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THE EUROPEAN.

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SPIRIT OF THE BRITISH PRESS ON U. S. AFFAIRS.

Why the British should not Emigrate to the United States. Irish Emigration to South America.

[From the London News, October 25.]

The accounts that have lately appeared in leading Irish newspapers, of the extensive emigration which is taking place to South America, have probably astonished many readers. The first impression is of the difficulty and discomfort caused by difference of language and of manners and customs. The fact is, however, that the Irish of the really Romish districts have sympathies with continental and colonial Catholicism which go much farther than community of language; and there are pains and penalties at present connected with immigration to the United States which it is worth a good deal of merely external trouble to avoid. The Irish in the South American States are forming an element of society there analogous to that of the Flemings and French immigrants into Great Britain, Ireland, and the sea-board States of North America, which has been of great and permanent value wherever it has been introduced. The French and Flemings who settled in our southeastern

counties, pursuing their useful arts, and having their own churches and pastors, and (for a time) schools, seem to have found the difference of language no serious drawback. The traditions which hang about the Dutch Church and French Church in Norwich and other towns, and the records of public institutions there, seem to show that the strangers speedily became a prosperous and honored class of citizens; and in each locality where they settled some of their names have been kept alive by the merits of their posterity. What the Continental Protestants did and became in Great Britain and Ireland, the Irish Catholics may do and become in South America. Our Protestant immigrants were great in manufactures. Our Catholic emigrants promise to become great in agriculture. If some of their needy neighbors who went out with nothing but the clothes they wore and the tools they carried, are now worth £5,000 and upwards, there is every reason to hope that a substantial and respectable Irish class may mingle with the Spanish blood of those *ci-devant* European colonies—Irish energy amalgamates well with the vivacious, yet indolent graces of the people of Buenos Ayres and Rio Janeiro. They will not have to build churches, as the Continental Calvinists had in our Episcopalian country. The churches, with their services in an unknown tongue, are ready and open.

We have heard more of the warnings sent to Ireland by the priests in the United States since the rise of the Know-Nothing party than ever before; but the Know-Nothing party is only a mushroom growth, which ought not to affect the permanent destinies of any substantial class of immigrants. There is a hostile and detrimental influence, which was daily growing in force before the Know-Nothing party existed, and which will operate against European immigration long after that organization ceases to be heard of. It is painful and morally dangerous to the Irishman in the United States to find his religion persecuted and himself cast out from one settlement after another on account of his creed; but it is worse in every way to find himself despised, oppressed, and subjected to overwhelming temptation on the ground of his being of the industrial class; and this is what the immigrant finds if he is misled into settling in the slave States for the sake of Catholic privileges, or of profits above the average; or if he goes so far West as to be drawn into the vortex of strife about free and slave labor. He may have heard that Mitchell and Meagher, his insurrectionary countrymen, have publicly declared their aspirations after a good plantation well stocked with good fat negroes, and their sympathies with the peculiar institutions of the South; but when he learns how his class are now regarded by these Irish patriots he will thank Heaven that they are Protestants, and abjure them for ever as leaders. He will find—and we say it with all the seriousness and all the sorrow that such a statement demands—that the organs of the Southern policy recommend, from the platform and through the press, the inclusion of all laborers, of any complexion, in the slave class. If free and slave labor cannot co-exist—and it is true that they cannot—the owners of slaves demand that all laborers should be brought under their conditions, rather than that they should be compelled to free their negroes.

The greatest of all the thousand curses of Slavery, wherever it exists, is, and always has been, that it renders industry disreputable. Labor and degradation are indissolubly united in the associations of the buyers and sellers of laborers; and hence the wretchedness and vice of the poor whites of the Slave States, and the miserable disappointment of such Irishmen as have gone there without warning of what they had to expect. The present conflict of principles and parties has brought out the fact in the broadest light; and the published doctrine of the supporters of Mr. Buchanan, speaking in the name of the Democratic party, will probably decide many Irish to depart for Rio Janeiro at once. At any rate, it will instruct them in the great American truth that names are not principles; and that they may have been allying themselves with the most outrageous tyranny on earth because it called itself Democratic, and not, as they supposed, with any exponent of popular liberties.

Such facts as the following should be made known through the length and breadth of Ireland, and every European country which supplies laborers to the United States.

The Richmond *Examiner*, a leading Democratic paper in Virginia, and devoted to Mr. Buchanan's interest, has just issued the following paragraphs:

"Until recently, the defence of Slavery has labored under great difficulties because its apologists (for they were mere apologists) took half-way grounds. They confined the defence of Slavery to mere negro Slavery, thereby giving up the Slavery principle, admitting other forms of Slavery to be wrong.

"The line of defence, however, is now changed. The South now maintains that Slavery is right, natural, and necessary, and does not depend on difference of complexion. The laws of the Slave States justify the holding of white men in bondage."

Another paper, the *Enquirer*, Mr. Buchanan's own recognised organ in the leading Southern State, follows thus:

"Repeatedly have we asked the North, 'Has not the experiment of universal liberty failed? Are not the evils of free society insufferable? And do not most thinking men among you propose to subvert and reconstruct it?' Still no answer. This gloomy silence is another conclusive proof, added to many other conclusive evidences we have furnished, that free society in the long run is an impracticable form of society; it is everywhere starving, demoralizing, and insurrectionary. We repeat, then, that policy and humanity alike forbid the extension of the evils of free society to new people and coming generations. Two opposite and conflicting forms of society cannot, among civilized men, co-exist and endure. The one must give way and cease to exist, the other become universal. If free society be unnatural, immoral, unchristian, it must fall and give way to slave society—a social system old as the world, universal as man."

The Democratic organ in South Carolina, and the leading newspaper of the State, speaks thus:

"Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laboring man, whether white or black. The great evil of Northern free society is, that it is burdened with a servile class of mechanics and laborers, unfit for self-government, yet clothed with the attributes and powers of citizens. Master and slave is a relation in society as necessary as that of parent and child; and the Northern States will yet have to introduce it. Their theory of free government is a delusion."

Alabama thus gives in her adhesion to the Democratic doctrine, in the *Muskegee Herald*:

"Free society! We sicken at the name. What is it but a conglomeration of greasy mechanics, filthy operatives, small-fisted farmers, and moon-struck theorists? All the Northern, and especially the New England States, are devoid of society fitted for well-bred gentlemen. The prevailing class one meets with is that of mechanics struggling to be genteel, and small farmers who do their own drudgery, and yet who are hardly fit for association with a Southern gentleman's body-servant. This is your free society, which the Northern hordes are endeavoring to extend into Kansas."

It is no new thing in any slave country to hear that slaves are better off than free laborers, because they have gentlemen to take care of them; but we now, for the first time, observe an actual attempt to include European immigrant laborers in the class of slaves. A Democratic candidate for Congress, Mr. Reynolds, from Missouri, declared in a recent speech, that any power of Congress which should exclude slavery from Kansas, would exclude "Germans and Irish, as well as niggers." If the incredulous reader looks for light to the centre of the Federal Government, he will find the great national organ of the Democratic party, the *Washington Union*, describing the free settlers of Kansas—the peaceable, honest farmers, who have built barns and homesteads, and tilled their fields, while marauders were drilling to plunder them—as "a miserable, blear-eyed rabble, who have been transferred like so many cattle to that country." Professor Silliman, and others of the leading citizens of New England, have specially investigated the character of the free settlers sent from the Eastern States, and they declare them to be upright, laborious, God-fearing men, worthy to represent the Pilgrim Fathers in a new removal westwards. It is simply because they till the ground that the South thinks them "like cattle."

But what say the Northern papers? Why, those which are the most fiercely Democratic are too like those of the South. Here is a recent proposal issued by one of the two New York papers which support Mr. Buchanan:

"Sell the parents of these children into slavery. Let our Legislature pass a law that whoever will take these parents, and take care of them and their offspring, in sickness and in health, clothe them, feed them, and house them, shall be legally entitled to their service; and let the same Legislature decree that whoever receives these parents and their children, and obtains their services, shall take care of them as long as they live."

Our hard working emigrants, who change their country for the sake of their children, will think there is some wider difference to be got over here than that between the English language and the Spanish. They have had much to bear in the United States, and they have borne it, for the sake of a future generation; conscious, too, perhaps, that the Americans have had something to put up with from the idle and intemperate of their own countrymen; but it is too much to bear to be regarded as a degraded class on account of that very virtue and dignity of industry which should enable them to hold their heads high amidst the most advanced civilization. If such a doctrine as we have quoted could ever become prevalent in the United States, their ruin would be near at hand. Meantime, till it is emphatically disclaimed there, worthy emigrants had better go, if not to our own colonies, to Rio Janeiro, Buenos Ayres or anywhere else—anywhere rather than a land where industry is degradation.

Female Education in the United States.

[From the London News, October 21.]

Before us lies a Boston paper which quotes among the grants of the Massachusetts Legislature, one of 10,000 dollars made some time since for the founding of a New England Female Medical College, and an annual grant of 1,000 dollars for five years, to endow scholarships in it. It is nothing new and surprising now in the most enlightened part of the United States, that the practice of medicine and surgery should be shared by women, though at first opposition was made by the vulgar-minded persons there as elsewhere. When a few ladies sought a regular professional education, and made their way into class-rooms and hospitals by courage, patience, and devotion to their object, it was presently found that the manners of the student-class of young men underwent a favorable change. The next discovery was of the eager desire (which might have been anticipated) of more than half society for female physicians. Not only did wives and mothers desire the attendance of qualified ladies in their own cases and those of their children, but husbands and fathers sanctioned the natural preference. There are already eight female physicians practising under diploma in Boston, some of whom have a large and lucrative practice. There were thirty-eight students in the Female Medical College last year, and eight have already graduated from this young institution. The legislative grant of 10,000 dollars was bestowed on condition of an equal sum being raised from other resources—a stipulation which is now nearly fulfilled, while it is known that divers legacies will accrue in course of time. Of the graduates who have entered upon practice, one can exhibit a register of nearly 700 births, which have been accomplished with a singular safety and success. Another has attended between 900 and 1,000, with like results. Whenever there are sufficient data to establish the fact (now little, if at all, disputed in America,) that childbirth is freed from its worst difficulties and dangers when the unnatural presence of men is dispensed with, the medical and surgical care of women and children will pass into the hands for which nature designed it. Nor, indeed, is this idea quite unknown in this country. For in the Universities both of Edinburgh and Glasgow the Professors are in the habit of giving courses of lectures to females on midwifery.

As a necessary consequence of this opening of the curative profession to women, a project is on foot for the establishment of a Practical School of Medicine in New York—a hospital for women and children, where students may study and, also, nurses be trained. All ridicule of lady-physicians has for some time ceased in the presence of genuine learning, ability and success; and there seems to be a clear prospect of a fair division of the professional field. It is not in the medical profession alone that women are finding scope for their industry. The press of the United States employs women as regularly as the factory; and in a youthful and imitative country, which copies with exaggeration the sentimentalities of the Old World, 'the chivalry of man' is at length permitting woman to be wise, useful and happy. Not only art and literature, but science, commerce and the useful arts are now thrown open to all who can work at them. In connection with these new opportunities, the dress reform of the United States is thoroughly respectable, however it may be hindered and ridiculed by bigots and small wits. (While too many of the women of Europe are ruining their husbands' fortunes and their own reputation for sense and modesty, by a mode of dress which is as unhealthy and barbarous as it is unnatural and ugly, hundreds of the respectable matrons of the United States are endeavoring to supplant modes of dress which are injurious to health and convenience, by one or more which may have the advantage in these respects, and in grace also. It appears that the gentlemen of the family are as well pleased with a rational costume for their wives and sisters as the husbands of Paris and London are incommoded by the barbarous female fashions of the time. Whatever may be the result of any one effort in connection with the general move, it is pretty clear that there is no use arguing any longer for women being made dolls or slaves. Considering that nine-tenths of the women of England earn their bread in one way or another, and that it is naturally impossible to exclude them from any new department of science, art or industry, it is evidently high time to leave off discussing or protesting against a hypothetical 'equality of the sexes' in regard to powers, and to ensure a better equality for their industry before the law.)

The London News is mistaken in supposing that "not only art and literature, but science, commerce and the useful arts are now thrown open" to women in the United States. The state of society here is in that respect about the same as in England; and women here are unable to obtain employment, because almost all the avenues of industry are filled with men who, in many instances, are employed in doing what women would do as well or better.

As to the extravagance of European women, we regret to say that it cannot exceed that of American women in the great Atlantic cities.

THE CONDITION OF KANSAS.

[From the London Times, October 22.]

To the Editor of the Times:

Sir: In your issue of the 11th of October you did me the favor to insert a narrative of personal experiences in

Kansas, designed to exhibit the lamentable condition into which political strife had plunged that Territory in the month of May last.

The publication of that letter has occasioned me the necessity of replying to very many questions, of which friends have desired a solution, in order the better to comprehend the extraordinary anomalies which such a condition of affairs implies.

In the belief that many of your readers may have felt equally at a loss for a sufficient explanation, I will endeavor, in the shape of question and answer, to sum up as briefly as possible the substance of one or two of these conversations, and thus anticipate, probably, some of those inquiries which may have suggested themselves to the minds of others.

The first and most natural question is—if such fearful outrages as every mail brings us intelligence of are being committed in Kansas, why are not the perpetrators of these enormities brought to justice? Is there no judge, no jury, no law, to which appeal can be made for protection?

The answer is simple. First, the man is wanting who possesses boldness or rashness enough to bring the offending parties to justice. Murder and cold-blooded assassination were of almost daily occurrence at the time of my visit; but whoever should report such a case would be at once a marked man, and, in all probability, before the day had expired his life would be the penalty for his imprudence in the cause of right.

But, yet more, supposing the offender to be brought to justice, what is the judge, of what character the jury, and what the law, by which he is to be tried?

The judge would be such a man as Judge Lecompte—the Jeffereys of the Territory. Or, if not the chief of the "bloody asses" of Kansas, it would be some other minion of the slave-power, panting after the extermination of every free-State advocate, and pledged by his oath of office to sustain the most offensive measures which the slave power has introduced. It cannot be otherwise, for every public office is occupied by the most resolute adherents of the Pro-Slavery cause; and, lest one should creep in of a different stamp, a test is demanded, contrary to the Constitution of the United States, of every candidate for office, according to which he is required to subscribe an oath, "solemnly swearing upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God" that he will "support and sustain the provisions of the act entitled 'An Act to Organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas,' and the provisions of the law of the United States, commonly known as the 'Fugitive Slave Law.'" (Vide "Statutes of the Territory of Kansas," p. 438.) Thus, by the law of the Territory, no man can sit on the bench, or hold any other public office, unless he have first specially indorsed and pledged himself to sustain the two most extreme Pro-Slavery measures that can possibly be cited.

If such be the judge, the jury would also be of a character no less accurately defined by statute. What is the law of Kansas concerning jurors? "No person who is conscientiously opposed to the holding of slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, shall be a juror in any cause in which the right to hold any person in slavery is involved, nor in any cause in which any injury done to, or committed by, any slave, is in issue, nor in any criminal proceeding for the violation of any law enacted for the protection of slave property, and for the punishment of crimes committed against the right to such property." (Statutes of Kansas, p. 378.) Again, by the first section of the act, the power is placed in the hands of "the marshal, sheriff, or other officer, to summon a sufficient number of jurors." (p. 377.) With such a law, and with a discretionary power vested in such hands, it will be seen at once what kind of jury must of necessity be procured.

And, if such be the character of judge and jury, what are the laws they have to dispense? Take a sample:

"If any person print, write, introduce into, publish or circulate, or cause to be brought into, printed, written, published, or circulated, or shall knowingly aid or assist in bringing into, printing, publishing or circulating within this Territory, any book, paper, pamphlet, magazine, handbill or circular, containing any statements, arguments, opinion, sentiment, doctrine, advice, or incendo, calculated to produce a disorderly, dangerous, or rebellious disaffection among the slaves in this Territory, or to induce such slaves to escape from the service of their masters, or to resist their authority, he shall be guilty of felony, and be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term not less than five years." (Statutes, chap. 151, sec. 11.)

"If any free person, by speaking or writing, assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory, print, publish, write, circulate, or cause to be introduced into this Territory, written, printed, published or circulated in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular, containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such person shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years." (Ibid., chap. 151, sec. 12.)

And what kind of hard labor is the Northern man to undergo who should be lucklessly brought before a Kansas judge and convicted of denying the right to hold slaves in the Territory? It is defined in the same code, where, after providing that every person so sentenced shall be deemed a convict, and shall be put to hard labor on the streets, roads, public buildings, or other public works of the Territory, the act continues:

"And the keeper shall cause such convict, while engaged at such labor, to be securely confined by a chain six feet in length, of not less than four-sixteenths nor more than three-eighths of an inch

links, with a round ball of iron of not less than four nor more than six inches in diameter attached, which chain shall be securely fastened to the ankle of such convict with a strong lock and key." &c. (Statutes, chap. 23, sec. 2.)

For greater "offences against slave property" the law provides, of course, a severer penalty. To aid in any rebellion of slaves against their masters, to bring into the Territory any book or tract calculated to excite rebellion on the part of slaves, free negroes, or mulattoes, to carry out of the Territory a slave belonging to another, or to assist in the same, are all capital offences, to be punished by death. But as the utterance of even a syllable against the right of holding slaves is made punishable by two years' imprisonment and hard labor on the public roads, with a chain of six feet and a round ball of iron attached to the ankle, it will at once be seen whether the law was made for the Pro-Slavery or the Free-State men. Add to this the fact that every act of the Free-State party, if viewed in the light of the laws as interpreted by the Federal Government, is an act of treason against the Federal Power, and it will be perceived what opportunity is given for the most cruel despotism and the grossest wrong to take refuge in the name and sanction of the law. "Law," in fact, was the word constantly in the mouths of the self-styled border-ruffians, with whom I myself came daily into contact in Kansas. So far from not appealing to it, everything they did, every enormity they committed, was done in the name of the law of the land. The constant taunt thrown out against the Free-State party, and the chief difficulty they themselves experienced, was the opposition in which they stood to the recognised law. "Law and order" became the watchword and war-cry of the most lawless in the Territory; and the words "a posse of law-and-order men" were synonymous with a company of freebooters and murderers ranging the country in search of their political opponents. The law, therefore, was all on one side. And it will be seen that, with enactments demanding the conviction of all who spoke or acted against slavery, and a judge and jury no less desiring their extermination, the wronged Free-State man, though he should have been struck down in the highway and robbed of his all, had more to lose than to gain by a recourse to the legal power.

But by what possibility could laws so glaringly unreasonable and unjust become the laws of the land? By what power or authority were they enacted?

Answer: They were enacted by a falsely chosen but authoritatively recognised territorial Legislature. This Legislature, viewed by the General Government as the voice of the people, becomes of necessity lawgivers to the people of the Territory; and not only gives the laws, but assumes to itself the right to define its own authority. In this way the legal existence of this assembly as a legislative body has been determined by itself, and being backed by the United States troops, the so-called Kansas Legislature has had almost all power in its own hands. This is the Legislature for which the votes were taken on the 30th of March, 1855, and which, first meeting at Pawnee, was afterwards removed to the Shawnee Mission, to be more conveniently near to the Missouri border. It is true, the election was repudiated as fraudulent and unfair by the Free-State population, and that they acted independently of it in causing a fresh election to take place on the 9th of October, 1855, which resulted in the convention for organizing a State Government, which met at Topeka, and the subsequent election of State officers and members of the General Assembly. When this Assembly met the second time at Topeka, on the 11th of July last, it will be remembered that Colonel Sumner forcibly dissolved the Assembly at the head of a considerable body of United States troops, at the same time indicating his own view of the proceeding by stating that it was "the most painful act of his life."

But how, it may next be asked, is this charge established, of the Legislature, to which the Federal Government gives the sanction of its approval and the aid of its troops, being thus falsely and fraudulently chosen?

This fact admits of very easy proof. Long before the first election in Kansas a secret society had been in existence in Missouri, generally known as the "Blue Lodge," the avowed purpose of which was, by a systematic organization to control the elections in Kansas or elsewhere. By this agency immense armed bands of men from Missouri were poured into Kansas, and, under the generalship of efficient leaders, so distributed through the electoral districts as to outnumber and overawe the resident voters. The character of these men may be inferred from an address delivered by one of their chief leaders, Gen. Stringfellow. As Gen. Stringfellow is the Speaker in the Legislative Assembly to which I have referred, the extract will have interest also for those who desire to compare the style of address adopted by the presiding officer in the Kansas Legislature with that commonly heard in our own Houses of Parliament:

"I tell you to mark every scoundrel among you that is the least tainted with Free-Soilism or Abolitionism, and exterminate him. Neither give nor take quarter from the — rascals. I propose to mark them in this house, and on the present occasion, so you may crush them out. To those who have qualms of conscience as to violating laws, State or National, the time has come when such impositions must be disregarded, as your rights and property are in danger; and I advise you, one and all, to enter every election district in Kansas in defiance of Reeder and his vile myrmidons, and vote at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver. Neither give nor take quarter, as our case demands it. It is enough that the slaveholding interest wills it, from which there is no appeal. What right has Gov. Reeder to rule Missourians in Kansas? His proclamation and prescribed oath must be repudiated. It is your interest to do so. Mind that Slavery is established where it is not prohibited."

And as their leader neither gave nor took quarter, as to every electoral district, a rightful Governor, and a revolver. The one, in favor of the field. Exact returns obtained by the Convention, present two examples of the army. The VIII District very sparsely inhabited, more than 53 voters, 597 votes were cast for a candidate—making it certain that not more than 584 being consequently obtained by the Convention, including men, women, and 24 were voters. Yet that 245 votes were a comparison of the votes were illegally and

And what was done Congress, was repeated the Legislative Assembly, illegal to legal votes census it appears there; yet 5,427 votes side alone! Many of night, after giving the Leavenworth a great from Weston, and have by the same boat. Many residents, although the in the Territory, and enormities committed by Some we read of standing saying that "no difficulty allowed to vote in peace to vote anyhow, and the for eight rounds with the ninth round with the but presided over the election without administering to their pistols at their heads judges from their own election, "masters of the hatred to the oath, that ready to take it were the cries of "Shoot him!" of them," we read in the

"Mr. J. M. Macey, was upon his reply that he was dragged through the crowd at the d-d nigger thief. 'Cut After they got him to the out him with cocked revolvers and a knife to his breast, so the cocked pistol to his ear, while

The whole of the vote the report submitted to Congress of similar enormities. These investigations within two doors of the p: when in Leavenworth; at manner in which the Miss come over from their own of Kansas, and their det occasion and at all hazard with which they would ass with their political opponents

Another question may By what right do these neighboring States, vote in By no right whatever, Missourians have no more the voters in Middlesex h suffrage in their own con record their votes a seco head of the election off Surrey elections. Indeed, by their Constitution p another and self-governed, we were to picture a number than all our voters the sword, choose for us without exception as rulers or pledged to their own p was it an act of main force among the conclusions which report as established b they give the first place to

"That each election in the Te alleged Territorial law, has been from the State of Missouri, by have been prevented from exercising the organic law."

And as the fruit of a conclusion: "Secondly, that the alleged T gally constituted body, and had a their enactments are, therefore, n While, however, in the fi

And as their leader advised them so they did. They neither gave nor took quarter; they allowed no qualms of conscience as to violating laws; and they entered every electoral district in Kansas, and in defiance of the rightful Governor, voted at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver. The result was a majority, almost as ten to one, in favor of the Pro-Slavery candidate, Gen. Whitfield. Exact returns from each district have since been obtained by the Committee of Investigation; and, from their report, presented to Congress, I will present one or two examples of the fraud practised by this invading army. The VIIIth District is a remote settlement, as yet very sparsely inhabited, and containing by census not more than 63 voters. In this district alone no less than 597 votes were cast for Whitfield, and seven for another candidate—making in all 604, of which it has been ascertained that not more than 20 were legal—the remaining 584 being consequently illegal votes. In the XIth District, Marysville, "the total number of white inhabitants, including men, women, and children, was 36, of whom 24 were voters. Yet the poll-lists in this district show that 245 votes were cast at this election!" By a comparison of the census-roll with the poll-books, it appears that but seven resident settlers voted, and 238 votes were illegally and fraudulently given!"

