

cal profession of inability to check the flagrant interference with the freedom of election by "border-ruffians" in Kansas, who are, moreover, represented as the aggrieved party. There is not a line in this long statement which does not contain a proposition that will be indignantly denied by millions of the people to whom and on whose behalf President Pierce speaks; and it would indeed be difficult to produce a statement more entirely one-sided, suppressing more completely all adverse arguments, and garbling more carefully every statement on which it relies. We may, however, leave to the American press the task of accusing and defending the first two columns of this Message. We wish only that while the President was so eloquent on the evils of disunion, he had found space to say a word of those who boldly avowed that, should the South fail in electing its President, the Union must be dissolved, and had explained how a person so anxious for its preservation came to choose so many of his advisers from that party. We wish also that, when so much was said of violence, a word had been dropped reprobating the brutal attack on Mr. Sumner within the precincts of the Senate House, and deprecating the approbation of the deed, so common, we might say so universal, among the inhabitants of the Southern States.

We pass gladly from these matters of party business to the portions of the message which deal with the present and future policy of the country. The President recommends the reduction of the tariff; and those who consider that America is now paying thirty per cent. *ad valorem* duty on all foreign imported articles, will think that recommendation does not come before it is needed. High as the duty is, it is not enough to act as a prohibition, and many articles, such as iron for instance, are imported in large quantities, paying the thirty per cent. on the value of the article when landed in America. *The first, and often the only road in the United States, is a railroad.* Till this indispensable condition of civilization cleaves its way through the forest, the richest lands are left to the trapper, the Indian, and the buffalo. But with the iron-way comes settlement, and with settlement the arts and conveniences of civilized life. The railway has accelerated the colonization of the American continent by hundreds of years, and conferred upon it greater benefits than upon all the rest of the world put together. Yet the iron of which this inestimable agent of wealth and civilization is composed is artificially raised in price by something more than thirty per cent; and in order to benefit a few Pennsylvania iron masters, who cannot, even when thus protected, keep out the British producer, and that article of industry, the production of which lies at the root of all other industries, is rendered dearer than it might be by at least one-third. This is, in truth, protectionism run mad. What aggravates the absurdity is that the central government of the United States already possesses a revenue far too large for its wants, and is forced to have recourse to no little jobbing in order to get rid of funds which ought never to have been collected.

The part of an American President's message which is usually most liable to criticism, is that which relates to foreign affairs. We are happy to say that, in this respect, we have nothing to complain of in the document now before us. The treaty by which the troubles of Central America are put an end to is recommended to the favorable consideration of the Senate, and the reciprocity treaty is spoken of in terms of well-merited approbation. America has consented to give time for the amicable settlement of the Sound Dues' question. The suggestion of Mr. Marcy for extending the proposed abolition of privateering to the absolute protection of private property on the ocean is fairly and temperately advocated, and hopes are expressed that the allied Powers may soon be brought to see the necessity of acting on so enlightened a principle. Certain quarrels with the republic of Mexico and the conduct of New Granada with regard to the railway are lightly touched upon, and the President makes use of this remarkable expression: "We have to attempt to our power the less happy condition of other republics in America, and to place ourselves in the calmness and conscious dignity of right by the side of the greatest and wealthiest of the empires of Europe." We do not profess to know exactly what this means. We hope we are not wrong in putting upon it the interpretation that the President will for the future avoid the traditional policy which made the dignity of the republic consist in seeking for matter of offence wherever it could be found. Such is

the President's message. Reasonable and moderate as regards foreign affairs, and not, perhaps, more objectionable than might be expected with regard to domestic matters, it is an elaborate defence, such as can be made, for the many censurable acts of the present administration. It seems to lack hope and earnestness, and to be pervaded by the sentiment that the political career of its author is closed already, and hardly requires the ceremony of the 4th of March for its termination.

REMARKS.

American Railroads and American Iron. Railroad Securities.

The assertion that "the first and often the only road in the United States is a railroad" is too absurd to require refutation. Doubtless railroads are important here, but they are by no means common. Nor will a reduction in the duty on English railroad iron make them so. There is an abundance of good iron in this country, and as the English do not desire much more wealth than they have already got in the shape of American railroad bonds and stocks, we do not apprehend that the importation of English railroad iron into this country will be very large hereafter, whatever may be the tariff. Railroad companies must now pay cash for iron as American manufacturers cannot be induced to take "railroad securities," and there is a glut of them on the other side of the Atlantic.

Policy of the American Slaveowners in respect to Central America and the British West Indies.

[From the Liverpool Advertiser, December 5.]

The London *Times*, in one of those brilliant but enigmatical effusions with which it dazzles and bewilders the public mind, and prepares it for coming events, has just settled the question of British Protectorate of the Mosquito Indians, and foreshadowed the future fate of the Republics of Central America. For upwards of 200 years have the Mosquito race preserved with unshaken fidelity their friendship with the British nation. They have supplied us with shelter, food, and fuel, in the days when Spain was strong, England weak, and the United States in mere embryo. They have fought for us; they have suffered for us; but the edict has gone forth from Printing House Yard, and the Mosquito Indians are to be abandoned to the sympathies of the American filibusters. Power and glory rise in the East and travel in increasing splendor towards the West. The pinion of the American eagle is strong and her beak is whittled for the spoil; therefore the days of the Mosquito Protectorate are come to an end, and this faithful race is left to mourn over the ingratitude of its once powerful and fostering patron. The *Times*, however, with affecting gravity, asks, "Who are these Mosquitos? What are they? Where are they? Who knows anything about them?" And then, drawing its draught of knowledge from a book of imaginary travels, published last year by Mr. Squier, the agent of a railway proposed to be made through Honduras, answers with confidence, that there are no Mosquitos at all. The *Times*, indeed, in this merely echoes the New York *Herald*, out of which paper it extracted the treaty, (for our own Foreign Office is too careful ever to disclose the terms of a treaty until it is ratified and past recall.) The *Herald* says:—

It will be seen that Great Britain recognises the territorial limits of Honduras as their full extent, to the frontier formed by the River Wank or Sogon, as against any Mosquito pretensions to sovereignty. She merely stipulates that a mixed commission shall determine if any Mosquito Indians fall within the recognised limits of Honduras.

The Mosquito Indians may, therefore, according to the *Times* and the *Yankees*, be regarded as an extinct race. The *Times*, however, as we have said, lifts the veil of the future, and gives utterance to the following prophecy:

It is indeed, to be considered that virtually the question is with the United States, which are merely represented by the republic of Honduras as in this instance. In the eye and forecast of the States all North America is theirs, excepting only those portions already belonging to European Powers, or, as in this case, under a recognised European protection. The annexation of Honduras is supposed to be only a question of time, so of course the States are anxious to see it as much as possible extricated from British pretensions and aggrandized in its territory and dependencies. This is, in fact, the lubrication of the State, before it is finally swallowed.

The present emblem of the American nation is the eagle. The *Times* suggests the "snake" as more appropriate to the progress of that people. We venture to

think that this suggestion has arisen from observing what is now taking place in Nicaragua. Some few years ago a company was got up in New York called the "Accessory Transit Company," for the conveyance of passengers to, and gold from, San Francisco. This company asked and obtained from the Nicaraguans a right of transit and sundry small privileges. They soon afterwards picked up a quarrel with the authorities of Greytown, and thereupon the government at Washington sent Captain Hollins to bombard and burn down the town. The Nicaraguans stood by and chuckled over the burning ruins. The Transit Company, however, having removed Greytown, now turned their attention to the Nicaraguans themselves. Everybody knows that the dominant race of Central America are Spaniards—Spaniards by descent—Spaniards in feeling. They speak their native language, and cherish their native pride. They abhor the Yankees. But, says the *Times*, "In the eye and forecast of the States, all North America is theirs." Accordingly, we find that about two years ago there was practising in San Francisco, a young attorney, the legal adviser of the filibusters, the vanguard, the snake, of the American nation. After the destruction of Greytown this young lawyer was retained by the Accessory Company, and shortly after the destruction of Greytown he appeared in Nicaragua as General Walker. He quickly gathered about him a band of his former clients. He upset the government, seized on the capital of the country, shot and hanged all his opponents, and the process of lubrication commenced. Walker is now recognised at Washington as the President of the republic, and has already declared Nicaragua to be a slave State. According to the *Times*, "the annexation of Honduras is supposed to be only a question of time, and so of course the States are anxious to see it as much as possible extricated from British pretensions, and aggrandized in its territory and dependencies." The authorities in Honduras will no doubt view with much satisfaction the new treaty, which adds to their dominion so large an increase of territory, but we doubt whether they will receive with equal delight the assurance of the *Times*, that this sop is merely for the purpose of more easy "lubrication." No doubt, however, but that this decided expression of opinion on the part of the *Times*, coupled with the recent acts of aggression on the part of the Americans at Panama, will act as a timely caution to the republics of Central America, how they admit into their bosom frozen snakes of such "lubricating" powers. The proposed Honduras railway was ushered into existence by the Americans with the most plausible fairness. The scheme was engendered in New York—Paris was its birthplace. The French declined to father it. It is now cradled in London, but the English will disown it. New York, however, will rear the young snake, and then it will proceed in uninterrupted "lubrication" until it makes its final "swallow" of the republic of Honduras. That such is the policy of the United States is publicly avowed in the American press. The New Orleans *Pella* says:

The acquisition of Cuba in defiance of England and France would not split the Union; it would strengthen it. The regeneration of Central America by Walker, in alliance with the United States, would lead to the gradual emancipation of the West Indies from the infamous free-negroism established by the enemies of American republicanism.

The English government appear to be assisting the United States in this absorption of Central America. Refusing to obtain redress for the insult offered to the British flag at Greytown, or compensation for the injuries there inflicted on British subjects, it is content with making mock demonstrations on the coast of Mexico and New Granada, in order to draw off the attention of the people of Central America from their efforts to put down General Walker. It is now announced that the British fleets that were threatening these republics are withdrawn; and very properly so. They never ought to have gone there for any such purpose. It is one thing for the British government to demand reparation for an aggression like the destruction of Greytown, and another to convert the British Admiral into a bailiff to collect a debt. Was it ever suggested that the British navy should be employed to collect the moneys due to British subjects on Pennsylvania bonds? The whole course of the present policy of the government is contemptible in the extreme, and has no other effect but to assist the Southern States of America in carrying out their purpose of grasping the supreme power in perpetuity, by

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the creation of additional slave States, and ultimately emancipating the "West Indies" from the infamous free negroism established by the enemies of American republicanism."

The Project for the Renewal of the Slave-Trade. Why Opposed by Virginia. Condition of the Poor Whites.

[From the London Daily News.]

Virginia was sinking, and sinking through slavery, when Washington and Jefferson believed that it would presently abolish slavery, and gave a permissive power to Congress to stop the African Slave-trade after an interval ending in 1808. They did not foresee that Virginia, ruined by slave labor, would grow rich by slave-breeding. The demand for cotton first raised the price of negroes, and made the breeding of that sort of stock profitable, after the trade was prohibited. Since that, the rise in the value of labor, caused by the development of the North, (itself caused and sustained by the immigration of freed labor,) has perpetually raised the value of labor in every form, till the slave-breeding States have grown rich (as the cotton-growing States say) at the expense of agriculture and the planters. The cotton States cannot see, or do not choose to see, any other reason for their continuous decline and increasing embarrassment than the high price of slaves; and they pretend to believe that they could sustain the political power of the South by wealth equal to that of the North, if they were to forsake the Virginia market and draw their slaves from Africa. One remarkable result of this notion is that they now rival the Abolitionists in exposing the cruelties of the inter-state Slave-trade, ignoring on their side the horrors of the middle passage. Another consequence is, that the slave-breeding States are already letting out some of the secrets of the agricultural States—hitherto their friendly customers. Within a month, Governor Wise, of Virginia, has disclosed to Northern men the true ground of apprehension in the slave States. It is not the Abolitionists; it is not the negroes; it is the "mean whites." This class is now very numerous (seven-tenths to three-tenths of slaveholders;) and it is becoming desperate from the poverty and degradation which afflict free laborers in a slaveholding country. In Virginia, they have an influence which is not permitted in the active slave States; and the expectation of Governor Wise is that they will be able to bring a bill into the Virginia Legislature, prohibiting the practice of mechanic arts by negroes, in order to preserve one class of employment for poor whites. In opposition to this, the planters, and the townsmen who support them, are proposing to establish large manufactories, by means of African laborers, and certain advertisements before us show that slave labor is offered for the making of railroads, with the avowed object of excluding free labor as too dear.

The London "Daily News" on the American Colonization Society.

The London *Daily News*, in a recent article on the renewal of the Slave-trade, has the following:

For thirty years past, we have heard occasionally of the zeal of Americans for the civilization of Africa, as shown in the existence and proceedings of the Colonization Society. Coming events will complete the exposure—began twenty years since—of that scheme as a mockery, a delusion, and a snare. It is enough to say here that the scheme of establishing colonies on the African coast, where American negroes were to be settled to evangelise the natives, was begun by slaveholders, has been officered and supported by slaveholders, boasted of by slaveholders, and repudiated by everybody else as soon as its character was known. For a few years it took some time to understand its character, and every early abolitionist was a colonizationist at first. By degrees, however, it was perceived that no slaveholder liberated his slaves any more for the existence of Liberia or Cape Palmas; that it was a convenience to slaveowners to be able to shut down a clever or restless slave under hatches, and send him to Africa; that it was a convenience to the slaveowner to be able to point to that Society, when asked by any anxious traveller what was doing towards the abolition of slavery; and that the convenience was so great as to reconcile the slaveholding body to a considerable expenditure for small apparent results, or worse than no results at all. As to the interests of the *American* negro, the case was clear from the outset. The free ne-

groes refuse to go, saying that they are Americans, and choose to live in America, and not to be carried away to a country which is to them strange and barbarous. There is work for them, and the rewards of work, in the United States and Canada; and they prefer living there. As to the interests of the *African* negro, in regard to those colonies, the case is unhappily not less clear. In spite of the Southern methods of curbing speech and suppressing facts, the truth came out long ago—that the best negroes who have been got out there by any means always escape, to America or elsewhere, by the first opportunity; and that the remnant are no agents of civilization, but mere introducers of the vices of the country from which they were brought.

Whether England would Resist the Renewal of the Slave-Trade. How the South has Subjugated the North. What is the Northern Sentiment on the Slavery Question.

The London *Times* of December 19, speaking of the proposed renewal of the Slave-trade, says:

Nine-tenths of the inhabitants of the British empire would be content to risk their last ship and their last shilling upon the enforcement of the abolition. The same feeling, we are sure, affects the minds, and would sway the conduct, of the great mass of Europeans, whatever their nation or language may be. The revival of the Slave-trade, then, would mean a war of principle—a war of religion between the slave-trading States of the North American Union and mankind. Even so we have omitted all mention of another main difficulty of their position. Not only would they find against them the hand of every civilized man not a citizen of the North American Union, but in the States themselves they would be in the minority. The South, as yet, has held its own against the North, because the Southern leaders have been far superior to their adversaries in energy, in statesmanship, and, above all, in union. It is, however, notorious that the Northern States, in which not merely the Slave-trade, but slavery as a domestic institution is held to be a sin and an outrage upon human nature, leave their Southern competitors far behind both in power, in wealth, and in the faculty of development. Now, making every allowance for the intensity of patriotism in the North American Union, is it probable that the Northern States would heartily back up their Southern brethren in a crusade against mankind, and in a cause which they themselves held to be accursed?

REMARKS.

We do not believe that any considerable portion of the people of Britain would be willing to run any great risk for the sake of preventing the supply of slaves from Africa to America, especially as—according to the repeated declarations of the British Government—there is no right to interfere.

The *Times* commits a double error in saying that "the South as yet has held its own against the North, because the Southern leaders have been far superior," &c. The South has not only retained slavery in the old States, but has extended it over new countries of vast extent, and the supremacy of Southern leaders, but to the fact that the poor thinly populated slave States have the same voice in the Senate as the rich and populous free States.

The *Times* is also wrong in saying that in the Northern States, slavery is held to be a sin and an outrage upon human nature. That is not the general sentiment of the North; if it were, the North would be greatly in advance of the London *Times*.

SPIRIT OF THE

GERMAN PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES.

The Administration of Justice, and the Pardoning Power.

The New York *Ahead-Zeitung* complains that in no country in the world is there as much difficulty in punishing a criminal favored by wealth as in the United States, and that the pardoning power is exercised so freely that—

No criminal, from the murderer to the pocket-thief, believes that the judgment against him will be executed

to its full extent. A sentence of imprisonment for life is nothing but irony. For if the criminal is not in a very great hurry to die, he is sure to be pardoned within a short time.

It is in the highest degree dangerous and unrepublishable to leave this power to one man, who in the exercise of it will not be influenced so much by a sense of justice as by a sense of party obligations. Should it be found inexpedient to leave the power of pardoning to the highest tribunal in the State, it would still be advantageous to deprive the Governor of that power, and to invest it in a special committee, consisting of at least five or six members, who should be nominated without reference to political parties, and whose unanimous consent should be required in the exercise of the important right of pardon.

Despotism the Ultimate Result of Compromises between Slavery and Liberty.

The *Turn Zeitung*, (Cincinnati,) in giving a *resumé* of the political events of the last year, says:

Looking around us, we perceive that in spite of the energetic struggle of last year, not a single appreciable result in favor of the cause of progress has been attained.

The new opposition against the slaveholders inscribed upon its banners: "No extension of slavery into free territories." This object we have repeatedly characterized as a half measure.

We hope that we have convinced our readers that it is the duty of all freedom-loving Germans to pursue the right course of progress—more conclusive and out-and-out radical.

Even those that are wavering, timid, peaceable, and yielding, must arrive at the conclusion that *freedom and slavery are incompatible*, and that the *continued compromises between both must ultimately bring the Republic under the yoke of despotism*.

The Influence of Slavery on Morality.

The *Pionier*, commenting on the moral degradation prevailing in the United States, says:

Morality here is corrupted, and ruffianism is nourished, mainly by slavery. A people which accustoms itself to such an atrocious institution—which blunts its senses by contact with it—which habitually digests the same—must necessarily become subject to every kind of immorality and ruffianism. As long, therefore, as slavery exists here, the Republic cannot be morally regenerated.

Position of the Free Laborers in the South.

The *Free Press*, (Philadelphia,) in commenting upon a letter of Moses C. Church, from Georgia, who states that the free laborers of the South are getting tired of watching the slaves for the sole benefit of the slaveowners, says:

Such expressions on the part of the white laborers in the South, are in reality much more dangerous to the slaveowners than the isolated insurrections of the colored population. The slaveowners are well aware of this, and Moses C. Church has been forced by threatened violence to leave the South, although his letter has been published only in a single Northern paper, and without his consent. Many other facts indicate that a spirit of opposition against slavery begins to manifest itself amongst the white laborers in the South.

Treatment of Convicts.

The *Criminal Zeitung*, in commenting upon two recent cases of murder of prison officials, committed in State prisons by convicts, says that inhuman and cruel treatment of some of the officials towards the unhappy convicts drives them to desperation, and thereby causes such acts of vengeance.

The "Michigan Journal" on European Despots and the Union.

The *Michigan Journal*, a German daily paper, published at Detroit, has in its number of the 30th instant, a translation of our article entitled: "*European Despots and the Union*," which is introduced in the following editorial remark:

Under this heading the *EUROPEAN*, a radical paper in the English language, which we earnestly recommended to our readers a short time ago, on account of the interest it takes in German affairs, contains a cor-

response signed "Red Republican." Our views on this subject are in perfect harmony with those of the letter-writer, and we offer it to our readers as a specimen of the matter to be found in the EUROPEAN.

REMARKS.—The above mentioned number of the *Michigan Journal* is the first we have received; but the fact that Mr. Diepenbeck, the editor, has discerned the importance of "Red Republican's" letter to German readers, proves to us that that journal is conducted in the right spirit.

SPIRIT OF THE SOUTHERN PRESS.

The New Orleans "Picayune" on the Apprehended Insurrections.

We have abstained thus far from giving publicity, in detail, to the many reports which have been sent to us, or reached us in our exchanges, of slave disturbances in various parts of the Southern States. Being uncertain as to the actual state of facts, we thought it safest not to increase the uneasiness on this very delicate subject, and supposed the free circulation of such documents not likely to be productive of good in a community where such facilities exist for free communication with the black race, bond and free. But the symptoms of agitation are so numerous, wide-spread, and apparently concurrent, that it becomes a duty to recognise the state of facts, fully and unreservedly, with a view to the discussion of the proper steps to be taken for the restoration of quiet, and the maintenance of the existing relations between the two races in the South against interior disturbance and aggression from without.

