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THE EUROPEAN.

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SPIRIT OF THE GERMAN PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Poverty in New York.

[Translated from the New York Criminal-Zeitung.]

The social position of the working classes, having exerted a powerful influence on the events of Europe, is now about to acquire the highest possible importance in the United States. The developments caused by undoubted official reports indicate to the astonished observer a picture of poverty, misery and vice in the New World, which, in its magnitude, far surpasses similar representations in the old country. The prevailing idea, that want and poverty in America occur only transiently and seldom, must—even after a merely superficial view of the following records—give way to the conviction that the sufferings of a large class of American citizens constitute a deeply-rooted, rapidly-spreading, and dangerous disease, the further extension of which can only be limited by the greatest exertions and prompt action of philanthropists.

The report of the Secretary of the State of New York shows that in the year ending December 1st, 1855, 201,161 paupers were relieved at the public expense.

The census of the State from 1841 to 1854, and the pauper statistics for the same period, show the following startling results:

Increase of population in twenty years, 61 per cent.

Increase of pauperism, from annual tables during the same period, 700 per cent.

These two last statements are of themselves sufficient to convey a clear idea of the terrible spread of the evil, by showing that during twenty years the growth of pauperism in this State has been twelve times greater than the growth of population.

A further analysis of the pauperism of the State shows how large a part falls upon this City. Of the 201,161 State paupers, 100,815 were aided in this City, and of the 122,357 cared for by the Commission, etc. at Emigration, 130,685 were aided here; making the whole number, aided in this City the past year by these public institutions, 231,500.

The thirteenth annual report of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, contains the following remarks on these official statements:

"If the foregoing statements were not established by official statistics, they might appear incredible; but appalling as they are, they fall far short of the actual indigence relieved in this City and State."

"We have deeply sympathized with the sufferings of ill-fated Ireland, justly regarding it as the poorest country in Europe. 'Ireland' and 'pauperism' were so associated, as to present to the mind only scenes of sullen discontent and wretchedness. What shall we then say to the fact, that the ratio of pauperism to population is far less there, than in the prosperous and wealthy State of New York? In Ireland, with a popu-

lation about double that of this State, the total number of persons publicly relieved, in-door and out-door, during the year ending September, 1856, was 304,000, against 340,518 in this State—of which, note, 259,881, or more than seventy-five per cent., were of foreign birth. In other words, there were, according to the respective ratios of population, about two paupers in this State to one in Ireland. And there, meanwhile, we are informed the poor rates are rapidly decreasing, having fallen off ten per cent. since the preceding year; here, on the contrary, as has been shown, they are rapidly augmenting."

Causes of Pauperism.

The above quoted report of the Secretary of State, together with that of the association before mentioned, lay great stress upon the fact that the largest part of the poor here are "foreign-born," and profess that "this fact alone accounts for the enormous increase of poverty in New York. Before we enter upon the real cause of the increasing poverty, we must first correct this widespread error respecting foreigners. We quote again from the same report of the Secretary of State:

"The question naturally arises, what is the cause of this constant increase of pauperism in this State, distinguished as it is for wealth and prosperity? The unequal distribution of wealth, which always becomes more marked with the increase of luxury in a nation; the greater inducements to vice furnished by large cities; private almsgiving offering a premium to idleness; and still more, intemperance, which loads us annually with thousands of paupers—may be mentioned as the prolific sources from which flow such streams of poverty. All these demand the attention of those who would lessen the evils of pauperism. But it will be seen by the report that the chief causes of increase arise from the unchecked emigration of foreigners."

Accepting the statement of the report as correct, namely, that seventy-five per cent. of the poor in the State, and eighty per cent. of the city, of New York, have been born in foreign countries, we are still able to prove that emigration does not constitute the principal cause of pauperism in this City or State.

According to the census of this city, (taken in 1850,) about one-half of all the inhabitants in New York are foreign-born. If, then, the needy foreigners in New York comprised fifty per cent. of all the poor, the poverty would be divided between the Americans and the foreigners, exactly in proportion to their respective numbers. But the fact that there are amongst the adopted citizens thirty per cent. of poor persons, over and above their respective ratio of population, by no means proves the assertion of the Secretary of State. For here, as in all other countries, it is an undisputed fact, that the masses of the poor are to be found amongst the working people. Day-laborers and mechanics mostly live from hand to mouth; their work constitutes their only means of subsistence; and since their occupation is usually uncertain and precarious, every interruption in their daily work creates, of course, want, poverty and misery in their ranks. But in New York the greatest number of workmen dependent on such precarious occupation for their support consists of foreigners, and, therefore, it is in their midst where the largest number of poor persons are found. But it must be clearly understood that not the fact that they are emigrants, but that they are day-laborers, makes them more liable to become paupers. If all foreign-born laborers should be sent away from New York, and their work were performed by native Americans, the number of needy persons would not be decreased thereby. The Secretary of State might have derived from his own report a negative proof to the effect that emigration is not the main source of pauperism. There it is shown that the augmentation of poverty has been more rapid in the last two years than in any previous

period, and still emigration during these two years decreased considerably. If his theory were correct, pauperism ought to have been diminished during the same time. The perception of the Secretary—acute in all other respects—must have been rendered obtuse by native American vanity, else this paradox would not have escaped him. It deserves also to be noticed, that the relief of poor foreigners is mainly drawn from the emigration fund furnished by themselves.

Dwellings of the Poor.

The Legislature of the State of New York appointed a Committee to investigate the Condition of Tenement Houses in this City, and we extract the following from its report:

"In one building, one hundred and ten families are gathered, some of them numbering eight or ten members, occupying one close apartment, and huddled indiscriminately in damp, foul cellars, to breathe the air of which is to inhale disease. Here, in their very worst aspect, are to be seen the horrors of such a mode of living. Here are to be found drunken and diseased adults, of both sexes, lying in the midst of their filth; idiotic and crippled children, suffering from neglect and ill-treatment; girls just springing into womanhood, living indiscriminately in the same apartment with men of all ages and all colors; babes left so destitute of care and nourishment, as to be only fitted for a jail or hospital in after years, if they escape the blessing of an early grave.

"One of the provisions of the law regulating these matters, should be directed against permitting an underground apartment of any description to be rented or used as a tenement."—[The other parts of this report may be found in the EUROPEAN of December 6.]

Practical Remedy of the Evil.

Adhering to the fact, that precarious occupation is the main cause of poverty amongst the working classes, the proposed remedies indicated in the reports do not appear to us satisfactory.

The occasional cessation of work cannot be prevented without overthrowing our existing system of property, but society may greatly ameliorate the condition of the poor by admitting the right of every needy person to relief from the State. This principle has been put in practice in Great Britain—during the last few years also in Ireland—and the great diminution of pauperism there has proved its efficiency. The present law here does not acknowledge any such right of the poor. The law of the State of New York, assumes to make provision for "every person who is blind, lame, old, sick, impotent, or decrepid, or in any way disabled or enfeebled, so as to be unable by his work to maintain himself." For that purpose a small sum is at a particular period ordered to be raised, by taxation, to meet the expenses of the ensuing year, and when that proves insufficient (which is often the case) no public resource is left, even for the aged and sick.

For the healthy and able-bodied laborer who falls a prey to poverty and misery in consequence of the stopping of his work, the law makes no proper provision. The number of this class of workmen may be gleaned from the estimate of the delegates of the workmen of various associations in this city. On the 10th of January, 1856, they estimated the number of workmen being then in a destitute condition in consequence of their being thrown out of employment, at 195,000, including the families of the unemployed, but excluding all those who were compelled to work at reduced wages. These able-bodied men fell into an abyss of misery, undisturbed by any action on their part, and unprotected and unaided for by the State. Many of these tried to sustain life by invoking private charity, or by resorting to soup kitchens to avert starvation, and a great number of them were thrown into sick-beds in consequence of privations.

The statistics of deaths in this city furnish another evidence of the deleteriousness of the law. The deaths in this city in the year 1854, amounted to 28,122. This rate is nearly double the proportion of the mortality in London, whereas the mortality here ought to be in a lower ratio than the greatest number of deaths ever where mortis struck infants, and a large portion of the population of New York is composed of immigrants, who rarely come out here as children.

The insufficiency of the means provided by this State for the relief of the poor may be seen at a glance from the report of the Secretary of State. The amount in

money expended by the State authorities for the 204,161 poor during the whole year of 1854 was 1,379,954 dollars. Deducting from this the expenses for salaries, rent, &c., the average relief of each poor person amounted to six dollars during the whole year; and included in these 204,161 poor, there are necessarily many aged and sick persons who require to be supported the year round. Private societies accomplished still less than the State in this respect; 43,516 needy persons were relieved by the society above mentioned during the past year, at an expense of \$61,000; which, after necessary deductions, would make the average amount for each, during a whole year, one dollar! We do not blame this society for it; on the contrary, we are convinced that the most effectual private charity must prove unavailing to heal the gigantic evil of pauperism. The State alone is capable of doing it, and only then when it acknowledges its duty to assist all the poor within its boundaries. All objections against such a law—as, high taxation, encouragement of idleness, &c.—have been duly considered in England before the late modification of the law, and have been proved to be futile; besides, its operation in England has revealed its remedial character in such a manner that the former vehement opposition against it has now almost ceased.

We have no doubt that the introduction of a law of that description must emanate from the Republican party here. They are the party of progress; the philanthropists are in their ranks; they are the natural protectors of the free laborer; they set their face against the extension of slavery, and they must equally oppose the spread of poverty. Nothing is to be expected from the Anti-Republican party; for they hail slavery as a "blessing;" they propose to remedy the poverty of free laborers by making them slaves; their motto is, "All laborers—black or white—ought to be slaves." Whenever the Anti-Republican party has spoken of poor free laborers, they have referred them sneeringly to the pretended flesh-pots of the South, and to the superior advantages of slavery. They have never made any other proposal for relief. The Republicans must lead the way, and even if unsuccessful in the beginning their first attempt will honor them greatly, and will certainly pave the way for future success.

Dreadful position of Walker's Army in Nicaragua.

The New Orleans *Deutsche-Zeitung* publishes the following extracts from the letter of an educated German, serving in Walker's army in Nicaragua.

VICTORIA, December 1, 1856.

Since the last thirty days our army has lost 400 men, who died in the hospital; 100 have been shot, 50 ran away, and more than 300 are laid up sick. We have few medicines and many bad doctors. At this moment, we have only 300 men fit for service. The enemy has at least 5,000, and amongst that number a good many well-practised Europeans, Englishmen, Germans and Frenchmen. You may see from this our chances of victory. Whoever escapes sickness has a chance to be shot by the enemy. After we had attacked Masaya for the second time with great loss, and without success, Walker ordered the burning of Granada, and the sending of all troops to Virginia Bay, (on the California coast route). That could not be done by our movement; both steamers had to go and to return four times in order to fetch all. Walker went first, and since my company forms his body guard, I, perhaps fortunately for me, went with him. When the remaining soldiers began to burn Granada, and to break into the houses of the natives, they found there a great stock of beads, and, of course, all hands got drunk. During two days Henningsen, the commanding general, could not get a man to work, in consequence of which our positions of war, and the contents of the armory could not be got to the boats. The enemy of course received information of our position, attacked the town with 2,000 men, took the dockyard, and took all the 200 men on the wharf. In order to protect the boat, were all shot, except one man, who saved himself by swimming two miles to the steamer. For ten days we have heard nothing of the men, not being able to communicate with them; probably the most of them are dead. All we have at present in citizens and soldiers capable of service are 100 men. Our only hope is to get some more recruits; without it, we are all lost beyond recovery. The Germans are well treated in Costa Rica.

German Paper in Costa Rica.

The *Anzeiger des Westens* says that

Since the 19th of October of this year a weekly paper in the German language has been published in Costa Rica. It is entitled *Costa Rica Deutsche-Zeitung*, and contains interesting information in regard to the German population there. It shows that some important official positions in the Government of that State are held by Germans, and that the German emigrants in Costa Rica are prosperous.

The Position of Switzerland.

The *Pionier* of the 21st inst. contends that the situation of the Swiss Republic deserves the attention of European revolutionists. It states that

The royal *emule* at Neuenburg was not begun with a hope of immediate success, but with the intention of furnishing the European despots with a suitable pretext to destroy the little Republic. Louis Napoleon, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Austria, and all the monarchs of the German Confederacy, are united against Switzerland. If the Republic were to accede to the demands of the Powers in releasing the royalists rebels now prisoners in Neuenburg, she would thereby sanction the further rebellion of royalists, and invite new attempts at her own destruction.

SPIRIT OF THE NORTHERN PRESS.

STOCK-JOBBER FRAUDS.

The New York "Times" on the New York "Herald." Charge against the latter. Bogus Stocks Puffed until Dopes are caught.

(From the New York Times.)

There are a great variety of companies, many of them not now in existence, which in their day were extravagantly and steadily puffed by somebody "connected" with the *Herald*, until they reached a price at which the stock could be sold profitably—and then they were generally allowed to explode. Among them, including those mentioned above, were the following:

The Parker Vein Company,
The Gold Hill Mining Company,
The Hwasale Company,
The Nicaragua Company,
The Massachusetts Copper Company,
The Ulster Mining Company,
The McCullough Lead Company,
The Potomac Lead Company,
The Missouri Lead Company.

We might extend the list indefinitely. They were all puffed incessantly, during their brief existence, in the columns of the *Herald*. The presumption is, that somebody "connected therewith" wrote the articles in regard to them. If so, who was it? and what were his motives? Men do not usually write column after column, day after day, on such subjects, and publish them, without some motive. Perhaps it was the desire to enlighten the public in regard to the merit of these concerns, and induce prudent, careful men to invest their savings in their stock. If so, the attempt was successful; but we presume the parties thus influenced will be a little careful how they act upon the advice of the "proprietor of the *Herald*, or anybody connected therewith" again. But if these puffs were not written and inserted by anybody "connected with" that paper, who did write them? Does everybody who happens to have a stock jobbing speculation on hand, enjoy the privilege of writing it into notice through the columns of the *Herald*? Is this the system pursued by our neighbor in conducting his journal?