And what was done at the election of a delegate to Congress, was repeated at the election of the members of the Legislative Assembly. By the report of the Committee of Investigation it appears that the proportion of illegal to legal votes was as 4,908 to 1,410! From the census it appears there were but 2,905 voters in the Territory; yet 5,427 votes were recorded on the Pro-Slavery side alone! Many of the Missourians returned the same night, after giving their vote, to their own State. At Leavenworth a great number came down by steamboat from Weston, and having effected their object, returned by the same boat. Many affirmed their right to vote as residents, although they might have been only an hour in the Territory, and had their homes in Missouri. The enormities committed by these armed bands were fearful. Some we read of standing around the polling-place and saying that "no difficulty would be made if they were allowed to vote in peace, but that they were determined to vote anyhow, and that each one of them was prepared for eight rounds without loading, and would go to the ninth round with the butcher-knife." If the judges who presided over the elections refused to receive their votes without administering the oath of residence, they held their pistols at their heads, while they appointed fresh judges from their own number, and proceeded with the election, "masters of the position." So violent was their hatred to the oath, that any who professed themselves ready to take it were threatened with instant death, amid cries of "Shoot him!" "Cut his guts out," &c. "One of them," we read in the report of the Commissioners,

"Mr. J. M. Macey, was asked if he would take the oath; and upon his replying that he would if the Judges required it, he was dragged through the crowd away from the polls, amid cries of 'Kill the d—d nigger thief,' 'Cut his throat,' 'Tear his heart out,' &c. After they got him to the outside of the crowd, they stood around him with cocked revolvers and drawn bowie-knives; one man putting a knife to his breast, so that it touched him; another holding a cocked pistol to his ear, while another struck at him with a club."

The whole of the voluminous evidence accompanying the report submitted to Congress goes to establish a succession of similar enormities in each of the polling districts. These investigations were being carried on within two doors of the place where I was myself staying when in Leavenworth; and it was sufficient to hear the manner in which the Missourians affirmed their right to come over from their own State and vote in the Territory of Kansas, and their determination to do so on every occasion and at all hazards, to understand the violence with which they would assert that right when confronted with their political opponents at the polling-places.

Another question may be suggested on this topic: By what right do these Missourians, or others from neighboring States, vote in the Kansas elections?

By no right whatever, except that of might. The Missourians have no more right to vote in Kansas than the voters in Middlesex have, after using their rightful suffrage in their own county, to cross to Surrey and record their votes a second time, with a pistol at the head of the election officer, in order to control the Surrey elections. Indeed, as the States of the Union are by their Constitution perfectly independent of one another and self-governed, the parallel would be truer if we were to picture an army of Frenchmen larger in number than all our voters, who should, at the point of the sword, choose for us our representatives, and return without exception as rulers men from among themselves, or pledged to their own political sentiments. So much was it an act of main force and illegal oppression, that among the conclusions which the Committee of Investigation report as established by the testimony they submit, they give the first place to the following:

"That each election in the Territory, held under the organic or alleged Territorial law, has been carried by organized invasion from the State of Missouri, by which the people of the Territory have been prevented from exercising the rights secured to them by the organic law."

And as the fruit of an organized invasion, they conclude:

"Secondly, that the alleged Territorial Legislature was an illegally constituted body, and had no power to pass valid laws; and their enactments are, therefore, null and void."

While, however, in the first instances the interference

of the Missourians was wholly illegal, the Legislature thus illegally constituted took care to legalize the act for the future. Hence we find them enacting in the act instituting a poll-tax:

"Sec. 1. That every free white male above the age of twenty-one years who shall pay to the proper officer in Kansas Territory the sum of one dollar as a poll-tax, and shall produce to the Judges of any election within and for the Territory of Kansas a receipt showing the payment of said poll-tax, shall be deemed a legal voter, and shall be entitled to vote at any election in said Territory during the year for which the same shall have been paid, provided that the right of suffrage shall be exercised only by citizens of the United States and those who have declared on oath their intention to become such, and shall have taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of the act organizing the Territory of Kansas."

In other words, by the payment of a single dollar, any citizen of any one of the United States can purchase a voting power in Kansas for a twelvemonth, provided he pledges himself to the support of the Organic Act. In contrast to this, in the 11th section, (Statutes, p. 282.) it is expressly enacted that, while every inhabitant of Kansas, paying a territorial tax, is a qualified elector, yet should he, on being challenged to take an oath to sustain the provisions of the Nebraska-Kansas Bill and the Fugitive Slave Law, "refuse to take such oath or affirmation, the vote of such person shall be rejected."

Hence, in the new election of members of the Legislature, the results of which we daily expect to hear, the Pro-Slavery Missourian who pays a dollar receives for it a vote, while the Free-State settler in Kansas, though an owner of land in the Territory, is denied his right of suffrage by the territorial law. The candidates, to be eligible at this election, are also required by the same law to take oath in support of the Fugitive Slave Law, (Statutes, p. 332.) There is little room for speculation, therefore, as to what election results the next American mail will bring us from Kansas.

At the risk of writing that which is less generally interesting, I have presented in this letter numerous extracts from public documents. I have deemed it right to do this, because the whole value of the present communication rests on the authority whence the statements are derived. The reference I have made are to the "Statutes of the Territory of Kansas," issued by the legislative body, to which, though chosen by the inhabitants of another State, the Government at Washington gives the sanction of its approval and its military aid, and to the Report and evidence of "the Special Committee appointed to investigate the troubles in the Territory of Kansas"—a Report which, though dissented from by one member of the Committee, contains testimony which can never be overthrown or gainsaid.

My simple object has been to show that the dark deeds of which I was an eyewitness in Kansas, some of which I detailed in my former letter, are no darker than the public acts of the Slave Power in that Territory, as exhibited in the archives of its House of Assembly; and that the fearful anarchy and unrestrained lawlessness which reign throughout the Territory find both their parallel and their key in the flagrant unrighteousness of their legal enactments.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

THOMAS H. GLADSTONE.

Stockwell Lodge, Surry.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

Renewed Filibuster Career of the United States.

[From the London News, October 22.]

It was only the other day that news came from Chili of a somewhat extraordinary suggestion having been seriously made in the Chambers of that Republic. It was nothing short of a proposition for a confederacy of the Spanish American States to protect themselves and each other against the spirit of aggression so openly avowed and encouraged in the United States of North America. Now, Chili, of all the South American States, has certainly the least to fear or apprehend from the ambition so strangely fostered in the United States. It is at the greatest distance of any of them from the States. It is by far the most settled, flourishing, and capable of defence; all its energies and capabilities are devoted to its own internal improvement and progress; in it the European element most largely prevails, and it has very little intercourse of any kind with the cognate republics of Spanish origin. Yet so clearly does Chili from a distance see the dangers to the general continent, of which it is a member, from the commencement of conquest which General Walker has actually inaugurated in Central America, from the intrigues which United States diplomacy has begun in New Granada, Ecuador, and Venezuela, from the pretensions as to internal navigation which have been started in Peru during the Presidency of General Pierce, that a confederacy to resist these designs and to defend South America generally against the great Republic of North America is gravely proposed in the Chilean Congress. This surely is a noticeable fact.

The present value of the proposition consists, not in the probability of such confederacy being formed, or in the military strength of the confederacy if it were formed, but in the sense of danger of which it manifested the existence in the most advanced of the Spanish American Republics, in the love of nationality and independence which it displays, and in the hope it encourages that at last these South American Republics may rise to a posi-

tion to influence and to settle on a stable foundation the balance of power in the New World. These are feelings which it is the interest of Europe, and especially of England, to sympathize with and to encourage. For were it possible that the United States should be successful in those lawless adventures which are undertaken, not by their authority, but in their name—should they sooner or later obtain among the South American Republics that supremacy which it has notoriously been an aim of the policy of the present Cabinet of Washington to obtain—American interference in the affairs of Europe would inevitably follow at no distant time, and then the embarrassments of European politics would be very dangerously enlarged.

Already, indeed, may be seen some approach to such interference, in the refusal of the United States to continue to recognise the validity of the Sound Dues, on the ground that the public law which prevails in Europe is not binding on the United States. Europe is, it would appear, about to escape from a settlement of that question by purchasing up and extinguishing those dues. But ere that is done, the United States raise similar objections to the reduced and modified State dues, as arranged at Dresden in 1844. And a large party in the States make no secret of their wish to conclude a very close alliance with Russia—an alliance which, if once made, might completely disturb the existing balance of power in Europe.

Men, as rational beings, must look a little ahead, and try to provide against possible future contingencies of an adverse character by present arrangements and conduct; and in the presence of the avowed policy of a great party in the American Union as to South America, it is very necessary that the attention of the English and French Cabinets should be carefully given to South America. There is much in that continent amongst the Spanish States to disgust and to alienate public opinion. But there is always a future to care for and look to, and nowhere could able, intelligent, sagacious and prudent representatives be more usefully placed than in these countries; nowhere could England and France more fruitfully have a united policy of temperance, moderation, and regard and encouragement to nationality and independence; nowhere would a little cautious, disinterested, well-informed advice be more welcome under existing circumstances than in several of these States. The ambitious tendencies of the slave-driver oligarchy which has so long governed the United States have alarmed others of them beside Chili. Now, therefore, is the time to support them. Not by attempting the formation of English or French parties; not by seeking to stimulate any combination against the United States, but by fostering and encouraging that love of independence which is the foundation of nationality, and that love of order without which independence cannot be permanently secured; by having there accomplished and resident ministers, men who can take a large and comprehensive view of the value of these republics, and who can perceive that in advancing their fortunes they are aiding in preserving the balance and equipoise of international interests on which the peace and progress of the world mainly rest.

Much will, of course, depend on the result of the present Presidential election of the United States. The questions at issue in that contest gravely affect the South American republics; for, on the one side the principle and practice of brutality at home and abroad, are arrayed against the principles of humanity and law at home, and abstinence from all improper and aggressive interference abroad. Under the Presidency of Mr. Buchanan, we must be prepared for a continuance of those attempts which we have referred to, for the purpose of establishing exclusive influences in these States; in a more aggravated form, too, for Mr. Buchanan will be compelled by the pressure of circumstances to seek in external aggressions diversions from domestic difficulties. The Presidency of Mr. Fillmore would be little better. Under the Presidency of Mr. Fremont we may expect a policy which will, on the contrary, diminish the external complications of the United States, by giving greater attention to domestic affairs. In either alternative, increased attention to South American politics is most desirable; in the two former cases it will be imperative to avert grave misfortunes; in the latter it will be useful to confirm good dispositions.

And here, in reference to that contest, let us do justice to the temperate, calm and prudent way in which the present Cabinet met and dealt with the Crampton dismissal and the Central American question. Without the assistance which the moderation of the English Government gave to the Republican or Northern party in this struggle, small indeed would have been the chances of success. A war with England would have been, we cannot say a godsend, but rather a devilment to their opponents. But, disappointed in that dreadful calamity, from the moment it was averted the Republicans took heart, their cause began to rise, and in a few weeks they are successful, not a little of that success will be traceable to the admirable temper and true provision which, in the course of the summer, characterized the dignified and useful policy of our Cabinet.

And most deeply are we interested in this contest. Canada is ours still, and Canada has a large and useful part to play in the politics of America—larger, in all probability, with its now free and settled institutions, its rapid prosperity, and above all its confirmed monarchical dispositions, than we can yet properly estimate. Her Majesty will, it is said, at no very distant day, pay a visit in person, accompanied by some of her family, to this, the greatest and most populous of her transmarine

possessions. The Queen could do no more useful and patriotic act: and richly does Canada merit the compliment of a royal visit. It has outlived all the calumnies of its Tory detractors, and has demonstrated that colonial self-government is far more compatible with the provocative of loyalty than the rule of a family compact, or government from Downing street. Canada, we cannot doubt, whether it continue its present connection with England—and there is now no reason why it should not—or to resolve itself into an independent monarchy, is destined to have large influence over North America. In either contingency, nothing is more desirable than that the influence of English civilization should continue to prevail in Canada, and through Canada diffuse itself more generally over the Continent; and a visit from Queen Victoria, surrounded by her family, would do more to promote that influence, and secure all its blessings, than any step that could be suggested. Why, then, should it not, at some early and convenient time, be taken? That, indeed, would be a visit worth recording.

Thus we find that England has interests to attend to in both continents of America; in the South less immediate and direct, but scarcely less interesting and important; in the North, full of great and noble hopes and aspirations; in both worthy of the gravest attention of the advisers of the British Crown.

SPRIT OF THE GERMAN PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE "PIONEER" ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF SLAVES AS ARTISANS.

The *Pioneer*, a German paper in New York, in commenting on the fact, that the President of the Tennessee and Alabama Railroad has recommended to the Company the employment of slaves on the said road in place of white laborers, says:

"Complete blindness is necessary to believe that slave labor cannot be applied to all the branches of industry. The necessity of slaves has been assumed from the pretended fact that plantation labor cannot be performed by white men, and a dream has been indulged in, that slaves cannot supersede free laborers in the industry of the North. This is like saying that a horse which has drawn a farmer's car is not capable of drawing a city wagon, because a city horse cannot be hitched to a country car. The use of a horse depends solely and alone upon the will and industry of its owner. The reason why slaves have not been made use of for all kinds of work is to be found in the circumstance that their masters were too indolent to instruct their 'two-legged animals' in the more complicated branches of industry. Thousands of examples may be cited to prove that negroes are capable of learning everything; and it will pend upon their masters alone whether they shall be employed on railroads, in factories, &c., in the same manner as they have been in cotton, rice and sugar plantations. After it has been proved that slave labor, in all industrial pursuits, is cheaper than free labor, a new 'economical necessity' will have been found for driving the free laborers—who until now have looked upon the progress of the slave power with extreme indifference—into the furthest western prairies, in case they should not prefer their predestined fate, to be made 'property' and to study politics under the slave-driver's whip. As soon as the slaveowners have come to the conviction that slaves may be advantageously employed everywhere where free laborers have been used, the latter will be shoved aside, and the whole system of labor in America will be equalized.

The *Pioneer* is on the right road. Slaves are employed now in almost all trades and manufactures. They work as masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, joiners, caulkers, painters, tailors, shoemakers, &c.; they are employed on canals, railroads, in foundries, factories, &c.; and the reason why free labor has not as yet been wholly subverted by slave labor in the Slave States is found in the circumstance that the number of slave mechanics is comparatively small. But when the African Slave trade is restored—which is sure to be done within a very short time—all the slaves brought from Africa will be worked in the cotton, rice and sugar fields, whilst the American-born slaves will be turned to manufacturing industry; then the free laborers will be turned adrift, and will have to choose between starvation and slavery; and then they will in vain deplore the "aid and comfort" which they now heap so lavishly upon their greatest enemies—the Southern slave oligarchy. A GERMAN.

General Corruption and Ignorance. Destiny of the Republic.

[From the New Yorker Staats-Demokrat.]

Americans are blinded by the monstrous illusion that their Republic is to stand for all eternity. Not by party strife, but by lack of integrity in their citizens, is it that Republics fall, and when we consider how this lack has increased throughout the United States, how baseless

and corruption have everywhere taken the place of integrity and probity, we must be convinced that our Republic is rather on the road to its destination than to its amelioration, and that it will require the strongest exertions to heal the cancer which now infects the whole body corporate. For there is no meanness which cannot find champions in this country; there are no measures so unrepugnant and so fatal to Freedom that they are not justified, demanded and adopted. What is forced upon monarchical and democratic States by the constituted authority is here carried through by corrupt demagogues, and the public press, instead of being a safeguard of Freedom and a teacher of the people has sunk to an accursed partisan prostitute; justifying all crimes, all misdeeds and all corruption, because they are available for its party, and spitting upon all measures and reforms when they are put forward or carried through by another party. So we see the violent extension of Slavery supported, the trampling down of Free Speech and a Free Press excused, the annihilation of the right of suffrage justified, and the most horrid violence against freemen sanctioned. We see the people deceived and betrayed by the reactionary press, misled by base, corrupt demagogues, and such a lack of culture, judgment, and of love for freedom and right, that these demagogues easily succeed in winning over the masses to the support of all their selfish, shameful and freedom-hating plans.

What a sorrowful spectacle is the last election for every friend of freedom. In it we see hundreds of thousands of citizens, from thoughtlessness, ignorance, folly, or still baser grounds, voting to strengthen and extend the principle of Slavery. Free laborers voted against the interests of Free Labor, against the interests of Free Soil; they voted for the success of a party which is endeavoring, by forcing Slavery upon the Free Territories, to render them uninhabitable by free laborers. It would seem to be impossible that people in their senses should manage in such a way, and allow their worst enemies, the slaveholders, a victory annihilating themselves. But still it is so, and the blame of it belongs to corrupt demagogues and an equally corrupt press.

A striking proof of the depth to which political morality has sunk in the United States is to be found in the nominations of candidates for office. A ticket is hardly anything more than a register of rascals. Hardly anybody asks anything about the character of a candidate now-a-days. Formerly the masses had political morality enough to keep corrupt men out of office, and to elect only men of probity and character. But this ceased under the operation of the principle "the spoils to the victors." The popular conscience expired. Men of character had fair play, and now, characterlessness and consciencelessness, so to speak, are on the point of becoming the two indispensable recommendations of an office-seeker. We are now in such a state that a good citizen is compelled either not to vote at all, or from among a number of thieves to choose the least. A really true and good officer, seeking the welfare of the people, is as rare as a white crow; and if corruption progresses in the ratio in which it has for the last twenty years, there will be no more such to be found, as no good man will longer care to have an office. Such a condition must have a demoralizing influence on society, and it is the mission of an effective party of freedom to save us from it.

Necessity for a Register of Voters. Free Natives of the United States not Citizens. Dissolution of the Union. The German Vote. German Singing Societies.

The *Abend-Zeitung* (New York daily paper) of last week argues ably in favor of a Registry Law in the State of New York. That such a law is urgently required no fair minded man will doubt, and the very fact that it is resisted by the pro-slavery press shows the necessity of the measure.

The editor of the *Abend-Zeitung* also adds that he is in favor of a law restricting the right of voting to persons capable of reading their mother tongue, and he supports this proposition by various reasons.

There is, however, a difficulty in the introduction of such a law, to which we desire to draw the attention of our German friends. The Constitution of the State of New York will not permit the enactment of such a measure, and an alteration of the Constitution for that purpose could hardly be effected.

The *Criminal-Zeitung*, a New York weekly, comments on the refusal of the American Government to furnish passports to the colored minstrels lately gone to Europe. It is truly observed, that the ridiculous inconsistency of our Republican Government, in acknowledging the fact, that these men are natives of the free States, and still denying to them the rights of citizenship, will furnish an amusing topic of conversation and criticism in all those parts of monarchical Europe where the minstrels will perform.

The *Pioneer*, in speaking of the new position of the political parties after the late victory of the Sham Democracy, makes the following observations:

"Cassius M. Clay rightly remarks that slavery and freedom cannot co-exist, one or the other must suc-

cumb. The decision as to which is to be the victor can never be rendered peaceably, because the slavery oligarchy, will not renounce their power voluntarily. The decision by force has approached nearer in proportion to the increased power of the representatives of slavery and the consciousness of their opponents in regard to the real dangers.

"The position of both parties has become so decisive, that each must look upon any act of yielding as the first step to its own destruction.

"Mr. Seward lately observed, in a speech in the Senate, that the time for compromises is past. This expresses the only true policy of the North. Buchanan, who hates extremes, will try to patch up the torn policy of the Union by compromises. But it is hoped and predicted that the slaveholders who elected him will either dictate to him those compromises, or will make them wholly impossible.

"The North ought to accept as their doctrine that the time of compromises is gone by, and that the separation of the Union or the decision by the sword must be prepared for.

"But the North consoles itself already with the election of Fremont in the year 1860."

The *Pioneer* is perfectly right in looking upon such a palpable delusion of the North as a cold piece of comfort. If the Northern States found it impossible to elect their candidate at the last election, when they stood upon the plausible platform of "Non-extension of slavery in the free Territories," how can they hope to succeed in 1860, when the non-extension policy will have been rendered futile by the admission of Kansas as a Slave State.

German papers of both parties admit that the majority of German citizens throughout the United States have voted the Republican ticket at the late Presidential election. It is, however, observed that the "Pennsylvania Dutchmen," most of whom sustained Buchanan, are not to be ranked as Germans, they having been born in this country and deprived of the influence of modern German civilization. With equal propriety the bulk of the native born American citizens might be called "Englishmen" or "Irishmen" on account of their descent.

It is announced that the grand musical festival of all the German singing societies of the United States will take place in Philadelphia, on the 24th day of June next. These grand musical celebrations of the Germans are held here every second year, and have acquired a deservedly great popularity amongst all lovers of music. The harmonious vocal performances of great masses, in which the Germans excel all other nations, produce a powerfully elevating effect on the singer, as well as on the listener; and it is hoped that the example of these advanced musical organizations of the Germans will, in the course of time, be imitated by the Americans.

SPRIT OF THE SOUTHERN PRESS.

The Meaning and Effect of Mr. Buchanan's Election.

[From the New Orleans Delta.]

"Mr. Buchanan, if elected, will owe his success entirely to the reaction in the Northern mind, caused by the determined attitude of the Southern party. We may be called extremists, or fire-eaters, or what not—it does not matter. While we cannot be driven into the abandonment of principles to serve party success, we are ready to maintain the rights and institutions of the South, even to disunion. This conviction we have fostered in the Southern mind. It is a pity it was not fostered twenty years since. It would have saved to the parties a deal of trouble. But the Southern party has something else to do now. Having checked for a time the Black Republican crusade, we must push forward these reforms at home which are necessary for the assertion and maintenance of our equality in the Union, or of our nationality and independence out of it.

"Remember that Nicaragua and Cuba are vastly more important to us than Kansas Territory, though we should not renounce the latter. Mexico is not far off. The genius of commercial empire beckons to us from Tohauntepec. But Nicaragua is the great political nucleus, and while the national men of the South are busy over the spoils of the victory won through the courage and boldness of the Southern party, let us put forth all our strength in Nicaragua.

"We have only four years to prepare for the great contest of 1860. Give Walker the power and he will solve not only the Central-American question, but with it that of Cuba. Once firmly established in Nicaragua, he will restore the West Indies to their original condition as slave colonies. It can be demonstrated that the comparative decline of New Orleans commenced with the abolition policy of England in the American tropics. It only requires the defeat of Walker in Nicaragua and the Africanization of Cuba to make the decline more than comparative, perhaps irretrievable. It only requires, on the other hand, the organization of Central America, as a slave-producing country, with the redemption of the

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The British Journal to Walker. Slavery Central American

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West Indies from negro barbarism, to make New Orleans the centre of a vast tropical empire, and to realize, in connection with the Pacific trade, the advantages to which she is geographically entitled. This is a work for the Southern party. We have shown our power in national politics, let us give it practical direction at home."

The British Journals Denounced. Advice given to Walker. Slavery to be Restored in all the Central American States.

[From the Charleston Mercury.]

"The British journals show their eagerness for this result, by fostering, in all possible ways, the anti-slavery fury of the North. They make tirades, founded upon slanders of the Northern journals, which are worthy, in their violence, of a place in the columns of the New York Tribune. But the object of this vituperation is only thinly disguised, and every now and then it drops even this flimsy veil, and shows that its only desire is to provoke the frantic spirit of the North to the point of a dissolution of the Union. Let that object once be accomplished, and we should speedily witness a change in the tone of those journals; and the North would speedily discover, that the humanitarian tirades of British and French journals are really directed against her—not against us. "Commerce is King," and this mighty potentate would speedily reconcile the London Times and the London Economist to Southern slavery, which clothes the people of many empires, and burdens the peaceful fleets that whiten the ocean.