It is not clear that positive insurrection has been attempted anywhere, although the gravity of the events along the Cumberland River in Kentucky and in Tennessee, and the more recent affairs in Mississippi, approach very nearly to that point of action. But, from various quarters in many States there are evidences of a very unsettled state of mind among the servile population—a vague impression among them that a critical change in their condition is at hand, to be effected by a powerful party in the United States, which, temporarily defeated at the polls, is ready to give them the help of arms and troops when they shall undertake to rise on their own account. That these ideas have assumed any definite shape for concerted action, we have no other reason to believe than that, in places quite remote from each other, all the disclosures obtained have fixed upon the same day everywhere, as that upon which an undefined effort is to be made against the whites. The day is the 24th of December, or more generally, about the Christmas holidays; and the same notion prevails in Kentucky, Arkansas and Tennessee, as well as in Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas.

The times are at least urgent for the exercise of the most watchful vigilance over the conduct of slaves and free colored persons. The regulations which were passed to prevent the promiscuous intercourse of these classes with each other, and those which forbid slaves being apart from the domicils of their masters, and which prohibit the gatherings of colored persons, except with the attendance of whites, and the regulations for the giving of passes, which have been so much abused, should all be rigidly enforced. The possible development of the future may perhaps show that the grounds for believing this particularly necessary at this time are overrated; but it is better to err from excess of precaution than to mistake by neglecting the admonitions of prudence.

SPIRIT OF THE NORTHERN PRESS.

[From the Boston Chronicle.]

What the Republican Party means to do.

Ever since Congress assembled, it has been the aim of the slaveholding members to place the Republicans on the defensive. And in this purpose they have but too well succeeded. We have read the speeches made in the Senate and House, and with a few exceptions they are nothing but a series of excuses and apologies. Some brazen-faced slaveholder like Butler or Mason, or some ignorant doughface like Bigler or Pugh, rises and charges the Republicans with being in favor of the dissolution of the Union, or with being in favor of abolishing slavery

in the States. And forthwith there is a rush of Republicans to the floor, to say that this is all a mistake; that it is the Garrisonians alone who want to dissolve the Union, and the Gerritt Smith and Lysander Spooner class of abolitionists who hold that the Government has the power to abolish slavery in the States. The purpose of the slaveholder is answered; an apology is prepared, or something in an apologetic tone, and the attacks upon the North are therefore resumed in still fiercer style. Who ever knew the slaveholders to be conciliated by these apologies or excuses? Who ever knew them to cease from their attacks in consequence? Nobody. We commend to our friends in the Senate and House a prudent husbandry of their excuses, until they are needed. The people do not ask that their Senators and Representatives shall be continually explaining their position. There is no need of explanation. The purpose of the Republican party was set forth with sufficient plainness in the Philadelphia Platform, and in Colonel Fremont's letters, and no man has any right to add to or take from them anything. The platform and the letters did not pretend to exact uniformity of opinion upon minor points, but only to state the general purposes of the party for the time being. *It is entirely competent, we take it, for Republicans, during the next four years, to discuss the policy of dissolution, or the doctrines of Lysander Spooner, and for as many of them as consent to these doctrines, to adopt them.* It is idle to suppose that the Republican Party of 1856 attained the perfection of wisdom on the Anti-Slavery question, or that the Republican Party of 1860 will do so. The contest of 1856 has been fought upon one issue. That issue may be the best for 1860, or it may not. Events may bring up other issues. Discussion may bring new light. Let each contest take care of itself. The purpose of the Republican Party is best stated, by Mr. Sumner, in the formula, "*Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy.*" How to do that, is a matter of fair discussion, year by year. Let us have as few apologies as possible for the past, and no more pledges than are necessary for the future.

The Panic in the South.

Censorship of the Telegraph Demanded. Could the South maintain Slavery without the aid of the North? The Southern Press everywhere under a Censorship. Causes of the Panic.

[From the New York Times.]

The Charleston Mercury and the New York Commercial Advertiser complain that information with regard to insurrections of slaves has several times come to them by telegraph which has not been confirmed by the newspapers when received from the same localities by mail. The falsity of the telegraphic reports is taken for granted, and the Standard demands a censorship of the telegraph.

To-day we have received private advices from two different quarters in the slave States, giving particulars of insurrectionary movements and of the means used to suppress them. In each case several negroes were executed on suspicion, or for the purpose of terrorizing the rest, and great consternation and excitement are represented to exist among all the white population. The newspapers in both these districts are entirely silent with regard to these events, and make light of the reports of the same character which they have received from other districts.

The same newspapers—it is well to remark, two months ago, exhibited the strongest inclination to plunge the country into civil war in the event of Colonel Fremont's election. These newspapers show in what condition they now are in the face of these threats.

The truth is, the Southern press is everywhere under a censorship, such as that which is demanded, and generally maintained, over the telegraph—an irresponsible censorship, under a police, of which every slaveowner is a member—a thousand times more rigorous and effective than that of France.

During all the recent election canvass, there probably were not three newspapers in the slave States which ever gave, even by intimation, to their readers, any true information with regard to the objects of the Republican party, or the views relative to slavery of its nominees.

A Southern editor a short time ago informed us that a valuable job of advertising had been taken from him and transferred to a rival paper of much less circulation, and when he asked the reason of the change he was referred to certain brief paragraphs which he had copied

from the *Times* and *Herald*, as items of news, in which some demonstrations of Northern sentiment against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise were described.

As there are few rival lines of telegraph at the South, and these are chiefly supported by Northern merchants and newspapers, it is found that some special means of constraint upon the operators is needed. The Richmond *Whig* of Tuesday says:

We believe that all the insurrectionary movements at the South is the natural and necessary effect of the course pursued by the Democratic party in the late canvass. And, what is more, we believe that all the blood which has been shed by the whites in self-defence in some portions of the country, rests upon the heads of the reckless demagogues of the Bluecoated Democracy.

[From the New York Evening Post.]

Boston and Charleston. A Contrast.

It is night. King street seems in a melancholy mood. The blue arch of heaven is bespangled with twinkling stars; the moon has mounted her high throne, and her beams, like messenger of love, dance joyfully on the calm waters of the bay, so boldly skirted with dark woodland. Listen! The dull tramp of the guardman's horse breaks the stillness; the measured tread of the heavily-armed patrol, with which the little city swarms by night, echoes and re-echoes in hollow sounds along the narrow streets.

A theatre redolent of whiskey and tobacco; a sombre-looking guard-house, bristling with armed men, who go forth to guard the fears of tyranny or drag in some wretched slave; a shattered court-house with lazy looking men lounging at its corner; as if they had been employed to keep it from tumbling into the street; a castellated work-house, grand without, and crammed with heart-sick human merchandise within; a poor-house crumbling with decay, and in which the infirm and the poor die of treatment that makes one's heart sick to contemplate; a sympathetic old hospital, with its broken verandas and its air of particular neglect; a very old-fashioned building called an orphan's asylum, before which stands a statue of the elder Chatham, armless from having been dragged through the streets by an infuriated mob; a low, square building, with curious port-holes, called the City Hall; and the Citadel, in which, when our youths have "learned to fight duels," we teach them how to fight their way out of the Union. These are all the public buildings we can boast of. Like ancient mounds, they seem reposing in the calm and serene night.

Unlike Boston, towering bright and vigorous in the atmosphere of freedom, we have no galleries of statuary—no conservatories of paintings—no massive edifices of marble, dedicated to art and science—no stately school-houses radiating their light of learning over a peace and justice loving community—no regal Exchange of granite and polished marble, emblematic of a thrifty commerce. The God Slavery (the god we worship) has no use for such temples. His civilization is a dull dead-march; he is the enemy of his own heart. He vitiates and makes drear whatever he touches. He wages war against art, science and civilization; and he trembles at the very sight of temples reared for enlightening the masses. Tyranny is his law, a cotton bag his judgment seat.—*Justice to the Rye Wags, by F. C. Adams.*

[From the New York Evening Post, January 2.]

Arrival of Mormons. Why the Mormon Emigration succeeds.

The ship *Columbia* arrived at this port yesterday from Liverpool, bringing about 300 passengers, including 221 Mormons under the conduct of Elder John Williams. The Mormons were landed at Castle Garden at six o'clock last evening, and will remain there a day or two, until they can be temporarily provided for. Elder Williams is a short-legged, small-sized man, full of energy, and evincing considerable intelligence. He told our reporter this morning that these were nearly all his own converts, and came mostly from Bristol, England. There were twenty-three from Wales, a few from Scotland, and some from London, Yorkshire and other parts of England. They were thoroughly organized on ship-board, being governed by Elder Williams, as president, assisted by a council, the members of which were presidents of districts. They had a very rough passage. On one occasion the bulwarks of the ship were washed away, and a couple of Saints narrowly escaped being drowned; but the Lord mercifully spared the "chosen people," and not a death occurred on board.

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Evening Post, January 2.]

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They are all in good health and spirits, and look remarkably tidy. The number of men is about equal to that of the women, but there is a multitude of children of all ages. The men are not usually very strong-looking, but the women are well made, and some of them quite handsome.

This morning the company was visited by Parsons John Taylor, George A. Smith and Parley P. Pratt, leading Mormons, at present living in this city. After shaking hands all around, and kissing some of the little folks, the visitors gathered the Saints about them. When Parson Taylor, a tall, gray-haired man, made a speech, in which he congratulated them on having escaped the perils of the deep, and gave them some counsel as to their future conduct. He was sorry they had not arrived in season to participate in the jubilee at his house last evening. Some of them, he said, would go to St. Louis; some to Cincinnati, and some would remain in this city. In the spring they would be remitted, and all start on their pilgrimage to the Promised Land. He wanted they should all gather around their "Presidents of Districts," and give in an account of their means, where they had friends, and where they wanted to go, &c. *If any were too poor to aid themselves, they would be quartered for the time in the houses of their brethren here, and must find employment as soon as possible.* It was desirable that all should make their arrangements as soon as they could, and then he would tell them what to do, and get them away.

The men reverently uncovered their heads during the address, and the two other persons fat and sleek, sat and smiled approval. The whole group pressed enthusiastically around their leaders, evidently regarding them as little short of angels.

REMARKS.

Why the Mormon Emigration succeeds. Polygamy—its Extent and probable Continuance.

It is not at all surprising that the Mormons should succeed in this country. Poor laboring men and mechanics are assisted to come out, are provided with employment on their arrival, have guides to conduct them to the Mormon colony, where they are welcomed with open arms.

They leave the Old Country in companies, friends and neighbors are together, and the annoyances as well as the expenses of the voyage are diminished by this co-operation. We believe that, as a general rule, they care nothing about the Mormon religion; what they do care about is, the substantial superiority of this system of emigration over that of isolated and individual enterprise. A poor man who comes alone to this country finds himself in danger of starvation; the Mormon emigrants on the contrary are surrounded by friends. As to polygamy, it is adhered to by a few on Biblical grounds, but we do not believe that it is practised extensively enough to occasion any great amount of mischief; and we have little doubt that ere long it will disappear altogether. When we hear about one man's having fifty wives, we should understand that they are what the Mormons call "spiritual wives," not that one man cohabits with fifty women.

Laws against Liberty of Discussion in the United States on Religious Matters.

The *Pioneer*, a German paper published in New York, having given as a reason for preferring the United States to Canada, that in the latter country it was unlawful to attack the established religion; and as it is not generally known that the laws in most of the States are as rigid as the Common Law of England on this subject, we annex some extracts showing by way of example the laws of New Jersey and New York.

The *New Jersey Act* for the punishment of crimes, as revised and approved April 10, 1840, provides, sec. 22 (*Nixon's Digest*, edition of 1855, page 164.)

If any person shall willfully blaspheme the holy name of God, by denying, cursing or contumeliously reproaching His Being or Providence, or by cursing or unbecomingly reproaching Jesus Christ, or the Holy Ghost, or the Christian religion, or the holy Word of God, (that is, the canonical Scriptures contained in the books of the Old and New Testaments,) or by profanely scoffing at or

exposing them, or any of them, to contempt and ridicule, then every person so offending shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine not exceeding two hundred dollars, or imprisonment at hard labor not exceeding twelve months, or both, at the discretion of the Court.

In *New York* it has been decided that profane ridicule of Christ and the holy Scriptures is an offence punishable at the common law, whether uttered by words or writings.—*The People v. Ruggles*, 8 *Johnson's Reports*, 290.

THE TRANS-ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH.

Whether a Line can be Run direct from the United States.

Professor Maury has addressed a letter, dated Washington, December 31, 1856, to Mr. Chaffee, a member of Congress, in reply to certain inquiries made by him in relation to the submarine telegraph of the Atlantic, and wishing to know what are the obstructions which prevent the western end of the wire from being brought straight across the sea to the shores of the United States. Mr. Maury writes:

The difficulties are manifold, and, in the present state of the telegraphic art, they may be considered insuperable.

The shortest telegraphic distances between the British Islands and the United States, without touching English soil by the way, is, in round numbers, three thousand miles, and the lightning has never yet been made to bear a message through a continuous wire of such a length. Here, therefore, is an obstruction.

The distance from the Western Islands to the nearest port on our shores is about equal to the distance between Newfoundland and Ireland; and the distance between the Irish coast and the Western Islands is about fifteen hundred miles. Therefore, with a relay on the Western Islands, a line from Ireland, *via* those islands, to our own shores, is electrically practicable.

But a wire by that route would have to cross the Atlantic at its deepest part; and then the Portuguese Government, as well as the English, would have control of the line; so that, in a military, commercial, or political point of view, nothing would be gained by under running the Atlantic with the telegraphic wires by that route. Moreover, that route would lead the wire across a volcanic region. Those constitute obstructions that, in the present state of our knowledge, are fatal to such a route.

The only practicable route for a submarine telegraph between the United States and England appears to be along the "plateau" of the Atlantic, wherein it is proposed to lay the wire that is now in process of construction.

But suppose a line were to be constructed by American enterprise from the British shores, submarine, all the way to one of our seaport towns—*as before*. In time of peace the line along the "plateau" would, by reason of its great advantages, take all the business, and in war the British authorities need but call the American cord, or take charge of its office at the other end, to render the whole line inoperative & perfectly useless to us.

KANSAS.

If the cable is successfully laid down between Ireland and Newfoundland, and be found to answer, it is probable that other cables will be laid down between other points. The principal objection raised by Professor Maury to a line *via* the Western Islands, is not tenable, for it is clear that in case of war between England and the United States, it would be important for the latter to have a line running from this country to a neutral territory.

The other objection stated by Professor Maury in these words, "Moreover, that route would lead the wire across a volcanic region," is not stated with sufficient particularity for us to judge of its weight.

KANSAS.

Will it be a Free State?

The *New York Times* hopes and believes that Kansas will be a free State, through the prompt and efficient action of Congress, which (according to the *Times*) is to relieve the free-state men of Kansas from all the difficulties of their position, and repeal the obnoxious laws of the Territorial Legis-

lature. How much better would it be for the *Times* to look the truth full in the face, recognise the actual emergency, and seriously consider the question whether anything can be done to liberate the North from the yoke which is already too heavy to be borne? The following is from an article in the *Times* of the 3d instant:

The vote at the October election in Kansas was in favor of a convention to form a State Constitution. But the free-state men took no part in that election, considering themselves debarred therefrom by the test oaths required, and by the position they had taken against the validity of the Territorial Legislature. They cannot, therefore, without a sacrifice of consistency and of principle which should not be demanded of them, take part either in the election of members, or in the proceedings of any State Convention which may be called by the Legislature in pursuance of this vote.

Congress ought to relieve them from this embarrassment. It should pass at its present session an "enabling act," authorizing a convention to form a State Constitution, fixing the time and place of holding it, prescribing the qualifications of those who may vote for members of it, repealing all Territorial laws prescribing test oaths, as well as all other laws that prevent freedom of speech or infringe in any way upon the political rights of the inhabitants, and taking all other steps that may be necessary to secure to the people of the Territory the formation and regulation of their own domestic institutions. We are inclined to believe that such a law might be passed at the present session of Congress.

REMARKS.

The *Times* impliedly admits that Kansas must be a slave State if Congress do not intervene in the way suggested. Now we ask, does the *Times* really believe that the pro-slavery Senate can, after the overwhelming triumph of the pro-slavery cause at the late election, be brought to work actively for the sake of depriving the slavery propagandists of the advantages which they have gained in Kansas by their control of the Territorial Legislature? It will be borne in mind that that Legislature can no longer be treated as an illegal body, since it has been recognised by the Government and both Houses of Congress.

The *New York Tribune* of 5th January says:

That Kansas is to become a free State seems now to be the general belief throughout the free States. We trust that belief will be justified by the event; and yet it would be difficult to give any reasons for holding it which might not have been as truly and plausibly adduced two years ago in support of the position that its Territorial Legislature and domestic organization would be in free State hands. Let us consider a moment.

Is it now alleged that a majority of the settlers in Kansas are free-state men? So they are; and so they were two years ago; but that did not prevent the rough and unbleeding election of an almost unanimously pro-slavery Legislature. How can it be relied on to secure now what it failed to secure then?

Is it urged that Congress may pass an act overruling the border-ruffian code, and providing for a fair election? But no border-ruffian code existed in March, 1855, and the regulations which actually existed, under the Nebraska Act, were nowise objectionable or unfair? They were evaded or overridden by the Missouri invaders; but it remains to be seen that any more effective can now be devised.

The special correspondent of the *Tribune* in Kansas writes from Leavenworth City on 25th December as follows:

I am inclined to the opinion, from what I see, that the *thinking* leaders of the pro-slavery party have come to the conclusion that their way is clear to get Kansas admitted as a slave State, but that there is danger of its being shortly after turned into a free one.

In the use of the knife our rowdy population exceed the Spaniards.—*Philadelphia News*, January 2.

Nearly all the negroes hung in the late Insurrection in Kentucky and Tennessee were preachers.—*Montreal Transcript*.

Child-Murder in England and the United States. The Assertions of the New York "Times" on this Subject.

We read in the New York *Times* a few months ago, an editorial remark to the effect that child-murder was as common in the manufacturing districts in England, as on the banks of the Ganges. This preposterous assertion was made on the strength of three or four trials at the English Assizes.

We have no doubt that child-murder is more common in the great cities of America than in Manchester, Birmingham, &c., for there poor women can obtain relief from the parochial authorities. We are reminded of the monstrous extravagance of the *Times*, by seeing in its columns of the 3d instant the following paragraph, which we should not have noticed, but for the fact that it discloses two cases of child murder in the same week in one town:

Two cases of child-murder have come to light in Baltimore. On Monday morning, the body of a white male infant, apparently only a few hours old, was found wrapped in some old clothing, in South Sharp street, near Saratoga. It was discovered that it died of suffocation. On Wednesday morning, some boys found the body of a white female infant, apparently about three or four days old. Around its neck was a piece of old checked cotton goods, drawn tightly, and by which it had been strangled.

The New York *Times* is constantly endeavoring to fill the minds of the American people with horror and disgust of England and the English. It is ever pandering to the national vanity, and trying to obtain popularity by exciting envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness towards the British nation. And because we endeavor to counteract the malevolence of the *Times* we are most outrageously denounced and misrepresented.

Decrease of Population in California. Bad Success of Emigrants to California.

Meeting of Californians to Induce Emigration to California.

A meeting of Californians interested in business and property in that State, was held last night at the Metropolitan Hotel, to inaugurate measures to induce emigrants to settle in the Golden State. It is well known that emigration to that State is falling off, and the population has decreased during the past year—a state of things that the property holders and business men do not like, and wish to remedy. The meeting, which was a respectable one, was organized by the appointment of S. P. Dewey as chairman, and E. C. Kemble as secretary. After some conversation, it was decided that the following named persons should act as a board of directors to organize the movement, viz: D. L. Ross, James W. Bingham, W. T. Coleman, S. B. Bond and E. C. Kemble. An effort is to be made to induce the transit companies to reduce the rate of fare, while pamphlets are to be issued showing the advantages of the Golden State to settlers. A large sum of money was subscribed to initiate the proper measures, when the meeting adjourned.—*New York Herald, Dec. 31.*

REMARKS.

We would recommend Europeans to avoid emigrating to California. Most people who have gone there have had occasion to regret the event. It has often happened that thousands of men with arms and willing to work could get nothing to do. The class of society is abominable. What with fire, bank ruptures and other casualties, it seldom happens that any one can realize and keep anything of consequence. As to the gold, the labor that is expended in getting it would, if devoted to other pursuits, yield products of larger value.

We do not believe that the trade with California has yielded a cent of profit either to England or the United States. The losses by failures, over-seas, &c., having been enormous.

The Cry of "The Constitution" in America.

[From the London Evening Star.]

In vindicating the pro-slavery principle and proceedings by which Mr. Pierce's rule was so unhappily distinguished, the words "law" and "constitution" are made

to play a great part. The "right of the constitution," "the provisions of the constitution," "the solemn guarantees of the constitution," are phrases seen dancing higher and thicker through the whole document. But we in this country are so familiar with such stale expressions, and know so well the uses to which they are invariably put to defend injustice and to sanctify corruption that we have come to regard a plentiful profusion of them as an almost infallible presumption of a bad cause. There never has been any useful reform attempted in Church or State in these islands but there was a tremendous outcry about the Constitution, until at length the people were driven to say, that if the Constitution meant unjust laws, unequal privileges, every species of oppression and iniquity, then the Constitution could not stand; for the Constitution is made for man, not man for the Constitution. In like manner if the slave party in America pertinaciously insist upon it, that the Constitution of the Union demands the extension and everlasting perpetuation of the system which now prevails in the South, with its commercial inhumanity, its oppressive cruelties, its foul obscenities, its insolent outrages upon nature and reason and religion, they will compel men, in spite of themselves, to enquire whether an instrument which renders the preservation of such iniquities a *sine qua non* of its existence can long be tolerated by God or man.

