

PUNISHMENTS.

I. FLOGGINGS.

The slaves are terribly lacerated with whips, paddles, &c.; red pepper and salt are rubbed into their mangled flesh; hot brine and turpentine are poured into their gashes; and innumerable other tortures inflicted upon them.

We will in the first place, prove by a cloud of witnesses, that the slaves are whipped with such inhuman severity, as to lacerate and mangle their flesh in the most shocking manner, leaving permanent scars and ridges; after establishing this, we will present a mass of testimony, concerning a great variety of other tortures. The testimony, for the most part, will be that of the slaveholders themselves, and in their own chosen words. A large portion of it will be taken from the advertisements, which they have published in their own newspapers, describing by the

scars on their bodies made by the whip, their own runaway slaves. To copy these advertisements *entire* would require a great amount of space, and flood the reader with a vast mass of matter irrelevant to the *point* before us; we shall therefore insert only so much of each, as will intelligibly set forth the precise point under consideration. In the column under the word "witnesses," will be found the name of the individual, who signs the advertisement, or for whom it is signed, with his or her place of residence, and the name and date of the paper, in which it appeared, and generally the name of the place where it is published. Opposite the name of each witness will be an extract, from the advertisement, containing his or her testimony.

WITNESSES.

Mr. D. Judd, jailor, Davidson Co., Tennessee, in the "Nashville Banner," Dec. 10th, 1838.

Mr. Robert Nicoll, Dauphin st. between Emmanuel and Conception st's, Mobile, Alabama, in the "Mobile Commercial Advertiser."

Mr. Bryant Johnson, Fort Valley, Houston Co., Georgia, in the "Standard of Union," Milledgeville Ga. Oct. 2, 1838.

Mr. James T. De Jarnett, Vernon, Autauga Co., Alabama, in the "Pensacola Gazette," July, 14, 1838.

TESTIMONY.

"Committed to jail as a runaway, a negro woman named Martha, 17 or 18 years of age, has numerous scars of the whip on her back."

"Ten dollars reward for my woman Siby, very much scarred about the neck and ears by whipping."

"Runaway, a negro woman, named Maria, some scars on her back occasioned by the whip."

"Stolen a negro woman, named Celia. On examining her back you will find marks caused by the whip."

WITNESSES.

TESTIMONY.

Maurice Y. Garcia, Sheriff of the County of Jefferson, La., in the "New Orleans Bee," August, 14, 1838.

R. J. Bland, Sheriff of Claiborne Co., Miss., in the "Charleston (S.C.) Courier," August, 23, 1838.

Mr. James Noe, Red River Landing, La., in the "Sentinel," Vicksburg, Miss., August 22, 1837.

William Craze, jailor, Alexandria, La. in the "Planter's Intelligencer," Sept. 26, 1838.

John A. Rowland, jailor, Lumberton, North Carolina, in the "Fayetteville (N.C.) Observer," June 20, 1838.

J. K. Roberts, sheriff, Blount county, Ala., in the "Huntsville Democrat," Dec. 9, 1838.

Mr. H. Varillat, No. 23 Girod street, New Orleans—in the "Commercial Bulletin," August 27, 1838.

Mr. Cornelius D. Tolin, Augusta, Ga., in the "Chronicle and Sentinel," Oct. 12, 1838.

W. H. Brasseale, sheriff, Blount county, Ala., in the "Huntsville Democrat," June 9, 1838.

Mr. Robert Beasley, Macon, Ga., in the "Georgia Messenger," July 27, 1837.

Mr. John Wotton, Rockville, Montgomery county, Maryland, in the "Baltimore Republican," Jan. 13, 1838.

D. S. Bennett, sheriff, Natchitoches, La., in the "Herald," July 21, 1838.

Messrs. C. C. Whitehead, and R. A. Evans, Marion, Georgia, in the "Milledgeville (Ga.) Standard of Union," June 26, 1838.

Mr. Samuel Stewart, Greensboro', Ala., in the "Southern Advocate," Huntsville, Jan. 6, 1838.

Mr. John Walker, No. 6, Banks' Arcade, New Orleans, in the "Bulletin," August 11, 1838.

Mr. Jesse Beene, Cahawba, Ala., in the "State Intelligencer," Tuscaloosa, Dec. 25, 1837.

Mr. John Turner, Thomaston, Upson county, Georgia—in the "Standard of Union," Milledgeville, June 26, 1838.

James Derrah, deputy sheriff, Claiborne county, Miss., in the "Port Gibson Correspondent," April 15, 1837.

S. B. Murphy, sheriff, Wilkinson county, Georgia—in the "Milledgeville Journal," May 15, 1838.

Mr. L. E. Cooner, Branchville Orangeburgh District, South Carolina—in the Macon "Messenger," May 25, 1837.

John H. Hand, jailor, parish of West Feliciana, La., in the St. "Francisville Journal," July 6, 1837.

The preceding are extracts from advertisements published in southern papers, mostly in the year 1838. They are the mere samples of hundreds of similar ones published during the same period, with which, as the preceding are quite sufficient to show the commonness of inhuman

"Lodged in jail, a mulatto boy, *having large marks of the whip*, on his shoulders and other parts of his body."

"Was committed a negro boy, named Tom, is *much marked with the whip*."

"Ranaway, a negro fellow named Dick—has *many scars* on his back from being *whipped*."

"Committed to jail, a negro slave—his back is *very badly scarred*."

"Committed, a mulatto fellow—his back shows *lasting impressions of the whip*, and leaves no doubt of his being a *SLAVE*."

"Committed to jail, a negro man—his back *much marked* by the whip."

"Ranaway, the negro slave named Jupiter—has a *fresh mark* of a cowskinn on one of his checks."

"Ranaway, a negro man named Johnson—he has a *great many marks of the whip* on his back."

"Committed to jail, a negro slave named James—*much scarred* with a whip on his back."

"Ranaway, my man Fountain—he is marked *on the back with the whip*."

"Ranaway, Bill—has *several LARGE SCARS* on his back from a *severe whipping* in *early life*."

"Committed to jail, a negro boy who calls himself Joe—said negro bears *marks of the whip*."

"Ranaway, negro fellow John—from being whipped, has *scars on his back, arms, and thighs*."

"Ranaway, a boy named Jim—with the marks of the *whip* on the small of the back, reaching round to the flank."

"Ranaway, the mulatto boy Quash—*considerably marked* on the back and other places with the lash."

"Ranaway, my negro man Billy—he has the *marks of the whip*."

"Left, my negro man named George—has *marks of the whip very plain* on his thighs."

"Committed to jail, negro man Toy—he has been *badly whipped*."

"Brought to jail, a negro man named George—he has a *great many scars from the lash*."

"One hundred dollars reward, for my negro Glasgow, and Kate, his wife. Glasgow is 24 years old—has *marks of the whip* on his back. Kate is 26—has a *scar* on her cheek, and *several marks of a whip*."

"Committed to jail, a negro boy named John, about 17 years old—his back *badly marked* with the *whip*, his upper lip and chin *severely bruised*."

floggings in the slave states, we need not burden the reader.

The foregoing testimony is, as the reader perceives, that of the slaveholders themselves, voluntarily certifying to the outrages which their own hands have committed upon defenceless and innocent men and women, over whom they have assumed authority. We have given to *their* testimony precedence over that of all other witnesses, for the reason that when men testify against *themselves* they are under no temptation to exaggerate.

We will now present the testimony of a large number of individuals, with their names and residences, of persons who witnessed the inflictions to which they testify. Many of them have been slaveholders, and *all* residents for longer or shorter periods in slave states.

REV. JOHN H. CURTIS, a native of Keep Creek, Norfolk county, Virginia, now a local preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Portage co., Ohio, testifies as follows:—

"In 1829 or 30, one of my father's slaves was accused of taking the key to the office and stealing four or five dollars: he denied it. A constable by the name of Hull was called; he took the negro, very deliberately tied his hands, and whipped him till the blood ran freely down his legs. By this time Hull appeared tired, and stopped; he then took a rope, put a slip noose around his neck, and told the negro he was going to *kill* him, at the same time drew the rope and began whipping: the negro fell; his cheeks looked as though they would burst with strangulation. Hull whipped and kicked him, till I really thought he was going to kill him; when he ceased, the negro was in a complete gore of blood from head to foot."

MR. DAVID HANLEY, a class-leader in the Methodist Church, at St. Alban's, Licking county, Ohio, who moved from Kentucky to Ohio in 1831, testifies as follows:—

"In the year 1821 or 2, I saw a slave hung for killing his master. The master had whipped the slave's mother to death, and, locking him in a room, threatened him with the same fate; and, cowhide in hand, had begun the work, when the slave joined battle and slew the master."

SAMUEL ELLISON, a member of the Society of Friends, formerly of Southampton county, Virginia, now of Marlborough, Stark county, Ohio, gives the following testimony:—

"While a resident of Southampton county, Virginia, I knew two men, after having been severely treated, endeavor to make their escape. In this they failed—were taken, tied to trees, and whipped to death by their overseer. I lived a mile from the negro quarters, and, at that distance, could frequently hear the screams of the poor creatures when beaten, and could also hear the blows given by the overseer with some heavy instrument."

Major HORACE NYE, of Putnam, Ohio, gives

the following testimony of Mr. Wm. Armstrong of that place, a captain and supercargo of boats descending the Mississippi river:—

"At Bayou Sarah, I saw a slave *staked* out with his face to the ground, and whipped with a large whip, which laid open the flesh for about two and a half inches *every stroke*. I staid about five minutes, but could stand it no longer, and left them *whipping*."

MR. STEPHEN E. MALTBY, inspector of provisions Skencateles, New York, who has resided in Alabama, speaking of the condition of the slaves, says:—

"I have seen them cruelly whipped. I will relate one instance. One Sabbath morning, before I got out of my bed, I heard an outcry, and got up and went to the window, when I saw some six or eight boys, from eight to twelve years of age, near a rack (made for tying horses) on the public square. A man on horseback rode up, got off his horse, took a cord from his pocket, *tied one of the boys by the thumbs* to the rack, and with his horsewhip lashed him most severely. He then untied him and rode off without saying a word.

"It was a general practice, while I was at Huntsville, Alabama, to have a patrol every night; and, to my knowledge, this patrol was in the habit of traversing the streets with cow-skins, and if they found any slaves out after eight o'clock without a pass, to whip them until they were out of reach, or to confine them until morning."

MR. J. G. BALDWIN, of Middletown, Connecticut, a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church gives the following testimony:—

"I traveled at the south in 1827: when near Charlotte, N. C. a free colored man fell into the road just ahead of me, and went on peaceably.—When passing a public-house, the landlord ran out with a large cudgel, and applied it to the head and shoulders of the man with such force as to shatter it in pieces. When the reason of his conduct was asked, he replied, that he owned slaves, and he would not permit free blacks to come into his neighborhood.

"Not long after, I stopped at a public-house near Halifax, N. C., between nine and ten o'clock P. M., to stay over night. A slave sat upon a bench in the bar-room asleep. The master came in, seized a large horsewhip, and, without any warning or apparent provocation, laid it over the face and eyes of the slave. The master cursed, swore, and swung his lash—the slave cowered and trembled, but said not a word. Upon inquiry the next morning, I ascertained that the only offence was falling asleep, and this too in consequence of having been up nearly all the previous night, in attendance upon company."

REV. JOSEPH M. SADD, of Castile, N. Y., who has lately left Missouri, where he was pastor of a church for some years, says:—

"In one case, near where we lived, a runaway slave, when brought back, was most cruelly beaten—bathed in the *usual liquid*—laid in the sun, and a physician employed to heal his wounds:—then the same process of punishment and healing

was repeated, and repeated again, and then the poor creature was sold for the New Orleans market. This account we had from the physician himself."

Mr. ABRAHAM BELL, of Poughkeepsie, New York, a member of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, was employed, in 1837 and 38, in leveling and grading for a rail-road in the state of Georgia: he had under his direction, during the whole time, thirty slaves. Mr. B. gives the following testimony:—

"All the slaves had their backs scarred, from the oft-repeated whippings they had received."

Mr. ALONZO BARNARD, of Farmington, Ohio, who was in Mississippi in 1837 and 8, says:—

"The slaves were often severely whipped. I saw one woman very severely whipped for accidentally cutting up a stalk of cotton.* When they were whipped they were commonly held down by four men: if these could not confine them, they were fastened by stakes driven firmly into the ground, and then lashed often so as to draw blood at each blow. I saw one woman who had lately been delivered of a child in consequence of cruel treatment."

Rev. H. LYMAN, late pastor of the Free Presbyterian Church at Buffalo, N. Y. says:—

"There was a steam cotton press, in the vicinity of my boarding-house at New Orleans, which was driven night and day, without intermission. My curiosity led me to look at the interior of the establishment. There I saw several slaves engaged in rolling cotton bags, fastening ropes, lading carts, &c.

"The presiding genius of the place was a driver, who held a rope four feet long in his hand, which he wielded with cruel dexterity. He used it in single blows, just as the men were lifting to tight on the bale cords. It seemed to me that he was desirous to edify me with a specimen of his authority; at any rate the cruelty was horrible."

Mr. JOHN VANCE, a member of the Baptist Church, in St. Albans, Licking county, Ohio, who moved from Culpepper county, Va., his native state, in 1814, testifies as follows:—

"In 1826, I saw a woman by the name of Mallix, flog her female slave with a horse-whip so horribly that she was washed in salt and water several days, to keep her bruises from mortifying.

"In 1811, I was returning from mill, in Shenandoah county, when I heard the cry of murder, in the field of a man named Painter. I rode to the place to see what was going on. Two men, by the names of John Morgan and Michael Siglar, had heard the cry and came running to the place. I saw Painter beating a negro with a tremendous club, or small handspike, swearing he would kill him; but he was rescued by Morgan and Siglar. I learned that Painter had commenced flogging the slave for not getting to work

* Mr. Cornelius Johnson, of Farmington, Ohio, was also a witness to this inhuman outrage upon an unprotected woman, for the unintentional destruction of a stalk of cotton! In his testimony he is more particular, and says, that the number of lashes inflicted upon her by the overseer was "ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY:"

soon enough. He had escaped, and taken refuge under a pile of rails that were on some timbers up a little from the ground. The master had put fire to one end, and stood at the other with his club, to kill him as he came out. The pile was still burning. Painter said he was a turbulent fellow and he would kill him. The apprehension of V. was TALKED ABOUT, but, as a compromise, the negro was sold to another man."

EXTRACT FROM THE PUBLISHED JOURNAL OF THE LATE WM. SAVERY, of Philadelphia, an eminent minister of the religious Society of Friends:—

"6th mo. 22d, 1791. We passed on to Augusta, Georgia. They can scarcely tolerate us, on account of our abhorrence of slavery. On the 28th we got to Savannah, and lodged at one Blount's, a hard-hearted slaveholder. One of his lads, aged about fourteen, was ordered to go and milk the cows: and falling asleep, through weariness, the master called out and ordered him a flogging. I asked him what he meant by a flogging. He replied, the way we serve them here is, we cut their backs until they are raw all over, and then salt them. Upon this my feelings were roused; I told him that was too bad, and queried if it were possible; he replied it was, with many curses upon the blacks. At supper this unfeeling wretch craved a blessing!

"Next morning I heard some one begging for mercy, and also the lash as of a whip. Not knowing whence the sound came, I rose, and presently found the poor boy tied up to a post, his toes scarcely touching the ground, and a negro whipper. He had already cut him in an unmerciful manner, and the blood ran to his heels. I stepped in between them, and ordered him untied immediately, which, with some reluctance and astonishment, was done. Returning to the house I saw the landlord, who then showed himself in his true colors, the most abominably wicked man I ever met with, full of horrid execrations and threatenings upon all northern people; but I did not spare him; which occasioned a bystander to say, with an oath, that I should be "popped over." We left them, and were in full expectation of their way-laying or coming after us, but the Lord restrained them. The next house we stopped at we found the same wicked spirit"

Col. ELIJAH ELLSWORTH, of Richfield, Ohio, gives the following testimony:—

"Eight or ten years ago I was in Putnam county, in the state of Georgia, at a Mr. Slaughter's, the father of my brother's wife. A negro, that belonged to Mr. Walker, (I believe,) was accused of stealing a pedlar's trunk. The negro denied, but, without ceremony, was lashed to a tree—the whipping commenced—six or eight men took turns—the poor fellow begged for mercy, but without effect, until he was literally cut to pieces, from his shoulders to his hips, and covered with a gore of blood. When he said the trunk was in a stack of fodder, he was unlashed. They proceeded to the stack, but found no trunk. They asked the poor fellow, what he lied about it for; he said, "Lord, Massa, to keep from being whipped to death; I know nothing about the trunk." They commenced the whipping with redoubled vigor, until I really supposed he would be whipped to death on the

spot; and such shrieks and crying for mercy!—Again he acknowledged, and again they were defeated in finding, and the same reason given as before. Some were for whipping again, others thought he would not survive another, and they ceased. About two months after, the trunk was found, and it was then ascertained who the thief was: and the poor fellow, after being nearly beat to death, and twice made to lie about it, was as innocent as I was.”

The following statements are furnished by Major HORACE NYE, of Putnam, Muskingum county, Ohio.

“In the summer of 1837, Mr. JOHN H. MOOREHEAD, a partner of mine, descended the Mississippi with several boat loads of flour. He told me that floating in a place in the Mississippi, where he could see for miles a head, he perceived a concourse of people on the bank, that for at least a mile and a half above he saw them, and heard the screams of some person, and for a great distance, the crack of a whip, he run near the shore, and saw them whipping a black man, who was on the ground, and at that time nearly unable to scream, but the whip continued to be plied without intermission, as long as he was in sight, say from one mile and a half, to two miles below—he probably saw and heard them for one hour in all. He expressed the opinion that the man could not survive.

“About four weeks since I had a conversation with Mr. Porter, a respectable citizen of Morgan county, of this state, of about fifty years of age. He told me that he formerly traveled about five years in the southern states, and that on one occasion he stopped at a private house, to stay all night; (I think it was in Virginia,) while he was conversing with the man, his wife came in, and complained that the wench had broken some article in the kitchen, and that she must be whipped. He took the woman into the door yard, stripped her clothes down to her hips—tied her hands together, and drawing them up to a limb, so that she could just touch the ground, took a very large cowskin whip, and commenced flogging; he said that every stroke at first raised the skin, and immediately the blood came through; this he continued, until the blood stood in a puddle at her feet. He then turned to my informant and said, “Well, Yankee, what do you think of that?”

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. W. DUSTIN, a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and, when the letter was written, 1835, a student of Marietta College, Ohio.

“I find by looking over my journal that the murdering, which I spoke of yesterday, took place about the first of June, 1834.

“Without commenting upon this act of cruelty, or giving vent to my own feelings, I will simply give you a statement of the fact, as known from personal observation.

“Dr. K. a man of wealth, and a practising physician in the county of Yazoo, state of Mississippi, personally known to me, having lived in the same neighborhood more than twelve months, after having scourged one of his negroes for running away, declared with an oath, that if he

ran away again, he would kill him. The negro, so soon as an opportunity offered, ran away again. He was caught and brought back. Again he was scourged, until his flesh, mangled and torn, and thick mingled with the clotted blood, ran from his back. He became apparently insensible, and beneath the heaviest stroke would scarcely utter a groan. The master got tired, laid down his whip and nailed the negro's ear to a tree in this condition, nailed fast to the rugged wood he remained all night!