"It is the North which, by forcing the Confederacy to become its instrument in making it the rival of European art and manufactures, has really excited and sustained all this hostility of Great Britain and France against the South. Let the cause die, and the effect will die with it.

"But there are some things in the article of the Delta to which we cannot assent. It rather slights the importance of Kansas to the South. As a barrier, we consider Kansas of the very greatest importance. It saves Missouri from becoming the prey of Abolitionism; and, therefore, in contending for its settlement by the South, we are not contending merely for the extension of slavery to a new country, which is a matter of trifling importance in itself, but for its protection where it already exists, which is a matter of vital importance. We agree heartily with the Delta that, in the position which President Walker has placed his Government of Nicaragua, by the recent decree restoring the institution of Slavery, that country has become an object of exceeding interest to the Southern people. Our opposition to his movement has always been founded expressly on the ground that the European races cannot cultivate the soil of Central America. With the restoration of slavery into that boundlessly fruitful region, we may well anticipate that it will become the garden-spot of the world, and that it will become tributary to the general commerce, to an extent that even the utmost enthusiasm may fail to anticipate.

"The Central American States probably contain within themselves greater natural wealth than any of the same extent of country on the face of the globe. The restoration of slavery, with the energetic impulse and intelligence of our times, would bring to use all these vast natural resources. The forests would yield their wealth of rare and beautiful woods; the soil would teem with an abundance of the most precious harvests. The restoration of slavery in Nicaragua, with its firm re-establishment and protection by so energetic a spirit, would lead, in all probability, gradually, at least, to its restoration in all the other Central American States; and that whole glorious region, instead of lying in the lap of sloth, forgotten by the world, and useless to the world, would become a scene of industry, a home of wealth, and a teeming source of commerce to the nations.

"But let the President of Nicaragua beware how, with his present slender resources, he attempts the career of a conqueror. Let him once but lift his foot from the safe soil of the Continent, and attempt to stretch it across the sea to Cuba, and it will inevitably be cut off; and so far from his becoming master of the Queen of the Antilles, he will find that he has only afforded a reasonable pretext for Great Britain, France and Spain, to drive him from Nicaragua. Let him make friends, rather than enemies, of the great nations. Let him give assurance that he considers it his mission to restore and advance the beautiful country which he now governs. He has work enough before him within his own limits. Let him do that well, and the peaceful influence which the prosperity of Nicaragua will exert among the neighboring States will effect a greater conquest than any he can hope to achieve by force of arms."

Coming Events Casting Their Shadows.

[From the Richmond Enquirer, (organ of Henry A. Wise and James Buchanan) November 11, 1856.]

THE TRUE SEAT OF INTELLECT.

For fifty years past, arguments, and facts, and authorities, have in vain been addressed to the brains of Englishmen, Frenchmen and Yankees, to prove the rightfulness and expediency of negro slavery. But at last, quite of a sudden, the products of slave labor become scarce, and rise in price, in consequence of negro emancipation. The arguments, facts and authorities, address themselves to the sensitive and sensible pocket, and carry conviction along with them. The Jamaica negroes won't work—nor the St. Domingo, nor Mexican,

nor South American free negroes. Just as sugar, and coffee, and rice, and tobacco, and cotton, have come into universal use, and become necessities, even with the poor—just as the demand for them increases, the supply diminishes, and their prices rise.

Ruin and hunger stare France, Great Britain and New England in the face. The supply of food must increase as their populations increase, or continual famine will be the consequence. Already their lands are incapable of producing substitutes for the products of negro slave-labor, which they consume, and also of raising other necessary articles of food and clothing. But the pocket—the true seat of English and Yankee intellect—sees, feels and understands all this, and promptly applies the remedy. Slavery must be extended. The heathen must be caught, tamed, set to work and Christianized. Walker must be encouraged. New York must send him thousands of gallant volunteers. And Boston and New York must vie with each other in fitting out slave ships for Asia and Africa.

The African Slave-trade is about to become as popular as it was a century ago. The New England clergy and the Catholic priesthood will again engage in it with pious zeal, as the only sure and effectual means of converting the Pagans. Under its revivifying influence, Central America, Mexico and South America, now lying torpid and barbarous, will start into new life. Cotton, and sugar, and coffee, and rice, and molasses, and cigars, and tobacco, and pine apples, and oranges and lemons, and all tropical fruits, will be cheap as dirt. An illimitable market will be opened to the commerce and manufactures, and mechanical skill of the North and of Western Europe. The white free laborer will have constant employment, high wages, plenty of money, and the necessities and luxuries of life dirt cheap.

We have given the affirmative proof, we will now give the negative.

The African Slave-trade, beginning with the first of the 16th century, had surcharged the West Indies and North and South America with slaves, about the time of the American Revolution. The products of slave-labor exceeded the demand for them. Sugar, cotton, coffee, tobacco, rice and other slave and tropical products, had not come into general use with all classes in Europe. Watts had not invented the steam-cotton mill, nor was the cotton-gin in operation. Negro men fell to two hundred dollars a head, and negroes in families became expensive. The pocket felt it, told it to the conscience, and conscience smote the slaveholder. Clarkson and Wilberforce and French Jacobins, were listened to and admired, because they promised to save men's souls, and better their fortunes, by ridding them of troublesome and expensive negroes.

But it was the sensible and sagacious pocket, not Wilberforce and Clarkson, that arrested the Slave-trade and begat abolition. Whenever negro men fell to two hundred dollars around, and negroes become to the mass rather burdensome than profitable—whenever the supply of slaves exceeds the demand—the pocket will find it out, and use such silly instruments as Clarkson and Wilberforce to check the trade. Whenever negroes rise, as now, to seven hundred dollars around, the Slave-trade will be carried on with renewed vigor, energy and success, despite all the laws, all the treaties, all the fleets, and all the whining abolitionists in the world, FOR THE POCKET IS THE SEAT OF POWER AS WELL AS OF INTELLECT.

The New Administration and Cuba.

[From the Washington Union.]

Neither the people of the South nor the Government of the United States, we think we may venture to affirm, covets the possession of Mexico or Central America, either by purchase, conquest, or annexation. All they desire is, that their free institutions may extend, and be perpetuated over the whole of this wide continent, through the medium of immigration and example, to counteract, if possible, by these means, that pernicious foreign influence which has been one of the great sources of that anarchy and bloodshed so disgraceful to the name of liberty. The Government of the United States has never interfered, and we feel assured will never interfere, with the internal affairs of Mexico or Central America, for any other purpose than that of counteracting the intrigues and encroachments of foreign powers, and fostering their new-born freedom.

With respect to Cuba the case is quite different; nor do we think it will injure the reputation of Mr. Buchanan, or any other American statesman, to be suspected of a desire to emancipate that fine island from colonial vassalage, and (if such is the wish of the inhabitants) to admit it as a member of this confederation. It is not fit that the key to the Gulf of Mexico should be in the hands of the enemy, or one who is the mere tool of our enemies. The North and West, equally with the South, are deeply interested in this question, which seems to be sleeping now, but which, we opine, will never die.

THE POPULAR VOTE.—The Journal of Commerce expresses its confidence that the popular vote of Buchanan will exceed that given for Fremont by half a million. Suppose that this expectation should be verified, there is no reason for making the fact a matter of boast. There was nothing to prevent those who were friendly to the election of Buchanan from giving their votes in any part of the country; while in the Southern States, with but one or two exceptions, Fremont's friends were allowed no opportunity to vote for him.

SPIRIT OF THE NORTHERN PRESS.

THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS.

Why Free Mechanics and Laborers are Compelled to Emigrate from the South. Why the Territories should not be Monopolized by the Oligarchy. Remarks thereon, showing why a Majority of the Laborers in the North have Voted for the Sham Democracy. The Low Tone of the Republican Press.

[From the New York Evening Post.]

"There are, we believe, very few farmers and mechanics at the North who are not fully aware that if slavery goes into the territories, free labor must go out. When they look at the map of the United States, they perceive that the Slave States are one-fourth larger in their area than the free States. When they look at the census of the United States, they perceive that the number of white inhabitants in the free States, though their area is so much less, is more than twice the white population of the Slave States. They perceive that slavery is an engrossing, encroaching, institution, a greedy devourer of land, requiring three or four times as much space as free labor. They perceive also another important fact, that the less wealthy part of the Southern population are constantly migrating to free territory or to the Western free States, where labor is held in honor, and where they can till the soil, or toil in other callings requiring bodily exertion, without being regarded as an inferior class.

"Thus it is the South casts out her offspring; she keeps slavery, and parts with her children, who should make her strength and her honor. Free labor cannot live by the side of the oligarchy which tills the soil by the hands of its bondmen, and sells carpenters, blacksmiths and masons under the hammer. The free white laborer of the South find that in a thin population public schools cannot be supported. The planter, with a domain of from three to ten thousand acres, can send his children to some private school or keep a tutor; but the poor man must see his children grow up in ignorance. No wonder that he should remove to a place where education is brought to his door, and where labor is no longer a badge of degradation.

"If, therefore, slavery is introduced into the Territories, as the Southern politicians, with the co-operation of all that party at the North now supporting Buchanan, are attempting to introduce it, we see what the effect must be. We of the free States may enter those Territories with the purpose of settling there, but if we do not become slaveholders we must go out again. The farmers who go thither to work with their own hands, must consent to be looked down upon by the planters, with their domains of thousands of acres and their hundreds of work-people whose muscles and bones are their property. The white farmer will take his place by the negro field-hand; the white carpenter be looked upon as a proper companion for the black carpenter who is sold at auction. In going to such a community the farmer from the free States must renounce the advantage of schools; he must see his children brought up as the poorer population of Missouri are brought up, in utter ignorance, and with the propensity to debauchery which is nourished in those who have no intellectual resources.

"These are some of the reasons which make the attempt to establish slavery in the Territories a direct attack on the rights of the working class. It is a scheme for the benefit of a few, a scheme for the advantage of the three hundred and forty thousand slaveholders of the Southern States, who form about a twentieth part of the white population of those States. For the sake of that small class of capitalists the country is convulsed with the agitation of the slavery question; for their sake frauds and violences, which are the scandal of the country, are perpetrated with the connivance of the Federal Government and the direct co-operation of its agents. The class of slaveholders is to be installed in the Territories, as the masters of that region, and the people are to be thrust out. This conspiracy against the rights of the working class is as atrocious as if the plan were to give Prince Gortschakoff of Russia the sole right of settling Kansas, with power to introduce the system of serfdom or white slavery which is in practice on his patrimonial estates.

"Yet this is the scheme which the working people of the North are called upon to sanction. It is Mr. Pierce's plan; it is Mr. Buchanan's plan. He is now the head of this great conspiracy against the rights of the working class, and not a man of them who votes intelligently can give him his support."

Notwithstanding all this, a large majority of the laborers in the free States have voted for Buchanan. Kansas is a long way off, and they neither know nor care anything about it. Moreover, they have been taught to believe that "niggers" ought to be slaves.

The demagogues preach the doctrine, that the people of Kansas ought to be allowed to make their own laws, and, therefore, to establish slavery, if they think fit to do so. This monstrous theory has not been assailed, as it ought to have been, by the Republican party, but the latter have relied mainly upon the following arguments, viz.: 1st. That the Nebraska Act has not in reality given the inhabitants of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska power to exclude Slavery; 2d. That the General Govern-

ment has favored the slave-owners in their efforts to make Kansas a Slave State. The leading organs of the Republican party, have never advocated the abolition of slavery, even in those States where cotton, sugar, and rice are not raised; but on the contrary, have argued that it would be wrong to liberate the slaves, for that they would refuse to work if set free. They have never propounded any plan for relieving the poor white mechanics and laborers of the South from the competition of the slaves, although a few have denounced slavery, and pointed-out its evil effects.

They all sustain the union between the free and Slave States. So that the question, as hitherto discussed, is merely whether the slave-owners shall be shut up with their slaves in the present Slave States, leaving the unsettled Territories, which belong to the whole Confederacy, to be occupied by freemen alone.

In arguing this question, they have to encounter the power and influence of the General Government, which is under the absolute control of the Southern slave-owners, and also the mass of laborers in the North, who always vote for any electoral ticket labelled Democratic.

Right to Challenge Editors on account of their Political Writings.

The New York Herald, commenting on the late fatal duel at Charleston, in which Mr. Tabor, the Editor of the Charleston Mercury, lost his life, says that the present proprietors of the Charleston Mercury, in an article recently published in their paper, assumed that "an editor is not only responsible in the field for strictures published in his paper, but that any person who deems himself injured thereby may require the editor to stand to be shot at, once, twice, thrice; in fact, as often as may be necessary to shoot him down."

The Herald proceeds to observe:

"That is a theory which it will need some argument to thrust down the throats of civilized society out of South Carolina. Here, the fundamental principle of liberty of the press is that the editor shall not be personally responsible for his language, otherwise than to the laws—which will interfere for his protection if he be assailed just as readily as they will for his punishment if he go wrong. And the soundness of this principle is obvious. If any ruffian, whose crimes are a fitting theme of indignant comment in the press, can avenge himself by beating out the editor's brains, or by shooting at him till he kills him, as editors to be the practice in South Carolina, it is evident that none but those on the same level with the ruffian will undertake an editorial post, and the usefulness of the press will be destroyed. We hold here, that the law of libel is ample protection for the public against editorial license: and we further hold that even this law is too stringent for the ease of editorial strictures on candidates for political office. In their case, it is the settled sentiment of the North that it is better to allow a libel to go unpunished, than to run the risk of electing a candidate without the most searching inquiry into his character and antecedents.

"The fact is, the Southern press is in the same position as, and on a par with, the press of Paris. It is subject to a censorship not less searching and severe than the Emperor's. A Southern editor no more dares advocate Fremont's Presidency than the editor of the Debats dare call for the restoration of the Bourbons. Editors, both at Charleston and at Paris, are tongue-tied: their mind does not perform any healthy function, their lips never interpret the feelings of their heart. They repeat what their masters tell them, and no more. Hence, as at Paris, the Southern press does not reflect the Southern public. Southern gentlemen have nothing in common with their journals. They do not believe in them—they do not read them. They laugh at the North which takes them seriously."

[From the New York Times.]

The Stuff that Governs Us.

Nothing, perhaps, is so indicative of the workings of "true Democracy" as the favor which is shown, and the honors it heaps upon the most humble of its members. There's none so humble in New York city that he may not aspire to office—provided he be a strong Democrat, well-up in knock-down arguments, and good on striking hits on proper occasions. There was a time when fitness was regarded in some measure as a necessity to candidacy—when to nominate a man to make laws who had been a common offender against the laws, or one who could not write his own name, would not be thought of. But times are changed. Democracy is triumphant and rampant in this city now. They elect (in certain wards) whom they please, and in what manner they please,—and let those object who dare.

Should the "Democratic" element long increase in the same ratio, and in the same direction as it has during the past few years, it may be found necessary to open a primary school in the City Hall for the instruction of the men intrusted with the Government of the great metropolis of the nation, and of the city delegation to the State Legislature. To such a pass are things rapidly approaching. Muscle, not merit, is now essential for Democratic

honors. "The people must rule," say the "Unterrified," and "the boys must have a show," so the unterrified muster in their night and elect their man—usually the biggest bully in the ward; if he be a fighter, accustomed to the use of the slung-shot and knife, his chances are good, but if he keep "a low groggery," and is kind to his crowd, his chances are better. At any rate, if he only does the square and promises to "see the boys out," when they get into a little difficulty in the night time, by going their bail and using his influence, it's all right; they'll put him in by any majority he may be pleased to name,—that is, if the inspectors are right, and his district lies near the river, for then seafaring men can easily be had cheap as dirt for half an hour!

"Suppose I can't write me name?" said an Assemblyman elect, the other night, rolling up his sleeve, and displaying his muscle—"suppose I can't write me name, faith and I can make me mark sure!"

And so the honorable gentleman can, especially with a slung-shot, as at least one man, a stranger in the city, can testify.

We have already devoted a few lines to the antecedents of two of our Aldermen elect. Only a few of the Assemblymen elect from the City possess any claims entitling them to special mention. Andrew Sheehan, Esq., or, as he is more familiarly known, "Andy Sheehan," is elected to the Legislature from the Fourth Ward (Second District) over a Mr. James Hayes, the present incumbent. Andy ran an independent or bolter's ticket. Mr. Hayes had the regular nomination, but Andy had the boys to back him, so the race was anything but even, for the boys are great on election-day; they work well at the polls, especially when their man keeps some of the "rude prime stuff" constantly on hand. Mr. Sheehan has been "about" for some years. He was at one time, we believe, a Fourth Ward policeman. He went to California in 1853, and returned from there about a year since, and opened a groggery in Dover-street. He is a young man of dandyish appearance, sporting proclivities, and a cooper by trade. He will fly represent those who support him, and maintain at Albany the well known character of the City delegation.

The electors of the Thirty-sixth Council District (embraced in the Fourteenth Ward) have chosen, by a handsome vote, Mr. H. O'Brien, better and more widely known as "Dutchy O'Brien." "Dutchy" is an Irishman, but he is built like a veritable Teuton—stout, square, and thick. He was formerly a member of the Fourteenth Ward police, (the police is a fine training school,) and first forced himself conspicuously upon public attention some few months since, by the performance of a most heroic exploit. He had a grudge against one of his late companions, a Fourteenth Ward policeman, and he determined on satisfaction, and had it too. He walked coolly into the station-house, proceeded deliberately to the sleeping apartment of the force, attacked, severely beat and bruised the face of the German policeman, whom he found in bed and asleep. Having satisfied himself, he left the premises unmolested. The matter created a great deal of indignation. People wondered greatly that such an outrage could occur in a station-house, and all said, surely it will not be allowed to pass by unheeded. Captain Klmsner was very determined that Dutchy should be punished, and a great many thought he would be. But he was never brought to trial, nor we believe ever arrested. On the contrary, he was in a few weeks afterwards appointed on the Central Park police. He maintained this position only a little while, when he resigned, and returned to his own Ward to seek political honors. He succeeded in getting the nomination (Democratic, of course) for Councilman from the Thirty-sixth District, and was, on Tuesday last, as already stated, returned—his friends say—by a handsome majority.

Now that Mr. O'Brien is elected, we hope his constituents will drop the prefix "Dutchy," as applied to him, and substitute that of "Councilman." The office ought to be respected.

THE INVENTION OF THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH.

American Pretensions Refuted.

[Continued from p. 4.]

The following, amongst many other modes of transmitting intelligence by means of the Electric Telegraph, were invented prior to 1837.

Leafrige, in 1774, employed at Geneva twenty-four wires and a pith ball electrometer.

Lomond, in 1787, employed in France one wire and a pith ball electrometer.

Retancourt, in 1787, used in Spain one wire and a battery of Leyden jars. He constructed an Electric Telegraph line from Aranjuez to Madrid, a distance of twenty-six miles.

Roemerling, in 1811, used galvanic electricity, and as many wires were employed as there were letters or signals to be denoted.

Schweigger, about the same time, employed the principle of Roemerling's telegraph, but reduced the number of wires to two. He proposed methods of permanently registering the letters denoted; this was to be done by means of paper smeared with lampblack and other substances.

Ronalds, of Hammersmith, in 1816 erected eight miles of insulated wire. He proposed to the British Government an Electric Telegraph to be used along the coast in lieu of the Semaphore Telegraph. In 1823 he published a full description of his Telegraph, in a work

entitled "Descriptions of an Electrical Telegraph and of some other Electrical Apparatus."

Ampere, in 1820, employed the magnetic needle, the coil of wire, and the galvanic battery.

Tribautlet, in 1828, used but one wire; he employed a galvanic battery and a galvanoscope.

Dyer, in 1828, constructed a telegraph line on Long Island, New York; he strung wire on poles, used glass insulators, and produced marks on chemically-prepared paper by the electric spark.

Booth, in 1830, in Dublin, explained fully how electro-magnetism could be used to telegraph at a distance, and cause marks to be made by the fall of the armature from the horse-shoe magnet when the current was broken.

Gauss and Weber, in 1833, constructed an electric telegraph at Göttingen, between the Observatory and the Cabinet de Physique, (a distance of a mile and a quarter.) One wire and one needle only were needed. The power employed was magneto-electricity.

Steinheil had an electrical telegraph line, twelve miles long, in practical operation, in 1838, between Munich and Bogenhausen.

As far back as 1832, Mr. Morse had his attention directed to electric telegraphs, and it has been made a subject of controversy between him and Dr. Jackson, of Boston, as to which of them first suggested to the other, in the year 1832, the idea that intelligible marks or signs might be made by means of electric currents. But neither of these gentlemen know much about the subject at the period above referred to—not being aware that there had been electric telegraphs in any part of the world.

It appears that Dr. Jackson and Professor Morse met, for the first time, as fellow-passengers, homeward bound, on board the packet ship Sully, in 1832. Morse was a painter. Jackson had cultivated the sciences. Morse was but little acquainted with electricity and electro-magnetism. Jackson was fresh from the lectures of Pouillet on electro-magnetism at the Sorbonne; and had in his possession an excellent electro-magnet, and two small galvanic batteries for putting it in action. Morse admits that his first idea of a telegraph was conceived during a conversation among the passengers on the recent discoveries in electro-magnetism, and was suggested by observations of Jackson upon the length of wire in the coil of the magnet, and the instantaneous transmissibility of the electric current through its entire extent.

As observed by Professor Joseph Henry:

"The mere suggestion, however, of a scheme of this kind is a matter for which little credit can be claimed, since it is one which would naturally arise in the mind of almost every person familiar with the phenomena of electricity."

Plans of Electric Telegraphs had been common before the year 1832, and a great many had been published, but certain scientific discoveries and improvements in the mode of generating and conducting electric currents were necessary before the practical establishment of telegraphs could be effected. Morse had nothing to do with these discoveries and improvements, and the fact that in 1832 he thought of one or more of the various forms of an electric telegraph does not place him in advance of others. Such ideas were commonly entertained at that time and previously, and many others had not only thought of these matters, but had so far perfected different plans as to describe them fully and publicly, and had constructed their apparatus. Morse cannot be put in the front rank with them in the year 1832, on the strength of the commonplace remarks made by him at that time. He kept silent for many years afterwards, and at last, on October 3d, 1837, made out a caveat describing a "rude apparatus," and stating that he had not yet completed his invention sufficiently to enable him to apply for a patent. We cannot go back to 1832 as the date of the invention of Morse's apparatus. If Morse had read or heard of the electric telegraph, as he might have done forty or fifty years before, had he been alive, he might with equal propriety have gone back to that date.

Nor must it be supposed that the idea of using the motive power of the electro-magnet to make marks with, was essential to the practical success of the electric telegraph or to the marking or recording of signs. On the contrary, the direct action of the electric current without an electro-magnet has many advantages, and the pointer telegraphs are generally deemed to have a balance of advantages over all kinds of marking telegraphs, by which mere signs of letters are produced by the breaking and closing of the circuit with a finger-key or similar contrivance.

Morse devoted but very little attention to the subject of the electric telegraph until the year 1837. He says that up to the autumn of that year his telegraphic apparatus existed in so rude a form, that he felt a reluctance to have it seen, and that in the latter part of August or beginning of September, 1837, the instrument was shown in the cabinet of the University (New York) to numerous visitors, operating through a circuit of 1700 feet of wire running back and forth in that room.

On the 8th October, 1837, Morse filed a caveat, dated the 3d of the same month. The law required the caveat to set forth the "principal and distinguishing characteristics" of the invention. It provides that any one who has invented a new machine, &c., "and shall desire further time to mature the same," may file in the Patent Office a caveat setting forth the principal and distinguishing characteristics of the invention, and praying protection of his right till he shall have matured his invention.

The caveat declared that "the following is a full and exact description of said telegraph, so far as it is at present completed."

The caveat is to electrolity," and which intended to wards about magnet, "to be applied that the el which ones marking my cylinder alarm appar the pole lever—a voc conductors. He states wires. "What a covering to such as cotton tion which pillars."

