognized that [illegible] the question of sovereignty in the [illegible] had been referred to the Supreme Court, which had declared that Congress had the power and the duty to protect slave property in all the National Territory, the platform [illegible]. The Douglas party disclaimed the [illegible] for the reason that it would defeat the [illegible] of the free States. They proposed that the platform should declare that the [illegible] judicial question. The Southern leaders refused this, for the reason that it had been referred to the judiciary and had been decided.

[illegible] the southern leaders was the [illegible] of the tension which was directed to [illegible]. Upon this the Convention divided. The Southern delegates nominated Breckinridge, of Kentucky. The Northern [illegible] convened at [illegible] and nominated Douglas. A [illegible] parts nominated Bell, of Tennessee. [illegible] resulted in the election of Lincoln.

CONCLUSION—THE EMANCIPATION.

Here this very meager historical sketch of slavery in American politics must end. No one who did not have an active interest in [illegible] in the last fifteen years before the secession war, can form any idea of the subserviency of parties to the slave lords.

A true picture of this would be impossible. [illegible] no believers in these days. [illegible] Yet there are [illegible] of that period in which [illegible] the possession of a soul, [illegible] that was the good old Democratic rule, what all that [illegible] of agitation, conflict, [illegible] barbarism, the peace which the Democratic party [illegible] the country. It was the peace of Southern lords and Northern slaves.

[illegible] and that a majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court must be slaveholders, and every Judge of any United States Court must be loyal to slavery. The [illegible] was that the South must have a majority of Northern Democrats and the [illegible] slavery. No Democrat could [illegible] any office under Democratic [illegible] unless he were for all [illegible]. The threat to break up the Union was always held over, and was [illegible] under any [illegible] in behalf of [illegible].

Northern citizens in the South on business [illegible] the [illegible] of any [illegible] a hostile [illegible] the [illegible]. [illegible] slavery [illegible] and [illegible] in Congress. [illegible] and he who dared [illegible] was [illegible].

When Lincoln was elected the Northern people realized the terms on which the Union had been allowed to exist. They had been allowed the forms of election, and to play at self-government by the people as children play at keeping store; but always on the condition that the slave lords should take the permanent rule, and they did not make slavery the supreme end of Government.

Emancipation was not from fear of the abolition of slavery. It was the revolt of a Southern aristocratic dynasty, because it had lost its own domestic power and control in a Government of the people. And the great emancipation was not in the breaking of the bonds of the African-American race—the great emancipation was in setting free the souls of the Southern people.—Paper read by S. H. Boyd before the [illegible] Club.

—Henry Irving says Pittsburgh reminds him of London in its atmosphere.

SCIENTIFIC IGNORANCE.

The Idea of Naturalists Regarding the Domestic Cat Shown to Be an Entirely Erroneous One.

Naturalists of course know more or less about animals, but they are sometimes strangely ignorant as to the most simple and easy beasts. Take, for example, the monkey. There is nothing complex or difficult about the monkey, yet not a single writer on zoology seems to know that the monkey understands the difference between current coins and buttons, and that a button that might with perfect ease be put on a Sunday-morning collection plate would be rejected with scorn were an attempt made to palm it upon a monkey connected with the hand-organ profession.

The ignorance of naturalists is, however, most conspicuously shown when they attempt to describe the cat. They [illegible] inform us that the cat belongs to the species *Felis domestica*, that it is a carnivorous mammalian quadruped, capable of domestication, and with a passion for mice. This sounds well, but is very far from being an exhaustive description of the cat. Indeed, it is characterized by other errors than those of omission, and is in every way unsatisfactory.

The cat, above everything else, is a crockery-smashing animal. Its alleged passion for mice, which, by the way, is never manifested except when the cat is on the verge of starvation, is not to be named on the same day with its passion for breaking crockery, and the skill and perseverance which it shows in gratifying this passion are simply wonderful.

A gentleman whom we may call Mr. A., and who is not a habitual naturalist, has made a careful study of his private cat in her relations to his crockery. The cat in question belongs to the black and white variety, and is in no respect remarkable in comparison with other cats of her species. Within the last two years this cat has broken seventy-five pieces of crockery, including both glass and china ware, and ranging from small wine-glasses up to soup-tureens. The smaller articles she breaks in the presence of the cook, while large platters and soup tureens she usually breaks at midnight and alone. She is especially fond of goblets, and if the cook so much as looks away from the table where the goblets are standing ready to be washed, the cat will leap up and dash two or three of them to the floor. A soup tureen weighing fifteen pounds may be placed on the top shelf of a pantry, and the door may be carefully closed, but sooner or later the cat will get up in the middle of the night, open the pantry door, and taking the tureen in her fore-paws, hurl it against the wall, and irretrievably smash it.

