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THE EUROPEAN.

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

Portrait of an American Filibuster.

The London *Times* of November 5, after giving a humorous description of the genus *filibuster*, says:

The confession of one of Walker's filibusters in Nicaragua will illustrate the portrait. This unfortunate young man attempted to combine private with public filibustering, and, not content with the large and patriotic field which the Nicaraguan invasion offered to the exertion of his peculiar gift, exerted it upon individuals as well, the consequence of which was, of course, a military execution, which was accompanied by a confession. "I was born," says Lieutenant Jennings Estelle, "in Marshall, Tennessee, in the year 1833, and was raised from my infancy in Hinds county, Mississippi. I started to California in 1852. On the road I had a difficulty with a man of the name of Howard, and shot him. I afterwards shot a man of the name Hays, but the wound did

not happen to prove fatal. In the same year I had a difficulty with Charles Robinson, and stabbed him in three places. My last two difficulties, while in California, occurred at the State-prison, where I had been employed for the last two years. After getting in the last scrape I came to Nicaragua, and shot Thomas Edwards. I afterwards shot Charles Gordon. I must say that in all my difficulties I was not once in my right mind. Twice I had been forgiven, and hope to be forgiven for them all. I think there is a God in heaven that will and can forgive, and he knows, and I know, that it was not I that killed Charles Gordon. It was whisky and my crazy mind that did it. I say that I was not in my right mind when I did the deed, and God knows it. Forgive me, officers and soldiers, and I can die a happy man."

Such is the material of General Walker's army of occupation in Nicaragua. The American filibuster is a man who, having "had difficulties"—i. e. having shot his man two or three times over—enlists for Nicaragua or some other scene of American invasion and aggrandizement, and plays the American enthusiast and patriot. He becomes the favorite and convenient tool of the Democratic party in the United States, who live upon the cry of American empire and greatness, and who pat their filibusters on the back, much in the same spirit in which the medieval monk was ready to absolve the lawless Crusader from all his sins, past and future, if he would only go and fight the Saracen. No matter what "difficulties" the poor fellow may have had, if he will fight for American sway, he is liberated from them all, he is absolved from all sins, and is raised at once from the murderer to the hero. Had Mr. Jennings Estelle only kept his hands off General Walker's own officers all would have been right, and no Crusader or Greek patriot would have deserved better of his church or his country.

Such being General Walker's cause, and such his military material, it will surprise no one to hear that probably Nicaragua is at this moment on the very verge of a junction with the United States—i. e. of becoming a State in the American confederacy.

KANSAS.

Mr. Gladstone's Description of the state of Affairs.

[From the London Times, November 5.]

To the Editor of the Times:

Sir: In my first letter on the subject of Kansas I attempted to depict some of the scenes of riot and exhibitions of maddened hostility which fell within my own experience as a traveller in that Territory, immediately after the burning and sack of the City of Lawrence. In a second, I endeavored to explain the extraordinary fact of such lawlessness being permitted, by showing from the statute books of that Territory that such acts were not the fruit of a sudden and exceptional outbreak of passion, but were the reflection of the deliberate injustice of their legislative enactments. I also indicated the fact that the legislature, which has thus shamefully abused its power, is not the choice of the people of Kansas, but mainly of the inhabitants of an adjoining State, who controlled the elections by entering and voting in the Territory in far larger number than the total of its own voting population. Further, that this legislature—commonly called a "bogus," that is, a fraudulent legislature—possesses the sanction of the general government, and the aid, consequently, of the United States troops. On the same ground, every act of the people of Kansas to gain for themselves a true representation and a better government is regarded as "treason" or "rebellion;" and the leaders of such "rebellion" have, as in the instances of General Robinson and others, been suffering, although untried, a long and painful imprisonment.

Nowhere in America, probably, is the contrast between the Northern and the Southern man exhibited in so marked a manner as in Kansas. He who would see

the difference between comfort and discomfort, between cleanliness and neatness and disorder and filth, between farming the land and letting the land farm itself, between trade and stagnation, stirring activity and reigning sloth, between a wide-spread intelligence and an almost universal ignorance, between general progress and an incapacity for all improvement or advance, has commonly to cross the border line which separates a free from a slave State. But he who would see these broad contrasts in a single view, the evidences of well-directed enterprise and intelligent energy mixed up with the ugly features of back-going and barbarity, should seek out Kansas, and make its strange varieties of inhabitants his study.

Unfortunately, as I had too many evidences at the time of my visit, the labors of the honest and well-disposed among the settlers were most grievously interfered with by the necessity of bearing arms and shielding themselves from political oppression. The farmers were neglecting their corn-fields to form committees of defence. Others found themselves mercilessly robbed of their produce, and of their horses and other stock, to supply the wants of the "Regulators," who, in the name of "law and order," scoured the country in search of political victims. A young man when I was there was attacked by a band of men who demanded his horse. He refused. They held their pistols before him, and demanded afresh—"He must give his horse, or drop." He again asserted his right to his own. The "Regulators" were firm. He pleaded, if not justice, mercy, telling them that he was the only son of a widowed mother, and that to take his horse would be to rob him of his chief means of supporting, not himself alone, but her. The "law and order" men were weary of the discussion. A single shot terminated both it and the young man's life.

From the first moment when the Nebraska-Kansas act was passed, which at once organized Kansas into a Territory, and swept away all former stipulations as to the exclusion of slavery, it was perceived alike by North and South that the future of Kansas in relation to slavery, and with it probably of all Territories that might afterward be admitted, must be determined by the numerical proportions of its population. A race was commenced between North and South, and that party was to be the winner who should send in the largest number of its own adherents, whether free-state men or pro-slavery men, to determine the law for the new Territory. Measures were taken by the pro-slavery party to prevent the allotment of lands to any but their own partisans; and, when free-state men still came in, squatter meetings were held in Kansas by inhabitants of Missouri, who passed resolutions to the following effect; That we will afford protection to no abolitionist as a settler on this Territory.—That we recognise the institution of slavery as already existing in this Territory, and advise slaveholders to introduce their property as early as possible.