“Suffice it to say, in the conclusion, that the next day he was found DEAD!

“Well, what did they do with the master? The sum total of it is this: He was taken before a magistrate and gave bonds, for his appearance at the next court. Well, to be sure he had plenty of cash, so he paid up his bonds and went away, and there the matter ended.

“If the above fact will be of any service to you in exhibiting to the world the condition of the unfortunate negroes, you are at liberty to make use of it in any way you think best.

Yours, fraternally,
M. DUSTIN.

Mr. ALFRED WILKINSON, a member of the Baptist Church in Skencateles, N. Y. and the assessor of that town, has furnished the following

“I went down the Mississippi in December, 1808, and saw twelve or fourteen negroes punished, on one plantation, by stretching them on a ladder and tying them to it; then stripping off their clothes, and whipping them on the naked flesh with a heavy whip, the lash seven or eight feet long: most of the strokes cut the skin. I understood they were whipped for not doing the tasks allotted to them.”

FROM THE PHILANTHROPIST, Cincinnati, Ohio. Feb. 26, 1839.

“A very intelligent lady, the widow of a highly respectable preacher of the gospel, of the Presbyterian Church, formerly a resident of a free state, and a colonizationist, and a strong anti-abolitionist, who, although an enemy to slavery, was opposed to abolition on the ground that it was for carrying things too rapidly, and without regard to circumstances, and especially who believed that abolitionists exaggerated with regard to the evils of slavery, and used to say that such men ought to go to slave states and see for themselves, to be convinced that they did the slaveholders injustice, has gone and seen for herself. Hear her testimony.

Kentucky, Dec. 25, 1835.

“Dear Mrs. W.—I am still in the land of oppression and cruelty, but hope soon to breathe the air of a free state. My soul is sick of slavery, and I rejoice that my time is nearly expired: but the scenes that I have witnessed have made an impression that never can be effaced, and have inspired me with the determination to unite my feeble efforts with those who are laboring to suppress this horrid system. I am now an abolitionist. You will cease to be surprised at this, when I inform you, that I have just seen a poor slave who was beaten by his inhuman master until he could neither walk nor stand. I saw him from my window carried from the barn where he had

been whipped) to the cabin, by two negro men; and he now lies there, and if he recovers, will be a sufferer for months, and probably for life. You will doubtless suppose that he committed some great crime; but it was not so. He was called upon by a young man (the son of his master,) to do something, and not moving as quickly as his young master wished him to do, he drove him to the barn, knocked him down, and jumped upon him, stamped, and then cowhided him until he was almost dead. This is not the first act of cruelty that I have seen, though it is the *worst*; and I am convinced that those who have described the cruelties of slaveholders, have not exaggerated."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH, Esq., of Peterboro', N. Y.

PETERBORO', December 1, 1838.

To the Editor of the Union Herald:

"My dear Sir:—You will be happy to hear, that the two fugitive slaves, to whom in the brotherly love of your heart, you gave the use of your horse, are still making undisturbed progress towards the *monarchical* land whither *republican* slaves escape for the enjoyment of liberty. They had eaten their breakfast, and were seated in my wagon, before day-dawn, this morning.

"Fugitive slaves have before taken my house in their way, but never any, whose lips and persons made so forcible an appeal to my sensibilities, and kindled in me so much abhorrence of the hell-concocted system of American slavery.

"The fugitives exhibited their bare backs to myself and a number of my neighbors. Williams' back is comparatively scarred. But, I speak within bounds, when I say, that one-third to one-half of the whole surface of the back and shoulders of poor Scott, consists of scars and *wales* resulting from innumerable *gashes*. His natural complexion being yellow and the callous places being nearly black, his back and shoulders remind you of a spotted animal."

The LOUISVILLE REEPORTE (Kentucky,) Jan. 15, 1839, contains the report of a trial for inhuman treatment of a female slave. The following is some of the testimony given in court.

"Dr. CONSTANT testified that he saw Mrs. Maxwell at the kitchen door, whipping the negro severely, without being particular whether she struck her in the face or not. The negro was lacerated by the whip, and the blood flowing. Soon after, on going down the steps, he saw quantities of blood on them, and on returning, saw them again. She had been thinly clad—barefooted in very cold weather. Sometimes she had shoes—sometimes not. In the beginning of the winter she had linsey dresses, since then, calico ones. During the last four months, had noticed many scars on her person. At one time had one of her eyes tied up for a week. During the last three months seemed declining, and had become stupified. Mr. Winters was passing along the street, heard cries, looked up through the window that was hoisted, saw the boy whipping her, as much as forty or fifty licks, while he staid. The girl was stripped down to the hips. The whip seemed to be a cow-hide. Whenever she turned her

face to him, he would hit her across the face either with the butt end or small end of the whip to make her turn her back round square to the lash. that he might get a fair blow at her.

"Mr. Say had noticed several wounds on her person, chiefly bruises.

"Captain Porter, keeper of the work-house, into which Milly had been received, thought the injuries on her person very bad—some of them appeared to be burns—some bruises or stripes, as of a cow-hide."

LETTER OF REV. JOHN RANKIN, of Ripley, Ohio, to the Editor of the Philanthropist.

RIPLEY, Feb. 20, 1839.

"Some time since, a member of the Presbyterian Church of Ebenezer, Brown county, Ohio, landed his boat at a point on the Mississippi. He saw some disturbance among the colored people on the bank. He stepped up, to see what was the matter. A black man was stretched naked on the ground; his hands were tied to a stake, and one held each foot. He was doomed to receive fifty lashes; but by the time the overseer had given him twenty-five with his great whip, the blood was standing round the wretched victim in little puddles. It appeared just as if it had rained blood.—Another observer stepped up, and advised to defer the other twenty-five to another time, lest the slave might die; and he was released, to receive the balance when he should have so recruited as to be able to bear it and live. The offence was, coming one hour too late to work."

Mr. RANKIN, who is a native of Tennessee, in his letters on slavery, published fifteen years since, says:

"A respectable gentleman, who is now a citizen of Flemingsburg, Fleming county, Kentucky, when in the state of South Carolina, was invited by a slaveholder, to walk with him and take a view of his farm. He complied with the invitation thus given, and in their walk they came to the place where the slaves were at work, and found the overseer whipping one of them very severely for not keeping pace with his fellows—in vain the poor fellow alleged that he was sick, and could not work. The master seemed to think all was well enough, hence he and the gentleman passed on. In the space of an hour they returned by the same way, and found that the poor slave, who had been whipped as they first passed by the field of labor, was actually dead! This I have from unquestionable authority."

Extract of a letter from a MEMBER OF CONGRESS, to the Editor of the New York American, dated Washington, Feb. 18, 1839. The name of the writer is with the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

"Three days ago, the inhabitants in the vicinity of the new Patent Building were alarmed by an outcry in the street, which proved to be that of a slave who had just been knocked down with a brick-bat by his pursuing master. Prostrate on the ground, with a large gash in his head, the poor slave was receiving the blows of his master on one side, and the kicks of his master's son on the other. His cries brought a few individuals to

the spot; but no one dared to interfere, save to exclaim—You will kill him—which was met by the response, "He is mine, and I have a right to do what I please with him." The heart-rending scene was closed from public view by dragging the poor bruised and wounded slave from the public street into his master's stable. What followed is not known. The outcries were heard by members of Congress and others at the distance of near a quarter of a mile from the scene.

"And now, perhaps, you will ask, is not the city aroused by this flagrant cruelty and breach of the peace? I answer—not at all. Every thing is quiet. If the occurrence is mentioned at all, it is spoken of in whispers."

From the Mobile Examiner, August 1, 1837.

"POLICE REPORT—MAYOR'S OFFICE.

Saturday morning, August 12, 1837.

"His Honor the Mayor presiding.

"Mr. MILLER, of the foundry, brought to the office this morning a small negro girl aged about eight or ten years, whom he had taken into his house some time during the previous night. She had crawled under the window of his bed room to screen herself from the night air, and to find a warmer shelter than the open canopy of heaven afforded. Of all objects of pity that have lately come to our view, this poor little girl most needs the protection of authority, and the sympathies of the charitable. From the cruelty of her master and mistress, she has been whipped, worked and starved, until she is now a breathing skeleton, hardly able to stand upon her feet.

"The back of the poor little sufferer, (which we ourselves saw,) was actually cut into strings, and so perfectly was the flesh worn from her limbs, by the wretched treatment she had received, that every joint showed distinctly its crevices and protuberances through the skin. Her little lips clung closely over her teeth—her cheeks were sunken and her head narrowed, and when her eyes were closed, the lids resembled film more than flesh or skin.

"We would desire of our northern friends such as choose to publish to the world their own version of the case we have related, not to forget to add, in conclusion, that the owner of this little girl is a foreigner, speaks against slavery as an institution, and reads his Bible to his wife, with the view of finding proofs for his opinions."

Rev. WILLIAM SCALES, of Lyndon, Vermont, gives the following testimony in a recent letter:

"I had a class-mate at the Andover Theological Seminary, who spent a season at the south,—in Georgia, I think—who related the following fact in an address before the Seminary. It occasioned very deep sensation on the part of opponents. The gentleman was Mr. Julius C. Anthony, of Taunton, Mass. He graduated at the Seminary in 1835. I do not know where he is now settled. I have no doubt of the fact, as he was an eye-witness of it. The man with whom he resided had a very athletic slave—a valuable fellow—a blacksmith. On a certain day a small strap of leather was missing. The man's little son accused this slave of stealing it. He denied the charge, while the boy most confidently asserted it. The slave was brought out into the yard and

bound—his hands below his knees, and acrossing his knees, so that he would be on either side in form of the letter S. One of the overseers laid on fifty lashes—he still denied the theft—was turned over and fifty more pat. Sometimes the master and sometimes the overseers whipping—as they relieved each other take breath. Then he was for a time kept himself, and in the course of the day received FOUR HUNDRED LASHES—still denying the charge. Next morning Mr. Anthony walked out—the slave was just rising—he saw the man greatly enfeebled, leaning against a stump. It was time to work—he attempted to rise, but fell back—again attempted, and again fell back—still making the attempt, and still falling back, Mr. Anthony thought, nearly twenty times before he succeeded in standing—he then staggered off to his shop. In course of the morning Mr. Anthony went to the door and looked in. Two overseers were standing by. The slave was feverish and his skin and mouth dry and parched. He was very thirsty. One of the overseers, while Mr. Anthony was looking at him, inquired of the other whether it were not best to give him a little water. "No, damn him, he will do well enough," was the reply from the other overseer. This was all the relief gained by the poor slave. A few days after the slaveholder's son confessed that he stole the strap himself."

Rev. D. C. EASTMAN, a minister of the Methodist Episcopal church at Bloomingburg, Fayette county, Ohio, has just forwarded a letter, from which the following is an extract:

"GEORGE ROEBUCK, an old and respectable farmer, near Bloomingburg, Fayette county, Ohio, a member of the Methodist Episcopal church, says, that almost forty-three years ago he saw in Bath county, Virginia, a slave girl with a sore between the shoulders of the size and shape of a smoothing iron. The girl was owned by one McNeil. A slaveholder who boarded at McNeil's stated that Mrs. McNeil had placed the aforesaid iron when hot, between the girl's shoulders, and produced the sore.

"Roebuck was once at this McNeil's father's, and whilst the old man was at morning prayer he heard the son plying the whip upon a slave at the doors.

"ELI WEST, of Concord township, Fayette county, Ohio, formerly of North Carolina, a farmer and an exhorter in the Methodist Protestant church, says, that many years since he went to live with an uncle who owned about fifty negroes. Soon after his arrival, his uncle ordered his waiting boy, who was naked, to be tied—his hands to a horse rack, and his feet together, with a rail passed between his legs, and held down by a person at each end. In this position he was whipped, from neck to feet, till covered with blood; after which he was salted.

"His uncle's slaves received one quart of corn each day, and that only, and were allowed one hour each day to cook and eat it. They had no meat but once in the year. Such was the general usage in that country.

"West, after this, lived one year with Esquire Starky and mother. They had two hundred

slaves, who received the usual treatment of starvation, nakedness, and the cowhide. They had one likely negro woman who bore no children. For this neglect, her mistress had her back made naked and a severe whipping inflicted. But as she continued barren, she was sold to the 'negro buyers.'

"THOMAS LARRIMER, a deacon in the Presbyterian church at Bloomingburg, Fayette county, Ohio, and a respectable farmer, says, that in April, 1837, as he was going down the Mississippi river, about fifty miles below Natchez, he saw ahead, on the left side of the river, a colored person tied to a post, and a man with a driver's whip, the lash about eight or ten feet long. With this the man commenced, with much deliberation, to whip, with much apparent force, and continued till he got out of sight.

"When coming up the river forty or fifty miles below Vicksburg, a Judge Owens came on board the steamboat. He was owner of a cotton plantation below there, and on being told of the above whipping, he said that slaves were often whipped to death for great offences, such as *stealing*, &c.—but that when death followed, the overseers were generally severely reproofed!

"About the same time, he spent a night at Mr. Casey's, three miles from Columbia, South Carolina. Whilst there they heard him giving orders as to what was to be done, and amongst other things, 'That nigger must be buried.' On inquiry, he learnt that a gentleman traveling with a servant, had a short time previous called there, and said his servant had just been taken ill, and he should be under the necessity of leaving him. He did so. The slave became worse, and Casey called in a physician, who pronounced it an old case, and said that he must shortly die. The slave said, if that was the case he would now tell the truth. He had been attacked, a long time since, with a difficulty in the side—his master swore he would 'have his own out of him,' and started off to scell him, with a threat to kill him if he told he had been sick, more than a few days. They saw them making a rough plank box to bury him in.

"In March, 1833, twenty-five or thirty miles south of Columbia, on the great road through Sumpterville district, they saw a large company of female slaves carrying rails and building fence. Three of them were far advanced in pregnancy.

"In the month of January, 1833, he put up with a drove of mules and horses, at one Adams', on the Drovers' road, near the south border of Kentucky. His son-in-law, who had lived in the south, was there. In conversation about picking cotton, he said, 'some hands cannot get the sleight of it. I have a girl who to-day has done as good a day's work at grubbing as any man, but I could not make her a hand at cotton-picking. I whipped her, and if I did it once I did it five hundred times, but I found she *could* not; so I put her to carrying rails with the men. After a few days I found her shoulders were so raw that every rail was bloody as she laid it down. I asked her if she would not rather pick cotton than carry rails. 'No,' said she, 'I don't get whipped now.'"

WILLIAM A. USTICK, an elder of the Presbyterian church at Bloomingburg, and Mr. G. S. Fullerton, a merchant and member of the same

church, were with Deacon Larrimer on this journey, and are witnesses to the preceding facts.

MR. SAMUEL HALL, a teacher in Marietta College, Ohio, and formerly secretary of the Colonization society in that village, has recently communicated the facts which follow. We quote from his letter.

"The following horrid flagellation was witnessed in part, till his soul was sick, by Mr. GLIDDEN, an inhabitant of Marietta, Ohio, who went down the Mississippi river, with a boat load of produce in the autumn of 1837; it took place at what is called 'Matthews' or 'Matthews Bend' in December, 1837. Mr. G. is worthy of credit.

"A negro was tied up, and flogged until the blood ran down and filled his shoes, so that when he raised either foot and set it down again, the blood would run over their tops. I could not look on any longer, but turned away in horror; the whipping was continued to the number of 500 lashes, as I understood; a quart of spirits of turpentine was then applied to his lacerated body. The same negro came down to my boat, to get some apples, and was so weak from his wounds and loss of blood, that he could not get up the bank, but fell to the ground. The crime for which the negro was whipped, was that of telling the other negroes, that *the overseer had lain with his wife.*"

Mr. Hall adds:—

"The following statement is made by a young man from Western Virginia. He is a member of the Presbyterian Church, and a student in Marietta College. All that prevents the introduction of his name, is the peril to his life, which would probably be the consequence, on his return to Virginia. His character for integrity and veracity is above suspicion.

"On the night of the great meteoric shower, in Nov. 1833. I was at Remley's tavern, 12 miles west of Lewisburg, Greenbrier Co., Virginia. A drove of 50 or 60 negroes stopped at the same place that night. They usually 'camp out,' but as it was excessively muddy, they were permitted to come into the house. So far as my knowledge extends, 'droves,' on their way to the south, eat but twice a day, early in the morning and at night. Their supper was a compound of 'potatoes and meal,' and was, without exception, *the dirtiest, blackest looking mess I ever saw.* I remarked at the time that the food was not as clean, in appearance, as that which was given to a drove of hogs, at the same place the night previous. Such as it was, however, a black woman brought it on her head, in a tray or trough two and a half feet long, where the men and women were promiscuously herded. The slaves rushed up and seized it from the trough in handfuls, before the woman could take it off her head. They jumped at it as if half-famished.

"They slept on the floor of the room which they were permitted to occupy, lying in every form imaginable, males and females, promiscuously. They were so thick on the floor, that in passing through the room it was necessary to step over them.

"There were three drivers, one of whom staid

in the room to watch the drove, and the other two slept in an adjoining room. Each of the latter took a female from the drove to lodge with him, as is the common practice of the drivers generally. There is no doubt about this particular instance, for they were seen together. The mud was so thick on the floor where this drove slept, that it was necessary to take a shovel, the next morning, and clear it out. Six or eight in this drove were chained; all were for the south.

In the autumn of the same year, I saw a drove of upwards of a hundred, between 40 and 50 of them were fastened to one chain, the links being made of iron rods, as thick in diameter as a man's little finger. This drove was bound westward to the Ohio river, to be shipped to the south. I have seen many droves, and more or less in each, almost without exception, were chained. I never saw but one drove, that went on their way making merry. In that one they were blowing horns, singing, &c., and appeared as if they had been drinking whisky.

They generally appear extremely dejected. I have seen in the course of five years, on the road near where I reside, 12 or 15 droves at least, passing to the south. They would average 40 in each drove. Near the first of January, 1834, I started about sunrise to go to Lewisburg. It was a bitter cold morning. I met a drove of negroes, 30 or 40 in number, remarkably ragged and destitute of clothing. One little boy particularly excited my sympathy. He was some distance behind the others, not being able to keep up with the rest. Although he was shivering with cold and crying, the driver was pushing him up in a trot to overtake the main gang. All of them looked as if they were half-frozen. There was one remarkable instance of tyranny, exhibited by a boy, not more than eight years old, that came under my observation, in a family by the name of D—n, six miles from Lewisburg. This youngster would swear at the slaves, and exert all the strength he possessed, to flog or beat them, with whatever instrument or weapon he could lay hands on, provided they did not obey him *instantly*. He was encouraged in this by his father, the master of the slaves. The slaves often fled from this young tyrant in terror."

Mr. Hall adds:—

"The following extract is from a letter, to a student in Marietta College, by his friend in Alabama. With the writer, Mr. ISAAC KNAPP, I am perfectly acquainted. He was a student in the above College, for the space of one year, before going to Alabama, was formerly a resident of Dummerston, Vt. He is a professor of religion, and as worthy of belief as any member of the community. Mr. K. has returned from the South, and is now a member of the same college.