"What I by letters pa is a method which, by m tors of elect more places. Nothing is renewing or either by co circuits, or in

Prof. J. H. states of Mor "He appea gentleman, w ciples of elect made no clai discoveries, o and process purposes. H with which I ment. I tho had been mad

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It was at practice very mantly mad tage of recor ledged, and i Morse the rig recording of

The caveat speaks of conductors through which the current is to be passed, "by means of any generator of electricity," and proposes a system of signs—a contrivance which he calls the type and port rule, with which he intended to break and close the circuit. (This was afterwards abandoned.) A register to consist of an electro-magnet, "made in any of the usual modes of forming it," to be applied to a short bar of iron at such a distance that the electro-magnet will readily attract it, and to which one end of a lever is fixed with a pencil or other marking material. This is used to mark paper upon a cylinder made to revolve by clock machinery. An alarm apparatus is also mentioned—a method of changing the poles of the magnet after every stroke of the lever—a vocabulary of words—and modes of laying the conductors.

He states some of the common modes of insulating the wires. "When through the air, they may be insulated by a covering that shall protect them from the weather—such as cotton, flax, or hemp—and dipped into any solution which is a non-conductor, and elevated upon pillars."

"What I claim as my invention, and desire to secure by letters patent and to protect for one year by a caveat, is a method of recording permanently electrical signs, which, by means of metallic wires or other good conductors of electricity, convey intelligence between two or more places."

Nothing is said in this document about any mode of renewing or strengthening the currents of electricity, either by combined or relay circuits, or office or local circuits, or in any other form.

Prof. J. Henry, in a deposition made in March, 1850, states of Morse as follows:

"He appeared to be an unassuming and prepossessing gentleman, with very little knowledge of the general principles of electricity, magnetism or electro-magnetism. He made no claims, in conversation with me, to any scientific discoveries, or to anything beyond his particular machine, and process of applying known principles to telegraphic purposes. He explained to me his plan of a telegraph with which he had recently made a successful experiment. I thought this plan better than any with which I had been made acquainted in Europe."

It is a remarkable fact, that even after practical forms of the electric telegraph had been perfected in different parts of Europe, very little assistance was afforded by capitalists in building lines. The same want of enterprise was manifested in this country. Morse obtained his patent in June, 1840, and yet we find nothing done, not even a few miles of wire put up, until after Congress had made the grant before referred to.

The success, however, of the short lines built in England and Bavaria, was sufficient to make it appear that the electric current might be transmitted to great distances at a moderate expense. It was found that wires suspended in the air were sufficient conductors without any insulation, except when in contact with the supporters. But still it was doubted whether the discovery could be made available and profitable for business purposes, and therefore capitalists in this country refused to invest their money in constructing telegraph lines either for the needle telegraph or Morse's. Mr. Morse complained bitterly of this apathy, and in a letter dated May 2d, 1840, addressed to Mr. Ellsworth, Commissioner of Patents, mentions the fact that the apparatus of Wheatstone had then been "carried into operation by a wealthy company for thirteen miles" in England, and that the telegraph of Steinheil, at Munich, was adopted and was carried into effect by the Bavarian Government. Morse, in this letter, insists that those systems are inferior to his own, yet we find that Wheatstone's telegraph is still used in England, with of course various improvements suggested by experience.

Morse's first patent was taken out on 20th June, 1840. It was for "a new and useful improvement in the mode of communicating information by signals by the application of electro-magnetism."

In the summary of his claim he refers to the previous discovery and use of "the deflective force of a current upon a magnetized bar or needle," and states that the "deflections thus produced were the subject of inspection, and had no power of recording the communication." "I therefore characterize my invention as the first recording or printing telegraph by means of electro-magnetism. There are various known modes of producing motion by electro-magnetism, but none of these have hitherto been applied to actuate or give motion to printing or recording machinery, which is the chief point of my invention and improvement."

In his specification to this patent of 1840, he assumes that the wires must be insulated by some covering, even if suspended in the air, and he actually supposed that the conductors might be made "of cord or twine, or other substances, gilt, silvered or covered with any thin metal leaf."

Well might Professor Henry say that Mr. Morse had no scientific knowledge. It is, however, really surprising that he should have been so totally ignorant upon the simplest and most essential points, about which anybody might have easily obtained information at that period.

It was at first supposed that it would be found in practice very advantageous to have signs or letters permanently made on paper. But we find that the advantage of recording mere signs is not universally acknowledged, and that even parties who have purchased from Morse the right to use his system have discontinued the recording of dots and dashes—the great feature of

Morse's invention, and that which distinguished it from the needle telegraph.

The Company owning the telegraph line running from Buffalo to Milwaukee, called the Erie and Michigan Telegraph Company, working under Morse's patent, have for some time past discontinued the practice of recording the signs produced by the process above mentioned, and have instead thereof received their messages by sound.

It appears that Professor Morse's exertions were mainly directed to certain mechanical contrivances by no means complicated, but not being much of a mechanic, theoretically or practically, he made but slow progress. As soon as science and invention had demonstrated the practicability of producing mechanical effects at great distances by means of electric currents, either with or without the electro-magnet, the electric telegraph became inevitable, and various forms of the telegraph were also inevitable. Any ingenious person could suggest and put in operation various practicable forms. One inventor would avail himself of the deflection of the needle, another of the property of the electric current to decompose salts, another of the mechanical power of the electro-magnet. Morse preferred the latter, and invented or adopted one of the various forms in which that power could be usefully applied for the purpose, and he invented or adopted an alphabet of signs.

It has seemed surprising to many that the electric telegraph was not introduced into public use soon after it was discovered that an electric current might be generated and instantaneously transmitted through wire. But the fact is, that great discoveries had to be made in the means of generating electricity, so as to secure a steady flow of the current, before electric telegraphs could be brought into profitable use for business purposes. Moreover, before the discovery that gutta serena was a complete insulator, the attempts made to lay down conductors beneath the surface of the ground were only partially successful, and it was not at first known that conductors of great length suspended in the air would require no special insulation. It was supposed that the current would be dissipated in the course of a few miles if the wire were not covered with some insulating substance. This was Morse's idea when he filed his caveat in October, 1837, for he therein assumes it to be absolutely necessary to cover the wires if they should be suspended in the air.

Weber concluded, in 1833, that the air was a sufficient insulator. Steinheil, in 1838, acted upon that opinion, and, indeed, formed the conclusion that we should never succeed in laying down conductors beneath the surface of the ground that would be sufficiently insulated, the ground being always damp. The wires of the first telegraph constructed in England in 1837, were insulated in tubes by means of a mixture of cotton and India rubber, and the prepared wires were passed through iron pipes, which on some parts of the line were buried beneath the ground and in others raised above it. The wires were afterwards elevated on wooden posts, as the moisture affected the wires and destroyed the insulation.

Morse, in 1842, not being aware of these experiments, as it would appear, adopted an inferior mode of laying his conductors under the ground, which, after considerable expense had been incurred, was abandoned, and the conductors were then suspended by him in the air, with insulators at the supporters, according to the custom in Europe.

In England, the vulgar belief is that Wheatstone and Cooke invented the electric telegraph. This idea is founded upon the fact that they first introduced the electric telegraph into general use in that country. This they did without any aid from the government. So in the United States, the common opinion is that Mr. Morse was the inventor of the electric telegraph, because he put up the first telegraph line in the United States for the use of the public. This line, it will be remembered, was paid for by Congress, and was not commenced until the year 1843. Messrs. Wheatstone and Cooke never gave any sanction to the popular delusion in their favor, but confined their claims as patentees to the specific contrivances and improvements invented or adopted and applied by them.

A strong instance of the popular delusion in this country, on the subject of the invention of the electric telegraph, is to be found in the abstract of the 7th census in Mr. Kennedy's Report on Railroads and Telegraphs in the United States, (p. 107): "It is to American ingenuity that we owe the practical application of the magnetic telegraph, for the purpose of communication between distant points, and it has been perfected and improved mainly by American science and skill. While the honor is due to Professor Morse for the practical application and successful prosecution of the telegraph, it is mainly owing to the researches and discoveries of Professor Henry, and other scientific Americans, that he was enabled to perfect so valuable an invention."

The same document asserts that electric telegraphs in England "were first established in 1845," which, as we have seen, is about six years after the first line was constructed there for business purposes. One hundred thousand copies of this report were published by order of the House of Representatives.

Now, it has never even been pretended that American ingenuity has supplied anything towards the practical application of the needle or printing telegraph, which is one of the various forms of the "magnetic telegraph," and confessedly the earliest of them all. We have seen what scientific researches and discoveries led to the introduction of the electric telegraph, and will conclude by quoting the following passage from Dr. Turnbull's Lectures:

"The Electric Telegraph has been a long time in advancing to its present state. It is not the invention of one man or any set of men, nor of one nation, but of many nations, each adding their mite to the noble structure. Its history is based upon two of the most interesting of the physical sciences, those of electricity and magnetism."

NICARAGUA.

WALKER'S PROSPECTS.—It is somewhat remarkable that, though in every battle the Americans have triumphed, we should see no evidence of any inclination on the part of the conquered to abandon the war. They still retain their foothold on Nicaraguan soil; and we must therefore infer that victories, like those of Granada and Masaya, are as disastrous to Walker as they are to his enemies. More so in fact—for the latter are the most numerous, and, in a series of conflicts, could inflict losses which the raw recruits from the United States are ill-calculated to remedy or supply. Hence, though the prospects of General Walker look brighter now than on any former period, his success rests on the contingency of receiving ample aid in men and means from the United States. But will that aid be given?

The policy which the General has thought proper to pursue of late has decidedly tended to alienate the sympathies of our people. His will is absolute, and his Government has now no affinity whatever with Republican doctrines. This, perhaps, may be necessary for the salvation of himself, his men, and his influence, but his severe dictatorship is none the less odious, and will find but few supporters here. The impression also prevails that he is the tool of Southern slaveholders—pledged to carry out their programme of restoring slavery in Central America, wresting Cuba from Spain, and re-opening the Slave-trade.—*New York Times*.

The *Herald* says: "That the late policy of Walker with reference to slavery, is rather likely to help him than to hurt him in the United States. It costs him no friends on whom he had ever counted, and it rallies to his side, from motives of interest, many who had regarded him with indifference."

INTERVENTION OF THE UNITED STATES.—Mr. Minister Wheeler has been making a parting attempt to involve the United States as active allies—they have long been passive allies—of Walker, by taking affidavits as to the killing of diverse American citizens by the natives who occupied and pillaged Granada; just as he did, with a similar object in view, in case of certain persons who were killed at Rivas was taken last spring by the Costa Rican army. It appears from the affidavits that several of the persons killed had gone to Nicaragua to buy estates—we suppose at Walker's auction—and to settle there, which business their surviving friends, Mr. Minister Wheeler and the filibusters generally, seem to think it a great outrage that they cannot be allowed to prosecute in safety under the protection of the American flag. Our Government, it seems, is not only to allow, as it does, the free shipment of men, munitions and arms for the subjection of the Nicaraguans and the confiscation of their property, but if any of the speculators who go out to buy happen to get killed by the natives, the whole of Central America is to be held responsible for this violation of the American flag. The filibusters of Nicaragua seem to think that the Government of Washington is just as much bound to protect them in conquering Nicaragua as it is to protect the Missouri border-ruffians in subduing Kansas—and, indeed, both would seem to have an equal claim, since both have the same object in view, namely, the extension of slavery.—*New York Tribune*, Nov. 18.

WALKER'S FORCE.—From a Register of the Nicaraguan Army, dated October 28, given in *El Nicaraguense* of November 1, the filibuster force appears to be composed of Walker, commander-in-chief, four Brigadiers, with a long array of staff officers, a battalion of light artillery, a battalion of rangers, two battalions of rifles, and two battalions of infantry. It appears that Golconda, the Cuban who had been commissioned as Brigadier-General, had been dropped. Hemmingsen, a Swedish adventurer, as we believe, who has served in Spain and Hungary, has been appointed in his place. He is represented as being diligently employed in instructing the soldiers in the use of the mountain artillery and Minie rifles lately received from New Orleans, whence the filibusters have derived large supplies of men and munitions.

PRO-SLAVERY RUSSIANISM IN NORFOLK.—A gentleman who has been doing business in Norfolk, Virginia, for some years, and who was formerly a resident of Fair Haven, voted in that city on the 4th for Fremont. No sooner was it discovered, than he was beset by a mob and compelled to confine himself until Thursday morning, when, a fire occurring, public attention was diverted, and he left in disguise and fled to a vessel in the harbor, upon which he came home. He was in danger of losing his life during the excitement. There is freedom for you with a vengeance.

Since the above was in type, we have heard more of this case. Mr. Stannard is the citizen referred to, and he is said to be one of the best and most influential men in Fair Haven. This Norfolk is the spot that was once desolated by yellow fever, and that called forth the pity, the money, and the personal aid of the North.—*New Haven Palladium*, Nov. 12.

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 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, NOVEMBER 22, 1856.

THE NEAPOLITAN QUESTION.

Policy of England's Intervention Discussed.

We do not doubt the right of England to intervene in favor of the oppressed people of Naples, but it will scarcely be disputed that such intervention would be fruitless if England stood alone in opposition to Russia, Austria and Prussia. The question is, whether England should, relying upon the co-operation of the tyrant of France, undertake to check the atrocities of his brother tyrant of Naples. In our judgment it would be rash to place any dependence upon the alliance with that very tricky individual, Louis Napoleon.

Besides, even if he were to remain faithful to the alliance, and had no sinister motive—no desire to set up a Bonapartist King of Naples or King of Italy, we do not see how anything could be done against Bomba, if Russia, Austria and Prussia should disapprove of it.

France, when under an absolute Government, like that of Louis Napoleon, is of very little importance in the European confederacy except as a tool of the Northern despots for the suppression of liberty in the Peninsula and Italy. France would be wholly unable, if involved in a contest with Russia, Austria and Prussia, to effect a rising of the people of either Italy, Poland or Hungary. Those people would certainly not be foolish enough to put their faith in the policy of the despot, or protestations of the perjurer, Louis Napoleon.

France, under a Republic or a liberal Constitutional Government, is very formidable to the Northern despots; but as an absolute monarchy, with the throne occupied by a mere adventurer, she is to be despised,

not feared, by them. It was this state of things which led the late Czar to make his attack upon Turkey, and he was right in entertaining contempt for France after the *coup d'Etat*—the only mistake made by the Czar was in respect to Austria. If that power had joined him, as he expected her to do, Prussia would have followed, and there would then have been an invasion of France. It is not probable that any very serious resistance would have been offered to that invasion, for the fact is indisputable that the leading military men and civilians of France have all looked upon the usurpation of Louis Napoleon with disgust—have refused to serve him, and many of them would have hailed the occupation of Paris by the armies of Russia, Austria and Prussia, as a deliverance from a most disgraceful thralldom.

We cannot help thinking that the policy pursued by the English Government, in reference to the attempted conquest of Turkey by the Czar Nicholas, was extremely rash, for it is now evident that England had at the beginning no definite assurance as to the part which Austria intended to take in the contest. And, if Austria had gone over to the enemy, France would have been put on the defensive—Paris, in all probability, would have fallen, and England would have been left alone to combat the entire continent of Europe, as well as the United States.

It would have been a much safer and better policy for England to treat the existence of despotism in France, as a bar to any coalition with her, for the purpose of arresting the progress of Russia in the East. That course of action of itself might have sufficed to unsettle the tyrant, by making him excessively unpopular, especially with the army.

There would then have been no difficulty in stopping the career of the Russians, whatever progress they might have made in the meantime. Indeed, the mere announcement of the establishment of a Republic in France would have caused a Russian army immediately to turn back, even if it were just about to enter Constantinople, without opposition; for the Czar would, in that case, have required all his available forces to retain Poland against the uprising nations.

We do not believe that England would have embarked in the war with Russia if Kossuth had spoken out vigorously—as he ought to have done—against an alliance with Louis Napoleon. The war would not have been popular in England, if the true character of that alliance had been fully presented to the public mind. Unfortunately, Kossuth entertained the erroneous opinion that a *mêlée* would, in some way or other, he could not tell exactly how, bring deliverance to Hungary—hence he was all in favor of war with Russia, and never said a word about Louis Napoleon.

In the present complication of European and American affairs England should preserve a "masterly inactivity." As the opponent of absolutism and slavery, she is the especial object of the hatred of the despots of Northern Europe and the slaveowners of America, and they cannot hate her more than does her "august ally," the Emperor of France.

England needs allies who have a policy not adverse to her own, instead of coadjutors who are intent upon the destruction of liberty. If France should happily get rid of despotism, England would be relieved from her present dangers, and might with great propriety go forth to liberate the people of Naples, and some other people likewise.

INDICTMENT OF HORACE GREELEY FOR SENDING THE "TRIBUNE" TO VIRGINIA.

An indictment has been recently found in the Circuit Court of Harrison County, Virginia, against Horace Greeley, one of the editors and proprietors of the New York *Tribune*, charging him with felony, because he had caused or procured that newspaper to be circulated in the said county. This is charged as an offence against the statutes of Virginia, which forbid the circulation of anti-slavery papers. The indictment charges that the *object* of the *Tribune* is to

"advise and incite negroes" (in the State of Virginia) "to rebel and make insurrection, and to inculcate resistance to the rights of property of masters in their slaves in the State of Virginia."

That is said to be the object on the strength of articles denying the rightfulness of slavery. The *Tribune* of November 17th, says:

"What action is to be taken upon this indictment we are not informed. Fortunately, neither Judge Parker has been chosen Governor of New York nor the Hon. Erastus Brooks, or else the party against whom it is found, in spite of its invalidity manifest on its face, would, doubtless, have been delivered over to the tender mercies of a Harrison County petit jury."

It thus appears that the editors of the *Tribune* believe that if either the Sham Democratic or the Know-Nothing candidate for the Governorship of this State had been elected, Mr. Greeley would have been sent to Virginia to be tried upon the above charge; that is to say, convicted and sent to the Penitentiary.

If the Anti-Republicans do not, in the next Congress, succeed in passing stringent laws to put down what they call sedition, this Virginia plan of operations will be adopted to suppress anti-slavery papers in the North. And even if they give public notice, as we have done, that no copy will be sent to any place in the United States south of Mason and Dixon's line, it may yet be pretended that they have caused copies to be sent beyond that line, and if the charge be made, the question of fact will be left to the decision of a court and jury in a slave State.

We do not see how it is possible for the Union between the free and slave States to continue without the utter destruction of the liberty of the press in the former.

THE PROPOSED RENEWAL OF THE SLAVE TRADE. HOW IT WILL BE BROUGHT ABOUT.

The Charleston *Standard* contends that it is the duty of the Anti-Republican party to restore the Slave-trade, so that the South may no longer feel that its rights are trampled upon by the North. The *Standard* says:

"The contest is now over; the Democratic party is now in a condition to project its course; it is its duty, if possible, to adopt a line of action that will settle this sectional controversy which threatens to break the structure of our Union, and we can conceive of none which tends so directly to that object, as the one which leads at once to the removal of restrictions from the Slave-trade."

The Democratic party has gained a triumph over sectionalism, but it were simple to suppose that we have achieved a final victory. The wolves driven back to the hills will not more certainly return when repose shall settle on the limbs of their intended victim, than will the Free Soil party of the North, when we shall have abandoned an attitude of resistance. There is a necessity that the South shall be relieved from a position to invite attack; that the relations of the two sections which compose this Union shall be so re-settled as that the one shall not be a legitimate object of plunder to the other, and to effect this object—to place them upon an equal grade with respect to each other, and upon positions of equal respectability before the world, it is imperatively necessary to remove the brand of piracy imposed upon our institutions, and redeem and emancipate the South.

"The Democratic party owes this to the South, and is under every obligation to make the payment. It is in virtue of the South alone that it has been able to achieve success."

It is not necessary for the South to insist at once upon having the Slave-trade direct with Africa legalized—it would gain all that it wants by an alteration in the present laws allowing slaves to be brought into Texas from other countries on this continent. Slaves could then be taken to Nicaragua, and imported thence into the United States. After a little while, this round-about course might be discontinued.

We apprehend, however, that if difficulties spring up between the great Powers of Europe, the South will insist upon the rightfulness of the direct Slave-trade, and will get up a clamor against England that she wants to prevent the progress of the United States, under the false pretence of philanthropy. Laws may, however, be passed by Congress, providing against the ill-treatment of the slaves on their

passage from Africa. A new system is now which excited the horrors of the m

THE RUSSIAN INTERVENTION.

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One could have returned of peace, a rit of Russian dip the Emperor Ale and a wiser sove without his "awo heads. The elder and forgot nothing Romanoff, that the perience, is no wi as a man, than his

A check, howe Russia by the treat in 1854, and now the schemes of Po sion and capture of ties of the Russia Well aware that it France, Constantin Russia now is to Western Powers, stands in the way of grand object no ex lying, of enjery, c spared. Millions ar and will be, expend some quarters out of nor will a first or a speculates so large mankind. There h scores of secret Ru of Germany, in Spa in the Danubian P and in Egypt, ann France and Englan solved; and obscur must give place to a France and Russia.

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passage from Africa, and then it will be said that the new system is altogether different from the old one, which excited so much opposition on account of the horrors of the middle passage.

THE EUROPEAN IMBROGLIO.

Russian Intrigues to Sever the Alliance between France and England.

[From the Morning Post, (London) November 8.]

One could have hoped that, with a new Czar and the return of peace, a change would have come over the spirit of Russian diplomacy; and that, taught by disaster, the Emperor Alexander would have appeared a sadder and a wiser sovereign. But adversity, it appears, is without its "sweet uses" for kingly or imperial heads. The elder Bourbons, we know, "learned nothing and forgot nothing," and it may be said of the house of Romanoff, that the son, with the benefit of increased experience, is no wiser as a sovereign, if he be any better as a man, than his imperial father, Nicholas.

A check, however, was given to the aggressions of Russia by the treaty signed between England and France in 1854, and now that, owing to the effect of that treaty, the schemes of Peter and his successors, for the possession and capture of Constantinople, are thwarted, the tactics of the Russian Cabinet have completely changed. Well aware that it was only by the union of England and France, Constantinople was saved, the chief object of Russia now is to sow distrust between the two great Western Powers, and so too sever an alliance which stands in the way of future aggression. To achieve this grand object no expenditure of fraud, of treachery, of lying, of calumny, of money, or of Machiavellism, will be spared. Millions and millions of silver roubles have been, and will be, expended in every quarter of Europe, and in some quarters out of Europe—to wit, America and Africa; nor will a first or a second failure deter a cabinet which speculates so largely on the credulity and sordidness of mankind. There have been for months, and are now, scores of secret Russian agents at work in all the courts of Germany, in Spain, at Naples, in Sardinia, in Turkey, in the Danubian Principalities, in Greece, in America, and in Egypt, announcing that the alliance between France and England is dissolving, if not already dissolved; and obscurely hinting that the unnatural union must give place to a more perfect understanding between France and Russia.

In Paris, and throughout France, Russian agents, male and female, from Madame de Lieven downwards, pursue a different species of tactics. There they are instructed to insinuate doubts of the fidelity and loyalty of England—to preach against English cupidity and sordidness, and that restless mercantile spirit so near akin to revolution. In England, on the contrary, Russian agents—and there are many in London, Manchester and Ireland—declaim against the fickleness and perfidy of France, endeavor to revive the ancient anti-Gallican mania, and seek to rekindle the ancient rivalry and the extinct old anti-Gallican spirit. There are three or four sections of secret agents, spies and mouchards at work, apparently with views altogether different; but yet the object of each section, or of the heads that guide each section, is only to cause first distrust and jealousy, and ultimately a coolness between two Powers now happily in firm alliance—England and France. To persons who have not studied Russian history, or watched the secret diplomacy of Russia, the thing we allude to may seem incredible, or even impossible; but to those who are aware that Russia forced an ultra-monarchic interference in Spain at the very moment she was openly exciting a democratic revolt in Greece, the policy now pursued will appear in accordance with the traditions and events from 1823 to 1827-8.