To meet these efforts on the part of organizations in Missouri, Emigrant Aid Societies were formed in Boston and elsewhere in the Eastern States, to promote the movement on the side of the North, and to give facilities to settlers intending to make Kansas their home. That these were *bona fide* settlers, and not an invading army of illegal voters, like the Missourians, we have abundant proof. Indeed, it is idle to suppose that men went from Boston to Kansas, a distance very considerably greater than from London to Naples; their expenses not being paid by the society, merely with a view to record their votes, and then return.

The two parties, as might be anticipated, soon came to blows. Public meetings were perpetually being held, secret committees formed, political clubs organized. A single instance selected out of many will illustrate the operations of these hostile measures. A vigilance committee was appointed in the spring of last year, having for its object "to observe and report all such persons as shall, . . . by the expression of abolition senti-

ments, produce disturbance to the quiet of the citizens, or danger to their domestic relations; and all such persons so offending shall be notified and made to leave the Territory." On this committee were several members of the legislature. The first person observed and reported by the committee as acting so as to endanger "their domestic relations," (by which delicate expression is meant the institution of slavery,) was Mr. William Phillips, a lawyer residing in Leavenworth, whose offense was, that he had sworn to a protest against the validity of the election in his district, in consequence of which protest Governor Reeder had ordered a new election. Mr. Phillips was notified to leave the Territory. He refused to do so; whereupon he was seized by a party of Missouri men, to the number of fourteen, taken across the river, and carried several miles into Missouri. They then proceeded to shave one side of his head, next stripped off his clothes, and put him through the horrible ordeal of tarring and feathering. This being completed, they rode him on a rail for a mile and a half, and finally put him up at auction, a negro acting as auctioneer, and went through the mockery of selling him, not at the price of a slave, but for the sum of \$1. Eight days after this outrage a public meeting was held, at which the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That we heartily indorse the action of the committee of citizens that shaved, tarred and feathered, rode on a rail, and had sold by a negro, William Phillips, the moral perjurer." The meeting was presided over by Mr. Rees, a member of council in the Kansas legislature, and the resolution was offered by Mr. Payne, a judge, and also member of the House of Representatives! The outrage committed against Mr. Phillips was not, therefore, the hasty act of a few murderous ruffians, but one advisedly carried out, and thereafter deliberately indorsed, by a number of citizens and members of the legislature. Mr. Phillips returned to Leavenworth, but has since, according to accounts received a few weeks ago, been shot.

SPIRIT OF THE SOUTHERN PRESS.

Programme of Jefferson Davis for the New Administration. Cuba, Central America, Mexico, Tehuantepec, and the West Indies, &c., &c., &c.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN 1860—THE POLICY OF THE SOUTH.

[From the New Orleans Delta, confidential organ of Jefferson Davis.]

He (Mr. Buchanan) owes his election to the vote of the South, and to the defiant attitude of resistance which she was beginning to assume. He should bear that fact well in mind. He will be a traitor and insensible to every manly feeling of gratitude if he forget it, and disregard the obligation it implies. Then let him live up to the letter and spirit of the Ostend letter; let him look to our interests in Cuba, which by right of geography and of political necessity, should be ours; let him fortify Walker in Nicaragua, and forestall Spanish and French designs upon Mexico; let him place the great Tehuantepec route beyond the hazard of being lost to us, by securing the grant of a strip of territory across that isthmus; let him do these things, and we can laugh to scorn the subtle policy of Seward, the rhetorical raving of Sumner, and the blatant menaces of their followers.

Not alone in the South would he find approval for such a course. The acquisition of slave territory, by conquest or annexation, would find nearly as many supporters, avowed or silent, in Boston, New York and Philadelphia as in New Orleans. There would be a howl from the abolitionists and free negroes of course. But the great issues such a policy would bring up would confront us face to face with England and France. The opposition would be bourn down by that national spirit which always sways the national heart when confronted with other nations. The acquisition of Cuba, in defiance of England and France, would not split the Union—it would strengthen it. The regeneration of Central America by Walker, in alliance with the United States, would lead to the gradual emancipation of the West Indies from the infamous free negroism established by the enemies of American Republicanism.

The people from Maine to California are sick and tired of old issues. They want something new, bold and expansive. They want a policy in keeping with steam, railroads and telegraphs. They want new leaders, new

homes and new ideas. The new policy must come from the South—must be sustained by the independent press, and the leaders in Congress must be men so seated and fixed in the heart of hearts of the Southern people as to command our approval, even if leading us against established prejudices and party goods. We have the men for the emergency. We will have John A. Quitman, of Mississippi, in the House, and Jefferson Davis, of the same gallant State, in the Senate. They are both men of principle, regarding fidelity to noble ends infinitely more honorable and glorious than ignoble success. They are inured to the battle harness, both civic and military, and in peace or war, the South will always know where to find them. They have no mean past at their backs, but they are men of the future, too, and in settling the great question which must be met sooner or later, they will have conspicuous parts to enact. That question is this, to wit: Whether this Union shall be Northern and sectional—to use a seeming contradiction in terms—or Southern and national?

Renewal of the Slave-trade.

The *Charleston Standard* thus begins a new and able leader in favor of re-opening the African Slave-trade:

THE SLAVE-TRADE AND SOUTH CAROLINA. — We mentioned the subject of Slavery on Thursday in connection with the Democratic party. We mention it to-day in connection with the State of South Carolina. We showed then that the act restricting the Slave-trade is a brand upon the institutions of the South; that it strikes our form of society from the recognition of an enlightened world; that it paralyzes the energies of those who would support it; that its removal would restore us to a sphere of prosperity and progress; that, to the South, is attributable the triumph of nationalism in the recent contest; that we can give success again: and that the removal of restrictions, therefore, is as much a measure of interest as of duty to the Democratic party; and we would now show that the State of South Carolina has a direct and vital interest in the question.

The position we now occupy is one of abasement. We cannot hug our institutions to our hearts, and yet concur with the general government in declaring the act, by which it has been brought about, a piracy. If this form of society be right; if in the nature of things there can be a union of unequal races; if from that union then comes a form of society true to its members, and strong for all the exigencies of perpetual progress, there can be no wrong in the natural means to such formation. It is the assumption of evil in Slavery that sustains restrictions on the Slave-trade. Without this there could be no solitary war against it. It would be as logical in those who favor matrimony to object to marriage, and practically, therefore, with whatever ingenuity we disguise the act, we abandon the defense of slavery when we refuse to repudiate restrictions on the Slave-trade. And yet to abandon the principle, but persist in the practice; to war like outlaws for a position which we cannot claim the right to defend; or to become miserable mendicants for the toleration of a vice which we confess to be offensive to enlightened sense, is a condition of debasement which we cannot disguise, and which is inconsistent with the attitude and hopes of a magnanimous people.

