



A Weekly Paper, Devoted to Literature, Politics, the Arts, Sciences, Agriculture, &c., &c.—Terms: One Dollar and Fifty Cents in Advance.

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BEDFORD, PA., FRIDAY, APRIL 20, 1860.

VOL. 33, NO. 16.

Interesting and Important Disclosures!

OLD MR. BUCHANAN AND HIS ADMINISTRATION UNMASKED!

Abstract of the Testimony taken before the Committee on Public Expenditures (John B. Hoskin, Chairman,) to investigate Corruptions in regard to the Disbursements of the Public Printing Fund.

Forney's Washington correspondent, "Occasional," furnishes his paper, "The Press," with the following, which, owing to the important character of the matter, we give in detail.— Let the People read it, and judge of the corruption of old Mr. Buchanan's Administration. If such shameful waste of the People's money is winked at and encouraged in the business of Public Printing, what is the state of affairs in other, more important, departments of the Government? This, however, can never be learned unless we have a change of Administration, or through Investigating Committees.

The Way in which the Public Printing is Farmed Out.

Cornelius Wendell sworn—Examined by the Chairman:

Question. Were you the printer *de facto* of the last Congress? Answer. I was.

Q. Who was elected printer of that House? A. J. B. Steadman.

Q. You are the printer of the House until you are superseded? A. That is the custom. I hold over until another printer is elected.

Q. He was elected printer of the Thirty-fifth Congress? A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Did he ever perform the duties of that office? A. No, sir.

Q. When did you commence performing the duties of printer to the House? A. Immediately on his election.

Q. Will you be kind enough to state, in as concise a manner as possible, the terms upon which you became the printer *de facto*, as between you and Mr. Steadman, the printer elect of the Thirty-fifth Congress? A. I stipulated with him to do the work for sixty-four cents in the dollar.

Q. Sixty-four cents on the dollar? A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is, where you received one dollar for certain printing, you got sixty-four cents out of it for doing the work? A. Yes, sir.

Q. By Mr. Fowke. He got thirty-six cents out of the dollar and you the balance? A. Yes, sir. Afterwards that arrangement was set aside and I gave him a stipulated sum and took the chance. He was very anxious for money and I bought him out entirely.

Q. By the Chairman. Your first agreement with him was to do the work for sixty-four cents on the dollar paid him by the House? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And subsequently, he kind enough to state about what time, you bought him out entirely for a stipulated sum. A. He was elected in December, and in May following, I think, I gave him a stipulated sum.

Q. How much was that? A. Thirty-four thousand dollars.

Q. That was the whole bonus you paid him for selling out to you the right of Printer to the House? A. No, sir; subsequently to that about a year, rather than have a row in the House about the matter, I paid him \$1,800.— It was a black-mail operation with him; he threatened to resign, and make a nuisance generally.

Q. Were any other parties interested with him in the profits of the printing on his election. A. Yes, sir; Mr. A. D. Banks, Mr. Washington McLean, Judge Walker, and some two or three others, who held minor interests.

The Profits of the Public Printing, and who Gets Them.

Q. Were you the printer of the 34th Congress? A. I was elected printer of the 34th Congress.

Q. Can you state from recollection the amount of money paid during the 34th Congress for the printing done for the House of Representatives? A. I think it was about \$230,000; I am not positive; it was some considerable sum over two hundred thousand dollars.

Q. Can you state from recollection the profit? A. Well, I could not come very near it from the fact I was doing the Senate and executive work, binding and all together, and kept no distinct account of the profit. I should imagine the profit ran near forty-five cents.

Q. Forty-five cents on the dollar? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Can you state the aggregate amount paid for the printing of the House during the 35th Congress? A. It was a trifle over \$200,000; I think about \$212,000, if my memory serves me. I have all these figures to a cent.

Q. Can you tell what was the net profit on the work done for the 35th Congress? A. I think it ran in the neighborhood of forty cents; some of the work is not so heavy as some other, because it is not the same style. The price depends upon the style. Therefore we may do one hundred thousand dollars worth of a particular kind of work and make forty cents profit on the dollar, and we may do another kind and make sixty or seventy cents profit on the dollar. The prices are fixed by law, and the established scale is varying.

Q. Are you doing the printing for the present House of Representatives? A. Messrs. English & Larcocomb are doing the work at my office.