Though defeated in three battles, Russia still declares she is not vanquished, and still adheres to her traditional system of future aggrandizement. To the success of this system, however, disunion between France and England is an indispensable preliminary. No effort then, we repeat, will be left untried to sever a union which is an impediment to Russian success. Russia, to achieve her ends, will not scruple to create confusion or discontent either in France or in England: In France she will unhesitatingly make use of Carlists, Orleansists, Republicans, Socialists, or even Communists, to subserve her purposes; and in England or in Ireland she will address herself with equal readiness to Chartists or to Ropeners.

Falling in domestic intrigues in either of these civilized countries, there remains on the cards the game of exciting discontent in the British colonies, in India, in Persia, or in Egypt, where the interests of France and England are supposed to be at variance—and the still more desperate remedy of exciting democratic revolution in Central and Northern Italy simultaneously with absolutism in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and Spain. Any one of these objects may be attempted separately, or all of them conjointly, if the scheme of disuniting the Western Powers cannot be otherwise accomplished. Probably certain preparatory measures also have been previously arranged. For instance, M. Boutenleff and his agents at the Porte have been doubtless instructed to sow dissension between the English and French Ambassadors; whilst General Stackelberg, at Turin; M. Kokoschine, at Naples; and M. Benkendorf, at Madrid, have pursued a like course of unworthy ebullience. Amidst so many incentives to quarrel, so many provocations to a misunderstanding and a rupture, it would be astonishing, almost miraculous, looking at the weakness and infallibility and self-love of men, if Russia were not in some one instance

successful; but we have firm faith in the wisdom of the people of England and France, whose instructed classes see through the Machiavellian policy of the Czar and his Cabinet, and, discerning the dishonest devices, are aware of their dangers.

By some it may be thought that we have dealt rather hardly with the Czar and his Cabinet. But the conduct of Russia in reference to the Isle of Serpents, to Kilia, to Ismail, to Kars, and to the frontier of Bessarabia, has been so discreditable, and in reference to the Bessarabian frontier so dishonest, that one is entitled to presume any knavery or wickedness of a Power capable of so acting. Russia has not only refused to perform some of the articles of the Treaty of Paris, the ink of which is scarcely yet dry, but has evasively attempted to wriggle out of others of them. But this crafty and unscrupulous Power will fail to profit by her own wrong, and may find to her own cost that all attempts to sow dissension between England and France will only serve the more firmly to unite civilized nations against falsehood, fraud and diplomatic trickery.

The Questions in Dispute between Russia and the Allies.

The London Times of October 31, says:

"Like persons in society who take liberties which everybody feels, but nobody is exactly inclined to resent, Russia is laboring hard to present before Europe and the world the character of a power that has come out of the war on a perfect equality with the other belligerents. In her anxiety to avoid the renewal of hostilities she persuaded the Allies to leave certain questions to be settled after the signature of peace. Others were necessarily in that condition from the impossibility of executing them at that moment. No attitude can be less creditable than that which Russia has assumed with regard to those questions. She has seized, without a color of right or justice, upon the Isle of Serpents, and has only been counteracted in her attempts by an occupation by the Turks in greater force than her own. She was bound to deliver up to the Allies the fortresses of Kilia, Ismail and Kars. The conditions were performed by dismantling and destroying the fortifications and delivering over the ruins to the Allies. Russia was pressed to rectify the frontier of Bessarabia. By the production of maps wilfully falsified, she entirely misled the Congress of Paris, and induced them to assent to a frontier impossible and inexplicable. The six months fixed by the treaty have expired, and most of the conditions imposed upon Russia are as yet unperformed. In addition to this, she has issued an insolent and even threatening manifesto, in which she warns the Allies from their attempts to improve the condition of Naples, and even hints at a recourse to ulterior measures if her remonstrance be not attended to.

"As if all this were not enough in the way of paltry vexation and safe bravado, Russia is now about to send a squadron to the Bosphorus, in order to take advantage of the wrong she has already committed to perpetrate a fresh wrong. Because she has not performed the conditions imposed upon her by the treaty, the Allies have been compelled, much against their will, to keep their fleets in the Black Sea; and because their fleets remain in the Black Sea, owing to her default, Russia is, we are informed, about to demand from Turkey that her fleet should also be allowed to enter those neutral waters."

The London Times correspondent states that the influence of Russia in the Danubian Principalities increases from day to day. The same writer says that England is quite as inclined for the proposed conference as Austria.

A despatch from Constantinople announces that Anglo-Austrian diplomacy has triumphed in the fall of the Turkish ministry—that the Principalities will not be evacuated, and that the British squadron in the Black Sea will be immediately reinforced.

The Liverpool Post of November 4, says:

"The Anglo-French alliance may be considered as nearly at an end. Both countries are at entire enmity on the Eastern question; and it is now admitted that the manoeuvres of the French government were successfully counteracted by the exertions of Lord de Redcliffe. It does not follow, however, that his Lordship, or the Government which approves of his conduct, is right; but the inference is in his favor, for the British fleet still keeps the Black Sea, and is receiving augmentations. Austria and England are certainly agreed respecting the policy to be observed toward the Principalities; and if this fact required further confirmation, it will be found in the hostility of the French and Russian organs to this new alliance.

"The Turkish problem, however, remains still to be solved. The liberal edicts obtained during the pressure of hostilities are comparatively *nil*. The measures, good in themselves, cannot be enforced, for the social and political machinery is wanted."

It appears that Austria desires to retain the Principalities, but this she cannot do if Russia and France forbid it. The true policy for England to pursue is, to leave the Continental tyrants to quarrel with each other. England should never have allowed herself to be mixed up in this imbroglio, and should now get out of it as soon as possible.

The Constitutional on the Misunderstanding between England and France.

By the arrival of the Niagara at Halifax we learn that an editorial in the *Constitutionnel* contains the following:

"The presence of the naval squadron of England in the Black Sea, and of the Austrians in the Principalities, are henceforth only an arbitrary and violent means of preventing a solution of the difference, which Russia has been the first to propose in offering to submit the question to its natural judges. Is it desired rather to have recourse to arms? In war again desired? Does the English ministry itch to enter again upon hostilities without France—not certainly to assure the execution of the treaty of Paris, but impudently to rend it in pieces in the face of the world, with the object of satisfying an ambition that had been for the moment disguised? We repeat, it now depends upon the cabinets of London and Vienna to put an end to the pending disputes, and to terminate the anxieties to which the present situation gives rise. Let the consent to the ressemblance of the plenipotentiaries be given, without making arbitrary and inadmissible exclusiveness a condition—exclusiveness which would completely change the character and be an additional breach of the treaties. Let us add, that if a peaceful solution is desired, this is the only proposal for that purpose that can be decently made."

It has been rumored for some days back in Paris that the French fleet was about to proceed to the Black Sea. This, however, is not certain. The fleet may, perhaps, leave Toulon, but it is not probable that it will go far. Should it go to the Black Sea, it is difficult to suppose that its object could be co-operation with the British squadron.

FRANCE AND SPAIN.

Stoppage of the Times Newspaper. The French Emperor on Sir Robert Peel's Speech: Anticipated Flight of the Queen of Spain.

[From Correspondence of the New York Herald.]

Within the space of ten days the *Times* has been stopped twice; once, I believe, because its able and gifted correspondent had written an account of the arrest of some three hundred persons belonging to the Marianne Society; and yesterday, because of a slashing leader which it is said to have come out with in answer to the complaint inserted in the *Moniteur*, that the language of the English press was such as to endanger the *entente cordiale*. The process with regard to public reading-rooms, such as Galignani's, is to suffer the copies of the offending journal to be delivered, on an undertaking being given that they will not be submitted for public perusal, thus not depriving Messrs. Galignani of any materials which, on their own responsibility, they choose to insert in the *Messenger*. Accordingly, the *Messenger* has favored its readers this morning with an emaculated copy of the offending article, in which there is the play of "Hamlet," with the Prince of Denmark's part omitted. In other words, all those encomiastic phrases are given in relation to the Emperor's good faith, etc., which was probably only inserted to give more edge and force to the "slashing" which follows. It is said that the remarks made upon the Imperial *entourage*, upon the domineering tendency of parties in the ministry, who would fain muzzle the press of England as they had succeeded in muzzling that of Belgium, and upon the peculation of imperial officialism, are felt to be "unpardonable."

One of the topics of more general conversation at the Imperial revels was the extraordinary speech which had recently been made in England by Sir R. Peel, after his return from Moscow. Even the prudent Emperor laughed heartily as the salient points of it were again and again exposed. "We have now," said one, "authority, on a Lord of the Admiralty's showing, that the English failed to acquit themselves with common decency in that part of the war, their pre-eminence in which is conceded to them by all the nations of the earth. Cronstadt, says all Russia, from the Grand Duke down to the youngest middy on board the Vladimir, was ready to crumble to atoms at the bidding of England, and the Syrian hero would none of it." "Only fancy," exclaimed another, "the grave and circumspect sire of the present Sir Robert peeping from the mansions of the blessed on his madcap representative. Perhaps it is impossible to imagine a greater penalty for his earthly shortcomings." "I can explain it all," said a third party, after hearing their remarks; "the present Sir Robert has Indian blood in his veins; his grandmother was an Oriental, and the cross-breed is making itself evident in the third generation. It is well known that the late Sir Robert, like many other able men, did not look for a Madame Somerville in his wife. The Dowager Lady Peel was wealthy, beautiful and prudent, but her understanding was below the average standard, and none of Sir Robert's children have shown shining parts. In point of natural ability, though in conduct the most hair-brained, the present representative of his name and honors is perhaps the best; and, had he possessed something of the ballast of his celebrated father, he might have attained a portion of his consideration." This last remark came from a gentleman well acquainted with the subject of discussion, and it was listened to with great attention. Afterwards, as the conversation became less general, and the young Baroness's speech was more privately commented on, there was evidently a disposition to allow that in telling the world with his official lips, that, though the war was terminated, the contract of

peace lie on the edge of a blazing volcano, and that Russia was still armed to the teeth, he had simply told the plain unvarnished truth.

Everything that reaches us from Turin, Naples, and Madrid has a message of ill omen about it. At Turin, one universal expectation prevails that war is imminent; no other interpretation of present affairs is admitted for an instant. At Naples, the agitation which pervades every class of society is so feverish that from hour to hour some explosion may be looked for. In Sicily, it is only by entreaties and threats that the revolutionary party can be kept from breaking from the control of their leaders. And in Madrid things have arrived at a pass which perhaps the most ardent disciple of freedom could not have dreamed of a month ago. I have just been conversing with a gentleman whose connection with the Spanish Embassy gives him the best means of ascertaining the truth, and I hear from him that Queen Isabella's occupation of the throne is not worth a month's perihelion. A feeling of disgust so thorough and profound, so unmistakable, seems to have taken possession of every shade of the liberal party, and of many who constitute the better portion of the moderados, that the word abdication is become a household word. The Queen is quite aware of it. She is known to have been busy for some time in laying her hands upon apolls which may be useful to her in a private capacity. She said to an intimate friend, "I look for nothing else, and I care not how soon."

The Wreck of the Steamer "Superior," on Lake Superior. Unseaworthiness of the Steamer.

[From the New York Tribune.]

We have to-day a full account of the fearful and fatal disaster on Lake Superior, by which some fifty valuable lives were lost—nearly all those of industrious, energetic men in their prime. The account we copy from *The Lake Superior Journal* tells nearly all that can be known, except the responsible, culpable cause of the calamity; and that deficiency we proceed to supply.

The steambot Superior left the Sault Ste. Marie for the ports above on the 29th of October—a time of year at and after which Lake Superior is subject to fearful storms and gales, and is barely navigable by the staunchest vessels. Of this class the Superior clearly was not. The wind was only "blowing fresh from the north-west, raising a heavy sea," when the Captain—who appears to have understood his business and done his whole duty—evidently knowing that his craft was unfit for such navigation, made for the lee of Grand Island. Before he could reach it, however, "his rudder parted"—it was unequal even to the task of running for a place of safety in a fresh north-wester. In short, the Superior was a paper vessel, fit to navigate Lake Winnepiisogee or St. Clair in a June calm, but utterly unequal to the task of stemming the waves of Lake Superior in even a moderate gale. The rudder being gone, the vessel was unmanageable "swang round into the trough of the sea" very naturally, and was torn to pieces, the waves dashing over her, putting out her furnace-fires, driving her on an iron-bound coast, breaking her up, and drowning most of her passengers and crew. The blame of this afflictive casualty rests on the owners, who sent out an old and frail steambot on a voyage morally certain to test the strength and worth of a first-class vessel.

Of course they had no moral right to do this. No matter though the passengers were willing to take the risk—it was not their business to know the capacity and tenacity of the Superior—it was the business of those who sent her on to understand them thoroughly. If they had no vessel fit to navigate that stormy lake in November, they should have sent none out. We have known a Lake Superior steambot lie behind a point for the better part of a day, because of a sea which a Long Island oyster-boat would not have minded. Eight or nine years ago there was not a steambot on that lake fit to navigate it in June, nor one that could be sent on a voyage late in October without manifest peril to all on board. We had presumed that great improvement in the character of these vessels had since been made, until this disaster came to undeceive us. Let us hope that no such man-trap as this Superior will be set on that lake next year. If the trade will not support at least one fit and safe steambot, let us go back to the little sailing craft, which, when they could no longer be kept afloat, could at least be run so well ashore that most of their inmates could wade thence to dry land.

The Wreck of the French Steamer *Lyonnais* by Collision with the American Bark *Adriatic*. Misconduct of the Captain of the Latter.

[From the New York Tribune.]

The vessel that did such fatal damage to the unfortunate *Lyonnais* proves to have been the bark *Adriatic*, Captain Dunham, bound from Belfast, Maine, to Savannah. As the case stands at present, the captain of that vessel would seem to have been entirely to blame for the collision—a heavy pecuniary responsibility for the owners, and a still heavier moral responsibility for himself, especially considering the course which he adopted subsequently to the collision.

That it was the bark that ran into the steamer, and not the steamer that ran into the bark, as Captain Dunham is reported to assert, is pretty well proved by the whole circumstances of the collision, the trifling damage to the *Adriatic* and the serious disaster to the steamer. But, however that may be, according to the statement of the

mate of the steamer, the *Adriatic* was in fault by having out no lights. And the whole conduct of Captain Dunham, after the disaster, would go to show that he knew the fault to be all his own. Though having sustained but trifling damage himself, instead of stopping to look after the other vessel, as was his most imperative duty as a sailor and a man, he heartlessly kept on his course, thus taking upon himself the responsibility for the loss certainly of two lives, and probably of many more, to say nothing of the sufferings of those who do or may survive. Nothing could be a stronger proof of Captain Dunham's consciousness that the fault of the collision was his, than his not stopping to see what damage had been done, and to render such assistance as might be required. Still further, upon putting into Gloucester for repairs, which he did on the 4th, Captain Dunham, it would appear, made no report of what had happened, and only on arriving at Belfast, on the 11th, reports the collision, and lays the blame of it on the steamer.

Such is the state of the case as it now stands on the telegraphic reports, and a very unfavorable state of the case, too, for Captain Dunham. We hope, not only on his own account, but for the credit of our American seamanship and humanity, that he may be able to modify it. These collisions at sea are terrible things, especially terrible when caused by carelessness; and when that carelessness is aggravated by the inhuman procedure of not stopping to see what damage has been done, and so leaving scores of men and women to perish miserably, just occasion for the most indignant reprehension and severest punishment.

[From the New York Herald, November 19.]

THE LATE MARINE DISASTER. CONDUCT OF OFFICERS AT SEA.—One of the most painful tasks which can devolve to the lot of the journalist is that of commenting upon the conduct of men placed in circumstances of danger and embarrassment like those which attended the loss of the French steamer *Le Lyonnais*. The bravest minds, in a catastrophe like that, are apt to lose their balance and to consult the instinct of self-preservation rather than that of duty. We have had occasion but too frequently of late years to call in question the conduct of men thus circumstanced, and we are but too happy to be able to signalize the rare instances in which the commanders of vessels have been found equal to the difficulties in which they have been placed. One of the most creditable examples of this sort is certainly that of Captain Devaulx, the captain of the ill-fated French vessel whose loss has just been recorded. Throughout the whole of the trying circumstances of the disaster which befell the ship, he never once lost his coolness and self-possession, giving his orders with all the calmness of a mind which rose above the perils by which he was surrounded, and only quitting the wreck when the escape of all those on board had apparently been provided for. Whatever fate may have befallen this gallant man, the example which he has set of heroic unselfishness and devotion to duty cannot fail to have a beneficial influence on his profession generally. Should he succeed in escaping the fate which has befallen so many of those placed under his charge, his conduct will meet with the reward which courage and conscientiousness like his merit. If, however—as there is but too much reason to fear—he is numbered amongst the victims of this disaster, his death cannot but be regarded as an equally glorious one with that of the sailor who dies fighting the battles of his country, and whose statue is entitled to a niche in the Pantheon of her heroes.

It is with sorrow that we turn from the noble spectacle presented by this brave Frenchman's conduct to that of the American captain, the collision with whose vessel was the occasion of this sad catastrophe. Reluctant as we are to impute blame where the full facts are not before us, it is impossible for us to avoid arriving at the conclusion that Captain Dunham manifested an indifference and carelessness in connection with the accident, which tell badly both for his judgment and heart. From the statements before us, it is evident that he could not have been ignorant that a collision of a serious nature had taken place. The fact of his halting and calling to the steamer to lay to after the shock, shows that such must have been the impression on his mind. Had he been fully alive to the responsibilities of his position, the mere circumstance of the disappearance of the steamer's lights would not have proved sufficient justification for him to hold on his course. There are few sailors who are ignorant of the dangers of a collision of this kind, and Captain Dunham, finding his own vessel intact, was bound to look to the safety of the other. His culpability in not doing so is aggravated by the negligence which marked his conduct in not reporting the accident immediately after reaching Gloucester. His vessel arrived on the 4th, and from that time until the evening of the 13th, when the news of the disaster reached this city, no proper report was made of it, so as to enable assistance to be sent out to the shipwrecked passengers and crew. The only comment that we can trust ourselves to make on these facts is, that they exhibit a fatuity and absence of common humanity on the part of the captain of the *Adriatic*, which are happily not the usual characteristics of American sailors.

The circumstances attending this disaster impress upon us the expediency of acting upon the suggestions of Lieutenant Maury as to the adoption of different routes for outward and homeward voyages. Had this system been in force for the last few years, the accidents to the *Aretic*, the *Lyonnais* and numerous other vessels, would have been avoided. We do not see why a precaution so essential in ordinary locomotion should not be found

equally advantageous at sea. In one view of the case, we have the occurrence of numerous casualties from the non-existence of the system; in the other, we have as yet to learn the serious objection that can be urged against it. Another suggestion which we would recommend to the consideration of the profession is this: The damage done to the *Lyonnais* was caused by the duke of the anchor of the *Adriatic*, as it hung suspended over the bows of the latter. It was the same circumstance, it will be recollected, which caused the loss of the *Aretic*. Can no other plan be devised for stowing away the anchor, so as to prevent its offering so certain a means of destruction to vessels coming in collision with it? In this age of mechanical progress we believe that some means can be found of doing away with an arrangement which has been proved to be so dangerous.

Prospects of the Conversion of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Councilmen of New York.

[From the New York Tribune.]

The *Herald*, not content with the labor of love it has imposed upon itself in attempting to lick Mr. Buchanan and Mayor Wood into shape, so as to make of the one a comely President, and of the other a slightly Mayor, has undertaken an additional labor of the same sort. Having its hand or its tongue in, it undertakes to play the mother bear to the whole litter of shapeless cubs elected on the Wood ticket as members of the City Councils. Rumor, according to the *Herald*, and a rumor which to a certain extent, it admits to be true, "makes some of these men great scamps." "We have seen sketches of some of the Aldermen and Councilmen which are not at all flattering. To be plain, they are made out to be great scamps, and said to have been raked up from the very lowest scum of the very worst places of the city."

This constitution of the councils, disgusting and alarming as it is, appears, however, to us to be a condition of things, of which neither the *Herald* nor the distinguished capitalists who recommended Mayor Wood for re-election, have any right to complain. A scamp in the Mayor's office naturally opens the way for scamps in the councils. Those who will have Mayor Wood must make up their minds to submit, with as good a grace as they can, to the presence of Mayor Wood's tail.

Accordingly, the *Herald* goes to work with true maternal solicitude, and a due consciousness of its own responsibility, to lick these misbegotten officials into shape. At the same time it attempts to console the public by suggesting a new use for popular elections of which we never heard before—the giving reputed rogues and scamps "an opportunity to redeem themselves before the community." This new ordeal, the ordeal of office, certainly has the recommendation of being much more agreeable for accused parties to submit to than those old fashioned ordeals of the middle ages of boiling water and red-hot plough shares. Few will refuse to submit to it, and it will, no doubt, prove very effectual in its detection of rogues; but there is this little objection to it. Instead of detecting rogues at their own risk—and that the pretty serious one of scalded arms and blistered feet—this new method will detect them solely at the risk and expense of the public.

It is very enterprising, as well as amiable, on the part of the *Herald*, these attempts by anticipation to extract some good for the public out of such officials as those members of our City Councils, "raked up from the lowest scum of the very worst place in the city." It reminds one of some of the experiments recorded by the philosophers of Laputa, particularly of one to which the re-conversion attempted by the *Herald* bears a pretty strong resemblance. Should it succeed, the Five Points' Mission can be dispensed with for the future, and all the reputed scamps of that quarter can be made into good citizens and honest men by being distributed to the different wards and elected Aldermen or Councilmen, or placed in other municipal offices. Nay, more; Blackwell's Island may be dispensed with, and even Sing Sing and Auburn be left tenantless. The *Herald*, if we mistake not, has sometimes ridiculed, and even censured with some harshness, some of the projects of the day for the reformation of criminals by mild and affectionate treatment. As it has, however, with characteristic pliability and power of accommodation to circumstances, become itself a convert and something of an ultra one, to this new method of reformation, we hope to see in its columns no further unkind allusions to the most extravagant of the prison discipline reformers.

THE CASE WELL STATED.—Lucius Robinson, in one of his speeches in Pennsylvania on the late Presidential canvass, speaks thus of the Southern oligarchy:

"This small number of men constitute the most lawless and absolute despotism on earth. They destroy any newspaper, strike down a senator in the Capitol, and lynch or banish any man in the Slave States who dares to speak against them; and they do this in open defiance of the laws of the land. They have absolute control of the Federal Government. Every tide-waiter and post-master in the land is under their lash, and is instantly removed unless obedient to their will. The President is as abject a slave to them as can be found on any cotton plantation. They threaten to overturn the Constitution and dissolve the Union, unless we elect another just like him, and submit to have all our Territories thrown open to their sway. It is against the desolating march of this despotism that we are endeavoring to defend ourselves."

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THE NEW MARITIME LAW.

The President's Power to make the New Propositions questioned. Exposure of the Fallacies of Mr. Marcy's Circular in favor of the immunity of Ships of Commerce, and in Defense of Privateering. His Propositions shown to be practically worthless. Rights of belligerents on Land and at Sea. Privateering shown to be obsolete.

The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey adopted the following declaration concerning maritime law at Paris on the 16th April, 1856:

- "1. Privateering is and remains abolished.
- "2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.
- "3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag.
- "4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective, that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy."

The French Minister at Washington, M. Sarriges, having presented this declaration to the Government of the United States for the purpose of obtaining its adhesion to the principles therein contained, Mr. Marcy, the United States Secretary of State, in a letter to M. Sarriges, dated July 28th, 1856, states that the President declines the proposition, and proceeds to set forth his reasons.

The President approves of the Second and Third Points of the declaration, treats the Fourth Point as a mere truism, argues in favor of privateering so long as private property in merchant vessels is liable to seizure by public ships of war, and proposes to add to the First Point in the declaration the following words:

"And that the private property of the subjects or citizens of a belligerent on the high seas shall be exempted from seizure by public armed vessels of the other belligerent, except it be contraband."

The President also suggests that articles hitherto considered to be contraband of war should not be liable to seizure except where they are to be taken to places actually in a state of siege or blockade.