NICARAGUA.

Large Reinforcements sent from the United States to Walker. The Construction now put on the Act of Congress against "hiring or retaining."

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, January 2.]

We yesterday conversed with a young Philadelphian, Mr. Naulty, who was a passenger in the Tennessee, from California, and who came by the Nicaragua route. He gives a deplorable picture of General Walker and his troops. The prospect for them was most discouraging. They were fighting for their lives, and many of the men, when our informant was at Virgin Bay, had had nothing to eat for four days, and not a few were nearly naked, their clothes having been worn out. The transit road was in a sad condition. One of the bridges had broken down, and two others were tottering, while the road in many of the places was scarcely passable.

Two young men from the United States, who had enlisted for a year, and had served sixteen months, desired to return, and obtained passports from General Walker. These were revoked, and when they attempted to escape they were caught, taken out and shot as deserters.

The sickness was fearful and fatal, and the deaths by fever and cholera were of daily occurrence.

Of the passengers who left San Francisco by the Orizaba, intending to return to New York by the Tennessee, about ten were induced to volunteer. The Orizaba also had on board 125 recruits, who were enlisted in California. They were paid one hundred dollars a month, and large bounties were given. Other reinforcements from New Orleans were sent by the river San Juan, and supposed to be about 200 in number. Still another force, amounting to 100, by New York, was also men in Christian Reppas. These various bodies, amounting in all to upwards of 800, would swell the available force of adventurers to something like 1,600. The common men Virginia has so stampy, and therefore presidential. The prospect is that immediately after the arrival of the reinforcements above mentioned, another battle will ensue, and with decisive results.

The *Republican Register*, of December 20, says:

The views from Nicaragua should be favorable. A large number will receive one of those sudden political reverses which now and then astonish politicians. The news business upon our seas that the heroic and good of our government, has heard from us surrounded by their barbarian foes, has cut a road through vice, equity, and that the omnipotence of American valor shall sustain American rule in Nicaragua, let the public men beware how they entertain the enthusiasm which will greet the announcement from San Antonio in Texas to Portland by Maine. If Walker sustains himself, Nicaragua will hold the same relation to our national politics that Texas did. It is the confident belief of his friends that he will hold on to his position until success arrives. If he does, the great game for which he is playing will be won. Prominent men in Washington, who are looking forward, will be cautious in treating this subject. The new treaty, therefore, is affected by

Nicaraguan affairs, and will hold fire in the Senate until Walker's fate is decided.

REMARKS.

The unblushing effrontery of the United States Government in the late controversy with England respecting the alleged enlistments of men for the Crimea is now made fully manifest.

In that controversy it was asserted by Mr. Marcy that the act of Congress which makes it penal to "hire or retain" any one to go abroad to serve as a soldier, had been construed by the American courts to mean, that any one giving advice or assistance to another to enable him to go if he chose to a foreign country, to enter into military service, thereby violated the law. By dint of that assertion a considerable party was got up in England to sustain the American side of the controversy. Now the fact is, that Mr. Marcy wholly misrepresented the decisions of the courts, and it is now universally recognised that it is lawful to advise and assist people to emigrate to Nicaragua to aid Walker.

Street Robberies in New York. The Garrote.

[From the New York Times, January 6.]

Street robberies are becoming alarmingly frequent. Scarcely a night passes that one or more of these daring outrages does not take place, even at an early hour, and in the most crowded thoroughfares. But a day or two since we mentioned a case where a gentleman, while passing the New York Hospital in Broadway, at half-past ten o'clock at night, was surrounded by a gang of highwaymen, one of whom confused him by knocking off his hat, while another grabbed and carried off his watch. The whole thing was done in a twinkling, and before the robbed party had time to recover from his surprise the thieves had disappeared among the crowds of passers.

This mode of robbery is known as the "push," but of late a more daring style, called the "garrote," has been brought in practice in this city. Those who follow the garrote, go in parties of two or more. Stealthily approaching from behind, one of the gang seizes the victim by the throat so tightly that he cannot speak, while another rifles his pockets. They then march triumphantly away, well aware that before their half-suffocated victim can recover from their violence, they will have regained their dens in security.

The latest victim of the garrote is Mr. Silas C. Hervey, who, while passing through Prince street, a few steps from Broadway, on New-Year's night, was suddenly surrounded by some ten or a dozen fellows, who, holding him securely, robbed him of nearly \$1,000 worth of valuables.

Wholesale Liberation of Convicts in New York.

The Governor of this State has recently granted fourteen free pardons of convicts; seven of them were incarcerated for grand larceny, two for burglary, one for forgery, three for rape and one for manslaughter. Upon this the *New York Herald* of January 1, remarks:

We begin to be seriously of opinion that it would be as well to abolish the criminal code altogether, or else to ascertain distinctly the true intent of criminal law, which is, to protect society, and to carry out that intent to the letter by allowing society the privilege of protecting itself by such methods as it may choose. What protection is there for life and property in this city at this time? The stream of justice is polluted at the fountain head. It is almost impossible to procure the conviction of a rogue if he can command a few hundred dollars, no matter how patent his guilt may be. Astute advocates set up impudent and absurd theories, bully the bench, weary the jury, and employ the most disreputable means to save a scoundrel from merited punishment. Take the Baker case, for example, and witness the unblushing effrontery of the defence in the Huntington matter. Happily, it was not successful in the last instance.

After the rogue is convicted, sentenced and duly shut up—what then? His friends bring all sorts of influences to bear upon a weak Governor for his pardon. Every man, said a great statesman, has his price; and some queer prices, in singular currencies, have been paid, it is said, for pardons in this State. Sometimes the

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of the United States controversy with England

as asserted by Mr. Marcy which makes it penal to go abroad to serve as a spy by the American courts

New York. The Garrote.

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Garrote is M. Smith's Herald High Prince... a dozen fellows who look up at him

of convicts in New York.

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executive clemency is exercised for a political friend, who amuses himself between elections by a little bit of grand larceny or a nocturnal foray for silver plate, accompanied with a deadly assault upon the owner thereof.

CORRUPTION IN CONGRESS.

Sale of Votes—of the Stationery—the Sealing Wax—the Franks. Female Lobby Members.

Too Fastidious by Half.—We find the following verdant paragraph in the unsophisticated columns of the Providence Journal:

The Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia North American charges that certain members of Congress have sold their eligible seats, and taken others in the outer circle.

Rhode Island must be a delightful corner of the earth to live in! Its seclusion must be charming. Our old friend of the Journal, who has been Governor of the State, and is, ere long, we hope, to be one of her United States senators, is positively shocked at the intimation that honorable members of Congress actually sell their seats!

The Providence Journal should understand that this is a very venal age, and one of the least culpable kinds of bargain and sale in which "certain members" of Congress indulge, is the disposal of the seats they are lucky enough to draw.—New York Times.

A CERIOUS CONTRADICTION.—A Washington correspondent of the Commercial writes thus:

The astonishing stories told in New York about grand schemes for plundering the Treasury are entitled to no regard. There are men enough in and out of Congress, who are quite willing to be benefitted at the expense of the public; and there are others too, who, pirate-like, arrest measures in their progress, by denouncing the supposed beneficiaries of the project of theft.

It seems from this curious paragraph that there are "men in and out of Congress" who plunder the public in two ways: by demanding pay for aiding the passage of bills, and by levying black mail as a condition of not opposing them. What worse statements and charges than those which are thus acknowledged to be true have been made, in New York papers or elsewhere, where we are not aware.

SMALL LOBBY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.—In classifying the lobby members of Congress, the female members of the "third house" occupy an important position. Indeed, I may say that one experienced female lobbyist is equal in point of influence to any three schemers of the other sex with whom I am acquainted.

measure comes before Congress that they do not have an important, if not a conspicuous, "finger in the pie." Their interest is secured for all schemes, private and public, for lobbying through private bills and public acts, for the extension of a patent, or the granting of an indefinite number of acres of public lands for private speculative purposes.

Representation of the Colonies in the British Parliament.

Ex-Judge Haliburton, of Nova Scotia, (author of "Sam Slick,") in addressing a meeting of the members of the Athenaeum, at Manchester, on the position and prospects of the North American colonies, spoke as follows upon the claims of the colonists to be represented in the Imperial Parliament:

This question must be asked and must be answered. Were the colonies to be amalgamated with the United States? ["No, no," and "Never."] He did not think the United States wanted them, and he was happy to say that they did not want the United States; but still this alternative was "on the cards." There was a road called annexation, and it must be kept in view, for it led to the United States. Second, were they to form a confederation, each colony constituting a little State of itself, and so have a sort of Congress presided over by a viceroy? There were difficulties in the way of the third alternative; but they were not insurmountable.

Emigration to Canada. Information Wanted.

The London Times of December 19, wants a person of unprejudiced mind to proceed to Canada next summer and ascertain a variety of particulars of importance to persons desirous of emigrating.

Let some one follow the stream of immigration into the great towns and the back woods, and collect a number of personal narratives, showing how industry and talent can show manage for themselves.

by their neighborhood, that Canada has almost passed out of thought, till the completion of the Grand Trunk Railway has brought her once more into notice. Yet nobody who visits Canada but reports it—at least, Canada West—one of the finest countries in the world. The instant you cross its frontier you find yourself quite at home—among people who look like Englishmen, farms and homestead that look English, and a cultivation like our own.

Intolerance in North Carolina.

During the canvass, Professor Hedrick, of North Carolina, was denounced by the Southern press for intending to vote for Fremont. He came out in a moderate, carefully written letter, declaring his belief that it would be for the interest of North Carolina to keep her slaves at home, to develop her own resources, and that Kansas should be a free State.

REMARKS ABOUT POOR LAWS.—There are people who contend that a liberal relief of the poor would cause universal poverty. Such objections would never enter the minds of men who had cared a straw about, or devoted a single thought upon, the interests of the working classes.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE EUROPEAN.

THE EUROPEAN will contain all the information that can be gathered in Europe and America of especial interest to Europeans in the United States, and to the inhabitants of the British North American Provinces.

It will show the actual condition—moral, physical and mental—of all classes of the people of the various States of this Confederation, whether natives or emigrants, freemen or slaves; and it will contain the information necessary for Europeans who contemplate emigration, to determine whether they should select the United States or some other country for their future residence.

It will be opposed to the Anti-Republican, alias the Nihil-Democracy or Pro-Slavery party—the enemies of freedom and social progress all over the world.

It will oppose the propagandists of slavery, and will advocate the propagandism of liberty on this continent as well as in Europe.

It will set forth the various reasons why Republican institutions in the United States have hitherto failed to secure the well-being of the working classes, and will advocate the legislative measures necessary to ameliorate their condition.

It will institute fair and honest comparisons between the United States and other countries, showing the progress made by each from time to time, and the justice of their several pretensions.

It will maintain the cause of the friends of liberty in Europe and elsewhere—a cause which should be supported by all parties in every country enjoying constitutional government, since the only real danger to those countries is from a combination of the military despots of Europe aided by the Pro-Slavery government of the United States.

It will sustain the cause of Republicanism against those who would sacrifice it to preserve the domination over the freemen of the North by the slave-owning aristocracy of the South.

It will contain all such facts as may assist the people of other countries in determining what are the true merits or demerits of American institutions.

THE EUROPEAN.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 10, 1857.

THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Review of the Recent Article in the London "Times" on "What Program Prosperity which seems the very Atmosphere of the State," How English Tourists in America are Deceived and Deceived.

The London Times of the 17th ult. has a remarkable leading article on the United States, from the pen, we presume, of a gentleman connected with that paper who has recently visited this country. He has fallen into an error common to tourists in America, who, on the strength of the sudden rise of populous towns in the Northwest, assume that the country is very prosperous, and that this is the true paradise of the working classes.

The article now under review contrasts England with the United States—England has "unlimited territory, huge cities, vested interests, conflicting classes," &c.

But turn to the United States, and the mind soon at once takes breath, and expands. Careful readers of the march of Boston sparkling champagne, and, with laughing nose, and handkerchiefs, and more than just a whiff of that insipid prosperity which seems the atmosphere of the States. Perhaps a Provisional Message hardly does justice to it. But through its labored negotiation, its colored figures, and even its unimportant list of gentlemen and quakers with the low clerical tones of humanity, we may detect the reason. Here is the great republic of the world, a whole continent of millions of acres sold, as many more just speaking of themselves, and quite into the more recent and more business of wealth, a continent that stretches east and west to the sea, a constitution so simple and so that a struggle in two within the lifetime of a man has already defined it beyond all other states, independent

States enjoying various institutions, bound together by mutual respect and a common love of order! Then what cities, what rivers, what lakes, what enterprise! It dazzles one to think of the future.

The writer of the remarks just quoted would not have been so much dazzled if the people of the Eastern States had not spread themselves so rapidly over the Northwestern Territories; and yet it may well be doubted whether the substantial interests of the country would not have been advanced if the people had been less migratory. For example, Virginia, instead of presenting an aspect of general decay, might have been populous and flourishing—the countries bordering on the Atlantic might have become much healthier than they are now—good roads might have been made, bridges built, manufactures established, and commerce extended.

The traveller goes hundreds of miles to the West, traversing the great high roads upon which the emigrants from Europe and the Eastern States are wending their way to some distant point, which, in its turn will soon become a point of departure for a still more remote haven. New towns spring up like magic. Our traveller is astonished and delighted at the unwonted sight, and it never occurs to him to question whether it would not have been much better for the majority if all this energy had been expended farther eastward. "All is not gold that glitters." Of course, a few lucky land speculators make fortunes; but as to the laborers who build up these towns, and construct the railroads and canals leading to them, we are sorry to say that they for the most part perish miserably. Almost everybody going to these new countries has an attack of fever and ague—all have to submit to a great variety of inconveniences and discomforts, and the general results are, first, disease and disappointment for the vast majority; secondly, great mortality; thirdly, a few who might have remained poor in the old States, become rich. Most of those who devote themselves to agriculture discover the want of a market for their produce, and mechanics and laborers are in the aggregate worse off than their fellows in the older and better settled parts of the country.

English tourists in the United States are greatly deceived by the beautiful tone of the press, and of the American people of the upper classes, most of whom delight in displaying Europe and Europeans, and glorifying their own country. Very few of them know, because they do not care, about the condition of the laboring classes—how they are provided for in sickness and old age—what employment there is for them in the winter time—what house accommodation, or whether there are any suitable sanitary regulations in their behalf.

In most of the great towns which have sprung up so rapidly in the West, so the intense admiration of the writer in the Times and other works, those matters which in England are deemed essential to the health and comfort of the community are almost entirely neglected—most of the streets are neither paved nor lighted, there is no drainage, the fish is thrown into the streets where dogs are the only scavengers, on dry weather the inhabitants are surrounded with dust, in wet weather they are up to their knees in mud. The climate is very hot and dry in summer, and excessively cold in winter, but besides the noise, good health is a mere exception.

For and ague are almost universal, there are no public amusements, no public walks, parks, or gardens—all are struggling hard to get a living, and a good many fail. Indeed, a large majority of those engaged in business are unsuccessful. There are doubtless some who are successful, and there is a vast deal of poverty and crime.

In our judgment, the people of the New England States are much happier, conditioned than those of the new Western States. As to the Southern States, they need not be mentioned, the great majority of the people there are very ill conditioned.

We would recommend the readers of the London

Times to receive with great caution, and many grains of allowance, its rhapsodies about that "fragrant prosperity which seems the very atmosphere of the States." We have already laid before our readers great variety of facts which cannot be gainsayed, and from which they will perceive very clearly that the true earthly paradise does not lie within the confines of the United States.

The Times speaks of England's "straitened territory" as if she had no colonies for her people to settle in—talks of her "huge cities, vested interests, conflicting classes," &c., as if all these were not to be found here—asserts that this great Republic covers a "whole continent"—which is an idle exaggeration—and insists that the American Constitution is "so simple and clear that a struggle or two within the lifetime of a man have already defined it beyond civil or violence," which is the exact reverse of the truth, as we will hereafter take occasion to demonstrate.

As to the "independent States enjoying various institutions, bound together by mutual respect," a federative union between England and Russia would be quite as comprable.

THE WORCESTER ANTI-UNION CONVENTION.

How far the North and South are Antagonistic. Whether the Union is to be Adhered to under all Circumstances. Whether the North can occupy any but a Subordinate Position in the Union. Whether the Freemen of the North can ever escape from the clutch of the Southern Oligarchy.

(From the New York Tribune, January 8.)

Some hundred or so most respectable citizens of Worcester, Massachusetts, have called a convention to meet in that city on Thursday the 10th inst., and there "consider the practicability, probability and expediency of a separation between the free and the slave States." Their call asserts "a rapid increase in the hostility between the two sections of the Union," and that this springs from "a fundamental difference in education, habits and laws," and declares "the existing Union to be a failure, as being a hopeless attempt to unite under one government two antagonistic systems of society, which diverge more widely with every year."

We differ with these gentlemen quite as pointedly respecting facts as measures. We do not believe it possible to sever the Union at present, nor ever by means of conventions and resolves. Federations like ours sometimes perish through covetousness, through civil wars, through conquest, never, we think, through cool, deliberate resolves, with bloodless accompaniments. Nor do we agree that the North and the South maintain "antagonistic systems of society." Diverse, they clearly are, conflicting, to some extent they may be; but to say they are "antagonistic" implies that ours is the complete antipode of slave society, and that we cannot affirm. On the contrary, we see traces and relics of the slave system left here in New York, as also in Philadelphia, Boston and all around us. We have nothing quite so bad in the relatively free States as the slave auctions of Richmond and New Orleans or the woman flogging of Charleston or Mobile; but the unemployed seamstress at New York, who is turned out of her garret because she can't pay the pitiful rent, or the gaunt laborer turned away from the almshouse gate because he can't sick on a cripple, and therefore might to get his living by work, (as he gladly would if anybody would just give him the work, or show him where he could find it,) will not permit us to boast of this as a land of thorough freedom.

We do not believe there is any such radical difference between the people of the North and of the South respectively as this call alleges. True, the ruling class at the South generally own slaves, while that at the North does not; but how far is this a difference of principle? Suppose each adult male citizen of the free States were to receive a Southern letter, saying, "I beg leave to appoint you that, by the death of your baptister Uncle Remond, you are left with a dozen fat, healthy negroes, worth a thousand dollars per head," how many would repudiate the bequest? In our judgment, not nearly all the Republicans, not half the Americans, and not one in twenty of the Democrats. Yet it were absurdly mistaken to affirm a radical and fundamental difference between men who hold slaves

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THE ANTI-UNION SENTION.

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rk Tribune, January 8th
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and men who would hold them if they could only get them. We are quite sure that, of the men who voted for Buchanan in this city, forty-nine fifteeths believe in slavery, and would not abolish it if they could. How can such people be expected to break up the Union, merely or mainly because certain parties to it are slaveholders?

As the case strikes us, the love of freedom, hatred of oppression, and tenderness of conscience, which could alone impel the free States to seek a separation from the slave States, would more than suffice to abolish slavery or reduce its power over the Union to insignificance. Before the Northern people can have been brought earnestly to say, "We prefer disunion with freedom to the Union with slavery," there will be no slavery to secede from. Our Worcester Conventionists would seem, therefore, to be driving their wedge butt-end foremost.

REMARKS.

We agree with the *Tribune* that it is not "possible to sever the Union at present," nor do we see how the North can get out of the clutch of its Southern masters at all, either now or at any future period, save in one event presently to be noticed. What we have to say upon the subject of the union between the free and slave States is mainly dictated by a desire to prove to the satisfaction of European Republicans, that the failure of Republican institutions in this country, is caused by the alliance between freedom and slavery.

But we cannot concur in the reasoning of the *Tribune*. In the first place "conventions and resolutions" must precede action, if action there is to be. Has the *Tribune* ever considered the question, whether in every possible or probable event, the people of the North should adhere to the Union? Suppose that Kansas should become a slave State, also New Mexico and Utah—that Texas be divided into four slave States—that California be divided, and the Southern part converted into a slave State—that slavery be extended all over Spanish America by the arms of the United States—that Cuba be annexed the Slave-trade reopened, and laws passed by Congress forbidding the publication of anti-slavery sentiments—would the *Tribune* still counsel submission to all this, and to all that would follow?

Are the freemen of the North not only to keep down the slaves, but also to go forth and fight the battles of the slavery propagandists? Are they to be devoted to such base uses, and is an effort to be made to avert the catastrophe? The *Tribune* may try to shirk these questions, but like Banquo's ghost, their horrid form will constantly present itself.