Q. Who is doing the printing for the Senate? A. Mr. Rives.

Q. Who is the printer of the Senate? A. G. W. Bowman.

Q. Do you know the profits received by Mr. Bowman upon the printing done for the Senate? Do you know the profits of the Senate printer?

A. I understand Mr. Rives gives him thirty-three and a third per cent.

Q. He gives that amount to Mr. Bowman?— A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know the aggregate cost of the Senate printing during the 34th Congress? A. It was about \$100,000; I think one hundred and four or one hundred and five thousand dollars; it was a trifle over one hundred thousand.

Q. By Mr. Somes. I want to know what the net profits now are. A. I am informed that Mr. Rives testified before a committee of the Senate that he gave Bowman thirty-three and a third per cent, of the gross amount, but that he could not make it, and that his object in doing that was to break Wendell down. So I have been told by the reporter of the Senate committee.

In speaking of profits gentlemen must bear in mind that it ought to be calculated upon the aggregate amount of work done. For instance, give me the Senate, House, and executive printing and binding, and with the facilities I have for doing the work, I should say the profits would range about fifty cents on the dollar, all around—less interest on investment, perhaps.

Q. Do you recollect the aggregate amount paid for printing post office blanks during the 35th Congress? A. I think it averaged about \$40,000 per year.

Q. Do you know the profit on that to the person who was paid by the Government for doing the work? A. One half, sir.

Q. Do you know what their several interests were? A. I understand that Mr. Banks interest was one half, Mr. McLean's one-third, and Judge Walker, I think, informed me that he had a quarter interest.

Q. Had Mr. Steadman, at the time of his election, any facilities here in Washington for doing the work which the public printer would be compelled to do? A. None whatever.

Mr. Olopton. I would like to ask Mr. Wendell what per cent would be a reasonable profit on the cost of the House printing. I take it at what you have said about the House printing is applicable to the Senate printing? A. Yes, sir. Take the average all through—Senate, House and executive—and the work costs about fifty cents on the dollar. As an evidence of that, I did the work, I think for two years, for fifty cents on the dollar, and made money by it. I took it, I think, from the estate of General Armstrong, who died while he was printer.— That was the House printing alone. I had facilities then, for I was doing the Senate printing as manager for Eckard, and took the work from the Armstrong estate and from Judge Nicholson, who succeeded Gen. Armstrong.

The President, the Printing Plunder, and his Organ.

Q. By the chairman. Was there any condition annexed to your doing the work of the 35th Congress, by which you were to own and conduct the Government organ, *The Constitution*? A. No, sir.

Q. That was a voluntary enterprise? A. Yes, sir. The editor of the organ is generally supposed to command the patronage of the President. There is a good deal of this work at the disposal of the President—say an aggregate of one hundred thousand dollars per year, more or less.

Q. At the disposal of the President? A. Yes, sir. That patronage the organ has commanded for years, it being impossible to keep a paper up here without Government support.

Q. Is this one hundred thousand dollars worth of patronage you speak of at the disposal of the President personally? A. The law provides that it shall be under the control of the heads of the departments; but if the President signifies to his Cabinet that he would be pleased to see A, B, or C get it, as a matter of course they will obey his wishes. It has been a matter of custom for the President to dispose of it. Mr. Buchanan has done it and his predecessor, Mr. Pierce, did it. I never had any intercourse with the Cabinet in the matter; my intercourse has been direct with Mr. Buchanan, and was so with Mr. Pierce.

Q. You say the aggregate amount paid for the executive printing per year is \$100,000? A. From \$85,000 to 110,000. I think it will average \$100,000.

Q. Do the profits on that printing average fifty cents on the dollar? A. A portion of it averages much more; but the average on the whole of it is about sixty-five cents on the dollar.

Q. Was there ever any understanding with you while you had that printing that a portion of the profits should be used towards sustaining the organ? A. Yes, sir; it was given for the purpose of sustaining the organ.

Q. Was there ever any understanding between you and the president as to what portion of the profits should go towards sustaining the Government organ? A. No, sir; I cannot say there was a direct understanding I understood it, and I suppose he did.

Q. There was no distinct sum fixed upon out of the profits? A. No, sir. The understanding was that the paper should go on.

