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WHITE MEN OF ALABAMA

STAND TOGETHER.

1860 AND 1890.

—BY—

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SENATOR FOR THE

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT, STATE OF ALABAMA.

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White Men of Alabama--Stand Together!

HON. JOHN T. MILNER.

In our system of Government the States alone have autonomy and although we may be for the time being bound by and subject to the laws of the Federal Government, still it is under the laws, usages and customs of his State alone that the citizen lives and enjoys life. The States, therefore, are charged with the future of their people, not only for the time being but for all time to come. As one of your representatives in your State Legislature, I have been brought gravely to consider the political and material future of Alabama.

We have 52,000 square miles of territory, naturally the best adapted to the uses and purposes of man of any like territory on this continent, or in the world. In our agriculture, where our soil has been properly cultivated and tilled, as our federal statistics of 1860 will show, there was but one State in this Union, our neighbor, Mississippi, that equalled us in the per capita production of agricultural values. In minerals our capacity to give employment to manufacturing people, the verdict of the world now is that Alabama has no equal. Our timber, though fast disapearing, is a mine of wealth. The cotton planter follows close upon the heels of the ox-team and the log-hauler, and the southern section of Alabama will be supplied with the cotton plant, the perpetual tree of gold in place of the tall pines that have gone away and have been turned into gold.

Cotton, iron, coal and timber, our exportable products and gold are convertible terms, and are practically at the seashore, awaiting the ready demands of the nations. Without any allegory

or figures of speech, Alabama, in the native elements that produce comfort, happiness and wealth, is unsurpassed anywhere on the earth. The race of white men who live here and practically own all of this grand territory, and who, like the Indian (as his tradition shows, for he has no history), who after roaming over this vast continent in search of a happy home, christened and named the territory we now occupy "Alabama," or "Here we rest." "Here we rest" for our children and our children's children. "Here we rest," for our pure civilization. "Here we rest" for our civil institutions, and when the last trumpet has sounded would to God that the millions of souls that may be called up around the great white throne from Alabama, were of our own race and our own people. But this can never be, for God has placed here two races of men about equal in numbers, one the highest type of his people, with a history reaching beyond the known periods of time, illustrious and grand through all ages. The other, without tradition, without a history, and without a monument or a name, and looked upon, the world over, as the lowest type of man. These two races are made equal under the laws of our land. The one has a history, and we know from the past what his future, untrammelled will be. What it will be with this other race, his equal in civil and political power, we have, from the dealings of other nations with the emancipated African on this continent, a fair prognosis of his future. The testimony, as hereafter furnished, is full and complete and authentic, and is statistical and true, and will constitute a large portion of my address.

There were 6,000,000 of Africans held as slaves on this continent at the beginning of this century. Of this number only 883,602 were held in the United States, about 2,000,000 by Spain on the continent, and in her West Indian Islands; about 9,000,000 by England on the continent and in the West Indies. The balance were held by the Portugese, French, Dutch, Danes and Norwegians. Their descendants have all been emancipated now, some for nearly 100 years, and some for hardly one. They have all gone into and become a part of the political and social systems of the people where they lived, and have everywhere retrograded and gone back toward barbarism. What they have done, however, since emancipation is fully and plainly marked out by history, and for our sakes, I regret to say, has been disappointing and disastrous in every point of view. In

the material world, the countries once cultivated by them as slaves, except in the United States and the little English island of Barbadoes, and attempted to be cultivated by the emancipated African as a freeman ALONE, have grown up in wilderness and weeds. Save as above stated, there is not a single exception to this rule on this continent, and Chinamen and Coolies now fill their places as field laborers all over the West Indies and on the Spanish Main. As political factors they have also been fully tried and found wanting and the autonomy that was once given them by the nations of Europe, have, after a sad and bitter experience, been taken away, and there is not now a negro community on this continent under the control of any European Government that has practically any more voice in making the laws under which they live than they did when they were slaves. In the language hereafter given of the great statesmen, historians and authors of Great Britain, the greatest and wisest of all the nations of the world, the negro is unfitted by nature to govern himself, much less other races of men. The experiment, as the testimony hereafter introduced, will show, has been fully tried, and he has been found to be a disappointment in every sense of the word, when measured by the rules that govern white civilizations.

The emancipationists of Europe at first expected to make of the negro a man, a grand man, naturally the equal of the white man in all the functions and duties of life, but after an experiment of fifty years or more have admitted their disappointment.

