

Ordered, That the memorial of the officers of the volunteer companies, in the District of Columbia, praying the construction of an highway in the city of Washington, be withdrawn from the files of the Senate, and referred to the Committee for the District of Columbia.

On motion by Mr. BRIGHT, it was
Ordered, That the memorial and papers of Charles Stearns, together with the adverse report thereon, be recommended to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORTS FROM STANDING COMMITTEES.

Mr. FISH, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred a petition of officers of the Navy and Marine Corps who were attached to the Gulf Squadron during the late war with Mexico, praying to be allowed extra compensation, submitted an adverse report thereon; which was ordered to be printed.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the memorial of the heirs of Captain William Henry Allen, late of the United States Navy, praying remuneration for important services rendered during the late war with Great Britain, and the payment of prize money for the capture of vessels, submitted an adverse report thereon; which was ordered to be printed.

Mr. COOPER, from the Committee on Revolutionary Claims, to whom was referred the memorial of the heirs of General Stephen Moylan, praying the passage of an act declaring that the non-settlement of the accounts of said Moylan may be no bar to his heirs receiving commutation pay, submitted a report, accompanied by a bill relative to the accounts of General Stephen Moylan, deceased; which was read, and passed to a second reading. The report was ordered to be printed.

Mr. GWIN, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred a bill to provide for the surviving officers of the late Texas Navy, reported it back with sundry amendments.

GUANO TRADE.

Mr. CLAYTON. I am requested to present the petition of about two thousand citizens of Delaware, who pray that some constitutional method may be devised for effecting an arrangement by which Peru shall, for a just and proper equivalent, either cede to the United States one of her guano islands, or permit American vessels to take guano without stint or unnecessary restriction, so that the trade in that article may be placed upon the true commercial basis of demand and supply. The memorialists say, that without in the least intending to question the propriety of acquisitions of territory in other quarters, they respectfully suggest that, in their opinion, the purchase of one of those islands would be to the people of the United States of more solid worth than that of the Mesilla valley, Cuba, and all the Antilles besides. Agreeably to the disposition which was made of this subject, on the motion of the Committee on Agriculture the other day, I move that this memorial be referred to the Executive Department.

The PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered, unless objected to.

There was no objection.

LAND TITLES IN INDIANA.

Mr. PETTIT. I ask the unanimous consent of the Senate to grant me leave at this time to introduce two bills, of which I have not given notice, and I shall ask the Senate to put them on their passage now. They are matters which would properly be referable to the committee of which I am chairman—the Committee on Private Land Claims. I say to the Senate that I have thoroughly examined them, in connection with the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and I have a letter from him on the subject, which I ask may be read, saying that these bills ought to be passed. I first ask unanimous consent to be allowed to introduce a bill "to ascertain and adjust the titles to certain lands in the State of Indiana."

There being no objection, the bill was read a first and second time by its title, and considered as in Committee of the Whole.

It proposes to constitute the register and receiver of the land titles at Vincennes, together with a fit and proper person, learned in the law, and a citizen of Indiana, to be appointed by the

President, commissioners to ascertain and adjust the title of any claimant to any tract of land, or any part or subdivision thereof granted by the resolve of Congress, of August 29, 1783, and the act of March 3, 1791, granting lands to the inhabitants and settlers at Vincennes.

Every claimant to a tract of land so granted, or any part thereof, is to file his claim with the register at Vincennes within six months after the publication of the notice provided for in the bill. The commissioners are to hold their meetings at Vincennes, and are to decide in a summary manner all claims respecting the lands granted by the acts referred to. Every claimant who can produce to the commissioners a regular claim of title from the original conferee to himself, or who shall show, to their satisfaction, a continuous and connected possession in himself, and those under whom he claims for the period of twenty years, or more, preceding the filing of the claim, or can show such claim or title as would bar an action of ejectment in the courts of Indiana, is to be confirmed in his title.

The bill makes other provisions necessary to carry out these objects.

Mr. PETTIT. I ask that the letter of the Commissioner of the General Land Office be read for the satisfaction of gentlemen.

The Secretary read the letter, as follows:

GENERAL LAND OFFICE, May 15, 1854.

SIR: I have carefully considered the bills presented by you—one "for the relief of Sylvester T. Jerauld," and the other "to ascertain and adjust the titles to certain lands in the State of Indiana," and in view of all the circumstances of the case, and of opinion that, if enacted by Congress, they will afford the relief sought to be obtained; and that it is the only relief that can be extended by Congress in these cases.

With great respect, your obedient servant,
JOHN WILSON, Commissioner.
Hon. SMITH MILLER, House of Representatives.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read a third time, and passed.

SYLVESTER T. JERAULD.

Mr. PETTIT. The Committee on Private Land Claims have also instructed me to report a bill for the relief of Sylvester T. Jerauld, assignee of Henry Richaud. It is a very short bill, and I ask for its consideration now.

The bill was accordingly read a first and second time, and considered as in Committee of the Whole.

It proposes to direct that location No. 118, containing four hundred acres in township one south, range ten west, second meridian, Indiana; which has been made in favor of Nathaniel Ewing, as assignee of claim No. 1499, in favor of the heirs of H. Richaud, in the report dated the 31st of December, 1809, of the commissioners at Kaskaskia, Illinois, be confirmed. It proposes, also, to authorize the President of the United States, on the production to the General Land Office, of the certificate from the register at Vincennes, Indiana, for the claim, to cause a patent to be issued to Jerauld, as assignee of the interest of the original claimant; but the patent granted is only to operate as a relinquishment on the part of the United States, and is in no way to prejudice any valid adverse right, if such exist.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read a third time, and passed.

AFRICANIZATION OF CUBA.

Mr. MALLORY. I desire to submit the following resolution:

Resolved, That the recent acts and declarations of the Cuban authorities, considered in connection with Spain's past policy with reference to that island, are calculated to excite the just apprehensions of the Government of the United States, of a settled design to throw Cuba ultimately into the hands of its negro population, and to revive there, within a few hours' sail of our shores, the scenes of San Domingo's revolution, a result which the United States will deem alike inconsistent with their progress, their prosperity, and the civilization of the age.

I do not desire to discuss the resolution now—

Mr. SUMNER. Can the resolution be considered to-day except by unanimous consent?

The PRESIDENT. It cannot.

Mr. SUMNER. Then I object to its consideration.

Mr. MALLORY. I wish to say to the Senator what I have said heretofore, that I do not desire to discuss the question now. But a resolution on this subject was, a few days ago, referred

to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and I only desire that this resolution shall go to the committee, and be considered in connection with that.

Mr. SUMNER. The resolution had better lie on the table for the present.

The PRESIDENT. Objection being made, the resolution cannot be considered now.

BLACK WARRIOR DOCUMENT.

Mr. SLIDELL. I offer the following resolution, and I desire to say that the document which I propose to have printed relates to the seizure of the Black Warrior. I receive every day applications for copies of that document, and it is a matter of importance, I think, that we should have some copies of it printed for the use of the Senate.

Resolved, That two thousand copies of House document No. 86, relating to the seizure of the steamer Black Warrior, and other cases of alleged wrongs to American citizens by the authorities of Cuba, be printed for the use of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution goes to the Committee on Printing.

ROMAN CATHOLICS.