The first question that arises is, What power has the President of the United States to make this country a party to the declaration of the Congress at Paris? The treaty-making power is not vested by the Constitution of the United States in the President, but is to be exercised by the President and Senate jointly.

Mr. Marcy says:

"The President, therefore, proposes to add to the first proposition in the 'declaration' of the Congress at Paris, the following words: 'And that the private property of the subjects or citizens of a belligerent on the high seas shall be exempted from seizure by public armed vessels of the other belligerent, except it be contraband.' Thus amended, the Government of the United States will adopt it, together with the other three principles contained in that 'declaration.'"

The President had no power to make this proposition. A writer in the Washington *National Intelligencer*, in a letter dated August 15, 1856, calls public attention to this objection, and also shows an inconsistency in Mr. Marcy's reasoning as follows:

"This amendment appears to me to be justly subject to two objections:

"First. That the Executive Department of the Government has no right, without the consent of the Senate, to make our Government a party to such an arrangement or agreement; and

"Second. That the agreement itself is injudicious and hazardous to the safety of the country.

"In considering the first objection I assume that the Senate has not given its sanction. If this has been done in secret session, then the objection fails. The Constitution provides that the Executive shall have power, 'by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties,' &c. It does not appear from the Secretary's communication that it is designed to invoke the aid of the Senate in ratification of the agreement. His words are absolute: 'Thus amended the Government of the United States will adopt it, together with the other three principles contained in the 'declaration.' Now, I maintain that these important principles, which are to govern our future relations with certain of the European nations, are the proper subjects of treaty stipulation, and that their adoption by an informal 'declaration,' instead of the more formal adoption by treaty, can make no difference as to the constitutional question. The Senate in either case is co-ordinate with the Executive in determining the principles which are to regulate the intercourse of our people with foreign nations.

"If it be said that the Executive has only assented to this informal 'declaration' as merely initiatory to a treaty finally to be submitted to the Senate, the propriety of a previous consultation of that body, which would avoid the embarrassment arising out of a conflict of opinion between that body and the Executive, is equally palpable.

"This is not the base of the ordinary negotiation of a treaty, in which the President necessarily takes the in-

itiative. His preliminary aid is not here invoked. The propositions before us are publicly and directly submitted to the Government for its acceptance, and an answer is as publicly and directly returned in behalf of the Government, accepting them with an amendment. Should this amendment be acceded to, then by the face of the transaction the 'declaration' would be obligatory from the time of its adoption."

The same writer contends that the Secretary's conclusion is repugnant to his premises:

"He argues to show that 'the right to employ privateers in time of war is a principle of maritime law which has never been controverted; that a resort to this resource is a necessity for us, to compensate for the inferiority of our naval force; and then agrees to give up this incontestable right, and abandon the means by which this inferiority may be remedied.'"

Mr. Marcy says:

"The reasons in favor of the doctrine that private property should be exempted from seizure in the operations of war are considered in this enlightened age so controlling as to have secured its partial adoption by all civilized nations; but it would be difficult to find any substantial reasons for the distinction now recognised in its application to such property on land, and not to that which is found upon the ocean."

It is not correct to say that private property is exempted from seizure in the operations of war. The rule is laid down with more accuracy by Mr. Marcy in another passage in the same letter:

"It is a generally-received rule of modern warfare, so far, at least, as operations upon land are concerned, that the persons and effects of non-combatants are to be respected. The wanton pillage or uncompensated appropriations of individual property by an army, even in possession of an enemy's country, is against the usage of modern times. Such a mode of proceeding at this day would be condemned by the enlightened judgment of the world, unless warranted by special circumstances."

Even this qualified proposition is too broad, and is, moreover, wholly inconsistent with Mr. Marcy's own exposition of the law when he was Secretary of War under President Polk's Administration.

Mr. Marcy adds, that

"Every consideration which upholds this sentiment in regard to the conduct of war on land, favors the application of the same rule to the persons and property of citizens of the belligerents found upon the ocean."

Not only are Mr. Marcy's premises false, but the conclusion also appears to be erroneous; for there is a great difference between the object of war by land, and the object of maritime wars. As observed by Wheaton (*Elements of International Law*, part 4, chap. 2, sec. 1):

"The progress of civilization has slowly but constantly tended to soften the extreme severity of the operations of war by land; but it still remains unrelaxed in respect to maritime warfare, in which the private property of the enemy, taken at sea or adrift in port, is indiscriminately liable to capture and confiscation. This inequality in the operation of the laws of war, by land and by sea, has been justified by alleging the usage of considering private property, when captured in cities taken by storm, as booty; and the well-known facts, that contributions are levied upon territories occupied by a hostile army, in lieu of a general confiscation of the property belonging to the inhabitants; and that the object of wars by land being conquest, or the acquisition of territory to be exchanged as an equivalent for other territory lost, the regard of the victor for those who are to be or have been his subjects naturally restrains him from the exercise of his extreme rights in this particular; whereas the object of maritime wars is the destruction of the enemy's commerce and navigation, the sources and sinews of his naval power—which object can only be attained by the capture and confiscation of private property."

The same writer observes, in the same work (part 4, chap. 2, sec. 5), that "from the moment one State is at war with another, it has on general principles a right to seize on all the enemy's property, of whatsoever kind, and wheresoever found, and to appropriate the property thus taken to its own use or to that of the captors."

"But by the modern usage of nations, which has now acquired the force of law, temples of religion, public edifices devoted to civil purposes only, monuments of art, and repositories of science, are exempted from the general operations of war. Private property on land is also exempt from confiscation, with the exception of such as may become booty in special cases; when taken from enemies in the field or in besieged towns, and of military contributions levied upon the inhabitants of the hostile territory."

Not only, according to Mr. Wheaton, may private property be subjected to military contributions, but in all cases such a degree of violence may be used against an enemy as may be necessary to secure the object of hostilities. He admits that it may be lawful to ravage or lay waste the enemy's country, if that be necessary to accomplish the just ends of war. (Part 4, chap. 2, sec. 6):

"Thus, if the progress of an enemy cannot be stopped, nor our own frontier secured, or if the approaches to a town intended to be attacked, cannot be made without laying waste the intermediate territory, the extreme case may justify a resort to measures not warranted by the ordinary purposes of war."

In *Widman's Institutes of International Law*, vol. 2, pp. 9 and 10, the general rule is laid down that the corporeal and incorporeal property of the enemy is liable to confiscation; and he refers to *Grotius*, *Bynkershoek* and *Vattel* for that proposition, and to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Brown v. the United States*, 8 *Cranch*, 110, where the broad principle was assumed that war gave the sovereign full right to take the persons and confiscate the property of the enemy wherever found; and that the mitigations of this rigid rule, which the wise and humane policy of modern times has introduced into practice, may more or less affect the exercise of the right, but cannot impair the right itself.

Grotius suggested many restrictions upon the exercise of the rights of war which have been adopted in the modern usages of nations. He prohibits the putting to death of persons incapable of bearing arms, as women and children, and persons of peaceful professions, or those who are incapable of further resistance, as those who have surrendered. (Vol. 3, chap. 11, sec. 9, 10, 13.) In like manner he prohibits all violence to women, the wanton ravage of a country, the wanton destruction of buildings or public monuments. (Vol. 3, chap. 4, sec. 19.) But he does not disapprove of contributions levied by way of ransom. (Vol. 3, chap. 13, sec. 4.) The rights of war, as they may be lawfully exercised, are discussed at large in the *Third Book of Grotius*, chap. 6, and in the *Third Book of Vattel*, chap. 8 and 9.

The doctrines laid down in these and in other treatises on international law are according to Chetty, (*Law of Nations*, p. 66) accurately condensed in the following passage, which is an extract from a compendium of the Law of Nations by Professor Von Martens, (Book 3, chap. 3, sec. 9.) "of the rights of the conqueror, with respect to the property of the enemy."

"The conqueror has a right to seize on the property of the enemy, whether moveable or immoveable. These seizures may be made, 1st, in order to obtain what he demands as his due, or an equivalent; 2d, to defray the expenses of the war; 3d, to force the enemy to an equitable peace; 4th, to deter him, or, by reducing his strength, hinder him from repeating in future the injuries which have been the cause of the war. And, with this last object in view, a power at war has a right to destroy the property and possessions of the enemy, for the express purpose of doing him mischief. However, the modern laws of war do not permit the destruction of anything, except, 1st, such things as the enemy cannot be deprived of by any other means than those of destruction, and which it is at the same time necessary to deprive him of; 2d, such things as, after being taken, cannot be kept, and which might, if not destroyed, strengthen the enemy; 3d, such things as cannot be preserved without injury to the military operations. To all these we may add, 4thly, whatever is destroyed by way of retaliation."

Burlamaqui, in his "Principles of Politic Law," (chap. 7,) treating of the rights of war over the goods of an enemy, observes, (sec. 8.) "In general it is evident that it is not lawful to plunder for plunder's sake, and that it is just and innocent only when it has some relation to the design of the war; that is, when some advantage accrues directly from it to ourselves, by appropriating those goods, or at least, when by ravaging and destroying them we in some measure weaken the enemy. It would be a madness, equally brutal and criminal, to do evil to another without a prospect of doing some good, either directly or indirectly, to ourselves. It very seldom happens, for instance, that after the taking of towns there is any necessity for ruining temples, statues, or other public or private structures; we should, therefore, generally spare all these, as well as the tombs and sepulchres."

Bynkershoek, in his "Treatise on the Law of War," chap. 4, says: "It is evident that the enemy's property, whether moveable or immoveable, may be lawfully taken."

Vattel fully discusses the rights of nations in war. (*Vattel's Law of Nations*, Book 3, chap. 8, 9.)

"What we have hitherto said concerns the right of making war,—let us now proceed to those rights which are to be respected during the war itself, and to the rules which nations should reciprocally observe, even when deciding their differences by arms. Let us begin by laying down the rights of a nation engaged in a just war; let us see what she is allowed to do to her enemy."

"The whole is to be deduced from one single principle,—from the object of a just war; for, when the end is

lawful, he who has a right to pursue that end has, of course, a right to employ all the means which are necessary for its attainment.

"The end of a just war is to avenge or prevent injury; that is to say, to obtain justice by force, when not obtainable by any other method; to compel an unjust adversary to repair an injury already done, or give us securities against any wrong with which we are threatened by him. As soon, therefore, as we have declared war, we have a right to do against the enemy whatever we find necessary for the attainment of that end, for the purpose of bringing him to reason, and obtaining justice and security from him. (§ 188.)

"The lawfulness of the end does not give us a real right to anything further than barely the means necessary for the attainment of that end. Whatever we do beyond that is reprobated by the law of nature, is faulty, and condemnable at the tribunal of conscience. Hence it is that the right to such or such acts of hostility varies according to circumstances. What is just and perfectly innocent in war, in one particular situation, is not always so on other occasions. Right goes hand in hand with necessity and the exigency of the case, but never exceeds them.

"But as it is very difficult always to form a precise judgment of what the present case requires, and as, moreover, it belongs to each nation to judge of what her own particular situation authorises her to do; (Prelim., § 16.) it becomes absolutely necessary that nations should reciprocally conform to general rules on this subject. Accordingly, whenever it is certain and evident that such a measure, such an act of hostility, is necessary, in general, for overpowering the enemy's resistance and attaining the end of a lawful war; that measure, thus viewed in a general light, is, by the law of nations, deemed lawful in war, and consistent with propriety, although he who unnecessarily adopts it, when he might attain his end by gentler methods, is not innocent before God and his own conscience. In this lies the difference between what is just, equitable, irreprehensible in war, and what is only allowed between nations, and suffered to pass with impunity. (§ 187.)

"By protecting the unarmed inhabitants, keeping the soldiers under strict discipline, and preserving the country, a general procures an easy subsistence for his army, and avoids many evils and dangers. If he has any reason to mistrust the peasantry and the inhabitants of the towns, he has a right to disarm them and require hostages from them; and those who wish to avoid the calamities of war must submit to the laws which the enemy thinks proper to impose on them." (§ 147.)

1 *Kent's Com., Lecture 8.* "Of the rights of belligerent nations in relation to each other."

"The end of war is to procure by force the justice which cannot otherwise be obtained; and the law of nations allows the means requisite to the end. The persons and property of the enemy may be attacked and captured or destroyed when necessary to procure reparation or security."

After referring to the earlier writers on this subject, who considered a state of war as a dissolution of all moral ties, and a license for every kind of disorder and intemperance hereon, he goes on to say:

"Public opinion, as it becomes enlightened and refined, condemns all cruelty, and all wanton destruction of life and property, as equally useless and injurious, and it controls the violence of war by the energy and severity of its reprobation.

"Gentleness, even in opposition to many of his own authorities, and under a sense of the obligations of religion and humanity, placed bounds to the ravages of war, and mentioned that many things were not fit and commendable, though they might be strictly lawful; and that the law of nations forbade what the law of nations (implying thereby the practice of nations) tolerated. He held, that the law of nations prohibited the use of poisoned arms, or the employment of assassins, or violence to women or to the dead, or making slaves of prisoners, and the moderation which he indicated had a visible influence upon the sentiments and manners of Europe. Under the sanction of his great authority men began to entertain more enlarged views of national policy, and to consider a mild and temperate exercise of the rights of war to be dictated by an enlightened self-interest, as well as by the precepts of Christianity. And, notwithstanding some subsequent writers, as *Hunter* and *Hutton*, restored war to all its horrors, by allowing the use of poison and other ill-arts, yet such rules became adherent to the cultivated reason and growing humanity of the Christian nations.

"There is a marked difference in the right of war carried on by land and sea. The object of a maritime war is the destruction of the enemy's commerce and navigation, in order to weaken and destroy the foundations of his naval power. The capture or destruction of private property is essential to that end, and it is allowed in maritime wars by the law and practice of nations. But there are great limitations imposed upon the operations of war by land, though depredations upon private property and despoiling and plundering the enemy's territory are still too prevalent, especially when the war is assisted by irregulars. Much conduct has been condemned in all ages by the wise and virtuous, and it is usually severely punished by those commanders of disciplined troops who have studied war as a science and are animated by a sense of duty or the love of fame."

"Vattel condemns very strongly the spoliation of a country without palpable necessity; and he speaks with a just indignation of the burning of the palatine by Turenne, under the cruel instructions of Louvois, the War Minister of Louis XIV. The general usage now is, not to touch private property upon land, without making compensation, unless in special cases dictated by the necessary operations of war, or when captured in places carried by storm and which repelled all the overtures for a capitulation. Contributions are sometimes levied upon a conquered country in lieu of confiscation of property, and as some indemnity for the expenses of maintaining order and affording protection. If the conqueror goes beyond these limits wantonly, or when it is not clearly indispensable to the just purposes of war, and seizes private property of pacific persons for the sake of gain, and destroys private dwellings or public edifices devoted to civil purposes only; or makes war upon monuments of art and models of taste, he violates the modern usages of war, and is sure to meet with indignant resentment, and to be held up to the general scorn and detestation of the world."

Thus it will be seen that Chancellor Kent does not reprobate the practice of appropriating private property where it is necessary to do so, or where the object is not mere gain, but only to obtain a reasonable indemnity against the expenses of the war.

In the seventh edition of Kent's Com. there is the following note to the passage quoted above:

"Upon the invasion of Mexico by the armies of the United States, in 1846, the American Secretary of War (Marcy) instructed General Taylor (Sept. 22d, 1846,) to abstain from appropriating private property to the public uses until purchased at a fair price, though he said that was, in some respects, going far beyond the common requirements of civilized warfare, and that an invading army had the unquestionable right to draw its supplies from the enemy without paying for them, and to require contributions for its support, and to make the enemy feel the weight of the war. He further observed, that upon the liberal principles of civilized warfare either of three modes might be pursued in relation to obtaining supplies from the enemy: first, to purchase them on such terms as the inhabitants of the country might choose to exact; second, to pay a fair price, without regard to the enhanced value resulting from the presence of a foreign army; and third, to require them as contributions, without paying or engaging to pay therefor; that the last mode was the ordinary one, and General Taylor was instructed to adopt it, if in that way he was satisfied he could get abundant supplies for his forces. The previous instructions in that campaign had been, to abstain from appropriating private property to the public use without purchase at a fair price; but the instructions had now, in the progress of the campaign, risen to a severer character. The principle of kindness and liberality towards the enemy seems to be of a feeble character, and to be swayed by considerations of policy and circumstances. The President of the United States, (James K. Polk,) in his letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, of the 23d March, 1847, declared the right of the conqueror to levy contributions upon the enemy in their towns, towns or provinces, which may be in his military possession by conquest, and to apply the same to defray the expenses of the war. He further declared that the conqueror possessed the right to establish a temporary military government over such subject towns or provinces, and to prescribe the terms of commerce with such places; that he might in his discretion exclude all trade, or impose terms upon it—such, for instance, as a prescribed rate of duties on tonnage and imports."

[To be continued.]

The Reasons of the Abolitionists for Refusing to Vote for Fremont.

The following is an extract from a letter from Wm. Lloyd Garrison, read at the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, held at Norristown, October 18 and 19, 1856, in which the reasons are given for refusing to vote for Fremont.

"1. For more than twelve years, in our organized capacity as well as individually, accepting the authoritative and uniform judgment of the nation respecting the character and design of the instrument, we have solemnly proclaimed the Constitution of the United States to be 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL,' in consequence of its pro-slavery guarantee, and, therefore, that no oath should be taken to uphold it, either by ourselves or by our representatives. We have persistently called for its repeal on the ground of its inherent wickedness, and its overthrow as the bulwark of the slave system. We have traced to it the amazing growth and omnipotent power of the slave system, and found in it the cause of that corruption and vices which pervade the entire North. But, aside from any question touching the letter or the spirit of the Constitution, we have consistently declared it to be an axiom of common sense, as well as of fundamental morality, that between freedom and slavery there can be no true union; that it is as easy for Christ and Hell to co-exist as it is for liberty and slavery; that the institutions and interests of the North are necessarily hostile to those of the South, and vice versa—existing

and increasing jealousies and leading to continual collisions, as our national history plainly demonstrates; that, without the existing Union, the South would be compelled, for self-preservation and from necessity, speedily to liberate all her bondmen; and thus the overthrow of this blood-stained compact would lead to the formation of a "solemn league and covenant" between the States, based upon universal freedom, with no root of bitterness to poison our cup; that, by perpetuating this Union, the slave power will grow stronger and stronger, more and more exacting, and be able to consummate its boldest designs; that to call those who make merchandise of their fellow-men, and who vindicate the eternal fitness of slavery to the Southern soil and climate, Christians and Democrats, is as insulting to reason as to talk of honest thieves and sober drunkards—and to think of keeping their company without strife or debate, unless degraded to their own abysmal level, is complete infatuation; that they constitute an oligarchy more tyrannical in spirit, more hostile in human development, more barbarous in their conduct, and more shameless in their villany, than any that has ever cursed mankind; that to separate from them in form and in fact, is due to self-respect, to true manhood, to the cause of freedom universally, to sound morality, to the Christian religion as exemplified by its glorious Founder. Finally, we have faithfully protested against turning aside to attend to some local issue, but have always made the slave the skeleton at every feast—Bacon's ghost, that will not down at the bidding or entreaty of any party or sect—the test of statesmanship and true patriotism; insisting that any struggle which leaves his deliverance out of the question, or throws him into the background, is essentially defective, and unworthy of our support.

"Now, under all these circumstances, for us to rally to the polls in support of an incidental issue with the slave power—to become the partisans of a man who simply professes that the Western Territories should be cultivated by free laborers rather than by slaves—to endorse a party which declares itself ready to carry out all the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution, and wholly indisposed to meddle with the institution of slavery in the Southern States, merely because it is trying to secure a free homestead for white men—would be the grossest inconsistency, in utter disregard of all our professions, and such a glaring violation of our principles that the whole land would regard us with pity, if not with contempt. Unless it is right to do evil that good may come, we are excluded from the polls, in such a contest, by an insuperable moral barrier. The ballot, which is stained with the blood of four millions of slaves, is not fit to be handled by a freeman. If we can save Kansas only by first swearing to maintain 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH,' then God absolves us from all responsibility for its loss. We shall do best for Kansas, best for the South, best for the Republic, by a stern adherence to our principles, and refusing to compromise with sin. Our feet are planted upon the eternal rock: why should we place them upon a sandy foundation? If God be for us, who can be against us?"

"3. The dissolution of the Union is not to leave the slaves to the mercy of their masters: it is to withdraw from their masters all those resources and instrumentalities now furnished to them by the North, without which they are powerless. It is admitted on all sides, and especially by the leaders of the Republican party, that it is madness for the South to threaten a dissolution of the Union; for it is only through the Union she is enabled to keep her millions of slaves in their chains. Let her cut the connection, and she will be struck with paralysis. This is true. How unexpectably awful, then, is such a Union! Whatever else a party may be, whatever else it may be trying to do that is praiseworthy, how great must be its guilt in conspiring to make perpetual the enslavement of a population equal to the whole of New England?"

"4. Let us remember that though there has been a Union in theory, there has never been one in fact, between the free and the Slave States; that, from the organization of the Government till now, the slave oligarchy has had the reins in its own hands, that the branch whips as the agent of liberty increases in courage and strength at the North; that a Union still continues to exist in form only, because the vanguard of the North is withdrawn.

"4. What an absurdity it is for those who cannot hold a public meeting at the North in favor of freedom, and who would be lynched if they should make the attempt—for Seward, Hale, Sumner, Banks, Wilson, and Aldrich—to declare that they will stand by the Union to the last! Padlocks are upon their lips in one half of the Union; yet they insist on its preservation! Where is their manhood—their self-respect—their love of liberty?"

The Attitude of Russia.

[From the London Times, October 31.]

It might have been expected that a loss, which had been sustained without disgrace, would have been borne with dignity, and that Russia, yielding to an inevitable destiny, would have turned her whole attention to the arts of peace, and left those who were victorious in the conflict to play undisturbed the most prominent part on the public stage. But those who expected this knew little of the character of the Russian Government. A profound abomination bears no inconsiderable part in the policy of this semi-oriental people. Having been defeated, the first and dominant idea of Russia seems to have been to pretend that she has not. Like persons in society who take liberties which everybody feels but

nobody is exact hard to present ter of a Power equality with the avoid the renewal to leave certain nature of peace tion from the moment. No which Russia ha She has seized, the Isle of Serr her attempts by force than her the Allies the conditions were the fortification Allies. Russia Bossarab. By she entirely mis them to assent to The six months most of the con unperformed. I solvent and even warns the Allies the condition of ulterior measures As if all this wro don and safe br squadron to the of the wrong she fresh wrong. De dons imposed up been compelled, fleets in the Black in the Black Sea informed, about should also be a Let nobody suppo defeated in the l to resume it. W provocations of a rict from which i they might alarm is further from t than to provoke Emperor, she has not or nothing are Courts of Europe, or still pretending quered, still able to still competent to misrule.

[From How City Pri

"The writer has he paid some twel station-houses, bet morning. It was expiring, who had way. Word was u unfortunate creati apparent, was dyin illustrative of him the dormitory cella and accompanied by sketch. Entering stone, a wooden t there lay the subj and, no doubt, had "What's the mat advanced towards The writer felt he severely perceptible they could be solle They were lay. A last upon it in this and it was appar himself, that 'her over a few hours i and the color of h able from the mud, Captain admitted the taken to the Hospit not sent her there injuries could be acc "The Captain app "Oh, let's go up—'I with drunken men a put ourselves out of he and the police woman to her late, died shortly afterwa for any kindness best it was a sad and colored and while pho stard frames exten without either ever house hides itself on the city.