There's something shockingly loose, or else shockingly wicked about the *Herald's* course in regard to stocks and the money interests of the country. On one hand, we see it constantly puffing into favor the schemes of bogus and swindling concerns got up by stock-jobbing speculators, until thousands of men of small means, who have saved a few hundred dollars, are induced to invest them in their stock, and then they explode, and prove to have been utterly worthless from the beginning. On the other hand, we find it constantly denouncing and depreciating the stock of all the really valuable railroads, banks, &c. in the country, charging their managers with fraud, fabricating stories of delinquency, denouncing their sworn statements as false and delusive, and striving by all the means in its power to destroy all confidence in their management.

and all faith in their value, to drive down the prices of their stock, and thus frighten the thousands who have paid their money for them into selling out at large and often ruinous sacrifices of their property. This, certainly, is a very curious policy for a newspaper to pursue. It is consistent enough in its general aim, which is simply to swindle everybody—those who have invested in good stocks into selling out, and everybody else into bogus investments. But it does not consult the public good very largely. In fact the only parties whose interest such a course does consult, are those who have bogus stock to sell, and who want money to buy good stock. Whether men of this sort are inside or outside of the establishment, the *Herald* is evidently conducted for their benefit.

The New York "Herald" on the New York "Times"—Counter charge. What Alliance is to be placed on Financial Articles in New York Papers.

[From the New York Times, December 21.]

We assert that Wesley & Company do uniformly use the *Times*, and that its editors, whether wilfully or not, we know and care not, do persistently misrepresent facts, in order that Wesley's speculations and gambling operations may succeed. We assert that Wesley & Company, bull speculators, and large vendors of railway securities, do systematically use the *Times* to advertise their wares, and in its columns do represent that to be good and valuable which they well know at heart to be worthless. And we assert generally, that the main object and purport of the *Times* newspaper is to give aid, comfort and protection to the speculations and gambling operations of Wesley & Company; that all the rest of it—its politics, its literature, and the rest—are mere shams, thrown in to make believe that it is a newspaper, like the *Herald*, or *Tribune*, and that not many weeks since, Mr. Wesley, the head of Wesley & Company, expressed his readiness to, and actually took the first steps toward dissolving the concern, because a doubt was raised of his right to control the *Times* for his own purposes.

Russian Railways. Why their Construction should be discouraged by Western Europe.

[From the Boston Daily Chronicle.]

All civilized governments ought to prevent their subjects from having any part in that scheme. The taking of stock in the Russian railways ought to be made as much a criminal offence as the sending of munitions of war to the same nation in times of hostility by citizens of the countries she is seeking to cheat. Were Russia building railways for commercial and civilizing purposes, very different would be the line of conduct that foreign nations should adopt towards her; but what are we to think of a scheme that provides for the construction of almost three thousand miles of railway, but provides not for the termination of one line at either of her few great seaports—that thinks not of Odessa, but connects Moscow with—Kaffa! It is not as a civilizer that Russia is acting, but as a barbarous power that relies on the sword for supremacy. She would make use of the great discoveries of science, not to elevate the condition of her own people, but to enslave the rest of the world; and she would cheat those whom she would enslave, plundering them of their property before reducing them to servitude. Against so foul an undertaking the civilized world should combine its powers, in order that it may not be compelled, when the railways shall have been built, to combine its armies to make a stand against open schemes of Russian conquest.

The "American Call" on the Difference due from Irish in the United States to Americans. Superiority of Colonial Manners.

The *American Call*, (a New York paper,) combats the theory of the *Boston Pilot* that the Irish in this country ought to conform to American manners, habits and institutions. The *Call* says:

Here is a public and unmistakable issue: the affirmation of which is, that we, persons of foreign birth, and our children, must "conform," not only to "the institutions" of this country, but must also "conform" to its "manners," "habits," "customs" and "ideas." Here is a leveling proposition indeed! To conform to the institutions, meaning of course the political fabric of society, we hold to be a duty which every man, who has shut out from his heart the expectation of returning to his native land, ought strenuously endeavor to discharge. To that extent we are entirely agreed with

this and other writers of similar sentiments; but to be obliged to conform in "manners," "habits," "customs" and "ideas" to the prevailing American standards, is what we think no man, no State, no Congress, no "social circle," has any right to demand, and what we are very certain no intelligent and independent man of foreign birth will ever consent or submit to.

The topic of *habits* may well be disposed of with that of manners. We shall only remark here, that puffing cigar smoke into a lady's face, or swearing by the Most Sacred Name as soon as ladies turn their backs, do not appear to us *habits* which it is the bounden duty of every foreigner to acquire. Europe, it ought to be remembered, being for about two thousand years the seat of civilization, whereas this country is scarcely two hundred years out of the forest; Europe naturally gives the law to America, instead of America to Europe, in the science of social intercourse. Practically, this has always been the case. Nay, the revolutionary generation of THREE millions probably contained more gentlemen than the present generation of TWENTY-FOUR millions. Wherefore? Because they were in personal, direct intercourse with the old courts and classes of Europe. For example, Washington's first lessons in that dignified carriage which never deserted him, were made under the roof of an Irish peer, Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia. We say it, and without fear of contradiction, that at this moment the *British Colonies* are just as far beyond us in the elegant urbanities of life, as we are beyond them in enterprise, success, bustle, and luxurious living.

Renewal of the Slave-Trade.

[From the New York Evening Post.]

Here is Mr. Orr's resolution, against which only eight members voted, Brooks and Kett being of the number.

"Resolved, That it is inexpedient, unwise and contrary to the settled policy of the United States to repeal the laws prohibiting the African Slave-trade."

This is very guarded phraseology. It may condemn the proposition to revive the trade, but it does not condemn the trade itself. And on what grounds does it condemn the proposition? On the ground of expediency and policy alone. It is "inexpedient," says the resolution. What is inexpedient to-day may become expedient to-morrow. It is "unwise," says the resolution. What is unwise when the people are unprepared for it, may become wise when a stronger party in favor of the measure has been recruited and organized. It is "contrary to the settled policy of the United States," says the resolution. Well, we may change that policy to-morrow, if we see good reason, and then the encouragement of the Slave-trade will become the settled policy of the United States.

In short, Mr. Orr's resolution is purposely so framed as to give those who supported it an opportunity of voting for the revival of the Slave-trade, without inconsistency, the moment they are strong enough to carry it in Congress.

MUNICIPAL CORRUPTION.

New York City Government. Frauds in Advertising for Contracts. Collusion with the Heads of Departments. Officials become suddenly Rich.

[From the New York Times.]

One of the most glaring abuses in the present defective system of city government is in the manner in which heads of departments advertise for proposals for contracts. The law provides that no work shall be done "to an amount exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars" which is not advertised for a certain number of days, and that at the expiration of that time all bids shall be opened, and the contract allotted to the lowest bidder. Yet it is well known that very few jobs are assigned to individuals outside of a certain favored circle, and that the most imperfect information is conveyed to the public generally with respect to the nature of the work under competition. In fact, the smallest possible amount of publicity is given in offering to receive proposals, and obscure persons unknown to and unrequited by the mass of the people, are chosen, in order to defraud the ends of the law.

It is a usual custom, before advertising a job, for the head of the department, under whom the labor is to be executed, to call together a few of his friends, and to arrange beforehand who shall put in the lowest bid, the manner in which it is to be done, with such other details as are necessary to defraud the Treasury. Bids are

frequently put in, in the name of some fictitious person, ranging from a high to a low estimate—speculators standing ready to take advantage of any embarrassment which may be owing to the non-appearance of the false bidder, and to get the contract at the highest possible limit. Again, it is a practice to put in estimates, not with the expectation of making and performing a contract; but to be bought off by some more responsible party, who has been underbid. Various other corrupt and fraudulent tricks, well known to the initiated, are in vogue, by which to plunder the pockets of taxpayers. The head of the department almost invariably acts in collusion, and shares the spoils with the outside thieves, so that, under the present system, it is almost impossible to prevent it. It has become notorious that several ex-officials, who went into office worth nothing, and overwhelmed with debt, have emerged from the slough of place (which they had occupied for two years, at a salary of \$2,500 a year) possessed of large fortunes, besides having enriched many of their friends. The Tompkins Market veto of the Mayor, which we published the other day, exposed repeated cases of false bids, false securities, false affidavits before a false Commissioner, and forgeries without end, in connection with a single transaction. Like instances occur continually, and until a fundamental change takes place in our municipal system, must continue to occur.

The very object of the "lowest bid" "contract" method, is to invite the largest amount of competition, and prevent the exorbitant prices which monopoly produces. This object is now totally defeated, and means should be devised to remedy the mischief. Under the competition system, too much publicity cannot be given to the offering of contracts. At present there is, virtually, none, and what little seems to exist is rendered of no avail, by the fraudulent manner in which bids are given in and received and contracts are made.

On what Conditions the Union should be Continued.

The Washington correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, in commenting upon the case now before the Supreme Court of the United States, in which the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise has been discussed, and which case involves the question whether a State has the right to make a freeman a slave, says:

A Government whose foundations are to be acknowledged to rest on the neck of the oppressed, is not worth preserving. If the Government is to insist that slavery is its corner-stone, it is a Government which should come to an end. This Union was formed by its founders as an instrument for the freedom and elevation of man. By them slavery was regarded as an exceptional institution, to be removed by time gradually, but surely, to be rooted out by liberty. The aim of the party which has the control of the Government, and which is represented by Mr. Johnson in this his highest effort before the highest tribunal of the country, now is, to thwart and destroy these lofty purposes of the founders of the Constitution and the Union, and to make the Government an engine of aristocratic rule and direct oppression. Should success attend the effort, should it come to be understood that the determination of this Government is to assert that slavery is not an exceptional institution among us, but is to be regarded as permanent and perpetual where it exists, and that it shall not only be permitted to spread, but that it is entitled to the protection of the Government in its extension throughout our territory who should desire the Union to stand?

It is useless to disguise this state of things, or to pretend that there is any present probability of restoring the harmony that existed in the workings of the Government when there was a common agreement, North and South, that slavery was a nuisance, and an evil to be got rid of at the earliest practicable moment. Such was our condition when the Union was formed and the Constitution adopted. At a later period, a comparative harmony was preserved by compromises on the question. Now, the old idea is repudiated by the slavery men, and the compromise system seemingly argued by all. We are thus arrived at the point of collision between the opposing forces in the Government. While this state of things continues to exist, there can be no peace. There can be a triumph of one party over the other, but that is all. How long is political union possible under such circumstances? There may be a period of periods of peace between the combatants, but they will ever be temporary, and partake of the character of a truce, or

ragua, what would be the result? According to the above ratio of Walker's losses, of these two thousand fresh recruits, at least sixteen hundred would soon be left in the graveyards of the Walker republic, so that the chances of return volunteers would be diminished to four hundred men, three-fourths of whom would probably be scattered along the way. Thus, if our two thousand invulnerable city ruffians and vagabonds should go down to Walker, the probabilities are that not over a hundred would ever return back upon us to disturb the peace of the city. Would not this be a great blessing to New York, and worth some degree of liberality to bring about? Then, again, in going down to Nicaragua, for the assistance of Walker, these volunteers will have the satisfaction of dying in a good cause, of which they have not the shadow of a chance at home. Stand them down.

REMARKS.

We are sorry to say that some of our Irish contemporaries encourage their fellow-countrymen to go to Nicaragua, to help Walker in his efforts to establish slavery there.

The *Irish News* (New York) of 20th instant, many days after most people had learned that Walker had retreated, had the following concluding remarks to an article headed "Nicaragua. The Red Star still in the Ascendant."

The flag of Hernando Cortez,—colored cross, gleaming on a black ground, and surrounded by blue and white flames—was not more indicative of the man who bore it, and the successful programme of which it may be taken as the symbol, than is the Red Star of Nicaragua symbolic of the steady burning fervor of the chief who inspires and conducts its destiny.

Administration of Justice in England and America compared. Superiority of the English Reformed System.

[From the New York Tribune, December 22.]

There are regular returns made by the county courts to Parliament, by which it appears that between five and six hundred thousand actions are entered annually, of which about one-half come to trial, and the amount adjudged upon is from £600,000 to £800,000. These tribunals are virtually Courts of Conciliation. They are better than references among neighbors, or "leaving it out to men," as it is called in the country; because the umpire is a lawyer of approved learning and character, who is the sworn friend and adviser of both parties. Much, of course, depends on the character of the magistrate; but the right man can always be found for the right place, if there be an honest wish to do so. The administration of justice, precisely where it should be most rigidly just—in its dealings with the poorer classes—is where it is most deficient in this country. The lawyers and officials who crowd about our courts of petty jurisdiction, are precisely the class that should be exterminated by the adoption of a system which should supersede the one and keep the other in hand with a tight rein, held by responsible and conscientious superiors. That this can be done is proved by what has been done in England. But whether the necessity of our great cities, at least, is not too strong for the law reformers, is a question which we wish rather than hope to see decided in the right way.

Renewal of the Slave-Trade.

At the late Southern Commercial Convention at Savannah, the subject of the Pacific Railroad was discussed.

Mr. John Kent, of Virginia, was opposed to the construction of this railroad, because it would lead to the extension of slavery into new Territory, and he was opposed to such extension unless the African Slave-trade could be reopened. Unless that trade were reopened, Virginia, and other border States would have to supply the negroes to colonize the new regions of country which this road would open up to Southern institutions. The South might thus gain South Carolina, but it would lose the Old Dominion, for the effect of this extension of the area of slavery was to decrease the slave population of Virginia, and ultimately to make her a free-soil State. He quoted numerous statistics in support of this position. Gentlemen might condemn the Slave-trade, but, if they meant to keep Virginia strong in her devotion to the institution, that trade would have to be reopened. It was one of the necessities of the times.