Mr. A. has not, it is true, personally observed his cat in the act of breaking crockery. Indeed, that deceitful animal pretends in his presence the most utter indifference to it. He has, however, the explicit testimony of his cook as to crockery having been committed by the cat, and as the cook is a most respectable woman from Ireland, who is zealous in protecting her employer from imposition on the part of tramps, he has entire confidence in her assertion. The evidence brought forward by this able observer touching the cat's fondness for destroying crockery can be corroborated by almost every housekeeper who has a faithful and honest cook, yet not a single naturalist defines the cat as a crockery-destroying animal.

Then, again, the naturalists assure us that the cat is carnivorous. This is true as far as it goes, but it is only a part of the truth. The cat is also cakevorous and preservevorous, and even pickleivorous. Another private student of cats, whom we may call Mrs. B., has a cat whose fondness for preserves and whose capacity for devouring them are something wonderful. This cat makes nothing of breaking a quart jar of strawberry sweetmeats and devouring its entire contents in the course of an evening. The animal has even been known to consume at the same time, and in addition to the quart of sweetmeats, a large quantity of cake, a pint of cream, a pint of pickles, and half a loaf of bread. It is a curious fact that the cat is never guilty of these excesses when in the presence of her mistress, but the cook has again and again caught her in the act of finishing an unlawful banquet. Another curious thing is that whenever the cook has company the cat is almost sure to be seized with a hunger for preserves and pickles. Whether the presence of the cook's guests irritates the cat and prompts her to the commission of crime, or whether the cook's attentions so taken up with her visitors that she fails to watch over her employer's interests, there is at present no means of deciding. It should be added that this particular cook is greatly grieved at the misconduct of the cat, but being a kind-hearted woman, she is unwilling that the poor irresponsible beast should be punished for gratifying a natural appetite.

Now, one would think that all naturalists pretending to be acquainted with the manners and customs of cats would know that the cat is a [illegible] ery and eats all sorts of things. [illegible] pretends that they know anything [illegible] as at the cat. On the contrary, it is one of the first animals mentioned in [illegible] a [illegible] book, and the student who finds cats difficult would have very [illegible] reason to expect to master elephants, giraffes and other higher animals. Yet naturalists are ignorant of the most characteristic traits of cats, and actually prefer to "rely," in one way or the cat upon some such puerile truth as that the cat is carnivorous, or some equally vague but impossible fact to them. Let the naturalists go to the kitchens and humbly sit at the feet of the cook. Then they will learn more of the cat in an hour than they can otherwise learn in a lifetime. —Harper's Bazar.

AURAL TESTS.

A Man's Character Indicated by the Shape of His Ears.

A reporter has found a man who claims that ears are the best index of character. He has a large collection of ears to illustrate his views. "Now," he says, "just see how the lobe of that ear goes down into the cheek in front; there is no lobe to the ear at all. I don't say, mark you, that every one who has an ear of that formation is a thief, but I do say he has the propensities of one, and only needs opportunity or temptation to develop them. You know Becky Sharp said that she could not have been an honest woman on five thousand dollars a year, and there are hundreds of people who are only not dishonest because they are so fortunately situated financially as to be beyond the reach of temptation. In some very marked cases, such as in that of the former owner of this ear which is remarkably typical in formation, even the possession of wealth does not protect from stealing or cheating. This ear, in its principal characteristic, is almost the counterpart of a pair that are worn by a man of former high standing in the business world, but who is now serving a term in the penitentiary. I used to have occasion to meet this man in business, and was surprised for years to see him retain the confidence of his employers, and his apparent trustworthiness almost caused me to doubt the value of my theory. At least I had come to regard him as an exception to the rule, but the event proved my views to be correct. He was detected in an enormous system of theft that had been going on for years. It is only a week or two ago I had occasion to let a contract for building an extensive well, and among the bidders was one who offered to do the work half a dollar a thousand lower than any one else. But when I saw the man his ears told me not to trust him. I know he would have robbed me in some way had he got the contract."

"The establishment of such a theory would raise the price of ear muffs considerably."

"Yes, or create a demand for false ears; they make very natural-looking ones out of glass now. But see, here's another typical ear."