Q. And that that patronage should support it? A. Yes, sir. I never had anything to say about editing it.

The President Changes His Editors Often.

Q. Who was your editor? A. Mr. Appleton, Mr. Wm. A. Harris, Mr. Simson Johnson, and Mr. R. W. Hughes. They were changed often.

Judge Black and Assistant Secretary of State, Appleton, write for the "Organ."

Q. I ask whether you can state, from your own knowledge, that any of the heads of the executive departments wrote editorials that were published in the *Union*?

A. My impression is, I may say, Judge Black wrote for it. I think he wrote several articles, but I do not know positively that any

other member of the Cabinet did. That's my impression. I could not swear positively, never having taken manuscript from them. Mr. Appleton contributed as editor after he went into the State Department.

Q. Were his articles on general politics?— A. On general politics.

General George Washington Bowman on the Stand—He draws a fine distinction between a Sub-Contractor and a Foreman.

George W. Bowman, sworn. Examined by the Chairman.

Q. Where do you reside, and what is your occupation? A. I reside in this city, on H street, between Tenth and Eleventh. I am editor and proprietor of the *Constitution*, and printer to the Senate.

Q. How long have you been printer to the Senate? A. Since the 17th of January. I think that was the day on which I was elected. The 17th of January of the present year.

Q. How long have you been the editor and proprietor of the "Constitution"? A. Since the 11th of April last.

Q. Do you perform the public printing yourself, or have you contracted it out. A. I perform the public printing just in the way a man would who was a printer, and undertook to discharge or oversee everything pertaining to the public printing. I employ Mr. Rives to execute the work for me, for which I pay him at the rate of 66 2/3 cents on the dollar of all printing that shall be executed and passed by the Superintendent of Public Printing.

Q. How much money have you invested as Senate printer to execute the work required of you? A. What money have I invested? I have Mr. Rives; as I stated in the beginning, employed to execute the work for me mechanically.

Q. Have you invested any money? Does he not do all the work. Has he not all the materials? A. Yes, sir; he does the whole work.

Q. He owns the presses, materials, and everything with which the work is done? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you made any investment for the purchase of presses? A. No, sir.

Q. By Mr. Hindman. The presses are your investment for the present, being in your employ? A. Yes, sir; and I have the control of the office just as much as if it belonged to me, for the execution of the work I have to do.

Q. By Mr. Somes. Mr. Rives is a sub-contractor under you? A. No, sir; he is simply employed as a foreman by me.

Q. I understand you to say that he did the work for you for sixty-six and two third cents on the dollar? A. He is employed by me as my foreman, just as I employ a foreman in the Constitution office, to superintend the composition, read the proofs, make up the forms and attend to the business of the office. I give it all the personal attention required.

Q. By the Chairman. Where is this public printing done, which you were elected to do? A. In Mr. Rives' office, the Globe office, on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Q. Who owns the building in which it is done? A. I presume Mr. Rives does, I have never inquired.

Q. Who owns the type used in the composition, and the presses? A. Mr. Rives.

Q. Who purchases the paper? A. The Government, the printer has nothing whatever to do with the purchase of the paper.

Q. Who employs the hands who set the type and work the presses? A. Mr. Rives, as my foreman, simply as my foreman.

Q. Have you invested a dollar in this concern of Mr. Rives, where the printing is done, which you were elected by the Senate to do? A. I have employed Mr. Rives as my foreman, and he furnished the office and the material.

General Bowman Dodges.

Q. Are the profits of the Senate printing, or any part of those profits, appropriated toward sustaining the newspaper known as *The Constitution*, or any other newspaper?

Mr. Hindman, I object—

The witness interrupting. By my election as Senate printer, there was no appropriation made in any way to the support of any newspaper out of the profits thereof.

History of the Post Office Blank Printing.

Q. You have said that you printed the post office blanks for a number of years? A. Yes, sir; for about fifteen years.

Q. Did you derive your contract from the public printer? A. No, sir; for eight years I was a contractor with the Department.

Q. You say that you were for eight years a contractor with the Post Office Department? A. Yes, sir; as the lowest bidder under the contract system.

Q. When did those eight years expire? A. I think in 1852 or 1853.

Q. From that time did you do the work as a sub-contractor? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Under whom? A. I executed the work for the public printer under a sub-contract.