The Government of the United States has started out in the same journey, and have gone a step further than any other nation in this, that they not only gave them emancipation, as a political power, but placed their white citizens, their former masters, completely under their control in several States of the Union. They were as ever boneless and disappointing as political factors, and the power thus forced upon them soon slipped away.

I was a citizen of California in 1850, and voted for the free constitution of that State, on the ground that no Africans or admixture of the inferior races was wanted there. Would to God, Alabama could have been organized as a free State, and our labor element were all whites.

Had this been the case, General Sherman would never have marched from Atlanta to the sea, or General Smith from Mobile to Montgomery. One hundred thousand stalwart, ablebodied, arms-

bearing men in Alabama were simply lookers on as the Federal armies marched through Alabama. It is uselees, however, to deal in conjectures, as we are now confronted with a condition that theory or conjecture cannot solve or move away, and I, therefore proceed to the discussion of the real question—the future of Alabama.

As above stated, the testimony will be voluminous, but its introduction is necessary, as the statements are so startling that if made on my authority alone, would be considered as simply the language of hyperbole, and would not be believed.

The statistics taken from the records of our own nation, though well understood by old people, would be a revelation to the new generation coming on the stage of action since the war. For instance, the productions of the Black Belt of Alabama, cultivated exclusively by negroes in 1860, and by them in 1870 and 1880, show for 1870 only 36.92 per capita, and only 43,35 for 1880, of the production in 1860. Or in other words there has been a shrinkage or paralysis of negro labor since emancipation, as shown by the United States census, of 63.77 per cent. for 1870, and 56.65 per cent. for 1880, and for 1890 of 49.65 estimated per cent. They have produced a little over one-third of the bushels and pounds since the emancipation that they did, per capita, as slaves. The free negro has done and is doing better here in a material point of view, than in any other country in the world where emancipated. A bare subsistence is all he wants and cares for, and with the little efforts he puts forth in Alabama he gets that, and is satisfied, as he is elsewhere in the world. History shows that he cares but little for political power, unless it is forced on him by designing white men, and when he gets power he has always used it improperly and to no good purpose.

It is evident, however, that the Republican party of the United States intends to force political power into his hands again in the South. This is partly for party purposes, and partly, as was the case with the Abolitionists of England, upon the ground that " we " have made him a free man and we intend to make something " out of him or bust," to use a slang expression.

Bust it will be, but blood and tears, unrest, disorganization of labor, material and agricultural ruin will characterize the effort, as it did in the English emancipation colonies, before they found out that the negro could not be made to harmonize, or assimilate with

a white civilization on equal terms. The Republican party of the United States was born of a negroized fanaticism, and hypophilanthrophy for the negro now constitutes the active element or moving principles of that party. Eliminate this element from this party and it never would have been formed in June, 1860, at Chicago, and our civil war would not have happened.

Fanaticism has been described as a popular movement acting without reason or judgement, always, however, founded on some religious or philanthropic idea or sentiment to give it character or volume.

The negro furnishes the misericordia or moving principle of the Republican party, until it is demonstrated that he is not an object of pity, he will continue to play this part in their organization.

The wife of a good Scotch Presbyterian minister, in 1836, two years after the negroes were emancipated in Jamaica, took a school in the western part of that island, of about thirty young negro girls, or "ladies" as she called them, of 15 years of age and upwards to educate and make model women of. The first year four or five had children out of wedlock, and the next year nearly every one had children in the same unlawful way. This took all the piety out of the old lady, and she returned to Scotland a wiser but sadder woman.

It will require just such a demonstration as this to take the pitying element out of the minds of the American dupes who pay the money and furnish the votes for the Republican party.

It took this and more than this to shake the zeal of Exeter Hall in England fifty years ago. They followed the negro up, and even when he would not work, opposed the introduction of Coolies in his stead, on the ground of their competing with idle negroes.

We must expect to find this state of things to continue in the South, as the rank and file of the Republican party are a long ways off, and it will require a long time to convince these people of the true state of things When they come here to live they soon see what it is and become democratic to a man, unless they are office-holders or seekers.