As to the reasons advanced for the position that slavery and freedom are not "antagonistic," we can see no force in them. We are glad, however, to find that the *Tribune* reserves the existing law by which "the giant laborer is turned away from the mine house gate, because he is sick or a cripple," but we cannot infer that it is a matter of no consequence to the freemen of the North, that they are governed by a slavery propagandist oligarchy which is likely soon to teach them the blessings of the conscription.

It may be quite true, that most people would gladly accept a bequest of a slave plantation, but how does it follow that they should for that reason be willing to submit their liberties, lives and fortunes to the Southern oligarchy? Doubtless, there are but few Englishmen who would refuse to inherit an estate in Russia; but it is a complete *assurdum* to assume that Englishmen are senselessly estopped from objecting to the introduction of the Russian system of society into England.

We differ entirely from the position of the *Tribune*, that it is easier for the freemen of the North to abolish slavery, or reduce its power over the Union to insignificance, than to cause the free States to seek a separation from the slave States. We hold it to be utterly and absolutely impossible for the freemen of the North to hinder the oligarchy from having complete control of the Federal Government—their representation in the Senate assures that result. It is not reasonable to

suppose that the North can ever present a united front against the South—the latter has too many allies amongst the ambitious politicians of the North, and not a few stout supporters amongst the rich, whose sympathies are with a powerful and privileged class, and not with a set of turbulent mechanics and laborers.

No possible effort in the North can avail against the solid and compact power of the slaveowners—the Southern States are a unit in their hands—no anti-slavery sentiments are permitted there, whilst in the North there is free discussion and a strong pro-slavery party. The consequence is, that we find every Southern senator in favor of slavery-extension, and firmly resolved to keep all the patronage of the General Government under Southern control.

Can any rational being who is aware of the single fact just stated, expect that the South will ever fail to get at least one or two Northern senators to support Southern measures and sustain Southern influence? Here we have the great office-dispensing power of the Union in the hands of the South, and it follows that the South must be the great President-maker, and the actual ruler of the nation. As to the House of Representatives, it is not of any importance whatever, and no harm would be done if it were abolished at once. It may be possible for the lovers of freedom in the North to get a majority now and then in the House, and even to keep it for a short time; but that is of no real consequence, for the legislative power of Congress is very limited, and the House has nothing to do with the executive department of the Government.

We conclude, then, that so long as the Union lasts the masses of the North will be subordinated to the vile purposes of the oligarchy; that in the end even the form of a republic will be destroyed, and that, in the meantime, the condition of the laboring classes will continue to get worse and worse; whereas we believe that it would be vastly ameliorated if a free-state government should supersede the present one of the oligarchy.

The question remains, Whether there be any escape for the North? Is the General Government strong enough to keep the North in the Union in every possible contingency? The Government controls the army and navy—has the support of the federal office holders in the States, has its courts in each State, controls the State militia, and will all ways, happen what may, be sustained by a considerable party in every State. But yet the masses of the North, if made fully aware of the evils of the connection, might find an opportunity for dissolving it, in one event, viz., the overthrow of the armies of the Union in a war got up for the purpose of extending slavery over the neighboring countries now free. Relieved from the pressure of the federal forces, the Northern States might liberate themselves from the yoke. This, however, is not at all likely to happen; for the leaders of public opinion in the North have hitherto failed to perceive the danger to the republic, and the absurdity of the Union between the free and slave States, in the present day and generation. They overlook the fact that the policy of the founders of the Constitution has been *totally* reversed—that the slave States have recently resolved to make slavery perpetual, and will undoubtedly use all the powers of the Federal Government, for its maintenance and extension, compelling the millions of the North to supply the armies, navies and treasuries necessary for the great and bloody wars which this propagandist renders inevitable.

It is possible that the Convention to be held at Worcester will be followed by others of a like character, and that at last, even at this late hour, we shall see an effective exposure of the terrible evils and dangers attending the union between the free and slave States. If that should be the case, the time may yet come, when the freemen of the North may be able to emancipate themselves, and the prophecy of Mr. Speaker Banks—that the Union

will be preserved, even although it be clearly seen that it is leading to an absolute monarchy—will be falsified.

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN NEW YORK.

Proposed Amendments of the Law, Their Utility exposed. Character of the recent Prosecutions. Conduct of the Federal Government. How the Slave-Trade is kept up. Whether the South is opposed to the stocking of Cuba with Negroes.

The *Tribune* has devoted an elaborate article to this subject, from which we learn that ships are fitted out in New York, to go to the coast of Africa and bring thence cargoes of slaves for Cuba.

The acts of Congress make it penal for any person in the United States, "either as master, factor, or owner," to prepare any vessel here for that trade. But it appears that there is a legitimate trade with Africa, particularly with the Portuguese possessions there, and vessels are fitted out here to engage on that trade, which vessels may afterwards be converted into slavers, if a favorable opportunity presents itself for so doing. Upon this point the *Tribune* makes the following remarks:

"The case of the *Panchita* fully proves that the cargo of a slaver differs so little from that of vessels engaged in the lawful trade—in which at least fifty vessels, according to the statement of a witness on one of those trips, are despatched yearly from New York to Africa—as to make it difficult legally to distinguish the one from the other. It is made up of the same articles in essentially similar proportions. And what, indeed, hinders a slaver from killing two blacks with one stone, by taking out articles which she may trade off for negroes, either directly or through the agency of the factories which drive a brisk trade between the natives and chance vessels, in the immediate vicinity of the slave barracoons? Her wisest course is to go prepared to take a cargo of slaves on board in case a good chance presents itself; but in default of the dishonest dollar turn an honest penny."

The *New York Journal of Commerce* proposes to put a stop to the illicit trade by prohibiting all lawful trade between the ports of this country and the Western Coast of Africa, except such as may be carried on by American vessels with native American crews.

This proceeds upon what appears to us to be an erroneous assumption that the illicit trade is carried on chiefly from this port by Europeans. Besides, such an invidious distinction would be considered unjust, and might provoke retaliation.

The *Tribune* suggests an alteration of the law, so that it may be made a penal offence, for any one to "knowingly" sell goods in this country to persons who intend to put them on board a vessel which is going out of any American port on a slave voyage. Another suggestion is as follows: "Let the coast of Africa be lined with cruisers—man-of-war, swift, watchful, and well acquainted with the haunts of slavers."

And the Legislature of the State of New York is called upon to enact laws for the purpose of prohibiting the fitting out of ships in this port to be engaged in this abominable traffic.

We do not believe that the Federal Government will line the coast of Africa with cruisers. It is far more likely that the small squadron employed there now will be withdrawn—and that would be of but little consequence, seeing that it has been of scarcely any use hitherto.

As to the other remedies suggested, we have no faith in them. The Slave trade cannot be stopped by any laws relating to the fitting out of ships in American ports—the ships need not go from American ports at all, the trade being between Africa and Cuba, whilst the capital and the crews can readily be obtained here.

As to the prosecutions which have lately been instituted in the courts of this State, against certain Europeans charged with being engaged in fitting out ships in this port for the Slave-trade, it is to be observed that the District-Attorney could hardly have expected to succeed in them; and we must be permitted to doubt whether American merchants

would have been subjected to the odium, expense and trouble of a public trial upon such evidence as was adduced in these cases.

For example, one De Cunha Reis, was indicted a few months since, solely on the strength of the fact that he had admitted having in his hands funds subject to the draft of a person in Africa, who was alleged to be engaged in the Slave trade there, carried on in part by a vessel which had sailed from New York. As well might the District Attorney have indicted the cashier of one of the New York banks, on account of his having paid the draft of such a person.

The object of the District Attorney appears to have been to bare out all the particulars of the alleged Slave trading here, but we cannot see that the statement of that object warrants the indictment of private individuals upon testimony which is manifestly insufficient. What is called a "Habeas bill" in Chancery, is not allowed, it being deemed oppressive towards the defendant; much less should "Habeas" indictments be got up at the expense of the State, and character of the unfortunate defendant, even although the object may be the gratification of a venalable curiosity.

The Government of the United States is placed in an odious attitude by its refusal to allow American ships on the coast of Africa, to be searched by British and French vessels, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they are engaged in the Slave trade. The Slave trade is carried on under the American flag, a fact well known to the American Government, which is also quite aware that the trade would cease to flourish if American ships could be searched. Although a Bill by Mr. Jay was introduced in Congress to New York and one in two other States, for the purpose of showing the hostility of the American Government to the Slave trade, it may well be doubted whether there is any very strong objection on the part of Southern States to the searching of Cuban ships, seeing that the slaveholders of that island have been rendered upon by the Anti-Slavery party, and they are only waiting for a convenient opportunity to say that they are not.

THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE

It is a common error to suppose that the social condition of England is better than that of France. It is not so. The Englishman is more industrious, but the Frenchman is more enterprising. The Englishman is more frugal, but the Frenchman is more generous. The Englishman is more orderly, but the Frenchman is more liberal. The Englishman is more conservative, but the Frenchman is more progressive. The Englishman is more cautious, but the Frenchman is more bold. The Englishman is more prudent, but the Frenchman is more daring. The Englishman is more patient, but the Frenchman is more impatient. The Englishman is more humble, but the Frenchman is more proud. The Englishman is more modest, but the Frenchman is more arrogant. The Englishman is more reserved, but the Frenchman is more open. The Englishman is more reserved, but the Frenchman is more open.

The man who failed before the Holm divorced the man of the Holm, and thus secured the divorce of the French who divorced the Holm as the Holm was divorced. It is a new idea that the English soldier was inferior as fighting man to the French, on the day which the writer of the Tribune called himself a cadaver.

It is true that when France calls for soldiers she gets a good many, but then we must allow something for the prospective dropping of the men. It is possible that there is no great number of Englishmen in Northampton, or Brighton, now willing to become soldiers. But we do not regard that fact with regard to the power we see in it a great improvement in the condition of the people. The Tribune says "Much more as England once profited are now no longer to be had" (but the army). We are glad of it. They are better employed. The Highlanders, too, instead of keeping up the military spirit by making war upon each other, have become civilized, they are engaged in the pursuits of peace, and therefore the

British Government cannot rely upon any considerable supply of soldiers from the Highlands.

If in England the land were divided into small farms, as in France, the middle class would receive a considerable accession to their numbers, but still they would form but an insignificant part of the population. The great question then is, whether the backlanders would be as well or better off than they are now. Unfortunately, it has been the general practice with reformers in England and the United States, as well as in other countries, to look only to the interests of the middle classes, or at all events of those above the mass laborers. Now, we are more concerned about the latter, for they are the most numerous. We find that in the United States poor laboring men in the country are not usually employed in farm labor the year round, and in our judgment they are not as well conditioned as the English agricultural laborer. It may be supposed by many persons that in the United States almost everybody living out of the towns is an owner of land, but the fact is not so. Now, if we take the State of New York for example, we shall find but a very small minority in that position.

THE COLLEGE AND COLLEGE REFORMATION

Many passages in the last year compared. History of the Continent, Superiority of the British Education.

The tables published in the New York Herald in last instant, exhibiting "the time occupied in making the Eastern and Western passages during the past year of the Collins and Cunard lines of New York and Liverpool Steamships," give the following results:

Table with 4 columns: Collins Atlantic, Collins Pacific, Collins Atlantic, Collins Pacific. Rows show passage times and other details for various routes.

When the Indian companies were first brought into competition with the East India Company, the latter was a powerful and well established institution, whilst the former were only a few feeble speculators. The Indian companies were first a few feeble speculators, but they grew into a powerful and well established institution. The Indian companies were first a few feeble speculators, but they grew into a powerful and well established institution.

At one time the Indian companies were first a few feeble speculators, but they grew into a powerful and well established institution. The Indian companies were first a few feeble speculators, but they grew into a powerful and well established institution.

The great object of the operation of the Indian companies was to have the British, especially in the East India Company, New York. The Indian companies were first a few feeble speculators, but they grew into a powerful and well established institution.

considerations, the representatives of the nation were called upon to "foot the bill," which was a pretty large one, the rate of charge being about double that allowed by the British Government to the Channel Company. Congress has paid up for a long time, but is now getting tired of it. The result is, that the artificial stimulus being withdrawn, the Collins steamers are now run with more regard to economy and safety; they are consequently finding their true level, and their actual inferiority to the British can no longer be doubted.

OBJECTIONS TO THE BILLET OF THE POOR AT THE PUBLIC HOUSES CONSIDERED.

The Poor Law Commission has proposed to relieve the poor, because if the poor of this State were relieved at the public charge, the poor would flock to them from other States, and if all the States should adopt similar laws then the poor would flock here from Europe.

The idea that poor people in Europe would be able and willing to come all the way to the United States for the mere purpose of becoming paupers is too ridiculous for serious comment. Were the interests of the working classes properly attended to, there would never be any great excess of laborers in any part of the country, for a little prohibition and timely assistance would enable them to take their labor to remunerative fields of industry. In England, every poor person has a right to demand support at the public expense, and yet we do not flock to England for the sake of the millions of a pauper's table, and a pauper's lodging.

We hold that the property of this city should be made to support all the poor here, and we should have no fear that too many poor persons would come here, if the proper measures which we have already recommended, were adopted. Poor laborers from New York, would to the advantage of the owners of real estate, and we think that the burden might be taken with the benefit.

If the New States were to form a separate government, we should advocate the passage of laws on emigration from Europe, even to the extent of paying the passage of all willing to come, taking care, however, that intelligence should be maintained by the Government for the benefit of the immigrants, and that they should be encouraged in their destination, and supported in whatever they are able to maintain themselves. In this way the great Southern Republic might soon be made strong enough to resist all the assaults of Europe.

THE NEW LAW OF WILLS.

The London Standard has published an article on the new law of wills, which is a very interesting and important one. It is a very interesting and important one.

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We are anxious to see the evidence of a right which by our laws is not recognized. In the words of some of our writers, "it is a right of international law, and it is a right of justice." We are anxious to see the evidence of a right which by our laws is not recognized. In the words of some of our writers, "it is a right of international law, and it is a right of justice."

...from Virginia. For Philadelphia Convention south...

...in 1956. The Capital Convention...

...of the United States. The President...

...of the United States. The President...

...of the United States. The President...

The Statistics of Emigration to the United States. The statistics during the past year will be found interesting in the general reader as well as to the statistician. It will be seen that the tide of emigration, which was checked very markedly during the war with Russia, is again setting steadily for our shores, and next year, if present indications are to be followed, the emigration will be very heavy, and perhaps equal to that of the year 1954, when it reached 319,974. In 1955 it fell off to 186,984, and during the present year it has run up to 141,076, two-thirds of which has come within the last seven months. The tables showing the percent, in terms of population by emigration, and by birth, should be carefully pondered over by those who fear that foreigners will eventually become too prevalent by reason of the number of aliens they add to our population. It will be seen that the increase of population every ten years, is equal to from thirty three and a half to forty per cent, of which only seven percent is due to emigration, and that only within the last sixteen years. The numbers given as arriving from other countries should be treated with some grains of allowance, as our registers are taken from the lands of the Emigration Commission, who have to do with landless passengers arriving in ships. This, etc., etc. are given as arriving from Canada, whereas few think that number would be more the truth; but the large majority of Canadians cross this city's waters, and as of the millions of other emigrants. New York Herald, December 31.

It is well known that the President, in his Message, "Probed the tide of emigration for political objects, and the subtle scope of discussion, and the revealed and advanced conditions of presentism in our country." This was said just after an election in which the friends of the candidate who carried eleven States could not win a seat in the Senate in a majority of the other States without being added. This "probed" Message of discussion for political objects did not allow in the "methodical part of the most and wide view states a meeting of the friends of a candidate who received, in spite of such persuasion, next 1,500,000 votes, and when the change of a few thousands of votes would have made President. This "subtle scope of discussion" was illustrated by building upon from the state States situated in quiet President. He is really adding them to their projects, and he is using them all resources in the state in relation to the same in the world. President changed.

Advertisements.

HIRE LAND.

...in the United States. The President...

THE OTTAWA AND SPENCER ROAD

...of the Ottawa and Spencer Road...

THE ADDINGTON ROAD.

...of the Addington Road...

...of the Ottawa and Spencer Road...

FREE EMERGENCY RECORD.

...of the Ottawa and Spencer Road...

DISASTERS.

...of the Ottawa and Spencer Road...

...of the Ottawa and Spencer Road...

...of the Ottawa and Spencer Road...

...of the Ottawa and Spencer Road...

...of the Ottawa and Spencer Road...

NEW YORK TYPE FOUNDRY

...of the Ottawa and Spencer Road...

OLD ESTABLISHED FOREIGN & DOMESTIC

...of the Ottawa and Spencer Road...

BELLY'S CHEF HOUSE

...of the Ottawa and Spencer Road...

THE NEW SHABER

...of the Ottawa and Spencer Road...

SAMERIAN SHABER

...of the Ottawa and Spencer Road...

CONVEYANCE & REAL ESTATE AGENT

...of the Ottawa and Spencer Road...

known under the form of a republic, accompanied by those "incidents of civil freedom" which are begotten of it.

REMARKS.

The Morning Post writes to notice the most important fact, viz.: that in the slave States there was a reign of terror, so that the friends of Fremont could not vote for him. In most of the slave States, there was no Fremont electoral ticket, so that not a single vote was cast in them for the candidate who carried nearly all the free States. This is a most instructive fact, for it shows clearly how complete is the sway of the oligarchy in the South.

The Abolitionist "Guardian" on the Slave in the South.

Uncertainties and dangers of this kind are the costly terms on which an immoral and unnatural system is retained. We are very little given to the business of interpreting judgments, but we take it to be perfectly safe to affirm that precarious enjoyment and mingling in the midst of prosperity are providential retributions for the perpetration of wrong, either casual or systematic. There are great apologies to be made for slavery in the United States; but its most odious vice, and one which is yearly growing on it, is hypocrisy. Nothing now will satisfy its defenders but to maintain that negro servitude is an abstractedly righteous institution, an essential condition of human society in its purest form. Of course, such a wanton and insolent affront to reason disgusts those who were inclined to be tolerant and exasperates the already excited opponent, whereof the result is a storm of imprecation and debate, which ends in stirring up the puddle that the slaveowners should desire above all things, if they are wise, to keep as quiet as possible.

SPRIT OF THE GERMAN PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES.

German Translations of the Leading Articles of the "European." Immigrants in the West.

The Abend-Zeitung (New York) translates our editorial on the "Necessity for a Revolution in the Laws for the Relief of the Poor."

The Belleiller Volksblatt (Pellville, Illinois) contains translations of our remarks on "Pauperism in New York," and on "Mr. Mitchell's Lecture on Foreign Influence."

The Illinois Republikaner translates our leading article on Emigration, contained in the sixth number of the EUROPEAN, and endorses our advice to emigrants not to come to this country, in these words:

Here (in the West) also, the immigrant becomes more and more superfluous and even burdensome.

We have good reasons to counsel our countrymen at home to keep away from a country that is governed by a party whose interests command them to combat the working classes.

REMARKS.

Here we find a Western Paper, ably edited, addressing itself to German emigrants merely, and apparently well acquainted with their position there, advising the Germans in Europe to shun even the Western States of the United States, which really constitute the most favorable fields of industry for the emigrants in the whole of the United States!

Another Western German Paper the Freie Presse von Indiana of the eighth instant, copies in its editorial column, in very prominent type, an advertisement from a German Canadian paper, setting forth the conditions under which the land in Canada West is given to settlers, and ends by asking the Canada Zeitung to name the local agents.

Increase of the German Press in the United States.

The Atlas, a German paper in Milwaukee, says, that during the last year twenty-seven new German papers have been started in the United States. We perceive by its detailed statements respecting these new journals, that most of them advocate Republican principles.

The Worcester Disunion Convention. (Translated from the Neue Zeit.)

The Neue Zeit, a New York weekly paper, contains the call for the Worcester Convention, and appends to it the following editorial remarks:

The form of this call, its quiet tone, and the great number of signers, give rise to the supposition that this is not the product of a quick effervescence, but the fruit of a ripened reflection, and of a resolution springing from a deep conviction.

Here we find a call of a number of citizens of a free State, requiring of their fellow citizens an earnest investigation, in order to determine whether it would not be for the interest of the North to abolish a Union in which one part must be always subordinated to the other, and in which both are too antagonistic to form a unit. Indeed, this manner of treating the question cannot fail to be useful, if generally adopted, and does not deserve the name of "treason."

It is but too true that there is a chasm between the South and the North wider than any political party question. The ideas of the main part of the Northern population in regard to humanity, Democracy, labor, and education, are widely different from those of the governing slaveholding population. The material and spiritual development of the North is progressive, whereas that of the South is retrogressive. It is but too true, that all these differences are increasing, the fissure between both parts widening; it cannot be disputed that the causes of this disunion form the foundation of the social and political position of both sections, and that therefore a hostile shock becomes more and more probable, and will finally be inevitable, if both parts of the Union do not take the proper measures in time to prevent such a pernicious occurrence. The open and free discussion of the matter is the best that can be done.

In the last election, the South knew that by threatening a dissolution of the Union, the North could be frightened into submission. If the North had not shown fear of this—if it had had courage enough to look the spectre quietly and firmly in the eyes—the South might have beaten their alarm drum from the Mississippi to the Atlantic without frightening the North; because it would have known that the South must lose a hundred times more by a separation than the North. This exaggerated fear of the North has made it a political vassal of the South. Enlightenment upon the real merits of the case is therefore an absolute necessity.

