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SPEECH OF ANDREW JOHNSON

OF TENNESSEE, In the United States Senate, Dec. 12, 1855, on the resolution asking for the appointment of a committee to investigate the facts attending the attack upon Harper's Ferry, in the fall of 1855—commonly known as the "JONES BROWN RAID."

[Continued.] Instead of there being a conflict, an irrepressible conflict, between slave labor and free labor, I say the argument is clear and conclusive that the one mutually benefits the other; that slave labor is a great help and aid to free labor, as well as free labor to slave labor. Where does the northern man go, to a very great extent, with his manufactured articles? He goes to the South for a market, or the southern merchant goes to the North and buys them. With what does he buy them? Does he buy them with the product of labor that is in conflict with his labor? No. What then? He buys them with the product of cotton, of rice, of tobacco, and of sugar. Is that conflict? The fact that he can produce these articles with slave labor, enables him to get the means, and sometimes a superabundance of means, by which he can pay higher prices for articles raised in the North.

Again, when a man raises mules and legs in the West and Southwest, and another man raises cotton in the South, by means of his slaves, is there, as I before inquired, any competition, any irrepressible conflict between them? None. It is not entitled, in point of fact, to be dignified with the appellation of an argument; it is sophistry, the product of ingenuity, calculated, if not intended, to deceive thousands of honest laboring men. Sir, I had been vain enough to think that I could satisfy a northern man, strip him of his prejudices, that the southern man who has his capital invested in slave labor, is his best friend. Let us analyze this a little more, and see where it will carry us to. You talk about a slave aristocracy. If it is an aristocracy, it is an aristocracy of labor. What kind of aristocracy have you in the North? Capital and money. Which is the most odious in its operations—an aristocracy of money or an aristocracy of labor? Which is the most unyielding? Which is the most exacting? Every man has the answer in his own mind.

But to illustrate still further. The southern man puts his capital into labor. He commences the production of cotton, or any other product peculiar to slave labor. Is he not interested in obtaining the highest price for slave labor? His capital is in slave labor. His talent, his mind, and his influence are employed to make slave labor productive, and, at the same time, to make it yield the greatest amount in dollars and cents; and just in proportion as he can find new markets, devise more ways and means for consumption, and thereby increase the price, in the very same proportion increases his means—to do what? Whenever you see cotton and the other great staple of the South run up in price, does not everything increase in price, does not every article manufactured at the North run up correspondingly? Thus the southern man, in obtaining the highest price for the product of his capital invested in labor, gets the means for which he pays the highest price for labor. He is interested in getting the highest price for his products, and by doing so he becomes enabled to pay the highest price for free labor, and he is the most reliable advocate and the best friend of the laboring man at the North. Who can contradict the proposition? He is interested in obtaining the highest prices, and he pays corresponding prices for everything that he consumes. Who gets the benefit of it?

As I said just now, there is a conflict going on between capital and labor. Do we not know that a man who has his thousand dollars invested in a slave producing cotton, is interested in the product of that labor, while the man who has his thousand dollars invested in the product of labor, is interested in reducing the price of labor. Capital at the North is the oppressor of the laboring man. There is where the oppression is; there is where the irrepressible conflict exists. It is between the dollars and cents of the North and the free labor of the North, not between slave labor and free labor.

If we were disposed, Mr. President, I might press this point still further. I have no doubt that in the event of a dissolution of this Union, Great Britain would try for a time to make friendly terms with the southern States, because it would be to her interest to do so. The North manufactures and so does Great Britain. Her capital does not consist in labor; it consists in money, which is always arrayed against labor. Leaving that out of view, however, the reason why Great Britain is so deeply interested in the abolition of slavery in the United States is plain, and it must be apparent to all who would think about it. Her capital exists in money and stocks, as the capital of the non-slaveholding States does. Capital in Great Britain is arrayed against oppressed and downtrodden free labor. In the United States, what do they behold? Three thousand two hundred million dollars invested in labor. Put the four million slaves in the South at \$500 apiece, and the result is \$3,200,000,000 invested in labor. Do you not see that that amount of capital is identified with labor, trying to extort from the moneyed capital of the world high prices for the product of that labor? If Great Britain could succeed in diverting the investment or abolishing it altogether, what would she do? Suppose that \$3,200,000,000 should go into dollars and cents, do you not see that those who own the capital would take sides with Great Britain, sustaining the moneyed aristocracy of the world against free labor,

and extorting it at the lowest prices possible? That is no sophistry. It is just the case. Cannot we understand it? Hence, I repeat again, when you come to look at this subject, the southern man, with his capital invested in slaves and the products of slave labor, is the best and most reliable advocate that the free laboring man at the North has. He is his true friend, can be relied upon, because he is interested, leaving every other consideration out of view.