Q. For for the public printer? A. Yes, sir; and also as a sub-contractor under Mr. Wendell.

Q. You did the work under Mr. Wendell? A. Yes, sir; I was sub-contractor under Mr. Wendell.

Q. At what rates? A. My first acquaintance was at the rate of fifty-five cents and executed the work for forty-five cents on the dollar, paid by the Government.

Q. Do you remember what is the aggregate annual cost to the Government for the printing of the post office blanks? A. From \$40,000 to \$45,000.

Q. A year? A. Yes, sir.

The President and the Printing Plunder.

Cornelius Wendell recalled:

Q. Has the President been in the habit of dispensing this Post Office printing? A. It was done by contract until 1856. I think then the contract expired, and it reverted to

the printer of Congress. Judge Nicholson was then printer and editor of the organ, and it reverted to him.

Q. That was in 1856? A. I think it was in 1856.

Q. From 1856 who exercised the control over the going out of the Post Office blank printing? A. The President and Postmaster General. In December succeeding Mr. Buchanan's coming into power, he gave it to Mr. Rice for a time.

Q. Did you sub-contract it for Mr. Rice?— A. Yes, sir; that was the understanding that I should continue to do the work as heretofore, and have the control of it, Rice receiving, I think, forty-three cents in the dollar.

Q. Was there any understanding when this work was given to Rice that any newspaper was to be supported out of it? A. It was understood that it was for the support of the *Pennsylvanian*; such was the understanding.

Q. The understanding between whom? A. The understanding between the President and the Postmaster General.

Q. By Mr. Hindman. How did you know that? A. From conversation I held with them. I insisted upon having more of the profits of the printing to support *The Union*, as it was one of those rather unprofitable pecuniary organs, and Mr. Rice was very clamorous to have a share for the *Pennsylvanian*, and we finally settled on forty three cents on the dollar. I then made a contract with Mr. Crowell, who did the work for me for forty five or fifty cents on the dollar. He did it a portion of the time for fifty cents, and a portion of the time for fifty cents. I had also the executive binding, which Rice thought ought to satisfy me, but the profits on that were not so great, and the expenses of "The Union" being very large, I insisted that I should have all the profits of the post office blank printing. I could not keep it, however.

Q. By the Chairman. You stated that \$20,000 were to be allowed out of the profits of the executive printing towards supporting the organ under General Bowman? A. When I parted with it in March last I found that, paying Rice and Severns, I could not sustain "The Union" from the profits of the executive work, and I therefore proposed to give it to any party that might be designated by the President.

Q. Who did you make this proposition to?— A. To the President; and to pay \$10,000 per annum, was my first proposition. Besides that proposition Mr. Baker, the collector of Philadelphia, came down to procure aid for the "Pennsylvanian," and finally I had to accede to giving \$20,000 per annum, \$10,000 per annum of which Mr. Baker obtained for the "Pennsylvanian." I have been informed that \$10,000 of the \$50,000 was for the "Pennsylvanian" but my obligation is with Mr. Bowman for \$20,000. That obligation existed, and still exists, and there has been no action had in relation to it, owing to Mr. Bowman's refusal to carry out his part of the engagement, which was that I was to do the Senate printing in case he was elected printer to the Senate. I paid Mr. Bowman \$5,000 in advance when he took "The Union," and the balance I secured to him by giving him orders on the post office work, which he could not draw, having no orders on it.

Q. You paid him \$5,000 when he took the paper? A. When he took "The Union," I gave him that amount as a capital to start with.

Q. Did you pay him any more on account of the \$20,000? A. I gave him orders on the Post Office Department in pursuance of an account he rendered me of what was due him, which orders I subsequently countermanded, on account of his not carrying out his engagement.

Q. What did those orders amount to? A. If my memory serves me, I gave him orders to the amount of \$8,000 or \$10,000.

Q. Has he not received payment at the Post Office Department of those orders? A. I believe not, yet I do not know.

Q. Was it understood when you transferred "The Union" to Mr. Bowman that \$20,000 should be diverted out of the proceeds of the post office printing by you to his support? A. Yes, sir; that was the understanding.

Q. Between whom? A. The paper was drawn up by Judge Black. It was between Mr. Bowman and myself, we being put forward as the active men.