Mr. MALLORY. The morning, yesterday, was engrossed, Mr. President, in discussing a question which I presume can meet, at the hands of this body, no practical legislation; and as one of its members I think it necessary to say a word in relation to that discussion. But for a remark of the honorable Senator from North Carolina, [Mr. BANGS,] which will, I think, be productive of misunderstanding, I should not deem it my duty to utter a word. The remark to which I allude, I see in this morning's report of yesterday's proceedings, in the Union.

"Mr. BANGS inquired whether Mr. Cass had seen a statement made in a Catholic paper in St. Louis—the 'Shepherd of the Valley'—that as soon as the Catholics should obtain the supremacy in this country, there would be an end of toleration here?"

"Mr. CASS replied that he had seen the statement in some paper."

"Mr. BANGS asked whether it would not be wise to consider the propriety of adopting some measures, in anticipation of such a result, for securing religious liberty at home?"

"Mr. CASS. This Government has nothing to do with religious liberty at home. That is the business of the States."

"Mr. BANGS inquired, if such an event should happen, what sort of a position should we occupy, asking foreign Governments to secure for our citizens what we could not secure for them at home?"

"Mr. CASS. That is supposing an impossible case."

Mr. President, I do not know whether the remarks of the honorable Senator from North Carolina, and the introduction of the paper to which he refers, were made ironically or not, or whether he meant to say no more than that legislation upon this subject, as presented by the honorable Senator from Michigan, [Mr. CASS,] would be as wise, (and no wiser perhaps,) as legislation upon the subject presented by the honorable Senator from North Carolina himself. Perhaps the latter was the design. However, sir, as it has been introduced into this body, it will certainly, unless some explanation be made, give rise to some feeling and some misapprehension. In relation to the "Shepherd of the Valley," I am happy to state here—and I state it because it is an act of justice due to over two millions of our citizens—that the paper called the "Shepherd of the Valley" is not an organ, a mouth piece, or an exponent of the opinions, religious or otherwise, of any Catholic church, or creed in the United States; but that the bishop of St. Louis, himself, has condemned, and in a circular letter cautioned the Catholics of his diocese against its dangerous ultraism.

Therefore, sir, it is that I would say that no inference should be drawn from anything of this nature, which appears in that paper, against the constitutional loyalty and fidelity of this large body of our fellow citizens.

It is the first time, Mr. President, in this body, that I have ever heard directly or indirectly the creed of any portion of our citizens presented as a matter of discussion. It is the first time that I have ever known any member of the body feel it necessary to rise and say a word upon the subject; and I certainly do not wish or design to do more than to correct any misapprehension which may arise from the remarks of the Senator from North Carolina.

If I thought proper to say more—if I thought it necessary or proper to enter into a defense of

fore, that he should be paid not only up to the 8th of February, when his contract was annulled, but also up to the 21st of February, when the new contractor commenced the service.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read a third time, and passed.

PORT HURON AND LAKE MICHIGAN RAILROAD.

Mr. SHIELDS. The Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill granting the right of way over, and depot grounds upon, lands belonging to the United States at and near Fort Gratiot, in the State of Michigan, to the Port Huron and Lake Michigan Railroad Company, have instructed me to report it back with an amendment in the form of a substitute. If there be no objection, I ask for its consideration at this time.

The bill was accordingly considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The amendment of the committee was to strike out all after the enacting clause, and insert the following:

That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to grant to the Port Huron and Lake Michigan Railroad Company the right of way upon land reserved for military purposes at Fort Gratiot, in the State of Michigan; and also the right to take and use other lands belonging to the United States at the same place for the necessary depots: *Provided*, That he shall be of opinion that the said grants will not be detrimental to the public interest, and that the company pay into the Treasury of the United States the appraised value of the premises required for the depots and other necessary buildings, to be determined by such officer or officers of the Engineer Corps, or such other person or persons as the Department may designate for that purpose: *And provided further*, That the location and width of the road way, and the location and boundaries of the depot grounds, and also the conditions on which they are to be possessed and improved shall be determined under the authority, and with the approval of the President: *And provided further*, That if said railroad and depots shall not be completed within — years, or if at any time after completion the use of said railroad or depots be discontinued or abandoned, the said grant shall cease and determine.

Mr. HUNTER. I desire to ask the Senator from Illinois if this right is left to the discretion of the President or Secretary of War, or whether it is imperative?

Mr. STUART. It is discretionary.

Mr. SHIELDS. This has been prepared in concert with the War Department.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will suggest that there is a blank in the amendment which should be filled.

Mr. STUART. Fill it with "ten," so as to make it "ten years."

The PRESIDENT. If there be no objection that will be done.

There was no objection.

The amendment of the committee was agreed to. The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, the amendment was concurred in, the bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read a third time, and passed.

LIEUT. STRAIN'S DARIEN EXPEDITION.

Mr. CLAYTON. It will be recollected, Mr. President, that an expedition commanded by Lieutenant Strain, and under the protection of the United States, was sent to the Isthmus of Darien for the purpose of ascertaining, in conjunction with a similar expedition on the part of the Government of Great Britain, the practicability of a canal route across the Isthmus of Darien. A detachment from a United States man-of-war was sent for that purpose, and penetrating the Isthmus, lost their way. It was generally believed, for a long period of time, that they had perished miserably in that wilderness. It turned out at last, however, that they were saved by a boat's crew from her Britannic Majesty's man-of-war Virago. In order to enable the Senate to understand the purpose which I have in view in offering the joint resolution which I desire to introduce, I will now read a part of a letter written by Lieutenant Strain to Commander Edward Marshall, of the Virago, acknowledging the services rendered. The letter is dated "United States Darien Expedition, Cantonment of La Palma, Darien Harbor, April 8, 1854." After a full account of all the dangers incurred; and the services of the boatmen in behalf of the detachment, Lieutenant Strain closes his letter thus:

"Owing to the supply of provisions and clothing which we have received from the Virago, we have now nothing to desire, while the tedious marches of your medical

officers have removed all; as we have every reason to hope and believe, beyond the reach of danger."

"To the energy and activity of the commander of the relief party, Lieutenant W. C. Forsyth, we owe much, as the condition of some members of our expedition was so precarious, that even a few hours afterwards, we should have arrived too late. To him, Dr. William Ross, and Paymaster W. H. Hills, and the men composing the crew of the paddle box boat, you will please communicate my thanks, and those of my party; and I am well aware that it must be a source of intense satisfaction to them to know that, had it not been for their well directed efforts, thirteen suffering men must inevitably have perished miserably, notwithstanding every effort which I, or the others composing the advanced guard, might have made to save them."

It will be seen, then, from the testimony of our own officer that thirteen suffering Americans were saved by these officers and crew of the British ship. In order to make some acknowledgment to them for this act of humanity and generosity, I beg leave, by the unanimous consent of the Senate, to introduce a "joint resolution manifesting the sense of Congress towards Commander Edward Marshall, commanding her Britannic Majesty's ship Virago, and the officers and crew who were detached by his order for the relief of the surveying party under the command of Lieutenant J. G. Strain," for the purpose of having it referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Unanimous consent was given to the introduction of the joint resolution, and it was read twice, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The joint resolution proposes to request the President of the United States to procure gold medals with suitable devices, one to be presented to Commander Edward Marshall, of her Britannic Majesty's ship Virago, one to W. C. Forsyth, First Lieutenant of the Virago, one to Dr. William Ross, and one to Paymaster W. H. Hills, as a testimonial of national gratitude for their generous and humane conduct in extending timely relief to the surveying party under command of Lieutenant Strain. It also authorizes the President to cause to be paid to each of the boat's crew who were engaged in the rescue of the said surveying party, the sum of one hundred dollars each as evidence of the high sense entertained by the Congress of the United States of their generous assistance.