That abasement is not only unbecoming, but it is gratuitous. We gain no friends, for there are none to defend those who will not defend themselves. We avoid no controversy, for it is weakness, and not strength, that invites attack. We are in no such helpless condition as to depend upon forbearance, for when we rose to the issue, we swept away the restrictions of the Missouri Compromise. By that act of intrepidity we inspired a respect which has given us success in the Presidential contest; and there is reason to believe that, if firm and true to ourselves, we can sweep away this other stricture of federal sentiment about the form of our society, and stand more assured and powerful than we can ever stand without.

Upon this the New York *Tribune* remarks:

We believe the *Standard* is perfectly correct in the main point—that, if the slave power chooses to demand a re-opening of the African Slave-trade, it will be gratified. It has the arguments all made to its hand—"Popular Sovereignty," "Mind your own business," "Slavery is best for the negro," "Every community should be left free to have slaves or not, as it shall see fit," &c., &c. But we don't believe the Virginia slavebreeders will be ready for free-trade in negroes for some years yet.

SPIRIT OF THE NORTHERN PRESS.

Fears of an Insurrection among the Poor Whites in Virginia. Opposition to Common Schools. Why Free Discussion is Prohibited. Protection of Free Mechanics from the Competition of Slaves.

Governor Wise, of Virginia, is reported to have said, in a recent conversation with a Northern gentleman:

We have no fears of Northern Abolitionists. But what we have to fear is an insurrection among ourselves. "What!" exclaimed the other, "an insurrection of the blacks?" "Not at all," responded his Wise Excellency, "not of the blacks, but of the poor whites!"

Upon this the New York *Tribune* comments as follows:

This remark certainly showed that there is a vein of common sense running below the thin crust of the gubernatorial flightiness. There is, indeed, the true ground of slaveholding terrors. And hence is justified the wisdom of the Governor's former thanksgiving, that there was no newspaper published in his district of Accomac. And hence arises the hatred which he derived by succession from his predecessor, Governor Berkeley, against common schools. From this source flows the necessity of eliminating such men as the Rev. Mr. Boardman and Professor Hedrick from the domain of either Carolina, or purging the pulpits and the professorships generally, and of expurgating the school-books of such school as can exist in that soil, and the text-books of what enjoy there, by courtesy, the titular rank of colleges, so as to make them fit for the use of the sucking members of the first families.

But all this care and consideration is meant for the white men, and not for the black. It is the fear of an impending insurrection of the whites, as Governor Wise sensibly describes it, that calls for these extraordinary demonstrations, as well as for the particularities of Southern legislation in this direction. Though any one who has been in Virginia about Christmas time may know that an insurrection of the blacks is not regarded as a thing so beyond the range of probability as not to excite panic-fears and fearful lookings for of hoarded vengeance.

But it is the poor whites—who do have the nominal power in their hands—sovereigns, but with slavery as viceroy over them—that the lords of the lash have to fear. Their genuine intelligence and real enlightenment would sweep away the nightmare that sits upon their breasts and paralyzes their souls and their bodies, and hinders them of progress and prosperity. Governor Wise, in this same conversation, indicated a sop which it was proposed to throw to this many-headed Cerberus, made up after the most approved receipt of Southern political economy. He said he should not be surprised if a bill were introduced into the next Legislature of Virginia to restrict the slaves from learning the mechanic arts, with the design of restoring these trades to the poor whites. This is an abstraction worthy of Virginia herself. To say to the masters that they may not do what they will with their own; and to compel men by law, who are always stronger than any law, to substitute a less for a more profitable employment of their property, that the gains may go to a class which they despise more than they do their slaves, is about as feasible as the destruction of the property of New York and Boston by the resolutions of Southern Conventions.

Contest between Virginia and South Carolina, Louisiana, &c., on the Renewal of the Slave-trade.

[From the New York Times.]

SLAVE-TRADE AND FREE-TRADE.

The New Orleans *Delta* represents Southern sentiment as Mr. Jefferson Davis understands it. The *Delta* takes ground in favor of the restoration of the African Slave-trade. It regards that as a main timber of the new policy to be inaugurated along with Mr. Buchanan. All the *Charleston Standard* has to say in behalf of the measure the *Delta* accepts, and expands, and intensifies, so that unpracticed readers might imagine the recent contest had turned upon no other issue. The *Richmond Enquirer*, on the other hand, quite as potential and influential as the *Delta*, declines so to understand the matter, absolutely resisting, upon humanitarian principles, that would have sent a glow to the bosoms of Wilberforce and Buxton, all attempts to resuscitate the African trade

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Here is a sad lack of sympathy. Doctors of the same school thus differ in the very A B C of doctrine, boding schism of the most disastrous sort in the ranks of a party now-fledged and flushed with triumph.

The secret of this divergence lies in the little circumstance that the Northern slave States are in the position of producers of slaves, the Southern in the position of consumers. Virginia has surrendered itself mainly to the breeding and sale of negroes. The Commonwealth and Congo are competitors in the business of production; Gov. Wise and King Dahomey rival merchants in traffic. In the prohibition of African importations lies the great source of Virginian prosperity. Her breeders monopolize the market. Throw down the prohibition, admit the dark children of Africa in competition with the more or less dark children of the F. F. V., and there is no telling what depths of disaster the Old Dominion may plummet. It is hard to find where the shoe pinches until it is tried on; and this shoe which the *Standard* and *Delta* school insists upon fitting on the South, pinches wretchedly the bunions of the Northern slave-growers.

How would our own iron and cotton, and wool manufacturers, relish an entire abrogation of duty on their respective products, involving unrestricted introduction of the foreign article? How could the twenty years or spent in getting negroes, breeding, and manufacturing them, so to speak, at a great outlay of corn-meal and fitches of bacon, compete in the mart with negroes stolen ready-made, and furnished for labor, with no expense to the thieves? The question is, shall we or shall we not encourage domestic production? Shall the Virginian or Dahometan interest prevail?