"You see this thin cartilage, with the roll disappearing in the northeast corner, and the ear itself coming almost to a point, somewhat like a fox's. That is the ear of a keen, unscrupulous, hard-hearted money-lender, one of those chaps who seem to take a positive delight in oppressing the unfortunate and in wringing from them extortionate interest for small accommodations. Some of these ears set well back, like a fox's when it is snarling; they are the worst cases. In others the upper point stands slightly forward; such men are rather shrewd and cunning than cruel, but they are not very pleasant folks at the best. Either of this sort, again, are movable at the will of the owners. These chaps add to their other amiable qualities a quarrelsome disposition that will make them snap and snarl at everything and everybody."

"But alone the study of ears which is the best way to acquire that knowledge?"

"The only way is to collect a few notes [illegible]. Study the ears of some [illegible] you are well acquainted [illegible] and mark the respective peculiarities. Then compare those of similar [illegible], and see where the [illegible] resemblances are; the first doctrine of a [illegible] for yourself in the very difficult. It is like the St. [illegible] only the first step that [illegible] be accounted for, all the rest is easy."

"Are ladies' ears susceptible of similar interpretation?"

"Certainly. If anyone is about to get married I could tell him whether the woman he is about to wed is likely to agree with him or not. I could examine a divorce, or worse, if the people wanted me. But of course I couldn't have time to do that work, though I have read some of my friends in that way. Oh, you may set it down for a fact that the ear is the true index of character."—*St. Louis Globe Democrat.*

DIPLOMACY.

A Colored Man Who Doubted the Propriety of Setting Up as a Diplomat.

"What yer ax for dose brish?" said an old negro from the bottoms. He had entered the trade emporium of a Hebrew merchant and had taken up a pair of shoes.

The merchant said that he would almost give them away.

"Bought a pa'r like 'em at dat sto' on de nudder corner," remarked the old negro, "an' de white gemman charged me one dollar an' er half fur 'em."

The merchant, with a look of surprise, was about to say that his shoes were worth two dollars, when the negro continued:

"He said dat da was wuth mo' but dat he woul' let me hab 'em so cheap 'case I fotch er whole passel er nigger cotton pickers wid me. Den he ax if I will do anything I tell 'em an' I oughter be sorter uppish 'fur takin' cotton pickers wid me. I ain't gwine ter do it no mo', 'ca'se dey'll be 'sponsible fur de whole of [illegible] carryin' on dis way. Well, I must be gwine. Niggers waitin' fur me down at de do'."

The merchant asked if he did not want the shoes.

"Nor, ain't partickler. I'se sorter nu'er old gemme fer dat man an' I oughter trade wid him."

The merchant, seeing that he would gain an influential customer, said that he might take the shoes for one dollar.

The old fellow gave him the dollar and took the shoes. As he walked along the street he mused: "Dat's er mighty persuasion ter git away wid dem sharp men. I ain't got but 'leven ter de po' man ter [illegible] in er yeah. Er haw, haw! White man in jes' his 'cess when he fool wid me. Hi dar, Mandy," meeting a colored woman.

"Hi dar, Uncle Pomp, what yer been?"

"Been up heah foolin' er white man outer some shoes. Look heah!"

"Da's nice, sorter. What yer gin fur 'em? Two dollars?"

"Dollar, honey."

"Wha' yer say!"

"Dat's what I tells yer, but I'll go [illegible] ker [illegible] yer dat way. Dat ain't [illegible] I made er [illegible] he 'lows an' de [illegible]. Ki, haw, haw! [illegible] Come down heah sometime an' [illegible] sump'n' er uder er ruff o' [illegible]."

About four hours later old Pomp [illegible] met Mandy. "What's de [illegible]," said he. "I's got [illegible] er white man" [illegible] "dese shoes hurt me [illegible] puts me in mind, [illegible] I have er [illegible] as [illegible] white man. I was [illegible], but [illegible] dar [illegible] what [illegible] he put [illegible] shoes so tall. 'Twarn't for dat man's [illegible] I'd go up dar and [illegible] him. Wal, gwine on home; [illegible] Hah, anybody wants 'em. [illegible]."—*Arkansaw Traveler.*

—Mother—"Are you very sure, dear, this young Fairbanks [illegible] of you? He certainly seemed very devoted last night when he [illegible] your glove." Daughter—"Ah, yes, mother, but his hand never trembled."—*N. Y. Sun.*

—The past year's literary record chiefly showed unusual productiveness on the part of the novelists, essayists, commentators and critics. Original work was scant in all departments save that of fiction.—*Current.*

—A celebrated French physiologist declares that a person sleeping on his right side has incoherent and absurd dreams, but sleeping on his left side his dreams are of an intelligent nature.

TEMPERANCE READING.