AFRICANIZATION OF CUBA.

Mr. MALLORY. Before the special order is taken up, I ask the Senate to consider the resolution which I submitted yesterday, and which was laid over on the objection of the Senator from Massachusetts, [Mr. SUMNER.] I desire merely to have it referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, without discussion.

The PRESIDENT. If there be no objection the resolution will be considered.

Mr. SUMNER. I understood from the honorable Senator, yesterday, that he did not desire to consider the resolution at this time.

Mr. MALLORY. That is precisely my desire, not to have it debated at this time, but to send it to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. SUMNER. The resolution, as I understand it, cannot go to the Committee on Foreign Relations without seeming to receive a sanction from this body.

Mr. MALLORY. Well, sir, that is a matter for the body to determine; and I now ask the Senate to consider and refer it to the committee. A resolution was introduced sometime ago by the Senator from Louisiana, and discussed somewhat, and referred to that committee; and I shall be prepared to discuss the whole subject when a report shall be made by that committee.

Mr. CHASE. Let the resolution be read.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on referring it to the Committee on Foreign Relations. It will be read.

The resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That the recent acts and declarations of the Cuban authorities, considered in connection with Spain's past policy with reference to that island, are calculated to excite the just apprehensions of the Government of the United States, of a settled design to throw Cuba ultimately into the hands of its negro population, and to revive there, within a few hours' sail of our shores, the scenes of San Domingo's revolution, a result which the United States will deem alike inconsistent with their progress, their prosperity, and the civilization of the age.

Mr. CLAYTON. I think there need be no hesitation in referring the resolution to the Committee on Foreign Relations. If the vote on the question of its reference would be considered as an indorsement of the propositions contained in

the resolution, the honorable Senator from Massachusetts would be justified in his objection; but I think he is mistaken in regard to that. The mere reference of the resolution to the committee expresses no opinion whatever, on the part of the Senate, in regard to the proposition in the resolution. It is, in fact, a mere resolution of inquiry; and, as such, it seems to me, the Senator should make no objection to its reference.

Mr. CHASE. The resolution asserts certain facts. I do not see how it is possible for the Senate even to refer a resolution of that abstract character without appearing at least to give a sanction to the propositions contained in it; and, for one, I am not willing to observe silence while a resolution of that sort receives the action of the Senate.

I am sure the Senator from Florida will not suspect me of any desire to throw any obstacle whatever in the way of a simple resolution of inquiry, if he proposed to address such a resolution to the Committee on Foreign Relations. There is no Senator upon this floor to whose action I should be more unwilling to take any exception, than to that honorable Senator; but, sir, in my judgment, this resolution goes something further than a mere inquiry. It asserts distinct facts—facts running through a long line of policy, alleged to have been pursued on the part of the Spanish Government; and I think, before it is referred, it ought to receive some discussion on this floor. So far as I have anything to say upon it, I could proceed as well at this time as at any other; but it seems to me, in view of the business before the Senate, it would be better to postpone the consideration of it until to-morrow, and then take it up during the morning hour.

Mr. MALLORY. I was not prepared for such objections as these. If the resolution does set forth facts, they are facts that I assume, and that I expect, if I have an opportunity, to sustain, and they are not facts set forth by the Senate, or sanctioned by the Senate as facts; but the object of referring the resolution is to ascertain whether the Committee on Foreign Relations will give it a report or not. I do not come here at this hour to ask the sanction of the Senate upon the resolution.

I have no doubt of convincing the Senate when the proper time arrives, that the resolution asserts nothing but facts, and, sir, I feel that it is nothing but an act of courtesy to myself—the honorable Senator from Ohio having permitted the former resolution, submitted by the Senator from Louisiana, [Mr. SULLIVAN,] to go to the Committee on Foreign Relations—that this resolution should also go to that committee, it being on the same subject. I can see no object to be attained by postponing it until to-morrow; because I want to avoid discussion; I do not seek it now; I am not disposed to discuss this measure by halves; but I want it discussed thoroughly, when the Committee on Foreign Relations have reported.

Mr. WELLER. I do not think that the referring of this resolution to the Committee on Foreign Relations commits the Senate to an indorsement of its propositions. Suppose that a constituent of my friend from Florida made the same statement by way of a memorial to the Senate. Upon the introduction of that memorial, it would be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and then, when the subject was reported to the Senate, we could enter upon a general discussion of the questions raised.

And certainly the Senate ought to extend the same rule to one of its own members as to one who stands outside, and approaches us by way of memorial or petition. That I consider is the whole question. The Senator from Florida considers those facts to be true, and asks that the Committee on Foreign Relations may be authorized to investigate the subject. When their report comes here, the Senator from Ohio will have an opportunity of entering into the discussion.

Mr. STUART. It seems to me, I submit to the Senator from Florida, that this thing may be disposed of very easily by striking out the word "that" following "resolved," and inserting "that the Committee on Foreign Relations be instructed to inquire whether," and then let the words of the resolution go on as they now stand. Nobody will be committed by that. Several Senators. Moved to amend the resolution. Mr. STUART. I will move that amendment.

Mr. MALLOY. I have no objection to so modifying the resolution.

The resolution as modified was agreed to.

PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS.

Mr. JOHNSON. I am directed by the Committee on Printing to report in favor of printing two thousand additional copies of Captain Lorenzo Sitgreave's report on the expedition down the Zuni and Colorado rivers, and five thousand copies of the report of the expedition of Captain Marcy on the head waters of Red river. This report is made after a careful investigation; and the number is all we esteemed necessary, and it is deemed that the public service require that they should be printed.

Mr. GWIN. I move that there be three thousand of each printed. They are both very valuable documents.

The amendment was agreed to; and the report as amended was concurred in.

SENATE REPORTING.

Mr. BRIGHT. I am anxious to dispose of a resolution which is pending before the Senate, providing for publishing the debates and proceedings of the Senate. I will call it up, provided it is not to lead to debate. If it should lead to debate, I should certainly be unwilling to do so, and thus interfere with the time of the honorable Senator from Mississippi. I should like the honorable Senator to signify whether it will interfere with him.

Mr. BROWN. I should prefer to proceed now.

Mr. BRIGHT. I will call it up immediately after the honorable Senator has got through.

INDIGENT INSANE BILL VETO.

On the motion of Mr. HUNTER, the Senate resumed the reconsideration of the bill making a grant of land to the several States of the Union, for the benefit of indigent insane persons, which had been returned by the President of the United States, with his objections.

Mr. BROWN then rose and addressed the Senate, on the veto message. A report of his speech will be found in the Appendix.

Mr. BRIGHT. I move to postpone the further consideration of this subject until to-morrow, for the purpose of taking up the resolution which I offered the other day respecting the publication of our debates.

The motion was agreed to.

THE DEBATES OF THE SENATE.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the resolution submitted by Mr. BRIGHT, on Thursday, the 11th instant.