Mr. J. A. Calhoun, of South Carolina, said that in due season, whenever the necessities of Virginia required that the Slave-trade should be reopened, there would be no difficulty at all about the matter. What-ever might be the sensibilities of certain gentlemen on the subject, whenever the exigencies of the South required more labor they would have it, and Virginia need have no apprehension on the subject. He was not prepared at this time, however, to agitate the question of reopening the African Slave-trade, but not because he was tender-footed, or had any moral sentiments in opposition to the trade—for that was all fudge—but because the South had not yet taken its stand upon the subject.

He took the position, and was prepared to maintain it in the face of the world, that slavery was the best system of labor ever devised by the wit of man—the best for the master and the best for the operative; it would more than favorably compare with the hiring system, the inevitable effect of which was to create antagonism between capital and labor. Humanity and interest combined to make the master kind to the slave, but the capitalist who hired his labor had no such motives. Southern men should meet this question boldly; they had a system of labor which was better than any hiring system that ever existed on the face of the earth, and they would be cravens and cowards if they did not maintain that system. But, he repeated, the South had not yet taken that position in reference to the reopening of the Slave-trade which it ought to take, and must take, in order to maintain itself. When the South should determine to open the path to the Pacific, and maintain their rights and institutions at all hazards, then he would be prepared to furnish Virginia with all the slave labor she could require.

KANSAU.

Whether it will be a Free State.

There never has been any danger of slavery, as a system, being established in Kansas under the Nebraska law, except that which was occasioned by the interference of Emigrant Aid Societies, Kansas League, &c. It was always palpable on the surface that, without some artificial, forced, and unnatural agency, slavery never would or could prevail in Kansas; for, beside that under the Nebraska law the land was to be divided up in sections altogether too small for slave plantations, the whole Territory is in the direct line of Emigration from the Northern States and from Europe. It is, moreover, too cold for slave constitutions or slave productions. Southern planters would never have thought of going there if Abolitionists had not told them they should not. As it is, very few have gone there. —*Journal of Commerce.*

In reply to the above statements of the *Journal of Commerce*, the *Tribune* calls attention to these undeniable facts:

1. Kansas lies in just the same latitude with Missouri, and if the former is "too cold for slave constitutions and slave productions," so is the latter.
2. It is "divided up in sections" just as Missouri and other slave States are.
3. The north east angle of Kansas, about the size of Rhode Island, which was stealthily wrested from her and added to Missouri by Colonel Benton's management in Congress twenty years ago, is now the most slave-holding and pro-slavery section of the latter State.
4. Before the Nebraska bill had passed, or Emigrant Aid Societies in the free States had been thought of, David H. Atchison, then a Democratic United States Senator, and just before acting Vice-President of the United States, visited the Missouri border towns to stir up their people to settle upon what is now Kansas at the earliest moment in order to plant slavery there.

Whether Europeans should Emigrate to Kansas.

The *New York Evening Post* of 22d instant, says: We believe that we may assure those who think of emigrating to Kansas, that the way is now as clear to that Territory as to Nebraska, and the rights of settlers as safe there as in the more northern Territory. The men who were sent from the slave States to serve as soldiers of slavery for two years, have, for the most part, gone back; at all events they have disappeared. Atchison hovers yet on the borders of the Territory; but would not dare to enter it again, without a horde of armed Missourians at his back, and this he will be prevented from doing by Governor Henry. The country

is now likely to fill rapidly with colonists from the Atlantic States, and to become one of the most prosperous of our Territories. The troubles by which its early settlers have suffered have attracted attention to it in a degree to which we do not recollect a parallel, and now that they are sure to be protected in their rights, the tide of emigration will set strongly in that direction.

REMARKS.

We would recommend all emigrants to avoid Kansas, for although it may be true that the way is no longer obstructed and that the settlers will be protected in the possession of their property, yet, as we believe, that Kansas will be a slave State, we do not hold that the freemen of the North should go there to settle. It is said that the free-state and pro-slavery settlers have bought lands side by side, with the understanding that they are to behave to each other as good neighbors. We apprehend that many of the men from the free States will soon be desirous of clearing themselves from the imputation of being "abolitionists" or free-soilers. Kansas is now a slave Territory, and the Legislature is composed of pro-slavery men. It must be borne in mind that throughout all the Territories, wherever slavery has been allowed to go, there it has been established. Experience shows that when a few influential men have wanted slaves for their farms and households, their poorer neighbors have never offered any effectual resistance.

[From the New York Tribune, December 23.]

The coming Spring will decide the question. Having failed to drive out the free-state men by force, the Missourians will doubtless now make an effort to out-vote them, by throwing the next Spring a great body of bona fide immigrants into the Territory. We, on the other hand, must meet and outvote them by a still greater body of immigrants from the free States. Shall it not be done? Will not our capitalists freely take hold of an operation which, at the point at which it has now arrived, promises pecuniary profits as well as political triumphs.

House Proprietors in London and Paris.

An Error Corrected respecting the supposed Monopoly of House Property in London.

The Paris correspondent of the *New York Herald* says:

The house proprietors of Paris are undoubtedly a miserable class. They have earned their savings by the sweat of their brow, and for the most part in the humblest walks of life. They purchase property, and are proud to own it, but they have none of the nobler feelings which a right in the soil was once alleged to bring with it. Lawyers, merchants, masons, tailors, drapers, cooks and serving men hold the station here, which in London is shared, or rather monopolized, by the Marquis of Westminster, the Duke of Portland, the Duke of Newcastle, of Bedford, &c., &c.; and their whole thought from morning till night, now that they have retired from their proper calling, is to hover round the property they have purchased, and see how, by the most beggarly manoeuvres, they can squeeze out of it an extra hundred francs.

REMARKS.

The writer is mistaken in his remarks about London. The houses there are owned by a vast number of persons, chiefly of the middle classes. It is true that the noblemen named have some interest as ground landlords in many houses outside of the City of London, but their interests are comparatively insignificant, and they have nothing to do with the letting of those houses. They only receive ground rents, which may be equal, perhaps, on an average, to one-twentieth part of the rents paid by the occupants. The original leases were made mostly to builders, for the term of ninety-nine years. The lessees may usually purchase the reversion, which is, however, not of much value.

Utah.

Whether Polygamy is unlawful. Whether any Marriage can be lawfully solemnized in Utah.

At the July Term of the First Judicial District Court for Utah Territory, held at Genoa, in Carson county, Judge Drummond charged the grand jury

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Utah.

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that polygamy was a penal offense. He also laid
down the law as follows:

I have already instructed you that there is no law in
this Territory authorizing the holding of marriage license,
or authorizing any one to perform marriage ceremonies,
either in or out of the church; and much as you may
regret to do so, it is nevertheless your duty to respect
the law of the land, and prefer bills of indictment against
all such as have not been legally married in some other
country, and particularly when two or more women are
cohabiting with the same man.

The judge is wrong in supposing that no marriage
can lawfully take place in Utah because there is no
law authorizing any one there to perform the mar-
riage ceremony. At common law (which prevails
in Utah) no formal ceremony is requisite to give
validity to a marriage—a contract between the par-
ties is enough. That is the law at this day in New
York. Here the living together as man and wife
constitutes a marriage; but the common law forbids
polygamy.

THE ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH.

The report of Lieutenant Maury upon sub-oceanic
geography, submarine telegraphic plateau, deep-sea
soundings, the temperature of the sea, and other
matters connected therewith, pronounces the recent
voyage of the steamer Arctic, so far as the deep-sea
soundings are concerned, a partial failure, at least,
and states that the work will have to be done over
again. The New York Herald says:

The terminal of the main line are exclusively under
the control of the English proprietors, and there may
arise occasions when this circumstance may have an im-
portant influence upon the welfare and security of the
United States. Suppose future difficulties should arise
between the two countries, what will be easier, what
more probable, than the early stationing of large British
fleets at Halifax and large armies on the St. Lawrence
and lakes? Suppose war is declared by England against
this country; the news can be sent by telegraph, and a
hostile fleet might be at work upon our coast at least a
week before we should have direct information of the
fact. Incursions could be made along our Northern
frontier with even greater celerity. In twenty-four
hours after the telegraphic despatch is received at Que-
bec, Montreal or Kingston, troops might be in motion
for a descent on our territory. No doubt Lord Palmer-
ston has well considered the subject, and has not given
the scheme his countenance without perceiving the ad-
vantages it will give his country, if it should suddenly
break up its peaceful relations with our own.

REMARKS.

There is no occasion for alarm on this head. If
one cable succeeds, another can be put down direct
from New York to Europe, via the Azores.

The New York Times of the 23d instant says,
that the British Government will guarantee the
Telegraph Company a certain profit. That is not
so. The Government only propose to pay at a cer-
tain rate for the business done. If the line will not
work the Government pay nothing.

Priestcraft in Italy. Rich Developments.

A lecture was delivered recently at the Stuyve-
sant Institute, in this city, respecting the condition
of Italy, by the ex-priest Baldassare, in the costume
of a priest. He said:

What civilization could Italy have if there were no pro-
gress of society; no amelioration of the social state; no
increase of national prosperity; no development of indi-
vidual life; no equitable distribution of power among
men; no improvement of the moral character of man;
no civil and religious liberty; no liberty of conscience;
no liberty of mind? The taxes were insupportable; jus-
tice was not rightly administered; the moral and intellec-
tual energies of the people were studiously kept in a
state of torpor; the land was in the hands of a few
wealthy and aristocratic men, and a large portion of the
husbandmen were in a state of indolence and indigence;
manufactures of any kind were few in number; railroads
were very few and very short; commerce was at the
lowest ebb; the people could not travel without a Gov-
ernment license, and being examined by the police of
every town, paying them always liberally for their kind

care. Every action was strictly scrutinized by the priests.
They could not sleep in a hotel or private house without
being molested at midnight by the police, and almost all
the priests were policemen. The people were in a state
of oppression and compression, because they were in the
hands of priests—the greatest enemies of civil and reli-
gious liberty and social prosperity. The nobles of Italy
were in the hands of priests, monks, Jesuits, who are
enemies of light and lovers of darkness. The priests
created and spread a firm belief in the immense power of
the devil over mankind; and they did not fail to teach
that they alone have the power of exorcising his majesty.

The remedies belonged exclusively to the Church.
They were holy water, the scapulary, the blessed lace of
Palm Sunday, the blessed bread, the wax taper, little
crucifixes, images of saints, statues of thousands of different
Virgin Marys, pictures, medals, &c. These were the
priests' defensive weapons that furnished the Romish
ecclesiastical arsenal against the devil; and they were
sold in the market places by mountebanks, on the days
of fairs, to countrymen, who received them, crossing
themselves devoutly meanwhile. Besides these profit-
able inventions, the priests had established a great
many relations between saints and men. The skill of
the physicians was good for nothing in comparison
with the help of saints, in cures of disease. This was a
source of hope that never failed. For instance: St.
Anthony, the abbot, secured his votaries from fire; St.
Anthony, of Padua, delivers from water; St. Barbara
delivers from thunder and war; St. Rose cures diseases
of the throat; St. Lucia breaks all diseases of eyes;
St. Dorothy, the tooth; St. Agatha, the breasts of
women; St. Domingo, fevers; St. Rock, the plague, &c.
These saints had all their feast days, and they were a
great source of income to the curates; happy was the
priest whose saint was of great renown. On the day of
the feast, from morning, before daybreak, the people
crowded to the statue of the venerated saint, offering to
it prayers, and to the priest money. (Never should any
one go to a Catholic church without money. From the
cradle to the grave man must give money to the priests.)
When the ceremony of the saint had been concluded,
the priests went to the curate's house, where a sacra-
mental war in readiness—the saint paying the expense.
The guests, fatigued by their long recitations, praise
their patron by honoring the dinner. Then the praises
of the good saint were celebrated. One drank his
health, and another laughed at the credulity of his votar-
ies. A friend of his, a pleasant fellow, who had no
more faith in saints than in Jupiter, but who profited by
his patron, said to him once: "Do you see this small and
skinny saint? He is my best saint; much more useful
than all the others. He is worth many thousand dol-
lars." "Well," said Mr. Baldassare, "but you are very
ungrateful to him in leaving him so dirty. He will
become angry with you." "You don't understand the
matter," he replied. "If I clean, paint and gild him,
he will look new, and then what will become of this look
of antiquity, which throws him back thousands of years
into the darkness of passed times? He would be a saint
of fresh date, he would lose his honors by my painting
and gilding, and what is much worse, I should lose my
income. Mysteries, mysteries, suit our holy religion!
Hurrah for the religion of the Pope!"

To secure additional revenue, the priests had also
created the doctrine of relics. They were of three
kinds—relics of Christ, relics of the Virgin Mary, and
relics of saints. The relics of Christ were very numerous.
The arsenal of the modern pagan Rome held the crulla
of Christ; the steps of Pontius Pilate, which Christ
ascended; the holy handkerchief; the true cross of
Christ; the true nails of the cross, the true thorns of
the crown, &c. If the audience could gather all the
great and small pieces of the cross of Christ, they could
build ten very large ships with them; and if they could
collect all the "true nails" of the cross, they could surely
fascinate those great vessels. But arithmetic quailed be-
fore the number of the thorns from Christ. Christ,
undoubtedly, said Mr. Baldassare, had not a mountain
of thorns on his head, and yet he firmly believed, if all
that were bought and sold as such were heaped together,
there would be another added in the many hills on which
the Romish harlot sits. But what was most surprising
was, that the thorns were trickling with the Medusa's
blood every year. Happy was that church, or monastery,
or parish, in the possession of a tooth, or nail, or hair,
or bone, or rag of some renowned saint. There could
not be a surer road to wealth. The shrine would glitter

with diamonds, and the treasury of Rome would be
replenished with silver and gold. In one church you
could see the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul; in another
a lock of the hair of the Virgin Mary, a phial of her
tears, or of her milk; in another a robe of Christ,
sprinkled with his blood, or some drops of his tears,
secured in a small bottle, or some drops of water which
came from the wound in his side; the robe of Moses
and Aaron; and two pieces of the real ark of the cove-
nant. Rome, indeed, was the great depository of the
greatest part of these precious relics of antiquity. Other
cities, however, had a good share in that class of the
relics of Pagan Rome. The city of Berg, in the king-
dom of Naples, where Mr. Baldassare was educated,
boasted of several tears of the Virgin Mary, shed and
carefully collected at the foot of the cross on which her
beloved son was crucified. In time of droughts or flood
they were carried in a magnificent shrine, in procession
through all the streets, to invoke the pity of God. But
the most curious of all the relics was a gown of St.
Joseph carefully secured in a large bottle.