NEW YORK ELECTIONS.

'The System Exposed.'

[From the New York Tribune, November 24.]

The Presentment of the Grand Jury, which we print in another column, brings officially before the public some of the gross frauds perpetrated by the Buchanan and Wood Democracy in the recent election. A large number of inspectors are presented for not making their returns in proper season; one box, at least, was "stuffed" with an excess of more than two hundred ballots, and one of the inspectors repeatedly urged the clerk to make false entries in the poll list to conceal the fraud. In other places citizens were driven from the polls by bullies in the interest of Wood, and the testimony of the Chief of Police intimates pretty clearly that the Mayor is the only person to blame for not putting a stop to this violence. Some of the policemen sent to guard the polls were passive observers of the most intolerable ruffianism, yet refused to interfere. At one poll a legally-elected inspector was driven off by police force.

These are a few of the villanies set forth on legal testimony by the Grand Inquest. It was not their province to detail and explain minutely the cases brought to their notice. Had they done so, the honest portion of our citizens would have been startled at the bold and extensive, and, we may add, generally well-managed scheme of villany by which the Autocrat of the Police Department crushed out the real will of the people. With a skill that would have made his fortune in San Francisco before the era of the Vigilance Committee, somebody carefully canvassed the city, noted the places most favorable for operating, set down such and such polls for so many votes for the border-ruffian candidates, and when the boxes were opened, lo! the votes were there. Whether the business was done, as in the First Ward, by knocking down, stabbing and shooting; or, as in the Fourth, by stuffing the ballot-boxes; or, as in the Fifteenth, by purposely hindering the reception of ballots and shutting off hundreds at sunset; or, as is intimated in many places, by the inspectors changing the tickets offered for those of the right stripe; or by all of these means together, it is enough that the result was achieved. And when the returns of a district where the election was a mere mockery come before the county canvassers, we find Aldermen ridiculing the idea of fraud, calling a violent and bloody fight only some of "the boys' fun," and voting in a solid phalanx to receive and indorse as all right the figures sent up for their scrutiny.

What efforts will be made by the courts to punish these offences remains to be seen. The history of several recent prosecutions for official misconduct does not inspire any very strong hope that justice will be done. This metropolitan seems to be under a curse which renders its people incapable of self-government, deprives their legal defend-

ders of the power of vindicating their rights, and makes it almost certain that we shall be governed by scoundrels and robbers for ever.

The Present Condition of Kansas. Freedom Conquered.

[Correspondence of the New York Tribune.]

A few men from the Southern States insist on carrying with them the serf basis of an aristocracy, which will make them aristocrats. With it they carry ruin to republicanism, prostration to enterprise, and a fatal moral disease to the community. To oblige these few foes of all that makes our country great, the ruin of young States is begun and consummated. The struggle in Kansas has amply proven how utterly hated is everything in the shape of freedom by slavery. The slaveocracy hate freedom; they hate those who love any kind of freedom, and they will kill republicanism and freedom in every shape wherever and whenever they can. They have already lost all respect for, and, indeed, cordially hate those men who, by their devotion to freedom during the struggle of the Revolution, secured us a republican form of government. They hate every word connected with human liberty.

At present freedom is conquered in Kansas. The bogus Legislature established slavery in point of fact, and our territorial authorities, backed by all the military power of the nation, have declared that these laws shall be enforced. The same bogus council, and another Legislature equally bogus, are about to assemble and complete what is lacking of pro-slavery legislation for Kansas. The free-state movement has been violently suppressed by the national Government, and although it may revive, and lift up its head in the struggle, yet it will do so under circumstances still less propitious than it has encountered at any period in the struggle. Legal persecution runs riot. Our Federal Courts emulate the worst days of the Inquisition. Intimidation has done its work with many of the free-state settlers. Emigration from the free States has been shut out during the greater part of this season. The Missouri river has been closed to emigrants of that class, and every obstacle thrown in the way of the tedious overland route through Nebraska and Iowa, both by ruffians and United States officers. Free-state men have been murdered in open day, and there has neither been redress nor security against the recurrence of such crimes. Free-state towns and villages, and settlers' houses, have been burned and plundered, and even now there are the first murmuring threats of another invasion.

Proceedings of the Border-Ruffian Courts in Kansas. Conviction of Twenty Free-State Men.

[From the New York Tribune.]

The process of subduing freedom is going on bravely in Kansas. Twenty free-state men, charged with the enormous crime of taking up arms against a gang of ruffians, one of the outposts of an army marching on Lawrence with the avowed intention of destroying it, have—without any evidence, however, even of that fact—been found guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced by Judge Lecompte to five years' imprisonment at hard labor, which, under the bogus laws, is to be performed with a ball and chain to the leg upon the public works.

In the meantime, this eminent professor of border-ruffian justice, as if to assure his fellow border-ruffians of perfect impunity, dismisses, on the bail-bond of the notorious Jones, a man guilty of an infamous and most cowardly and cruel murder, under the very eye, as it were, of Governor Geary himself, being no less than the deliberate and wanton shooting of a cripple because he objected to have his horse stolen. Geary, it seems, unwilling to allow such a bold outrage upon his authority to go unpunished, and to show that the border-ruffians were not absolutely masters of the Territory, had at considerable trouble and expense caused this man to be arrested and brought to Leocompton, where the Grand Jury had found a true bill against him; whereupon, the Chief-Justice steps in and dismisses him on bail; in other words, sets him free and lets him run.

Renewal of the Slave-trade.

[From the New York Tribune.]

The New Orleans *Delta* is taking the position of a leader of opinion in the slave States, and it meets the responsibility of such an office with ability and frankness. Thus it argues boldly for the re-establishment of the African slave-trade:

As to the morality of the Slave-trade, that presents no more difficulty than the question of slavery itself. One is involved in the other. Slavery must be defended in its integrity—in its origin, in its sustentation, in its perpetuity—or its defense should be abandoned. We can see no other ground for a logical and candid mind. If it was wrong in its origin, it is wrong in its perpetuation. But if it was right, on the contrary, to introduce it—if good consequences to both white and black, and to the material interests of the country, have flowed from its introduction—then it is just and beneficial to nourish, invigorate and perpetuate it. If the latter is the correct view, as it must be to make slavery defensible, the African slave-trade ceases to be a question of morality, and becomes one solely of expediency; and, therefore, the South has a right to an increase of slave-labor as long as there is an increasing demand for it.