Mr. BRIGHT. I modify my resolution by striking out all after the word "Resolved," and inserting:

That the Secretary of the Senate contract with the proprietors of the Washington Sentinel for the daily publication of the proceedings and debates of the Senate in that paper, providing the same can be done at a price not exceeding \$4 50 per column.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. When this question was under consideration the other day, a great deal was said in reference to the reporting done by the Union, and the fact that that paper was engaged to report the proceedings of the Senate was urged as an argument why we should put other papers in this District upon the same footing. Since the adjournment on that day, I have received a communication from the editor of the Union, which I desire to have read to the Senate.

The Secretary read the communication, as follows:

UNION OFFICE, May 12, 1854.

DEAR SIR: I saw from the debate in the Senate on yesterday that the subject of publishing the proceedings and debates of that body is creating some degree of embarrassment. My object in addressing you this note is to remove all cause for embarrassment as far as the Union is concerned. By reference to General Armstrong's letter to the Secretary of the Senate, dated February 11, 1854, you will see that he asked to be relieved from his engagement to publish the entire proceedings and debates of the Senate, and that the arrangement should cease from that date. His letter was laid before the Senate, but the only action taken was to refer it to the Committee on Printing. Not being disposed to abandon the arrangement without the consent of the Senate, General Armstrong, on the advice of the chairman of the committee, as I understand, felt it his duty to go on under the arrangement until the Senate should take further action. Upon the death of General Armstrong, I became the proprietor, and inferred from the fact that he had proposed to execute the arrangement up to his death, and seeing that the Senate had taken no action, that it was the wish of the Senate that the arrangement

should continue. I accordingly addressed a note to the Committee on Printing, expressing my willingness to go on with the former arrangement. I have continued to publish the proceedings and debates of the Senate up to the present time, executing the arrangement with all the dispatch that was practicable. I knew that the arrangement had yielded no profit to General Armstrong, and I anticipated none to myself; but as I supposed the Senate deemed it important to give to their proceedings an extensive circulation, I was willing to contribute all in my power to that end. As the publication in the Union of the entire proceedings and debates of the Senate is a matter of no pecuniary interest to me, and as I see from the debate yesterday that it is not regarded by some of the Senators, as a matter of benefit to the country, I respectfully request you to relieve the Senate of any embarrassment growing out of the former arrangement with the Union, by signifying my readiness to terminate the arrangement with this date. I beg leave to add, that I shall continue to keep a reporter in the Senate, and will endeavor to do as full justice to the publication of the proceedings of the body as their importance, and my obligations to the other House will allow.

With sentiments of high regard, I am very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. O. B. NICHOLSON.

MON. BENJAMIN FITZPATRICK,

Chairman Committee on Printing, &c.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Now, Mr. President, we have got precisely to the point at which I stated, when this matter was under consideration the other day, I hoped we should get. If I understand the amendment which has been made to the resolution, it contemplates simply authorizing the Secretary to contract with the Sentinel alone. It seems to me somewhat strange, when two papers like the Intelligencer and the Union, which have been so long established here, could not maintain themselves at the price paid by the Senate for this service, that the Sentinel, or any other paper established so recently, should be anxious to seek such a position.

I am in favor of placing the proceedings of this body in such a shape as will preserve them; and I think that can be done in the way which I intimated, when I formerly addressed the Senate upon this question. The paper which is now the sole reporter for this body—the Globe—if I am correctly informed, circulates very extensively throughout the Union, and exchanges, perhaps, with seven tenths of the papers throughout the country. If that be the fact, all the information in regard to our proceedings which is necessary for the enlightenment of the country, can be found in that paper. It certainly cannot be for the purpose of enlightening the Senate, that it is proposed to add an additional reporter. Both the papers to which I have referred were engaged in this business. One of them, the Intelligencer, long since declined it; and the communication which has just been read shows that the other cannot sustain itself at the price paid, and avers that this service has never been the source of any pecuniary profit to the proprietor in the transaction of his business. With these facts before us, and with the heavy printing items which form a portion of the expenses of this body and of the other House, it seems to me that it is utterly useless to add a third paper to the list of reporters here. If the Senate pay any attention to the vast expenditure going on in this body and the other House, the cost of printing is a matter worthy of the consideration of the Senate. I have been at some pains to ascertain the amount of money paid annually by this body and by the House of Representatives for these purposes, and I will endeavor (without attempting to trespass too long on the attention of the Senate, for I have already occupied more of their time than I desired to do) to present some of these items. I will take as a basis the reporting for the Globe which is put down by a gentleman who I presume thoroughly understands this matter, and who bases it on statistics before him, as costing about \$17,372. That is the actual price, I believe, for the Thirty-Second Congress, assuming the Senate's debates to be equal to those of the House. That is based upon the assumption that the cost of reporting is \$4 74 per column, as stated in Mr. Rives's letter. Then the cost of the mere printing is stated in the calculation which I have before me at \$10,769. These two items make an aggregate of \$28,141, as the cost of reporting and printing in the Globe for a Congress, and that was the sum paid. The gentleman who made this statement says "the above statement is based on the number of columns the debates made for the Thirty-Second Congress, assuming that the Senate is equal to the House."

The Senate subscribes for seven hundred and forty-four copies of the Congressional Globe and Appendix, which, at nine dollars per Congress,

amounts to \$6,792. That, added to the total for reporting and publishing in the Daily Globe, makes \$34,937. I add to that \$10,500 for other items, and this would make a total of \$45,437 per Congress, for the debates of the Senate in the Globe. That is quite a large item. I exclude from this calculation the probable cost of paying the three papers, which it was at one time proposed to employ to publish the proceedings. I find that the total paid by the House of Representatives for the Thirty-Second Congress, for these purposes, was \$103,807 84. Of this sum \$31,995 was paid for the publication of the proceedings in the Daily Globe, and \$71,812 84 for the Congressional Globe and Appendix, making a total of \$103,807 84. The amount actually paid for books, during the Thirty-Second Congress, was \$384,000. I exclude from this calculation many books which have been paid for by the Senate, and by the other House. The work of Mr. Schoolcraft, and some other works, are not included in this calculation. Since the Senator notified me that he was about to call up this resolution, I have not had time to look into all the statistics; but the sum annually paid by this body and by the other branch of Congress, for the publication of books and for the reporting of the two Houses, as exhibited in the statement I have made, amounts to \$532,644.

Mr. WELLER. We pay more than \$200,000 a year in the State of California alone for our public printing.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. California is scarcely a fair example for the rest of the Union in matters of expenditure. In that State they deal in much larger figures, and on a much larger scale than we do in this part of the country. Now, without intending to be troublesome, or to obtrude my remarks on this body, and without the least hope of influencing any gentleman on this floor, I have deemed it my duty to submit these facts to the consideration of the Senate. I have endeavored to show them the vast amount of money annually expended, and to show that if the Sentinel be placed upon the list of reporters it certainly cannot maintain itself. The result will surely be that we shall be called upon, at the close of the session, to make additional compensation. That paper must incur serious loss in publishing our proceedings. Why the Intelligencer and Union, with their vast circulation, are to be excluded, and the Sentinel alone added to the list of reporters, is to me a mystery. If it be the settled determination of the Senate to place any one paper in this District on the footing on which it is now proposed to place the Sentinel, I hold it to be but fair that all the papers here should be placed on the same footing. But, sir, as I remarked before, I am not disposed to obtrude my views, which may perhaps be peculiar to myself, upon the consideration of this body; and if it is the sense of the Senate, that they will add the Sentinel, I am inclined to think the other papers should be placed upon the same footing. Whether they would undertake to perform the service or not I cannot say. We have the fact before us that one paper, which had a contract, relinquished that contract, and has not reported the proceedings of the Senate during the last two or three years, and the other has given up its contract within the last few days; and the proprietor of the only remaining paper, which does publish our proceedings, has stated, in the face of the Senate, that he cannot live at the prices now paid him. I leave the question for the Senate to determine.