But he had spoken at large of saints and relics with-
out naming St. Januarius, of Naples—the great patron.
St. Januarius was a very great saint. He was sorry that
he could not come to America for fear of the ocean,
that he might show the stupid American people his
wondrous miracles. The blood of this great saint was
kept in a glass phial, and on the day of his feast it was
put in veneration, when it grew bluish and red, like
cinnamon. And by and by it bubbled up to the sight of
the whole people, who then cried "Hurrah for Saint
Januarius!" But sometimes the chemical preparation of
that wondrous miracle did not produce its effect soon
enough, and then the lizzaroni became angry, and
threw rotten apples on his beautiful face, charging the
poor saint with many villanies.

With so much monstrosity and absurdity, which the
Roman Church put forth to degrade the people, who
could call Italy a civilized country?

REMARKS.

Mr. Baldassare has pretty accurately described
the priests—he is perfectly at home on that subject.
When, however, he wanders from that matter, he
falls into error. The superstitious feeling existing
among the Neapolitan lizzaroni, and some portions
of the population of the dominions of the King of
Naples, is but rarely to be found in Central Italy
and Lombardy. There, if a priest recommend any-
body or anything, that is of itself sufficient to raise
a suspicion in the public mind. We venture to say
that in no city in the world is there so little religion
as in Rome. Mr. Baldassare must not confound
Italy with the town of Santaroma in the kingdom of
Naples, where he was born.

For many ages Italy ruled the known world, and
that supremacy was upheld as much by her policy
as by her sword. Nor did she cease to govern when
her sword became blunted, for then she dominated
through priestcraft, and Europe bowed to the High
Priest of Rome. To Italian perseverance and intel-
lect the world owes the discovery of America, of
the Mariner's Compass, the Banking System, the
Telescope, the verification of the Earth's Motion,
the Thermometer, Barometer, Galvanism, and many
other important discoveries, and in the arts she yet
holds undisputed sway. Although her territory is
subject to the double occupation of French and
Austrian armies, her restless impatience of des-
potism is the theme of admiration among the Pa-
trists of Europe. The desire of the reformers of
the present day is not confined to mere political
changes, but is likewise directed towards the ame-
lioration of the social condition of the laboring
classes; and the Italian revolutionists have already
shown that to be "a question unavoidable for every
people, and, indeed, the only one of importance."

THE WALKER MENTION AT THE TABERNACLE.—A fa-
ther's slim demonstration in behalf of Walker took place
at the Tabernacle on Saturday night. General Ward B.
Huntt presided. The proceedings were opened by a
characteristic appeal from Captain Hynders to the charity
of the audience, in behalf of the wretched heroes of Rich-
mond, who are now suffering the pangs of their cruel
attempt to extend the area of slavery and the African
Slave-trade.—New York Evening Post.

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-Republicanism, *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, DECEMBER 27, 1856.

Necessity for a Revolution in the Laws for the Relief of the Poor.

In an article in the *Freeman's Journal*, (a Roman Catholic paper published in this city,) on the recent Report of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, we find the following passage:

"I contend that in every country, in every land, under every form of government, the wealthy, the possessors of property, are bound by every moral and religious law—are bound by the instincts of self-preservation—to relieve this pauperism thus produced, and institute public asylums and establishments where this relief may be administered.

The *New York Times* of the 20th instant concludes "to the fullest extent the truth of the position which is thus laid down by the Editor of that paper."

We, however, are not content to affirm the moral obligation of "the wealthy, the possessors of property," to relieve the poor.

We maintain that it is the duty of society—and the state—to render assistance to all who need it. This principle was for many years opposed in Ireland by a combination of the owners of property with the priests; but at last the friends of the working classes succeeded in obtaining the passage of an act of Parliament, charging the real estate of Ireland with the support of the poor. If the act had been passed at an earlier period that country would, ere this, have become thoroughly regenerated.

It is a singular fact that Daniel O'Connell opposed with all his might the enactment of poor laws for Ireland. He used to delight (as American newspaper editors generally do now) in making absurd comments upon the working of the English system, and

contended with great vehemence that the sentiment of charity would be destroyed if the poor had a legal right to demand support. In this fallacy he was sustained by the priests, with scarcely a single exception.

We will not affirm that they were influenced by improper motives, but we have no doubt whatever that the Irish poor law will utterly annihilate the influence of the Irish priests with the working classes. When the priests were the public almoners, and the sole medium of communication between the rich and the poor, the priestly influence was at its height. Formerly, the poor man had no one but the priest to look to for aid in sickness and old age, but now none need suffer from actual want, as the law provides for their relief.

The passage of this law was opposed upon the ground (amongst others) that the entire rental of the land would be swallowed up, and the language of "socialism" was brought forward. This nonsense has been signally refuted by experience. The number to be relieved has diminished from year to year, and continues to diminish.

The following paragraph from the *Irish News* (New York) of 20th instant, is an illustration of this:

There are only thirty-three paupers now in the Bohemian Workhouse, County Clare, which was built for 400, in which union there was at one time 2,200 persons receiving relief.

The *New York Times* does not propose an amendment of the law, but concludes with saying:

We trust the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor will continue its intelligent and efficient labors upon the broadest and most liberal basis.

The whole amount disbursed by this Association from November 1, 1855 to November 1, 1856, was only the sum of \$51,059 66, from which it will be seen how inefficient their efforts must have been. This small sum was distributed amongst 43,516 persons.

The *New York Times* argues, that as these poor persons received on an average less than a dollar and a quarter each, it is absurd to call them paupers. We agree that they are not properly called paupers, but do not base our opinion upon the fact that the amount received by each of them was small. They were not paupers, because they were not relieved at the public charge, but out of a fund raised by voluntary contributions. The time will, we hope, soon come, when the term "pauper" will not be regarded as a disgraceful one; for we hold that the poor have a clear right to demand support from society, and that property should be taxed freely for the purpose of maintaining in comfort all who, from any cause whatever, are unable to maintain themselves.

There has been for ages established in England (since the forty-third year of Queen Elizabeth) an organized system of public relief, not merely for the infirm, but likewise for those who, having no property, may be unable to procure work. The law originally ordained that employment should, by the request of the poor, be found for such as could not otherwise obtain it; and a system is now in full operation, which acknowledges as its fundamental principle, that every person who is unable to support himself, if a poor person were to die from want, after application for relief had been made, the overseer would be liable to be tried for manslaughter; some examples of such trials and convictions are on record.

The funds requisite to meet the expenses of the poor in England are raised by a tax upon real estate in each parish or union.

It is objected by many pseudo-political economists in the United States, that if relief were afforded to the poor they would prefer a life of idleness to one of industry.

The advocates of the wealthier classes insist that a destitute person has no right to demand support from the public, but must lie down and die of starvation, or be punished as a vagrant. But it is high

time to determine whether the law which gives to a few the exclusive right to the soil, should not also, as in England, compel the owners thereof to maintain those who cannot support themselves.

As to the argument that any considerable number of persons would prefer a bare subsistence, at the expense of the State, to a fair remuneration for labor, which would enable him to procure the comforts and necessities of life, it is founded on an absurd estimate of human nature. The same reasoners, if they had lived a few centuries since, would have contended that men would not work if slavery were abolished.

Under a proper system of relief of the poor, there need be no opportunities left open for imposition—those only who are actually in need would be relieved, nor should these be required to part with their little stock of clothing, tools, and furniture. If they are in receipt of any small earnings, the amount thereof should be taken into account by the relieving officer.

At no great expense, many able-bodied unemployed poor can be sent to places where it has been ascertained that there is a demand for their labor; or they can be set to work in their own parish or town. What is required is, a hearty and determined effort on the part of the State to aid those who cannot help themselves.

This system would tend powerfully to augment the wages of labor, especially in those departments where there is an excess of work people, since these would no longer be compelled, by the fear of starvation, to receive a mere nominal remuneration.

The relief, as administered in England, is not so liberal as it should be, and in its mode of administration numerous improvements might be introduced with advantage to the public in general, both rich and poor; but shall it be said that because imperfections exist in that country, the principle upon which the law is founded shall not be adopted here, where those defects in the administration, which by experience of the practice across the ocean, have been discovered, may be avoided? Shall it be said, that under the English Government the poor are better cared for, and have means which they have not here?

We do not deny that most of the adult poor are of foreign birth; and we should like to know how that could be otherwise, the fact being that three-fourths of the adult laborers and mechanics in this city come from Europe. Of course the poor must come almost exclusively from the laboring classes, that being the case all the world over, as clearly shown by the article in our columns translated from the *Criminal Zeitung*. If the laborers and mechanics were all native Americans they would supply about the same number of poor as we have now. Improvements in machinery, revolutions in commerce, would have the same effect upon the native as upon the foreigner. Want of employment, sickness, &c., would make paupers of the natives and their families.

There ought to be raised in this city, by taxation of the real estate, as much as may be necessary for the liberal relief of the poor. The value of real estate is enhanced immensely by immigration, and the owners of that kind of property ought to be compelled to yield a large portion of the profit thus acquired for the support of the poor. In a word, the burden should be taken along with the benefit. These proprietors would have no good right to complain if one-fourth part of all their rents were appropriated for the support of the needy. It is monstrous to suppose that a landowner is entitled to enjoy all the benefit arising from the presence here of an immense number of laborers and mechanics, and yet be exempt from the legitimate consequence—heavy taxation for the relief of such as may need assistance.

In England, what is called out-door relief is furnished to most of the poor who make the proper application. A poor man with a family is not required to break up his little establishment and go

into the poor-house. If such a condition were imposed before granting relief, the number of paupers would soon be increased. Irrespective even of considerations of humanity, it is far better to allow a few dollars per week to a suffering family, than to require them to break up housekeeping and take refuge in an asylum; for it must be evident that it will be very difficult for them to get out and collect together again the necessary articles of furniture and the means of support, even for a few days in advance.

The true way to diminish the number of those who are compelled to resort to the aid of others, is to render them *thoroughly* and sufficient assistance, so that none may become sick for the want of the ordinary comforts of life. It is, moreover, the duty of the Legislature to pass such laws, and make such appropriations, as will secure healthy and comfortable dwellings for the working classes in the great cities of industry. But this is a topic which we must reserve for a future occasion.

The letter of our correspondent, "An Englishman," respecting the working of the English poor laws, and the tendency of a State provision for the needy, is worthy of notice. And we bespeak the careful attention of our readers to the very able article from the *Leinwand Zeitung*, which most effectively refutes the suppositions with which the leading American organs of public opinion have heretofore beguiled their readers on this subject. We should like to see what they can have to say in reply to our German cotemporary.

Want of Employment. One Hundred Thousand and Able-bodied Persons in this City and Neighborhood Seeking Employment. The Poor Looking from the Country into the Town.

[From the New York Tribune, December 21.]

We urge upon the attention of the benevolent and shrewd the necessity of some comprehensive provision for employing the poor in winter. While our benevolent friends shall continue to be, in so large a measure, satisfied in Europe, we cannot rationally hope to find employment in winter for all our poor. Our farmers need the great cities *double* half their laborers on the approach of winter, whenupon they rush into the cities and large villages in quest of employment. Building is arrested and business contracted by the advent of frost and snow, whereby thousands more are thrown out of work. We believe there are this day one hundred thousand able-bodied persons within sight of our city, who could work if work were offered them, yet who are idle and needy because there seems to be nothing for them to do. And as it is now, so will it, substantially, at each recurrence of the first severe cold of winter.

REMARKS.

It is commonly said that the poor of the cities ought to go into the country, whereas we have said it should, and correctly so, that the poor come from the country in winter time into the cities. Laborers employed upon farms get about ten dollars a month for half the year, but they have nothing to live upon for the other half. The condition of their families is wretched indeed, and yet the wealthy owners in this country will persist in holding forth to the world that this is the Paradise of laborers.

"The New York Times" on the "Emigration."

[From the New York Daily Times, December 26.]

We have watched with considerable interest the course of a weekly paper newly established in this city called the *Emigrant*, published as well as edited seemingly—handwritten printed upon a sheet of sixteen pages, and professing to give "all the information that can be gathered in Europe and America of especial interest to Emigrants in the United States, and to the inhabitants of the British North American Provinces." It is principally made up of extracts, skillfully made, and accompanied by such comments as may be needed to direct attention to the special point in view.