To show that what I have agreed to be true in theory, is also sustained by the practical operations of things, let me present to the Senate a table which, I understand, has been compiled with some care by an editor in St. Louis. It shows that, not only the theory, but the fact, is the slaveholder the best friend to free labor. This table presents a comparative view of the wages received by different classes of workmen and mechanics in the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States:

Table with columns for 'FREE STATES' and 'SLAVE STATES'. Rows list various professions like Painters, Bricklayers, Carpenters, etc., with their respective wages in different cities like Chicago, St. Louis, and New Orleans.

In view of these facts, why do gentlemen speak of an irrepressible conflict? The northern people are told, if you are not constantly on the alert; if you are not driving back the encroachments of the South, as an immovable rock resists the advancing waves, the South, in a very short time, will take possession of the fields of Massachusetts and the wheat fields of New York, and cultivate them with slave labor. Is not that utopian? Is it not ideal—mere fancy, with no truth, no reality, in it? When touched and analyzed, it vanishes into thin air.

But, the Senator from New York goes on, still inculcating this idea in reference to the South, the dissolution of the Union, and all that. It is true that they (meaning our fathers) necessarily and wisely modified this policy of freedom, by leaving it to the several States, affected as they were by differing circumstances, to abolish slavery in their own way and at their own pleasure, instead of confiding that duty to Congress, and that they secured to the slave States, while yet retaining the system of slavery, a three-fifths representation of slaves in the Federal Government, until they should find themselves able to relinquish it with safety. But the very nature of these modifications fortifies my position that the fathers knew that the two systems could not endure within the Union, and expected that, within a short period, slavery would disappear forever. Moreover, in order that these modifications might not altogether defeat their grand design of a Republic maintaining universal equality, they provided that two thirds of the States might amend the Constitution.

Three fourths he should have said. Two thirds may propose an amendment; two thirds of the States can call a convention; three fourths must ratify the amendment. But the idea is all we are after. He says—and I want to do the Senator justice, as he is not present; I read more of his speech than I would if he were here: It remains to say on this point only one word, to guard against misapprehension. If these States are to again become universally slaveholding, I do not pretend to say with what violations of the Constitution that end shall be accomplished.

It seems to indulge the idea that slavery is again to become universal. See the sophistry of it: "On the other hand, while I do doubt, I believe and hope that my country will yet become a land of universal freedom."

dom, I do not expect that it will be made so otherwise than through the action of the several States cooperating with the Federal Government, and all acting in strict conformity with their respective constitutions.

[To be continued.]

JEFFERSON THE AUTHOR OF DISUNION.—M. F. Conway, late member of Congress from Kansas—and an Abolitionist of the most radical stamp, is now located in Richmond, Va., as an attorney; and under date of June 24, writes to the N. Y. Tribune, which letter closes as follows: "I deeply regret to see the spirit of proscription which many persons entertain toward the Southern people in their present condition—a people whose kindred blood and heroic character, to say nothing of their misfortunes, should commend them to our sympathy and respect. This spirit of proscription is wrong. The slaveholder's rebellion was precipitated by irresistible forces, and it is unjust to hold individuals responsible for it. It should rather convict Thomas Jefferson than Jefferson Davis of being its author; but the truth is, it was an event developed in the progress of civilization. Shall we not be kind and forgiving to those who have committed error, however grievous, when it is manifest that their error was ordered by Providence, in his wisdom, to advance the interests of mankind?"

With regard to the "accidental" questions connected with the war, I find the Southern people as reasonable as could be expected or desired. They consider slavery dead and gone, and are glad that it is so. They are disposed to accommodate themselves to the new system of labor, and to promote the well-being of the black man to the best of their ability. As to negro suffrage, it is a new idea here; but I am sure it will in some form or other, be ultimately adopted by the people."