There appears on the first page of a work written by me in 1876, entitled "Alabama, as It Was, as It Is and as It Will Be," the following:

"In 1860 Alabama was a great and rich State—the sev-
"enth in aggregate of wealth of the Union of States—and
"exceeded in the aggregate production of agricultural values
"by only Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York and Mississippi.
"Alabama was then at the height of her glory. Agricultural
"labor was better rewarded here than in any other State,
"except in Louisiana, Mississippi and California. How stands
"the matter now? Instead of number seven in the aggregate
"of our wealth, we are put down in the census of 1870 as
"exceeding only Texas, Kansas, West Virginia, Oregon,
"Nebraska, Delaware and Florida; or a reduction of real and
"personal values from $792,000,000 to $201,855.841, or about
"one-fourth what it was before the war. At that time the
"value of her agricultural products, per capita of her farm
"population, was double that of any of the Free States from
"Maine to California, except California, Illinois and Iowa.
"She stands now, as will appear from the record, as made up
"by the Agricultural Bureau of our government, in her per
"capita crop production scarcely one-half in value of that of
"the poorest of the States in the North and West. To find
"what is the matter with Alabama and to propose a remedy,
"if any is to be found, is the object of my book."

The census enumerators were going their rounds in 1860, as they are now, noting the numbers and real condition of our people. Our churches were prosperous, our schools were prosperous, our people were contented and happy. The figures being taken were to exhibit to the world, by actual results, the grandest system of agriculture in that or any preceding age. Alabama, with only 964,000 people, producing agricultural values exceeding those of Ohio, with three times its numbers, and of Indiana, with nearly twice its population, and exceeded in aggregate agricultural results by only four of the then great States of this Union. In railway progression, following the lead of Georgia, her mother, the Empire State of the South, Alabama, at the session of her Legislature for 1859 or '60 laid the predicate and provided the means to build a great State railroad from Montgomery to Decatur, the road

to be completed in five years and without a dollar of debt on it, with the avowed purpose of developing the mineral region of the State. The people all over the State, during the year 1860, were alive and actively engaged in railway construction and, what was more, every dollar for their construction was raised by subscription of money to be made on the great farms and plantations of the State. Bonds and mortgages were unknown in Alabama at that time. I am not aware that a single mile of railway was covered by them. Everything, everywhere, indicated progress and prosperity. A citizen of the State then myself, and of full and reflecting age, I saw nothing ahead of us but a career of unexampled prosperity.

On the 2nd day of November, 1860, an election was held for President and Vice-President of the United States. Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was elected President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, as Vice-President. On the 6th of December a proclamation was issued by the Governor of Alabama for an election to be held December 24, under the usual forms, in the different counties of the State, for delegates to a Constitutional Convention to be held at Montgomery, January 7, 1861.

~~Four~~ two weeks and four days only were allowed from the date of the proclamation to the date of the election. The issue was Secession.

The Convention assembled January 7, 1861. The delegates really elected were 52 for and 48 against secession. The contested seats in Shelby county were given to Secession and the vote was 54 to 46. Four days thereafter, or one month and five days after the proclamation was issued, Alabama seceded from the Union, the forty-six opposition delegates predicting war—and war it was. We do not know what would have been the result if the election held on the 24th day of December, 1860 had resulted differently. Nothing worse could have happened than what has really happened. This hasty political action has left a legacy to the people of Alabama against hasty politics in any issue that may come before them in the future. It is impossible to properly inform

the public mind on any great question in a week, a month, or even a year, and such hasty political action should never be tolerated in the future history of Alabama. Looking back for thirty years, with a full knowledge of the conditions existing in our country then, and also noting well the events that have followed since, and looking also ahead to the future, I must say that although the action of our Secession Convention was hasty and premature, as at least one-half of the people of Alabama then thought, we must admit that the provocation, as then presented to a proud-spirited and honor-loving people, was great.

Shoulder to shoulder, South Carolina and Massachusetts and Virginia had fought through the War of the Revolution, and when the blessings of peace and independence were secured, the survivors of this great war met in convention in Philadelphia in 1787, with George Washington as its President, and Madison, Adams, Jefferson and Hamilton as members and there standing, and in the presence of Almighty God, agreed to and signed the Constitution of the United States and pledged the sacred honor of their people to maintain this constitution inviolate forever. There was dignity there—there was solemnity—there was grandeur in this act of attestation. Africans were held as slaves in all of the States then, and there was a unanimous consent given to the fugitive slave provision of this Constitution. This provision and the necessity for it was fully understood and unanimously adopted. We will see how this provision was violated and how its violation was the cause of our war.