Mr. JOHNSON. We have now but one paper which reports or prints the proceedings of this body, and that is the Globe. At present, we have no contract whatever with the Union, the Intelligencer, or the Sentinel. The proposition now before us is an entirely new one; it does not refer to reporting at all, but proposes to pay the Sentinel \$4 50 a column for printing our proceedings. I am not prepared to vote for that proposition when the other papers are not considered in reference to the matter, and when I know, and every one here must know, that if this were a fair and good business for them, and if the price proposed would afford a reasonable profit, they would all be demanding the work at that price. If we pursue this course of providing for each paper separately, we have to consider each case *seriatim*, and each requires as much time for its discussion as would be required to dispose of the whole question at once.

more to say in explanation of it. In the first place, this amendment should have no place in an appropriation bill. It provides that the marshals of the several southern districts of California shall have the same mileage and compensation for serving processes issued from the commission for judgment on land claims as are allowed to the marshals for serving similar processes issued from the district courts of California, and that the same mileage and per diem shall be made to witnesses as are allowed to witnesses by the State of California. Such a provision should have no place in an appropriation bill, and the Committee of Ways and Means accordingly recommend a non-concurrence therein.

Several MEMBERS. We will vote it down without any further explanation.

Mr. PHELPS. Very well; then I will say nothing more.

Mr. LETCHER. I shall vote against this amendment, for the reason that I want a general law passed upon the subject which will reach other cases as well as this. The last Congress passed a law regulating the fees of the district attorneys and marshals, and other officers in the Federal courts, and they have regulated them in such a way that every marshal in my State who has to go one hundred and fifty miles away from home cannot defray his expenses from his fees. Now, sir, I want a general law passed that will reach other cases besides this one. I do not want special legislation which will provide for the wants of California, or that will provide for the wants of Michigan, and not for those of the other States. Let a general law be passed, by which all these officers shall receive a reasonable compensation for their services.

Mr. McDUGALL. I desire to say a word.

The CHAIRMAN. No further discussion is in order, unless the gentleman offers an amendment.

Mr. McDUGALL. Is it not in order to show why the Senate amendment should be concurred in?

The CHAIRMAN. It is not, unless the gentleman offers an amendment.

Mr. McDUGALL. I move, then, to strike out the last word in the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, before the vote is taken, I desire to state one or two facts to the committee. We have a commission in California for the purpose of settling land claims in that State. The witnesses upon the part of the claimants are brought there by the interest of the claimants themselves; but the Government have an important duty to perform, in resisting unfounded and fraudulent claims. Witnesses, in many instances, must be brought from the extreme portions of the State. Now, under the present law, the fees of the marshals will not pay their traveling expenses.

Mr. LETCHER. Then let a general law be passed raising the fees of other marshals as well as yours.

Mr. McDUGALL. Why, sir, this commission is to last only until the 3d of March next; and if the officers of the Federal Government, whose duty it is to protect the interest of the Federal Government, are to perform that duty, you must furnish them with the necessary means. Now, sir, it is impossible to defend the Government against these claimants; they must have witnesses brought, and you must pay your marshals a compensation that will enable them to bring such witnesses as may be required. Now, sir, this is a subject which requires immediate attention. It will not do to wait the slow process of passing a general law. I said this commission is to expire in March next, and unless some provision is passed very soon, it will be too late. It will not do to wait until next winter for the passage of such a law. The Government have important interests to protect in preventing its lands from being taken by those who have no legitimate claim upon them. It is important that such measures should be taken as will prevent the Government from being robbed of its lands; and I hope this amendment will be concurred in.

Mr. LETCHER. If I understand correctly, the Federal officers in the State of California, for serving the process of this commission, get what the officers get for serving the process of the courts.

Mr. PHELPS. Double the amount.

Mr. LETCHER. It is, then, that much worse than I thought it was.

The question was taken; and the amendment of the Senate was non-concurred in.

The forty-third amendment of the Senate was next read by the Clerk, as follows:

That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, directed to examine the claims presented by certain counties of the late Territory of Iowa for expenses of the United States district court which were paid by said counties prior to the admission of said Territory into the Union as a State; and if, upon such examination, he is satisfied that, prior to said time, the said counties have paid money which, in accordance with the instructions of the First Comptroller of the Treasury, dated December 19, 1843, should have been paid by the marshal of the United States for said Territory, he is directed to audit and allow the same.

Mr. PHELPS. The Committee of Ways and Means propose the following as a substitute for that amendment:

That the First Comptroller of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, directed to examine the claims presented by certain counties of the late Territory of Iowa for expenses of the United States district court, which were paid by said counties prior to the admission of said Territory into the Union as a State; and if, upon such examination, he is satisfied that prior to said time the said counties have paid money which, in accordance with the instructions of the First Comptroller of the Treasury, dated 15th of December, 1843, as construed in the report of said First Comptroller to the Secretary of the Interior under date of 13th of October, 1853, in reference to said subject, should have been paid by the marshal of the United States for said Territory, he is directed to audit and settle the same.

The question was taken; and the substitute was adopted.

The amendment of the Senate, as amended, was then agreed to.

Mr. WHEELER. I move that the committee do now rise.

Mr. PHELPS. I would beg of the gentleman to withdraw his motion for a short time.

Mr. WHEELER. There does not seem to be any hurry about the public business. It was postponed lately for a week and better. I insist on my motion, and demand tellers on it.

Tellers were not ordered.

The question was then taken on Mr. WHEELER's motion; and, on a division, there were—ayes 34, noes 58; no quorum voting.

[Cries of "Call the roll!"]

The roll was called, and one hundred and seventeen members answered to their names, being less than a quorum.

The committee then rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, the Chairman (Mr. CHANDLER) reported that the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union had had the Union generally under consideration, and particularly the deficiency bill and the amendments of the Senate thereto, and finding itself without a quorum, had caused the roll to be called, and the names of the absentees to be noted, and had directed him to report the same to the House.

Mr. LETCHER. As there is no quorum here, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and thereupon (at twenty minutes before four o'clock, p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow at twelve o'clock, p. m.

IN SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, May 24, 1854.

Prayer by Rev. WILLIAM H. MILBURN.

The Journal of yesterday was read and approved.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Mr. SEWARD presented a petition of inhabitants of Jamestown, New York, and a petition of citizens of Wellsville, New York, praying a reduction in the rates of ocean postage; which were referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, three petitions of citizens of Niagara county, New York, and a petition of citizens of East Saganaw, Michigan, praying for the construction of a ship canal around the Falls of Niagara; which were referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Also, the following petitions, &c., against the passage of the bill for organizing the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas; which were ordered to lie on the table:

Petition of citizens of Brandon, Vermont;

Petition of ministers of the Gospel of New York, Massachusetts, and Vermont;

Petition of Stephen T. Wheeler, of Columbia county, New York;

Petition of clergymen of different denominations in the State of Michigan;

Petitions of citizens of Pennsylvania; and Petition of citizens of Livingston county, Michigan.