SAD AFFAIR AT COLUMBIA.—Last night (Sunday), a few minutes before 8 o'clock, the report of a gun was heard in the neighborhood of Erisman's saloon, corner of Front and Locust Streets, Columbia, followed soon after by screams of distress. It appears that a number of small boys, two of them sons of Mr. Erisman, proprietor of the saloon and the others children of Mrs. Felix, Mrs. Dickinson and Mr. Charles Rawlings, were playing in Mr. Erisman's yard, when Mr. E's eldest son, a lad of ten or eleven years went into the saloon and came to the back door, with a gun in his hand. He was the only one who was going to shoot, and immediately drew up the gun and fired, the lead taking effect upon four of the boys. Mr. E's second son, was killed almost instantly, receiving some sixty-seven shot in different parts of the body. The son of Mrs. Dickinson's aged 6 years, was shot in the abdomen and lingered until this morning at 7 o'clock when death put an end to his suffering. The son of Mrs. Dickinson was not seriously hurt, and Mr. Rawling's son received by a slight wound but one shot penetrating his breast. The gun was kept loaded for the purpose of killing rats, and the lad who fired it was not aware of its being loaded. Deputy Coroner Hunter held an inquest on the bodies of young Erisman and Felix this morning. The affair has caused a general gloom in Columbia.—Leicester Intelligencer.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.—Reputation: the New Republican Platform.—Wendell Phillips pronounces the new Republican platform "Negro Suffrage: Reputation." The war, he says, was so purely for the negro that if the negro fails to get voting power, then the north has been cheated, and he declares for a reprobation of the war debt. That is having spent the money we borrowed and got a white which won't blow through, now let us turn around and cheat the man who lent us the money to buy it.

We refrain from judging Mr. Phillips strictly, however, all we can see in his speech justifies the abstract forwarded by telegraph from Boston. We have little doubt that it does, for there is one method to-day consistent with himself. The importance of his speech is in this, that it lays down the law for the Republican party. That Mr. Phillips has always done and that he will continue to do. The Tribune will hesitate a few days; the Times will hangle a few months; until they have roared in all their readers with strongly radical instincts and feeble observations, and then they will all together to the mark of negro suffrage and reputation as smilingly as those some once hesitating and haggling journals now too the Abolition chalk-mark which this same Wendell Phillips made for them a few years ago. Walk up, gentlemen—walk up! Negro Suffrage; Reputation! Too the mark!—New York World.

Important Meeting—Price of Negro Labor Fixed. [From the Richmond Republic June 5.] A meeting of farmers, representing Goodland, Louisa, Albemarle, Caroline, Orange, Hanover and Fluvanna counties, was held at Louisa Court House, on Thursday last, for the purpose of considering the question of the remuneration to be made for negro labor hereafter. After deliberation, it was determined to fix the hire of field hands at five dollars per month—the negro to furnish his clothing, pay his doctor's bill. The sum of one dollar per day for hands during harvest was also fixed upon. This is an important movement, being the first fixing the pay in Virginia. These prices will rule throughout the State, and very likely throughout the South. These prices far exceed those paid for agricultural labor in Europe and should be satisfactory to all parties. We hope now that the scale of prices having been determined on, the negroes will go promptly to work.

THE TRIAL OF THE CONSPIRATORS.

CONTINUATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS.

THURSDAY, MAY 25.