At the beginning of this century about six millions of Africans were held as slaves on the American continent, of whom 893,602 were held in the United States. About 2,000,000 were held by Spain on the continent and in the West Indies; England held about 900,000 on the Spanish Main and in the West Indies, or about the same number as were held in the United States. The remainder were divided between the French, Dutch, Danes, Norwegians and Portuguese. The maritime nations of Europe had learned that though the native

African had no history, no religion, no civilization, and, in fact, no monuments, that when transplanted from their native jungles and placed at work in the rich and virgin soils of this Continent, under the directing hand of the white man, that his own condition was not only bettered, but that the places he occupied and cultivated were made to prosper and blossom as a rose, and that plenty, luxurious plenty, was the rule everywhere. They were the lowest and most degraded of all the races of men, but the most docile and easily controlled. In fact, history shows that the African has produced nothing worthy of record except the results of his labor in a material way as a slave on the Continent of America under the guidance of the white man, and anticipating in a measure my argument, I will state that when our civil war ended the curtain fell on the highest type of African civilization the world had ever seen; and judged by the experience of African Emancipation elsewhere on this Continent, the highest condition he ever will reach until the name and color is obliterated from the memory of the nations. Emancipation began in the French Island of Hayti, in 1792, when the negroes, acting under the inspiration of those words of Robespierre: "Perish the colonies, rather than we should abate one jot or tittle in our principles of equality," and in scenes of barbarism unknown and unrecorded in civilized history, actually destroyed from the face of the earth every white man, woman or child in the Island, emancipated themselves, and set up a government which, after an experiment of one hundred years, has demonstrated clearly and conclusively that the negro, after a partial civilization, and even after a quasi-incorporation into the family of nations, is not capable of self-government, but when left to himself after emancipation, gravitates slowly but surely backwards toward his original barbarism. This is the verdict now of every civilized nation on earth. Unthrift, idleness, vice, immorality, voodooism, and even cannibalism, characterize the Haytien civilization of to-day, and blood and suffering appear on every page of their political history from 1792 until now. The experiment has been a social, material and political fail-

ure, as will hereafter be fully and conclusively shown. I will not discuss here the results of emancipation, in detail, on this continent, but will only give the results of the experiments for the purpose of forming an opinion of its probable future in the United States.

It is often stated that conclusions as to the future of African Emancipation in the United States drawn from results of experience in the West Indies, or other portions of this continent, will be of little practical use. They may not illustrate its effects on the whites properly, I admit, but most assuredly and certainly they will give a fair indication of the characteristics of the negro himself. This is the more certain when it is considered that in the experiments heretofore made there is practically no variation in results. All showing retrogression from the day of emancipation.

African Emancipation has been tried all over this Continent, except in Canada. There is not time and space in a article like this to go largely into outside evidence. I shall only introduce that furnished by the most undoubted authority, as my object is solely to place the Emancipated African in his true light and only as he has placed himself.

They are a kindly race. I was nursed in my infancy by an old negro mammy whom I followed to her grave since emancipation. My daily playmates were negro boys of my own age, and some of them now living are my proteges and friends. But this great question is so full of importance to the people of Alabama, that I consider it my duty to correctly inform and not to mislead in any particular. I have also traveled in the West Indies and South America and can verify any statement made on my own authority and many made by others.

I will place before my hearers first a statement of Sir Spencer St. John, for twelve years the British Minister to Hayti and now Minister to Mexico. Speaking of the government, he says; "The "Government of Hayti is in form republican, but is in fact a mili- "tary despotism, all power being concentrated in the hands of the "President, who carries out or ignores the laws according to his

"pleasure." As to their material progress he says: "During the "French colonial days the principal product was sugar, and in the "year 1789 they exported 54,000,000 pounds of white sugar and "107,000,000 pounds of brown. As the slaves left the estates, so "production decreased, and was fast disappearing when Christophe "in the north forced the people by severe measures to resume its "manufacture. He gave the great estates of the old colonists to "his generals and courtiers, with an order that they should produce "a certain amount of sugar under pain of forfeiture. As they had "the population under their command, and an unrestrained use of "the stick, they succeeded fairly, but as soon as this pressure was "removed, the manufacture of sugar ceased and it is no longer "found in the list of exports, except as a fancy article to obtain "bounties.

"In 1818, the export of sugar had fallen from 161,000,000 to "1,900,000 pounds, and in 1821 to 600,000, then to disappear from the custom house lists."

The coffee production, the only other staple product, was in 1789, 88,360,502 pounds, and in 1880, 55,562,897 pounds.