"In Jan. (1833) a negro of a widow Phillips, ran away, was taken up, and confined in Pulaski jail. One Gibbs, overseer for Mrs. P., mounted on horseback, took him from confinement, compelled him to run back to Elkton, a distance of fifteen miles, whipping him all the way. When he reached home, the negro exhausted and worn out, exclaimed 'you have broke my heart,' i. e. you have killed me. For this, Gibbs flew into a violent passion, tied the negro to a stake, and,

in the language of a witness, 'cut his back like mince-meat.' But the fiend was not satisfied with this. He burnt his legs to a blister, with hot irons, and then chained him *naked*, in the open air, weary with running, weak from the loss of blood, and smarting from his burns. It was a cold night—and in the morning the negro was dead. Yet this monster escaped without *the shadow of a trial*. 'The negro,' said the doctor, 'died, by—he knew not what; any how, Gibbs did not kill him.*' A short time since (the letter is dated, April, 1836.) 'Gibbs whipped another negro unmercifully because of a horse, with which he was ploughing, broke the reins and ran. He then raised his whip against Mr. Bowers, (son of Mrs. P.) who shot him. Since I came here,' (a period of about six months,) 'there have been eight white men and two negroes killed, within 30 miles of me.

* Mr. Knapp, gives me some further verbal particulars about this affair. He says that his informant saw the negro dead the next morning, that his legs were blistered, and that the negroes affirmed that Gibbs compelled them to throw embers upon him. But Gibbs denied it, and said the blistering was the effect of frost, as the negro was much exposed to it before being taken up. Mr. Bowers, son of Mrs. Phillips by a former husband, attempted to have Gibbs brought to justice, but his mother justified Gibbs, and nothing was therefore done about it. The affair took place in Upper Elkton, Tennessee, near the Alabama line.

"The following is from Mr. Knapp's own lips taken down a day or two since.

"Mr. Buster, with whom I boarded, in Limestone Co., Ala., related to me the following incident: 'George, a slave belonging to one of the estates in my neighborhood, was lurking about my residence without a pass. We were making preparations to give him a flogging, but he escaped from us. Not long afterwards, meeting a patrol which had just taken a negro in custody without a pass, I inquired, Who have you there? On learning that it was George, well, I rejoined, there is a small matter between him and myself, that needs adjustment, so give me the raw hide, which I accordingly took, and laid 60 strokes on his back, to the utmost of my strength.' I was speaking of this barbarity, afterwards, to Mr. Bradley, an overseer of the Rev. Mr. Donnell, who lives in the vicinity of Moresville, Ala. 'Oh,' replied he, 'we consider that a very light whipping here.' Mr. Bradley is a professor of religion, and is esteemed in that vicinity a very pious, exemplary Christian."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM REV. C. STEWART RENSRAW, of Quincy, Illinois, dated Jan. 1, 1839.

"I do not feel at liberty to disclose the name of the brother who has furnished the following facts. He is highly esteemed as a man of scrupulous veracity. I will confirm my own testimony by the certificate of Judge Snow and Mr. Keyes, two of the oldest and most respectable settlers in Quincy.

Quincy, Dec. 29, 1838.

"Dear Sir,—We have been long acquainted with the Christian brother who has named to you some facts that fell under his observation whilst a resident of slave states. He is a member of a Christian church, in good standing and is a man of strict integrity of character.

HENRY H. SNOW.
WILLARD KEYES.

Rev. C. Stewart Renshaw."

"My informant spent thirty years of his life in Kentucky and Missouri. Whilst in Kentucky he resided in Hardin co. I noted down his testimony very nearly in his own words, which will account for their evidence-like form. On the general condition of the slaves in Kentucky, through Hardin co., he said, their houses were very uncomfortable, generally without floors, other than the earth: many had puncheon floors, but he never remembers to have seen a plank floor. In regard to clothing they were very badly off. In summer they cared little for thing; but in winter they almost froze. Their rags might hide their nakedness from the sun in summer, but would not protect them from the cold in winter. Their bed-clothes were tattered rags, thrown into a corner by day, and drawn before the fire by night. 'The only thing,' said he, 'to which I can compare them, in winter, is *stock without a shelter*.'

"He made the following comparison between the condition of slaves in Kentucky and Missouri. So far as he was able to compare them, he said, that in Missouri the slaves had better quarters—but are not so well clad, and are more severely punished than in Kentucky. In both states, the slaves are huddled together, without distinction of sex, into the same quarter, till it is filled, then another is built; often two or three families in a log hovel, twelve feet square.

"It is proper to state, that the sphere of my informant's observation was mainly in the region of Hardin co., Kentucky, and the eastern part of Missouri, and not through those states generally.

"Whilst at St. Louis, a number of years ago, as he was going to work with Mr. Henry Males, and another carpenter, they heard groans from a barn by the road-side: they stopped, and looking through the cracks of the barn, saw a negro bound hand and foot to a post, so that his toes just touched the ground; and his master, Captain Thorpe, was inflicting punishment; he had whipped him till exhausted,—rested himself, and returned again to the punishment. The wretched sufferer was in a most pitiable condition, and the warm blood and dry dust of the barn had formed a mortar up to his instep. Mr. Males jumped the fence, and remonstrated so effectually with Capt. Thorpe, that he ceased the punishment. It was six weeks before that slave could put on his shirt!

"John Mackey, a rich slaveholder, lived near Clarksville, Pike co., Missouri, some years since. He whipped his slave Billy, a boy fourteen years old, till he was sick and stupid; he then sent him home. Then, for his stupidity, whipped him again, and fractured his skull with an axe-helve. He buried him away in the woods; dark words were whispered, and the body was disinterred. A coroner's inquest was held, and Mr. R. Anderson, the coroner, brought in a verdict of death from fractured skull, occasioned by blows from an axe-handle, inflicted by John Mackey. The case was brought into court, but Mackey was rich, and his murdered victim was his slave; after expending about \$500 he walked free.

"One Mrs. Mann, living near —, in — co., Missouri, was known to be very cruel to her slaves. She had a bench made purposely to whip them upon; and what she called her "six pound paddle," an instrument of prodigious torture, bored through with holes; this she would wield

with both hands as she stood over her prostrate victim.

"She thus punished a hired slave woman named Fanny, belonging to Mr. Charles Trabue, who lives near Palmyra, Marion co., Missouri; on the morning after the punishment Fanny was a corpse; she was silently and quickly buried, but rumor was not so easily stopped. Mr. Trabue heard of it, and commenced suit for his property. The murdered slave was disinterred, and an inquest held; her back was a mass of jellied muscle; and the coroner brought in a verdict of death by the 'six pound paddle.' Mrs. Mann fled for a few months, but returned again, and her friends found means to protract the suit.

"This same Mrs. Mann had another hired slave woman living with her, called Patterson's Fanny, she belonged to a Mr. Patterson; she had a young babe with her, just beginning to creep. One day, after washing, whilst a tub of rinsing water yet stood in the kitchen, Mrs. Mann came out in haste, and sent Fanny to do something out of doors. Fanny tried to beg off—she was afraid to leave her babe, lest it should creep to the tub and get hurt—Mrs. M. said she would watch the babe, and sent her off. She went with much reluctance, and heard the child struggle as she went out the door. Fearing lest Mrs. M. should leave the babe alone, she watched the room, and soon saw her pass out of the opposite door. Immediately Fanny hurried in, and looked around for her babe, she could not see it, she looked at the tub—there her babe was floating, a strangled corpse. The poor woman gave a dreadful scream; and Mrs. M. rushed into the room, with her hands raised, and exclaimed, 'Heavens, Fanny! have you drowned your child?' It was vain for the poor bereaved one to attempt to vindicate herself: in vain she attempted to convince them that the babe had not been alone a moment, and could not have drowned itself; and that she had not been in the house a moment, before she screamed at discovering her drowned babe. All was false! Mrs. Mann declared it was all pretence—that Fanny had drowned her own babe, and now wanted to lay the blame upon her! and Mrs. Mann was a white woman—of course her word was more valuable than the oaths of all the slaves of Missouri. No evidence but that of slaves could be obtained, or Mr. Patterson would have prosecuted for his 'loss of property.' As it was, every one believed Mrs. M. guilty, though the affair was soon hushed up."

Extract of a letter from Col. THOMAS ROGERS, a native of Kentucky, now an elder in the Presbyterian Church at New Petersburg, Highland co., Ohio.

"When a boy, in Bourbon co., Kentucky, my father lived near a slaveholder of the name of Clay, who had a large number of slaves; I remember being often at their quarters; not one of their shanties, or hovels, had any floor but the earth. Their clothing was truly neither fit for covering nor decency. We could distinctly, of a still morning, hear this man whipping his blacks, and hear their screams from my father's farm: this could be heard almost any still morning about the dawn of day. It was said to be his usual custom to re-

pair, about the break of day, to their cabin doors, and, as the blacks passed out, to give them as many strokes of his cowskin as opportunity afforded; and he would proceed in this manner from cabin to cabin until they were all out. Occasionally some of his slaves would abscond, and upon being retaken they were punished severely; and some of them, it is believed, died in consequence of the cruelty of their usage. I saw one of this man's slaves, about seventeen years old, wearing a collar, with long iron horns extending from his shoulders far above his head.

"In the winter of 1828-29 I traveled through part of the states of Maryland and Virginia to Baltimore. At Frost Town, on the national road, I put up for the night. Soon after, there came in a slaver with his drove of slaves; among them were two young men, chained together. The bar room was assigned to them for their place of lodging—those in chains were guarded when they had to go out. I asked the 'owner' why he kept these men chained; he replied, that they were stout young fellows, and should they rebel, he and his son would not be able to manage them. I then left the room, and shortly after heard a *scream*, and when the landlady inquired the cause, the slaver coolly told her not to trouble herself, he was only chastising one of his women. It appeared that three days previously her child had died on the road, and been thrown into a hole or crevice in the mountain, and a few stones thrown over it; and the mother weeping for her child was chastised by her master, and told by him, she 'should have something to cry for.' The name of this man I can give if called for.

"When engaged in this journey I spent about one month with my relations in Virginia. It being shortly after new year, the *time of hiring* was over; but I saw the pounds, and the scaffolds which remained of the pounds, in which the slaves had been penned up."

Mr. GEORGE W. WESTGATE, of Quincy, Illinois, who lived in the southwestern slave states a number of years, has furnished the following statement.

"The great mass of the slaves are under drivers and overseers. I never saw an overseer without a whip; the whip usually carried is a short loaded

stock, with a heavy lash from five to six feet long. When they whip a slave they make him pull up his shirt, if he has one, then make him lie down on his face, and taking their stand at the end of the lash, they inflict the punishment. Whippings are so *universal* that a negro that has never been whipped is talked of in all the regions with wonder. By whipping I do not mean a few lashes across the shoulders, but a set flogging, and generally *lying down*.

"On sugar plantations generally, and on some cotton plantations, they have negro drivers, who are in such a degree responsible for their conduct that if they are at fault, the driver is whipped. The result is, the gang are constantly driven to him to the extent of the influence of the lash; and it is uniformly the case that gangs dread a negro driver more than a white overseer.

"I spent a winter on widow Calvert's plantation, near Rodney, Mississippi, but was not in a situation to see extraordinary punishments. Belongs, the overseer, for a trifling offence, took one of the slaves, stripped him, and with a piece of burning wood applied to his posteriors, burnt him cruelly; while the poor wretch screamed the greatest agony. The principal preparation for punishment that Belongs had, was single hand-cuffs made of iron, with chains, by which the offender could be chained to four stakes on the ground. These are very common in all the low country. I noticed one slave on widow Calvert's plantation, who was whipped from twenty-five to fifty lashes every fortnight during the whole winter. The expression 'whipped to death,' as applied to slaves, is common at the south.

"Several years ago I was going below New Orleans, in what is called the Plaquemine country, and a planter sent down in my boat a runaway slave I had found in New-Orleans, to his plantation at Orange 5 Points. As we came near the Point he told me, with deep feeling, that he expected to be whipped almost to death; pointing to a graveyard, he said, 'There lie five who were whipped to death.' Overseers generally keep some of the women on the plantation; I scarce know an exception to this. Indeed, their intercourse with them is very much promiscuous,—they show them not much, if any favor. Masters frequently follow the example of their overseers in this thing.

"GEORGE W. WESTGATE."

II. TORTURES, BY IRON COLLARS, CHAINS, FETTERS, HANDCUFFS, &c.

The slaves are often tortured by iron collars, with long prongs or "horns," and sometimes bells attached to them—they are made to wear chains, handcuffs, fetters, iron clogs, bars, rings, and bands of iron upon their limbs, iron marks upon their faces, iron gags in their mouths, &c.

In proof of this, we give the testimony of slaveholders themselves, under their own names; it will be mostly in the form of extracts from their own advertisements, in southern newspapers, in which, describing their runaway slaves, they spe-

cify the iron collars, handcuffs, chains, fetters, &c., which they wore upon their necks, wrists, ankles, and other parts of their bodies. To publish the *whole* of each advertisement, would needlessly occupy space and tax the reader; we shall consequently, as heretofore, give merely the name of the advertiser, the name and date of the newspaper containing the advertisement, with the place of publication, and only so much of the advertisement as will give the particular *fact*, proving the truth of the assertion contained in the *general heading*.

William Toler, sheriff of Simpson county, Mississippi, in the "Southern Sun," Jackson, Mississippi, September 22, 1835.

Mr. James R. Green, in the "Beacon," Gadsborough, Alabama, August 23, 1835.

Mr. Hazlet Loffano, in the "Spectator," Staunton, Virginia, Sept. 27, 1835.

Mr. T. Enggy, New Orleans, Gallatin street, between Hospital and Barracks, N. O. "Bee," Oct. 27, 1837.

Mr. John Henderson, Washington, county, Md., in the "Grand Gulf Advertiser," August 23, 1833.

William Dyer, sheriff, Claiborne, Louisiana, in the "Herald," Natchitoches, (La.) July 26, 1837.

Mr. Owen Cooke, "Mary street, between Common and Jackson streets," New Orleans, in the N. O. "Bee," September 13, 1837.

H. W. Rice, sheriff, Colleton district, South Carolina, in the "Charleston Mercury," September 1, 1835.

W. P. Reeves, jailor, Shelby county, Tennessee, in the "Memphis Enquirer," June 17, 1837.

Mr. Francis Durett, Lexington, Lauderdale county, Ala., in the "Huntsville Democrat," August 23, 1837.

Mr. A. Murat, Baton Rouge, in the New Orleans "Bee," June 20, 1837.

Mr. Jordan Abbott, in the "Huntsville Democrat," Nov. 17, 1835.

Mr. J. Macoin, No. 177 Ann street, New Orleans, in the "Bee," August 11, 1838.

Mezard Brothers, parish of Bernard, Louisiana, in the N. O. "Bee," August 18, 1838.

Messrs. J. L. and W. H. Bolton, Shelby county, Tennessee, in the "Memphis Enquirer," June 7, 1837.

H. Gridly, sheriff of Adams county, Mo., in the "Memphis (Tenn.) Times," September, 1834.

Mr. Lambre, in the "Natchitoches La. Herald," March 29, 1837.

Mr. Ferdinand Lemos, New Orleans, in the "Bee," January 29, 1838.

Mr. T. J. De Yampert, merchant, Mobile, Alabama, of the firm of De Yampert, King & Co., in the "Mobile Chronicle," June 15, 1833.

J. H. Hand, jailor, St. Francisville, La., in the "Louisiana Chronicle," July 25, 1837.

Mr. Charles Curcner, New Orleans, in the "Bee," July 2, 1835.

Mr. P. T. Manning, Huntsville, Alabama, in the "Huntsville Advocate," Oct. 23, 1838.

Mr. William L. Lambeth, Lynchburg, Virginia, in the "Moulton [Ala.] Waig," January 30, 1836.

"Was committed to jail, a yellow boy named Jim—had on a large lock chain around his neck."

Ranaway, a negro man named Squire—had on a chain locked with a house-lock, around his neck."

"Ranaway, a negro named David—with some iron hobbles around each ankle."

"Ranaway, negress Caroline—had on a collar with one prong turned down."

"Ranaway, a black woman, Betsey—had an iron bar on her right leg."

"Was committed to jail, a negro named Ambrose—has a ring of iron around his neck."

"Ranaway, my slave Amos, had a chain attached to one of his legs."

"Committed to jail, a negro named Patrick, about forty-five years old, and is handcuffed."

"Committed to jail, a negro—had on his right leg an iron band with one link of a chain."

"Ranaway, a negro man named Charles—had on a drawing chain, fastened around his ankle with a house lock."

"Ranaway, the negro Manuel, much marked with irons."

"Ranaway, a negro boy named Daniel, about nineteen years old, and was handcuffed."

"Ranaway, the negress Fanny—had on an iron band about her neck."

"Ranaway, a negro named John—having an iron around his right foot."

"Absconded, a colored boy named Peter—had an iron round his neck when he went away."

"Was committed to jail, a negro boy—had on a large neck iron with a huge pair of horns and a large bar or band of iron on his left leg."

"Ranaway, the negro boy Teams—he had on his neck an iron collar."

"Ranaway, the negro George—he had on his neck an iron collar, the branches of which had been taken off."

"Ranaway, a negro boy about twelve years old—had round his neck a chain dog-collar, with 'De Yampert engraved on it."

"Committed to jail, slave John—has several scars on his wrists, occasioned, as he says, by handcuffs."

"Ranaway, the negro, Hown—has a ring of iron on his left foot. Also, Grisee, his wife, having a ring and chain on the left leg."

"Ranaway, a negro boy named James—said boy was ironed when he left me."

"Ranaway, Jim—had on when he escaped a pair of chain handcuffs."

Mr. D. F. Guex, Secretary of the Steam Cotton Press Company, New Orleans, in the "Commercial Bulletin," May 27, 1837.

Mr. Francis Durant, Lexington, Alabama, in the "Huntsville Democrat," March 8, 1838.

B. W. Hodges, jailer, Pike county, Alabama, in the "Montgomery Advertiser," Sept. 23, 1837.

P. Bayhi, captain of police, in the N. O. "Bee," June 9, 1838.

Mr. Charles Kernin, parish of Jefferson, Louisiana, in the N. O. "Bee," August 11, 1837.

The foregoing advertisements are sufficient for our purpose, scores of similar ones may be gathered from the newspapers of the slave states every month.

To the preceding testimony of slaveholders, published by themselves, and vouched for by their own signatures, we subjoin the following testimony of other witnesses to the same point.

JOHN M. NELSON, Esq., a native of Virginia, now a highly respected citizen of Highland county, Ohio, and member of the Presbyterian Church in Hillsborough, in a recent letter states the following:—

"In Staunton, Va., at the house of Mr. Robert McDowell, a merchant of that place. I once saw a colored woman, of intelligent and dignified appearance, who appeared to be attending to the business of the house, with an *iron collar* around her neck, with horns or prongs extending out on either side, and up, until they met at something like a foot above her head, at which point there was a bell attached. This *yoke*, as they called it, I understood was to prevent her from running away, or to punish her for having done so. I had frequently seen *men* with iron collars, but this was the first instance that I recollect to have seen a *female* thus degraded."