The paper has a clear and distinct leading object, and so far as it can be gathered from the general character of its contents, this object is, to present, in the most accessible form, all the worst features of political and

social life in the United States. Every scrap that may record any unusual crime, poverty, suffering or other wrong; every editorial paragraph denouncing slavery or any other evil that may appear in any of our journals; all official statistics of pauperism or crime; all complaints of bad laws or of inefficient execution of them; all exposures of corruption in public office, or breach of trust on the part of private persons, or of malfeasance anywhere; everything, in short, which may appear in any quarter, foreign or domestic, calculated to favor the belief that the whole country is in a state of anarchy and demoralization, is carefully transferred to the pages of the *Emigrant*. As a matter of course, it finds no lack of material. And it exhibits very great skill and ability in so arranging it all as to convey the lesson it is designed to inculcate, that the American Republic is on the brink of dissolution—that foreigners of all classes should look upon it as a damned country, and that emigration should hereafter be directed exclusively to the British Provinces. The following paragraphs from last week's number are more explicit in regard to the purpose for which this paper is published than we have met before:

In our opinion, the people of Britain, whether agriculturists, mechanics, merchants, manufacturers, capitalists or laborers, should avoid emigrating to the United States. We should recommend them to settle in the British Provinces; and we shall present, from time to time, what we believe to be all-sufficient reasons to lead them to that conclusion.

We want to make our correspondent, and all other readers of the *Emigrant*, understand that the importance of the slavery question has been greatly underrated. Slavery is about to destroy the great American Republic, and to establish upon its ruins a mighty oligarchy, whose principal object will be to unite with the despotic powers of Europe, and ultimately threat Britain from the East of Independent nations.

It is not easy to say what class of persons are sufficiently interested in these objects to support a paper like the *Emigrant*. It has now reached its sixth number—with how large a subscription list we are not aware. Its publication must involve considerable expense, and cannot be carried on without supplies from some quarter. If we were to speculate upon the revelations of Wikoff's Diplomatic Adventures, we might very easily imagine that the British Foreign Office was at the bottom of this curious publication. Its object, certainly, is one which can obtain no effective sympathy from any but members of the growth and prosperity of the United States.

REMARKS.

The *Emigrant* is brought out in the orthodox European fashion, and we may have observed that there is no good reason for parading the names of the editors of newspapers, unless they are devoted to the interests of a political party; in which case, as the readers are in communication with the editors, their names may with propriety be put on the office door or on the newspaper itself.

The statement in the above article of the programme of the *Emigrant* is altogether too limited, the *Times* having copied only the first paragraph of our declaration of principles and objects.

It is true that the *Emigrant* desires to check emigration to the United States, so long as the present unhappy condition of affairs continues. But the *Times*, instead of finding fault with us for our desire to diminish the further importation of laborers, ought to feel very much obliged to us. For if we speak out, the *Times* has a considerable leaning to the Native American or New Nothing party which has for some time past surrounded with gross calumny and abuse the whole which slave emigration from Europe. The same party, too, incessantly insinuates that the British Government is actively engaged in sending off shiploads of unemployed laborers to the United States, and it would be gratifying to the attention of the emigrants to be informed by the New York *Times* that that Government is repudiating the evil of its ways, and has undertaken a thorough course of reformation by setting up the weekly paper called the *Emigrant*, to put a stop to the further advent here of poverty-stricken laborers and mechanics from the British Islands.

The *Emigrant* believes that the Government of the United States will remain in the hands of the slaveholders so long as the Union between the free and slave States shall continue; and that the inevitable

consequences will be the subversion of the Republican principle, and the adoption of a foreign policy in union with that of Russia, and in opposition to the cause of liberty in Europe. Nor should the *Times* undertake to censure us for holding this opinion; for we have not adopted its own reasoning, as will be seen in our first number, where we reproduce an able-written article from the columns of the *Times*, showing the absolute control of the Government by the slaveholders, and affirming that "the Presidential chair is the last entrenchment of freedom—the election of Fremont its last hope." And here we will take occasion to observe that we are deeply indebted to the *Times* for much of the valuable matter which appears in our paper, showing the detestable character of the Government, Federal, State and Municipal, and the prevalence of poverty, crime and demoralization. But we cannot conventionally lay claim to all that the *Times* gives us credit for—our little paper is much too small to contain a hundredth part of the records of murders, robberies, frauds, breaches of trust, malfeasance, &c., in the thirty one States, besides the Territories, which, according to the *Times*, are all to be found every week in our columns.

We have not hitherto been able to find room for a single "scrap recording any unusual crime" in this State; and so far from engaging "every editorial paragraph denouncing slavery or any other evil that may appear in any of our journals," we have been very choice and particular in our selections from the vast mass, and accordingly have given the preference on a great variety of occasions to the *Times*. We are sorry to find that it does not duly appreciate our judgment, and commend us for what we fondly believed to be a judicious discrimination. It is just as stated by the *Times*—a matter of course we find "no lack of material."

Our anonymous appears to be easily concerned about our subscription list, and we will relieve his anxiety by informing him that there is a "class of persons" in England, Scotland, and Ireland, as well as in the British North American Provinces, disposed "to support a paper like the *Emigrant*," in order that they may learn the facts wherewith to determine "what are the true merits or demerits of American institutions," which we have promised to our programme to supply for their edification. It is true that we do not expect many readers amongst any but European radicals in the free States, and they unfortunately are not so numerous as they might be, great numbers having become considerably disgusted with what goes here by the name of Democracy. If the *Times* could make up its mind "to speculate upon the revelations of Wikoff's diplomatic adventures," and send no one will presume to doubt their authority and veracity, and would induce its numerous British readers to regularly peruse the *Emigrant*. It would render us a signal service, for which we should feel very grateful, for consider ourselves as to about that many of them do not even at present deigned to give us a fair opportunity of teaching them the difference between real and sham Democracy.

They do not seem to like our opposition to the tyrant, impostor, and perverter, Louis Napoleon, nor our support of the cause of the French Revolution of 1848.

Not a few of these denizens of the *Emigrant* as an ultra Radical and Red Republican organ, whilst some allege that it is a propagandist of socialist principles.

We are sorry to see that our amiable cotemporary misdirects his attentions to us, by hinting that we may be ranked amongst the enemies of the growth and prosperity of the United States. If he had read the *Emigrant* carefully, he must have seen that we, on the contrary, are amongst the most ardent supporters of the cause which the United States has been supposed to represent, and that we have acted faithfully up to our programme whereby we promise not only to "set forth

the various reasons why Republican institutions in the United States, have hitherto failed to secure the well-being of the working classes," but also to "advocate the legislative measures necessary to ameliorate their condition." We maintain that the destruction of the Republic by the oligarchy will be no proof of the unsoundness of Republican principles, but merely a demonstration of the folly of attempting to unite liberty with slavery.

What our Contemporaries say of us.

Frederick Douglass's Paper says:

The *EUROPEAN*. We have received the first numbers of this excellent weekly, published at New York. It is an anti-slavery and thoroughly reformatory journal, seeking the overthrow of despotism everywhere and the spread of sound republicanism.

The *Wächter am Erie*, a German daily, published in Cleveland, Ohio, says:

The *EUROPEAN* is the title of a weekly paper in the English language, which has recently appeared in New York. It is of especial interest for Germans, as it pays great attention to the German press, and to the wants of the German population, and treats the political and social position of the Old and New World from the cosmopolitan point of view. The *EUROPEAN* contains a variety of original articles, comprehensive and excellently-selected extracts from the leading journals of Europe and America, and highly interesting comments on important events.

We attach the more importance to the *EUROPEAN*, because the Germans have no organ of their own in the English language, and the *EUROPEAN* is conducted in such a spirit as nearly to represent our German views. We therefore commend it to the support of our readers.

The *Beobachter am Genessee*, a semi-weekly German paper in Rochester, New York, notices the *EUROPEAN* in the following manner:

The task proposed by this paper is that of treating the relations of Europe in a thorough manner, and with special reference to the German elements and the German journals. In regard to American policy, it defends free-soil principles. We recommend the *EUROPEAN* to all our readers who feel the necessity of learning more of our relations with Europe than can generally be obtained from American papers.

The *New York Staats-Zeitung*—the only German pro-slavery paper in New York—in its issue of the 24th instant, says:

American Papers in the Service of European Princes.

For some weeks there has appeared under the title of the *EUROPEAN*, a paper which has escaped our attention until we were directed to it by an article in yesterday's *Times*. The *Times* finds that the *EUROPEAN* shows all the dark sides of America, and manifests favoritism towards England, from which the *Times* concludes that the *EUROPEAN* is in the pay of the British Government.

We must call the attention of the *Times* to the fact that British interests here are already represented by the *Albion*, and that the *EUROPEAN* is a paper of the character of all our German papers, which acknowledge their allegiance to the Republican party. The *EUROPEAN* cannot be more zealous in collecting facts to the disadvantage of the United States than are these German papers; and indeed, the European Government organs are not more zealous in condemning the institutions and policy of the United States than the Republican papers in the German tongue. If this circumstance furnishes a valid reason for the suspicion that such papers are in the pay of European Governments, then we want to call the attention of the *Times* to the fact that the *EUROPEAN* is a so-called "Republican" paper, and as such it must work *per se* against the interests of this Republic. Nothing more. It would be interesting to know what sums are paid by monarchs for the support of these papers, and for purpose of injuring the Democratic party.

REMARKS.

We need not comment on this gross and ridiculous specimen of partizanship; but it serves very well to show the unreasonableness of the New York *Times* in its remarks on the *EUROPEAN*.

The *Staats-Zeitung* is wrong in saying that Bri-

ish interests here are represented by the *Albion*. That paper is, we understand, warmly sustained by Native Americans, and it always takes care to say nothing offensive to them. It is in the main a literary journal, and without being very decided in politics, it usually sustains the United States in questions from time to time between this country and the British Government.

RELIEF OF THE POOR.

Cases Illustrating the English System. Great Interest taken by the American Press in them. Indifference to Similar Cases here.

Some of our New York contemporaries have published the particulars of a case of starvation which recently occurred in the parish of Marylebone, London. The metropolitan newspapers have devoted a great deal of attention to the case, the particulars of which will appear from the following extracts:

[From the Morning News.]
Voluntary Starvation.

Yesterday much horror and sensation was occasioned throughout the parish of Marylebone, through its becoming known that a mother and her four children had been discovered in a state of complete nudity and extreme starvation.

Information of the shocking affair was instantly sent to the Inspector of Poor for the district, Mr. Collet, and that officer, together with Mr. Tabbs, the relieving officer, quickly attended. They found the hapless woman in a state of unconsciousness, and sinking rapidly from pure exhaustion, while the children were in a perishing state from cold and starvation. They promptly sent for Mr. Elkins, the district parochial surgeon, who as quickly attended, and the children were sent without delay to the workhouse infirmary, where they received every kindness. Mr. Elkins applied strong stimulants, and used his utmost efforts to support the woman's fast-sinking system. Indeed, Mr. Elkins's great kindness and humanity cannot be spoken of too much, for on his knees he remained beside the sufferer for at least an hour and a half, endeavoring to restore animation; and both Mr. Tabbs and the inspector acted with the greatest promptitude, by affording what assistance they could to the medical gentleman. After the lapse of an hour and a half she was carried to the infirmary, where every effort was made to save life; but the unfortunate creature was too far gone, and she gradually sank until yesterday morning, when she expired.

The parish officers have learnt the woman's name to have been Elizabeth Mann, although she invariably went by the name of Franklin, a party with whom she cohabited.

As far as at present has transpired, the mother appears to have submitted to her sad fate quite voluntarily; for, according to information received at the workhouse, she never applied for relief or re-admission after leaving that establishment in September, when upon going out she was supplied with 7s. 6d. in money, 8lbs. of bread, 2lbs. of meat, 1 lb. of sugar, 2 oz. of tea, half pound of soap, one pint of oatmeal, and half a pound of candles.

[From the London Times.]
Starvation in Marylebone.

Yesterday afternoon, at 8 o'clock, Mr. Wakley, Coroner for the western division of Middlesex, and a jury of the inhabitants of Marylebone, assembled at the Marylebone Workhouse, New Road, to investigate the death of Elizabeth Mann, *alias* Franklin, the unfortunate woman who was found in a dying state, huddled up with her four children, in a state of nudity, in a room of 7, Walmer place, Crawford street, under the shocking circumstances briefly noticed in the *Times* of Saturday last.

The proceedings excited intense interest, and a large number of directors and guardians of the poor were present.

Mr. William Boyd Mushet, surgeon of the workhouse, and at present medical officer of the infirmary, had made a *post-mortem* examination of the body twenty hours after death. The immediate cause of death was in the head. There was a tumor about the size of a walnut, only perfectly round, at the base of the brain.

Susan, the third child, an intelligent girl, ten years of age, stated that her mother did not get tipsy, but she had complained of pains in her head for a long

while. They had cried to her for bread, but for the last fortnight before the lady found them she had never spoken a word. They did not have any food till they were found on Thursday afternoon, from the previous Monday. That was got by her eldest sister. Her mother would not go to the workhouse, because she said she had no clothes to go in.

Mr. Tabbs, the relieving officer, in answer to a question, said that the mother, when in the house, was of a very sullen disposition; and when brought in before, she, as well as her children, were nearly in the same wretched state as they were found on this occasion. She demanded to go out three or four times; and on the last occasion Mr. Potter, one of the guardians, was for nearly a quarter of an hour endeavoring to dissuade her from doing so, but she persisted.

The Coroner remarked, that from the state of the poor woman's brain, it was quite clear that it had rendered her wholly incapable of doing anything for herself or her children, and hence the frightful state of destitution into which they all fell. His only surprise was that the elder girl, thirteen years of age, had not had sense enough to apply to the workhouse. It appeared, however, that had not been done; and, therefore, there could be no blame whatever attributed to the parochial authorities.

The jury returned a verdict of "Natural death."

A London correspondent of the *Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung* comments on this case as showing how the poor are neglected in England!

The *Morning News*, from which we quote the report above, has a long leading article on the subject, in which the poor-law system is denounced with great energy. It is contended with much truth that the restraints of a workhouse are irksome; and we hold that this poor woman should have been allowed three or four dollars a week, instead of being required to go with her children into that establishment. The *News*, however, pays a just tribute to the humanity of the parish surgeon, who knelt beside the poor wretched dying woman—

"For two hours, watching every palpitation of the fast-sinking vitality in her fleshless bosom, and used every expedient that science could devise or compassion suggest, to strive with however little hope, if yet she might not be saved."