The Conspiracy Trial at Washington was resumed on Thursday, the 25th May. A witness said that on the 17th of April he searched the baggage of Arnold, a short distance from Fortress Monroe, and found papers, clothing and a navy revolver. The Court here produced the pistol, which the witness identified. It was loaded then, as it was at this time. The Court ordered the pistol to be discharged. Two other witnesses testified as to the treatment of the sick and wounded prisoners, both in the hospitals and at the Libby prison. They were told by Major Turner, the keeper of the Libby prison, that the treatment was good enough for Yankees. Out of forty sick men brought in, eight or twelve died the first night.—The weakness and the emaciation of the prisoners was owing to the bad character and insufficiency of food. They were told that the food treatment was in the way of retaliation on the ground that rebel prisoners had been treated worse than Union prisoners. Another witness testified that the Libby prison was mined, and that Major Turner had informed him that he had seen Gen. Winder on the subject. The fuse was ready for the mine at the time of Kilpatrick's raid. Another witness, named McGee, was called, when the Judge Advocate General asked him whether Arnold was ever in the rebel service. Mr. Ewing objected to the question. The Judge Advocate General briefly argued that the interrogatory was pertinent, as history had proved the connection between treason and the assassination of the President. The assassination was manifestly a political offence, and was a sequence of disloyalty. Mr. Ewing responded, when the Court decided that the question should be answered. The witness then replied that he saw Arnold in rebel uniform in the city of Richmond, at the beginning of the war. Three colored parsons testified as to their acquaintance with Dr. Mudd; and his conduct. "I loved him to be a rebel sympathizer," stated that he had assisted rebel soldiers. A young man from Georgetown testified that the morning after the assassination he loaned Atzerot ten dollars, the latter leaving him a revolver as security. The pistol was produced, which the witness identified. It had been loaded ever since. Lt. Santouch who was detailed for service in the city of Washington, testified that he heard Major Turner say if the raiders got into the city he would blow up the building with the persons in it. Lavina Washington sworn, said she was Dr. Mudd's slave, and left his house nearly two years ago; she heard Mudd say summer before last that Lincoln would not keep his seat long. Two or three men were present at the time dressed partly in gray and partly in black, and they slept in the pines. Dr. Mudd sometimes carried victuals to them. Mary Wiley, also a slave of Dr. Mudd, was sworn and testified that she left his house month before last Christmas; she saw two or three men sometimes in the house and sometimes out in the woods, where they had their bed last summer; one of these men was John Surratt. Witness heard Garner say to Mudd, that old Abe Lincoln, d—d old son of a b—h, ought to have been dead long ago; when Mudd replied he was much of the same mind.—This was in tobacco planting time of last year. Several other colored witnesses testified as to Mudd and others conversing in praise of the rebels. Ben Garner said to Mudd that Stonewall Jackson was going to cross at Point of Rocks, take Washington and burn old Lincoln in his house. Mudd said he would not be surprised.—The defense then opened. The Rev. Father Wicott testified that he had been acquainted with Mrs. Surratt eight or nine years, and always heard her spoken well of and had never heard anything that would detract from her Christian character. The Rev. Fathers Boyle and Stone-testified to the same effect, and had never heard her utter a disloyal sentiment. Mrs. John Hallahan, who boarded with Mrs. Surratt, testified she saw Payne there, when he called himself Wood.—Mrs. Surratt said he was a Baptist minister. Witness saw Atzerot at the house once or twice. Mrs. Surratt said she would not board the latter. Witnesses from Baltimore were produced, who gave circumstantial accounts of where O'Loughlin was in that city at various times on the 13th and 14th of April, the object being to prove an alibi.

FRIDAY, MAY 26.

The trial was resumed this morning, preceded by the reading of the immense mass of evidence taken on Thursday. The Rev. Father Lanahan, living near Beantown, Md., and the Rev. Father Young, pastor of a Roman Catholic Church, were severally sworn, and testified that Mrs. Surratt had always had the reputation of being a woman of Christian character.—These witnesses had never heard her express either loyal or disloyal sentiments. Mr. Maulsby, brother-in-law of O'Loughlin testified that the accused was engaged in the produce business with his own brother in Washington, and that O'Loughlin and Booth were school-fellows, and had been intimate for the last twelve years.—The counsel for O'Loughlin sought to prove that O'Loughlin sought to make no light or evasion, but was willing to surrender himself to the officers of the law. The witness said he surrendered O'Loughlin by the authority of the accused himself. After the recess, Mr. Maulsby was recalled and stated the circumstances of O'Loughlin's arrest, stating: Arrangements were made on Saturday, after the assassination for that purpose. O'Loughlin, the witness said, was in the rebel army between 1861 and 1862. William Chamberlain testified that he was a clerk