TEMPERANCE EDUCATION.

The Introduction Into the Public Schools of Text-Books of Physiology and Hygiene—A Movement Which Commends Itself to Intelligent People Generally.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has entered on a movement of far-reaching importance in the department of Temperance education, in the introduction into public schools of text-books of physiology and hygiene, with special reference to the effects of alcoholic drinks, stimulants and narcotics upon the human system. Laws requiring such instruction have been enacted by the States of Vermont, New Hampshire, New York, Rhode Island and Massachusetts. An appeal in favor of such legislation in this commonwealth, signed by Presidents Hopkins, Seelye, Warren and other men distinguished for learning and philanthropy and well known as successful educators, has been put into circulation, and deserves to be urged upon the Legislature by the force of public opinion. There can be no reasonable objection to the introduction of physiology and hygiene into our system of public instruction. They are of the highest importance to the well-being of the community. That these sciences have a voice on the subject of alcoholic and narcotic stimulants is well known. That the evils of intemperance call for a radical remedy can not be denied. The young need to be fortified against the drinking habit by every legitimate restraint. Surely no better and rational restraint can be found than that of knowledge. Opinions may vary like the winds, but what a man knows he knows, and if he yields to temptation he at least must do it with his eyes open and with the [illegible] of the trial not obscurely visible.

It is one of the [illegible] that [illegible] the friends of Temperance that [illegible] should be [illegible] popular feeling. [illegible] was a persistent and [illegible] Temperance. That [illegible] law, legislation, which [illegible] wave over New England. [illegible] We have since [illegible] sweep [illegible] prohibition [illegible] the same [illegible] epoch of [illegible] has [illegible] successful, [illegible] power [illegible] moral [illegible] resting [illegible] people [illegible] character, [illegible] Washingtonian movement [illegible] reform [illegible] the [illegible] were [illegible]. But these [illegible] make them the [illegible] were and seemed that [illegible] men could [illegible] their lives without [illegible] legislation. Besides [illegible] slavery and other [illegible] philanthropic and [illegible] Temperance [illegible] secured a secondary [illegible] education is [illegible] have right principles [illegible] they are other departments of practical morals.

This proposal of physiological teaching in the public schools [illegible] hold of the matter by the right handle. We do not mean to represent it as a specific for an [illegible] or exclude other legislation. But it is a means which in its working will [illegible] the [illegible] before the work of moral [illegible]. It is a method which [illegible] itself to intelligent people, [illegible] including men who are not very deeply interested in Temperance as a moral question. We trust the movement will prove an assured success.—*Springfield Republican.*

An Example Worth Imitating.

The following manly letter has recently appeared in several of the Irish journals:

"Sir: Numerous inquiries having been made as to my reasons for withdrawing the sale of wines, spirits and spirits advertised in my [illegible] they are as follows: After due thought and on reflection, I came to the conclusion that I could not [illegible] sell that class of goods [illegible] do that the trade in [illegible] causing three-fourths of all the pauperism, lunacy and crime [illegible] people of this kingdom [illegible] and suffering from [illegible] health and wealth. [illegible] remunerative and [illegible] received have [illegible] the sale. [illegible]

[illegible] Dougall street."

A Catholic Appeal.

The following paragraph occurs in the pastoral letter [illegible] plenary council of the Roman Catholic Church of [illegible] all the [illegible] Sunday [illegible] any other to have the [illegible] into a day of [illegible] day for breeding [illegible] we hope that [illegible] will not be [illegible] rigidly enforced [illegible] never to patronize [illegible] And we exhort all [illegible] all pastors the [illegible] above all [illegible] described of [illegible] in the sale [illegible] as soon as they can [illegible] life, and to engage in a more becoming way of making a living."

The stomach [illegible] to be rid of alcohol [illegible] digested, alcohol is thrown into the circulation as [illegible]. Food [illegible] the blood, alcohol reduces [illegible]. Food [illegible] makes blood, alcohol [illegible] feeds the [illegible] them. Food [illegible] disease. Water is the [illegible] alcohol the enemy of [illegible] W. C. T. U. Bulletin.

The cholera is coming [illegible] "blue-bellies" is already here. [illegible] name for an old disease [illegible] from across the water, and [illegible] to adopt it [illegible] the correct designation of [illegible] daily average not less than [illegible] dred [illegible] in drunkards' graves.—*Lever Signal.*

The whisky dealers are suffering from over-production, and get relief from high taxes through the executive branches of the Government without action of Congress. The whisky dealers have more political influence than the people at large, seemingly.—*National Journal.*