REPORT FROM A STANDING COMMITTEE.

Mr. SEBASTIAN, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to whom was referred a resolution of the Senate, directing that committee to inquire into the case of David Carter and Nancy Thornton, and, also, documents relating thereto, submitted a report on the subject; which was ordered to be printed.

AFRICANIZATION OF CUBA.

Mr. BENJAMIN. I desire to present resolutions of the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, which I ask may be read.

The resolutions were read. They declare that the Legislature of Louisiana view with regret and alarm the policy recently inaugurated by the Spanish Government in the Island of Cuba, the manifest object and effect of which must be the abolition of slavery in that colony, to the sacrifice of the white race, with its arts, commerce, and civilization, to a barbarous and inferior race; and also that the consummation of this policy will exercise a most pernicious influence upon the social, commercial, and political interests and institutions of the United States; and that the time has arrived when the Federal Government should adopt most decisive and energetic measures to thwart and defeat a policy conceived in hatred to this Republic, and calculated to retard its progress and prosperity.

Mr. BENJAMIN. I move that these resolutions be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, who have now this subject under consideration, and that they be printed. I do not desire to say a single word by way of discussion on this subject, nor to call upon me the reproof of the present occupant of the chair, [Mr. WHEELER], for bringing forward any matter of this kind at an improper moment before the Senate. I wish, however, to state that I agree with every word of these resolutions, both as regards their statement of the policy of this Government, and as to the facts which are now taking place in the Island of Cuba, and to express my regret that a gentleman so distinguished as the Senator from Delaware [Mr. CLAYTON] should call in question, as he did the day before yesterday, without better grounds to question than he could have had, the facts placed before the Senate and the country by my colleague, [Mr. SLIDELL.] I believe that the facts as stated by my colleague can be thoroughly substantiated. I am in possession of further facts and further evidence, which it is my intention to lay before the Senate, as soon as the Committee on Foreign Relations shall have made their report. With this simple statement I move the reference.

Mr. CLAYTON. I did not hear the first part of the honorable Senator's remarks; but I understand him now to say that he will be prepared, on some future occasion, to show us that the Spanish Government has a deliberate design to emancipate the slaves in Cuba, for the purpose of preventing us from either purchasing or taking the island by violence. Do I rightly understand the honorable Senator to mean so?

Mr. BENJAMIN. I do not pretend to say that I shall be able to make a mathematical demonstration of a proposition of that kind; but I think I shall be able to adduce such facts and such evidence as will satisfy every unprejudiced mind, so far as it can be satisfied on a political subject of this kind, that such is the intention of that Government.

Mr. CLAYTON. That it is their intention to emancipate those slaves now, at this time?

Mr. BENJAMIN. At the earliest possible moment, and now that the measures which have been taken are aimed at that very object, or, in other words, that the design is now in progress of execution.

Mr. CLAYTON. Then I understand the honorable Senator to say that it is now actually in progress of execution. Now, sir, I wish to say that I shall be most happy to be instructed on this subject; but I must express, at the same time, my perfect conviction that the honorable Senator will never be able to make out the facts he has stated. I have no belief in them, whatever; and the more I look into the matter, the more I inquire in regard to it, the more perfectly am I satisfied that it is not true that the Spanish Government intends to destroy this island, except in this con-

tingency: They will act precisely as you^{self} would act, or any other man might act, without being censured so much, who should find that a piratical vessel was about to seize his ship and crew. You might blow up your powder magazine in such a case as that, without incurring the censure of the world. That is all, in my opinion, which the Spanish Government contemplates. If they find that, from any quarter of this Union, there is a piratical expedition set on foot, with a view to take the island from them, and that there is a certainty that the island will be taken from their possession and custody by that means, they will blow up their powder magazine.

The Spanish Government has given us notice of that for many years back. It has never been concealed by them. They have declared over and over again, more than ten years ago, to the various gentlemen who occupied stations at the head of the State Department, that if such a thing as that should be done they would ruin the island, rather than permit us to take it in that manner. Now, then, let the honorable Senator understand just precisely the difference between us. If he brings proof forward for the purpose of showing that, he only brings forward proof to show what I concede; but I deny, from the evidence before me, that the honorable Senator can produce any proof whatever to show that the Spanish Government, in the present condition of affairs, intends to emancipate the slaves in Cuba, or, to use the honorable Senator's own language, that such a scheme as that is in progress of execution.

Mr. GWIN. Mr. President, I did not hear the remarks of the honorable Senator from Louisiana, but if I understand them as commented on by the Senator from Delaware, he made a statement that the Spanish Government has it in contemplation to set free the negroes in Cuba in the event of an invasion of that island, or an insurrection on the island.

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir; that was not his statement.

Mr. GWIN. If it is denied that it is in contemplation by the Spanish Government to set the negroes there free, in the event of an insurrection, I undertake to say that it can be readily established.

Mr. CLAYTON. The honorable Senator will please not to understand me as denying any such thing as that. I have not said that, in the event of an insurrection in the island, an insurrection which should take the government of the country out of the hands of Spain, her civil authorities in the island might not proceed to this extremity. I have not denied that; I have not said that would not be done. What I have said is, that the position taken by the honorable Senator from Louisiana, in my humble judgment, cannot be substantiated, and that position is, that there is, at this time, in progress of execution, a scheme to emancipate the slaves in Cuba.

Mr. GWIN. For several years back, on my way to take my seat in the Senate, I have stopped in Havana, and I was distinctly informed, and papers were shown to me in which the threat was held out to the inhabitants of that island by the authorities, that if they did attempt an insurrection, the negroes would be turned loose upon them. This has been known to be the policy of that Government, and it has deterred the inhabitants of the island from resisting the oppression under which they have been groaning for years. They have been deterred by the apprehension that their negroes would be turned loose upon them, and armed for the purpose of a servile insurrection, in the event of a revolution in the island. I have not a solitary doubt that there is, and has been for years, a power reposed in the authorities there, by Spain, to free every negro on the island, and arm them in case of a revolution.

Mr. BENJAMIN. I said before that I do not wish to enter into the discussion of this subject, and I am very loth to be drawn into saying anything on a matter which I consider now to be properly before the Committee on Foreign Relations of this body. But I am surprised, sir, in view of the recent developments, in view of the information which has just reached us from Cuba, that a gentleman of the experience of the Senator from Delaware, can say he, unhesitatingly expresses his disbelief in the assertions which have been repeatedly made by different Senators upon this floor.

Now, sir, those of us who are aware of the system by which the Island of Cuba is now governed—those of us who are aware of the fact, that there is not a single inhabitant of that island who is allowed to have a pointed knife in his family—those of us who are aware of the system of espionage which now prevails in the island—those of us who are aware of the threats that have been repeatedly made by the Captain General of the island, that at the first indication of an attempt on the part of the people to recover their freedom, their own slaves shall be armed against them—and those of us who have followed up these indications and these facts, and who are aware of the system, by which the registry of slaves upon the island is conducted, and who have looked at the late proclamation of the Captain General in relation to the registry, who can see the fact that that proclamation will produce a change in the status of the black population of that island, can by no possibility entertain a doubt of the scheme which has been deliberately formed, and which, I repeat, is now in progress of execution upon the island.