Major HORACE NYE, an elder in the Presbyterian Church at Putnam, Muskingum county, Ohio, in a letter, dated Dec. 5, 1838, makes the following statement:—

"Mr. WM. ARMSTRONG, of this place, who is frequently employed by our citizens as captain and supercargo of descending boats, whose word may be relied on, has just made to me the following statement:—

"While laying at Alexandria, on Red River, Louisiana, he saw a slave brought to a blacksmith's shop and a collar of iron fastened round his neck, with two pieces rivetted to the sides, meeting some distance above his head. At the top of the arch, thus formed, was attached a large cow-bell, the motion of which, while walking the streets, made it necessary for the slave to hold his hand to one of its sides, to steady it.

"In New Orleans he saw several with iron collars, with horns attached to them. The first he saw had three prongs projecting from the collar ten or twelve inches, with the letter S on the end of each. He says iron collars are quite frequent there.

"Ranaway, Edmund Coleman—it is supposed he must have *iron shackles on his ankles.*"

"Ranaway——, a mulatto—had on when he left, a pair of *handcuffs* and a pair of *drawing chains.*"

"Committed to jail, a man who calls his name John—had a *clog of iron on his right foot which will weigh four or five pounds.*"

"Detained at the police jail, the negro wench Myra—had several marks of *lashing*, and has *irons on her feet.*"

"Ranaway, Betsey—when she left she had on her neck an *iron collar.*"

To the preceding Major Nye adds:—

"When I was about twelve years of age I lived at Marietta, in this state: I knew little of slaves as there were few or none, at that time, in that part of Virginia opposite that place. But I remember seeing a slave who had run away from some place beyond my knowledge at that time. He had an iron collar round his neck, to which was a strap of iron rivetted to the collar, on one side, passing over the top of the head; and another strap, from the back side to the top of the first—thus inclosing the head on three sides. I looked on while the blacksmith severed them with a file, which, I think, took him more than an hour."

REV. JOHN DUDLEY, Mount Morris, Michigan, resided as a teacher at the missionary station among the Choctaws, in Mississippi, during the years 1830 and 31. In a letter just received Dudley says:—

"During the time I was on missionary ground, which was in 1830 and 31, I was frequently at the residence of the agent, who was a slaveholder. I never knew of his treating his own slaves with cruelty: but the poor fellows who were seized and lodged with him when detected, found no clemency. I once saw there a fetter for *runaways*, the weight of which could be judged by its size. It was at least three inches wide, half an inch thick, and something over a foot long. At this time I saw a poor fellow compelled to work in the field, at 'logging,' with such a galling fetter on his ankles. To prevent it from wearing his ankles, a string was tied to the ends by which the victim suspended it when he was at work with one hand, and with the other carried his burden. Whenever he lifted, the fetter rested on his bare ankles. If he lost his balance and made a step, which must very often occur in lifting or rolling logs, the torture of his fetter was such. Thus he was doomed to work while wearing the torturing iron, day after day, and at night he was confined in the runaways' jail. Some time ago, this, I saw the same dejected, heart-broken creature obliged to wait on the other hands, when husking corn. The privilege of sitting with the others was too much for him to enjoy; he was made to hobble from house to barn and back to house, to carry food and drink for the rest. I passed round the end of the house where I was sitting with the agent: he seemed to take no notice of me, but fixed his eyes on his tormentor. He passed quite by us."

Mr. ALFRED WILKINSON, member of the Baptist Church in Skeneateles, N. Y. and an assessor of that town, testifies as follows:—

"I stayed in New Orleans three weeks: during that time there used to pass by where I stayed a number of slaves, each with an iron band around his ankle, a chain attached to it, and an eighteen pound ball at the end. They were employed in wheeling dirt with a wheelbarrow; they would put the ball into the barrow when they moved.— I recollect one day, that I counted nineteen of them, sometimes there were not as many; they were driven by a slave, with a long lash, as if they were beasts. These, I learned, were runaway slaves from the plantations above New Orleans.

"There was also a negro woman, that used daily to come to the market with milk; she had an iron band around her neck, with three rods projecting from it, about sixteen inches long, crooked at the ends."

For the fact which follows we are indebted to Mr. SAMUEL HALL, a teacher in Marietta College, Ohio. We quote his letter.

"Mr. CURTIS, a journeyman cabinet-maker, of Marietta, relates the following, of which he was an eye witness. Mr. Curtis is every way worthy of credit.

"In September, 1837, at 'Milligan's Bend,' in the Mississippi river, I saw a negro with an iron band around his head, locked behind with a padlock. In the front, where it passed the mouth, there was a projection inward of an inch and a half, which entered the mouth.

"The overseer told me, he was so addicted to running away, it did not do any good to whip him for it. He said he kept this gag constantly on him, and intended to do so as long as he was on the plantation: so that, if he ran away, he could not eat, and would starve to death. The slave asked for drink in my presence; and the overseer made him lie down on his back, and turned water on his face two or three feet high, in order to torment him, as he could not swallow a drop.— The slave then asked permission to go to the river; which being granted, he thrust his face and head entirely under the water, that being the only way he could drink with his gag on. The gag was taken off when he took his food, and then replaced afterwards."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MRS. SOPHIA LITTLE, of Newport, Rhode Island, daughter of Hon. Asher Robbins, senator in Congress for that state.

"There was lately found, in the hold of a vessel engaged in the southern trade, by a person who was clearing it out, an iron collar, with three horns projecting from it. It seems that a young female slave, on whose slender neck was riveted this fiendish instrument of torture, ran away from her tyrant, and begged the captain to bring her off with him. This the captain refused to do; but unriveted the collar from her neck, and threw it away in the hold of the vessel. The collar is now at the anti-slavery office, Providence. To the truth of these facts Mr. WILLIAM H. REED, a gentleman of the highest moral character, is ready to vouch.

"Mr. Reed is in possession of many facts of cruelty witnessed by persons of veracity; but

these witnesses are not willing to give their names. One case in particular he mentioned. Speaking with a certain captain, of the state of the slaves at the south, the captain contended that their punishments were often very lenient; and, as an instance of their excellent clemency, mentioned, that in one instance, not wishing to whip a slave, they sent him to a blacksmith, and had an iron band fastened around him, with three long projections reaching above his head; and this he wore some time."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM Mr. JONATHAN F. BALDWIN, of Lorain county, Ohio. Mr. B. was formerly a merchant in Massillon, Ohio, and an elder in the Presbyterian Church there.

"DEAR BROTHER.—In conversation with Judge Lyman, of Litchfield county, Connecticut, last June, he stated to me, that several years since he was in Columbia, South Carolina, and observing a colored man lying on the floor of a blacksmith's shop, as he was passing it, his curiosity led him in. He learned the man was a slave and rather unmanageable. Several men were attempting to detach from his ankle an iron which had been bent around it.

"The iron was a piece of a flat bar of the ordinary size from the forge hammer, and bent around the ankle, the ends meeting, and forming a hoop of about the diameter of the leg. There was one or more strings attached to the iron and extending up around his neck, evidently so to suspend it as to prevent its galling by its weight when at work, yet it had galled or gripped till the leg had swollen out beyond the iron and inflamed and supurated, so that the leg for a considerable distance above and below the iron, was a mass of putrefaction, the most loathsome of any wound he had ever witnessed on any living creature. The slave lay on his back on the floor, with his leg on an anvil which sat also on the floor, one man had a chisel used for splitting iron, and another struck it with a sledge, to drive it between the ends of the hoop and separate it so that it might be taken off. Mr. Lyman said that the man swung the sledge over his shoulders as if splitting iron, and struck many blows before he succeeded in parting the ends of the iron at all, the bar was so large and stubborn—at length they spread it as far as they could without driving the chisel so low as to ruin the leg. The slave, a man of twenty-five years, perhaps, whose countenance was the index of a mind ill adapted to the degradations of slavery, never uttered a word or a groan in all the process, but the copious flow of sweat from every pore, the dreadful contractions and distortions of every muscle in his body, showed clearly the great amount of his sufferings; and all this while, such was the diseased state of the limb, that at every blow, the bloody, corrupted matter gushed out in all directions several feet, in such profusion as literally to cover a large area around the anvil. After various other fruitless attempts to spread the iron, they concluded it was necessary to weaken by filing before it could be got off, which he left them attempting to do."

Mr. WILLIAM DROWN, a well known citizen of Rhode Island, formerly of Providence, who has

traveled in nearly all the slave states, thus testifies in a recent letter :

"I recollect seeing large gangs of slaves, generally a considerable number in each gang, being chained, passing westward over the mountains from Maryland, Virginia, &c. to the Ohio. On that river I have frequently seen flat boats loaded with them, and their keepers armed with pistols and dirks to guard them.

"At New Orleans I recollect seeing gangs of slaves that were driven out every day, the Sabbath not excepted, to work on the streets. These had heavy chains to connect two or more together, and some had iron collars and yokes, &c. The noise as they walked, or worked in their chains, was truly dreadful."

Rev. THOMAS SAVAGE, pastor of the Congregational Church at Bedford, New Hampshire, who was for some years a resident of Mississippi and Louisiana, gives the following fact, in a letter dated January 9, 1839.

"In 1819, while employed as an instructor at Second Creek, near Natchez, Mississippi, I resided on a plantation where I witnessed the following circumstance. One of the slaves was in the habit of running away. He had been repeatedly taken, and repeatedly whipped, with great severity, but to no purpose. He would still seize the first opportunity to escape from the plantation. At last his owner declared, 'I'll fix him, I'll put a stop to his running away. He accordingly took him to a blacksmith, and had an iron head-frame made for him, which may be called lock-jaw, from the use that was made of it. It had a lock and key, and was so constructed, that when on the head and locked, the slave could not open his mouth to take food, and the design was to prevent his running away. But the device proved unavailing. He was soon missing, and whether by his own desperate effort, or the aid of others, contrived to sustain himself with food; but he was at last taken, and if my memory serves me, his life was soon terminated by the cruel treatment to which he was subjected."

The Western Luminary, a religious paper published at Lexington, Kentucky, in an editorial article, in the summer of 1833, says:

"A few weeks since we gave an account of a company of men, women and children, part of whom were manacled, passing through our streets. Last week, a number of slaves were driven through the main street of our city, among whom were a number manacled together, two abreast, all connected by, and supporting a heavy iron chain, which extended the whole length of the line."

TESTIMONY OF A VIRGINIAN.

The name of this witness cannot be published, as it would put him in peril; but his credibility is vouched for by the Rev. EZRA FISHER, pastor of the Baptist Church, Quincy, Illinois, and Dr. RICHARD EELS, of the same place. These gentlemen say of him, "We have great confidence in his integrity, discretion, and strict Christian principle." He says—

"About five years ago, I remember to have passed, in a single day, four droves of slaves for

the south west; the largest drove had 350 in it, and the smallest upwards of 200. I recollect 68 or 70 in a single *coffle*. The *coffle* is a chain fastened at one end to the *coffle* bar of a pair of hand cuffs, which are fastened to the right wrist of one, and the left of another slave, they standing abreast, and chain between them. These are the head of *coffle*. The other end is passed through a ring in the bolt of the next handcuffs, and the *coffle* being manacled thus, two and two together, up, and the *coffle* chain is passed, and then up towards the head of the *coffle*. Of course they are closer or wider apart in the *coffle*, according to the number to be *coffled*, and the length of the chain. I have seen numerous droves and chain-coffles of this description, and every *coffle* was a scene of misery and wretchedness and brokenness of heart."

Mr. SAMUEL HALL, a teacher in Marietta College, Ohio, gives, in a late letter, the following statement of a fellow student, from Kentucky, whom he says, "he is a professor of religion, and worthy of entire confidence."

"I have seen at least fifteen droves of 'human cattle,' passing by us on their way to the south, and I do not recollect an exception, where they were not more or less of them chained together."

Mr. GEORGE P. C. HUSSEY, of Fayetteville, Franklin county, Pennsylvania, writes thus:

"I was born and raised in Hagerstown, Washington county, Maryland, where slavery is perhaps milder than in any other part of the slave states; and yet I have seen hundreds of colored men and women chained together, two by two, and driven to the south. I have seen slaves tied and lashed till the blood ran down to their heels."

Mr. GIDDINGS, member of Congress from Ohio, in his speech in the House of Representatives, Feb. 13, 1839, made the following statement:

"On the beautiful avenue in front of the Capitol, members of Congress, during this session, have been compelled to turn aside from the path, to permit a *coffle* of slaves, males and females, chained to each other by their necks, to pass on their way to this national slave market."

Testimony of JAMES K. PAULDING, Esq., the present Secretary of the United States' Navy.

In 1817, Mr. Paulding published a work, entitled 'Letters from the South, written during an excursion in the summer of 1816.' In the first volume of that work, page 128, Mr. Paulding gives the following description:

"The sun was shining out very hot—and turning the angle of the road, we encountered the following group: first, a little cart drawn by a horse, in which five or six half naked black children were tumbled like pigs together. The cart had no covering, and they seemed to have been broiled to sleep. Behind the cart marched the black women, with head, neck and breasts covered, and without shoes or stockings; next came three men, bare-headed, and chained together with an ox-chain. Last of all, came a white man on horse back, carrying his pistols

his belt, and who, as we passed him, had the impudence to look us in the face without blushing. At a house where we stopped a little further on, we learned that he had bought these miserable beings in Maryland, and was marching them in this manner to one of the more southern states. Shame on the State of Maryland! and I say, shame on the State of Virginia! and every state through which this wretched cavalcade was permitted to pass! I do say, that when they (the slaveholders) permit such flagrant and indecent outrages upon humanity as that I have described; when they sanction a villain in thus marching half naked women and men, loaded with chains, without being charged with any crime but that of being *black*, from one section of the United States to another, hundreds of miles in the face

of day, they disgrace themselves, and the country to which they belong!"

* The fact that Mr. Paulding, in the reprint of these "Letters," in 1835, struck out this passage with all others disparaging to slavery and its supporters, does not impair the force of his testimony, however much it may sink the man. Nor will the next generation regard with any more reverence, his character as a *prophet*, because in the edition of 1835, two years after the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed, and when its auxiliaries were numbered by hundreds, he inserted a *prediction*, that such movements would be made at the North, with most disastrous results. "Woe ye not that such a man as I can certainly divine!" Mr. Paulding has already been taught by Judge Jay, that he who aspires to the fame of an oracle, without its inspiration, must resort to other expedients to prevent detection, than the clumsy one of *antedating* his responses.

III. BRANDINGS, MAIMINGS, GUN-SHOT WOUNDS, &c.

The slaves are often branded with hot irons, pursued with fire arms and *shot*, hunted with dogs and torn by them, shockingly maimed with knives, dirks, &c.; have their ears cut off, their eyes knocked out, their bones dislocated and broken with bludgeons, their fingers and toes cut off, their faces and other parts of their persons disfigured with scars and gashes, *besides* those made with the lash.

We shall adopt, under this head, the same

course as that pursued under previous ones,—first give the testimony of the slaveholders themselves, to the mutilations, &c. by copying their own graphic descriptions of them, in advertisements published under their own names, and in newspapers published in the slave states, and, generally, in their own immediate vicinity. We shall, as heretofore, insert only so much of each advertisement as will be necessary to make the point intelligible.

WITNESSES.

Mr. Micaiah Ricks, Nash County, North Carolina, in the Raleigh "Standard," July 18, 1835.

Mr. Asa B. Metcalf, Kingston, Adams Co. Mi. in the "Natchez Courier," June 15, 1832.

Mr. William Overstreet, Benton, Yazoo Co. Mi. in the "Lexington (Kentucky) Observer," July 22, 1833.

Mr. R. P. Carney, Clark Co. Ala., in the Mobile Register, Dec. 22, 1832.

Mr. J. Gaylor, Savannah Georgia, in the "Republican," April 12, 1837.

J. A. Brown, jailor, Charleston, South Carolina, in the "Mercury," Jan. 12, 1837.

Mr. J. Scrivener, Herring Bay, Anne Arundel Co. Maryland, in the Annapolis Republican, April 18, 1837.

Madame Burvant, corner of Chartres and Toulouse streets, New Orleans, in the "Bee," Dec. 21, 1835.

Mr. O. W. Lains, in the "Helena, (Ark.) Journal," June 1, 1833.

Mr. R. W. Sizer, in the "Grand Gulf, (Mi.) Advertiser," July 8, 1837.

Mr. Nicholas Edmunds, in the "Petersburgh (Va.) Intelligencer," May 22, 1832.

TESTIMONY.

"Ranaway, a negro woman and two children; a few days before she went off, *I burnt her with a hot iron*, on the left side of her face, *I tried to make the letter M.*"

"Ranaway Mary, a black woman, has a *scar* on her back and right arm near the shoulder, *caused by a rifle ball.*"

"Ranaway a negro man named Henry, *his left eye out*, some scars from a *dirk* on and under his left arm, and *much scarred* with the whip."

One hundred dollars reward for a negro fellow Pompey, 40 years old, he is *branded on the left jaw.*

"Ranaway Laman, an old negro man, grey, has *only one eye.*"

"Committed to jail a negro man, has *no toes* on his left foot."

"Ranaway negro man Elijah, has a scar on his left cheek, apparently occasioned by *a shot.*"

"Ranaway a negro woman named Rachel, has *lost all her toes* except the large one."

"Ranaway Sam, he was *shot* a short time since, through the hand, and has *several shots in his left arm and side.*"

"Ranaway my negro man Dennis, said negro has been *shot* in the left arm between the shoulders and elbow, which has paralyzed the left hand."

"Ranaway my negro man named Simon, he has been *shot badly* in his back and right arm."

Mr. J. Bishop, Bishopville, Sumpter District, South Carolina, in the "Camden [S. C.] Journal," March 4, 1837.

Mr. S. Neyle, Little Ogeechee, Georgia, in the "Savannah Republican," July 3, 1837.

Mrs. Sarah Walsh, Mobile, Ala. in the "Georgia Journal," March 27, 1837.

Mr. J. P. Ashford, Adams Co. Mi. in the "Natchez Courier," August 24, 1838.

Mr. Ely Townsend, Pike Co. Ala., in the "Pensacola Gazette," Sep. 16, 1837.

S. B. Murphy, jailer, Irvington, Ga. in the "Milledgeville Journal," May 29, 1838.

Mr. A. Luminais, Parish of St. John, Louisiana, in the New Orleans "Bee," March 3, 1838.

Mr. Isaac Johnson, Pulaski Co. Georgia, in the "Milledgeville Journal," June 19, 1838.

Mr. Thomas Hudnall, Madison Co. Mi. in the "Vicksburg Register," September 5, 1838.

Mr. John McMurrain, Columbus, Ga. in the "Southern Sun," August 7, 1838.

Mr. Moses Orme, Annapolis, Maryland, in the "Annapolis Republican," June 30, 1837.

William Strickland, Jailer, Kershaw District, S. C. in the "Camden [S. C.] Courier," July 8, 1837.

The Editor of the "Grand Gulf Advertiser," Dec. 7, 1838.

Mr. William Bateman, in the "Grand Gulf Advertiser," Dec. 7, 1838.

Mr. B. G. Simmons, in the "Southern Argus," May 30, 1837.

Mr. James Artop, in the "Macon [Ga.] Messenger," May 25, 1837.

J. L. Jolley, Sheriff of Clinton, Co. Mi., in the "Clinton Gazette," July 23, 1836.

Mr. Thomas Ledwith, Jacksonville East Florida, in the "Charleston [S. C.] Courier," Sept. 1, 1838.