For our part, we candidly admit that *The Delta* reasons justly. If there is any ground of principle upon which a man who voted for Buchanan can resist the re-opening of the Slave-trade, we fail to see it, and shall be exceedingly obliged to any one who will point it out.

SPIRIT OF THE GERMAN PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES.

A German Mechanic on Southern Manners, Tobacco and Rocking-chairs. A German view of Nicaragua.

The *Abend-Zeitung* affirms that any misrepresentation or untruth, however impudent or stupid, is made use of by the Sham Democratic press to mislead their readers. The exploded theory of the diminution of slavery by means of spreading the same over new territories is again brought to life in order to defend the extension of slavery into Kansas and Nicaragua. The *Abend-Zeitung* shows that the spread of slavery stimulates, by increasing the price, the breeding of slaves in the more northern slave States, and thereby fosters, strengthens and perpetuates the peculiar institution in the old States. A German mechanic, residing in Augusta, Georgia, writes a private letter, dated November 2d, from which the New York Democratic German papers give the following extracts:

"Everybody who does not want to get into a row here must avoid to mention even his (Fremont's) name, else they cry, 'Down with the abolitionist!' and many foreigners have been obliged to leave Southern towns merely because they have declared themselves against slavery. I can tell you that these cursed slaveholders disgust me; it is here as in Germany. If you say anything there against the government, you are imprisoned as a revolutionist, and if you speak here anything against slavery you are shot down, stabbed, or beaten as an abolitionist.

"The sons of the planters, with some exceptions, come to the city to indulge in drinking, licentiousness and rowdiness. A great many young men, sons of most respectable people, are drunk for weeks, so that they remain occasionally lying insensible in the streets, and have to be borne home by the negroes; there are of course some who are better.

"It is considered here a shame for white women to do anything else besides rocking in rocking-chairs, &c. Most of them chew a kind of snuff—each has a tobacco-bottle and a piece of wood, which is first moistened before it is put in the bottle—they chew it sitting on their balconies or on their stoops. A great many of them smoke tobacco from short pipes, very unconcernedly. The wives of farmers are to be seen smoking in the streets."

It is particularly noticed in the German papers, that *Hermann* and *Gutenberg*, two small German towns in the West, have remained true to their names. *Hermann* was the only place in the State of Missouri, which, in default of a regular Fremont ticket, voted for Fremont electors of their own. Clayton County (in which Gutenberg lies) gave 748 for Buchanan; 1,520 for Fremont, and 67 for Fillmore. The elections confirm what was previously stated by the Republican press, that the seat and the power of Know-Nothingism is found in the slave States. There foreign born citizens have been insulted, outraged and driven from the polls by the most reckless violence. The elections in Baltimore and New Orleans are mentioned as examples on this point.

The *Criminal-Zeitung* of last week, comments on the affairs in Nicaragua as follows:

"The sympathy of the South for Walker was nearly dying out, when he—by legalizing slavery in Nicaragua

—quickly regained the lost ground. Since that time, stream of men and munitions of war have kept running to him from New Orleans, and all the slaveholders can do to fortify Walker's position will certainly be done.

The South seems to regard Nicaragua—even if it should not be incorporated into the Union at present—as a point from which—without a direct re-introduction of the African Slave-trade—new supplies of slave laborers may be obtained, and besides expeditions against the Pearl of the Antilles may be organized there more conveniently than in the United States.

"The impediments to the realization of such projects may possibly baffle the same. The land robbers will have to encounter the maritime powers of Europe, and the majority of the Northern States will oppose them in every way. But the Cincinnati platform will be elevated to the Presidential chair on the fourth of March next; the adherents of its principles are in a majority in the next Congress. The Southern fire-eaters are possessed of an untiring persistence; and besides all this, the killing of some Americans by the forces of the Central American States—although amply avenged—has enlisted the national feeling here."

It will be seen from this extract, that the editor of the *Criminal-Zeitung* understands this Nicaragua business thoroughly, and that in the comprehensive view taken by him, he is far in advance of most of his American cotemporaries, who, as yet are not aware of the connection between Walker's filibusterism, and the re-introduction of the American Slave-trade.

The same paper says that the King of Denmark in investing Professor Morse with the Oersted medal, intended to indicate that the invention of electromagnetism emanated from the Dane Oersted, and not from the American Morse.

THE PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM.

The Danger from Elective Kings, howsoever Named. Comparison between the English and American Systems of Government.

[From the *Pioneer*. (German paper, New York.) Translated for *The European*.]

The editor of the *Pioneer*, Karl Heinzen, states that he has received an order from the President elect to prepare the Presidential inaugural address, as Buchanan himself devotes all his time to office-hunters and Southern friends. Heinzen, therefore, submits the draft of that important document to the American people, from which we have extracted the following:

The first institution of the United States of which I shall treat is the Presidency. You have made yourselves and the world believe that you are Democrats, Republicans and freemen. You cannot be either as long as you are President-makers. You are subjects as well as the Europeans. The difference is only in the dress and the inauguration of your rulers. Kings make subjects, and you make kings; which in reality is much worse. A chosen king in a black dress-coat may really be more dangerous than a born king in purple, for in pursuing a disastrous policy his seeming Democratic origin will prevent the application of revolutionary remedies.

Do you suppose that you are not subjects because you yourselves have appointed your king? You call yourselves a sovereign people, and what power do you possess over your destiny? Do you know what will be done during my administration? Does not everything that is to happen or not to happen depend upon me? Your sovereign will, was it not buried in the ballot-box on the 4th of November last, to be buried again after the lapse of four years? My election, does it not put you in the same state of excitement, uncertainty and expectation with which the subjects in Europe look upon a change of the occupant of the throne? Do you not look upon me as the master of your fate? Whether Kansas shall be free, whether Cuba shall be conquered, whether this Republic shall be at war with the whole world and converted into a field of devastation, is all that not in my hand? Can you do anything else towards it but contributing your money and spilling your blood?