The Attack of the New York "Times" upon Emigrants.

(Translated from the Criminal-Zeitung.)

The New York Times goes back to Thomas Paine, in order to attack the adopted citizens generally, because this "alien by birth" dared to criticise the character of Washington.

The rage of the editor of the New York Times against Paine is easily explained, when it is considered that he is the author of "Common Sense," against which the editor of the Times seems to have an unconquerable malice.

Any foreigner entering this country with exaggerated ideas of freedom will be certainly cured, and will be as much astonished as one who should be transferred from the tropical zone direct to the North pole. The "true freedom" here, which the editor of the Times speaks of, turns out on a near examination to be a very "peculiar institution." Mr. Raymond may continue to pile up his lamentations about us foreigners; we must nevertheless confess that this Model Republic appears to us rather imperfect, and we are convinced that a proper mixture of European Red-Republicanism would improve it amazingly.

SPRIT OF THE SOUTHERN PRESS.

A new European War to spring up, and then the United States are to be suffered without hindrance, to absorb Mexico and the West Indies.

(Washington Correspondence, Baltimore Sun.)

The next administration will probably have a very fair chance of carrying out any designs of territorial expansion which it may form, without much hindrance from the powers of the Old World. The interests of the European world in their American colonies are declining. Affairs at home are likely to engage their exclusive

attention. While England is flustered in Asia, she will permit the United States to fluster on this continent and the islands naturally dependent upon it.

The peace with Russia was but a truce, as we saw from the preparations of both to transfer the scene of war to Persia. The natural opening for the expansion of the Russian empire is in Asia, and her leading statesmen have always indicated that question for her aggressive movement, and have considered the policy of Eastern aggression as erroneous and futile. It is probable that, conscious of this error, Russia was induced, contrary to general expectation, to terminate the late war and abandon her designs upon Turkey, but with a view to encounter England, in her East Indian possessions. Whatever may be said of the unpopularity in England of the war against Persia, it is the best evidence that could be afforded of the strength and wisdom of her government.

Before the first year of Mr. Buchanan's Presidency shall pass, we may see all Europe convulsed, and witness also a war in the East for the preservation and extension of the British empire in that quarter.

The United States may, meanwhile, be suffered, without hindrance, to absorb not only Mexico and the West Indies and Isthmian region, but as much of the continent north and south as may be desirable or desired. In allusion to the policy and destiny of England and America, a sentiment was lately given at a public festival in New York by the able correspondent of the London Times, Mr. Fillmore, which is worthy of note, because it was received with enthusiasm and unbounded applause, and is significant of the progress of events, to wit: that these two nations, the civilizars and conquerors of the world, are urging their way—the one eastward, the other westward—and that in the end they would together encircle the world till John and Jonathan meet under the walls of Japan.

It is in view of such territorial expansion that some of our statesmen are opposed to all treaties which define any limits to our territory, or obstruct our acquisition. We may, therefore, soon get a long way beyond the Monroe doctrine, and put into practice that of the Ostend Conference, only extending its application, according to the example of our great prototype, England, to any portion of this hemisphere which we may covet.

General Walker, Nicaragua.

(From the Charleston Standard.)

We have come to another phase in the fortunes of General Walker on the field of Nicaragua. The tide which rolled him onward is receding, and while lately he was the dictator of the country, he is now a fugitive from her capital, which he has left in ashes. How this will terminate, is, of course, uncertain. We believe, however, that he will sustain himself. Of his daring and capacity none can doubt; he will be assisted by the restless spirit of this country; he will be sustained by the army of Cuban liberators, who look upon that country as perhaps the only point d'appui they may ever have from which to act upon that island; he will find support in the vested interests of the country, which will look for at least a stable government, and among people so distracted, it can hardly be doubted but that he will be able to play one party, and ultimately one state, against another; and while, therefore, he is now doubtless in greatly straitened circumstances, if his life is spared, he will, in every reasonable probability, hold on to the next flood of fortune, and land firmly in the seat of power.

What interest have we in the success of Walker? That is a most important question. Slavery will be established, the Slave-trade legitimated, doubtless, and to that extent he will present a republic in a condition to assimilate to the South. But it is doubtful whether Nicaragua will ever be a republic in the sense in which that term is applied to the States of this Confederacy. He will take the government, with the assistance of a portion of the inhabitants of Nicaragua, but he will be compelled to hold it in virtue of the strength of his followers. He can never venture to permit his power and the interests of his people to become dependent upon the results of a popular election. In some form or other, he must consolidate immediately under him a force sufficient of itself to support his government, and the military conquests of modern Europe have afforded the prototype of that organization he will be compelled to adopt; and under whatever name it may be called he will be constrained to inaugurate the feudal system.

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were in the Convention several gentlemen who had acted as members of the Council, and from statements made by them from their own experience of the services rendered by the Council, in this very matter of applications for the exercise of the pardoning power, the Convention was induced to reverse its former vote.

Would it not be well to create a court, council, or commission to act as the Governor's advisers in this business of pardons? We commend this question to the consideration of the Assembly now in session at Albany.

A Full and Fair Experiment of the Republican Principle Prevented by the Union between the Free and Slave States. Argument that a Separation has become absolutely Necessary.

[Washington Correspondence of the New York Tribune.]

Thus far, the popular sentiment has only taken the form of desiring to circumscribe slavery. Directly, if foiled in this, it will assume that of desiring to separate from slavery. It will rush to this position all the sooner for a decision of the Supreme Court, that the General Government has no power to restrain the spread of an evil which is felt to be so formidable and so damning. There has been, and is now, a strong prejudice against separation of the States. The public mind is not awake to the urgency of the necessity that is driving the country in this direction, and which controls the question against all individual desires to prevent it. And it would be long in awaking, if not abused in its slumbers. But when stimulated to passion, its perceptions will be wonderfully quickened, and it will rush precipitately on to this goal. The tendencies in this direction have hitherto been obstructed by mild counsels and a compromising policy on the part of our public men. But the present assumes to be wiser than the past, and we slide on toward the inevitable result almost without a jolt.

Are we asked what is this necessity thus urging us forward? It is the necessity of a full and fair experiment of a free Democratic Republic, which our institutions have created, and which will work its way through or over every obstacle, the slave oligarchy and the black race on this continent not excepted.

Holding these opinions, we regard the question of separation as an eminently proper one to be considered. We regard the tendencies of the time to be all in that direction. Public men, whose political lives depend upon the breath of political favor, cannot speak, or at least do not speak, on the subject with that entire independence which belongs to men differently situated. But the press is open to every heresy.

We think every reflecting man must concede that the end of slavery will be an Ethiopia in the South. Such is the retribution the crime of slavery will work. The islands of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf States are to be Africanized. The precise extent of the area to be thus blackened within our own limits, will be proportioned to the time that shall elapse before the necessity of this result shall be recognized and acted upon. It might now be made comparatively small. We have but four millions of blacks. But directly we shall have ten millions. And what then? They must have more room. Can we not see that? We really ought to begin to stake off their ground now. History shows that they are the only race that will flourish in our tropical latitudes, and that they rapidly increase there, even under all the hardships of a condition of servitude. As to swallowing them up by amalgamation, they are too many in numbers, and they multiply altogether too fast for that. If they were a decaying or even a stationary race, it might be otherwise. But as it is, such a result is entirely out of the question.

Now, can anybody suppose that the free States are going to be for ever, or long, tied to such a body of prolific barbarians under any circumstances, whether as freemen or as slaves? In the latter case, creating a pretended or real necessity of mastership, engendering an offensive oligarchy to mar the workings of a genuine democracy; and in the former, looking to their admission to political equality out of a condition of besotted ignorance and infinite degradation? How will it be when the negro slaves shall number ten millions? Who can reflect upon such a mass of human blackness among us, darkened in intellect, crushed in spirit, groping in ignorance, impelled only by motives of hate and revenge, gross, grovelling and treacherous, without the overmastering desire to find a method by which the hideous ulcer can be struck from our political system? Espe-

cially is this so, since the Supreme Court is to declare that the Federal Government has no power to arrest the spread of this terrific evil; and since our Southern brethren, their masters, have come to advocate the eternity of the institution, the more thorough barbarization of the slaves, and demand and use, and mean hereafter more and more to use, the whole power of the existing Union in aid of their policy, thus for ever quenching the hope of our revolutionary ancestors that slavery was a temporary evil, to be borne only until time enough had elapsed to discover the best means for its extinction—a hope shared by every patriot since, until these modern days of delusion, when it has suddenly been found that it is a blessing to be eternized.

It is, therefore, our relations in the Union to slavery in this new aspect that we are called upon to consider and treat. It is an aspect never contemplated by the founders of the Government, and which, if suggested when it was formed, would have shivered every hope of consummating a union of the free and slave states. And the question thus comes home to us, if our Union has become such a one as the fathers would not have made, is it such a one as the sons should perpetuate?

Where do these considerations lead us? Is it not directly to the thoughts of extrication from the calamities that impend, under the new regime of slavery in perpetuity—slavery for ever? The curse is widening and deepening, and instead of promised or hoped for modification or amelioration, or limitation, in the future—hitherto the patriot's only hope—we are treated to nothing but visions of a severer, more crushing and still-extending field of oppression. What then shall be done? Stake off their ground. Give our lower latitudes to the blacks and those who desire to go with them. *Top off the festering limb. Cut out the cancer. Give to the democratic principle underlying our system a fair chance to work.* Give it scope, unhindered, untrammelled; by doing this, we shall launch the nation upon a new and loftier career. We shall bring our domestic quarrels over the slavery question to a close. Freed from connection with men who love slavery, and believe in slaveholding, we shall be able to treat those unhappy dreamers as they deserve. Instead of resisting their folly and wickedness as we are compelled to do now in consequence of our political association, we can then regard them as men deserving the pity of the world for their delusion; as a class commanding the commiseration of mankind for the evils that environ, the sorrows that poison their domestic condition, and the inevitable fate that awaits their posterity.

J. S. P.

Mr. Seward's Speech on the Government of the Country by the Oligarchy.

The speech delivered by Mr. Seward at Detroit, a short time ago, for the avowed purpose of showing.

That the slaveholding class of the American people is systematically and successfully perverting the administration of the Government, especially in regard to the Territories, so as to change the Constitution, and endanger the stability, welfare and liberty of the Union;—is entitled to a careful consideration. He observes that—

In every State all the property classes sympathize with each other through the force of common instincts of fear, cupidity and ambition, and are easily marshalled under the lead of one which becomes dominant, and represents the whole.

After referring to the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, he says that—

Seven States immediately, or speedily, prohibited slavery, and all the others earnestly debated the same great and benign reform. Finally, though unable thus early to abolish slavery in six of the States where it already existed, the people in the Revolutionary Congress effectually provided for excluding it for ever in that part of the national domain which lay northwest of the Ohio, and in the States which were thereafter to be established there.

He then mentions the formation of the new slave States, and speaks of the power of the slaveholding class:

In the States where this class exists it is not merely secure, it is permanent and completely dominant, to the exclusion not merely of all civil rights on the part of the "persons who are held to labor or service" by it, but to

the inhibition of voluntary emancipation by the owners of slaves, to the practical exclusion of free labor from the State, and with it freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of the ballot-box, freedom of education, freedom of literature, and freedom of popular assemblies. Thus established by municipal institutions, the slaveholding class has become the governing power in each of the slaveholding States, and it, practically, chooses thirty of the sixty-two members of the Senate, ninety of the two hundred and thirty-three members of the House of Representatives, and one hundred and five of the two hundred and ninety-five electors of President and Vice-President of the United States.

He proceeds to show that the President, the Senate, the Committees of Congress—all are under the control of the oligarchy.

Referring to the President he says:

He had been equally obscure among civilians and generals, but he was deemed reliable by the slave-property class to suppress debate on its high pretensions, and he was therefore advanced to the chief magistracy to the exclusion of the most heroic, magnanimous and successful military chief the country has produced.

Proceeding to the Senate he observes:

The chair belongs to the Vice-President of the United States. He who was last advanced to that office is now dead. You remember him. He was chosen from a slave State. The Senate elected in his place David R. Atchison. You know him well. He is chief statesman and captain in the usurpation and conquest recently effected by the slaveholding class in Kansas. When his duties in that relation called him away from the Capitol, his place here was assigned to Jesse D. Bright of Indiana. You know him also. He is acceptable and approved by the slave-property class, and he has deserved to be.

At the feet of the presiding officer you see three secretaries, while his chair is surrounded by printers, sergeants-at-arms, door-keepers and pages. Each of them is either an active or passive advocate of the policy of the slaveholding class.

He then shows that the various Committees of the Senate are packed with slaveowners and their allies.

He describes the House of Representatives:

The House of Representatives consists of two hundred and thirty-three members, chosen severally by the people in representative districts; one hundred and forty-three of them are chosen by the people of the free States. This House virtually holds a controlling power over the Senate and the President, through its exclusive right to originate bills for raising public revenue. It is, in fact, the Commons of America. But, alas! if the Senate be a strong citadel of slavery, the House of Representatives is by no means an impregnable bulwark of freedom. The slaveholding class enjoys no advantages which have not at some time been surrendered to it by the House of Representatives. To-day, indeed, we boast of a regenerated House of Representatives, faithful to the interests of human freedom. But, after all, our boast is founded less on any vantage ground actually gained by the House of Representatives than on a retreat safely effected from the late legislative contest instead of an absolute capitulation.

We hold that Mr. Seward is entirely mistaken in his view of the power of the House of Representatives. It is not the Commons of America, and moreover, it is nothing like the body to which he alludes. The British House of Commons virtually decides who shall be the rulers of Great Britain, for the confidence of that House must be enjoyed by the Ministers for the time being, or they must retire and give place to others. The House of Representatives, on the contrary, has no control over the President or the cabinet. Even treaties may be made leading to war without consulting the House of Representatives. In fact, that House is like a fifth wheel to a coach, neither useful nor ornamental. The legislative power of Congress is a mere bagatelle. And as to the power of the House to refuse to vote supplies for the ordinary service of the Government, it is of no practical importance, for it is a power that never has been, and never will be exercised. When the occasion arises for its exercise, it is time to take to the sword, and no other arbitrament remains. Moreover, it is by no means difficult for the slaveowning oligarchy to get enough support from the North to

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put them in a majority in the House of Representa-
tives: a few Northern men with Southern senti-
ments will suffice for that purpose. Even if every
member of the lower House sent from the North
were pledged to sustain Northern interests, we
should soon see enough desertions over to the South
to give them a majority. This is the natural and
inevitable consequence of the control of the office-
dispensing power by the Senate. Ambitious men, de-
siring of being sent abroad in a diplomatic capacity,
others having relatives or friends seeking offices,
can readily find excuses for their conduct in sup-
porting the government, especially as they can
always fall back upon the popular article of belief,
that almost any sacrifices should be made when ne-
cessary for the preservation of the Union between
the free and slave States.

Mr. Seward shows how thoroughly the North is
debased and humiliated:

Mark, if you please, that thus far I have only shown
you the mere governmental organization of the slavehold-
ing class in the United States, and pointed out its badges
of supremacy, suggestive of your own debasement and
humiliation. Contemplate now the reality of the power
of that class, and the condition to which the cause of
human nature has been reduced. In all the free States,
the slaveholder argues and debates the pretension of his
class, and even prosecutes his claim for his slave before
the delegate of the Federal Government with safety and
boldness, as he ought. He exhorts the citizens of the
free States to acquiesce, and even threatens them in their
very homes with the terrors of disunion if that acquie-
scence is withheld, and he does all this with safety, as he
ought, if it be done at all. He is listened to with pa-
tience and replied to with decorum, even in his most arro-
gant declamations in the Halls of Congress. Through
the effective sympathy of other property classes, the
slaveholding power maintains with entire safety a press
and permanent political organizations in all the free
States. On the contrary, if you except the northern
border of Delaware, there is nowhere, in any slavehold-
ing State, personal safety for a citizen even of that State
itself who questions the rightful national domination of
the slaveholding class. Debate of its pretensions in the
Halls of Congress is carried on at the peril of limb and
life. A free press is no sooner established in a slavehold-
ing State than it is demolished, and citizens who assemble
peacefully to discuss even the extremest claims of slavery,
are at first cautioned, and if that is ineffectual, banished
or slain, even more surely than the resisters of military
despotism in the French Empire. Nor, except just
now, has the case been much better, even in the free
States. It is only as of yesterday when free citizens,
assembled to discuss the exactions of the slaveholding
class, were dispersed in Boston, Utica, Philadelphia and
New York. It is only as of yesterday when I rose, on
request of the citizens of Michigan at Marshall, to speak
of the great political questions of the day, I was enjoined
not to make disturbance, or to give offence by speaking
of free soil, even on the ground which the ordinance of
1787 had saved to freedom. It is only as of yesterday
that Protestant churches and theological seminaries, built
on Puritan foundations, vied with the organs of the slave-
holding class in denouncing a legislator, who in the act
of making laws affecting its interest declared that all
human laws ought to be conformed to the standard of
eternal justice. The day has even not yet passed when
the press, employed in the service of education and
morality, expurgates from the books which are put into
the hands of the young all reflections on slavery. The
day yet lasts when the flag of the United States flutters
defiance on the high seas over cargoes of human mer-
chandise. Nor is there an American representative any-
where in any one of the four quarters of the globe that
does not labor to suppress even there the discussion of
American slavery, lest it may possibly affect the safety
of the slaveholding class at home.

If in a generous burst of sympathy with the strug-
gling Protestant Democracy of Europe we bring off the
field one of their fallen champions to condole with and
comfort him, we suddenly discern that the very agitation
of the principles of freedom tends to alarm the slave-
holding class, and we cast him off again as a wail, not
merely worthless, but dangerous to ourselves. The
natural and ancient order of things is reversed; freedom
has become subordinate, sectional and local; slavery, in
its influence and combinations, has become predominant,

national and general. Free, direct and manly utterance
in the cause of freedom, even in the free States them-
selves, leads to ostracism, while superserviceability to the
slaveholding class alone secures preferment in the
national councils. The descendants of Franklin and
Hamilton, and Jay and King, are unprized,

—“till they learn to betray:
Undistinguished they live, if they shame not their sires,
And the torch that would light them to dignity's way,
Must be caught from the pile when their country expires.”

In this course of rapid public demoralization, what
wonder is it that the action of the Government tends
continually with fearfully augmenting force to the
aggrandizement of the slaveholding class? A government
can never be better or wiser, or even so good or so wise,
as the people over whom it presides. Who can wonder,
then, that the Congress of the United States in 1820
gave up the west bank of the Mississippi quite up to the
present line of Kansas, and was content to save for free-
dom out of the vast region of Louisiana only Kansas and
Nebraska? Who can wonder that it consented to annex
and admit Texas with power to subdivide herself into
five slave States, so as to secure the slaveholding class a
balance against the free States then expected to be ulti-
mately organized in Kansas and Nebraska? Who can
wonder that when this annexation of Texas brought on a
war with Mexico, which ended in the annexation of
Upper California and New Mexico, every foot of which
was free from African slavery, Congress divided that vast
territory, reluctantly admitting the new State of Califor-
nia as a free State, because she would not consent to
establish slavery, dismembered New Mexico, transferred
a large portion of it to slaveholding Texas, and stipu-
lated that what remained of New Mexico, together with
Utah, should be received as slave States, if the people
thereof should so demand? Who can wonder that the
President, without any reproof by Congress, simultane-
ously offered to Spain two hundred millions of dollars for
the purchase of Cuba, that it might be divided into two
slaveholding States, to be admitted as members of the
Federal Union, and at the same time menaced the
European powers with war if they should interfere to
prevent the consummation of the purchase? Who can
wonder that, emboldened with these concessions of the
people, Congress at last sanctioned a reprisal by the
slaveholding class upon the regions of Kansas and
Nebraska—not on the ground of justice or for an equiva-
lent, but simply on the ground that the original conces-
sion of them to freedom was extorted by injustice and
unconstitutional oppression by the free States?

Who can wonder that the slaveholding class, when it
had obtained the sanction of Congress to that reprisal, by
giving a pledge that the people of these Territories
should be perfectly free, nevertheless, to establish free-
dom therein, invaded the Territory of Kansas with armed
forces, inaugurated an usurpation and established slavery
there, and disfranchised the supporters of freedom by
tyrannical laws, enforced by fire and sword; and that
the President and Senate maintain and uphold the slave-
holding interests in these culminating demonstrations of
their power while the House of Representatives lacks the
power, because it is wanting in the virtue, to rescue the
interests of justice, freedom, and humanity? Who can
wonder that Federal Courts in Massachusetts indict de-
fenders of freedom for sedition, in Pennsylvania subvert
the State tribunals, and pervert the habeas corpus, the
great writ of liberty, into a process for arresting fugitive
slaves, and consue into contempt, punishable by impris-
onment without bail or mainprize, the simple and truth-
ful denial of personal control over a fugitive female slave,
who has made her own voluntary escape from bondage?
Who can wonder that in Kansas lawyers may not plead
or parties be huddled in the Federal Courts, nor can
even a citizen vote without first swearing to support the
Fugitive Slave law and the Kansas and Nebraska Act;
while citizens who discuss through the press the right of
slaveholders to dominion there, are punished with impris-
onment or death; free bridges, over which citizens who
advocate free institutions may pass, free taverns where
they may rest, and free presses through which they may
speak, are destroyed under indictments for nuisances;
and those who peaceably assemble to debate the griev-
ances of that class, and petition Congress for relief, are
indicted for high treason?

