

Not content with controlling the bodies of human beings, they swayed and controlled their souls. Christians in a Christian land, forgetting the time when in the innocence of youth they had sat on their mother's knees and heard the sweet story of old, how Jesus came down among men, sealed away the revelation of God from millions of immortal souls. For black men to read, or for white men to teach the oracles of God, became by law a crime. Laws were enacted by legislatures over whose diurnal sessions a minister of the omnipotent God was called to invoke His blessing and His presence in their deliberations, forbidding the full Gospel of Christ to be preached, because that was truth, and truth would make men free. Nothing that had an element of freedom in it, nothing that had an element of truth, could be told these people.

Finally came the necessity for slavery, that if it would progress it must be allowed an unlimited expansion of territory. By its peculiar method of agriculture it wears out the land, and thus an unlimited expansion of territory became necessary, if slavery was to be maintained in this country. Texas was added to the Union. Various compromises with regard to the western territory were made and finally broken. The honor, the manhood, the integrity of the North and West went down before the consolidated union of slavery and democracy. The 25,000,000 of the free white men of the North and West were forced to bow their necks to the yoke of slavery more submissively than the black man ever did. The slaveholders had but to ask and they received; in larger measure than they asked was it granted unto them. The anomaly has been shown for more than half a century in the legislation of this country, that half a million of men have controlled over twenty-five millions. Insult upon insult was heaped upon the loyal North and quietly endured.

South Carolina made a law that black men brought into her ports in vessels should be confined in jail so long as they remained there. The State of Massachusetts, desiring to try the constitutionality of the South Carolina law, in South Carolina courts, so far as it affected citizens of Massachusetts, sent one of her most distinguished citizens, an old grey-headed man, prominent for his uprightness and his integrity, to test in a South Carolina court the constitutionality of South Carolina law. His daughter being in delicate health, Judge Hoar took her with him. When they arrived in Charleston, the chivalrous, upright citizens of that city, men of education, slaveowners, learning their mission, waited upon that old man and his invalid daughter and prayed him that he would leave their city, or the citizens would tar and feather him. Not being protected in a State of the United States, under a Consti-

tution which protects every citizen of one State wherever he goes, the Massachusetts judge had to go back to his home, unable to try a question of State law in a State court, because that question involved the right of black men.

To please the slaveholding interest, the Southern States would not allow that question to be tried. To please them, the North and West passed the fugitive slave law, making the soil of every northern and western State ground for slave-hunting. It was an outrage unparalleled to ask a South Carolina court to listen to a protest in favor of the black man; but it was right and just that the free States of the North should be hunted over to take a black man back into slavery. Circumstances alter cases. I remember on one occasion, in Boston, being myself witness—

Mr. BERRY, of Prince George's. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question? Were you in favor of carrying out the fugitive slave law?

Mr. CUSHING. I shall come to that in a moment. I remember being in the city of Boston, some ten years ago, then a boy, born in Maryland, with all her prejudices, with an immature judgment, as possibly the gentleman may think it is now, and being a strong pro-slavery believer. I stood in the streets of Boston and saw a black man, who had come hundreds of miles for freedom, who had endured all that humanity could endure, solely to breathe the free air of the North. I saw in that old Puritan city all the wheels of commerce, and the delicate interweavings of finance stop upon a summer's day, in June, that this black man might be carried by 1,500 free citizens of Massachusetts, under the authority of the Federal Government, down her principal banking street—this one black man—out upon the wharf, that he might sail into slavery. Pro-slavery man that I was, as the Lord lives, had I been that day a Massachusetts man, and had my life paid the forfeit the next moment, I would not have stood by and seen upon the soil of Massachusetts that man rendered back to slavery. [Applause, promptly suppressed by the President.] It was an outrage upon all the history of this land. I thought it was a bitter thing for those old Puritan men who slept under the sod, men that had left their homes and had come in the bleak winter across the stormy sea, solely that they might breathe freedom, that in the city which they had built under their free government, which they had given to their sons, its citizens turned out with alacrity to shoulder the bayonet of despotism and send back a free man escaping from the condition of slavery.

A MEMBER. Was that the Burns case?

Mr. CUSHING. Yes, sir. Time passed on; and willing as the North had been under the teachings of Democracy to join the slave-