Sir, we all know, or at least those of us who have paid any attention to that subject know, that for a long series of years past, by reason of the very heavy duties which have been imposed upon the transfer of slaves from one proprietor to another, these slaves have passed from hand to hand by parol. The money has been given, and the slave thus passed to a new owner. According to a recent proclamation, every slave in the possession of an individual who cannot show a registered title to him, is to be made free now upon the spot. If I am not misinformed, nearly one fourth of those who are really slaves upon the island will be made free, under the operation of this proclamation. There, sir, is the very first step towards what the Legislature of Louisiana has termed the Africanization of the Island of Cuba. This is the last piece of information that has come to us from that island.

In addition to this, we have the statements made by the honorable Senator himself the other morning, in which he assured us that for a series of years past the black population of the island has been increasing in a rapid ratio. Now, every one of these slaves in fact—not, I believe, slaves legally, according to the institutions and laws of Cuba, but slaves now in fact—are to be set free. All those who are actually slaves, but who have been passed from hand to hand, without the formality of a notarial seal, will also be set free under this proclamation in relation to registration. These will form a body of black troops to assist the Spanish troops against the white population of the island.

My colleague, in the speech which he made a short time ago, that attracted so much attention in the country, demonstrated to the Senate that the intention of the British Government—and it has been fully shown in its correspondence and negotiations with the Spanish Government—is to induce the latter Government to consider the blacks and whites, upon the island, as one common population, to be taken care of, and protected by one common set of regulations applicable to both classes of the population.

I shall not go further into this subject now, sir; but I refer to these facts for the purpose of showing that this is not an idle apprehension, that it is not one without foundation; and when the discussion comes up I think we shall be able to show the Senator such facts and such proofs as will shake even his well-formed conviction to the contrary.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I rise to ask what is the pending question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. WELLER in the chair.) The question is on referring the resolutions which have been presented by the Senator from Louisiana to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. HUNTER. I hope the question will be taken without further debate. It will be much better to have the debate come up on the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I rise to express the hope that this debate will not be continued. I do not think that the discussion at this time, under the circumstances, is calculated to lead to any valuable result.

Mr. CLAYTON. Mr. President, I said before, that I did not propose at this time to go ex-

tensively into the discussion of this subject; but I know that the remarks made from so distinguished a source as my honorable friend from Louisiana, will be calculated to make a deep impression upon the minds of the American people; and as I do verily believe that that impression will be erroneous, it is my duty to arrest it now. It is my duty, so far as I have light and knowledge, to explain the transactions in which the honorable Senator has referred, and which he thinks are conclusive evidence of a design now to emancipate the slaves in Cuba.

Sir, I do not stand here now—I have never stood here or anywhere—as the apologist for the oppressions or exactions of the Spanish Government, or its corruptions. I know as much, perhaps, on that subject as most gentlemen here; and whenever it shall become the interest of my country to expose them, I will do it fully. Sir, it is all important that the Senate of the United States should not be misled on this subject; but that, when we do strike, we should strike justly, that we should not misconceive either our own position or that of a foreign Government.

I say again that I deny that my honorable friend can show a tittle of evidence to justify the assertion that Spain intends now to emancipate the slaves in Cuba, and that such a scheme is in progress of execution. Now is the time that the true and just impression should go forth to the American people. Sir, there are those at the other end of the avenue whose duty it is to investigate this subject, and who will be under a fearful responsibility both to God and to their country, if they suffer a wrong opinion on this subject to go forth, and the minds of the American people to be poisoned with untruth in regard to it. I will do this with the honorable Senator, knowing nothing, of my own knowledge, of the opinions of the Secretary of State on this subject. I will risk the whole issue upon the opinion he will give the Senate of the United States or the country about it. If he will say to me, or to the Senate of the United States, that he believes this story, I will yield up my convictions. I do not believe that he credits the story at all, and I cannot think that the President and the Cabinet credit it. They are the proper persons to investigate the matter. They have time to do it. We here on this floor can make declarations which will inflame the public mind. The people, supposing that we understand the matter, will take our statements as correct, when perhaps we are not so thoroughly acquainted with the subject as those gentlemen at the other end of the avenue, whose duty it is to acquire light and give it to the people. I wish to wait for them. I wish the State Department to give up all its secrets upon this subject, and with that very view I moved, in the Committee on Foreign Relations, the resolution which my honorable friend, the chairman, [Mr. Mason,] introduced yesterday, and which was adopted, calling on the State Department for the information that will give us light on the subject.

With regard to the fact that slaves have increased within a few years past in the Island of Cuba, I explained the reason the day before yesterday, in a short speech to the Senate. I showed that our own countrymen were the men who had thus far Africanized Cuba, by building slavers and sending them and selling them at Havana, and navigating the vessels to the coast of Africa.

I think my honorable friend is mistaken in regard to the numbers. I have not yet learned of more than five thousand being imported there within the last sixteen months, though there may be, and probably there are many more. I have been apprised of the cases of the vessels, called the Jasper, the Silenas, the General de Kalb, and the Lady Suffolk, notorious piratical slavers. There are doubtless many others, but I cannot believe that anything like a hundred thousand, or one half, or one fourth of that number has been imported into Cuba. But here lies the mischief, towards which the attention of the American Senate ought to be drawn. If we are ever to have this island, and I have expressed the opinion and entertained it for many years back, that it will one day be ours, how I do not pretend to say, we are deeply interested in having this business of introducing negroes and free negroes from Africa stopped. The most effective way of stopping it, is by stopping the slave trade with our own vessels.

There is the place to strike. That is the spot at which I propose to strike; and desire Congress to strike.

But, sir, the negroes brought from Africa are detected by the very means to which my honorable friend has alluded—by the registries of the true slaves, the real native-born slaves, on every estate. The police officers visit the estate, and, by calling the roll, and examining the negroes, detect whether there are any recent importations. If so, they declare them free, and they are bound to declare them free, under the treaties which Spain has made with foreign Governments. Then I explained further, that they apprenticed these slaves for one year, merely for the purpose of enabling these miserable creatures to live. They are unable to procure their own subsistence. They are utterly ignorant. They cannot speak a word of any language in which they can be understood, and nobody can understand them. They know not how to labor, and they would starve if they were not apprenticed.

Well, for the purpose of preserving the existence of these wretched beings, the local authorities in Cuba have been compelled to apprentice them for a year. It is my opinion that, at this very moment, these negroes are felt to be a great evil by the Spanish authorities in Cuba, and they would gladly get rid of them, but they cannot. They would probably be very thankful to us if we would take them away.

But, sir, my honorable friend, in the indulgence of his imagination, tells us that he thinks these negroes will be enlisted, and form a black corps of soldiers for the purpose of preventing any attack made on the island, or any insurrection in the island. Now, sir, I would ask you, (Mr. WELLER in the chair,) who have been somewhat of a military man, and who have acquired some military knowledge, to tell me what sort of soldiers these would make? They are wild negroes from Africa, who have not been in the country a year. Would they not make a splendid regiment? I should like to know how you or anybody else would proceed to drill them, and make them stand up in a fight.

Sir, I lament, I lament deeply, that the impression has gone abroad, and from such distinguished sources, that this evil is in progress of execution. May we not wait until our own Government, until the President has spoken on the subject? I shall now close what I have to say to-day, with the repetition of the expression, that I am willing to yield up the whole subject if you will show me that the American Secretary of State, or any other man who ever was in that office, acting under the high responsibilities of that position, will say to the Senate and the world, that he believes this story of the emancipation of the slaves in Cuba.