It is here seen that sugar production—the normal money crop of the West Indies, as cotton is of Alabama—has been abandoned as an article of export altogether, and the production of coffee cut down nearly one-half. There is a deficiency of $30,000,000 in these two articles alone.

He also says: "Hayti has for many years carried on a "very fair commerce with Europe and America, though "probably not a quarter of what she might have if her in-"habitants were industrious. In Colonial days the exports "were valued at from $30,000,000 to $40,000,000 per year, "and in 1790 had reached nearly $55,000,000 with a less "numerous population, whilst the highest since the indepen-"dence has probably not exceeded $11,500,000."

We here see a reduction of exports from $55,000,000 to $11,000,000, and the cause adjudged a want of industry. I will not comment on these figures. They exhibit the value of the labor of the emancipated African sufficiently well without any elaboration or amplification, and they will be fully corroborated by the results in every country once cultivated by Africans as slaves and afterwards attempted to be cultivated by them as

freemen. It will also appear from the above that resort was had to the use of the stick before they had been emancipated twenty years, to force the negroes to work, but after the presure was removed the population relapsed back into their customary idleness, indolence and indifference.

Sir. Spencer says further in reference to the negro himhimself: "The vexed question as to the position held by the "negroes in the great scheme of nature was continually "brought before us whilst I lived in Hayti, and I could not "but regret to find that the greater my experience the less I "thought of the capacity of the negro to hold an independent "position. As long as he is influenced by contact with the "white man, as in the southern portion of the United States, "he gets on very well. But place him free from all such in-"fluence, as in Hayti, and he shows no signs of improvement. "On the contrary, he is gradually retrograding to the African "tribal customs and without exterior pressure will fall into the "state of the inhabitants on the Congo. If this were only my "own opinion, I should hesitate to express it so positively "but I have found no dissident voice among experienced "residents since I first went to Hayti in January, 1863.

"I now agree with those who deny that the negro could "ever originate a civilization, and that with the best education "he remains an inferior type of man. He has as yet shown "himself totally unfitted for self-government and incapable as "a people to make any progress whatever. To judge the "negro fairly one must be a considerable time in their midst, "and not be led away by the theory that all races are capable "of equal advance in civilization.

"The mulattos have no doubt far superior intelligence, "and show greater capacity for government, but as yet they "have had no marked success. It is pitiable to read their his-"tory and see how they are almost ever swayed by the meanest "influence of personal interest and ambition, and how seldom "they act from patriotic motives. During the twenty years "which have elapsed since I first became acquainted with the "country, what a dreary succession of meaningless conspiracies

"from the abortive attempt of General Legros in 1864, to the "disastrous civil strife between two sections of the mulatto "party, led by Boisrand-Canal and Boyer-Bazelais, when the "latter completed the ruin of his own color and let in their "worst enemies,the blacks, who had dreamed for twenty years "of their extermination." (1879.)

"Scarcely one of these plots and insurrections, by which "the country has been bathed in blood, but was founded on "the hope of office, and the consequent spoils. The thoughts "of the conspirators are concentrated on the treasury and the "division of its contents. 'To take the money of the State is "not stealing,' is the motto of all parties of every shade and "color.

"Politically speaking, the Haytiens are a hopeless people, "and the most intelligent and educated among them are more "and more inclined to despair at the future of their country "when they see the wreck that follows each wave of barbarism "which every few years passes over their Republic. President "Geoffard, on going into exile in 1867, remarked to my Span-"ish colleague that, putting aside all personal feelings and "regrets, he could only foresee for his country a disastrous "series of convulsions. He spoke prophetically, for Hayti "has never recovered from the effects of the civil war which "followed his expulsion, and he must have observed from his "secure retreat in Jamaica, how the leaders of every section "of his enemies were, one by one, executed, killed in battle or "sent into exile."

It here appears that Sir Spencer St. John thinks the negro in the Southern United States as long as he is influenced by contact with the white race gets along fairly well. In this I agree with him, as they certainly do, though making little or no actual progress here, as statistics to be introduced hereafter will show.

That they have returned to cannibalism and voodooism there is no doubt whatever, and at the risk of being tedious I will refer again to Sir Spencer St. John's book, entitled "Hayti, the Black Republic," pp. 196–204.

"In general when incidents are spoken of in society in Hayti relating to the Vaudaux worship, Haytian gentlemen endeavor to

turn the conversation, or they say you have been imposed upon or the events have been exaggerated. But the incidents I am about to relate formed the subject of a trial before a criminal court and are to be found detailed in the official journal of the period, and I was present during the two days that the enquiry lasted.