I have your fate indeed at my disposal. A President who commands the army and navy, who directs the foreign policy, who appoints a hundred thousand officers, avails more than the sovereign people whose servant he should be, but who have no means at hand to make him a servant.

What the President wills is done, but not what you will; this is the fruit of institutions which you have wisely, but which are the inheritance of European despots. When the democracy in Europe commenced a war with despotism, the highest possible concession which they could acquire was the executive, right of legislation; but the main power, the appointment of officers, and the sword, the control of the treasury, the veto, were retained by despotism.

The separated executive power is the most convenient handle with which every retrocession is introduced, and every progress stopped, every form of slavery maintained, and all liberty suppressed; that is the murdering instrument by which all the despots have obtained and maintained their power, from Francis Joseph to Louis Napoleon, from King Bomba to Isabella of Spain, from Frederick Wilhelm to Franklin Pierce. A people may create for itself the best constitution in the world, but as soon as its execution and its sword are placed in the hands of one man it is doomed. The people itself must always keep the sword, and it must be drawn by the order of leaders depending all the time upon them, the people, only. The individual man executes what he thinks and concludes; he has not a head which thinks only, without a hand to execute, and a second head to command the hands. Now a people is nothing else than a multiplied man; and there is no reason for rejecting nature's logic as applied to the individual."

To remedy the evil there is a plan proposed by the *Pioneer*, according to which a national assembly, elected uniformly from all the various electoral districts, is to make the laws, and to execute them, by choosing from amongst themselves a ministry, which is to be controlled by, and be liable to be superseded by the general assembly, and the members of that assembly itself are to hold their office only during such times as their actions are satisfactory to their respective constituents, so that each deputy may be removed by his original electors if he does not satisfy their expectations. It is contended that such a constitution would secure a government of a real democracy.

Remarks on the above, comparing the English and American Systems of Government.

Under the British Constitution there is an hereditary monarch, but he (or she) has no real power over the destinies of the country. The nation is governed by Ministers who enjoy the confidence of the representatives of the people. These Ministers are subjected to be interrogated in Parliament, and are expected to defend their policy on all suitable occasions. If their measures should prove to be unpopular, a vote is taken in the House of Commons declarative of the sense of members, and a new Ministry is selected nominally by the Sovereign, but in reality by the Commons.

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

The President is elected for four years; he is the commander of the military and naval forces; he may and sometimes does commit acts of hostility, which render war with other powers unavoidable; he remains President for the full term, whether his foreign or domestic policy be approved of or not by the people or their representatives; he may become half-tempted, but there is no getting rid of him or his Ministry.

Now which is in reality the most Republican system, that of England or this of the United States? People are apt to be deceived by names, and to conclude that all Republican forms of government must be better for the people than a Constitutional Monarchy, however the powers of the Monarch may be circumscribed. To these we would just suggest that Venice with its Council of Ten was a Republic!

If we go further with this comparison between the British and American systems of Government, we shall see that the principles of liberty are more fully recognised in Britain than is generally imagined on this side of the water.

Let us look at the government of an English city. There we find all persons paying rates and taxes; electing their representatives to govern them; and we shall moreover find that the parts occupied by the working classes are much better attended to in

respect to lighting, paving, watching, draining and cleansing than are the like quarters in the cities of the United States. The poor are relieved, and justice is honestly and faithfully administered.

It is true that universal suffrage does not prevail; but in the towns which elect Members of Parliament every householder who pays ten pounds a year rent (about fifty dollars) has a vote. This qualification is enough to make a large majority of the constituency consist of mechanics and laborers, who have in reality no interests different from those of their own class who are not entitled to vote.

But it may be said that the Nobles are hereditary law-makers, and that the consent of the House of Lords is necessary before any new legislation can take place. The fact, however, is, that the House of Lords having no control over the Ministry, does not interpose to prevent the adoption of the measures which may be resolved upon by the Government for the time being with the authority of the House of Commons. The foreign and domestic policy of the Government are, in all essential particulars, dictated by the House of Commons. How different is this from the position of the House of Representatives at Washington! Since the passage of the Reform Bill the Government of England has always been carried on by the Whigs in defiance of an immense majority against them in the House of Lords.

We fully concur with the sagacious editor of the *Pioneer* in his reasoning on the Presidential system. We do not believe that such a system can ever be maintained in any country where there is a large army. The editor of the *Pioneer* has pointed out what in our judgment is the true Republican system of Government. Some further remarks on this subject will be found in another article in our columns on Municipal Reform.

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.

The Anglo-French Alliance.

The *London Globe* says: The alliance between the Emperor Napoleon and her Majesty Queen Victoria is as close and cordial as ever it has been at any hour since it was first established. Moreover, the alliance has been unbroken, and has at no time been interrupted or even impaired. We have persevered in that statement throughout. We did so when all our cotemporaries were against us; and when even the course of events appeared to cast a doubt upon our assurance. The truth of our assertion is confirmed by the general knowledge.

The *London Post* says: It is of the highest importance, at a moment like the present, to dispel the exaggerations of rumor, and to record the truth simply. We, therefore, emphatically state that we have reason to believe that never at any time was the alliance between England and France more solid and faithful than now.

It is true that of late, though no dispute ever occurred, different views and different positions in reference to a number of minor questions, apparently of trifling importance, have been assumed by the two Governments. This was, perhaps, the result of accident. Certainly it was not attributable to any real divergence of sentiment or opinion between the Emperor Napoleon and her Majesty's Government.

We believe that there is now the certainty that the two Governments will not together, as in the past; and that together they will insist on the fulfilment of the treaty for which both fought and conquered.

The following is from the *Star*:

Notwithstanding the superficial patching recently effected by the intervention of M. Persigny, and notwithstanding the lended type of the ministerial journals, there is between the two Governments an utter divergence of opinion on every subject of general European interest. They differ on the mode of dealing with the Italian question, and hence the ridiculous abortion in which the loudly vaunted Neapolitan intervention has issued; they differ on the future constitution to be given to the Danubian Principalities; they differ on the prolonged occupation of these provinces by Austria, and of the Turkish waters by England; they differ on the interpretation of the

article in the Treaty of the Bessarabian the place, and the progress should be re-assessed. It is one of open engaged in incessant each other up; and ingly, irreconcilably intentions of Russia French Emperor to with that of Lord 1 Mansion-house. This what are the points of so many points of be supposed to rest pleasure, but with the they are facts, and them?