The *News* also comments severely upon another case, where a poor old man and his wife had been allowed by the parish only the sum of four shillings and sixpence per week, (a little over a dollar,) the half of which they paid for rent. The assistant overseer of the parish of Marylebone stated that the guardians had been raising the pay of the out-door aged people to five shillings and seven shillings (sterling) a week.

A poor person receiving relief from the parish usually gets further assistance from charitable societies and individuals, and also participates in the funds which have from time to time, for centuries past, been bequeathed by charitable persons to the minister and churchwardens and others for distribution amongst the poor at certain periods of the year.

We observe another case reported in the London papers which serves to illustrate the English poor-law system. It is the report of an inquest held by Mr. Wakley, coroner for West Middlesex, touching the death of William Lacey, aged eleven years. It appeared that the child had been ill three weeks, and that the parish doctor had attended him—(every poor sick person can have medical assistance gratis.) The doctor had recommended the parents to send the child to the workhouse infirmary, and the mother made an application accordingly; but owing to some misapprehension of what the relieving officer, Mr. Tabbs, told her, the child was kept at home.

"The coroner, in summing up, said that Mr. Tabbs should, in such matters especially, remember he was dealing with the sick. What he said to the mother might be taken as a threat; and if a jury on any occasion, under such circumstances, considered a death resulted therefrom, a verdict of manslaughter might be recorded against him."

This corroborates a statement which we have

made elsewhere respecting the stringency of the law which makes it incumbent on the parochial authorities to relieve all the poor.

Let us now see how such cases are dealt with in New York. The following is extracted from the city items of the New York Tribune of the 10th instant.

William Little, a cooper, residing at No. 1 Allen street, committed suicide on Wednesday night by swallowing arsenic. He had been out of employment for some time, and having a wife and four children to provide for, and no means to support them, he became despondent, and finally killed himself. When first discovered, after he had taken the poison, a physician was sent for, and he did all in his power to remove the fatal dose, but was unsuccessful, and death ensued during the night. Coroner Connery held an inquest upon the body, and a verdict, according with the above statement, was rendered. Deceased was a native of New York, thirty-six years of age.

We have no editorial comments—no complaint is that the law does not provide for out-door relief, or even decent accommodation in an asylum, for those who are willing to give up their liberty and resort to it. But if the London papers contain articles describing in a detailed and pathetic manner the case of an individual who has died in consequence of disease engendered by the want of the necessities of life, he refusing to apply to the authorities—the sympathy of Americans is invoked by the American press, and the iniquity of the British aristocracy is most eloquently denounced upon. At the same time the unutterable miseries of the thousands of poor here are passed over unheeded.

Great Mortality in New York. Wretched Condition of the Dwellings of the Poor. Reforms in the Sanitary Condition of Towns in England.

[From the New York Herald, December 21.]

In a great city like New York it is lamentable to see how vast is the number of our yearly dead. Two great cemeteries peopled from our midst contain, it is supposed, more than eighty thousand graves, though both of recent origin. On Long Island and on the Bay shores other large tracts of land have recently been laid out as places of interment, and are also rapidly filling up. Our Potter's field is a series of many strata of mouldering corpses, piled on each other in ghastly heaps. Hospitals and dispensaries are multiplying around us, and yet no interposition of humanity stays the career of mortality. It is the opinion of the learned of the medical faculty, that a considerable proportion of the lives cut off in large cities, under some general sanitary regulation might be prolonged.

Public attention has of late, under the influence of legislative inquiry, been turned to the subject of tenement houses in this city, and the condition of their inmates. A fruitful source of disease was detected. Stringent laws to regulate the building of houses, to define and give to each man, woman and child, a sufficiency of space to breathe and live in, appear indispensably necessary; and as society has assumed to itself the right of self-protection against fires and various other risks of life and property, without regard to any counter individual interests, it might go a little further, and see that houses and cities were built disease-proof.

The commissioners appointed by the Queen, in 1843, have since that period published a number of valuable reports on the sanitary condition of the towns and populous districts of England and Wales, accompanied by masses of evidence and the results of personal examinations of more than fifty towns. The latest we have seen recommends no less than thirty distinct propositions for the action of the British Legislature, most of which, we believe, have been adopted. We regret that want of space prevents us from considering this whole subject at the length its magnitude demands. The city of New York is deeply interested in the principle. And it is fair to infer, that, with an improving sanitary condition, much of the squalidness and wretchedness of poverty will be removed. Let the human frame enjoy pure air and pure water, and it will be in a better condition to exercise its powers than when prostrated by fever or benumbed with cold. Our benevolent associations, therefore, whom we would not discourage in their benevolent exertions, may not unprofitably

employ themselves in looking after the sanitary condition of the city, and seeing that the poor have health at their command as well as soup.

Cost of Bread and Meat in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Cincinnati, and some of the Chief Cities in Europe.

The following table, published in the thirteenth report of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, is derived from telegraphic reports made up from the markets on the 15th November, 1855, to which are added the prices on the same day in the cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Cincinnati. The quantity of each article is one pound avoirdupois, and the price in cents and hundredths of a cent, American weight and money:

	Wheat	Bread	Beef	Ven.	Mutton.
Rome	6.53	7.23	7.47	9.81	
London	6.70	11.74	16.69	15.57	
Paris	4.94	11.39	14.44	18.62	
Glasgow	5.36	15.62	15.62	12.64	
Liverpool	4.63	12.90	15.91	12.90	
Dublin	5.08	12.69	15.57	12.64	
Antwerp	4.63	12.90	15.62	12.90	
Brussels	4.63	12.76	12.76	12.76	
Amsterdam	7.49	14.88	27.24	14.88	
Danzig	6.63	10.04	18.62	9.10	
Oporto	5.44	8.64	12.93	9.70	
Santander	4.94	6.59	8.00	8.00	
Nice	4.64	11.06	11.92	11.92	
Milan	6.02	10.30	10.30	7.16	
Constantinople	8.75	8.17	8.17	8.17	
Smyrna	5.08	6.55	6.55	6.55	
New York	5.75	13.25	14.50	15.00	
Boston	5.25	12.25	14.00	15.00	
Philadelphia	5.25	11.50	12.50	13.50	
Cincinnati	4.00	6.00	9.50	9.00	

In comparing these prices it must be borne in mind that the quality of the beef and mutton is very inferior in the above named American cities as compared with the same articles in England, and every housekeeper knows that there is more waste in poor than in good meat.

COMMUNICATIONS.

RELIEF OF THE POOR IN ENGLAND.

The Principle of the Law Sustained. Emigration to the United States.

To the Editor of the European:

Sir: There is no subject of so much importance in this City and State as the relief of the poor.

There is more privation in the large cities here, than can be found in the cities of Europe.

The owners of real estate have hitherto succeeded, in most parts of the United States, in preventing a proper system of relieving the poor from being established.

In England the law assumes to provide employment for those who cannot obtain it by their own exertions; and the landed property of the country has for centuries been made liable to the support of the poor. The rate-payers in each parish or district elect officers, who raise as much money as they may deem necessary, by taxation of real estate, for the relief of the poor; and relief cannot be refused to any poor person who demands it, and is willing to enter the poor-house. In this respect, England is greatly in advance of the United States.

About three out of four of the persons receiving relief in England are allowed money from their parishes, without being required to enter the poor-house; but there is not sufficient liberality in this respect; out-door relief is often denied where it ought to be granted, and the amount of the allowance is often too small.

The English poor laws have been the principal cause of the superior condition of the English people, as compared with those of Scotland and Ireland. The old law of Scotland, affirming the right of the poor to relief, was almost a dead letter in most parts of the country. If Ireland had enjoyed the benefit of a poor law ten or twenty years ago, the state of society there would have become very different from what it is now. Where the rich are compelled to keep the poor in a suitable and becoming manner, the former become interested in the welfare of the latter, and zealously seek to employ them profitably. In addition to this, the standard of comfort is kept up in the body of the nation; beggary is to a great extent, if not wholly, suppressed; extreme poverty and destitution are prevented; and the dignity of human nature is in a material degree sustained. All this has a tendency to hinder a downward course, and aid an upward one; to increase the demand for comforts and luxuries, and thus add to employment, and keep up the price of labor.

The Secretary of State of this State, (New York,) in his report on Pauperism, says that the chief causes of

its increase arise from the unchecked emigration of foreigners. And he adds: "Our poor records and criminal statistics are used by foreign historians at this day to prove that a republican form of government, so far as equalizing the means of subsistence and protecting property and life is concerned, is a failure."

I trust that the industrious laboring population of Europe will, ere long, recover from their delusion respecting this country, and cease to come here to swell the number of paupers and criminals—which they cannot avoid doing if they are once caught in this huge "man-trap."

AN ENGLISHMAN.

Past and Present Estimate of the American Republic in Europe.

To the Editor of the European:

Sir: Europeans—especially Englishmen—have, hitherto, held the United States in singular respect and affection. The oppressed nationalities of the Old World, laden with the accumulated wrongs of so many centuries, perplexed with terrible social questions, which, like the fabled Sphynx, seem to demand a solution under the penalty of death: These, we say, have been accustomed to look westwards to the Young Republic, as to a land of promise, where, under the most favorable circumstances, the great experiment of self-government was to be tried, hoping also, and in a measure believing, the result to be already assured, triumphant, successful. Only Europeans or travelled Americans can fully understand the strength and depth of this feeling. We have known the simple announcement, "I am a citizen of the United States," to procure for the speaker three rounds of applause at a political meeting in London. Indeed, the European mechanic or agriculturist possessed all the enthusiasm of ignorance on the subject of "the land of liberty." To his imagination, it presented itself as offering all the better part of the civilization of the Old World, plus liberty of action and conscience, a vote, and high wages; and minus taxation and tyranny.

How could he think otherwise? The enormous increase of the country, its apparently never-judging career of indefinite expansion, its alleged material prosperity, its two wars (in conjunction with France and other powers) against England, its hectoring self-assertion of power and position on any and every occasion, its Babel-voiced press—all combined to testify to the greatness of the American Republic. So the stars and stripes flaunted gaily enough, especially in the eyes of European radicals. There was but one black spot upon it—slavery—and that, it might be hoped, would be got rid of some day and somehow. There was no fear that the spot would spread so as to blur and obscure all beside!

So the European emigrant—whether Briton, German, Frenchman, Pole or Italian—stepped ashore with large faith in his heart towards the country of his adoption. So the European patriot—whether writhing under the heel of the perfidious and murderer Louis Napoleon—whether subject to the brutal and stupid despotisms of Austria or Italy—looked across the Atlantic as to a great beacon-light of liberty, perhaps destined in time to irradiate the earth. But how, if the more intelligent—not only of Europeans, but Americans—begin to suspect the probability of the great Republic proving a great failure? How, if the aforesaid beacon-light be but an *ignis fatuus* presently to be quenched in the bog of slavery? There are old stories of navigators who have anchored on the lee-side of monstrous fish, deeming them islands or continents. What if the experience of Europeans, here, presents a parallel to this? What if the huge bulk be drifting swiftly and surely to perdition? Republics have failed, ere now, and History has written their epitaphs. It may be that this one, so arrogant, pretentious and self-confident, is but destined to add another chapter to this melancholy list. No special exemption from the eternal and inevitable justice, alike overruling individuals and nations, can be looked for. Nor should we lose one jot of faith in humanity and its ultimate triumph, were the Republic of the United States to perish to-morrow. Liberty would not die with it. The "Declaration of Independence" was not its birth-register. Braver and purer hands would be found to take up the experiment, and when brave and pure enough, they would not fail.

Whatever be the result, it behoves all true Republicans—we use the word not in its party, American sense—to mark well the signs of the times, and discern what they portend. We have spoken of the good will and esteem hitherto entertained towards the United States by European patriots. This, we believe, has diminished

in proportion to the increased amount of information diffused among them. So much so, that a general conviction is quietly ripening that the American Republic—itsself possessing no more liberty than a Southern oligarchy chooses to allow—is inimical to the cause of freedom both at home and abroad. In short, that it is a failure and a sham, and that its days are numbered.

Whether this be so or not, your columns may assist your readers in determining. Quite enough of *Bancombe* and *Fourth of July* oratorization have been expended on the land we live in, and its institutions—now let us have the TRUTH.

A RADICAL.

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.

News by the Canada.

The *Canada* arrived at Halifax on the 23d inst., bringing the following news:

A formal announcement has appeared in the *Moniteur* that the Congress of Paris will reassemble this month. It is now reported that the Plenipotentiaries will be the same as before—Count Walewski representing France; Lord Clarendon, England; Count Cavour, Sardinia; and Ali Pacha, Turkey.

Count Walewski asked Baron Brunow whether the Court of Russia would abide by the majority of votes at the coming Conference; and the Russian Cabinet had telegraphed an immediate reply in the affirmative, and hence that Russia was blameless for the present difficulty.

PARIS, Dec. 11, 1856.

The *Debats* says:

"We believe we are able to state with some certainty that England, in entering the conference, distinctly declared she would conform to the decision of the majority, whatever it might be. The relative position of the disputants is no secret. On the one side is France, Russia and Prussia; and on the other, England, Austria and Turkey. In the middle is Sardinia, which coincided occasionally with the opinions expressed by France. It is now stated she is oscillating between the two."

A despatch from Bordeaux announces the arrival at that port of a vessel having on board the captain and fifteen other persons who were wrecked in the ill-fated steamship *Lyonnais*. No names or other particulars are given. A subscription has been opened in London for the widows and children of those who perished.

ITALY.—An unsuccessful attempt had been made to assassinate the King of Naples on the 8th inst. The announcements of the affair differ. The first announcement said:

At noon to-day there was a review, and while the troops were defiling, a soldier of the third battalion of Chasseurs rushed from the ranks and struck the King on the left side, knocking him down. The soldier was seized by Colonel Latour.