in the War Department of the Confederate States, and became acquainted with the handwriting of John A. Campbell, Assistant Secretary of War, and Harrison, Jefferson Davis' Private Secretary. He identified the indorsements on the letters of Lt. Alston as theirs. This letter was read on a former day. Henry Firmegass testified that on the 15th day of February he had heard a conversation between Wm. Cleary and Geo. N. Sanders at the Saint Lawrence Hotel, Montreal. He heard Cleary say "They are getting ready for the inauguration at Washington; to which Sanders replied: "If the boss is good luck Lincoln will not trouble us much longer." Sanders said Booth was bossing the job. Chas. Sweeney testified that he was in the war and a captured prisoner in Richmond, and afterward in Andersonville. He spoke of the insufficiency and bad quality of the food. The rebels shot down some of the men like brutes, while others died for want of food. General Cobb said all in the stockade would be long in the graveyard; and if they caught Old Abe they would hang him. Several other witnesses were produced by the government to show the bad treatment of soldiers in Richmond and Andersonville. The defense called two or three additional witnesses to discredit the testimony of other witnesses relative to Mudd.

SATURDAY, MAY 27.

To-day the prosecution called George F. Edmonds, of Burlington Vermont, who testified that he is attorney, and had charge for the United States, of the Saint Albans Raid Case. Jacob Thompson, Clement C. Clay and Sanders were in attendance on the court, and assumed to be the defenders of those raiders for the Confederate States. The witness was shown a printed paper, which he believed was substantially, if not an exact copy of the original which had seen. The letter was dated Richmond, June 10, 1864, signed by James A. Seddon, Secretary of War addressed to Lieutenant Young. It informed the latter that he was appointed for special service, and directed him to report to Thompson and Clay for his instructions; and also to select twenty escaped Confederate soldiers for the execution of such enterprises as might be intrusted to him. The original paper was produced on the trial of the St. Albans raiders, Colonel Nevins, of Genesee, New York, testified to have seen Atzerot at the Kirkwood House on the 12th of April. This was between four and five in the afternoon. The prisoners inquired of and was informed by witness where the President's room was, and pointed it out to the former. The witness did not know who Atzerot was nor his name, but immediately recognized the man on coming into this court. The defense called several witnesses to impeach the veracity of some of those who have testified against Doctor Mudd, and to establish the fact that the Doctor had given no aid or comfort to the rebels. He had, however, provided food and shelter for some of the citizens in 1861, who had taken alarm least they should be arrested.

MONDAY, MAY 29.

The proceedings this morning, in trying the assassination conspirators, were unusually interesting and important, disclosing in a great measure the plot of Dr. Blackburn, the reputed agent in Canada, to introduce yellow fever into this country for the purpose, as alleged, not only of spreading the disease in northern cities, but to infect the Federal armies, and even to extend its dreadful ravages into the Presidential Mansion. On the opening of the court Mrs. Surratt's counsel asked for the recall of the witness Van Steinker, who testified on a previous day to a meeting of Confederate officers at which Booth was present, where the assassination of President Lincoln was discussed. Counsel professed ability to prove that this witness, before joining the Confederates, had been in the Union army, from which he deserted while under sentence of death. The Court owing to the disrespectful language in which this request was regarded as couched, refused to grant it; and gave the defense the privilege of impeaching Van Steinker's statements. The defense asked they would produce for this purpose General Edward Johnson, late of the Confederate army, who would testify that no such meeting ever took place; but this proposition was overruled. Additional witnesses were examined by Dr. Mudd's counsel with design of impeaching the testimony against him already taken. The evidence of the prosecution in regard to the yellow fever plot was commenced by the examination of Godfrey J. Hyams, of Toronto, who testified that in December 1862, he met in Toronto Dr. Blackburn, whom he knew to be in the Confederate service. Blackburn took Hyams to a private room and asked him if he was willing to go on an expedition in which he would make a hundred thousand dollars and receive more glory than the Confederate General Lee. Without finally consenting, he subsequently received a letter from Blackburn, dated in Havana on the 10th of last May, stating when he would arrive at Halifax. Witness then made his way to that place, where arrangements were perfected for the distribution of infected clothing and for transporting the trunks to New York, Philadelphia and other northern cities. Philadelphia stated that his object was to, Blackburn stated that the clothing had been infected with yellow fever, and that other parties were engaged with him in infecting goods, amounting to one million dollars worth, with that disease and the small pox. The witness understood from Blackburn that the President Lincoln was infected with both diseases. When witness returned to Philadelphia, he met Clay and Hol-

combe, the Confederate agents, who congratulated him on his success, and he telegraphed to Dr. Blackburn, who came down the next night; and when witness told him what he had done he said it was all right, as Big No. Two had gone to Washington and he was sure it would kill at sixty yards. Blackburn told Hyams that Thompson, another of the Confederate agents in Canada, would pay him, and he went to Thompson, who stated that he would be paid when they heard the goods had been delivered according to instructions. The witness showed them a letter from Wall & Co., when Thompson gave him fifty dollars on account. The testimony of Mr. Hyams, of which the above contains the main points only, was listened to with great attention by the crowded audience, and was the marked feature of the day's proceeding.