Mr. Joseph James, Sen., Pleasant Ridge, Paulding Co. Ga., in the "Milledgeville Union," Nov. 7, 1837.

Mr. W. Riley, Orangeburg District, South Carolina, in the "Columbia [S. C.] Telescope," Nov. 11, 1837.

Mr. Samuel Mason, Warren Co. Mi., in the "Vicksburg Register," July 12, 1838.

"Ranaway a negro named Arthur, has a considerable scar across his breast and each arm, made by a knife; loves to brag much of the goodness of God."

"Ranaway George, he has a sword cut lately received on his left arm."

"Twenty five dollars reward for my man Isaac, he has a scar on his forehead caused by a blow, and one on his back made by a shot from a pistol."

"Ranaway a negro girl called Mary, has a small scar over her eye, a good many teeth missing, the letter A. is branded on her cheek and forehead."

"Ranaway negro Ben, has a scar on his right hand, his thumb and fore finger being injured by being shot last fall, a part of the bone came out, he has also one or two large scars on his back and hips."

"Committed a negro man, is very badly shot in the right side and right hand."

"Detained at the jail, a mulatto named Tom, has a scar on the right cheek and appears to have been burned with powder on the face."

"Ranaway a negro man named Ned, three of his fingers are drawn into the palm of his hand by a cut, has a scar on the back of his neck nearly half round, done by a knife."

"Ranaway a negro named Hambleton, limps on his left leg where he was shot a few weeks ago, while runaway."

"Ranaway a negro boy named Mose, he has a wound in the right shoulder near the back bone, which was occasioned by a rifle shot."

"Ranaway my negro man Bill, he has a fresh wound in his head above his ear."

"Committed to jail a negro, says his name is Cuffee, he is lame in one knee, occasioned by a shot."

"Ranaway Joshua, his thumb is off of his left hand."

"Ranaway William, scar over his left eye, one between his eye brows, one on his breast, and his right leg has been broken."

"Ranaway Mark, his left arm has been broken, right leg also."

"Ranaway, Caleb, 50 years old, has an awkward gait occasioned by his being shot in the thigh."

"Was committed to jail a negro man, says his name is Josiah, his back very much scarred by the whip, and branded on the thigh and hips, in three or four places, thus (J. M.) the rim of his right ear has been bit or cut off."

"Fifty dollars reward, for my fellow Edward, he has a scar on the corner of his mouth, two cuts on and under his arm, and the letter E on his arm."

"Ranaway, negro boy Ellic, has a scar on one of his arms from the bite of a dog."

"Ranaway a negro man, has a scar on the ankle produced by a burn, and a mark on his arm resembling the letter S."

"Ranaway, a negro man named Allen, he has a scar on his breast, also a scar under the left eye, and has two buck shot in his right arm."

Mr. F. L. C. Edwards, in the "Southern Telegraph," Sept. 25, 1837

Mr. Stephen M. Jackson, in the "Vicksburg Register," March 10, 1837.

Philip Honerton, deputy sheriff of Halifax Co. Virginia, Jan. 1837.

Stearns & Co. No. 28, New Levee, New Orleans, in the "Bee," March 22, 1837.

Mr. John W. Walton, Greensboro, Ala. in the "Alabama Beacon," Dec. 13, 1838.

Mr. R. Furman, Charleston, S. C. in the "Charleston Mercury," Jan. 12, 1839.

Mr. John Tart, Sen. in the "Fayetteville [N. C.] Observer," Dec. 26, 1838.

Mr. Richard Overstreet, Brook Neal, Campbell Co. Virginia, in the "Danville [Va.] Reporter," Dec. 21, 1838.

The editor of the New Orleans "Bee," in that paper, August 27, 1837.

Mr. Bryant Johnson, Fort Valley, Houston county, Georgia, in the "Milledgeville "Union," Oct. 2, 1838.

Mr. Lemuel Miles, Steen's Creek, Rankin county, Mi. in the "Southern Sun," Sept. 22, 1838.

Mr. Bezon, New Orleans, in the "Bee," May 23, 1838.

Mr. James Kimborough, Memphis, Tenn. in the "Memphis Enquirer," July 13, 1838.

Mr. Robert Beasley, Macon, Georgia, in the "Georgia Messenger," July 27, 1837

Mr. B. G. Barrer, St. Louis, Missouri, in the "Republican," Sept. 6, 1837.

Mr. John D. Turner, near Norfolk, Virginia, in the "Norfolk Herald," June 27, 1838.

Mr. William Stansell, Picksville, Ala. in the "Huntsville Democrat," August 29, 1837.

Hon. Ambrose H. Sevier, Senator in Congress, from Arkansas, in the "Vicksburg Register," of Oct. 13.

Mr. R. A. Greene, Milledgeville, Georgia, in the "Macon Messenger," July 27, 1837.

Benjamin Russel, deputy sheriff, Bibb county, Ga. in the "Macon Telegraph," December 25, 1837.

Hon. H. Hitchcock, Mobile, judge of the Supreme Court, in the "Commercial Register," Oct. 27, 1837.

Mrs. Elizabeth L. Carter, near Groveton, Prince William county, Virginia, in the "National Intelligencer," Washington, D. C. June 10, 1837.

"Ranaway from the plantation of James Surgette, the following negroes, Randal, has one ear cropped; Bob, has lost one eye, Kentucky Tom, has one jaw broken."

"Ranaway, Anthony, one of his ears cut off, and his left hand cut with an axe."

"Was committed, a negro man, has a scar on his right side by a burn, one on his knee, and one on the calf of his leg by the bite of a dog."

"Absconded, the mulatto boy Tom, his fingers scarred on his right hand, and has a scar on his right cheek."

"Ranaway my black boy Frazier, with a scar below and one above his right ear."

"Ranaway, Dick, about 19, has lost the small toe of one foot."

"Stolen a mulatto boy, ten years old, he has a scar over his eye which was made by an axe."

"Absconded my negro man Coleman, has a very large scar on one of his legs, also one on each arm, by a burn, and his heels have been frosted."

"Fifty dollars reward, for the negro Jim Blake—has a piece cut out of each ear, and the middle finger of the left hand cut off to the second joint."

"Ranaway, a negro woman named Maria—has a scar on one side of her cheek, by a cut—some scars on her back."

"Ranaway, Gabriel—has two or three scars across his neck made with a knife."

"Ranaway, the mulatto wench Mary—has a cut on the left arm, a scar on the shoulder, and two upper teeth missing."

"Ranaway, a negro boy, named Jerry—has a scar on his right cheek two inches long, from the cut of a knife."

"Ranaway, my man Fountain—has holes in his ears, a scar on the right side of his forehead—has been shot in the hind parts of his legs—is marked on the back with the whip."

"Ranaway, a negro man named Jarrett—has a scar on the under part of one of his arms, occasioned by a wound from a knife."

"Ranaway, a negro by the name of Joshua—he has a cut across one of his ears, which he will conceal as much as possible—one of his ankles is enlarged by an ulcer."

"Ranaway, negro boy Harper—has a scar on one of his hips in the form of a G."

"Ranaway, Bob, a slave—has a scar across his breast, another on the right side of his head—his back is much scarred with the whip."

"Two hundred and fifty dollars reward, for my negro man Jim—he is much marked with shot in his right thigh,—the shot entered on the outside, half way between the hip and knee joints."

"Brought to jail, John—left ear crop."

"Ranaway, the slave Ellis—he has lost one of his ears."

"Ranaway, a negro man, Moses—he has lost a part of one of his ears."

Mr. William D. Buckels, Natchez, Mi. in the "Natchez Courier," July 23, 1838.

Mr. Walter R. English, Monroe county, Ala. in the "Mobile Chronicle," Sept. 2, 1837.

Mr. James Saunders, Grany Spring, Hawkins county, Tenn. in the "Knoxville Register," June 6, 1838.

Mr. John Jenkins, St. Joseph's, Florida, captain of the steamboat Ellen, "Apalachicola Gazette," June 7, 1838.

Mr. Peter Hanson, Lafayette city, La., in the New Orleans "Bee," July 28, 1838.

Mr. Orren Ellis, Georgeville, Mi. in the "North Alabamian," Sept. 15, 1837.

Mr. Zadock Sawyer, Cuthbert, Randolph county, Georgia, in the "Milledgeville Union," Oct. 9, 1838.

Mr. Abraham Gray, Mount Morino, Pike county, Ga. in the "Milledgeville Union," Oct. 9, 1838.

S. B. Tuston, jailer, Adams county, Mi. in the "Natchez Courier," June 15, 1838.

Mr. Joshua Antrim, Nineveh, Warren county, Virginia, in the "Winchester Virginian," July 11, 1837.

J. B. Randall, jailer, Marietta, Cobb county, Ga., in the "Southern Recorder," Nov. 6, 1838.

Mr. John N. Dillahunty, Woodville, Mi. in the "N. O. Commercial Bulletin," July 21, 1837.

William K. Ratcliffe, sheriff, Franklin county, Mi. in the "Natchez Free Trader," August 23, 1838.

Mr. Preston Halley, Barnwell, South Carolina, in the "Augusta [Ga.] Chronicle," July 27, 1838.

Mr. Welcome H. Robbins, St. Charles county, Mo. in the "St. Louis Republican," June 30, 1838.

G. Gourdon & Co. druggists, corner of Rampart and Hospital streets, New Orleans, in the "Commercial Bulletin," Sept. 13, 1838.

Mr. William Brown, in the "Grand Gulf Advertiser," August 20, 1838.

Mr. James McDonnell, Talbot county, Georgia, in the "Columbus Enquirer," Jan. 15, 1838.

Mr. John W. Cherry, Marengo county, Ala. in the "Mobile Register," June 15, 1838.

Mr. Thos. Brown, Roane co. Tenn. in the "Knoxville Register," Sept. 12, 1838.

Messrs. Taylor, Lawton & Co., Charleston, South Carolina, in the "Mercury," Nov. 1838.

Mr. Louis Schmidt, Taubourz, Sivaudais, La. in the New Orleans "Bee," Sept. 3, 1837.

W. M. Whitehead, Natchez, in the "New Orleans Bulletin," July 21, 1837.

Mr. Conrad Salvo, Charleston, South Carolina, in the "Mercury," August 10, 1837.

"Taken up, a negro man—is *very much scarred* about the face, and body, and has the left ear bit off."

"Ranaway, my slave Lewis—he has lost a *piece of one ear*, and a *part of one of his fingers*, a *part of one of his toes* is also lost."

"Ranaway, a black girl named Mary—has a *scar* on her cheek, and the end of one of her toes *cut off*."

"Ranaway, the negro boy Cæsar—he has *but one eye*."

"Ranaway, the negress Martha—she has *lost her right eye*."

"Ranaway, George—has had the lower part of *one of his ears* bit off."

"Ranaway, my negro Tom—has a *piece bit off the top of his right ear*, and his little finger is *stiff*."

"Ranaway, my mulatto woman Judy—she has had her *right arm broke*."

"Was committed to jail, a negro man named Bill—has had the *thumb of his left hand split*."

"Ranaway, a mulatto man named Joe—his fingers on the left hand are *partly amputated*."

"Lodged in jail, a negro man named Jupiter—is *very lame in his left hip*, so that he can hardly walk—has lost a joint of the middle finger of his left hand."

"Ranaway, Bill—has a scar over one eye, also one on his leg from the *bite of a dog*—has a *burn on his buttock*, from a *piece of hot iron in shape of a T*."

"Committed to jail, a negro named Mike—*his left ear off*."

"Ranaway, my negro man Levi—his left hand has been *burnt*, and I think the end of his fore finger *is off*."

"Ranaway, a negro named Washington—has *lost a part of his middle finger and the end of his little finger*."

"Ranaway, a negro named David Drier—has *two toes cut*."

"Ranaway, Edmund—has a *scar* on his right temple, and under his right eye, and *holes in both ears*."

"Runaway, a negro boy *twelve or thirteen* years old—has a scar on his left cheek from the *bite of a dog*."

"Fifty dollars reward, for my negro man John—he has a considerable scar on his *throat*, done with a *knife*."

"Twenty-five dollars reward, for my man John—the *tip* of his nose is *bit off*."

"Ranaway, a negro fellow called Hover—has a *cut* above the right eye."

"Ranaway, the negro man Hardy—has a *scar* on the upper lip, and another made with a *knife* on his neck."

"Ranaway, Henry—has half of one ear *bit off*."

"Ranaway, my negro man Jacob—he has *but one eye*."

William Baker, jailer, Shelby county, Ala. in the "Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser," Oct. 5, 1838.

Mr. S. N. Hite, Camp street, New Orleans. In the "Bee," Feb. 19, 1838.

Mr. Stephen M. Richards, Whitesburg, Madison county, Alabama, in the "Huntsville Democrat," Sept. 8, 1838.

Mr. A. Brove, parish of St. Charles, La. in the "New Orleans Bee," Feb. 19, 1838.

Mr. Needham Whitefield, Aberdeen, Me. in the "Memphis (Tenn.) Enquirer," June 15, 1838.

Col. M. J. Sheith, Charleston, South Carolina, in the "Mercury," Nov. 27, 1838.

Mr. R. Lancette, Haywood, North Carolina, in the "Raleigh Register," April 30, 1838.

Mr. G. C. Richardson, Owen Station, Mo. in the St. Louis "Republican," May 3, 1838.

Mr. E. Han, La Grange, Fayette county, Tenn. in the Gallatin "Union," June 3, 1837.

D. Herring, warden of Baltimore city jail in the "Marylander," Oct. 6, 1837.

Mr. James Marks, near Natchitoches, La. in the "Natchitoches Herald," July 1, 1838.

Mr. James Barr, Amelia Court House, Virginia, in the "Norfolk Herald," Sept. 12, 1838.

Mr. Isaac Michell, Wilkinson county, Georgia, in the "Augusta Chronicle," Sept. 21, 1837.

Mr. P. Bayhi, captain of the police, 7th and Washington, third municipality, New Orleans, in the "Bee," Oct. 13, 1837.

Mr. Willie Paterson, Clinton, Jones county, Ga. in the "Darien Telegraph," Dec. 5, 1837.

Mr. Samuel Ragland, Triana, Madison county, Alabama, in the "Huntsville Advocate," Dec. 23, 1837.

Mr. Moses E. Bush, near Clayton, Ala. in the "Columbus [Ga.] Enquirer," July 5, 1838.

C. W. Wilkins, sheriff Baldwin Co., Ala. in the "Mobile Advertiser," Sept. 2, 1837.

Mr. James H. Taylor, Charleston South Carolina, in the "Courier," August 7, 1837.

N. M. C. Robinson, Jaller, Columbus, Georgia, in the "Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer," August 2, 1838.

Mr. Littlejohn Rynes, Hinds Co., Miss. in the "Natchez Courier," August, 15, 1838.

The Heirs of J. A. Alston, near Georgetown, South Carolina, in the "Georgetown [S. C.] Union," June 17, 1838.

A. S. Ballinger, Sheriff, Johnston Co., North Carolina, in the "Raleigh Standard," Oct. 12, 1838.

Mr. Thomas Crutchfield, Atkins, Ten. in the "Tennessee Journal," Oct. 17, 1838.

"Committed to jail, Ben—his *left thumb off* at the first joint."

"Twenty-five dollars reward for the negro slave Sally—walks as though *crippled* in the back."

"Ranaway, a negro man named Dick—has a *little finger off* the right hand."

"Ranaway, the negro Patrick—has his little finger of the right hand *cut close to the hand*."

"Ranaway, Joe Dennis—has a small *notch* in one of his ears."

"Ranaway, Dick—has *lost the little toe* of one of his feet."

"Escaped, my negro man Eaton—his *little finger* of the right hand has been *broke*."

"Ranaway, my negro man named Top—has had one of his *legs broken*."

"Ranaway, negro boy Jack—has a small *crop out of his left ear*."

"Was committed to jail, a negro man—has *two scars* on his forehead, and the *top of his left ear cut off*."

"Stolen, a negro man named Winter—has a *notch* cut out of the left ear, and the mark of *four or five buck shot* on his legs."

"Ranaway, a negro man—*scar back of his left eye*, as if from the *cut of a knife*."

"Ranaway, negro man Buck—has a very *plain mark* under his ear on his jaw, about the size of a dollar, having been *inflicted by a knife*."

"Detained at the jail, the negro boy Hermon—has a scar below his left ear, from the *wound of a knife*."

"Ranaway, a negro man by the name of John—he has a *scar* across his cheek, and one on his right arm, apparently done with a *knife*."

"Ranaway, Isham—has a *scar* upon the breast and upon the under lip, from the *bite of a dog*."

"Ranaway, a negro man—has a *scar* on his hip and on his breast, and *two front teeth out*."

"Committed to jail, a negro man, he is *crippled* in the right leg."

"Absconded, a colored boy, named Peter, *lame* in the right leg."

"Brought to jail, a negro man, his left ankle has been *broke*."

"Ranaway, a negro man named Jerry, has a small piece *cut out of the top of each ear*."

"Absconded a negro named Cuffee, has *lost one finger*; has an *enlarged leg*."

"Committed to jail, a negro man; has a *very sore leg*."

"Ranaway, my mulatto boy Cy, has but *one hand*, all the fingers of his right hand were *burnt off* when young."

J. A. Brown, jailer, Orangeburg, South Carolina, in the "Charleston Mercury," July 18, 1838.

S. B. Turton, jailer, Adams Co. Miss. in the "Natchez Courier," Sept. 28, 1838.

Mr. John H. King, High street, Georgetown, in the "National Intelligencer," August 1, 1837.

Mr. John B. Fox, Vicksburg, Miss. in the "Register," March 29, 1837.

Messrs. Fernandez and Whiting, auctioneers, New Orleans, in the "Bee," April 8, 1837.

Mr. Marshall Jett, Farrowville, Fauquier Co. Virginia, in the "National Intelligencer," May 30, 1837.

S. B. Turton, jailer Adams Co. Miss. in the "Natches Courier," Oct. 12, 1838.

Johu Ford, sheriff of Mobile County, in the "Mississippian," Jackson Mi. Dec. 28, 1838.

F. W. Morris, sheriff of Warren County, in the "Vicksburg [Mi.] Register," March 28, 1838.

Mr. John P. Holcombe, in the Charleston Mercury," April 17, 1828.

Mr. Willis Patterson, in the "Charleston Mercury," December 11, 1837.

Wm. Magee, sheriff, Mobile Co. in the "Mobile Register," Dec. 27, 1837.

Mr. Henry M. McGregor, Prince George County, Maryland, in the "Alexandria [D. C.] Gazette," Feb. 6, 1838.

Green B Jourdan, Baldwin County Ga. in the "Georgia Journal," April 18, 1837.

Messrs. Daniel and Goodman, New Orleans, in the "N. O. Bee," Feb. 2, 1838.

Jeremiah Woodward, Goochland, Co. Va. in the "Richmond Va. Wlig.," Jan. 30, 1838.

Samuel Rawlins, Gwinet Co. Ga. in the "Columbus Sentinel," Nov. 29, 1838.

The reader perceives that we have under this head, as under previous ones, given to the testimony of the slaveholders themselves, under their own names, a precedence over that of all other witnesses. We now ask the reader's attention to the testimonies which follow. They are endorsed by responsible names—men who 'speak what they know, and testify what they have seen'—testimonies which show, that the slaveholders who wrote the preceding advertisements, describing the work of their own hands, in branding with hot irons, maiming, mutilating, cropping, shooting, knocking out the teeth and eyes of their slaves, breaking their bones, &c.,

"Was committed to jail, a negro named Bob, appears to be crippled in the right leg."