Another despatch says:

The bayonet of the soldier struck the King on the right side, above the waist.

A third despatch intimated that he was slightly wounded; and a fourth despatch, that the soldier fired his carbine at the King, and that the would-be assassin was killed on the spot.

The telegraphs from Italy are wholly in the power of the Government, and hence the accounts of the affair are not reliable.

The accounts from Palermo say, that the insurrection which broke out there on the 22d ult., at the head of which was Baron Benhenda and a number of ex-deputies of the Sicilian Parliament, had been suppressed, and that Baron Benhenda had been taken prisoner.

From Messina everything is reported as being quiet. The police had seized a quantity of muskets which had been handed for the insurgents.

Count Levatelli, an eminent liberal of the Roman States, had been assassinated at Ravenna.

Emigration to the United States.

[From the New York Times.]

An *Odd Prize*.—At a concert in Liverpool, recently, among the inducements for an audience, a prize was offered and drawn for, consisting of "a free passage to America, and a complete outfit for the voyage." The lucky individual who drew the prize was a warehouse-

man, and on his name being announced he was greeted with hearty cheers on his good luck, and an additional guinea bestowed upon him on his pledging to abstain from intoxicating liquors.

If our cotemporaries over the water are in want of a text to dilate upon, in relation to this country, we do not see that they could desire a better one than the fact above stated, which we find in a Manchester paper. An opportunity to leave England and go to the *United States* is offered as a prize in a lottery, and the man who wins the chance for expatriation is cheered for his good luck. This is decidedly rather more complimentary to America than to England.

REMARKS.

We suppose that the ticket for the free passage could be sold to any one intending to emigrate to "America," and a few such might be found in Liverpool, some bound for British America, others (less fortunate) for the United States.

Doubtless there are some deluded persons in England who believe that this is a good country for laborers and mechanics to come to; but we intend to enlighten them on the subject.

Right of Colored People to Ride in Railroad Cars. How they are Persecuted in the Free States, and then Reviled for their enforced Degradation. The Prejudice against them Fostered by the South.

An action has been recently tried in the Superior Court of this city, in which the Rev. J. W. Pennington, a colored man, sued the Sixth Avenue Railroad Company for expelling him from a railroad car.

The counsel for the defendants contended that they were not bound to carry colored people in all their cars. He referred to the Constitution of the United States to show that there was a line of demarcation between the two races, and asked the jury if a colored man would be permitted to sit at the public table of the St. Nicholas, or any of our principal hotels. He also stated that the number of cars provided by the defendants for the colored people was larger in proportion to the population than the number for white people.

Judge Slosson, in charging the jury, said:

The question is, whether these defendants, as common carriers of passengers, admitting their general obligation to transport on their route all who apply for that purpose, if they have the accommodation, on being paid the usual fare, may or not, consistently with such obligation, exclude by a general rule or regulation the colored people, as a distinct class, from the privilege of seats in certain of their cars, while they appropriate especially to their use other cars of the same description, and give them standing accommodation in all their cars. In other words, whether these defendants, as common carriers of passengers, are justified in adopting and acting upon the rule or regulation by which they exclude colored people from all portions of their cars, except the front platform, while they at the same time provide other cars of the same description, in which, and in all parts of which, they have by the same regulation an equal right with the whites. It is a question involving a principle upon which, I believe, there has as yet been no adjudication. As an abstract proposition, it is one of great nicety and difficulty.

You will perceive, gentlemen, that, in view of the great number of this class of our population, this is a very serious question. The principle which it involves has equal application to hotel keepers, omnibus proprietors, and all others of that description. If it be true that this company is obliged, by force of law, to admit colored people into their cars, indiscriminately with the whites, I see no reason why a hotel-keeper is not equally bound to give any unoccupied room in his house to a colored man who may apply for it, or to admit colored people to seats at the public table indiscriminately with the whites—of this latter, however, there may well be a doubt, though the former consequence may be indisputable. A common carrier has unquestionably a right to prescribe reasonable rules and regulations for the management of his business, having reference to the general accommodation and to his own interests. The right of citizens to be carried is not absolute; it is subject to such reasonable regulations as the carrier may prescribe, as above stated, and a passenger who refuses to

submit to a reasonable regulation and rule, may be required to leave the conveyance, and, if he resists, be compelled to leave it. A common carrier is not obliged to carry a person as a passenger, (though he may, so far as his general deportment is concerned, be unexceptionable, and he may tender his fare,) if the object and design of the person is to interfere with and prejudice their interests. It has been said by one of the most distinguished jurists that an innkeeper is not bound to entertain and lodge the agent of a rival house, whose business there is to decoy away his customers. There must be some limitation to the general right of the citizen and the general obligation of the carrier. The carrier is not obliged, by reason of the general obligation, to receive every person, when by so doing he may seriously damage his business. And for the purpose of determining the reasonableness of the regulation in question, the probable effect upon the capital, business and interests, of admitting blacks into their cars indiscriminately with the whites, is a matter for your consideration. The question always is, whether, in the particular instance, the exclusion of the passenger is reasonable and proper; and if the exclusion was by virtue of a rule or regulation, then whether such rule or regulation is reasonable and proper. That will be the first question for you to pass upon: Were the rules and regulations in question reasonable and proper under all the circumstances?

In determining the question of the reasonableness of this regulation, you must take all the circumstances developed in the case into consideration, and the probable effect upon the business and interests of the company, from allowing blacks an equality as passengers with whites.

The Jury, after two hours' deliberation, found a verdict for the defendants.

REMARKS.

If the question had been, whether the Company could exclude Germans, or Irish, or Jews, from the cars, the Judge would probably have held that the law did not allow the Company to make such distinctions. So, if a Railroad Company were to put on its road cars for first-class passengers, a regulation that laboring-men should not be allowed to ride in them, ought to be, and probably would be, pronounced illegal. But a regulation that no man with dirty clothes, or in a state of intoxication, whether a gentleman or a laborer, should be admitted, would be reasonable and proper. In travelling in the South, nothing is more common than to see colored people in the stages along with the whites.

The New York *Herald* of 23d inst. says:

Upon this point our Northern people are remarkably squeamish, while we know that all over the South it is quite a common thing to see master or mistress and slave, whites and blacks, occupying the same seat in the same stage or car, without any symptom of a turned-up nose on account of the presence of Pomp or Dinah.

That the presence of colored people is not disagreeable to whites, is evident from the fact that the former are waiters at hotels, bodyservants, nurses, barbers, and so forth. The white laboring man who would object to sit in the same car with a colored man, deserves to be excluded in his turn from a first-class railway-carriage, or from such part of a theatre as may be appropriated for the aristocracy.

Suppose an Irish laborer should insist on sitting in his soiled working clothes at the public table of the St. Nicholas Hotel, his demand might properly be rejected, but not on account of his being a mere laborer. It is true that the effect upon the business and interests of any fashionable hotel might be very prejudicial, if laborers, whether German, Irish or American, were to make it a practice to go and sit amongst the ladies at the dinner-table; but yet the courts of law would not be justified in saying that the hotel-keeper would for that reason be justified in excluding such customers from his house.

An inn-keeper is compelled, by the law of England, to receive and accommodate all people, of whatever class or condition; but he is not bound to place them all at the same table, or to treat them all alike. Carriers, too, are bound, in England, to carry all persons, without distinction.

If no legal distinctions were made in the free

States between white and colored men, the prejudice against the latter would soon disappear, (it has no existence in Europe,) and they would be allowed by the whites to work along with them, learn trades, and become lawyers and physicians. They are now a persecuted race—reviled, too, on account of the direct and inevitable consequences of the bad treatment to which they are subjected. When sick, they must be doctored, if at all, by a white physician; when their property, their lives, liberties, or reputations are imperilled by judicial procedures, if they have any counsel at all, he must be a white man—for no colored man is, in this city, allowed to become a physician or a lawyer. It is different, however, in Massachusetts. This brutal prejudice, which exists in no other country, is encouraged by the slaveowners for their own purposes. The enforced degradation of the colored man of the North is used as an argument for keeping up slavery in the South.

THE INDIANS.

Murder of Friendly Indians for the Purpose of Provoking Wars and Depleting the Treasury.

[From the New York Evening Post, December 22.]

How Indian Wars are Manufactured in Oregon.

The last steamer from California brought news of further alleged outrages by the Indians of Oregon; but as almost every steamer for many months past has brought intelligence of a similar character, the public have ceased to attach much importance to it, and manifest less concern in its accuracy than the interests of the country demand. The frequency of these excesses, and in fact the chronic disquietude with which the Pacific Territories are reported to be afflicted, indicate that either the regular troops and local militia are strangely inefficient, or that very exaggerated stories find their way into print; and a well-founded suspicion now prevails that many of the terrible butcheries perpetrated by the miserable remnants of the Indian tribes are pure fabrications, originating in an organized design to plunder the federal treasury.

As an illustration of the utter falsity of some of these reports, it is sufficient to mention that the *Oregonian* of November 8th gives the particulars of an alleged attack by the Indians of White Horse Creek upon the regulars under command of Colonel Wright, while a letter from an officer of the army, dated the 12th, mentions the arrival of Colonel Wright at Fort Vancouver, with the intelligence that he had not seen a hostile Indian at White Horse Creek, and that the Indians in that part of the Territory were altogether disposed to remain on peaceful relations with the whites.

An intelligent correspondent in California has called our attention to a letter written by General Wool, commanding the United States troops in the Department of the Pacific, and published in the *National Intelligencer* of May 30th, in which he gives a detailed account of the manner in which Indian wars are manufactured in Oregon and Washington Territories, and of the objects which they are intended to promote. General Wool enumerates upwards of eighty cases in which friendly and unoffending Indians have been ruthlessly murdered, under circumstances which would shame the border-ruffians of Kansas, for the purpose of provoking the tribes into retaliation, so that a state of open warfare might be brought about, and an excuse created for calling out the militia of the Territory.

The process of provoking one of these treasury wars—for the United States treasury is the real enemy that they wish to rille—appears to be as follows:—Occasion is taken, when the Indians are on friendly terms with the whites, to plunder, harass, and if need be, to murder them; and as the latter naturally retaliate, hostilities are easily provoked. Their importance is magnified to the utmost, and not unfrequently the details are manufactured entire; and the Governor of the Territory, notwithstanding the presence of a large and efficient body of United States troops, under the command of experienced officers, deems it necessary to call out volunteers to repel the attacks of the Indians.

As these men have to be paid for their services, and the emergency prohibits the sending of succors of men or money from the Atlantic States, the Territorial Legislature issues scrip to an enormous extent to defray the expenses of the war. This scrip depreciates to fifteen or twenty cents in the hundred, and is readily bought up

by capitalists; after which the war generally terminates, and the delegate to Congress asks for an appropriation of several millions to pay for hostilities, most wantonly provoked and needlessly prolonged, which might in nearly every instance have been quelled by the regular troops. The same process may be repeated indefinitely, according to the rapacity of speculators and the indifference of Congress in granting appropriations.

Northern Men Insulted and Beaten with Impunity in Washington.

It appears that Mr. Thomas F. Meagher, some time ago sent a challenge to Mr. Raymond, the editor of the *New York Times*, on account of an article which appeared in that paper, and which Mr. Meagher construed into a charge of having broken his parole when he escaped from Australia. Mr. Raymond explained that such was not his meaning and intention, whereupon the challenge was withdrawn. The *Tribune* having observed that Mr. Raymond ought to have instituted a prosecution, that gentleman responds that Mr. Greeley, when assaulted and beaten in Washington by Rust, did not present any complaint before the proper tribunal. The *Tribune* of the 24th instant rejoins that the comparison is an unfair one.

We have here the most stringent penal laws against duelling or challenging, with a public sentiment which sustains and Courts ready to enforce them. In Washington City, on the other hand—as was evinced by the verdict in Herbert's and the sentence in Brooks's case,—there is no justice to be had from the Courts, in the case of a Northern man assaulted by a slaveholding member of Congress, for what is termed "insolence" in speech or writing toward our Southern masters.

The United States as a Propagandist of Civilization. Speech of the Correspondent of the London "Times."

At the New England Society's annual festival, held at the Astor House, New York, on the 22d instant,

Colonel Fuller announced, that the representative of the London *Times*, Mr. Fillmore, was present. Loud calls were immediately made for him.

Mr. Fillmore rose, and was greeted with repeated cheers. On silence being restored, he said: "It gives me great pleasure in being received by an assemblage and such an assemblage, of Americans. I have travelled pretty considerably over your country [laughter] since my short stay here, and everywhere I have been received with kindness. I am much afraid that there is an idea in this country that the crew of the *May Flower* were isolated from the popular sentiment in England; but I assure you that the sentiment of the great body of the English people was with them. It followed them across the Atlantic, and every news of them was hailed with delight. They were, it is true, persecuted in England, but when you are told that the sentiment of England was against them, don't believe it. The sentiment was then, and is now, with them; and the same feelings which moved in their breasts the Pilgrims left behind them. And in later years—but I feel as though I were now saving on the steel of repentance [laughter]—the sentiment of the English people was with them. When you are told that we think your Union must eventually be dissolved, don't believe it. We don't believe that one star will ever be taken from the glorious constellation of your flag. You and ourselves are the two branches of the great Anglo-Saxon tree, and, regardless, we are destined to be the civilizers of the world. Our courses are different. You go West, we move towards the East; and, as friends, we shall go on and embrace the earth, until the two shall meet upon the walls of China."

It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm Mr. Fillmore's remarks produced on those present. When a loud silence was obtained, a gentleman got up and proposed "Nine cheers for Old and New England," which were given with a will.

REMARKS.

If the extension of slavery over countries now free is to be called civilization, then the Government of the United States will indeed be a great propagandist of civilization. But as we do not desire to see a few rich and powerful men trampling down the working classes, we are compelled to differ entirely from the views of Mr. Fillmore.