Mr. SEWARD. Mr. President, when this subject was introduced to the Senate two or three weeks since, by the honorable Senator from Louisiana, (Mr. SLIDELL,) I thought a very general desire was manifested by all parties to have it referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations unembarrassed by discussion previous to its reference; though the consent given to the reference, without protest, would convey the idea that the Senate generally admitted there was grave cause for such an inquiry. But since that time other resolutions of inquiry have been introduced upon the subject, and led to more or less debate; and to-day the resolutions of the State of Louisiana have been presented to us. I certainly agree with the honorable Senator from Louisiana, (Mr. BENJAMIN,) that the most appropriate time to discuss the matter will be when the committee shall have made a report.

The discussion of this subject by those who entertain apprehensions for the peace of the country, going out from this place without opposition, except so far as it was made by the Senator from Delaware, is calculated to produce very serious effects. It produces alarm in mercantile circles, certainly premature and unnecessary now, even if it be not without sufficient cause. There is no necessity for Senators to give way to their imaginations, until the grounds for their fears have been exhibited by the Committee on Foreign Relations or the Executive authority.

For one, whenever a crisis in Cuba may come, I shall be prepared to meet it; but it is impossible for me to see that the circumstances alluded to by the honorable Senator from Louisiana form any

ground for apprehending that a crisis is at hand. I do not now look merely at the facts relied upon by the Senator from Louisiana; but I look at the condition of Spain, at the condition of the United States, and of the European nations, and I see nothing to warrant any such apprehension. For ourselves, we have a claim unsettled against Spain; and we are expecting the answer of the Spanish Government to that claim. We are expecting the arrival of an officer prepared to treat on that subject and on all subjects whatever. Why should Spain, deriving \$1,000,000 income from Cuba, desire to renounce it? Why should she bury in the ocean her colony in America, the last relic of the New World given to her by Columbus? Her exigencies are as great now as in former times. Then, it is supposed that the British Government is concerned in this movement. Sir, I entertain no doubt that it may be safely said that if Great Britain occupies any position in regard to this question now, it is a position which inclines her to prevent the extremities which are dreaded by the honorable Senators from Louisiana. Engaged in a war which is almost certain to become a continental war in Europe, which is to be a short war only in the case that Austria and Prussia shall join their standards to those of Great Britain and France, and which is to be an interminable war, a ruinous and disastrous war, in the other event, it seems to me that Great Britain is now under bonds to keep the peace with our Government on this question. I see no reason, therefore, to impair the confidence of the commercial part of the community, and spread over them the dread of evils which may never come.

I hope, then, that this question may rest in tranquillity for the present. It strikes me that it is calculated to produce apprehensions in this country in relation to our claims on Spain, on Europe, and on the nations of the world; for we know, and the world knows, that this is regarded by some as the favored time to strike at the interests of Spain in Cuba, and at the interests of Great Britain.

If this question is one of the rising of the inhabitants of Cuba to assert their liberty, that is one thing. I shall desire to know from the Committee on Foreign Relations, when they do report on this subject, on what ground, and to what extent they propose to intervene. If they propose to exert the influence of this country, as it has heretofore been exerted, in favor of efforts for constitutional freedom, that will be one question; but if they propose to control, interfere with, or direct, or supervise, the local matters of Cuba, then, for one, I am decidedly against any such intervention. I have no doubt that the general popular sentiment, and any action that may be adopted on this subject, will turn upon the question whether what is proposed is a simple and moral influence felt, and necessary and justly excited in favor of freedom, or an attempted regulation and control of the Government of Spain in Cuba, in its lawful exercise of a right to meliorate the condition of its people.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I move to postpone all prior orders—

Mr. MASON. Let the resolutions be referred. The PRESIDING OFFICER, (Mr. WELLER in the chair.) If there be no objection the resolutions will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

There was no objection.

NEBRASKA AND KANSAS.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I move to postpone all prior orders for the purpose of having the Nebraska and Kansas bill read a second time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will now have its second reading.

It was accordingly read a second time by its title: "A bill to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is now under consideration as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I have no desire to engage in any debate upon the bill. It is sufficient to state that it is precisely the bill which passed the Senate some time ago, with the exception of the amendment adopted upon the motion of the Senator from Delaware, (Mr. CLAYTON.) It being the Senate bill, with that isolated exception, it presents no new issue, no new question, and I

therefore ask that the Senate may proceed to vote upon it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no proposition to amend, the bill will be reported to the Senate.

Mr. PEARCE. I desire to renew the amendment which was offered by my friend from Delaware, when the Senate bill was under our consideration. It is to amend the proviso which is in the fifth section, as follows:

Provided, That the right of suffrage and of holding office shall be exercised only by citizens of the United States, and those who have declared on oath their intention to become such, and shall have taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and the provisions of this act.

—by striking out the words:

"And those who shall have declared on oath their intention to become such, and shall have taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and the provisions of this act."

Mr. PEARCE. Mr. President, my object in moving the amendment is obvious. I did not hear the debate in the Senate on the night when the amendment of the Senator from Delaware was adopted; but I take it for granted that the reason for that amendment was the conviction, on the part of the majority of the Senate, that the elective franchise should be conferred, within the Territories, upon citizens of the United States only. For my own part, I cannot conceive any reason why this privilege, which peculiarly belongs to citizenship, should be extended to those who are not citizens. It is a part of political sovereignty. It seems to me to be the essential duty of a citizen, but of no one else, to exercise that power. It is at war with the principles of all government, it seems to me, to confer upon those who are not citizens, the power to control the Government through the right of suffrage. That right belongs only to those who are members of the body-politic, and no foreigner can be so until he has, by naturalization, entered into the compact which constitutes him one of the political community.

I admit that the legislation of the country has been somewhat irregular in this particular. I know that that irregularity dates from a very early period of our history. I know, for example, that in the ordinance of 1787, which organized the Northwest Territory, we provided that when there were five thousand male inhabitants over twenty-one years of age, they should have a legislative government, and that the right of suffrage should be committed to those who were citizens of one of the United States, and had certain property qualifications, or to those who had resided two years in the district and had certain larger property qualifications. But there was a manifest reason for that which does not apply now. At that time we had no Federal Government, no Constitution of the United States. There was no such thing as a citizen of the United States. The right was confined to the citizens of one of the United States; and it was manifest that, as there was no general power under the Confederation to constitute citizens of the United States, a man might have resided in the Territory for an indefinite period without acquiring citizenship in the Territory by virtue of any law of naturalization. The only citizens then known to the law were citizens of the respective States of the Confederation. Well, sir, inasmuch as a man who resided in that Territory for any length of time could not thereby become a citizen of the United States, and there was no power to make him such, it seemed to be somewhat reasonable that the right of voting should be given, in that case, to all the residents in the Territory under the condition prescribed by the ordinance which supposed them to be assimilated in interest and feeling with those who were citizens of one of the United States; a freehold to the amount of fifty acres, and a residence in the district of two years, I think, was the requisition in this case.

That provision was successively extended to the different Territories organized out of the Northwestern Territory. It was extended, I believe, also, to the Territories southwest of the Ohio, not in precise terms, in *totidem verbis*, but by a general provision, that the inhabitants of the Southwestern Territory should be entitled to all the rights, liberties, and advantages which, by the ordinance, were given to those in the Northwestern Territory. Some similar provision was introduced into the