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The Proposition to Assassinate Kotel on the Right

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article in the Treaty of Paris relating to the limitation of the Bessarabian frontier; they differ as to the time, the place, and the circumstances under which the Congress should be re-assembled; their policy at Constantinople is one of open antagonism, the two ambassadors engaged in incessant intrigues to circumvent and trip each other up; and above all, they differ broadly, glaringly, irreconcilably in their estimation of the spirit and intentions of Russia, as witness the language of the French Emperor to the Russian Ambassador compared with that of Lord Palmerston at Manchester and the Mansion-house. This being the case, may we not ask what are the points of agreement on which, in the face of so many points of repulsion, the *entente cordiale* can be supposed to rest? We recite these facts not with pleasure, but with the deepest sorrow and regret. But they are facts, and what avails it to deny or disguise them?

The foreign policy of France under Louis Napoleon can never be in accordance with that of England, for he wishes to suppress liberty in Spain and Italy. It is not improbable that Russia may be able to secure his co-operation in its schemes by offering him a share in the partition of Turkey, or by permitting him to subjugate Spain or Italy.

Interference on the part of England need not be apprehended, as she has no military force at her disposal adequate to such a task.

The "Moniteur" Repudiating the "Constitutionnel" Article.

The article on the questions at issue between England and France, which appeared in the *Constitutionnel* of November 5, and was supposed to be of a semi-official character, is repudiated by the *Moniteur* of November 7, which publishes the following:

"The *Constitutionnel* of the 5th inst. contains an article upon a point in dispute in external affairs which we should be very sorry to allow to be supposed that it emanated from the Government. To evenom a discussion is not the way to facilitate its solution. England and France, who together carried on the war and concluded peace, and who agree upon all the great questions of the day in Europe, are divided in opinion upon one of a very minor interest. Will the difference be settled by a preliminary arrangement or conference? That is the only thing to be decided. But, under all circumstances, we entertain the firm conviction that the difficulty will soon be removed, without running upon the double shoal of weakening the English alliance, and of failing to fulfil engagements contracted."

The Proposition made by Walter Savage Landor to Assassinate King Bomba. Grotius and Vattel on the Right to Assassinate Tyrants.

The following proposal to kill the King of Naples by private hand appears in the *London Daily News*:

TO J. MERITON WHITE.

At the present time I have only £100 of ready money at my disposal, and am never likely to have so much in future. Of this, I transmit to you £5 towards "the acquisition of 10,000 muskets, to be given to the first Italian Province which shall rise." The remaining £95 I reserve for the family of the first patriot who asserts the dignity and performs the duty of tyrannicide. Abject men have cried out against me for my commendation of this virtue, the highest of which a man is capable, and now the most imperative. Is it not an absurdity to remind us that usurpers will rise up afresh? Do not all transgressors? And must we, therefore, lay aside the terrors of chastisement, or give a ticket of leave to the most atrocious criminal? Shall one enslave millions? Shall the laws be subverted, and we be told that we act against them or without their sanction when none are left us, and when, guided by eternal justice, we smite down the subverter? Three or four blows, instantaneous and simultaneous, may save the world many years of war and degradation. If it is unsafe to rob a citizen, shall it be safe to rob a people? In what country is not every schoolboy taught, even by the priests who are ordinarily his instructors—here impelled unconsciously by a hand invisible—to applaud the self-devoted violator? The forula strikes the desk, and the boy rises at once into the man.

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR.

We understand that the authenticity of this letter has been doubted. We do not propose to discuss the propriety of the proposition contained therein; but may observe, that it is not generally known that the leading publicists recognise the right of subjects, in extreme cases, to rid themselves of their tyrants by assassination.

The right of rebellion, as exercised by the people of England in the reign of James II., is pretty generally recognised by people living under constitutional Governments.

If an insurrection against an odious tyranny be successful, the insurrectionists are heroes; if they fail, they are felons. So, if by the assassination of a brutal tyrant a nation is actually made free, the act is generally applauded in free communities; whilst, on the other hand, if another tyrant succeeds, there is very little, if any, sympathy for the tyrannicide.

It will be observed that Mr. Landor does not offer any reward to the person who might succeed in ridding Naples of the monster Bomba. Lived assassins have never been looked upon with the same sympathy as a Charlotte Corday, influenced by patriotism only to strike the blow.

Grotius considers the question, whether it is lawful for a private individual to kill an usurper; and his opinion is, that the question depends upon this—whether it is better to bear the tyranny, than to run the risk of bringing about a civil war. (Book 1, ch. 4, § 19.)

Vattel says (Book 1, ch. 4, § 54):

"A subject ought patiently to suffer from the Prince doubtful wrongs, and wrongs that are supportable; the former, because whoever has submitted to the decision of a Judge is no longer capable of deciding his own pretensions; and as to those that are supportable, they ought to be sacrificed to the peace and safety of the State, on account of the great advantages obtained by living in society. It is presumed, as matter of course, that every citizen has tacitly engaged to observe this moderation; because, without it society could not exist. But when the injuries are manifest and atrocious,—when a prince, without any apparent reason, attempts to deprive us of life, or of those things the loss of which would render life irksome, who can dispute our right to resist him? Self-preservation is not only a natural right, but an obligation imposed by nature, and no man can entirely and absolutely renounce it. And though he might give it up, can he be considered as having done it by his political engagements, since he entered into society only to establish his own safety upon a more solid basis? The welfare of society does not require such a sacrifice; and, as Barbeyrac well observes in his notes on Grotius: 'If the public interest requires that those who obey should suffer some inconvenience, it is no less for the public interest that those who command should be afraid of driving their patience to the utmost extremity.' (De jure belli et pacis, lib. 1, cap. 4, s. 11, n. 2.) The Prince who violates all laws, who no longer observes any measures, and who would in his transports of fury take away the life of an innocent person, divests himself of his character, and is no longer to be considered in any other light than that of an unjust and outrageous enemy, against whom his people are allowed to defend themselves."