Mr. Seward concludes by saying, that

The question now to be decided is, whether a slave-
holding class exclusively shall govern America, or
whether it shall only bear divided sway with non-slave-
holding citizens?

“Most lame and impotent conclusion!” We do
not believe that there can be any divided sway.
Either liberty must rule or be destroyed. The
question is no longer whether slavery shall be ex-
tended, it is whether the republican system of
government shall be abolished—nay, more, whe-
ther the laboring classes shall be reduced again to
absolute serfdom.

Monopoly of the Land by the Slaveowners and Expulsion of the Non-Slaveholding Whites. Example of Delaware.

[From the Philadelphia Times.]

Not only are the old free States more flourishing than
the old slave States, and the new free States more flour-
ishing than the new slave States, but the slave States
themselves are the most flourishing in those parts where
there is the least slavery, and most depressed in those
parts where slavery most prevails. Look at Maryland
and Delaware; the Northern portions, along the Penn-
sylvania line, where there are hardly any slaves, grow
and thrive—the Southern parts decay, or are sta-
tionary.

There are three counties in Delaware: New Castle,
the most northern, Kent, the central, and Sussex the
southern county. There are hardly any slaves in New
Castle county, not many in Kent; Sussex contains
nearly all that are in the State. Now, examine the con-
dition of these counties in the years 1810 and 1850,
an interval of forty years. These are the census re-
turns:

	1810.	1850.	Increase.	Decrease.
New Castle.....	24,229	42,780	18,551	—
Kent.....	20,495	22,816	2,321	—
Sussex.....	27,750	25,936	—	1,814

Thus it appears, that while New Castle county has
gained about seventy-four per cent. in population, being
nearly free from slavery, Sussex county, which is blessed
with it, has less population by 1,814 than it had forty
years ago. In view of this condition of things, we can-
not doubt that, before many years elapse, slavery will be
abolished in Delaware, by the gradual process adopted
in Pennsylvania, eighty-three years ago. Such a pro-
ject was lost by one vote in the Delaware Legislature, a
very few years ago.

What must we think of the intelligence of those citi-
zens of the Northern States who would rather see Kansas
a Sussex than a New Castle?

Pleasant Incidents of Public Balls in the South. Fights with Pistols and Knives in the Ball-room.

[From the Baltimore Patriot, January 2.]

At the Democratic ball, which took place last night
in the hall of the Maryland Institute, the proceedings
were characterized by the most outrageous lawlessness
and disregard for decency and life that it is possible to
imagine. Fights occurred in which pistols and knives
were used in the freest manner. Country Thompson
had his throat cut, from which it is thought he cannot
recover. A man, whose name we could not learn, was
shot in the breast, and other acts of outlawry were of
common occurrence. We have been diligent and careful
in making inquiries in reference to the cause of the dis-
turbances which took place, and learn that they did not
arise from any political difficulty, but transpired wholly
with the members of the Democratic party.

The first affray, and the most serious one of the even-
ing, happened at the entrance inside the hall, about one
o'clock, between Country Thompson and a number of
New Market rowdies. Thompson had just entered the
hall, and on observing one of the above crowd, asked
the reason why those having the charge of the ball
admitted a d-d thief, and why he was not arrested;
adding, that if no other person would arrest him, he
would do so himself. This caused a fight, in which a
number participated; pistols were fired, which tended
to disperse the outside crowd, and after some hard
knocks it was brought to a close. Thompson was found
to have had his throat badly cut, from which, it is sup-
posed, he will not recover. A man, who accompanied
him, was very much beaten about the head and face,
but, as far as we can learn, no one was injured by the
copious discharge of fire-arms.

For an hour peace reigned in triumph, when another
fight occurred from a most trifling cause. Sets were
being formed for a quadrille, when a boy, in passing
along the lower end of the room, ran against a man who
had taken his position in a set, for which unintentional

class alone secures preferment to the
 cils. The descendants of Franklin and
 Jay and King, are unprized,

—“till they learn to betray;
 shed they live, if they shame not their sires,
 arch that would light them to dignity's way,
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**Pleasant Incidents of Public Balls in the
 South. Fights with Pistols and Knives in
 the Ball-room.**

[From the Baltimore Patriot, January 9.]

At the Democratic ball, which took place last night
 in the hall of the Maryland Institute, the proceedings

act he was knocked down. A person who was standing near took the boy's part, and drawing a pistol, flourished it about him, when, accidentally or otherwise, it went off. It was said from this a man was shot in the breast. This gave rise to another fight, by which a number of persons received severe bruises. These were the two important fights of the evening; others occurred, but were soon quelled. About the time the first affray took place, a gentleman, a stranger in the city, in company with some of our merchants, had his port-monnaie stolen, containing over \$1,100, a check for \$250, and a through railroad ticket for 800 miles. He waited on the actuary this morning, and made known his loss, having just telegraphed to stop the payment of the check if offered.

THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Testimony of European Tourists Examined, and its general Worthlessness Exposed.

BY AN ENGLISH RESIDENT.

The general character of the works of European tourists in the United States may be briefly described. An extravagant admiration of the progress made since the Independence—repeated assertions that there is no poverty or crime—that the people are wonderfully industrious and energetic, are amazingly well-informed and independent—all this we are sure to find in the first part of nearly every work, and are almost as sure to find a great portion of it flatly contradicted or qualified in other parts. This astonishing discrepancy is thus accounted for. Most writers have adopted the fashion of publishing their journals in which they have entered up day by day their crude first impressions, all of which are materially changed by a short residence in the country. They also speak indiscriminately of "the Americans"—the whole population of the United States—as if they formed one people. Writing in New England they pronounce the Americans to be religious, industrious, temperate, orderly, well-conditioned, but when writing in the slave States, the Americans are declared to be irreligious, idle, intemperate, disorderly and ill-conditioned, dirty and ragged.

We may ask with Von Raumer, can it be wondered at when a well-informed writer angrily exclaims, "I have read nearly all the statements of travellers in the United States for the last thirty years; and it has filled me with astonishment that such a mass of contradiction and absurdity could have been produced on any given subject."

The prevailing tone is on the whole highly favorable to a majority of the people of the United States and the character of democratic government, as will be seen from the following sketch of some of the leading works on this subject.

The largest and one of the most important works is that of Mr. Buckingham, in nine volumes. That gentleman was in the United States and Canada about three years, between 1837 and 1841. He visited almost every State and territory; also the British Provinces and delivered lectures on Egypt and Palestine, also on Temperance and Peace. The three first volumes are devoted to a general description of the United States—then three volumes particularly to the Eastern and Western States, two volumes to the slave States, and one to the British Provinces.

Mr. Buckingham's lectures brought around him the most intellectual portion of American society, from which he formed too good an opinion of the mass of the people. He remarks upon the works that had been published by previous tourists in the United States, that "In some of the English writers there was an evident determination to seek only for blemishes, and to turn even the virtues into ridicule." We have never met with any such, but have found, on the contrary, a strong disposition to praise wherever the slightest opportunity was supposed to present itself. Mr. Buckingham, like many of his predecessors, adopts "the form of the actual diary, in which the incidents and feelings are transferred to paper while fresh and new." This must be borne in mind when we see the most opposite sentiments advanced in different parts of the work—the feelings of 1847 will be found quite different from those of 1840.

Mr. Buckingham says that he expects to be attacked by many of the party journals in America for some of his remarks; while, on the other hand, he expects as little justice from the party journals of his own country, who will condemn him, perhaps, as fiercely for the

eulogies he has felt bound to bestow on the manifold advantages enjoyed by the people of the United States over most of the countries of the Old World.

It may be as well here to remark, that Mr. Buckingham appears to have been, at all events when he penned the first part of his work, an admirer of democratic government, universal suffrage and the voluntary system of religion, and he lost no opportunity of inculcating his sentiments. He repeatedly insists upon the vast superiority of the American people in arts and arms—the greater piety and efficiency of their clergy; and he vividly contrasts the supposed wretched condition and brutal ignorance of his own countrymen as compared with these proud and prosperous Republicans. In truth, he appears to have started off with a full determination to admire everything in the Republic, and denounce everything in England. In this spirit he began as soon as he landed, in an address to the people of New York, published in the newspapers of that city, in which, announcing his intended lectures, he took occasion to praise America as the "home of the oppressed"—a freer country than England, destined to be the great centre of freedom, and so forth; and on that occasion declared as follows: "Already, indeed, has she done more than any other country that can be named for the advancement of temperance, the spread of education, the amelioration of the criminal code, the improvement of prisons and penitentiaries, and the practical illustrations of the blessings of peace." With this opinion already formed, he sets out, and yet he assures us that he visited the United States as a most impartial observer, "neither predisposed to admire nor condemn."

He says that the Americans accuse some of the English writers of a betrayal of confidence and abuse of hospitality, and that the charge is true, (*Introduction to First Series*, p. 10.) suggesting, however, that some American travellers have behaved as badly. We are quite unaware of any example of the imputed misconduct on the part of any English writer; but the fact is, that an English author who may happen to be favorably received by the Americans is accused of ingratitude and abuse of hospitality if he dare to publish opinions unfavorable in the least degree towards those people who who firmly believe that they need only be seen to be admired.

Mr. Buckingham declares that he shall feel the deepest regret if anything to which he has given publicity respecting America or the Americans should render his name and memory less revered among them or their children. (*Introduction to First Series*, p. 11.) We believe that he would be received with hostility if he were again to appear amongst them, for he has ventured to mix censure with his praise. Indeed, he has done more than this, for after having praised them for any particular good quality, he has afterwards almost invariably censured them for the want of it. He has himself well described how censure is received by the Americans. (*First Series*, vol. ii., p. 450): "Let but an English traveller venture to express an opinion of the inferiority of the American people to his own countrymen, in any the most trifling particular, whether in beauty or healthiness of appearance, dress, manners, accomplishments, taste or any other quality, and every one will be up in arms against him. This is not because the observations are unjust, for they could not be so deemed by those who say much worse things of each other, but because they are uttered by a foreigner, who is guilty, according to their notions, of an unkind return for the hospitalities he may have received, in speaking even the truth of them, if it does not place them in the most favorable point of view possible."

It is to be regretted that Mr. Buckingham did not give up all attempts to please the Americans—if he had done so—and had carefully digested the mass of information obtained by him during his three years' journeying in America, he might have given to the world something better than the mass of crudities and inconsistencies of which his journal is made up.

The facts brought under his own notice, and the details of the various institutions examined by him, are of great value, and we propose to avail ourselves of them in the course of our examinations, for the purpose of refuting his theories. A great portion of the work is occupied with historical details of the early settlements of the country, and geographical descriptions; and many things common to the twenty-six Republics are repeated in the detailed examination of each—hence the enormous volume of the work. Comparisons are freely drawn between the United States and England,

and between the United States and Canada, generally to the disadvantage of England and her colonies. Thus the reader is assured that the American people are much handsomer and better behaved than the English—better educated, and more pious; that the voluntary system has succeeded admirably in securing a body of clergy more learned and zealous, and enjoying better salaries, than the English clergy; that American churches are more numerous and more comfortable than the English—the music and singing infinitely superior; that the people are more benevolent—the women more chaste; that there is hardly any crime; the military and naval officers are superior to ours, likewise the crews and rank and file; the shipping, too, is far beyond ours, and the militia is super-excellent. The farmers, laborers and mechanics are all gentlemen, whilst ours are ignorant and wretched. The Americans are the great inventors, and their manufactures excel ours, and will soon drive us out of the markets of the world. Justice is promptly and efficiently administered at a cheap rate, forming a complete contrast to our virtual denial of justice to the poor. And the Americans have set an example to the world in their humane and sensible treatment of criminals. As for the poor English, the scenes of profligacy amongst them are appalling.

If the contrast is striking between the English and American farmers, it is still more so between the farm-laborers of the two countries. In England it is well known what miserable wages agricultural laborers receive, ten to twelve shillings, perhaps, the average; what scanty fare they are obliged to subsist upon, flesh meat once or twice a week at the utmost; and how perpetually they stand in danger of the workhouse, with all their desire to avoid it, with no education themselves, and no desire to procure any for their children."

He then asserts that American farm laborers do not receive less than a dollar per day, have as good living at the farm-house as prosperous English tradesmen, at the same time enjoy the advantage of excellent schools, &c. "There is scarcely a family in the towns of America where a piano is not to be seen among their furniture." (*First Series*, vol. iii., p. 64.) Not one family in a hundred in the towns of America owns a piano, taking the average of the United States.

The manufacture of edge tools is going on so rapidly and attaining such excellence here, that they will soon need no supply from Birmingham or Sheffield. Iron furnaces, and other works of iron machinery, are nearly as well executed as in England. Cabinet-making, boat-building, and cooperage are all better done here than at home; and in the fine arts in which they are still behind us, ten or twenty years will make them our equals, and even a still shorter time, unless the legislators of England repeal the corn laws, by which if not soon taken off England will be left behind in the race of manufactures by Germany, Switzerland and America, and what is then to be the fate of her national debt and unemployed population, it is fearful to anticipate." (*First Series*, vol. iii., p. 64.)

In Massachusetts he found "the hardware equal to that of Birmingham, at least—some, indeed, superior; and the saddlery and harness work, as well as the articles of cabinet-ware in furniture not inferior to any in the world. In the making of arms, guns, pistols and swords the Americans excel; and in bronze and silver work there were beautiful specimens of each, as well as of cut glass and or-molu." He prophesies that unless some change takes place in the policy of England, by which the wages of her artisans can be raised, or their taxes diminished and bread rendered cheaper by removal of the restrictions on the trade in corn, the best workmen will gradually abandon England, and come out to instruct the Americans, as they are doing every year. (*Eastern and Western States*, vol. i., p. 41.)

The wonder is, that being so clever they need any such instruction. But even the poor consolation that we might, by adopting free trade, avert the impending catastrophe, we are deprived of, for he tells us that he fears it is too late; that even if England were to relax the restrictive policy of her corn laws, it is uncertain whether America would consent to abandon the protective system for her own manufactures. (*Eastern and Western States*, vol. ii., p. 248.) Deprived of faith in the remedy before recommended, we are still supplied with another: "National colonization can alone relieve us."

Reference is made to the horrible details of oppressive labor, cruel treatment, lingering slaughter and premature death of women and children in the mines of Great

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Britain, and the unparalleled depravity in the manufacturing towns of the kingdom.

In America, too, we are told there is no large standing army used for the purpose of overawing the people, and maintained by the labors of those they are called on to guard—no distraints for tithes—no ejections for nonpayment of rent—no oppressive taxes—no overbearing aristocracy.

Our alleged misgovernment of India—oppression of the natives—buccaneering attack upon China—failure to make provision for the payment of our national debt, and a thousand other charges are brought against the nation, whilst the conduct of the Americans towards the Indians and slave population is excused or palliated.

This style of writing is calculated to work a great deal of mischief; it increases the hatred and contempt of the Americans—exalts their national vanity—furnishes them with an excuse for slavery, and fosters the desire to humble the pride of a government that so tramples upon the rights of the multitude at home and so violates the rights of other nations.

The spirit of the author in question has been sufficiently shown, and it will scarcely be denied that any statement made by him against the Americans may be fairly taken as the admission of an unwilling witness. We shall find, however, from his own testimony, that this new Paradise is after all but a sorry place, and that our author himself, in the third year of his residence in America, when asked whether he had not seen enough to make him prefer it greatly to England, replied that on the contrary he preferred England the more for having seen America. (*Eastern and Western States*, vol. iii., p. 214.)

About this time he had found most of his early impressions to be wrong. On his first arrival he writes that Philadelphia was "the most quiet, orderly and moral city on the globe." "The stranger may pass through every part of the city and its suburbs, at any hour of the day or night, without risk of injury to his person or property. He may leave his doors and windows open almost with impunity at night." (*First Series*, vol. ii., p. 179.) On his visit to Philadelphia, about two years afterwards, he writes: "During our short stay in Philadelphia there seemed to me to be as many cases of robbery and disorder as occur in London in the same space of time, with nearly ten times the population." (*Third Series*, vol. ii., p. 18, and see *Third Series*, vol. i., pp. 180, 227, 464.) He speaks of the highway robberies, burglaries, cases of personal violence, &c. At another time he quotes from a Philadelphia paper to show that the city was infested with night robbers, and he quotes from a presentment of the grand jury, in which is the following passage: "The history of our last year would furnish a richer chapter of villany than the calendar of Newgate could previously boast." And yet our author had praised Philadelphia as "the most quiet, orderly and moral city on the globe!" As to New York, he quotes from a newspaper the following: "From a comparison drawn from statistical tables, it appears that the amount of murders, smotherings, suicides, poisonings, &c., in New York greatly exceed those of London during the last year." (*Third Series*, vol. ii., p. 192.)

In the South the number of assassinations, stabbings, &c., is ten times greater than in any free country in Europe, in proportion to the population, and five times greater than in the Northern States. (*Slave States*, vol. i., p. 557.) That makes the number of assassinations, stabbings, &c., even in the Northern States, double as great as in any free country in Europe.

We are also told that there is more fraud and extortion than any where else in the world—more incendiary fires than in ten other countries. The contents of the Southern and Western newspapers are far from inviting "It is impossible to take up any one of them without finding in it the record of some deed of blood or violence—some destruction of life or property, which might well make a cautious man hesitate before he ventured among so reckless a people as the inhabitants of those regions seem to be." (*Third Series*, vol. ii., p. 189.)

[To be continued.]

NICARAGUA.

Position of Walker. Reinforcements sent from the United States. How the United States Government is to assist Walker indirectly.

The intelligence from Nicaragua is that Walker's force, estimated at two hundred men, was besieged at Granada, 150 in the two steamers in which he was constantly traversing the lake, fifty men guard-

ing 300 wounded and sick on the island of Ometepe, in the lake, 160 men at Virgin Bay, and forty near San Juan. The Costa Rican accounts from Granada were no later than those by the previous California mail, coming down to the 1st of December, at which time the besieged filibusters still held out.

It appears that no decisive engagement has taken place, and that Walker is constantly receiving reinforcements and supplies from the United States. No attempt is made by the Government of the United States to prevent this—the old version of the neutrality laws insisted upon in the controversy with England being totally abandoned.

We are informed from an intelligent source at Washington, that the Government of the United States intends to assist Walker indirectly in the following manner, viz., by making a demand on Costa Rica for satisfaction for the alleged outrages committed on Americans at Virgin Bay—the diplomatic demand to be backed up by a military demonstration against the Republic of Costa Rica. By this project, the Costa Rican forces, it is expected, will be recalled from their operations against Walker.

It is said, also, that a demand of a similar nature is at the same time to be made against the Republic of Guatemala, backed by a like demonstration, for the purpose of drawing home the remainder of the forces operating against Walker, so that there might be no possibility of the Nicaraguans, abandoned to themselves, preventing the subjugation of their country by Walker, the establishment of slavery in Central America, and all the train of evils which must be consequent thereto.

[From the London Punch.]

SONG OF THE BORDER RUFFIAN.

"Free Society! We sicken at the name."—*Alabama Paper.*

AMERICA the Land of Liberty!

I tell you what!—I'll put a chunk of lead inside your brain if you say that to me:

I'll raise your scull-top for you off your head.

America's the land of Slavery now—

To Slavery's cause the North we mean to win; And if what I assert you won't allow,

I'll rip you open upward to the chin.

There's some men here as I have got to shoot.

There's some men here as I have got to stick. Let any one jest my words dispute.

I'll put this bowie-knife into him, stick.

Wherever our star-spangled banner waves,

And our proud stripes eternally defies,

We'll buy, and sell, and whip, and brand our slaves;

Object to that, and I'll black both your eyes.

Not only niggers, but them damned mean whites,

To servitude who steep themselves to lower,

Mind!—or I'll drill a peep hole through your lights.

Yes, Sir-ree, we'll make slaves on all the poor.

Sich critters as that beggar, 'tother day,

That wailer-feller for his sasse that got

What he deserved—and some on you too may—

The base, degraded, brutal wretch was shot.

Them as descends a servant's place to take,

The treatment of a servant must expect;

If any man has a remark to make,

This here is loaded, let him recollect.

I'd make all sitch slave soil. You disagree?

Maad, I was never known to miss my aim,

I loves the land of slaves, but as to free

Society, I sicken at the name.

Estimate of the true Value of the Speeches about the Friendship of the United States for England. Consul Croskey's Rhodomontade censured. Russian Sympathies of the Pierce Administration.