"Was committed to jail, a negro man, has his left leg broke."

"Ranaway, my negro man, he has the end of one of his fingers broken."

"Ranaway, a yellowish negro boy named Tom, has a notch in the back of one of his ears."

"Will be sold Martha, aged nineteen, has one eye out."

"Ranaway, negro man Ephraim, has a mark over one of his eyes, occasioned by a blow."

"Was committed a negro, calls himself Jacob, has been crippled in his right leg."

"Committed to jail, a negro man Cary, a large scar on his forehead."

"Committed as a runaway, a negro man Jack, he has several scars on his face."

"Absented himself, his negro man Ben, has scars on his throat, occasioned by the cut of a knife."

"Ranaway, a negro man, John, a scar across his cheek, and one on his right arm, apparently done with a knife."

"Committed to jail, a runaway slave, Alexander, a scar on his left cheek."

"Ranaway, negro Phil, scar through the right eye brow, part of the middle toe on the right foot cut off."

"Ranaway, John, has a scar on one of his hands extending from the wrist joint to the little finger, also a scar on one of his legs."

"Absconded, mulatto slave Alick, has a large scar over one of his cheeks."

"200 DOLLARS REWARD for Nelson, has a scar on his forehead occasioned by a burn, and one on his lower lip and one about the knee."

"Ranaway, a negro man and his wife, named Nat and Priscilla, he has a small scar on his left cheek, two stiff fingers on his right hand with a running sore on them; his wife has a scar on her left arm, and one upper tooth out."

have manifested, as far as they have gone in the description, a commendable fidelity to truth.

It is probable that some of the scars and maimings in the preceding advertisements were the result of accidents; and some may be the result of violence inflicted by the slaves upon each other. Without arguing that point, we say, these are the facts; whoever reads and ponders them will need no argument to convince him, that the proposition which they have been employed to sustain, cannot be shaken. That any considerable portion of them were accidental, is totally improbable, from the nature of the case; and in most instances disproved by the advertisements

themselves. That they have not been produced by assaults of the slaves upon each other, is manifest from the fact, that injuries of that character inflicted by the slaves upon each other, are, as all who are familiar with the habits and condition of slaves well know, exceedingly rare; and of necessity must be so, from the constant action upon them of the strongest dissuasives from such acts that can operate on human nature.

Advertisements similar to the preceding may at any time be gathered by scores from the daily and weekly newspapers of the slave states. Before presenting the reader with further testimony in proof of the proposition at the head of this part of our subject, we remark, that some of the tortures enumerated under this and the preceding heads, are not in all cases inflicted by slaveholders as *punishments*, but sometimes merely as preventives of escape, for the greater security of their 'property.' Iron collars, chains, &c. are put upon slaves when they are driven or transported from one part of the country to another, in order to keep them from running away. Similar measures are often resorted to upon plantations. When the master or owner suspects a slave of plotting an escape, an iron collar with long 'horns,' or a bar of iron, or a ball and chain, are often fastened upon him, for the double purpose of retarding his flight, should he attempt it, and of serving as an easy means of detection.

Another inhuman method of *marking* slaves, so that they may be easily described and detected when they escape, is called *cropping*. In the preceding advertisements, the reader will per-

ceive a number of cases, in which the runaway is described as '*cropt*,' or a '*notch cut* in the ear, or a part or the whole of the ear *cut off*;' &c.

Two years and a half since, the writer of this saw a letter, then just received by Mr. Lewis Tappan, of New York, containing a negro's ear cut off close to the head. The writer of the letter, who signed himself Thomas Aylethorpe, Montgomery, Alabama, sent it to Mr. Tappan as 'a specimen of a negro's ears,' and desired him to add it to his 'collection.'

Another method of *marking* slaves, is by drawing out or breaking off one or two *front teeth*—commonly the upper ones, as the mark would in that case be the more obvious. An instance of this kind the reader will recall in the testimony of Sarah M. Grimké, page 30, and of which she had *personal* knowledge; being well acquainted both with the inhuman master, (a distinguished citizen of South Carolina,) by whose order the brutal deed was done, and with the poor young girl whose mouth was thus barbarously mutilated, to furnish a convenient mark by which to describe her in case of her *elopement*, as she had frequently run away.

The case stated by Miss G. serves to unravel what, to one uninitiated, seems quite a mystery: i. e. the frequency with which, in the advertisements of runaway slaves published in southern papers, they are described as having *one or two front teeth out*. Scores of such advertisements are in southern papers now on our table. We will furnish the reader with a dozen or two.

WITNESSES.

Jose Debruhl, sheriff, Richland District. "Columbia (S. C.) Telescope," Feb. 24, 1838.

Mr. John Hunt, Black Water Bay, "Pensacola (Ga.) Gazette," October 14, 1837.

Mr. John Frederick, Branchville, Orangeburgh District, S. C. "Charleston S. C. Courier," June 12, 1837.

Mr. Ebert A. Raworth, eight miles west of Nashville on the Charlotte road, "Daily Republican Banner," Nashville, Tennessee, April 30, 1838.

Benjamin Russel, Deputy sheriff, Bibb Co. Ga. "Macon (Ga.) Telegraph," Dec. 25, 1837.

F. Wisner, Master of the Work House. "Charleston (S. C.) Courier," Oct. 17, 1837.

Mr. S. Neyle, "Savannah (Ga.) Republican," July 3, 1837.

Mr. John McMurray, near Columbus, "Georgia Messenger," Aug. 2, 1838.

Mr. John Kennedy, Stewart Co. La. "New Orleans Bee," April 7, 1837.

Mr. A. J. Hutchings, near Florence, Ala. "North Alabamian," August 25, 1838.

TESTIMONY.

"Committed to jail, Ned, about 25 years of age, has lost his *two upper front teeth*."

"100 DOLLARS REWARD, for Perry, *one under front tooth missing*, aged 23 years."

10 DOLLARS REWARD, for Mary, *one or two upper teeth out*, about 25 years old."

"Runaway, Myal, 23 years old, one of his *fore teeth out*."

"Brought to jail John, 23 years old, *one fore tooth out*."

"Committed to the Charleston Work House Tom, *two of his upper front teeth out*, about 30 years of age."

"Runaway Peter, has lost *two front teeth* in the upper jaw."

"Runaway, a boy named Moses, some of his *front teeth out*."

"Runaway, Sally, her *fore teeth out*."

"Runaway, George Winston, two of his *upper fore teeth out* immediately in front."

Mr. James Purdon, 33 Common street, N. O. "New Orleans Bee," Feb. 13, 1838.

Mr. Robert Calvert, in the "Arkansas State Gazette," August 22, 1838.

Mr. A. G. A. Beazley, in the Memphis Gazette," March 18, 1838.

Mr. Samuel Townsend, in the "Huntsville [Ala.] Democrat," May 24, 1837.

Mr. Philip A. Dew, in the "Virginia Herald," of May 24, 1837.

Mr. John Frederick, in the "Charleston Mercury," August 10, 1837.

Jesse Debruhl, sheriff of Richland District, in the "Columbia [S. C.] Telegraph," Sept. 2, 1837.

M. E. W. Gilbert, in the "Columbus [Ga.] Enquirer," Oct. 5, 1837.

Publisher of the "Charleston Mercury," Aug. 31, 1838.

Mr. Byrd M. Grace, in the "Macon [Ga.] Telegraph," Oct. 16, 1838.

Mr. George W. Barnes, in the "Milledgeville [Ga.] Journal," May 22, 1837.

D. Herring, Warden of Baltimore Jail, in "Baltimore Chronicle," Oct. 6, 1837.

Mr. J. L. Colborn, in the "Huntsville [Ala.] Democrat," July 4, 1837.

Samuel Harman Jr. in the "New Orleans Bee," Oct. 12, 1838.

Were it necessary, we might easily add to the preceding list, *hundreds*. The reader will remark that all the slaves, whose ages are given, are *young*—not one has arrived at middle age; consequently it can hardly be supposed that they have lost their teeth either from age or decay. The probability that their teeth were taken out by force, is increased by the fact of their being *front teeth* in almost every case, and from the fact that the loss of no *other* is mentioned in the advertisements. It is well known that the front teeth are not generally the first to fail. Further, it is notorious that the teeth of the slaves are remarkably sound and serviceable, that they decay far less, and at a much later period of life than the teeth of the whites: owing partly, no doubt, to original constitution; but more probably to their diet, habits, and mode of life.

As an illustration of the horrible mutilations *sometimes* suffered by them in the breaking and tearing out of their teeth, we insert the following, from the New-Orleans Bee of May 31, 1837.

\$10 REWARD.—Ranaway, Friday, May 12, JULIA, a negress, EIGHTEEN OR TWENTY YEARS OLD.

"Ranaway, Jackson, has lost *one of his front teeth*."

"Ranaway, Jack, 25 years old, has lost *one of his fore teeth*."

"Ranaway, Abraham, 20 or 22 years of age, *his front teeth out*."

"Ranaway, Dick, 18 or 20 years of age, *has one front tooth out*."

"Ranaway, Washington, about 25 years of age, *has an upper front tooth out*."

"50 DOLLARS REWARD, for Mary, 25 or 26 years of age, *one or two upper teeth out*."

"Committed to jail, Ned, 25 or 26 years old, has lost *his upper front teeth*."

"50 DOLLARS REWARD, for Prince, 25 or 26 years of age, *one or two teeth out in front on the upper jaw*."

"Ranaway, Scler Saunders, *one fore tooth out*, about 23 years of age."

"Ranaway, Warren, about 25 or 26 years old, has lost *some of his front teeth*."

"Ranaway, Henry, about 23 years old, has *one of his upper front teeth out*."

"Committed to jail Elizabeth Steward, 17 or 18 years old, *has one of her front teeth out*."

"Ranaway Lily, 26 years of age, *one fore tooth gone*."

"50 DOLLARS REWARD, for Adolphe, 28 years old, *two of his front teeth are missing*."

SHE HAS LOST HER UPPER TEETH, and the *under ones are all broken*. Said reward will be paid to whoever will bring her to her master, No. 17 Barracks-street, or lodge her in the jail.

The following is contained in the same paper: Ranaway, NELSON, 27 years old,—"*ALL HIS TEETH ARE MISSING*."

This advertisement is signed by "SELFIE Faubourg Marigny."

We now call the attention of the reader to a mass of testimony in support of our general proposition.

GEORGE B. RIPLEY, Esq. of Norwich, Connecticut, has furnished the following statement, in a letter dated Dec. 12, 1838.

"GURDON CHAPMAN, Esq., a respectable merchant of our city, one of our county commissioners,—last spring a member of our state legislature,—and whose character for veracity is above suspicion, about a year since visited the county of Nansemond, Virginia, for the purpose of buying a cargo of corn. He purchased a large quantity of Mr. _____, with whose family he spent a week or ten days; after he returned, he related to me and several other citizens the following facts:

In order to prepare the corn for market by the time agreed upon, the slaves were worked as hard as they would bear, from daybreak until 9 or 10 o'clock at night. They were called directly from their bunks in the morning to their work, without a morsel of food until noon, when they took their breakfast and dinner, consisting of bacon and corn bread. The quantity of meat was not one tenth of what the same number of northern laborers usually have at a meal. They were allowed but fifteen minutes to take this meal, at the expiration of this time the horn was blown. The rigor with which they enforce punctuality to its call, may be imagined from the fact, that a little boy only nine years old was whipped so severely by the driver, that in many places the whip cut through his clothes (which were of cotton,) for tardiness of more than three minutes. They then worked without intermission until 9 or 10 at night; after which they prepared and ate their second meal, as scanty as the first. An aged slave, who was remarkable for his industry and fidelity, was working with all his might on the threshing floor; amidst the clatter of the shelling and winnowing machines the master spoke to him, but he did not hear; he presently gave him several severe cuts with the raw hide, saying, at the same time, "Damn you, if you cannot hear I'll see if you can feel!" One morning the master rose from breakfast and whipped most cruelly, with a raw hide, a nice girl who was waiting on the table, for not opening a west window when he had told her to open an east one. The number of slaves was only forty, and yet the lash was in constant use. The bodies of all of them were literally covered with old scars.

"Not one of the slaves attended church on the Sabbath. The social relations were scarcely recognised among them, and they lived in a state of promiscuous concubinage. The master said he took pains to breed from his best stock—the winter the progeny the higher they would sell for house servants. When asked by Mr. C. if he did not fear his slaves would run away if he whipped them so much, he replied, they know too well what they must suffer if they are taken—and then said, 'I'll tell you how I treat my runaway niggers. I had a big nigger that ran away the second time; as soon as I got track of him I took three good fellows and went in pursuit, and found him in the night, some miles distant, in a corn-house; we took him and ironed him hand and foot, and carted him home. The next morning we tied him to a tree, and whipped him until there was not a sound place on his back. I then tied his ankles and hoisted him up to a limb—feet up and head down—we then whipped him, until the damned nigger smoked so that I thought he would take fire and burn up. We then took him down; and to make sure that he should not run away the third time, I run my knife in back of the ankles, and cut off the large cords,—and then I ought to have put some lead into the wounds, but I forgot it.'

"The truth of the above is from unquestionable authority; and you may publish or suppress it, as shall best subserve the cause of God and humanity."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM STEPHEN SEWALL,

Esq., Winthrop, Maine, dated Jan. 12th, 1859. Mr. S. is a member of the Congregational church in Winthrop, and late agent of the Winthrop Manufacturing company.

"Being somewhat acquainted with slavery, by a residence of about five years in Alabama, and having witnessed many acts of slaveholding cruelty, I will mention one or two that came under my eye; and one of excessive cruelty mentioned to me at the time, by the gentleman (now dead,) that interfered in behalf of the slave.

"I was witness to such cruelties by an overseer to a slave, that he twice attempted to drown himself, to get out of his power: this was on a raft of staves, in the Mobile river. I saw an owner take his runaway slave, tie a rope round him, then get on his horse, give the slave and horse a cut with the whip, and run the poor creature barefooted, very fast, over rough ground, where small black jack oaks had been cut up, leaving the sharp stumps, on which the slave would frequently fall; then the master would drag him as long as he could himself hold out; then stop, and whip him up on his feet again—then proceed as before. This continued until he got out of my sight, which was about half a mile. But what further cruelties this wretched man, (whose passion was so excited that he could scarcely utter a word when he took the slave into his own power,) inflicted upon his poor victim, the day of judgment will unfold.

"I have seen slaves severely whipped on plantations, but this is an every day occurrence, and comes under the head of general treatment.

"I have known the case of a husband compelled to whip his wife. This I did not witness, though not two rods from the cabin at the time.

"I will now mention the case of cruelty before referred to. In 1820 or 21, while the public works were going forward on Dauphin Island, Mobile Bay, a contractor, engaged on the works, beat one of his slaves so severely that the poor creature had no longer power to writhe under his suffering; he then took out his knife, and began to cut his flesh in strips, from his hips down. At this moment, the gentleman referred to, who was also a contractor, shocked at such inhumanity, stepped forward, between the wretch and his victim, and exclaimed, 'If you touch that slave again you do it at the peril of your life.' The slaveholder raved at him for interfering between him and his slave; but he was obliged to drop his victim, fearing the arm of my friend—whose stature and physical powers were extraordinary."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MRS. MARY COWLES, a member of the Protestant Church at Geneva, Ashtabula county, Ohio, dated 12th, mo. 18th, 1838. Mrs. Cowles is a daughter of Mr. James Colwell of Brook county, Virginia, near West Liberty.

"In the year 1809, I think, when I was twenty-one years old, a man in the vicinity where I resided, in Brooke co. Va. near West Liberty, by the name of Morgan, had a little slave girl about six years old, who had a habit or rather a natural infirmity common to children of that age. On this account her master and mistress would pinch her ears

with hot tongs, and throw hot embers on her legs. Not being able to accomplish their object by these means, they at last resorted to a method too indelicate, and too horrible to describe in detail. Suffice it to say, it soon put an end to her life in the most excruciating manner. If further testimony to authenticate what I have stated is necessary, I refer you to Dr. Robert Mitchel who then resided in the vicinity, but now lives at Indiana, Pennsylvania, above Pittsburgh."

MARY COWLES.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM LADD, Esq., now of Minot, Maine, formerly a slaveholder in Florida. Mr. Ladd is now the President of the American Peace Society. In a letter dated November 29, 1838, Mr. Ladd says:

"While I lived in Florida I knew a slaveholder whose name was Hutchinson, he had been a preacher and a member of the Senate of Georgia. He told me that he dared not keep a gun in his house, because he was so passionate; and that he had been the death of three or four men. I understood him to mean slaves. One of his slaves, a girl, once came to my house. She had run away from him at Indian river. The cords of one of her hands were so much contracted that her hand was useless. It was said that he had thrust her hand into the fire while he was in a fit of passion, and held it there, and this was the effect. My wife had hid the girl, when Hutchinson came for her. Out of compassion for the poor slave, I offered him more than she was worth, which he refused. We afterward let the girl escape, and I do not know what became of her, but I believe he never got her again. It was currently reported of Hutchinson, that he once knocked down a new negro (one recently from Africa) who was clearing up land, and who complained of the cold, as it was mid-winter. The slave was stunned with the blow. Hutchinson, supposing he had the 'sulks,' applied fire to the side of the slave until it was so roasted that he said the slave was not worth curing, and ordered the other slaves to pile on brush, and he was consumed.

"A murder occurred at the settlement, (Musquito) while I lived there. An overseer from Georgia, who was employed by a Mr. Cornick, in a fit of jealousy shot a slave of Samuel Williams, the owner of the next plantation. He was apprehended, but afterward suffered to escape. This man told me that he had rather whip a negro than sit down to the best dinner. This man had, near his house, a contrivance like that which is used in armies where soldiers are punished with the picket; by this the slave was drawn up from the earth, by a cord passing round his wrists, so that his feet could just touch the ground. It somewhat resembled a New England well sweep, and was used when the slaves were flogged.

"The treatment of slaves at Musquito I consider much milder than that which I have witnessed in the United States. Florida was under the Spanish government while I lived there. There were about fifteen or twenty plantations at Musquito. I have an indistinct recollection of four or five slaves dying of the cold in Amelia Island. They belonged to Mr. Runer of Musquito. The compensation of the overseers was a certain portion of the crop."

GERRIT SMITH, Esq. of Peterboro, in a letter dated Dec. 15, 1838, says:

"I have just been conversing with an intelligent man of this town, on the subject of the cruelty of slavery. My neighbors inform me that he is a man of veracity. The candid manner of his communication utterly forbade the suspicion that he was attempting to deceive me.

"My informant says that he resided in Louisiana and Alabama during a great part of the years 1819 and 1820:—that he frequently saw slaves whipped, never saw any killed; but he had heard of their being killed:—that in several instances he had seen a slave receive, in the space of two hours, five hundred lashes—each stroke drawing blood. He adds that this severe whipping was always followed by the application of strong brine to the lacerated parts.