Q. Was the President consulted in relation to it at any time? A. I first addressed a note to the President—to Judge Nicholson who was my friend in the case, for the President, and he took it up to him. In that note I stated that it was rather onerous to me to be obliged to support "The Union," and what I desired to do. I suggested that Mr. Macdonald, formerly a member of Congress from Maine, should take the paper and become its editor. He was a competent man, I supposed; but in the course of two or three weeks Bowman's name was mentioned, and I assented to it. We met at the Attorney General's office, and Judge Black drew up the papers between us, which consisted in my conveying "The Union" to him.

Q. To Mr. Bowman? A. Yes, sir, to Bowman; with a stipulation to pay the money also. There was a letter addressed in the duplicate to Judge Black and Judge Nicholson, selecting them as the umpires in case any difficulty should arise between us. The difficulty having arisen, I have tried to have it settled by the umpires, but Bowman invariably declines. He found he could make a better thing of it, I suppose, by engaging Mr. Rives; and when he was elected Senate printer he repudiated all our agreements, for which I have commenced a lawsuit, it being, as I am advised by my counsel, the only remedy I have in the premises.

Q. How much of a losing concern is this Government organ per annum, in your judgment? A. If my memory serves me, it cost me, when it was under my management, \$19,000 over and above its receipts.

Q. By Mr. Palmer. Did it cost you that amount per annum? A. Yes, sir; I think it cost me about that last year. Bowman told me that he thought it would cost him about \$12,000 with his management. He being a close manager, cut down where I was disposed to be liberal. I paid pretty well for the services of those employed about the paper. I did not quarrel with the editors about the amount they should receive, but paid them a liberal salary. The editors were generally designated by the President.

Q. The editors of "The Union" were designated by the President whilst you had the management of the paper? A. Yes, sir; whilst I was the owner of it.

Q. Were any of those editors in the employ of the Government? A. Not when they were appointed editors; Mr. Appleton was afterwards appointed Assistant Secretary of State, and Mr. Harris elected State printer.

Q. You have spoken of your liberality; be kind enough to state whether, out of the profits of the public printing, you contributed, in 1855, certain sums to secure the election of members of Congress in different districts in Pennsylvania. If so, in what districts? A. I spent a good deal of money in politics, but with all deference to the committee, I must decline to answer in what districts.

Jehu Glancy Jones gets a share of the Plunder.

Q. Did you make any contributions towards the election to Congress of J. Glancy Jones in 1858? A. A similar question was propounded to me by the Senate Committee, which I respectfully begged leave to decline answering. I answered that I had for years contributed to the sustenance of the party; that I had always been an enthusiastic party man, and still was, and that probably I should contribute more in the coming campaign if I had it. I stated that I had expended money in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and divers other States; and I had given to districts represented at that time on the floor by personal and political friends. I now state that I did contribute in eight or ten districts, I cannot call to mind the exact number, in Pennsylvania, during the last campaign, in sums varying from \$250 to \$2,500, in the different districts which it was supposed a little material aid would carry for us. I did, among others, contribute to the Berks county district, represented then by the Hon. J. Glancy Jones, and to divers and sundry others. I think in my other testimony I mentioned the names of the gentlemen who represented those districts then, but who, unfortunately, do not represent them now.

Q. Did you contribute in Landy's district? A. I contributed in his district among others. The specific ground upon which I refused to answer this question before was, that I protested against an inquiry into what I had done with funds of my own, and with specified pleas. I have no objection to say that I contributed more or less in the different districts, as my check book shows, in sums varying from \$250 to \$2,250. I know there was one district very hard to carry, but we did save it.

Q. Which district was that? A. We saved the Florence district from the wreck. I beg the committee will excuse me from going into details. This money was contributed for strictly party purposes.

Q. By Mr. Hindman. Did you use any money to aid in securing the election of any member of Congress in any Southern State?— A. Never. I believe you do not indulge in the expensive luxury. I have offered to do it, but my offers have been indignantly refused.

Q. By the chairman. If you had not been in the receipt of the proceeds of the public printing, would you have contributed money as you say you have done in the various Congressional districts? A. I would not have been able to contribute so much. It was the profit I made out of the public printing that enabled me to contribute these amounts of money. The fact that I was in a public position known to be remunerative, induced frequent calls upon me, to which I responded.