"It occurred during the presidency of General Geoffard, the most enlighlened ruler that that unfortunate country possessed since the time of President Boyer; it too plainly proved that the fetish worship of the negroes of Africa had not been forgotten by their descendants, nor to be denied by anyone, and the attention of the whole country was drawn to the subject of cannibalism. As the case greatly interested me I made the most careful inquiries, and followed it in its most minute particulars. It is worth while relating the whole story in its disgusting details, as it is one of the truth of which there is not a shadow of doubt.

"A couple of miles to the west of Port au Prince lies the village of Bizoton, in which there lived a man named Congo Pelle. He had been a laborer, a gentleman's servant, an idler, who was anxious to improve his position without any exertion on his own part. In this dilemma he addressed himself to his sister Jeanne, who had long been connected with the Vaudaux—was in fact the daughter of a priestess, and herself a well known Mammaloi—and it was settled between them that about the New Year some sacrifice should be offered to propitiate the serpent. A more modest man would have been satisfied with a white cock or a white goat, but on this solemn occasion it was thought better to offer a more important sacrifice. A consultation was held with the Papalois, Julien Nicolais and Floreal Apollon, and it was decided that a female child should be offered as a sacrifice, and the choice fell on Claircine, the niece of Jeanne and Congo.

"This was the account given in court, but it appears also to be an undoubted fact that human sacrifices are offered at Easter, Christmas Eve, New Year's Eve and more particularly on Twelfth Night, or Les Fetes des Rois

"On the 27th of December, 1863, Jeanne invited her sister, the mother of Claircine, to accompany her to Port au Prince, and the child, a girl of about 12 years of age, was left at home with Congo. Immediate advantage was taken of the mother's absence and Claircine was conducted to the house of Julien, and from thence to that of Floreal, where she was bound and hidden under the altar

of a neighboring temple. In the evening the mother, returning home, asked for her child, when her brother Congo told her she had strayed away; a pretended search was made by those in the plot, and another papaloi was consulted. The man told the mother not to be uneasy, as the Maitre D'Eau, or the spirit of the water, had taken her daughter, but that in a short time her child would be restored to her. The woman believed or pretended to believe this story, burnt candles before the altar of the Virgin Mary for the prompt return of her offspring—another proof of the strange imature of Catholicism and Vaudoux worship.

On the evening of the 31st of December, a large party assembled at the house of Jeanne to await the arrival of the child who had remained four days bound under the altar. When the chief members of the plot came to the temple to bring her out, she, guessing the fate reserved for her, gave two or three piercing shrieks, which were soon stifled, and gagged and bound, she was carried to Jeanne's house where preparations were made for the human sacrifice. She was thrown to the ground, her aunt holding her by the waist, whilst the papaloi pressed her throat and the others held her legs and arms. Her struggles soon ceased as Floreal had succeeded in strangling her. Then Jeanne handed him a large knife, with which he cut off Claircine's head, the assistants catching the blood in a jar; then Floreal is said to have inserted an instrument under the child's skin, and detached it from the body. Having succeeded in flaying their victim, the flesh was cut from the bones and placed in large wooden dishes, the entrails and skin being buried near the cottage. The whole party then started for Floreal's house, carrying the remains of their victim with them. On their arrival Jeanne rang a little bell, and a procession was formed, the head borne aloft and a sacred song sung. Then preparations were made for a feast.

"Roused by the noise caused by the arrival, a woman and child, sleeping in another chamber, looked through some chinks in the wall, and saw all that passed—Jeanne cooking the flesh with Congo beans, small and rather bitter, (*Pais Congo*) whilst Floreal put the head into a pot with yams to make some soup. Whilst the others were engaged in the kitchen, one of the women present Roseide Sumera, urged by the fearful appetite of a cannibal, cut from the child's palm, a piece of flesh and ate it raw. (This I heard her avow in court.)

"The cooking over, portions of the prepared dish were handed around, of which all present partook; and the soup being ready, it was divided among the assistants, who deliberately drank it. The night was passed in dancing, drinking and debauchery. In the morning the remains of the flesh were warmed up and the two witnesses who had watched the proceedings, were invited to join in the repast. The young woman confessed that she accepted the invitation but the girl did not.