"My informant further says, that in the spring of 1819, he steered a boat from Louisville to New Orleans. Whilst stopping at a plantation on the east bank of the Mississippi, between Natchez and New Orleans, for the purpose of making sale of some of the articles with which the boat was freighted, he and his fellow boatmen saw a singularly cruel punishment inflicted on a couple of slaves for the repeated offence of running away. Straw was spread over the whole of their backs, and, after being fastened by a band of the same material, was ignited, and left to burn, until entirely consumed. The agonies and screams of the sufferers he can never forget."

Dr. DAVID NELSON, late president of Mass. College, Missouri, a native of Tennessee, and now forty years old a slaveholder, said in an Anti-Slavery address at Northampton, Mass. Jan. 1839—

"I have not attempted to harrow your feelings with stories of cruelty. I will, however, mention one or two among the many incidents that came under my observation as family physician. I was one day dressing a blister, and the mistress of the house sent a little black girl into the kitchen to bring me some warm water. She probably mistook her message; for she returned with a bowl full of boiling water; which her mistress, as soon as perceived, than she thrust her hand into it, and held it there till it was half cooked."

Mr. HENRY H. LOOMIS, a member of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in the city of New York, says, in a recent letter—

"The Rev. Mr. Hart, recently my pastor at Otsego county, New York, and who has spent some time at the south as a teacher, stated to me that in the neighborhood in which he resided a slave was set to watch a turnip patch near an academy, in order to keep off the boys who occasionally trespassed on it. Attempting to repeat the trespass in presence of the slave, they were told that his 'master forbid it.' At this the boys were enraged, and hurled brickbats at the slave until his face and other parts were much injured and wounded—but nothing was said or done about it as an injury to the slave.

"He also said, that a slave from the same neighborhood was found out in the woods, with his arms and legs burned almost to a cinder, up as

for as the elbow and knee joints; and there appeared to be but little more said or thought about it than if he had been a brute. It was supposed that his master was the cause of it—making him an example of punishment to the rest of the gang.”

The following is an extract of a letter dated March 5, 1839, from Mr. JOHN CLARKE, a highly respected citizen of Scriba, Oswego county, New York, and a member of the Presbyterian church.

The ‘Mrs. Turner’ spoken of in Mr. C.’s letter, is the wife of Hon. Fielding S. Turner, who in 1803 resided at Lexington, Kentucky, and was the attorney for the Commonwealth. Soon after that, he removed to New Orleans, and was for many years Judge of the Criminal Court of that city. Having amassed an immense fortune, he returned to Lexington a few years since, and still resides there. Mr. C. the writer, spent the winter of 1836–7 in Lexington. He says,

“Yours of the 27th ult. is received, and I hasten to state the facts which came to my knowledge while in Lexington, respecting the occurrences about which you inquire. Mrs. Turner was originally a Boston lady. She is from 35 to 40 years of age, and the wife of Judge Turner, formerly of New Orleans, and worth a large fortune in slaves and plantations. I repeatedly heard, while in Lexington, Kentucky, during the winter of 1836–7, of the wanton cruelty practised by this woman upon her slaves, and that she had caused several to be whipped to death; but I never heard that she was suspected of being deranged, otherwise than by the indulgence of an ungoverned temper, until I heard that her husband was attempting to incarcerate her in the Lunatic Asylum. The citizens of Lexington, believing the charge to be a false one, rose and prevented the accomplishment for a time, until, lulled by the fair promises of his friends, they left his domicile, and in the dead of night she was taken by force, and conveyed to the asylum. This proceeding being judged illegal by her friends, a suit was instituted to liberate her. I heard the testimony on the trial, which related only to proceedings had in order to getting her admitted into the asylum; and no facts came out relative to her treatment of her slaves, other than of a general character.

“Some days after the above trial, (which by the way did not come to an ultimate decision, as I believe) I was present in my brother’s office, when Judge Turner, in a long conversation with my brother on the subject of his trials with his wife, said, ‘That woman has been the immediate cause of the death of six of my servants, by her severities.’

“I was repeatedly told, while I was there, that she drove a colored boy from the second story window, a distance of 15 to 18 feet, on to the pavement, which made him a cripple for a time.

“I heard the trial of a man for the murder of his slave, by whipping, where the evidence was to my mind perfectly conclusive of his guilt; but the jury were two of them for convicting him of manslaughter, and the rest for acquitting him;

and as they could not agree were discharged—and on a subsequent trial, as I learned by the papers, the culprit was acquitted.”

REV. THOMAS SAVAGE, of Bedford, New Hampshire, in a recent letter, states the following fact:

“The following circumstance was related to me last summer, by my brother, now residing as a physician, at Rodney, Mississippi; and who, though a pro-slavery man, spoke of it in terms of reprobation, as an act of capricious, wanton cruelty. The planter who was the actor in it I myself knew; and the whole transaction is so characteristic of the man, that, independent of the strong authority I have, I should entertain but little doubt of its authenticity. He is a wealthy planter, residing near Natchez, eccentric, capricious and intemperate. On one occasion he invited a number of guests to an elegant entertainment, prepared in the true style of southern luxury. From some cause, none of the guests appeared. In a moody humor, and under the influence, probably, of mortified pride, he ordered the overseer to call the people (a term by which the field hands are generally designated,) on to the piazza. The order was obeyed, and the people came. ‘Now,’ said he, ‘have them seated at the table. Accordingly they were seated at the well-furnished, glittering table, while he and his overseer waited on them, and helped them to the various dainties of the feast. ‘Now,’ said he, after a while, raising his voice, ‘take these ras-cals, and give them twenty lashes a piece. I’ll show them how to eat at my table.’ The overseer, in relating it, said he had to comply, though reluctantly, with this brutal command.”

MR. HENRY P. THOMPSON, a native and still a resident of Nicholasville, Kentucky, made the following statement at a public meeting in Lane Seminary, Ohio, in 1833. He was at that time a slaveholder.

“Cruelties, said he, are so common, I hardly know what to relate. But one fact occurs to me just at this time, that happened in the village where I live. The circumstances are these. A colored man, a slave, ran away. As he was crossing Kentucky river, a white man, who suspected him, attempted to stop him. The negro resisted. The white man procured help, and finally succeeded in securing him. He then wreaked his vengeance on him for resisting—flogging him till he was not able to walk. They then put him on a horse, and came on with him ten miles to Nicholasville. When they entered the village, it was noticed that he sat upon his horse like a drunken man. It was a very hot day; and whilst they were taking some refreshment, the negro sat down upon the ground, under the shade. When they ordered him to go, he made several efforts before he could get up; and when he attempted to mount the horse, his strength was entirely insufficient. One of the men struck him, and with an oath ordered him to get on the horse without any more fuss. The negro staggered back a few steps, fell down, and died. I do not know that any notice was ever taken of it.”

REV. COLEMAN S. HODGES, a native and still

a resident of Western Virginia, gave the following testimony at the same meeting.

"I have frequently seen the mistress of a family in Virginia, with whom I was well acquainted, beat the woman who performed the kitchen work, with a stick two feet and a half long, and nearly as thick as my wrist; striking her over the head, and across the small of the back, as she was bent over at her work, with as much spite as you would a snake, and for what I should consider no offence at all. There lived in this same family a young man, a slave, who was in the habit of running away. He returned one time after a week's absence. The master took him into the barn, stripped him entirely naked, tied him up by his hands so high that he could not reach the floor, tied his feet together, and put a small rail between his legs, so that he could not avoid the blows, and commenced whipping him. He told me that he gave him five hundred lashes. At any rate, he was covered with wounds from head to foot. Not a place as big as my hand but what was cut. Such things as these are perfectly common all over Virginia; at least so far as I am acquainted. Generally, planters avoid punishing their slaves before strangers."

Mr. CALVIN H. TATE, of Missouri, whose father and brother were slaveholders, related the following at the same meeting. The plantation on which it occurred, was in the immediate neighborhood of his father's.

"A young woman, who was generally very badly treated, after receiving a more severe whipping than usual, ran away. In a few days she came back, and was sent into the field to work. At this time the garment next her skin was stiff like a scab, from the running of the sores made by the whipping. Towards night, she told her master that she was sick, and wished to go to the house. She went, and as soon as she reached it, laid down on the floor exhausted. The mistress asked her what the matter was? She made no reply. She asked again; but received no answer. 'I'll see,' said she, 'if I can't make you speak.' So taking the tongs, she heated them red hot, and put them upon the bottoms of her feet; then upon her legs and body; and, finally, in a rage, took hold of her throat. This had the desired effect. The poor girl faintly whispered, 'Oh, miss, don't—I am most gone; and expired.'

Extract of a letter from Rev. C. S. RENSRAW, pastor of the Congregational Church, Quincy, Illinois.

"Judge Menzies of Boone county, Kentucky, an elder in the Presbyterian Church, and a slaveholder, told me that he knew some overseers in the tobacco growing region of Virginia, who, to make their slaves careful in picking the tobacco, that is taking the worms off, (you know what a loathsome thing the tobacco worm is) would make them eat some of the worms, and others who made them eat every worm they missed in picking."

"Mrs. NANCY Judd, a member of the Non-Conformist Church in Osnaburg, Stark county,

Ohio, and formerly a resident of Kentucky, testifies that she knew a slaveholder,

"Mr. Brubecker, who had a number of slaves, among whom was one who would frequently avoid labor by hiding himself; for which he would get severe floggings without the desire to do so, and that at last Mr. B. would tie large stones on his naked body and whip them to make him tear his back, in order to break him of his habit of hiding."

Rev. HORACE MOULTON, a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Marlborough, Massachusetts, says:

"Some, when other modes of punishment will not subdue them, *cat-haul* them; that is, take them by the nap of the neck and tail, or by the hind legs, and drag the claws across the back and sides; this kind of punishment, as I have understood, poisons the flesh much worse than the whip, and is more dreaded by the slave."

Rev. ABEL BROWN, Jr. late pastor of the Baptist Church, Beaver, Pennsylvania, in a communication to Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, Editor of the *Christian Reflector*, says:

"I almost daily see the poor heart-broken slave making his way to a land of freedom. A short time since, I saw a noble, pious, distressed, and crushed slave, a member of the Baptist church, escaping from a (professed Christian) bloodhound, to a land where he could enjoy that which he had been robbed during forty years. His prayers would have made us all feel. I saw a Baptist sister of about the same age, her children had been torn from her, her head was covered with fresh wounds, while her upper lip had scarcely ceased to bleed, in consequence of a blow with the poker, which knocked out her teeth; she too, was going to a land of freedom. Only a very few days since, I saw a girl of about eighteen, with a child as white as myself, aged ten months; a Christian master was raising her child (as well his own perhaps) to sell to a southern market. She had heard of the intention, and at midnight took her only treasure and traveled twenty miles on foot through a land of strangers—she found friends."

Rev. HENRY T. HOPKINS, pastor of the Primitive Methodist Church in New York City, who resided in Virginia from 1821 to 1826, relates the following fact:

"An old colored man, the slave of Mr. Emerson, of Portsmouth, Virginia, being under deep conviction for sin, went into the back part of his master's garden to pour out his soul in prayer to God. For this offence he was whipped thirty-nine lashes."

Extract of a letter from DOCTOR F. JULIUS LE MOYNE, of Washington, Pennsylvania, dated Jan. 9, 1839.

"Lest you should not have seen the statement to which I am going to allude, I subjoin a brief outline of the facts of a transaction which occurred in Western Virginia, adjacent to this county, a number of years ago—a full account

of which was published in the "Witness" about two years since by Dr. Mitchell, who now resides in Indiana county, Pennsylvania. A slave boy ran away in cold weather, and during his concealment had his legs frozen; he returned, or was taken. After some time the flesh decayed and *doughed*—of course was offensive—he was carried out to a field and left there without bed, or shelter, *deserted to die*. His only companions were the house dogs which he called to him. After several days and nights spent in suffering and exposure, he was visited by Drs. McKitchen and Mitchell in the field, of their own accord, having heard by report of his lamentable condition; they remonstrated with the master; brought the boy to the house, amputated both legs, and he finally recovered."

Hon. JAMES K. PAULDING, the Secretary of the Navy of the U. States, in his "Letters from the South" published in 1817, relates the following:

"At one of the taverns along the road we were set down in the same room with an elderly man and a youth who seemed to be well acquainted with him, for they conversed familiarly and with true republican independence—for they did not mind who heard them. From the tenor of his conversation I was induced to look particularly at the elder. He was telling the youth something like the following detested tale. He was going, it seems, to Richmond, to inquire about a draft for seven thousand dollars, which he had sent by mail, but which, not having been acknowledged by his correspondent, he was afraid had been stolen, and the money received by the thief. 'I should not like to lose it,' said he, 'for I worked hard for it, and sold many a poor d—l of a black to Carolina and Georgia, to scrape it together.' He then went on to tell many a perfidious tale. All along the road it seems he made it his business to inquire where lived a man who might be tempted to become a party in this accursed traffic, and when he had got some half dozen of these poor creatures, he tied their hands behind their backs, and drove them three or four hundred miles or more, bare-headed and half naked through the burning southern sun. Fearful that *even southern humanity* would revolt at such an exhibition of human misery and human barbarity, he gave out that they were runaway slaves he was carrying home to their masters. On one occasion a poor black woman exposed this fallacy, and told the story of her being kidnapped, and when he got her into a wood out of hearing, he beat her, to use his own expression, 'till her back was white.' It seems he married all the men and women he bought, himself, because they would sell better for being man and wife! But, said the youth, were you not afraid, in traveling through the wild country and sleeping in lone houses, these slaves would rise and kill you? 'To be sure I was,' said the other, 'but I always fastened my door, put a chair on a table before it, so that it might wake me in falling, and slept with a loaded pistol in each hand. It was a bad life, and I left it off as soon as I could live without it; for many is the time I have separated wives from husbands, and husbands from wives, and parents from children, but then I made them amends by marrying them

again as soon as I had a chance, that is to say, I made them call each other man and wife, and sleep together, which is quite enough for negroes. I made one bad purchase though,' continued he. 'I bought a young mulatto girl, a lively creature, a great bargain. She had been the favorite of her master, who had lately married. The difficulty was to get her to go, for the poor creature loved her master. However, I swore most bitterly I was only going to take her to her mother's at — and she went with me, though she seemed to doubt me very much. But when she discovered, at last, that we were out of the state, I thought she would go mad, and in fact, the next night she drowned herself in the river close by. I lost a good five hundred dollars by this foolish trick.'" Vol. I. p. 121.

Mr. — SPILLMAN, a native, and till recently a resident of Virginia, now a member of the Presbyterian church in Delhi, Hamilton co., Ohio, has furnished the two following facts, of which he had personal knowledge.

"David Stallard, of Shenandoah co., Virginia, had a slave, who ran away; he was taken up and lodged in Woodstock jail. Stallard went with another man and took him out of the jail—tied him to their horses—and started for home. The day was excessively hot, and they rode so fast, dragging the man by the rope behind them, that he became perfectly exhausted—fainted—dropped down, and died.

"Henry Jones, of Culpepper co., Virginia, owned a slave, who ran away. Jones caught him, tied him up, and for two days, at intervals, continued to flog him, and rub salt into his mangled flesh, until his back was literally cut up. The slave sunk under the torture; and for some days it was supposed he must die. He, however, slowly recovered; though it was some weeks before he could walk."

Mr. NATHAN COLE, of St. Louis, Missouri, in a letter to Mr. Arthur Tappan, of New-York, dated July 2, 1834, says,—

"You will find inclosed an account of the proceedings of an inquest lately held in this city upon the body of a slave, the details of which, if published, not one in ten could be induced to believe true.* It appears that the master or mistress, or both, suspected the unfortunate wretch of hiding a bunch of keys which were missing; and to extort some explanation, which, it is more than probable, the slave was as unable to do as her mistress, or any other person, her master, Major Harney, an officer of our army, had whipped her for three successive days, and it is supposed by some, that she was kept tied during the time, until her flesh was so lacerated and torn that it was impossible for the jury to say whether it had been done with a whip or hot iron; some think both—but she was tortured to death. It appears also that the husband of the said slave had become suspected of telling some neighbor of what was going on, for

* The following is the newspaper notice referred to:—

An inquest was held at the dwelling house of Major Harney, in this city, on the 27th inst. by the coroner, on the body of Hannah, a slave. The jury, on their oaths, and after hearing the testimony of physicians and several other witnesses, found, that said slave "came to her death by wounds inflicted by William S. Harney."

which Major Harney commenced torturing him, until the man broke from him, and ran into the Mississippi and drowned himself. The man was a pious and very industrious slave, perhaps not surpassed by any in this place. The woman has been in the family of John Shackford, Esq., the present doorkeeper of the Senate of the United States, for many years; was considered an excellent servant—was the mother of a number of children—and I believe was sold into the family where she met her fate, as matter of conscience, to keep her from being sent below.*

Mr. EZEKIEL BIRDSEYE, a highly respected citizen of Cornwall, Litchfield co., Connecticut, who resided for many years at the south, furnished to the Rev. E. R. Tyler, editor of the Connecticut Observer, the following personal testimony.

"While I lived in Limestone co., Alabama, in 1826-7, a tavern-keeper of the village of Morcsville discovered a negro carrying away a piece of old carpet. It was during the Christmas holidays, when the slaves are allowed to visit their friends. The negro stated that one of the servants of the tavern owed him some twelve and a half or twenty-five cents, and that he had taken the carpet in payment. This the servant denied. The innkeeper took the negro to a field near by, and whipped him cruelly. He then struck him with a stake, and punched him in the face and mouth, knocking out some of his teeth. After this, he took him back to the house, and committed him to the care of his son, who had just then come home with another young man. This was at evening. They whipped him by turns, with heavy cowskins, and made the dogs shake him. A Mr. Phillips, who lodged at the house, heard the cruelty during the night. On getting up he found the negro in the bar-room, terribly mangled with the whip, and his flesh so torn by the dogs, that the cords were bare. He remarked to the landlord that he was dangerously hurt, and needed care. The landlord replied that he deserved none. Mr. Phillips went to a neighboring magistrate, who took the slave home with him, where he soon died. The father and son were both tried, and acquitted!! A suit was brought, however, for damages in behalf of the owner of the slave, a young lady by the name of Agnes Jones. I was on the jury when these facts were stated on oath. Two men testified, one that he would have given \$1000 for him, the other \$900 or \$950. The jury found the latter sum.

"At Union Court House, S. C., a tavern-keeper, by the name of Samuel Davis, procured the conviction and execution of his own slave, for stealing a cake of gingerbread from a grog shop. The slave raised the latch of the back door, and took the cake, doing no other injury. The shopkeeper, whose name was Charles Gordon, was willing to forgive him, but his master procured his conviction and execution by hanging. The slave had but one arm; and an order on the state treasury by the court that tried him, which also assessed his value, brought him more money than he could have obtained for the slave in market."

Mr. —, an elder of the Presbyterian Church in one of the slave states, lately wrote a letter to

an agent of the Anti-Slavery Society, in which he states the following fact. The name of the witness is with the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

"I was passing through a piece of timbered land, and on a sudden I heard a sound as of murder; I rode in that direction, and at some distance discovered a naked black man, hung to the limb of a tree by his hands, his feet chained together, and a pine rail laid with one end on the chain between his legs, and the other upon the ground, to steady him; and in this condition the overseer gave him four hundred lashes. The miserably lacerated slave was then taken down, and put to the care of a physician. And what do you suppose was the offence for which all this was done? Simply this: his owner, observing that he laid off cow-rows too crooked, he replied, 'Massa, much en grow on crooked row as on straight one!' This was it—this was enough. His overseer, boasting his skill in managing a nigger, he was submitted to him, and treated as above."