The *New York Tribune* of the 14th instant makes the following comments on the speeches lately delivered on the occasion of the return of the *Resolute*:

If any one wishes to understand how utterly insufficient are the protestations to which we are alluding, to preserve peace, let him remember the record of the past few years. How many times have these sweet speeches been repeated at Mr. Peabody's Star and Garter dinners,

over the turtle and turbot of Lord Mayor's banquets, in swelling sentences by Mr. Bancroft, in smooth and polished periods by Mr. Everett, and in courtly language by the late Mr. Lawrence. Yet while this savory efflux of language has been perpetual, there has always been an undertone pitched in quite a different key. The national interchange of compliments did not save us from the felon doctrines of the Ostend Manifesto, from the libels of the *London Times*, from the Anglophobic drivel of the *Washington Union*, from the *Russian sympathies of the Pierce Administration*.

We are very sorry to say that Mr. Consul Croskey could not get through his "neat speech" without indulging in a little filibustering rhodomontade. "The world," said this worthy consul, in the spirit of Uncle Toby's address to the fly, "is large enough for both nations to fulfil their respective destinies, without coming into conflict with each other. The East seems peculiarly the field of action wherein the civilizing duties of England must continue to be employed. The West would appear to be, both geographically and otherwise, the sphere in which America rather than England should exercise the influence which the Anglo-Saxon race has never failed to exercise among semi-barbarous people or over undeveloped countries. What a magnificent partition! Mr. Croskey magnanimously says, "Let England invade, subjugate and annex all the kingdoms of the East; but leave America at liberty also to invade, subjugate and annex Cuba, Central America, Mexico and the Sandwich Islands." We believe there is something just like this argument among the thieves of St. Giles, and no light-fingered gentleman presumes to pick pockets upon another's beat. To be sure, Mr. Croskey sweetens his "manifest destiny" doctrines with the usual small talk about "civilization, the Bible, the newspaper and the plough." Now, we say nothing of the civilization and Bibles which England has carried to the East; but pray how much civilization and how many Bibles has Mr. William Walker carried to Nicaragua? Are we to find evidence of civilization, and especially of a spread of Biblical truth, in the revival of slavery and the re-opening of the Slave-trade in that favored country? And with the fact staring us in the face, that *the acquisitiveness of Americans is stimulated by a desire to extend a barbarous institution*, in the name of common consistency, is it not time to stop prating of "manifest destiny" and civilization in the same breath?

What could the South do against an invading Army?

The *New York Tribune* (January 13) asks:

In heaven's name, *what would the South do now, with its whole servile population in a state of ferment, against an invading army?* With insurrections threatened or feared in so many States; with society "stirred up," to use the language of the *Natchez Free-Trader*, "as an irrupted volcano;" with "strong men shut up in their houses with fire-arms," it is well that no foreign foe sagacious enough to improve his advantages is upon the soil. And yet this is the helpless condition to which the *Enquirer* would reduce new and frontier States, and it is by the introduction of such a social torpedo that it would promote the national safety. This is something which concerns us all; and, putting out of the question considerations of abstract morality, and even considerations of internal economy, we feel that, as members of this great confederacy, we have a right to ask for that protection which the South seems incapable of securing for itself, and for an immunity from that ruin in which it would madly involve us all.

BRITISH CONSUL AT NEW YORK.—A Washington correspondent of the *Post* says: Anthony Barclay, late British Consul at the port of New York, it is understood here, will be re-appointed, and is making his arrangements for a speedy return. Mr. John Loeh, who was talked of as likely to be sent in his place, has received a very satisfactory appointment in England.

FROZEN TO DEATH.—The body of a man, known as Michael Farrell, was found dead in a shed in Thurston's coal-yard, in Atlantic street, yesterday morning. *Having no home to go to, and being refused admission to several places he applied at for a lodging, he had no other recourse but to turn in under any place of shelter he could find. He was about forty years of age. Coroner Redding held an inquest, and a verdict in accordance with the facts was rendered.*—*New York Herald*, Jan. 9.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE EUROPEAN.

THE EUROPEAN will contain all the information that can be gathered in Europe and America of especial interest to Europeans in the United States, and to the inhabitants of the British North American Provinces.

It will show the actual condition—moral, physical and mental—of all classes of the people of the various States of this Confederation, whether natives or emigrants, freemen or slaves; and it will contain the information necessary for Europeans who contemplate emigration, to determine whether they should select the United States or some other country for their future residence.

It will be opposed to the Anti-Republican, alias the Sham-Democracy or Pro-Slavery party—the enemies of freedom and social progress all over the world.

It will oppose the propagandists of slavery, and will advocate the propagandism of liberty on this continent as well as in Europe.

It will set forth the various reasons why Republican institutions in the United States have hitherto failed to secure the well-being of the working classes, and will advocate the legislative measures necessary to ameliorate their condition.

It will institute fair and honest comparisons between the United States and other countries, showing the progress made by each from time to time, and the justice of their several pretensions.

It will maintain the cause of the friends of liberty in Europe and elsewhere—a cause which should be supported by all parties in every country enjoying count in liberal government, since the only real danger to those countries is from a combination of the military despots of Europe, aided by the Pro-Slavery government of the United States.

It will sustain the cause of Republicanism against those who would sacrifice it to preserve the domination over the freemen of the North by the slave-owning aristocracy of the South.

It will contain all such facts as may assist the people of other countries in determining what are the true merits or demerits of American institutions.

THE EUROPEAN.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 27, 1857.

TREATMENT OF THE POOR IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Report of the Senate Committee, Appointed by the Senate, to Enquire into the Condition of the Poor in the State of New York, and to Report thereon to the Senate at its Session in 1856.

We call the especial attention of our readers to a portion of the recent report of the Committee of the Senate of this State, on the condition of the poor in the various districts of New York. It appears from the report that the poor in some of our most populous counties are in a most deplorable condition. That "slavery laws are interpreted in three ways, and those which are without any medical attendance whatever."

That "in some cases the inmates speak and act without any medical attendance whatever." That "in some cases the inmates speak and act without any medical attendance whatever." That "in some cases the inmates speak and act without any medical attendance whatever."

The Committee recommend a more efficient appropriation of the charitable and benevolent institutions of the State to the relief of the poor, and to the improvement of the moral and physical condition of the poor.

We are glad to find that our views on these subjects, which are pretty fully set forth in our seventh number are concurred in by the Senatorial Committee. We would suggest that a society for the amendment of the laws for the relief of the poor should be formed immediately in this city. The recommendations of the Senate Committee ought to be adopted during the present session of the Legislature.

The Committee express their surprise that the people living in the immediate neighborhood of the poor-houses in question, manifest but very little interest in the condition of the poor creatures who are the inmates of those places. We may add another fact, showing the prevalent want of sympathy for the poor, viz.: that the newspaper press of this city has taken no notice of the Committee's report.

If a tithe of these monstrous evils had been exposed in England, the press would have roused the indignation of the people from one end of the country to the other, and the New York press would have joined in the outcry. Indeed, a few weeks ago, the New York Evening Post had an elaborate leader mainly devoted to the alleged mismanagement of a London Poor-house, and yet that paper has not yet deemed it of any importance to pay the slightest attention to the outrageous mismanagement of the poor-houses of this State. How can this apathy in the State of New York be accounted for?

A German contemporary (the Pioneer) has a theory which may aid in the solution of the problem. He says:

"Morality here is corrupted, and ruffianism is nourished, mainly by slavery. A people which accustoms itself to such an atrocious institution—which blunts its senses by contact with it—which habitually cherishes the same—and necessarily becomes subject to every kind of immorality and ruffianism. As long, therefore, as slavery exists here, the republic cannot be morally regenerated."

If these revelations had concerned only the people of another State, there might have been some excuse, the fact being that the people of one State know very little about the laws and the condition of society in the other State. This may partly account for the reticent disposition in which European tourists are subjected in visiting this country. A New Yorker who knows and cares nothing about the actual condition of the great mass of the people in other States, and very little about the working people in his own State, tells the respectable tourist who is to report in the presence of his admiration, that their poverty is generally beyond description, and that, indeed, the only way to sympathize is to the want of more education, exercise and labor. The beautiful form of the poor seems to deceive all justice, and here we see the evidence which we find, in England, that we notice in labor of the most improved by the necessity of State, that there is more justice in the very State of New York than in England, and that what terrible barbarism is not made by the Committee of the Senate do not seem to be a passing remark.

It is no wonder the people of Europe thus they have seen to learn about the state of working in this Republic, and the social working of its institutions. The members of the present committee of the Senate are to enlighten their countrymen, and if the state of the working classes of England, Scotland and Ireland is at all suggested by the British press, it will give a wide sympathy in the State which we have presented. We may add, that the majority of the members of the Senate are in the most bitter attack made against it by the American press.

It is a pity that the people of Europe thus they have seen to learn about the state of working in this Republic, and the social working of its institutions. The members of the present committee of the Senate are to enlighten their countrymen, and if the state of the working classes of England, Scotland and Ireland is at all suggested by the British press, it will give a wide sympathy in the State which we have presented.

California above the sum of three hundred thousand dollars, has been incurred in defiance of a clause in the State Constitution prohibiting the Legislature from creating any debt beyond the sum above named, unless sanctioned by an express vote of the people at a general election.

The present amount of the debt is about three millions and a half.

Of course the merchants of San Francisco are in favor of having the debt paid, but the people of the Interior may not have the same inclination. Besides it may be questioned whether even a vote of the people at a general election sanctioning an antecedent debt, will be sufficient to remove the Constitutional objection.

The San Francisco Bulletin says:

In State seven per cents nothing has been done since the decision of the Supreme Court was rendered, and it is impossible to make any quotations. The Supreme Court has also held that the City of San Francisco is not, by the terms of her charter of incorporation, legally responsible for certain warrants issued by the municipal officers during several years back to the extent of about a million and a half of dollars. Another decision declares that the city is not liable to repay the prices received for the sale of certain ship property in 1838, which was afterwards found to be illegal; and a third decision holds that the city is not liable for the sum of \$400,000 agreed to be paid by agents in former years for certain property on the Plaza.

We would recommend our readers to have as little as possible to do with American securities. A short time ago it was held by a Court in this State, (New York,) that cities have no power to subscribe for railroad stocks, a practice which has been a very common one.

EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES.

The "American Celt" and the Illinois "Republican" opposed to Emigration. Weighed Fate of Immigrant Laborers and Mechanics. Prevailing Ignorance and Indifference on the Subject.

The American Celt (a Catholic paper published weekly in this city) in its issue of the 10th instant, expresses its appreciation of our efforts to diminish the emigration of laborers from Europe to the United States.

The Celt says:

Socially, all foreigners are better at home than here. Morally, all foreigners are better at home than here. Politically, all foreigners are better at home than here. The condition of the poor in the United States is such that the majority of every nationality (except, perhaps, the Germans, who supply a "system" of colonization, and take themselves immediately to the business) are not contented. The labor of the past three years, in the case of the Irish laboring class, shows us individually that the few "poor nations," with the hundreds of "the poor" who repeat, so rarely sympathize with the thousands in its efforts to seek emigration.

Walter Washburn, after having visited America and seen the actual condition of his countrymen here, equalled himself in every civilized nation on his return to Ireland in speech against emigration to the United States.

Mr. Buckleham, in his work on the United States (First Series, vol. II, p. 417) asserts "that more than one third of the emigrants from Europe die within the first three years of their residence in this country, though they generally come out in the full vigor of life." And speaking of the Irish poor emigrants to Georgia, he says that the first years are preferred to the Irish, "whose lives are thought here to be not more than three years on the average after their landing."

The Illinois Republican (a German paper) from takes our leading article on emigration contained in the sixth number of the Wanderer, and endorses our advice to emigrants not to come to this country, observing that in the West "the immigrant becomes more and more superfluous, and even burdensome." Many thousands of laborers, after seeking employ-ment in vain in the cities on the Atlantic and in the interior, are compelled at last to return to Europe.

English Government is a Republic. The Printer asks these questions: Does not the Queen command the army and navy? Does she not direct the foreign policy? Does she not preside over the country in wars which it does not want, and does she not make peace which it opposes of still less?

We answer all these questions in the negative. The army and navy are under the control of ministers who are responsible to Parliament, consisting of the Queen, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The Government of England has not been unparliamentary since the Revolution of 1688. Ministers, the Judges and all other officers in constitutional law always speak of the English system of Government as not being monarchical, but parliamentary. The Queen does not direct the foreign policy of England, that is directed by ministers, who must enjoy the confidence of the House of Commons, as we have already fully shown.

The Printer asks: If the House of Commons were to investigate the conduct of the Ministers of the Government, would it not be a violation of the rights of the Executive? This question assumes that the House of Commons took up a position antagonistic to the Executive, which was not the case if it had been so, the Ministers would have been turned out.

But now let us turn to the House of Representatives in Washington. That body resolved that the Executive Legislative of Kansas should be reprobated, and this resolution was treated by the Government of the United States with absolute contempt, so that the Printer could hardly have selected a more conspicuous violation of the purposes of establishing the republic.

The Printer asks: The Executive is the prerogative of a separate Executive power in America, but does not share it in England, although there that power is greater than it is here. To the contrary, the Executive, in its own right, is the danger from elective kings, hereditary monarchs, and to show that in England the Executive power was not separated from the Legislature, we will quote from the following extract:

Under the British Constitution, there is an Executive Council, but the real power is not placed in the hands of the country. The nation is governed by Ministers who enjoy the confidence of the representatives of the people. These Ministers are subjected to an investigation in Parliament, and are expected to defend their policy in all suitable occasions. If their conduct should prove to be unpopular, a vote is given in the House of Commons, and Ministers are obliged to resign, and a new Ministry is selected, usually by the Monarch, but in reality by the Commons.

Now let us contrast this with the Presidential system, as it exists in the United States.

The President is elected for four years, in the hands of the military and naval forces, in way and manner does not differ from that of Ministers, who are not with their private governments, in reality President for the full term, without his being in the least public, he is appointed in and by the people, in their representatives, by any means, but without the least participation of him in his Affairs.

Now let us recall the new Republic of America, and let us see how it differs from the British system. The President is elected for four years, in the hands of the military and naval forces, in way and manner does not differ from that of Ministers, who are not with their private governments, in reality President for the full term, without his being in the least public, he is appointed in and by the people, in their representatives, by any means, but without the least participation of him in his Affairs.

We have this shown that the President is elected in the hands of the military and naval forces, in way and manner does not differ from that of Ministers, who are not with their private governments, in reality President for the full term, without his being in the least public, he is appointed in and by the people, in their representatives, by any means, but without the least participation of him in his Affairs.

The Printer suggests that there may be a separation in England, and the issue of the American thereby made absolute. It has also concluded, in his article on the Presidential system, that the President is a King, making a point of view that it is true, but still a King, and that the same danger

exists for being an elective King; and the Printer holds that, inasmuch as the Executive power is placed in the hands of one man, the Constitution is damaged. This fact is, that Republics have hitherto been destroyed by the commanders of large standing armies. The problem now then can be presented to a most interesting one, which will be discussed in the columns of the European. As in England, the Executive power being practically dependent upon the House of Commons, there is much less danger of a violent subversion of the political system than in other countries.

The Printer is wrong in supposing that State laws against what is called blasphemy, are unconstitutional. The Constitution of the United States does not interfere at all with State legislation on this subject, and in most of the States of this Republic, as we have shown heretofore - the dissemination of libellous opinions is prohibited.

The Printer is also wrong in supposing that the laws of England against stamps on newspapers are unconstitutional. And he will find from the letter of our correspondent "Investigator," that the law of England is now more favorable to free discussion of libellous doctrines than in the law in most of the States here. As to corruption in the government of England, general or local, if it be judged to be corrupt, and with the officers of the government hold their places for life, whereas, in this country, upon the coming in of every new administration, there is a complete law of effluvia to be disposed of, and the leading politicians are corrupted by the general Government in the State and Municipal Governments also, the same pernicious system prevails.

The Editor of the Printer concludes by saying: "We prefer the worst Republic to the best monarchy, because the Republic does not permit itself to be corrupted by the subjugation of a Government by the hands of God."

This may do for a cheap speech, but we take issue with you that neither the spirit of the Executive nor other organs outside of a limited sphere, would justify the Republic of Venice, with the exception of her being what the Printer (paradoxically) calls the English Monarchy, but which really is a Republic, and which Monarchy does designate. This country, therefore, is not the only one in which Representatives are chosen in all standing, and are not subject to their highest responsibility, implicitly bound of this country to which they elect, and the danger of their holding office and the danger of their holding office.

Now, we are tempted to think that the Editor of the Printer would not prefer what the Republic of Venice is worse, counting that he would not only have the worst government, but would be making a great and dangerous mistake in what he has done in his article on the Presidential system, and would be making a great and dangerous mistake in what he has done in his article on the Presidential system.

Now let us see what the Printer has to say on this subject. He says that the President is elected in the hands of the military and naval forces, in way and manner does not differ from that of Ministers, who are not with their private governments, in reality President for the full term, without his being in the least public, he is appointed in and by the people, in their representatives, by any means, but without the least participation of him in his Affairs.

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Carolina can stop the circulation there; the Executive, however, will have it that Republic may play Bonaparte, and that "it is quite competent for the Legislature of North Carolina to abolish the Liberty of the Press, or to make it a penal offence for any person to read any prohibited paper."

The Constitution of the United States merely prohibits Congress from making any law abridging the Freedom of the Press, (Amendments, Art. 1.) The power not prohibited by the Constitution to the States, are reserved to the States; (Amendments, Art. 10.) Each State has the right to pass laws abridging the Freedom of the Press, and this right is freely exercised, without any question from any quarter. In most of the above States, the laws against freedom of speech and of the Press are far more rigid than were the Acts of Chatterbox.

We doubt whether the Printer would be such an admirer of "the Model Republic," if it were unqualified with its true character.

We can give the Printer an illustration, which will serve to show the nature of the union between the free and slave States. Suppose Canada and Mexico to be together in a federal union. Canada would have to admit Mexico in its efforts to subvert the world - the people of Canada might be subjected to the domination of the Federal officials would even in Canada, and inhabitants the leading Canadians with Mexico those the Canadians would be subjected to the Federal legislation, and ultimately what little liberty might be enjoyed by them under such a system, they would be deprived of. In the free States have in right for the restoration of slavery are subjected to Federal influence and Federal legislation, and what liberty is left to them will soon be lost.

The Printer quotes our position that England is opposed to despotism, and quotes the following passage:

"If England could see in the occupation of the United States in extending the cause of Liberty, her policy would be entirely unimpaired. The Government of the United States has no sympathy with the popular cause in Europe; indeed, that cause has no more deadly enemy."

Upon this the Printer presents an argument which we have answered in our first review of the article in the Monitor, and in our review of the contents of the Printer in the present number of the European. And we commend the attention of the Monitor to the passages of the Monitor there quoted in the following extract:

This country (England) is not the only one in which representative government is still existing, and you may believe me that national interests, independent, hinder of this matter is with the hopes of Europe the thought of their making have had the dream of their restless sleep."

The Printer quotes in the first of writing the American despotism with these words, he it says:

He is not at all really able man, John Milton, who in the future, others and all, as the only motto, in his opinion, of obtaining through we in preparation, justice by England."

We long to call the attention of the Monitor to our article in the Monitor of November 4 and 11, on the famous letter delivered by Mr. Mitchell to Mr. South and this city - we should like to see what the Monitor can have to say in reply. We are sure the conduct of Mr. Mitchell is unbecomingly, absurd, and even unbecomingly. Thus he wants to see England and Ireland system by themselves apparently forgetting that he has very friends in relations in the latter country. He is particularly anxious in denouncing the English law of suffrage, but pays not the slightest attention to the working of the same law here, and in the whole country, means of men and women in this very city to procure for the crime of being destitute.

Now let us see how in this country to be accounted for - to the ignorant of the fact - that, does not his ignorance arise from indifference? In his

clear to Russia. Politically, this new arrangement of European alliances may, for the next future, not lead to any difficulties, but it contains the seeds of great political danger for the future. The immediate result was the Italian Armistice, and, if we may trust its report, some relaxation of Austrian persecution in the provinces. All this is done under the incessant counsel of the English Government, which, for the last five years, has never ceased to offer advice to the Emperor of Austria, recommending leniency, and the fostering of material interests in all the Austrian possessions.

This statement, coming from a well known Hungarian refugee, is deserving of attention; it confirms the views of the *Kourier*, as expressed in our eighth number, in an article headed "Austria and Russia," and it further tends to show that the efforts of the Government of Great Britain are exerted in favor of the liberal party in Europe; a policy which we have always regarded as the only true course for England—a course alike in accordance with her own interests and with that of freedom in Europe.

The Position of the Swiss Republic.

According to our latest advices the King of Prussia has ordered 180,000 men (comprising about one half of the Prussian army) to be fitted for active service. On the other hand—

The arming of the 80,000 men, and of reserves, ordered by the Swiss Federal Council will be immediately carried into effect. A council of war, composed of twenty-four colonels, was to meet on the 24th of this month under the presidency of Colonel Dubour. The Swiss are enthusiastic in their enthusiasm and in the measures they are adopting. A note has been sent by President Schupler to each of the deputies, requesting their attendance as a "sacred duty" at the meeting of the extra session, convoked for the 27th November, especially to consider the affair of Neuchâtel.