"Not satisfied with this taste of human flesh, the priests now put the young girl who had watched their proceedings from another room, in the place of Claircine, and she was bound in the temple to be sacrificed on Twelfth night. It came out in evidence that she had been decoyed to the house for that purpose and that the young woman who was sleeping in the same room was in reality in charge of her.

"Fortunately for her, the enquiries which Claircine's mother had made on her first arrival home, and the disappearance of the second girl, had aroused the attention of an officer of police, and a search being made the freshly boiled skull of the murdered girl was found among the bushes near Floreal's house, where careless impunity had induced the assassins to throw it. Further search led to the discovery of the girl, bound under the altar, and the other remains of Claircine.

"Fourteen persons were arrested, against eight of whom sufficient evidence could be obtained, and they were sent to prison to answer for that crime before the criminal court. The trial commenced on the 4th of February, 1864, and lasted two days. Incidents were related in the course of the evidence which showed how the lower classes are sunk in ignorance and barbarity, and renewed the proofs, if any fresh proofs were required, that the Vaudoux worship is associated by them with the ceremonies of the Catholic religion, even the papaloi's recommending the burning of tapers in the Christian churches, and the having crosses and pictures of the Virgin Mary strangely mingled on their altars with the objects of their superstition.

"In the dock we saw the eight prisoners, four men and four women, with faces of the ordinary Haytian type, neither better nor worse. Their names were: Men—Julien Nicolai, a papaloi; Floreal Apollon, another popaloi; Guerrier Francois and Congo Pelle. The women—Jeanne Pelle, a mamanloi; Roseide Sumera,

Nereide Francois and Beyard Prosper. Some had been servants to foreignets, others had been gardeners and washerwomen. The French procedure is observed in all trials in Hayti, and to an Englishman the procedure as practiced in that Republic, is contrary to the first principles of justice. The prisoners were bullied, cajoled and cross questioned in order to force avowals, in fact, to make them state in open court what they were said to have confessed in their preliminary examinations. I can never forget the manner in which the youngest female prisoner turned to the public prosecutor and said: "Yes, I did confess what you assert, but remember how cruelly I was beaten before I said a word." And it was well known that all the prisoners had at first refused to speak, thinking that the Vaudoux would protect them, and it required the frequent application of the club to drive this belief out of their heads. That prisoners are tortured to make them confess is known to be a common practice in Hayti.

"However this may have been in the present case there on the table before the judge was the skull of the murdered girl, and in a jar the remains of the soup and the calcined bones; and the avowals of the prisoners in court and the testimony of the witnesses were too clear and circumstantial to leave a doubt as to their criminality.

"As I have remarked, I was in court during the two days trial and never was present at one where the Judge conducted himself with greater dignity. His name was Lallemand, and he was one of the few magistrates who had the courage to do justice, even when political passion would have condemned victims unheard.

"Among those who gave their evidence was the young girl who witnessed the ceremonies, and for whom was reserved the fate of Claircine. The Judge called her up to his side, and gently asked her to tell the court what she had seen; but with a frightened look she started and burst into tears, and the judge looking up sharply saw the prisoners making the most diabolical grimaces at the poor child. He then turned round to the jury and said, in view of the intimidation attempted he would do what was not strictly regular the child would whisper the story to him and he would repeat it to the court. He placed her with her back to the prisoners and putting his arm around her drew her gently to him, and said in a soft voice: "Tell me, chere, what occurred." The girl in a very low tone began her testimony, but the silence in

court was so profound that not a word she uttered was lost, and almost without faltering, she told her story in all its horrible details; but her nerves then gave way so completely that she had to be taken out of court, and could not be again produced to answer some questions the jury wished to ask.

"Then the young woman, her companion of that night, was called and she confessed that in the morning she had joined in the feast; the mother's testimony followed, and that of numerous other witnesses. The guilt of the prisoners was thus fully established, when one of the female prisoners, Roseide, in the hopes perhaps of pardon, entered into every particular of the whole affair, to the evident annoyance of the others who tried in vain to keep her silent. Her testimony was the most complete, and left not a doubt of the culpability of the whole of the prisoners. I did in consequence suggest that her life be spared, but President Geoffard reminded me that it was she who had confessed, in open court, that she had eaten the palms of the victim's hands as a favorite morsel.

"Jeanne, the old woman, though she showed the utmost coolness during the trial, did at length appeal for mercy, saying she had only been practicing what she had been taught by her mother as the religion of her ancestors; "why should I be put to death for observing our ancient customs."'

This statement is complete, and is from the public records, and is given by an eye-witness, the officer of a great Government.