DAVID L. CHILD, Esq., of Northampton, Massachusetts, Secretary of the United States minister at the Court of Lisbon during the administration of President Monroe, stated the following fact in an oration delivered by him in Boston, in 1834. See Child's "Despotism of Freedom," p. 30.

"An honorable friend, who stands high in the state and in the nation,* was present at the burial of a female slave in Mississippi, who had been whipped to death at the stake by her master. Because she was gone longer of an errand to the neighboring town than her master thought necessary. Under the lash she protested that she was ill, and was obliged to rest in the fields. To complete the climax of horror, she was delivered of a dead infant while undergoing the punishment."

The same fact is stated by Mrs. Child in her "Appeal." In answer to a recent letter, inquiring of Mr. and Mrs. Child if they were now at liberty to disclose the name of their informant, Mr. C. says,—

"The witness who stated to us the fact was John James Appleton, Esq., of Cambridge, Mass. He is now in Europe, and it is not without hesitation that I give his name. He, however, has openly embraced our cause, and taken a conspicuous part in some anti-slavery public meetings since the time that I felt a scruple at publishing his name. Mr. Appleton is a gentleman of high talents and accomplishments. He has been Secretary of Legation at Rio Janeiro, Madrid, and the Hague; Commissioner at Naples, and Charge d'Affaires at Stockholm."

The two following facts are stated upon the authority of the Rev. JOSEPH G. WILSON, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Salem, Washington co., Indiana.

"In Bath co., Kentucky, Mr. L., in the year '32 or '33, while intoxicated, in a fit of rage whipped a female slave until she fainted and fell on the floor. Then he whipped her to get up; then

* "The narrator of this fact is now absent from the United States, and I do not feel at liberty to mention his name."

with red hot tongs he turned off her ears, and whipped her again! but all in vain. He then ordered his negro men to carry her to the cabin. There she was found dead next morning.

"One Wall, in Chester district, S. C., owned a slave, whom he hired to his brother-in-law, Wm. Bekman, for whom the slave worked eighteen months, and worked well. Two weeks after returning to his master he ran away on account of bad treatment. To induce him to return, the master sold him *nominally* to his neighbor, to whom the slave gave himself up, and by whom he was returned to his master:—Punishment, stripes. To prevent escape a bar of iron was fastened with three bands, at the waist, knee, and ankle. That night he broke the bands and bars, and escaped. Next day he was taken and whipped to death, by three men, the master, Thorn, and the overseer. First, he was whipped and driven towards home; on the way he attempted to escape, and was shot at by the master,—caught, and knocked down with the butt of the gun by Thorn. In attempting to cross a ditch he fell, with his feet down, and face on the bank; they whipped in vain to get him up—he died. His soul ascended to God, to be a swift witness against his oppressors. This took place at 12 o'clock. Next evening an inquest was held. Of thirteen jurors, summoned by the coroner, nine said it was murder; two said it was manslaughter, and two said it was *JUSTIFIABLE!* He was bound over to court, tried, and acquitted—not even fined!"

The following fact is stated on the authority of Mr. Wm. WILLIS, of Green Plains, Clark co. Ohio; formerly of Caroline co. on the eastern shore of Maryland.

"Mr. W. knew a slave called Peter White, who was sold to be taken to Georgia; he escaped, and lived a long time in the woods—was finally taken. When he found himself surrounded, he surrendered himself quietly. When his pursuers had him in their possession, they shot him in the leg, and broke it, out of mere wantonness. The next day a Methodist minister set his leg, and bound it up with splints. The man who took him, then went into his place of confinement, wantonly jumped upon his leg and crushed it. His name was William Sparks."

Most of our readers are familiar with the horrible atrocities perpetrated in New Orleans, in 1834, by a certain Madame La Laurie, upon her slaves. They were published extensively in northern newspapers at the time. The following are extracts from the accounts as published in the New Orleans papers immediately after the occurrence. The New Orleans Bee says:—

"Upon entering one of the apartments, the most appalling spectacle met their eyes. Seven slaves, more or less horribly mutilated, were seen suspended by the neck, with their limbs apparently stretched and torn, from one extremity to the other. They had been confined for several months in the situation from which they had thus providentially been rescued; and had been merely kept in existence to prolong their sufferings, and to make them taste all that a most refined cruelty could inflict."

The New Orleans Mercantile Advertiser says:—
"A negro woman was found chained, covered with bruises and wounds from severe flogging.—All the apartments were then forced open. In a room on the ground floor, two more were found chained, and in a deplorable condition. Up stairs and in the garret, four more were found chained; some so weak as to be unable to walk, and all covered with wounds and sores. One mulatto boy declares himself to have been chained for five months, being fed daily with only a handful of meal, and receiving every morning the most cruel treatment."

The New Orleans Courier says:—
"We saw one of these miserable beings.—He had a large hole in his head—his body, from head to foot, was covered with scars and filled with worms."

The New Orleans Mercantile Advertiser says:—
"Seven poor unfortunate slaves were found—some chained to the floor, others with chains around their necks, fastened to the ceiling; and one poor old man, upwards of sixty years of age, chained hand and foot, and made fast to the floor, in a *knéeing position*. His head bore the appearance of having been beaten until it was broken, and the worms were actually to be seen making a feast of his brains!! A woman had her back literally cooked (if the expression may be used) with the lash; *the very bones might be seen projecting through the skin!*"

The New York Sun, of Feb. 21, 1837, contains the following:—

"Two negroes, runaways from Virginia, were overtaken a few days since near Johnstown, Columbia co. N. Y. when the persons in pursuit called out for them to stop or they would shoot them.—One of the negroes turned around and said, he would die before he would be taken, and at the moment received a rifle ball through his knee: the other started to run, but was brought to the ground by a ball being shot in his back. After receiving the above wounds they made battle with their pursuers, but were captured and brought into Johnstown. It is said that the young men who shot them had orders to take them dead or alive."

Mr. M. M. SHAFTER, of Townsend, Vermont, recently a graduate of the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut, makes the following statement:

"Some of the events of the Southampton, Va. insurrection were narrated to me by Mr. Benjamin W. Britt, from Riddicksville, N. C. Mr. Britt claimed the honor of having shot a black on that occasion, for the crime of disobeying Mr. Britt's imperative 'Stop!' And Mr. Ashurst, of Edenton, Georgia, told me that a neighbor of his 'fired at a likely negro boy of his mother,' because the said boy encroached upon his premises."

Mr. DAVID HAWLEY, a class leader in the Methodist Episcopal Church at St. Albans, Licking county, Ohio, who moved from Kentucky to Ohio in 1831, certifies as follows:—

"About the year 1825, a slave had escaped for

Canada, but was arrested in Hardin county. On his return, I saw him in Hart county—his wrists tied together before, his arms tied close to his body, the rope then passing behind his body, thence to the neck of a horse on which rode the master, with a club about three feet long, and of the size of a hoe handle; which, by the appearance of the slave, had been used on his head, so as to wear off the hair and skin in several places, and the blood was running freely from his mouth and nose; his heels very much bruised by the horse's feet, as his master had rode on him because he *would* not go fast enough. Such was the slave's appearance when passing through where I resided. Such cases were not unrequent."

The following is furnished by Mr. F. A. HART, of Middletown, Connecticut, a manufacturer, and an influential member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It occurred in 1824, about twenty-five miles this side of Baltimore, Maryland.—

"I had spent the night with a Methodist brother; and while at breakfast, a person came in and called for help. We went out and found a crowd collected around a carriage. Upon approaching we discovered that a slave-trader was endeavoring to force a woman into his carriage. He had already put in three children, the youngest apparently about eight years of age. The woman was strong, and whenever he brought her to the side of the carriage, she resisted so effectually with her feet that he could not get her in. The woman becoming exhausted, at length, by her frantic efforts, he thrust her in with great violence, *stamped her down upon the bottom with his feet!* shouted to the driver to go on; and away they rolled, the miserable captives moaning and shrieking, until their voices were lost in the distance."

Mr. SAMUEL HALL, a teacher in Marietta College, Ohio, writes as follows:—

"Mr. ISAAC C. FULLER is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Marietta. He was a fellow student of mine while in college, and now resides in this place. He says:—In 1832, as I was descending the Ohio with a flat boat, near the 'French Islands,' so called, below Cincinnati, I saw two negroes on horseback. The horses apparently took fright at something and ran. Both jumped over a rail fence; and one of the horses, in so doing, broke one of his fore-legs, falling at the same time and throwing the negro who was upon his back. A white man came out of a house not over two hundred yards distant, and came to the spot. Seizing a stake from the fence, he knocked the negro down five or six times in succession.

"In the same year I worked for a Mr. Nowland, eleven miles above Baton Rouge, La. at a place called 'Thomas' Bend.' He had an overseer who was accustomed to flog more or less of the slaves every morning. I heard the blows and screams as regularly as we used to hear the college bell that summoned us to any duty when we went to school. This overseer was a nephew of Nowland, and there were about fifty slaves on his plantation. Nowland himself related the following to me. One of his slaves ran away, and came to the Homo Chitto river, where he

found no means of crossing. Here he fell into a white man who knew his master, began a journey from that vicinity. He induced him to return to Baton Rouge, under the promise of giving him a pass, by which he might escape; in reality, to betray him to his master. This he instead of fulfilling his promise. Nowland says that he took the slave and inflicted five hundred lashes upon him, cutting his back all to pieces and then threw on hot embers. The slave on the plantation at the time, and told me the same story. He also rolled up his sleeves, and showed me the scars on his arms, which, in consequence, appeared in places to be callous to the bone. I was with Nowland between five and six months."

REV. JOHN RANKIN, formerly of Tennessee, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Ripley, Ohio, has furnished the following statement:—

"The Rev. LUDWELL G. GAINES, now pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Goshen, Clermont county, Ohio, stated to me, that while a resident of a slave state, he was summoned to assist in taking a man who had made his black wife work naked several days, and afterwards murdered her. The murderer armed himself, and threatened to shoot the officer who went to fetch him; and although there was ample assistance on hand, the officer declined further interference."

Mr. RANKIN adds the following:—

"A Presbyterian preacher, now resident in a slave state, and therefore it is not expedient to give his name, stated, that he saw on board a steamboat at Louisville, Kentucky, a woman who had been forced on board, to be carried off to all she counted dear on earth. She ran across the boat and threw herself into the river, in order to end a life of intolerable sorrows. She was drawn back to the boat and taken up. The brutal driver beat her severely, and she immediately threw herself again into the river. She was picked up again, chained, and carried off."

Testimony of Mr. WILLIAM HANSBROUGH, of Culpepper county, Virginia, the "owner" of many slaves.

"I saw a slave taken out of prison by his master, on a hot summer's day, and driven, by the master, on the road before him, till he dropped down dead."

The above statement was made by Mr. Hansbrough to Lindley Coates, of Lancaster county, Pa. a distinguished member of the Society of Friends, and a member of the late Convention in Pa. for altering the State Constitution. The letter from Mr. C. containing this testimony of Mr. H. is now before us.

Mr. TOBIAS BOUDINOT, a member of the Methodist Church in St. Albans, Licking county, Ohio, says:

"In Nicholasville, Ky. in the year 1823, I saw a slave fleeing before the patrol, but he was overtaken near where he stood, and a man with a knotted cane, as large as his wrist, struck the slave a number of times on his head, until the

club was broken and he made tame; the blood was thrown in every direction by the violence of the blows."

The Rev. WILLIAM DICKEY, of Bloomingburg, Fayette county, Ohio, wrote a letter to the Rev. John Rankin, of Ripley, Ohio, thirteen years since, containing a description of the cutting up of a slave with a broad axe; beginning at the feet and gradually cutting the legs, arms, and body into pieces! This diabolical atrocity was committed in the state of Kentucky, in the year 1807. The perpetrators of the deed were two brothers, Lilburn and Isham Lewis, NEPHEWS OF PRESIDENT JEFFERSON. The writer of this having been informed by Mr. Dickey, that some of the facts connected with this murder were not contained in his letter published by Mr. Rankin, requested him to write the account *anew*, and furnish the additional facts. This he did, and the letter containing it was published in the "Human Rights" for August, 1837. We insert it here, slightly abridged, with the introductory remarks which appeared in that paper.

"Mr. Dickey's first letter has been scattered all over the country, south and north; and though multitudes have affected to disbelieve its statements, Kentuckians know the truth of them quite too well to call them in question. The story is fiction or fact—if fiction, why has it not been nailed to the wall? Hundreds of people around the mouth of Cumberland River are personally knowing to these facts. There are the records of the court that tried the wretches.—There their acquaintances and kindred still live. All over that region of country, the brutal butchery of George is a matter of public notoriety. It is quite needless, perhaps, to add, that the Rev. Wm. Dickey is a Presbyterian clergyman, one of the oldest members of the Chillicothe Presbytery, and greatly respected and beloved by the churches in Southern Ohio. He was born in South Carolina, and was for many years pastor of a church in Kentucky.

REV. WM. DICKEY'S LETTER.

"In the county of Livingston, Ky. near the mouth of Cumberland River, lived Lilburn Lewis, a sister's son of the celebrated Jefferson. He was the wealthy owner of a considerable gang of negroes, whom he drove constantly, fed sparingly, and lashed severely. The consequence was, that they would run away. Among the rest was an ill-thrived boy of about seventeen, who, having just returned from a skulking spell, was sent to the spring for water, and in returning let fall an elegant pitcher: it was dashed to shivers upon the rocks. This was made the occasion for reekoning with him. It was night, and the slaves were all at home. The master had them all collected in the most roomy negro-house, and a rousing fire put on. When the door was secured, that none might escape, either through fear of him or sympathy with George, he opened to them the design of the interview, namely, that they might be effectually advised to stay at home and obey his orders. All things now in train, he called up

George, who approached his master with unreserved submission. He bound him with cords; and by the assistance of Isham Lewis, his youngest brother, laid him on a broad bench, the meat-block. He then proceeded to *hack off George at the ankles!* It was with the broad axe! In vain did the unhappy victim scream and roar! for he was completely in his master's power; not a hand among so many durst interfere: casting the feet into the fire, he lectured them at some length.—He next *chopped him off below the knees!* George roaring out and praying his master to begin at the other end! He admonished them again, throwing the legs into the fire—then, above the knees, tossing the joints into the fire—the next stroke severed the thighs from the body; these were also committed to the flames—and so it may be said of the arms, head, and trunk, until all was in the fire! He threatened any of them with similar punishment who should in future disobey, run away, or disclose the proceedings of that evening. Nothing now remained but to consume the flesh and bones; and for this purpose the fire was brightly stirred until two hours after midnight; when a coarse and heavy back-wall, composed of rock and clay, covered the fire and the remains of George. It was the Sabbath—this put an end to the amusements of the evening. The negroes were now permitted to disperse, with charges to keep this matter among themselves, and never to whisper it in the neighborhood, under the penalty of a like punishment.

"When he returned home and retired, his wife exclaimed, 'Why, Mr. Lewis, where have you been, and what were you doing?' She had heard a strange *pounding* and dreadful screams, and had smelled something like fresh meat burning. The answer he returned was, that he had never enjoyed himself at a ball so well as he had enjoyed himself that night.

"Next morning he ordered the hands to rebuild the back-wall, and he himself superintended the work, throwing the pieces of flesh that still remained, with the bones, behind, as it went up—thus hoping to conceal the matter. But it could not be hid—much as the negroes seemed to hazard, they did whisper the horrid deed. The neighbors came, and in his presence tore down the wall; and finding the remains of the boy, they apprehended Lewis and his brother, and testified against them. They were committed to jail, that they might answer at the coming court for this shocking outrage; but finding security for their appearance at court, THEY WERE ADMITTED TO BAIL!

"In the interim, other articles of evidence leaked out. That of Mrs. Lewis hearing a pounding, and screaming, and her smelling fresh meat burning, for not till now had this come out. He was offended with her for disclosing these things, alleging that they might have some weight against him at the pending trial.

"In connection with this is another item, full of horror. Mrs. Lewis, or her girl, in making her bed one morning after this, found, under her bolster, a keen BUTCHER KNIFE! The appalling discovery forced from her the confession that she considered her life in jeopardy. Messrs. Rice and Philips, whose wives were her sisters, went to see her and to bring her away if she wished it. Mr. Lewis received them with all the expressions of

Virginia hospitality. As soon as they were seated they said, 'Well, Letitia, we supposed that you might be unhappy here, and afraid for your life; and we have come to-day to take you to your father's, if you desire it.' She said, 'Thank you, kind brothers, I am indeed afraid for my life.'—We need not interrupt the story to tell how much surprised he affected to be with this strange procedure of his brothers-in-law, and with this declaration of his wife. But all his professions of fondness for her, to the contrary notwithstanding, they rode off with her before his eyes.—He followed and overtook, and went with them to her father's; but she was locked up from him, with her own consent, and he returned home.

Now he saw that his character was gone, his respectable friends believed that he had massacred George; but, worst of all, he saw that they considered the life of the harmless Letitia was in danger from his perfidious hands. It was too much for his chivalry to sustain. The proud Virginian sunk under the accumulated load of public odium. He proposed to his brother Isham, who had been his accomplice in the George affair, that they should finish the play of life with a still deeper tragedy. The plan was, that they should shoot one another. Having made the hot-brained bargain, they repaired with their guns to the grave-yard, which was on an eminence in the midst of his plantation. It was inclosed with a railing, say thirty feet square. One was to stand at one railing, and the other over against him at the other. They were to make ready, take aim, and count deliberately 1, 2, 3, and then fire. Lilburn's will was written, and thrown down open beside him. They cocked their guns and raised them to their faces; but the peradventure occurring that one of the guns might miss fire, Isham was sent for a rod, and when it was brought, Lilburn cut it off at about the length of two feet, and was showing his brother how the survivor might do,

provided one of the guns should fail; (for they were determined upon going together); but in getting, perhaps, in the perturbation of the moment that the gun was cocked. when he touched the trigger with the rod the gun fired, and he fell and died in a few minutes—and was with George in the eternal world, where *the slave is free from his master.* But poor Isham was so terrified by this unexpected occurrence, and so confounded by the awful contortions of his brother's face, that he had not nerve enough to follow up the play, and finish the plan as was intended, but suffered Lilburn to go alone. The negroes came running to see what it meant that a gun should be fired in the grave-yard. There lay their master, dead. They ran for the neighbors. Isham still remained on the spot. The neighbors at the first charged him with the murder of his brother. But he, though as if he had lost more than half his mind, told the whole story; and the course or range of the ball in the dead man's body agreeing with his statement, Isham was not farther charged with Lilburn's death.

"The Court sat—Isham was judged to be guilty of a capital crime in the affair of George. He was to be hanged at Salem. The day was set. My good old father visited him in the prison—two or three times talked and prayed with him; I visited him once myself. We fondly hoped that he was a sincere penitent. Before the day of execution came, by some means, I never knew what, Isham was *missing.* About two years after, we learned that he had gone down to Natchez, and had married a lady of some refinement and piety. I saw her letters to his sisters, who were worthy members of the church of which I was pastor. The last letter told of his death. He was in Jackson's army, and fell in the famous battle of New Orleans.

"I am, sir, your friend,

"Wm. DICKEY."