TUESDAY, MAY 30.

At the trial to-day another mass of testimony was taken. Lewis F. Bates, of Charlotte, North Carolina, testified with regard to the remarks of Jefferson Davis at that place, on the receipt of the news of President Lincoln's assassination, and on the subsequent day; and this witness undertook to quote the language not only of Mr. Davis, but of Mr. Breckenridge, General Edward Johnson, of the Confederate service, was called for the defence. A motion was made against the reception of his testimony, but it was afterward withdrawn. He testified that he knew nothing of any secret meetings in camp, as testified to by Van Steinker; knew of no proposition to assassinate President Lincoln, and never saw or heard of Wilkes Booth. Witnesses were called for the defense in favor of Mrs. Surratt and Dr. Mudd. Miss Anna E. Surratt gave some direct testimony, but was not cross-examined. She asked several times for her mother toward the close of the testimony: A witness was examined who stated what Atzerot told him after the assassination. It was proposed by the counsel for the defense to introduce Atzerot's confession, but it was not admitted. The Court then adjourned.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

Mr. Davis' Disguise.

[From the Petersburg News.]

It is to be hoped that we have heard the last of this silly falsehood about the disguise of Mr. Davis at the time of his capture. It has played its prurient part, and should now be consigned to that charitable oblivion which sympathizes with the wretchedness of men. The illustrated papers have exhausted the resources of cheap engravings in varying the positions of the captive; enterprising photographers have flooded the country with highly colored and extremely imaginative representations of the exciting scene; dignified Chaudbands have beamed over with blandest smiles while ravishing orthodox audiences with enticing particulars, and the mailed and mauling genius who does the machine wit for the Louisville Journal, revels in exuberant bon mots over a story so admirably in unison with his delicate and discriminating taste.

Unfortunately for the point of these productions of pen and pencil, the official report of the capture of Mr. Davis has been made, and the commandant of the party who effected the capture, has in person, given his account of the details to the worthy functionary whose name was invoked to father the original falsehood, and give the baffling credit and currency, and not a word is said about petticoats!

Col. Pritchard presents a water-proof cloak and a shawl to Mr. Secretary Stanton, and informs him that he was told by his soldiers that Mr. Davis had these things on. For his own part, he did not see him in any disguise! The hoop skirts, the voluminous petticoats, the bonnet, the handkerchief tied around the head to conceal the features, all turn out to be simply lies, invented for effect, and coolly discarded when they had served their dirty turn.

As everything has been made out of them that could have been contemplated by those who originated them, and everybody has profited by them who had a purpose to serve, from the seller of bawdy pictures upwards, we beg in the name of decency, that the miserable forgery be now nailed to the counter, and a new sensation vouchsafed.

There has been a good deal said about an inscription, scratched with a diamond on a pane of glass in the McHenry House, Moakville, Pennsylvania to this effect: "Abraham Lincoln departed this life August 13, 1864, by the effects of poison. It was attributed to Booth, who was in the oil rig at the time. A few days ago however, a gentleman stopping at the McHenry House, and seeing the glass, made a statement, which if true, clears all mystery regarding it: 'You will remember that on the 13th or 14th of August of last year, a report came over the wires that an attempt had been made to poison the President, and a report came to Meadville that the attempt had been successful. This gentleman states that on that day he and a friend occupied room No. 22, and his friend, after hearing the report, scratched the words upon the glass supposing them to be true.'

The darkey who gressed his feet so that he could not make a noise when he went to steal chickens, slipped from the hen roost into the custody of the owner. He gave, as reason for his being there, "Dat he cum dar toose of de chickens slept with dere eyes open." He was cooped.

Eleven negro soldiers were to be hung on Friday at Viskburg, Miss., for the murder of a white woman.