Wrecks on the Jersey Coast of the Ship "New York" and Bark "Tasso."

The large Liverpool liner *New York*, of this city, was wrecked off Barnegat, New Jersey, on the 20th instant. Also the bark *Tasso* of St. John, Newfoundland. On board the *New York* were 307 souls. Of these, all escaped to the shore with their lives. One of the crew froze to death on the beach, however. A crippled steerage passenger is expected to die, and the captain lies in a critical condition from the effect of blows received from the crew.

There were fifteen men on board the *Tasso*, four of whom were drowned in trying to reach the shore, and two men from the beach, who nobly perilled their lives to save the crew of the *Tasso*, were also lost.

A cabin passenger by the *New York* publishes a statement contradicting the assertion made in some of the *New York papers* that the male emigrants turned the females and children out of the places of shelter and took possession of them themselves. On the contrary, everything that could be done for the women was done, and the men acted in the most self-sacrificing manner. Perhaps there were one or two churlish exceptions, but no more.

A great readiness to attack the character of poor Irish and German emigrants too often evinces itself in the New York press.

The rescued passengers and crew suffered very severely from the cold and want of food and shelter.

The Reporter of the *New York Times*, writing from the spot, says that "untold suffering would have been saved had one hundred dollars been expended for a steaming tug by the parties whose duty it is to protect these people, by which they might all have been safely housed in the city. We trust, for humanity's sake, that some explanation will be given of the reasons for allowing these shipwrecked strangers to endure the horrors of starvation, and death from cold, for two days and nights in midwinter, when so little effort would have saved it all."

Another writer, whose letter appears in the same paper, says, "if the underwriters had sent down a tug on Sunday afternoon, all the misery could have been avoided. The villagers here condemn them in no measured terms. It is very cold here now, and the ice is forming fast in the Bay."

Mortality amongst the Emigrants in Nicaragua. How Walker treats them.

[From the New York Evening Post.]

Meeting for the encouragement of Piracy.

A meeting was held at the Tabernacle on Saturday night, avowedly for the purpose of sympathising with Walker, the Nicaraguan filibuster, and providing men and money for his relief.

No man who puts any value upon his life or personal freedom, would be mad enough to place himself within Walker's jurisdiction, if he had even a faint conception of the consequences of such a step, some of which we propose to enumerate as a warning to those who deserve a better fate than to fatten the soil of Nicaragua.

In the first place, Walker's men are dying, and have been dying ever since he arrived there, at the rate of about three hundred a month. They cannot escape from the country for as long as a man has any money or physical ability to fight, Walker will not give him a passport. Nor are these the only disabilities for leaving the country. If a man is known to possess any talents as a writer or speaker, and is suspected of feeling disgusted with Walker's management, there is no escape for him.

Even Wheeler, the late minister from the United States, connived at this system of tyranny, and never would give a passport to any one whom Walker had his reasons for desiring to keep in the country. All letters written to or by one of these proscriptions or his friends are opened, and all possibility of assistance reaching him, cut off. The facts which we state, come to us upon the most unexceptionable authority, and we repeat them only from a sense of duty to those who may be disposed to heed a warning from us.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A HAPPY ILLUSTRATION.—John Jay in speaking of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, through Stephen Arnold Douglas, the Senator from Illinois, said: it was then pretended that the freemen of the North volunteered by this free-state senator, to surrender their rights to this mighty Territory, and that the South were guiltless of violating their compact in accepting such voluntary surrender.

As reasonable would it have been for the British spy to have claimed that the American Colonist had commissioned Benedict Arnold to surrender West Point to Hessian troops, as for the slave masters to pretend that the freeman of the North had commissioned Arnold Douglas, or any other Arnolds, either in the Senate or the House, to surrender to slave labor and slave policy that noble Territory, the "West Point" of our Northern and Eastern states.

FOLLIES OF THE BRITISH ARISTOCRACY.—The *Day Book* gravely informs its readers that "The British Aristocracy have labored for half a century, and expended six hundred millions of money to demoralize and destroy the existing condition of American society." This is what may be called decidedly rich. It required a very vigorous and prolific imagination to produce such an idea as that. We had never supposed that the British aristocracy was altogether immaculate, nor that, as a body, it was a compound of the highest wisdom; but we never suspected it of being so utterly and hopelessly daft as to desire to demoralize American society, much less that it was foolish enough to expend such a frightful sum of money in so ridiculous an undertaking.—*New York Times*.

A SOP TO AMERICAN SELF-CONCEIT REFUSED.—The Editor of the *American Celt*, speaking of the lectures of the Reverend Henry Giles (an Englishman) says: "In audiences where he had not a single Irish listener but myself, he never compromised his native feelings or his manly principles. Though an ardent republican, he never threw a sop to the *Cerberus of excessive self-conceit in this people*. A Unitarian by profession, he always did—at least in my hearing—full historic justice to the Catholics. A true lover of the poor and the oppressed, his words dropped like balm into their wounds, or burned like very fire, when poured out on their merciless despoilers.

PLAN FOR SECURING DIRECT TRADE TO THE SOUTH.—Mr. Toombs wrote a letter to be read at the late Southern Commercial Convention at Savannah, in which he proposes to secure direct trade to the South. This can be done by imposing a State tax of — per cent. *ad valorem* upon all goods, wares and merchandise offered for sale within the State, other than those which shall be imported from foreign countries. Two objects should govern in filling the blank: 1. It should be high enough to prevent all indirect importation of foreign merchandise. 2. It should be high enough to raise sufficient revenue for all the wants of the State, without imposing upon the people any exasperation or other direct tax whatever. If five per cent. tax was imposed on all such merchandise, it is not probable that the importers of foreign merchandise, intended for our consumption would land them at any other ports than our own, at the cost of fifty thousand dollars in every million imported; and if they did some other wiser people would import similar commodities directly, and undersell them, and thus drive them out of our markets.

VERBAL EVASION. In a recent speech in the Senate Mr. Bigler, of Pennsylvania, explained, that "Free Kansas," according to the nomenclature of Democracy, meant, not freedom from slavery, but freedom to *sell* *free* *slavery* without interference from Congress. Such meanings of verbal evasion and fraud afford a striking illustration of what passes for statesmanship at the present day.

DREADFUL NEWS FOR THE LADIES. In one of the discussions at the late Southern Convention Mr. Crocker, of Virginia, took occasion to say that "he deprecated the practice of sending Southern girls to be educated at the North; and that if he had been educated he had heard no finer than seven girls from Georgia that they never would marry a girl who had been educated north of Mason and Dixon's line."

POLITICS MAKES STRANGE BEDFELLOWS.—The people of Nicaragua are endeavoring, with singular unanimity, to drive out a foreign despot, who seizes and confiscates their estates, sets aside their laws and usages, denies them all right of self-government, and crowns his career of folly and crime by attempting to impose upon them the curse of slavery, from which they long ago freed themselves. It is for this enterprise to force slavery upon a free people, who hate and repudiate it, that John Van Buren is announced to address the citizens of New York, along with Isaac Rynders.—*New York Tribune*.

WHY THE SLAVEHOLDERS WANT KANSAS.—Those who urge that slavery would not go into Kansas, if permitted, wilfully shut their eyes to the fact that it has gone into Missouri, lying in exactly the same latitude, and is now strongest in that northwestern angle of said State, which was covertly filched from what is now Kansas, within the last twenty years. Even if the growth of hemp, corn and tobacco were not so profitable in Eastern Kansas as it evidently must be, the growth of slaves for more Southern consumption would inevitably prove as lucrative there as in Virginia and Maryland, which lie in corresponding latitudes, and whose chief staple export consists of negro bondmen destined for the plantations of Louisiana and Mississippi, which could be supplied more conveniently and cheaply from Kansas than from their present breeding-places this side of the Alleghenies.—*Tribune*.

CHARACTER OF THE FILLMORE VOTE.—The votes for Fillmore in the North must not be taken as votes in favor of free Territory. He was nominated by a Convention at which the following resolution was offered and negatived, "that we will nominate no candidate for President or Vice-President who is not in favor of interdicting the introduction of slavery north of 36 deg. 30 min." The resolution was laid on the table, by a vote of yeas 141 to nays 52.

According to Mr. Foote's statement, Mr. Fillmore, during his administration, never nominated any person for an office who was in favor of freedom in the Territories. When on the death of General Taylor, Fillmore became President, he caused a list to be made out for use in the Senate, showing who amongst the nominees of his predecessor, were anti-slavery men, and then sent in a special message to the Senate withdrawing the nomination.

THE SHAM-DEMOCRATS—HOW DETECTED BY THE ENGLISH RADICALS.—A writer in the *People's Paper*, of Nov. 22, repelling an argument in the *Commonwealth Advertiser* that "democracy is the enemy of all that is good and noble in our own class, and that at last, should it become legal and universal, it would sell man and his family to slavery," says, "I would have this antagonistic scribbler understand that the democracy of the triumphant candidate for the Presidency of American slave States is nothing but a name—a usurpation of a name, to which they have no real title. Neither he nor his followers have any relationship to such a glorious and universal justice-creating system as pure democracy. The Editor (*Freest Jones*) adds: "The ignorance or wilful falsehood of the Editor of the *Commonwealth Advertiser* is amazing. All the world knows that the American Tories are called 'Democrats;' the American Radicals are called 'Whigs;' and that the real democracy of the United States calls itself 'Free Soil,' 'Republican' and 'Abolitionist.'—*Rev. U. P.*

LAST OF THE SHAM DEMOCRACY FOR MILITARY DESPOTISM.—The Washington correspondent of the *Baltimore Sun* says, that Walker's declaration of a purpose to establish a military despotism in Central America has greatly increased his popularity there. It has had the same effect here, especially among the most ultra and zealous Democrats. It may not be easy to explain the phenomenon, but it is certainly true, that the most clamorous and noisy hangers of England on account of the alleged oppression of her Government, are the very men who rally with the greatest enthusiasm to the standard of a pure military despotism.—*Times*, Dec. 28.

A FRENCHMAN'S VIEW OF AMERICA.—M. Frederick Gaillardet, formerly editor of the *New York Courier des Etats Unis*, has recently published a letter, which reviews America and the Americans sharply. After speaking of the great increase in the size of the city of New York, he makes the following remarks: "But have the United

States made as much moral as material progress? This is a question I have asked myself; and, contemplating the wonders of American industry, I regret to be constrained to answer it in the negative. It was but twenty or thirty, nay, only fifteen years ago, that one would often meet men of severe morals and sterling integrity, who seemed to have inherited the virtues of their Puritan ancestors. They lived in an unpretending dwelling; their furniture was plain; then the man was the most attractive feature of the picture. Now it is the frame. The houses are gilt, but the minds are rude and unpolished, and one is painfully struck with the contrast frequently presented between the mansion and its occupant." In speaking of the evil results of the Mexican war, he says: "The ravages which ambition had made in American society and the reign of violence which it has inaugurated in the manners of the public and of individuals, date, on the contrary from the conquest of California, of which it was the consequence. Why? Because that war was unjust. It was an act of selfishness and an abuse of power on the part of the strong over the weak. Every tree bears its proper fruit. Since they have had a taste of conquest, the Americans have become insatiable. To become rich has been their absorbing passion as individuals; to aggrandize themselves their sole aspiration as a people. Force has been substituted for right, both in their domestic and foreign relations. Elections are no longer decided by ballots, but by bloody battles or odious frauds. Peaceable people are divested of their civil rights, and their officers constituted by club law or by jugglery."

AMERICAN RAILROAD STOCKS AND BONDS—CAUTION.—The *New York Herald* says that the railroads of the United States are not now worth half what they cost. In the first place, they were never properly built.

Further, the system of building competing lines has now rendered it a matter of certainty that no road can be expected to pay in this country any longer than it will take to build a rival to it. The only roads in the United States which are really earning seven per cent. on their cost, are some of the Western lines, which run through a table country, enjoy a monopoly of traffic, and charge four cents per mile for passengers, and eight and ten cents per mile per ton for freight. It may, therefore, be assumed, that of the \$1,200,000,000 of paper floating through this country in the shape of railroad stock and bonds, a very large proportion has no real material representative whatever. It is so much waste paper.

INTERESTS OF THE SOUTH IN NICARAGUA.—At a preliminary meeting held at the Nicaragua Head Quarters room, for the purpose of getting up the mass meeting held on the 20th instant, Mr. Oaksmith, Walker's late minister to the United States, stated that Walker is badly off and needs money—that the North does not sympathize with him, and contributions must be raised at the South, the interests of which section are involved in Walker's struggle. He thought, if Southern capitalists and congressmen would put their shoulders to the wheel, twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars might be raised. He suggested the appointment of travelling committees to solicit pecuniary aid in the slaveholding States.

THE DIVINE RIGHT.—It is strange how much better we know Mr. Buchanan at the North than he is known even by his foster-fathers in Virginia. He has no thought of doing any such thing as the *Enquirer* professes to be alarmed about. Mr. Buchanan believes in the divine right of the slaveholders to rule the country. Filmer was not a more bigoted believer in the divine right of kings to rule in England. All the President elect will wish to know is, What do the Southern leaders require? for that is precisely what he is always accustomed to think the Constitution authorizes and justice demands.—*New York Evening Post*.

WALKER'S TRICKERY.—It appears that the Native Troops when they got into Walker's house in Granada, found amongst the papers there, copies of two letters written by General Walker—one to the Emperor of the French and the other to Lord Clarendon, to obtain their moral support, and the acknowledgment of the Walker government by England and France, as only means of preventing the annexation of Central America to the United States. These letters were consistent with the instructions which Walker gave to General Goicuria.

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G. R. BROWN, Proprietor, Successor to Charles Wilson
LUNCH from 11 till 12 o'clock daily.