"About a year i young man in a d at the Tenth, in ch much the same stat a floor in this morning.

nobody is exactly inclined to resent, Russia is laboring hard to present before Europe and the world the character of a Power that has come out of the war on a perfect equality with the other belligerents. In her anxiety to avoid the renewal of hostilities she persuaded the Allies to leave certain questions to be dealt with after the signature of peace. Others were necessarily in that condition from the impossibility of executing them at that moment. No attitude can be less creditable than that which Russia has assumed with regard to those questions. She has seized, without a color of right or justice, upon the Isle of Serpents, and has only been counteracted in her attempts by an occupation by the Turks in greater force than her own. She was bound to deliver up to the Allies the fortresses of Kilia, Ismail and Kars. The conditions were performed by dismantling and destroying the fortifications and delivering over the ruins to the Allies. Russia was pressed to rectify the frontier of Bessarabia. By the production of maps wilfully falsified she entirely misled the Congress of Paris, and induced them to assent to a frontier impossible and inexplicable. The six months fixed by the treaty have expired, and most of the conditions imposed upon Russia are as yet unperformed. In addition to this, she has issued an insolent and even threatening manifesto, in which she warns the Allies to desist from their attempts to improve the condition of Naples, and even hints at a recourse to ulterior measures if her remonstrance be not attended to. As if all this were not enough in the way of paltry vexation and safe bravado, Russia is now about to send a squadron to the Bosphorus, in order to take advantage of the wrong she has already committed to perpetrate a fresh wrong. Because she has not performed the conditions imposed upon her by the treaty, the Allies have been compelled, much against their will, to keep their fleets in the Black Sea; and because their fleets remain in the Black Sea, owing to her default, Russia is, we are informed, about to demand from Turkey that her fleet should also be allowed to enter those neutral waters. Let nobody suppose, nevertheless, that Russia has not been defeated in the late war, or that she is in any condition to resume it. Were this really the case, were these the provocations of an enemy only seeking to renew the conflict from which he has been forced for a while to retire, they might alarm but could not disgrace us. But nothing is further from the intention of Russia, at this moment, than to provoke a war. As they begin to say of the Emperor, she has the wish but not the will. All these acts or omissions are intended for the benefit of the minor Courts of Europe, to give them an excuse for believing, or still pretending to believe, that Russia is still unconquered, still able to protect them against their subjects, still competent to extend their lease of tyranny and misrule.

[From the New York Dispatch.]

How City Prisoners are Treated. Shameful Inhumanity.

"The writer has a forcible recollection of a visit that he paid some twelve months back to one of the district-station-houses, between two and three o'clock in the morning. It was upon the occasion of a poor woman expiring, who had been run over by a stage in Broadway. Word was brought to the Captain's desk that the unfortunate creature, whose extreme poverty was very apparent, was dying. With an exclamation not at all illustrative of humanity upon his part, he descended into the dormitory cells of the station-house, lantern in hand, and accompanied by a policeman and the writer of this sketch. Entering a small room, the floor of which was stone, a wooden bench being placed its whole length, there lay the subject of the report. She was full of years, and, no doubt, had long been the creature of misfortune. 'What's the matter?' exclaimed the Captain, as he advanced towards her. She was quite immovable. The writer felt her pulse, the beating of which was scarcely perceptible. He took off her boots, if such they could be called, and placed his hand to her feet. They were icy. A cold sweat lay upon her brow, the last upon it in this world; her cheeks were deathly hue, and it was apparent, even to the cold-hearted Captain himself, that 'her time had come.' She had been run over a few hours previously by a stage in Broadway, and the color of her clothes was scarcely distinguishable from the mud, for a muddy night it had been. The Captain admitted that she would die, and had better be taken to the Hospital. The writer inquired why he had not sent her there in the first instance, where her severe injuries could be ascertained and attended to.

"The Captain appeared in high indignation, and exclaimed, 'Oh, let's go up—let's go up. We have enough to do with drunken men and women, and can't be expected to put ourselves out of the way for them'; and, so saying, he and the policeman retired, leaving the unfortunate woman to her fate, and followed by the writer. She died shortly afterwards, without having to thank man for any kindness bestowed upon her in her last moments. It was a sad picture. Around the stone cellar lay colored and white folks miserably clad, with their emaciated frames extended along the hard benches, and without extra covering upon them. And this station-house prides itself on being one of the most decent in the city.

"About a year since, it will be recollected that a young man in a sad state of liquor was placed in a cell in the Tombs, in which were confined several men in much the same state as himself. Upon opening the cell door in the morning, the unfortunate man who found

dead, his body covered with severe contusions, and it was declared by the Coroner's jury that he had been brutally kicked to death by his companions in vice, and they censured the custom of putting more than one inebriate into a cell. What good has that done? The same system is still adopted, and any one who will visit the station-houses will find it as rampant as ever. It is needless to recapitulate the numerous instances where men, having been incarcerated in prison cells in this city, have been sacrificed. A more humane plan should be adopted. It is loudly called for; and let us have another Committee appointed—a working body of men—who will act earnestly in the matter; and upon the presentation of their report means should be adopted to better the condition of these 'Black holes of Calcutta.'

[From the New York Times.]

How City Prisoners are Treated.

YORKVILLE, Friday, Nov. 14, 1856.

To the Editor of the New York Daily Times:

In your paper of this morning appears an article under the above heading, taken from the New York Dispatch. After giving a graphic account of the treatment experienced by a wretched female, who had been run over in the streets, and then left in the collar of a Police Station-house to die, he adverts to the case of a young man who, about a year since, was confined, while in a state of intoxication, in the cell with several other prisoners, and in the morning was found dead—his death having been produced (as found by the Coroner's jury) by kicks inflicted upon him by his fellow-prisoners. "The jury censured the custom of putting more than one inebriate into a cell," and the Dispatch exclaims, "What good has that done?" But very recently I sent you an account of a prisoner having been buried alive on Blackwell's Island, and I sent you the name of the Governor who found him in that condition, and who, to his credit, caused him to be promptly executed. Well, what good has that done? None at all—absolutely none. In only one of all the papers in this city did I see a notice of this matter, and that was contained in a communication from a prisoner on the Island. What is the reason of this? Why will not the City Press insist upon the Board of Governors making inquiry into this matter? They have held two meetings since my first statement was published in your paper. Is burying alive the only torture inflicted on the

HUMANITY.

[From the New York Herald.]

Important from Mexico. Difficulties with Spain. Descent upon Cuba.

It will be recollected perfectly by our readers that Spain has for some time past assumed a threatening aspect towards Mexico, and that a fleet fitted out at Cuba for the purpose of enforcing some pecuniary claims, accompanied by a diplomatic agent, Senor Alvarez, recently appeared off Vera Cruz, with his vouchers in one hand and a sword in the other. These claims consisted of debts, principally, if not entirely, incurred during the sway of Santa Anna, due to Spanish houses, and amounting to about five millions of dollars. On the arrival of the fleet, General Comonfort, the President of the Mexican Republic, refused to treat under this exhibition of force, but received the Spanish Embassy privately, and entered into a friendly discussion of the character and validity of these claims. It was urged by the President that many were fraudulent in their character, that others had been illegally transferred, that the interest was over-charged, and that adequate vouchers were not forthcoming. The real—the bona fide debt, the President was willing to arrange in a satisfactory manner; and upon this promise the fleet returned to Cuba. But this state of things was not satisfactory to the Spanish Government. The arrangements made with Mexico were repudiated, Senor Alvarez recalled, and now we hear of a new expedition to coerce that country into an immediate settlement of these claims.

We now learn upon high authority, from private sources which we deem reliable, that Gen. Comonfort is ready with a counter-movement which is of a most important character, and will more or less affect the policy of our own Government. It is understood that he has already upon the Rio Grande an efficient corps of military men, who are sent there to raise a body of troops for the invasion of Cuba. Into the regiments there to be raised, Americans as well as Mexicans will be recruited; and now that the excitement of the Presidential election is over, a large amount of filibustering will be set about to seek new adventures, and to gather fresh spoils.

In connection with this is the fact, that here, in New York, there is a number of distinguished Mexicans, whose co-operation in the plans of Comonfort will most probably be secured—Generals Uruga, La Vega and Blanco, and Senor Rafael Rafael, the Mexican ex-Congress at New Orleans, composing a junta or committee which cannot but take a deep interest in the fate of their country, whatever temporary disappointments may have brought them to our shores. What their action will be it is not very difficult to imagine. Indeed, the election of Mr. Buchanan to the Presidency—the author of the Ostend Manifesto—and the open support of that measure by the leading press in his favor at the South, must give them every confidence that their aid and assistance in the operations against Cuba will receive support and countenance from him and his party during his power. During

the interregnum—for it is nothing else—between the administration of Pierce and that of Buchanan, no interruption to the schemes of Gen. Comonfort and his agents in New York need be expected. In all probability they will receive, indirectly at least, the countenance of the present Administration.

We may, therefore, look to the invasion of Cuba under the Mexican flag as a *fait accompli*—the descent of a large force of Mexicans and Americans, ostensibly raised on the Rio Grande, and the conquest of the island itself. Under these circumstances, it is a matter of some importance to this country to know what course France and England will take, and what their interests will urge them to do. England has large Spanish and Mexican debts of her own; and Louis Napoleon has a rapport with the Court of Madrid, and a private policy which may discover itself ere long in something after the fashion of that of his uncle. The intervention of these Powers to prevent the loss of Cuba to the Spanish crown is by no means improbable. The Ostend Manifesto, and the proposed attempt to re-open the African Slave-trade, will naturally excite the alarm of these great Powers, and they may deem the time is at last arrived for an open demonstration of their opposition to any such schemes. Here, then, is an unexpected complexity of our foreign relations, which, on the back of our internal dissensions, offers "no bed of flowers" on which Mr. Buchanan can repose. The people of this country may find, like Democles, that the sword is over their head, suspended by a single hair.

The Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society on what Fremont would do if Elected.

The following is an extract from the report of the above Society, presented October 16, 1856:

"Colonel Fremont, if elected, will doubtless be true to his oath of office. He will maintain the Constitution and use the means at his command to enforce the laws of Congress, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 included. He will do all in his power to recement the loosened bonds of the Union. His policy will be at the outset to strengthen and consolidate his party; to this end a first step will be to make friends at the South. He will be surrounded by political advisers who will counsel him to give palpable disproof of the charges brought against him of disaffection to the Union, and hostility to the slaveholders and slavery in the States, and of sympathy with the Abolitionists. And without presuming to say to what extent he may be disposed to give ear to these counsels, certain it is he will do all he can, by conciliation and concession, and, if need be, by force, to strengthen his administration and maintain unimpaired the bonds of the Union. In his efforts to these ends he may so far succeed as to give a temporary quiet to agitation. The Union will doubtless once more be declared to have been saved, and the glory of that achievement will be claimed for Colonel Fremont's administration. But the war of conflicting elements will still go on. Slavery is in its nature aggressive; it will not be restrained. Rule or ruin are the only alternatives recognised by slaveholding intolerance. On the other hand, the swelling tide of anti-slavery sentiment cannot be kept back. Too strong to be controlled by arbitrary legislative enactments, it will assert itself in all natural ways, and at every convenient opportunity. It will brook no further aggression; it will demand the full enjoyment of its rights, it will resist all attempts at slaveholding domination; and for every act of encroachment it will surely make reprisals. It will not be, it cannot be, compelled to send back the fugitive, to chase down the insurgent slave, or to submit patiently to the undue power imparted by an unequal representation. Thus the two sections will live together in a forced and hostile union. The North cannot submit to the South; the South will not submit to the North; and there can be nothing but conflict between the two till they are divorced. Fill this commination is achieved, there can be no permanent peace—no freedom for the black man—no secure liberty for the white man. Liberated from this odious connection—relieved from the millstone which slavery has long round her neck, this free country of the North will enter upon a new era of prosperity and true greatness, such as no nation has perhaps ever yet realized. On the other hand, deprived of the aid of the North, the South will find herself unable longer to maintain her peculiar system, and, either by dint of reason or force of servile arms, will be compelled to set her bondmen free. At what time these events shall happen, and in what order they will come, it is not for us to say. But that at some time not far distant, and in some shape or other, the results substantially, as here foretold, will be realized, we have no doubt. They will come as the necessary sequel of causes now at work, the chief of which is the anti-slavery movement."

Gov. Wirt.—A few days since, in conversation with a Northern gentleman on the political state of the country, he stated the position of affairs thus: "We have no fears of Northern Abolitionists. We can take care of them. But what we have to fear is an insurrection among ourselves." "What?" said the other, "an insurrection of the blacks?" "No," said the Governor, "but of the poor whites." This remark he explained by saying, that he should not be surprised if a bill were introduced into the next Legislature of Virginia to restrict the slaves from leaving the manor, with the design to restore these products to the poor whites.—Anti-Slavery Standard.

Medical Manifesto from President Walker, of Nicaragua. His Pronouncement in favor of Burning the Dead.

(From the El Nicaraguense, November 14.)

Who can estimate the satisfaction it would now afford the literary world to have preserved the ashes of Milton or Shakespeare; or who can guess the care or veneration with which the French would regard the ashes of Napoleon; or with what veneration Americans would regard the remains of Washington? It is truly to be regretted that all which was mortal of those illustrious personages is now indistinguishable from the common earth, or the remains of the carcass of some brute.

But there is a point from which this subject should be viewed superior to any mere ideal phase of the case, it is—how the burying of the dead in this country affects the living—and this is all important.

During the dry season in this country it is very difficult to dig a grave of sufficient depth to prevent the poisonous gases from escaping into the atmosphere and spreading malaria among the living. There is also a common custom among people of these latter days to bury the remains of persons of note in vaults under the floors of churches; and these, in the dampness and gloom of subterranean chambers, in decomposing, spread disease and death among those who honored them while living, and suppose that they thus show respect to their memory after death.

It is unnecessary to revert to the danger of those who dig graves in a place of common interment, or how often they come in contact with the poison of decomposing flesh, or what a vast amount of disease there is engendered by the poisonous gases of such places being wafted among the habitations of the living. The evil effects of all these circumstances are incalculable. We can only arrive at the truth in a clear case by analogy. We know that the gases of decomposing vegetable matter in swamps, produce disease of very serious characters; we know that, on this account, all new countries are less healthy than where labor has effected a good drainage, and the high dry land is more conducive to health and long life than damp low lands. We know, also, that epidemics break out in parts of cities where garbage is allowed to collect and emit effluvia; and we know, also, that gases from decaying animal matter are more dangerous and fatal than that which proceeds from decaying vegetables. We know that fatal diseases are brought on by inoculation, and that man cannot be inoculated by anything more difficult to cure than the decaying flesh of his fellow-man. Now, as the gases which arise from vegetable matter in a state of decay appear to be more fatal than contact with the solids from which they arise, we must infer that this is also the case with the gases which arise from putrid animal matter; and, if this is so, the enlightenment of the present age ought to be sufficient to rise above any prejudice, or any old custom which has been handed down to us from the period when the laws of health were but little studied or known, and suggest such remedies as will lessen, as far as possible, the causes of disease.

There is this advantage in burning bodies over burying them, that, instead of permitting them to cause disease after death, the very act of burning purifies the air. It is supposed that the great plague of London was arrested in its ravages by the great fire which burned the greater part of the city. One thing is certain, if history is correct, that, although it raged with fearful violence immediately before, it ceased to exist almost immediately after the conflagration. It is now a common practice to fumigate a room in which a person has died, and doctors advise those who visit the remains of a person that has died of cholera, or any other contagious disease, to smoke a cigar or pipe—no great a purifier in fire.

And, setting prejudice aside, as it is, after all, much more desirable to be consumed by fire after death, than to rot and be devoured by worms; and as that conduces as well to the preservation of the living, as to the retaining the ashes of the deceased, we would favor the adoption in this country.

It was the general opinion in Granada, after the battle of the 13th of October, that the great number of the enemy which was killed would produce the cholera before they could be interred. Burning them immediately would have prevented the possibility of such a painful circumstance, and would have purified the air of any poisonous gases which might already have existed in it.

Our object in suggesting this is more to call the attention of the public, as well as the medical profession, to the subject, than to attempt at the time to discuss the matter. We are, however, under the impression that if the custom of burning the dead, instead of burying them, were at once fairly introduced, it would, in this latitude, prove highly beneficial to the general health.

Renewal of the Slave-trade.

A correspondent of the New York Herald, from Richmond, writes:

"The Southern Commercial Convention, which meets at Savannah in December next, is looked to with more than ordinary interest, in view of the probability of its expressing an opinion with reference to the affairs of Central America, and the revival of the Slave-trade, to which some attention has been recently directed by some of the ultra Southern papers. It is understood that the subject will be discussed to the extent, probably, of relaxing the existing restrictions upon the trade in

view of the necessities of Nicaragua, under her recently established regime. And it is not at all improbable that the possibility of the extreme Southern States in the matter of slave labor, may be advanced as a justification for a similar resort to supply the existing demand in this department. Should the subject be introduced, it will, no doubt, partake of a party character, the opinion of the Buchanan and Fillmore men relatively upon the Kansas question, indicating the sentiments pro and con, and forming the line of distinction. The advocates of the Fillmore doctrine—that of the non-extension of slavery—are in a weak minority, and if any regard is had in the selection of Representatives, to a proper proportionment of the members, in the ratio of the relative strength of their parties, they will form a very small contingent in the Convention.

TWO CHAPTERS IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

Colored Men with a Country in Fight for, and not Abandoned to Ash and Heedless their Aid.

"HEAD QUARTERS, SEVENTH MILITARY DISTRICT, MOBILE, September 21, 1814.

"To the Free Colored Inhabitants of Louisiana:

"Through a mistaken policy, you have heretofore been deprived of a participation in the glorious struggle for national rights, in which our country is engaged. This no longer shall exist.

"As sons of freedom, you are now called upon to defend our most inestimable blessings. As Americans, your country looks with confidence to her adopted children for support, as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable Government. As fathers, husbands and brothers, you are summoned to rally around the standard of the Eagle, to defend all which is dear in existence.

"Your country, although calling for your exertions, does not wish you to engage in her cause without remunerating you for the services rendered. Your intelligent minds are not to be led away by false representations. Your love of honor would cause you to despise the man who should attempt to deceive you. With the sincerity of a soldier, and in language of truth, I address you.

"ANDREW JACKSON,
"Major-General Commanding."

December 16, 1814, just before the battle of New Orleans, General Jackson issued the following address to the colored soldiers who had patriotically responded to the above appeal:

"Soldiers: When on the banks of the Mobile, I called you to take up arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glory of your white fellow-citizens. I expected much from you; for I was not ignorant that you possessed qualities most formidable to an invading enemy. I knew with what fortitude you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the fatigues of a campaign. I knew well how you loved your native country, and that you, as well as ourselves, had to defend what man holds most dear—his parents, wife, children and property. You have done more than I expected. In addition to the previous qualities I before knew you to possess, I found among you a noble enthusiasm, which leads to the performance of great things.

"Soldiers: The President of the United States shall hear how praiseworthy was your conduct in the hour of danger, and the representatives of the American people will give you the praise your exploits entitle you to. Your general anticipates them in applauding your noble ardor.

"The enemy approaches; his vessels cover our lakes; our brave citizens are united, and all contention has ceased among them. Their only dispute is, who shall win the prize of valor, or who the most glory, its noblest reward.

By order,
"THOMAS BYTLER, Aid-de-camp."

CHAPTER II.

Colored Men without a Country to Defend them in the Hour of Need.

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
"WASHINGTON, November 4, 1855.

"H. H. Rice, Esq., New York City:

"Sir: Your letters of the 29th ultimo and 2d instant, requesting passports for eleven colored persons, have been received, and I am directed by the Secretary to inform you that the papers transmitted by you do not warrant the Department in complying with your request.

"A passport is a certificate that the person to whom it is granted is a citizen of the United States, and it can only be granted upon proof of this fact. In the papers which accompany your communication, there is not satisfactory evidence that the persons for whom you request passports are of this description. They are represented in your letter as 'colored,' and described in the affidavits as 'black,' from which statement it may be fairly inferred that they are negroes. If this is so, there can be no doubt that they are not citizens of the United States. The question whether free citizens are such citizens is not now presented for the first time, but has repeatedly arisen in the Administration of both the National and State Governments. In 1821 a controversy

arose as to whether free persons of color were citizens of the United States, within the intent and meaning of the acts of Congress regulating foreign and coasting trade, so as to be disqualified to command vessels; and Mr. W. H. Attorney-General, decided that they were not; and, moreover, held that the words, 'citizens of the United States,' were used in the acts of Congress in the same sense as in the Constitution. This view is also fully sustained in a recent opinion of the present Attorney-General.

"The judicial decisions of the country are to the same effect. In Kent's Commentaries, vol. 2, p. 377, it is stated that in 1838, Chief Justice Daguerre, of Connecticut, held that free blacks are not 'citizens' within the meaning of the term as used in the Constitution of the United States, and the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in the case of the State against Osborne, held the same doctrine.

"Much being the construction of the Constitution in regard to free persons of color, it is concluded that they cannot be regarded, when beyond the jurisdiction of this Government, as entitled to the full rights of citizens; but the Secretary directs me to say, that though the Department could not certify that such persons are citizens of the United States, yet, if satisfied of the truth of the facts, it would give a certificate that they were born in the United States, and free; and that the Government thereof would regard it to be its duty to protect them if wronged by a foreign Government, while within its jurisdiction, for a legal and proper purpose.

"I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
"J. A. THOMAS, Assistant Secretary."

Gross Corruption in the Municipal Government of New York.

(From the New York Times, November 14.)

How the Business of the City is Attended to.

"We doubt whether the annals of any municipal government can afford instances of more gross, wanton and systematic corruption, than have been developed in the examinations before the Committee appointed by the Board of Aldermen to inquire into the conduct of the Commissioner of Repairs and Supplies, and his *alter ego*, Mr. Irving. The report of the Committee has not yet been printed, but its contents are known. It justly asks, after summing up the results of its investigations, 'Can a more loose system of doing business be devised?' A butcher was appointed, under the administration of Messrs. Selah and Irving, to do the glazing! A hotel keeper, in want of a share of the spoils, was metamorphosed, for the occasion, into a carpenter! A clerk in a doctor's office was employed to clean walls! 'Mr. McCarty, the plumber, was not a plumber,' he said, 'but thought it would be a better business than where he had been employed!' Timothy Donovan, the tinner for the department, was interrogated: 'Suppose you were asked by the Commissioner to estimate the cost of taking off an old roof and putting on a new one, could you do it?' He replied, 'I don't know.' Respecting the method of doing business, he was asked, 'Were you not inquired of with regard to the price for doing your work?' He answered, 'No, sir, I have always been told to go on and do the work, provided I kept inside of the sum of \$250.' Mr. Selah admitted, in fact, on his examination, that he never knew, at the time when he selected men, whether they were practical mechanics, or engaged in the particular business to which they were assigned, or not.

"The limitation to \$200 of the expenditure which the Commissioner of Repairs and Supplies may incur, has, of course, been considered, both by himself and his predecessor, as a mere farce. Mr. Selah says himself, 'The plumbing, painting, tinning, &c., of roofs, I have considered to be separate jobs, and where the amount came within \$250, I have felt justified in certifying the bills.' Mr. Irving went recklessly ahead without troubling himself about the law at all. In answer to an interrogatory of the Committee, whether he had read the city ordinances pertaining to his duties, he said, 'I don't think I have.' His grand excuse for all kinds of corruption and mismanagement was, 'The work was done cheaper than under Mr. Purdy, and I was satisfied.' Everybody who has taken to pay knows what Mr. Purdy was. Timothy Donovan presented fifteen bills, ranging from \$100 to \$320, for the item of tinning alone. His aggregate claims, for tinning and stoves, amounted to the enormous sum of \$9,000, all of which Mr. Selah allowed, but which was reduced on reference as follows: A bill of \$220 to \$28; another of \$230 to \$64; a bill of \$247 to \$28; a bill of \$263 to \$17, and so on in like manner with all of his accounts. The bills of the other claimants, when tested, were all reduced from 25 to 200 per cent., although they had all been approved. Is this not a sufficiently infamous state of things to awaken the attention of our apathetic citizens?