On pages XIII and XIV we find the following from a Naval officer:

"In May, 1879, a midwife and another were caught near Port au Prince eating a female baby that had been thus treated. He adds that a Haytian of good position was discovered with his family eating a child. In the former case the criminals were condemned to six weeks imprisonment, in the latter to one month. The light punishments were due to the fear inspired by the Vaudaux priests. In January, 1881, eight people were fined for disinterring and eating corpses. An English medical man purchased and identified the neck and shoulders of a human being in the market at Port au Prince. In February, 1881, at St. Marc, a cask of so-called pork was sold to a foreign ship. In it were discovered fingers and finger nails and all the flesh proved to be that of human beings. An English colored clergyman at Cap Haitien said that the Vaudoux did away with all the effect of his ministry

and that his wife was nearly purchasing in the market, human flesh instead of pork. Four people were fined in that town for eating corpses. When the writer arrived at Jacmel he found two men in prison for eating corpses, and on the day of his arrival a man was caught eating a child. Near the same town nine thousand people met at Christmas to celebrate Vaudoux rites. At Las Cayces a child of English parents was stolen, and on the thieves being pursued they threw it into a well and killed it."

Sir Spencer says: "These are the statements made by the writer in *Vanity Fair* and nearly all are probable.

On page VIII and IX he says:

"In treating of the black and the mulatto as they appeared to me during my residence among them I fear that I shall be considered by some to judge harshly. Such, however, is not my intention. Brought up under Sir James Brooke, whose enlarged sympathies could endure no prejudice of race or color. I do not remember ever to have felt any repugnance to my fellow creatures on account of difference of complexion.

"I have dwelt above thirty-five years among colored people of various races, and am sensible of no prejudice against them. For twelve years I lived in familiar and kindly intercourse with Haytians of all ranks and shades of color, and the most frequent and not least honored guests at my table were of the black and colored races.

"All who knew me in Hayti knew that I had no prejudice of color; and if I place the Haytian in general in an unenviable light it is from a strong conviction that it is necessary to describe the people as they are, and not as one would wish them to be. The band of black and colored friends who gathered round me during my long residence in Port au Prince were not free from many of the faults which I have been obliged to censure in describing these different sections of the population, but they had them in a lesser degree or as I was already attached to them, I perhaps saw in a dimmer light.

"The most difficult chapter to write was that on "Vaudoux Worship and Cannibalism." I have endeavored to paint it in the least sombre colors, and none who know the country will think that I have exaggerated; in fact had I listened to the testimony of many experienced residents I should have described rites at which dozens of human victims were sacrificed at a time. Everything I

have related has been founded on evidence collected in Hayti, from Haytian official documents, from trustworthy officers of the Haytian Government, my foreign colleagues and from respectable residents, principally, however, from Haytian sources."

We have here a history that every Southern man ought to read, and by a frank, candid and intelligent gentleman. Though I sent to England for the copy I have, I think it is now published in New York under the title of "Hayti, the Black Republic," by Sir Spencer St. John. This book covers the whole ground as to the character and characteristics of the free negro when left to himself and governing himself.

The next manumissions were of negroes held as slaves in the Hispano-American colonies and set free by the revolutions from 1821 to '30. Over one million slaves were held in bondage by the Continental colonies of Spain. The result of these emancipations covered so many countries that I will introduce here a statement by a high official of the British Government in reference to the State of Columbia in South America as referring to the whole. He says in 1859:

"It was but the other day that New Grenada formed only a part of the Republic of Columbia, the republic of which Bolivar was the hero. * * * *

"The District of Columbia was one of the grandest appanages of the Spanish throne when the appanages of the Spanish throne were grand indeed. The town and port of Carthagena, on the Atlantic were admirably fortified, as was also Panama on the Pacific. Its interior cities were populous, flourishing and for that age fairly civilized. Now the country has received the boon of Utopean freedom, and mind loses itself in contemplating to what lowest pitch of human degradation the people will gradually fall.

"To what this will tend a prophet in these days can hardly see, or rather none less than a prophet can pretend to see. That those lands which the Spanish have occupied, and to a great extent made Spanish, should have no higher destiny than that which they have already accomplished. I can hardly bring myself to think that their unlimited fertility and magnificent rivers should be given for nothing; that their power of producing all that man wants should be intended for no use I cannot believe. At present, however, it would seem that Providence has abandoned it. It is making no progress. Land that was cultivated is receding from