Q. By Mr. Somes. I wish to know whether or not there was an implied or expressed understanding between you and any executive officer of the Government that you should make those contributions out of the proceeds of the printing for political purpose? A. No, sir; none, except as to the contributions I made towards the support of certain newspapers which the President saw fit to assign to me to support.

Q. By the chairman. Did any of these Congressional candidates make demands upon you? A. Not demands; they made humble requests.

Q. Did J. Glancy Jones request you to assist towards his election? A. Well, yes, sir.— In the course of a conversation he asked me to contribute something to it, and I remember telling him there was no necessity of spending money in his district, as it was safe anyhow.— We found, however, that it was rather unsafe when the votes came in.

Examined by Mr. Hindman:

Q. Was there, or was there not, propounded to you before the Senate investigating committee, inquiring into this subject, a question of this purport: "Whether the President of the United States and yourself had any correspondence in regard to the use of money in the elections in any State?" and if so, what was your response upon the subject? A. There was a question of that kind.

Q. State what your answer was. A. The answer I intended to convey was this, that pending the Congressional election of 1858, I suggested to him the suspension of the payment of this monthly stipend to the *Pennsylvanian* and *Argus*, and the appropriation of that money to party purposes, to be used in differ-

ent localities. It was my own suggestion to him that, in my judgment, the money was uselessly expended in keeping up effete papers, and that it could be used to better advantage in getting out voters, circulating documents, &c. I told him that I thought it would be better for the party to apply it in that way, and that I would take the responsibility of doing it. I assumed the responsibility and did it, he not dissenting from that course; but there was no specific direction from the President to me to do it. It is justice to him to state that he had authorized the payment of certain moneys, at certain rates per annum, out of the profits of the printing, to the *Pennsylvanian* and to the *Argus*, and that when this election occurred, I, acting upon the belief I have already stated took the responsibility of making this suggestion and carrying it out. So that the sin or blame of stopping what I always deemed an unjust tax upon me, as the mechanic performing the work, and of directing the money to other purposes, if it was a sin, rests upon me alone.

Q. By the chairman. Did the President agree to your suggestion? A. He did not dissent from it.

H. You made the statement you have just given us to? A. I did.

Q. Were your relations with him of a very intimate character during your connection with the Government organ as its owner? A. Yes, sir.

R. Were you in the habit of seeing him frequently? A. Very frequently.

Q. How frequently? A. Really I cannot say.

Q. How many times a week? A. I averaged two or three times a week—some weeks more, and some weeks less.

THE DIVISION OF PARTIES.—In 1790, at the Presidential election between the Democracy who supported Thomas Jefferson, and the Federalists who voted for John Adams, the latter got every electoral vote in New England. Again, in 1800, at the Presidential election—the same candidates in the field—Mr. Adams received the unanimous electoral vote of New England. The whole North voted for Adams on both occasions, save parts of Pennsylvania and New York. The South was nearly or quite unanimous for Jefferson.

In 1808 and 1812, when James Madison was running for President on the Democratic ticket, every New England State voted against him, save Vermont. All the Southern States voted for him, save Delaware.

In 1828 all New England went for John Quincy Adams, except one electoral vote in Maine. General Andrew Jackson was beaten in every Eastern State. The South went almost unanimously for Jackson.

After all the mutilations of politics and of time, the divisions of party are, geographically, about as they were in 1790 and 1800.

THE SPEAKER'S PAGE.—At present the main stay of Speaker Pennington is the young page who stands upon his right, a youth of fine appearance and something near eighteen years of age. This Page was first appointed to office by Speaker Boyd, and has ever since continued to discharge the duties of "Page to the Speaker," among which is now reckoned the duty of prompting the Speaker in the discharge of his official duties. He stands near the Speaker, and directs him in an under tone how to put every motion, and how to decide points of order as they arise. "Inaudens" is known to all the politicians of the country as the most remarkable parliamentarian of his age, living.— With the constructions of the rules of order he is perfectly familiar, and every precedent he has at his finger's ends.

COST OF THE CHARLESTON CONVENTION.—It is proposed to carry persons from Boston to the Charleston Convention, by sea, for \$100 each, for the round trip, including board. If we take this as the average expense of those who will go to Charleston on this occasion, and estimate the number at ten thousand; which is much below the estimates of most of our contemporaries, it