"The law requires that no work whatsoever shall be done, under the Department of Repairs and Supplies, without an estimate having previously been made by the commissioner. This enactment appears to have been complied with by Mr. Selah in no single instance. Nearly all the parties examined testify that they were simply directed, by the commissioner and superintendent, to examine the buildings, &c., requiring repair, and, if the cost of the separate items did not amount to more than \$250, 'to go on and do it.' Pains seem also to have been taken that every job should be done in the most wasteful and profligate manner. When Mr. Donovan was first examined, he said that when the roofs of buildings were repaired, all the old tin roofs were thrown away as use-

less and of no value, and that they were sold for a few cents each.

"It is not unusual, No, sir, not with where the bills were appears that no work was done.

"It is needless to say that the Board of Aldermen should have been informed of this. They will be punished if they are as likely to be equally unscrupulous in the system which it is next to impossible to be in the there are eight or in the city, nothing but each of which the tax-paying citizen no hopes of punishment for."

THE POPULAR OPINION AGAINST THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

"It is time one another on in one unvarnished, errors, and bringing down new time a different the Shakespeare says, 'with others?' The but it really seems Vincent Alford, a Sacred Theology, a Ancona and certain appointed by the can actually exist at time with Humboldt the electric telegraph Grote? Was Thon has he slept the sleep and awake in the judges of the states position at least to plain the existence monstrous a phenomenon against her out the Catholic faith Jews, 'It is impossible Apostles is 'faith' Grand Inquisitor, depravity does not Scripture by willful tion proceeds to en against all persons of Jews, Mahometans, misted acts from which that they are in opposition acts of sor to the above named incense, or prayers, unholly purposes, by or by other practices invoked who are fan or no matter what many more offences document, which is and hotels, conclude The first is against the approved by the Christians who sleep themselves in the g is signed by this August of this present

"If the Church that they should learn them the compensation nothing. Every about the last 1,800 years petrified for the unable intervals to raised above the completely she can rience and the dicta dark ages, when the was universal, the often behind the age, the same form must that she may not be positions which she with infallibility, and gance, and admit pretty generally ad the contrary in the 'above named' entered men; and, indeed, gravely doubted by ground of his having the kind of which particularly informed, such an adjuration as of the Church—what requires to establish a what manner of perfi

less and of no value. On a subsequent examination it came out that the old roof on the house of Engine Company No. 24 had been sold by Mr. Donovan for \$12. The chairman asked him: Did you give credit to the city for it? The answer was: No, Mr. but I intend to.

It is not customary to give credit on the bills? Answer: No, Mr. not with the corporation? In some instances, where the bills were allowed by the commissioner, it appears that no work was done whatsoever.

It is needless to say any more. The Committee of the Board of Aldermen advise that Messrs. Selah and Irving should resign the places they have so miserably mismanaged. They deserve punishment, and we trust they will be punished. But what good will it do? Their places are as likely as not to be filled by more cunning, but equally unscrupulous, plunderers of the treasury. It is the system which is at fault, and, until that is changed, it is next to impossible that any of the Departments should be in the hands of good men. Just so long as there are eight or ten separate, independent governments in the city, neither of which is responsible to the other, but each of which dispenses patronage, and fishes from the tax-paying community in its own way, it is clear that no hopes of permanent reform can be reasonably looked for.

THE POPE'S GRAND INQUISITOR.

His Blast against Sorcerers—The London Times on the Character of the Papacy.

"Is time one and the same thing for all mankind, flowing on in one unvarying stream, carrying along with it prejudices, errors, and delusions of all kinds, and continually bringing down new convictions to replace the old; or is time a different thing to different people, 'galloping,' as Shakespeare says, 'with some, and standing entirely still with others?' The question may seem a strange one, but it really seems impossible to believe that Thomas Vincent Ahradi, of the Order of Preachers, Master in Sacred Theology, and Grand Inquisitor in the diocese of Ancona and certain other lands and localities, specially appointed by the Holy See against heretical depravity, can actually exist on the surface of this planet at the same time with Humboldt and Herschel, with the inventors of the electric telegraph, with Faraday, with Lyell, or with Grotes? Was Thomas Ahradi born 800 years ago, and has he slept the sleep of Nourahad or Rip Van Winkle, and awoken in the nineteenth century with the idea and prejudices of the sixteenth? We cannot tell; but some supposition at least as extraordinary as this is needed to explain the existence at the present time of so singular and monstrous a phenomenon. This Grand Inquisitor, in his zeal against heretical depravity, informs us that without the Catholic faith, as the Apostle Paul writes to the Jews, 'it is impossible to please God.' The word of the Apostle is 'faith' and 'Catholic' is the addition of the Grand Inquisitor, whose indignation against heretical depravity does not prevent him from garbling the text of Scripture by willful misquotation. The document in question proceeds to enjoin all persons to inform and testify against all persons of their acquaintance who are heretics, Jews, Mahometans, or apostates, or 'who may have committed acts from which sufficient proof might be deduced that they are in open or secret league with the devil, performing acts of sorcery, magic, or necromancy, offering to the above named (that is to say, the devil) perfumes, incense, or prayers for the discovery of treasures, or other unholy purposes, by invocations or promises of obedience, or by other practices in which his name or others are invoked who are familiar with or who practice necromancy, or no matter what sort of magic. There are a great many more offences enumerated, and this marvelous document, which is ordered to be posted up in all shops and hotels, concludes with two especial denunciations. The first is against those who use any book not previously approved by the Holy Office, and the second against Christians who sleep, eat, or play with a Jew, or disguise themselves in the garments of that stiff-necked race. It is signed by this same Thomas Ahradi, on the 8th day of August of this present year, (1856.)

If the Church of Rome requires from its disciples that they should learn much, on the other hand it makes them the compensation that it asks them to unlearn nothing. Every absurdity to which the human mind for the last 1,800 years has bowed in degrading submission is petrified for the use of the faithful, and dug up at suitable intervals to show how far the infallible church is raised above the progress of human intelligence, and how completely she can afford to despise the lessons of experience and the dictates of reason. Because, during the dark ages, when the belief in witchcraft and necromancy was universal, the Church of Rome, never before, and often behind the age, proscribed these imaginary offences, the same form must again and again be gone through, that she may not be supposed to falter or draw back from positions which she has once occupied. She is cured with infallibility, and can therefore retrench no extravagance, and admit no correction. It has come to be pretty generally admitted, whatever opinions existed to the contrary in the days of Faust and Margaret, that the 'above named' enters into no league with the sons of men; and, indeed, the sanity of the late Mr. Dove was gravely doubted by many persons, principally on the ground of his having sought to enter into a contract of the kind of which the most Holy Inquisition desires to be particularly informed. We wonder what kind of response such an adjuration as this meets with from the true sons of the Church—what kind of evidence the Holy Office requires to establish a league with the 'above named'—what manner of perfumes and incense are agreeable to

the nostrils of the enemy of mankind. The Prince of Darkness is a gentleman by reputation, and, as such, probably acquiesces and refrains in his taste. Can the Jewish tale us anything about him, and where he is to be found?

"Magic, too, and necromancy, which the sold fancy of the northern lands finds only in the performances of the Wizard of the North and the King of the Conjurers! How delightful to find that on the coast of the sunny Adriatic there are still ghosts and enchanters, and that the land of Arion has not sublimed into the prose of modern life! Let them come—specters and goblins—enchanters and enchantresses, Acalius and Arimides—Thomas Ahradi, Grand Inquisitor, especially appointed against heretical depravity, is ready for them all, and will treat them with as little mercy as if they had abused the locality of penance, or slept, eaten, or played at cribbage with the law.

"Perhaps it is good for human pride that the Church of Rome should offer to us, from time to time, these incredible manifestations of folly and fatuity. We have obtained so large a dominion over the powers of nature, we are achieving triumphs so great and unexpected, that we might be tempted to overrate the sense of the human faculties, if the Church of Rome were not perpetually there to remind us of the boundless credulity and infantile superstition of which that same human intellect is capable. For the Church of Rome the earth does not revolve upon her axis, nor perform her annual journey round the sun. Rome is as sceptical of the most undoubted truth as credulous of the clearest and most unquestioned falsehood, yet still she stands erect amidst admiring thousands, denouncing imaginary crimes and punishing imaginary heresies, and never, probably, at any former period, held so large a portion of mankind under her sway as at this moment. Pride was not made for man; if any one doubts it, let him ponder well the history of the Holy Office, and he will doubt no more."

Scene on Board the Staten Island Boat.

(From the New York Times, November 16.)

"A most disgraceful scene occurred on board the Staten Island ferry boat *Josephine*, on Wednesday, during her two o'clock trip from the island. A drunken rowdy and shock-hitter amused himself by insulting the passengers, compelling some of them to treat him at the bar, and kicking and maltreating those who refused. In course of time he became more merry, and seizing a poor Chinese lad, twisted his hair until his eyeballs started from their sockets and blood came from his mouth and ears. There was something so horrible in the fiendish way he did this, that a German sailor who happened to be on board remonstrated with the brute. He—the sailor—received his reward in a frightful thrashing, and two black eyes. The shock-hitter was, of course, triumphant, and continued his merry amusements until the boat touched the New York dock. Here passengers interfered; a policeman was procured and the blackguard given in custody. It is too much to expect that such a bully will be punished.

"During all these merry proceedings the crew of the *Josephine* gathered round the hero, and with great relish enjoyed his manly operations. Not a hand was raised to protect the passengers. On the contrary, when one gentleman who had been assaulted appealed to the captain, that dignified functionary desired him to go to a place not usually mentioned to ears polite, and slammed the door in his face."

The Rumored Alliance between France and Russia.

The Times of October 31 has an article from which we extract the following:

"We find it difficult to believe that, with all her cunning and all her audacity, Russia would have ventured upon playing the part she is now exhibiting, had it not been for encouragement received from the alliance of the Western Powers itself. We do not mean for a moment to impute to the Emperor of the French anything but the most honorable and loyal persistence in the engagements into which he has entered, but unhappily that honor and loyalty does not extend in the same degree to those by whom he is surrounded. The idea of dismantling the fortresses to be given up has been traced to a source not entirely Russian, and we cannot help believing that the secret enemies of both countries, who stand high in the confidence of the Emperor, are playing off Russia against England, in the hope that by so doing they will restore the prestige of their enemy, and lower the consideration of their ally. We warn these clever speculators on the endurance of one party and the arrogance of the other, to beware lest they meet with success entirely transcending their most sanguine expectations. There never was a moment when the people of this country were less disposed to be trifled with, and Russia may have, unless she awake to wiser counsels, to buy the false *célar* of her present demonstrations at a price which she will be alike unwilling and unable to pay. Our resources are untouched, our spirits are unbroken, and having once made a treaty, we will not suffer ourselves to be held up to ridicule as unable or unwilling to enforce its conditions. We only hope that this dangerous game will be carried no farther. We have asked nothing but what is fair and reasonable; and what we have asked we are thoroughly resolved to obtain. We have been obliged, on one occasion to undeceive foreign nations, as to the extent of our devotion to peace. It is by no means impossible that we may be called upon to repeat the lesson."

The Baltimore Election Riots: An Amazon in the Field.

(From the Baltimore Republican, November 16.)

"In the midst of the riots between the Eighth and Seventh wards, and leading on the Eighth ward boys with sheeping shouts, was a good-looking Irish woman, who manifested a spirit of daring and bravery which would have done credit to one of Napoleon's Old Guard. She had no fire-arms, except what one might call the swivel, which she helped to carry; but she certainly did most effective service in repelling the invaders with brickbats and such other missiles as she could pick up. She was fired at three times by one man, and yet escaped unhurt. After the Seventh ward knew nothing had been dispersed and driven back, she deliberately rolled up her sleeves, stooped down at the corner of Milken and Alaquith streets, with her eye upon the enemy, and washed her hands. The Eighth ward boys gathered around her and gave her three cheers, while one of them, a son of Erin, became so demonstrative, that he threw his arms around her neck and kissed her. Another incident of this fight observed by the neighbors, was that of a man running upon Mr. Strock's steps in Alaquith street, for protection, and while there three pistols were aimed at him; a woman placed herself before him and saved his life."

A Greater than Jefferys.

(From the Lawrence Herald of Freedom.)

When brought before Judge Leecombe, in May last, to answer the charge of treason, himself and fellow-prisoners asked to be discharged on bail, the Judge proposed to hear our reasons for making the motion. We gave them, and introduced negative evidence showing that we had never committed the crime with which we stood charged. The Judge inquired of us if we had not been in the habit of calling the statutes of the Territorial Legislature bogus laws. We told him that we had, and believed them to be such. Whether he refused the motion on that account we cannot say, but it must have influenced his action, else he would not have considered it important to put the interrogatory as he did. According to the opinion of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Kansas Territory, as intimated by him while presiding in the District Court, an expression that certain laws are invalid, or bogus, is to commit the crime of levying war against the United States. At the risk of being again arrested on some frivolous pretext, we give it as our opinion that a greater than Jefferys is here.

Polygamy Illegal in Utah.

The beginning of the difficulties that will prove the destruction of the Mormon community has appeared: the Supreme Court of Utah has decided that the organic act extends the common law over the Territory; and the act being of the nature of a constitution, the common law overrides all the statutes of the Mormon Legislature. The decision renders polygamy as illegal in the Territory as it is in the States, and invalidates all the laws made by order of Brigham Young. As soon as this community, now possessing the license of isolation, comes into contact with the advancing population of the States, the Thucery is doomed; it will have to be extinguished, as a social even more than a political necessity—perhaps in blood. Two systems of law cannot exist side by side, and that which violates the principles on which all the civilized society of the world is founded must disappear. Separation from the "Gentiles" cannot be kept up by men who are Gentiles in race, and saints only by self-declaration; time will bring the ordinary world to the Salt Lake, and then questions will arise which will demand either obedience to the common law of the United States, or resistance to it; and the latter will produce the history of the first Mormon settlement over again, only on a larger scale, with greater violence, and less choice of a desert to fly to.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TEST FOR HUCHANAN.—The Presidential Electors, elected by the people, meet on the third of December, in their respective States, to cast their votes for President and Vice-President. They will then be sent to Washington, and opened in the House of Representatives on the 11th of February, and counted, and the election will be declared—President and Vice-President—before both houses assembled together. According to the votes of the people in the various States, the majority of the votes of the Electors will be declared in favor of Buchanan and Breckinridge; but the Electors may bring about a wholly different result if they think fit to do so. And this is the plot of our Richmond nullifiers: First, to put a strong nullification letter to Mr. Buchanan, and to require an immediate answer; and, secondly, in the event of an unsatisfactory answer, or no answer at all, to throw a sufficient number of Southern electoral votes upon Fillmore, Jefferson Davis, or Atchison, for example, to carry the election into the House. Thrown into the House, the nullifiers know very well that the election of President would fall upon Breckinridge by default, or that such scenes of excitement and violence would ensue as would precipitate the great secession ultimatum of the destruction of the government and the dissolution of the Union. —New York Herald.

SENATOR WILSON, in his speech at the Montreal celebration, spoke of the sympathy of the people of the Northern States with the people of the British Colonies, as follows:

"Let me say here to-day—what I know every son of New England, New York, and in an especial manner the sons of the mighty West, will sustain me in saying—that we witness the development and the prosperity of the British Colonies in North America, [cheers.] not only without jealousy, but we witness it with pride and admiration. [Cheers.] Go on, brethren, improve and develop all the mighty resources of British North America. Your prosperity is our prosperity. [Applause.] We are bound together by a thousand associations of blood and kindred. We are connected together by these mighty improvements, which we are met here to-day to commemorate. We are bound together by a treaty of Reciprocity [great cheering] mutually beneficial to you and to us. We are beginning to understand each other, to value each other, to be proud of each other's prosperity and success, and may God grant that the sons of British America and the sons of the North American Republic may never meet again on the banks of the St. Lawrence, on river, on lake or on land, in any other way than that in which we are met to-day—to grasp each other's hands in friendship, and to aid to encourage each other in the development of the resources of the North American continent. [Great applause.]"

GOV. WISE'S DESCRIPTION OF VIRGINIA.—You have relied alone on the single power of agriculture—and such agriculture! Your sedge-patches outshine the sun. Your intention to your only source of wealth has seared the bosom of mother earth. Instead of having to feed cattle on a thousand hills, you have had to chase the stump-tailed steer through sedge-patches to procure a single beef-steak. The present condition of things has existed too long in Virginia. The landlord has skinned the tenant, and the tenant has skinned the land until all have grown poor together.

DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.—PARTITION OF THE NATIONAL PROPERTY.—W. H. BARNWELL, Esq., of South Carolina, publishes a comment upon a recent speech of that distinguished ornament of the House of Representatives, Col. Keitt,—in which he urges the necessity of making some practical preparation for a dissolution of the Union. He suggests that some of the Senators or Members from Virginia or South Carolina introduce into Congress a bill making provision for a partition of the Navy, of the munitions of war, and of the public lands, in the event of Disunion. This is an improvement upon the project of Col. Brooks. That enterprising offshoot of the chivalry proposed to seize all these little conveniences of Federal housewifery, and make off with them. Col. Keitt offers to divide.

It is very good of Mr. Barnwell to give us notice that the only object of the movement he proposes is to frighten the North. If the free States were to behold a Southern member deliberately urging the passage of such a bill, they would be "brought to their senses" immediately, says Mr. Barnwell; and would be prepared to concede to the South whatever it claims under the pretexts of Constitutional rights and State equality.—*New York Times*.

DISTRESS IN NEW YORK.—Rents have become so enormous that here, as in Paris, the operatives cannot find habitations at prices which secure them ordinary comfort. All our public humane institutions are crowded with the poor and their necessitous, and though many kinds of wages are high, the prices of food and of clothing are comparatively higher, and are increasing.—*New York Herald, November 13*.

OPERATIC.—The Italian Opera at Drury Lane has, during the week, been so fully and so faithfully attended that one can almost fancy himself *en pleine saison*. Grisi and Mario never sang better, and Madame Amadei is a worthy rival of the talented Alboni. Herr Fornes and Prazzini are immense favorites, and so, indeed, is Signor Rovere; but, truth to tell, Mr. Willert Beale, (for he is the *impresario* and only operatic caterer the public now have,) must find his profits in those eminent continental and English favorites, Monsieur and Madame Gassier. In order to realize the gentleman, fancy Ronconi, "with a voice"—or Grazzini, "with a knowledge of the stage"—or Talma and Charles Mathews singing—for both comparisons will hold good, his line of business varying from the "Borgia Duke" to "Figaro." Madame Gassier, a beautiful little model prima donna, does what she likes; and what is more, what the audience like, with her voice. Last night, as *Amina*, in the "Sonambula," particularly in the *finale*, (which a cruelly exacting audience made her sing three times,) she worked the house up to such a pitch of excitement, that the orchestra, *en masse*, forgetful that they did not pay, but were paid for their attendance, threw down their instruments and left the lady unaccompanied in the brilliancy of her jewelled notes, only leading the van of such well-merited applause. On this occasion, Mr. William Tennant, the actor, who made so successfully a reported *debut* two weeks since, at the Theatre Royal, Dublin, appeared for the first time before a London audience. He has a sweet and sympathetic voice, and is a good musician.—*Evening Standard, New York Herald*.

A FACT BIG WITH MEANING.—On the 14th day of October, C. M. Clay and James B. Clay were both stopping at the Monongahela House in the city of Pittsburgh. The two gentlemen being both in Pennsylvania aiding by their counsel and speeches their respective parties. A leading Pennsylvania Buchanan man calls at the Monongahela, and requests the clerk to "show him to the room of Mr. Clay of Kentucky." The gentleman was shown to the room of Cassius Clay, and as he never before had met with either of the Mr. Clays, did not mistrust that he was in the presence of James B. After the usual salutations, the Buchanan committee-man intimated that he had called for consultation on political matters of some importance—and proceeded to say, that Bishop HENNES had given him authority to say that he had any amount of money in his possession, for the success of the Democratic party in Pennsylvania, and the election of Mr. Buchanan! Mr. Clay intimated to his visitor that perhaps he had mistaken his man. "But you are Mr. Clay of Kentucky?" "Yes, Cassius Clay." Whereupon the committee-man shot out of the room as if a torpedo had fallen somewhere in that neighborhood.—*Cleveland Leader*.

DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.—The *New York Evening Post*, referring to the proposed renewal of the Slave-trade, says:

"If our flag is to float over a nation of pirates on the seas, and of ruffians at home, dissolution may become a mercy, instead of a calamity to the race."

THE RICHMOND GOSPEL CONTINUED.—More than half a century ago, two good, well-intentioned men, Wilberforce and Howard, inaugurated a new school of philanthropy, which chose for its subjects scoundrels and savages. It was a sort of revival of the Pythagorean philosophy, which would vainly attempt to banish misery and pain from the world. The effort would have been innocent, but for the inevitable consequence, that in making scoundrels comfortable, you increased their numbers, and made honest men less comfortable; and in encouraging savages in idleness and cannibalism you imposed heavier labors on the white race.

The true philanthropist does not deal in soft, affected sentimentalism. He is ready to inflict a little pain to procure a great deal of happiness; ready to punish the criminal few, to advance the well-being of the virtuous and honest many; ready to expel, enslave, or exterminate, if need be, a few wandering savages and cannibals, who misuse and abuse the gifts of Providence, to give room, and employment, and comfort to white, civilized Christian men.—*Richmond Enquirer*.

MARCY AND THE RUSSIAN MINISTER.—It is said that Mr. Marcy intends to visit Europe next summer. The Washington correspondent of the *New York Herald* says: "He will be received on the other side with all the honors and distinction due to his position and fame. He will most undoubtedly go to St. Petersburg. The Russian Minister here is one of his greatest admirers, and I have no doubt the Governor has received more than one congratulation from the Czar through his Minister in America for the manner in which the Secretary handled Clarendon, Palmerston and Sartiges. During the Cramp-ton affair the Russian Minister was in ecstasies over the scene. The Secretary of State received the Russian's enthusiasm very good-humoredly. Marcy is a considerable wag in his way, although it would be difficult to make General Scott or Clarendon realize it."

THE POPULAR VOPE is estimated thus:			
Buchanan . . . Free States . . .	1,036,247		
Buchanan . . . Slave States . . .	613,115	1,649,362	
Fillmore . . . Free States . . .	342,715		
Fillmore . . . Slave States . . .	464,462	797,177	
Fremont . . . Free States . . .	1,168,174	1,168,174	
Aggregate vote	3,614,713		
Buchanan over Fremont	481,188		
Buchanan over Fillmore	852,185		
Fremont over Fillmore	370,997		
Fremont over Buchanan in Free States	131,927		
Fremont over Fillmore in Free States	825,459		
Fremont and Fillmore over Buchanan	315,989		
Fremont and Fillmore over Buchanan in the Free States	474,642		

"THE NORTHERN SHAM DEMOCRACY FROM A SOUTHERN POINT OF VIEW.—Cool.—The Charleston *Standard* of the 28th ult., speaking as the Northern Democrat says:

"Their only safeguard, they find, is to say that slavery is right, and for that reason it ought to be extended as far as it will naturally go. We are glad of this. We felt from the first that it was the only safe position for those North or South to stand on; and we have known that we have done no disservice to Democrats at the North by backing them up, in season, and out of season, to that stand. The reaction is becoming so strong in public opinion all over the country, that we would not be surprised to find the pro-slavery party transcend the limits of the institution, and control the councils of States where there is slaves. If the Slave-trade were re-opened, Pennsylvania would be with the South in less than ten years, and we are not certain that she may not yet assist in re-opening it."

It is reported that "The President has caused to be submitted to the Government of New Granada a formal proposition for the cession of the United States of municipal control over the Panama Railroad route, the cities of Aspinwall and Panama, and a strip of the territory through which the road runs, sufficiently wide to insure the perfection of the route from future violence."

SAILORS OF THE MERRIMAC.—We published a statement lately, from a London paper, in which the writer expressed his surprise at finding the crew of the United States steam-frigate Merrimac, while she lay at Southampton, to be nearly all foreigners—there being scarcely an American among them. We have a note from Mr. J. D. Kelly, saying that this is a mistake—that to his personal knowledge twelve of them are as genuine Yankees as ever were born. So much the better. The London writer judged merely from his own observation, and was of course very likely to be mistaken.—*New York Times*.

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