Attempts at mediation of other powers have as yet failed to lessen the hostile demonstrations of both parties. When the motion was made to grant an extraordinary credit to the Swiss Government for warlike preparations, it was declared officially that the *Bundesrath* (Federal Council) was willing to renounce its sovereign right of trying the pretensions, if the King of Prussia could thereby have been induced to make a concession towards the Republic. But the King having refused, Switzerland can yield no further, but must declare now, as in former times, "We are a powerful, but a free people."

This is partly confirmed by the *Kolntzsch-Zeitung*, whose Berlin correspondent states that Switzerland will be held responsible for the cost of the Prussian war preparations, if the pretensions should not be released by the beginning of January.

By this it may be seen that the Swiss Confederacy is in a very difficult position. The perpetual despot of France sympathizes with his brother despot of Prussia, and hates the little Republic. The more so that his liberal constitution of 1848 has proved unworkable. But Louis Napoleon may prefer as his neighbor a little Republic, rather than let the German frontier be augmented, and may therefore be induced to prevent a war of present. England certainly sympathizes with the Swiss (the whole English press is in its favor), but Great Britain alone would not prove very powerful in the Continent, and too remote will have to be backed either by France or by Austria in order to benefit Switzerland.

EMIGRATION TO BRAZIL.

Representations of the Character of the Emigration from Portugal to Brazil, some real Misconceptions of the Emigrants. 21,500 Emigrants annually.

[From the London Daily News.]

We observe in the published returns that Europe annually supplies Brazil with an average of about 22,000 emigrants, and that of these 12,000 are from Portugal and the islands belonging to Portugal. By the Brazilian Government neither Europe nor America actively encourage this emigration from Portugal. In Germany, on the contrary, the Government has opened

emigration offices, and directly promotes and assists the departure of colonists. Not from Portugal to Brazil the emigration is quite spontaneous; nor is this at all surprising. Though Brazil and Portugal are now two separate nations, Brazil is still, in popular estimation, the India of Portugal. It is to Brazil that the Portuguese of all classes turn for wealth, for fortune, for prosperity. The intercourse is consequently still great between the two countries, Portugal furnishes Brazil with wine and with salt-stuff, while Brazil furnishes Portugal with all the coffee and sugar it consumes. Families in the old and in the new country still keep up their connection, and by emigration new ties and relations are formed. To escape from misery, wretchedness and poverty in Portugal, to wealth, power and influence in Brazil, is as prevalent a desire among the lower orders of Portuguese, as to get to the United States was a few years ago with the Irish peasantry. As with the Irish too, this Portuguese emigration is perfectly voluntary. It is conducted by Portuguese shipowners, in Portuguese ships. It is altogether a Portuguese affair, and so strong is this Portuguese passion to get to Brazil that it overcomes all hostility on the part of the Portuguese Government, and in some way or other means are found to defray the high passport fees which that Government exacts as one way of retarding it.

Such is the tendency which the Portuguese slave traders, under the guise of a philanthropy which does not conceal their desire to revive the slave-trade, describe as little better than a white slave trade. It is in simple truth an Exodus from misery and starvation in Portugal, to comfort, and often to riches also, in Brazil. A large proportion of the emigrants have not the means of paying the cost of the passage, small though it is—amount according to us we believe. But as Portuguese emigrants of whatever class, are at once fully available in Brazil, just as the Irish are, for the same reason, in North America, the expense of the conveyance is freely paid by those with whom they enter into temporary contracts. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that the emigration furnishes the agriculture of Brazil with much labor directly. On the contrary, a very few of the immigrants have the tasks in which they first arrive. Speaking the same language and possessing the same habits and manners as the native Brazilians, they are chiefly in demand as clerks, or domestic servants, as mechanics, as immigrants. Hence they are placed in positions that afford opportunities enough of rising in the world, and it is in no ignominious circumstances indeed, after a few years' residence, these very men, whose passage had thus to be paid for them, becoming possessors of substantial and comfortable property. A small proportion are turned to agriculture, but not as servants, much less as slaves. As a general rule, they almost act as an unbroken rule, the outcrop system of cultivation by which in which all European immigrants who resort to agriculture settle in Brazil; that is, a perpetual settlement from which a certain number of soil is first cultivated, with a house and well made, and before the close of the paper crop grows a certain proportion of the produce, leaving the rest to the cultivation.

Journal of English High Life.

The following pleasant piece of English domestic life is extracted from a letter written by an officer of the *Black Sea* (Pique), when she lay at anchorage off the Cape Verde. We find it in the *Stratfordian* (North London) Journal.

While conversing with some of our sailors, who, especially in the *Black Sea*, are that set in all that both general, and whose names of Lord Hardwick's. My friend's name is not given, but his life is told, and now here in my own words, on the *Black Sea*. At a dinner on the 20th we had an opportunity of meeting from the *Black Sea* some of our friends, Lord Hardwick and family, and several other guests, such as Lord and Lady, and very good was in my opinion. The captain's table, with several other guests, seated at table. The plate was elegant, and the dinner the most excellent. We sat down to the table in high spirits. There are always squabbles and quarrels.

Lord Hardwick's family consists of his Christian, his eldest son, Captain's daughter, and Lord Hardwick by marriage, a sister of the first looking daughter you ever saw, and several younger ones. The daughters—Lady Elizabeth, Lady Mary, and Lady Agatha—our most beautiful and elegant beauties, each with cheeks,

laughing eyes and unaffected manners, you rarely see combined. They take a great deal of outdoor exercise, and come on board the *Black Sea* in a heavy rain, with much thick-headed about them you or I ever saw, and shake and dress almost impervious to wet. They steer their father's yacht, with the Lord knows how many miles, and don't care a cent about rain, besides doing a host of other things that would shock our ladies in death; and yet, in the parlour, are the most elegant women in their own homes and diamonds I ever saw.

The Countess, in her coronet of jewels, is an elegant lady, and looks like a mother for three such women. Her Lordship has given us three or four dinners. He lives here merely during the yachting season, and leaves here on Friday for his country seat at Cambridge, where he spends his winter, as do all English gentlemen of means, hunting, &c., and when Parliament is in session he lives in London in his own house. Here he has a host of servants, and they wear the gambol livery—white coats with big silver buttons, white cravats, black knee-breeches and vest, white silk stockings and low shoes. Lord Hardwick's brother is Dean of York, a high church dignitary; has two pretty daughters, and is himself a jolly gentleman.

After dinner the ladies play and sing for us, and the other night they got up a game of blind-man's buff, in which the ladies said we had the advantage, inasmuch as their "pattens" rubbed on that they were easily caught. They sell things by their names here. In the course of the game Lord Hardwick himself was blindfolded, and, trying to catch some one, fell over his daughter's lap on the floor, when two or three of the girls caught him by the legs and dragged his Lordship, roaring with laughter, as we all were, on his back into the middle of the floor. Yet they are perfectly respectful, but appear on a perfect equality with each other. In fact, the English are a great people. Two clubs have been offered us the use of their rooms.

The Governor of Michigan on the Outrages in Kansas. His Remarks on the Formation of the Character of States.

The Governor of Michigan transmitted his annual message to the Legislature on the 7th instant. Referring to Kansas, he says:

Free-state men have been deliberately murdered—peaceful families, guilty of no crime, even a shelter to slavery, forcibly driven from their homes by marauders, their houses burnt or demolished, their effects plundered and their lands taken from them—that whole settlements of free-state men have thus been broken up, robbed, and dispersed—that others entering the country had been stopped, their arms and property taken from them, and they compelled to grapple with plundering war or to return to their friends as best they could—that for defending their lives and property against armed assailants of the opposite party, settlers from the free States, including our own, have been seized and charged with murder, and cited for that high offense, while, and very recently, not one individual of the South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi or Missouri garrigue has been indicted for the Territory, and been guilty of those outrages, has ever been apprehended for his crime! Such has been the character of justice of the representatives of the slave power in Kansas.

The character of States, like that of individuals, is formed with in a state of pagings. Those Territories in which slavery has been prohibited under the guardianship and protection of Congress, have inevitably become free and prosperous States; and wherever that prohibition has been withdrawn from the Territory, Slave laws obtain which are now suffering from the diligence and light of human bondage.

FRANCE.

Mr. Sumner's Lecture. His Opinion of the First Revolution. His Resolutions in Favor of Free and Personal Property and Against Taxes on Ankle Land.

Mr. George Sumner in his recent lecture in this city on France and Louis Napoleon, defended the first Revolution, and showed the laudable approval of an unclouded inability and a vigorous energy which had led to that Revolution. Armed from original documents, in portion of them in the archives of Berlin, the intrigues of the court, while pretending to accept the constitution to be effect an invasion of France by French troops;

mainly, you rarely see
out of outdoor employ,
in a heavy rain, with
you or I ever work, and
prevailing to wet. They
by the land know how
sent about rain, but they
would shock our bodies
are the most elegant
dresses I ever saw.
of Jews, in an elegant
for three such women,
or four diners. The
a yachting season, and
every sort of Cambridge,
do all English gentlemen
on Parliament to be seen
own house. Here he has
of the gambler Every-
one, white cravats, black
with stockings and low
toe shoes of York, a
pretty daughter, and in

and sing for me, and the
of about man's bill, in
the advantage, however
is that they were really
hair names here. In the
whole himself was blind-
some one, fell over his
own two or three of the
of dragged his lordship,
I was, on his back into
they are perfectly respect-
ability with each other.
people. Two clubs here
rooms.

see the charges on
see the Government
law.

deliberately murdered—
crime, save a double to
sole houses by murders,
ed, they affect plundered
in—that whole settlements
en broken up, robbed, and
ing the country had been
sly taken from them, and
with plucking wool or to
t they could—that for de-
ty against armed assaults
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was seized and charged
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Michigan or Missouri
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men from the Territories,
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to Resurrection in favor
Property and content
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the recent lecture in this
a Synagogue, defended the
and the laudable oppor-
tunity and a vicious clergy
Revolution—framed from
portion of them in the
intrigues of the court,
and the constitution to
France by foreign troops;

made it clear that these acts of violence, which
have thrown a shade over the Revolution of 1789,
did not occur until after two foreign armies were
on her soil, marching to destroy Paris.

Mr. Manner argues against a land tax, and in
favor of taxes on personal property. We differ
from him in this. His argument is as follows:

The rich bankers and manufacturers who ruled France,
with Louis Philippe, (the son of the monarch in govern-
ment,) had never been willing to tax personal property,
and the great burden of taxation was thrown by them
upon land and upon the small proprietors, who since
the revolution of 1789 are very numerous. A tax on
wealth had to in any case the most form of impost, for it
is a tax on production and not on consumption—a
tax which arrests industry at the outset, instead
of quietly waiting to call its fruits. The Provisional
Government to meet the financial deficiencies of that
of Louis Philippe, had added an additional forty-five
per cent. to the land tax. This naturally enough
aroused the peasant proprietor, and he complained to
one another the Provisional Government, the republic
and the land tax. This state of things was actually
turned to account by Louis Napoleon's cabinet, who
proposed the country people in his name not only a
large diminution of the tax, but also the actual return
from his own pocket of the forty-five per cent. Thus
he won the favor of the people; and on the twelfth
December, ten days after the coup d'etat, the first step
towards the mitigation of the land tax was taken, and
it was from the conviction on the part of the country
population that these steps would be continued—that
he would put the whole of taxation on the right horse
—that they gave him power. The history of this land
tax as traced by Mr. R. was very curious. Before 1789
the nobles and clergy, who owned two-thirds of the
land, were free from taxation; the middling classes,
once in power, determined to make the aristocracy pay
heavily for their past shortcomings; the land tax was
made one of the principal sources of revenue, and so
has continued. Meanwhile landed property passed from
the aristocracy to the people; they had no representa-
tion, and through all regions have been obliged to pay
this unequal tax. The result of all which is, that for
the great mass of small land owners, the increased burden
of personal property occupy the same dangerous position
as did the nobility and clergy before the first Revolution.
This unequal exemption of personal property, while it
stimulates the zeal of honest statesmen and economists
to labor for its reform, furnishes at the same time, said
Mr. Manner, a stepping-stone for usurpers and dema-
gogues.

REMARKS.

We hold that personal property, except stocks,
should not be taxed at all. Taxes should be con-
fined to property, the value of which can be ascer-
tained without an inspection. Whenever the tax de-
pends upon statements to be made by the taxpayer,
as in the amount of the capital, &c., there is a pre-
sumption for fraud, lying and perjury, and the burden
portion of the community, seem likely to become a
small minority under such a system; there is lower
an undue proportion of the public burdens.

We consider a tax on commodities to be far more
pericious than a tax on land. When a commodity is
taxed in the hands of the importer or manufac-
turer, he, in selling the article, not only adds the
tax, but a profit on the amount of it. The whole
sale dealer in the manner gets a profit on the full
price paid by him, including the tax—the retail
dealer does the like, and by the time the article
reaches the consumer the tax has become nearly
tripled.

Now a tax upon land is, in fact, an appropriation
by the State of a part of the ownership, and all value
of the land afterwards being made subject to the tax,
the purchaser pays nothing out of his own pocket,
but only renders to the parliament, the State, the
share—a share which the purchaser never acquired
any right to.

'The Reign of Terror in the South, Upon
which Napoleon's White Men are Put to
Death.'

[From the New York Tribune, January 7.]
The quality of testimony in which witnesses men are
being the dogs by the self-complacent deluders of the

'peculiar institution' in the South, may be judged
by the following paragraph, which we copy from a late
number of the Richmond (Virginia) Dispatch: It is not
improbable that many of the slaves who have recently
suffered death at the hands of lawless mobs have been
victimised on similar testimony:

Twenty without doubt—some few nights since a travelling
company were high being being by the school police, and
was only saved from shooting at a rapid pace by his presence,
which aroused a gentleman who came to his relief. This gentleman
of "double duty" was "grinding" his way through New York
county, in search of "points," and being overhauled by night,
stopped at the house of Captain Morris, in search of lodging. He
having obtained to sleep with a stranger into his private resi-
dence, and at the same time wishing to furnish him shelter, the
Captain gave him the privilege of using an old building; and soon
after, the "manufacturer of discordant notes" was locked in the
arms of Morris, drawing of the hands of papers to be gathered
in the neighborhood the next day.

In the course of the night, the vigilant patrol, as weather custom,
visited Captain Morris's plantation, and having ascertained that
the white man had been tampering with certain slaves, began a
close search, with the hope of detecting some of them. On reaching
the old house occupied by the organist, they observed him seated
away in a corner, and supposing they had caught a "wrecker,"
they closed hands upon him. Frightened almost out of his wits,
the trembling musician commenced begging for mercy, and ex-
plained as much alarm and trepidation, that most of the party were
entitled of his guilt, and called for a rope to hang him in an apple
tree. Fortunately for the poor fellow, his eyes and person attracted
the ears of Captain Morris, who hastened into the yard and made
an explanation of the cause of the stranger's being there, but in
vain to save him from rough treatment.

We think it would be considered rather "rough treat-
ment" in this part of the country to hang a man to an
apple tree without letting him know what it was all
about.

HORRIBLE TREATMENT OF THE POOR IN
THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Wretched Condition of the Poor—Barracks,
Neglect of the State, Indiscriminate Asylum
charity of the Nation. The Poor House
not supplied with the necessaries of life,
of food and clothing, and the
of the Poor House, Administration of Justice
then, West of Massachusetts.

Mr. Spencer, from the Select Committee, consisting of
Messrs. Spencer, Bradford and Lee, appointed by resolu-
tion of the last session to visit, during the recess of the
Legislature, all charitable institutions, supported or
sanctioned by the State, and all city and county poor and
workhouses and jails, and to examine into their condi-
tion, have just made a voluminous report. The follow-
ing statements are gleaned from the report.

Of the poor houses generally the committee say:

They may generally be described as badly constructed,
ill arranged, ill-ventilated and ill-constructed. The rooms
are crowded with inmates, and the air, particularly in
the sleeping apartments, is very noxious, and is casual
clothing, almost insupportable. In some cases as many as
fifty-five inmates occupy a single dormitory, with few
pillows, and sleeping places arranged in three tiers, one
above another. Great health is incompatible with such
arrangements.

The want of suitable hospital accommodations is
generally felt in most of the poor houses. The physician
is poorly paid. In some cases the inmates die and
die without any medical attendance whatever. In one
county alone there are averaging 145 inmates, there were
thirty-six deaths during the year.

In regard to the management of cases, the committee
say:

A proper classification of the inmates is almost wholly
neglected. It is either impossible, or when possible, it
is disregarded. Many of the inmates suffering during the
year are destitute of the necessaries of life. During the last
year the whole number of births was 700. The unpropor-
tionate acceptance of the poor law
only allowed strongly favors the pauperism. By day
their necessities to sustain and unassisted, and there
is often no sufficient safeguard against a pauper's
incompetence to fight. In one case, the only protection of
a separation of the sexes provided in the arrangement
of separate cells being provided at each end of a com-
mon dormitory; and a police regulation, requiring men
one to reach it by one flight, and the other by another,
appeared to be destined a sufficient preventive of all
subsequent impropriety.

In two counties the committee found that the poor
houses were supplied by contract, the contractor being
allowed to profit by all the labor which he could extract
from the paupers. In both cases the contractor was
appointed one of the poor, and in one case he was also

keeper of the poor house. In one, the keeper received
his compensation from the contractor; and in this case
the food supplied was not only insufficient in quantity,
but consisted partly of tainted meat and fish. The inmates
were consequently almost starved. They were
deprived of a sufficient quantity of food and clothing, an
suffered severely from cold. The ground and buildings were
the conduct of the contractor for the poor house, that
two female inmates (nurses) were frozen in their beds
for several weeks during the last winter, and are now
crippled for life.

The committee go on to say that the treatment of
inmates and others in these houses is frequently abusive.
The cells and sheds where they are confined are wretched
sheds, often wholly unprovided with bedding. In most
cases female inmates had none but made mattresses.
Inmates were treated to the whipping of male and
female inmates and inmates, and of confining the latter in
boathouse cells and binding them with chains. In one
county where eleven inmates were confined, six were in
chains, some of whom were females. In several of these
cases the patients were not visited; but it may be proper
to say that the severity and inhumanity of their treat-
ment was probably owing to the apprehensions and
ignorance of the keepers, rather than to any intentional
hardness or any unkindness of disposition.

In some poor houses the committee found inmates,
both male and female, in cells in a state of nudity. They
cells were wretchedly offensive, littered with the long
accumulated bits of the occupants, and with straw
refused to shift by long use as bedding, portions of
which, mingled with the filth, adhered to the persons of
the inmates, and formed the only covering they had.

The committee recommend the establishment of work-
houses, either to be connected with poor houses or as
distinct establishments, to which able-bodied paupers
should be sent, if not to diminish pauperism, to diminish
the burden of it; and also a more systematic distribu-
tion of outdoor relief.

In many instances the committee learned that the
poor houses were not visited by the supervisors for more
than a year.

The committee discuss at length the matter of the
treatment and education of the children in the poor
houses, of which there are over 1,000, and recommend
their removal to orphan asylums, or that some other
suitable provision be made for this large number of
unfortunates.

The committee express surprise and regret that indi-
viduals who usually take great interest in human suffering,
wherever it is brought to their notice, and who live in the
immediate neighborhood of poor houses, manifest so
little interest in the condition of this most unfortunate
class of paupers.

THE WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND AND
RUSSIA

'The London Morning Herald' on the Necessity
of a Formal Declaration of War, Against
the Russian.

The following article is from the Morning Herald
The Manchester Guardian copies it, with the follow-
ing heading:—'Diplomatic Journalists.'

By the law of England, as by the law of nations, no
war is legal which is not accompanied by legal formalities,
they not being lawful war, it is piracy, any man en-
gaging in it is an outlaw, much more the man who en-
terprises and directs it.

According to the law of nations two things are requisite to consti-
tute a solemn and lawful war: first, that it be made on both sides
by sovereign authority; secondly, that it be accompanied by certain
formalities. The right of making war belongs only to the sovereign
power, and it is only after notification has been returned to him, and
upon notice of declaration of war, that he has a right to take up
arms. (Molina, Book I.)

A declaration of war being necessary as a further effect to be
within the difference without the objection of blood, it ought, at the
same time that it announces war, to contain notification of making war,
and both the reasons which have induced us to take up arms.
A sovereign is to make the declaration of war in public, in his
dominion, for the information and direction of his subjects.
War and of him, and is necessary without right, is more per-
petrated against—Puffendorf, Book II.

The laws and practices of England are still more
stringent. "The law of nations," says Blackstone, "is
here adopted in its full extent, and is held to be a part
of the law of the land, and of the old fundamental con-
stitution of the kingdom, without which it must cease
to be a part of the civilized world."—Blackstone's
Commentaries, 40.

The same authority records, that in case of war there