Again, in Book 2, ch. 4, § 56, he says:

"As to those monsters who, under the title of Sovereigns, render themselves the scourges and horror of the human race, they are savage beasts, whom every brave man may justly exterminate from the face of the earth."

This doctrine is, however, very unpalatable to absolute Princes, and is by many courtly writers most vigorously denounced.

DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION BETWEEN THE FREE AND SLAVE STATES.

Economical Considerations. Insignificance of the Cotton Interest. Free Trade prevented by the South. How the Northwestern States would go.

A short time before the late Presidential Election a well-written leading article on the "Results of Disunion" appeared in the *New York Times*, in which it is argued that the cotton crop could not, in case of a dissolution of the Union, be withheld from the Northern factories—that if it were so withheld the only effect would be the driving of an inconsiderable population from the loom to the soil, and that this change would be manifestly desirable in every point of view. It is also contended that the importance of the Cotton interest is ludicrously exaggerated—that were it not for the connection with the South there would be no custom-houses, the tariff and custom-house being the creatures of Southern selfishness—that the Northwestern States would go with the North, and not with the South. As to the Mississippi River, it is no longer the channel of Western traffic, railroads being now used to bring the produce of the West to the Northern Atlantic Ports.

We reproduce the article at length, as it is well worthy of the attention of our readers.

[From the *New York Daily Times*, October 20.]

RESULTS OF DISUNION.

The *Richmond Enquirer* indulges in some remarks in reply to an article in the *Daily Times*, and wishes "every paper at the North to copy them." We cheerfully do our part, by inserting them in another column of this paper.

We have no disposition, however, to let this nonsense go without its commentary. The *Enquirer* is anxious to foreshadow the ruin disunion must inflict upon the prosperity of the North, arguing to that result from several gratuitous assumptions, irreconcilable with sense, experience, and the inevitable laws of political economy. The chief of these assumptions is, that by any legislation the law-makers of the proposed Southern Republic can more than temporarily divert the natural movement of the cotton crop from the Northern factory. It is an axiom more profoundly based than any other in economical science, that the normal course of trade may be momentarily interrupted, but can no more be finally stopped than the current of a river. No discrimination that the South may venture upon to the disadvantage of the Northern cotton-spinner will outlast the legislature that makes it. The interest of the community and of its individual members cannot be sacrificed to the gratification of a silly spite and jealousy; and that it is the interest of the South to transact its exchanges with the nearest market, it is needless to demonstrate. The proximity of a Northern market, and the accessibility of Northern capital, are now the main supporters of what prosperity the South enjoys.

But admitting the possibility of withholding the cotton crop from our manufacturers, and the consequent closing of the Northern factories, we realize none of the difficulties the *Enquirer* foretells in feeding, clothing and employing our population. According to the census of 1850, fewer people are employed directly in cotton manufactures than in editing newspapers or weaving homespun cloth. The shutting up of the cotton mills would only operate immediately in driving this inconsiderable population from the loom to the soil—a change manifestly desirable in every point of view. Indirectly, the power of the cotton interest is ludicrously exaggerated. The census of 1850 shows that the total value of manufactures, exclusive of home-made articles, in the North, was \$345,430,428. Of these, but \$52,600,000 were of cotton; that is, only one-sixteenth of the whole. Saying nothing of the iron, the copper, the coal, nothing of agricultural products peculiar to a Northern climate, there are three items of production in the Eastern and Middle States, wholly independent of the South, which jointly equal the cotton income in value. They are fish, salt and wool, the aggregate annual worth of which reaches \$60,000,000. These alone afford us the means of exchange against the productions of the farm; but we are not dependent upon these. Always assuming the whole business of cotton manufacturing to be transferred to England, we should at once look to England for our supply of manufactured goods. Here would be employment for the capital, the shipping, and the population, if need be, set adrift by the Southern commercial policy; and here would be precisely the same element of exchange against farm products that already exists. Nor would we need longer the thirty per cent. tariff on cotton manufactures now levied. The imposition of any excise upon cotton carried to the North, the North would meet by removing the duty on manufactured cotton; and we should certainly anticipate cheaper sheeting, shirting and fine goods in the event of disunion than we can ever expect otherwise. Let it always be remembered, that tariff and custom-houses are the creatures of Southern selfishness. Wise men long ago found out that no more unjust or unequal mode of raising revenue could be devised than by duties on importations, whereby the laborer at twelve shillings a day often pays a larger tax to the Federal Government than the merchant prince, whose navies whiten the seas, or the owner of cities, to which the Union affords indispensable protection and stability of values. But the slaveholding interest likewise made the same discovery. The laboring population of the South, numbering nearly four millions, and amounting to more than one-third of the whole population, uses nothing that passes through the custom-house, and, for all practical purposes, nothing the price of which is augmented by the tariff. They pay no tribute, therefore, under the present system, to the Federal Government, while represented in and controlling its conduct; whereas, if custom-houses were swept away, and direct

location, as contemplated by the Constitution, substituted, the labor of the South would bear the same impost as the labor of the North, and the South for the first time sustain its proportion of the cost of government. Freed from Southern antagonism to a change of policy, the North would unquestionably secure that change promptly, and throw open its ports to the products of the world. Cotton goods in those days will be afforded at prices still lower and more available for purchasing the breadstuffs of the Northwest. As to the amusing assumption that the latter would identify itself with a Southern Union, in case of dissolution, it is too absurd for discussion. The channel of the Mississippi is no longer the channel of Western traffic—New Orleans no longer its depot. The iron roads stretched out to the great West from the Northern Atlantic ports have brought hither all those elements of wealth, for the lack of which New Orleans, instead of advancing to greatness, part pass with the development of the Valley north of it, has culminated, and is rapidly declining. The attraction of Southern institutions is not so irresistible, we fancy, as to induce the Northwest to abandon all the advantages it recognizes in its relations with the Eastern States, and recur to a regime of trade it has pronounced unprofitable, and is rapidly deserting. The first law of economics, one overruling all the vindictive and blustering legislation of madmen and wiseacres, is that trade will be directed by interest. If it were the interest of the South to legislate to the disadvantages of the North, it need not wait for dissolution. Its influence in Congress is undeniably sufficient to inflict serious detriment upon Northern interests, politically and commercially. If it were the interest of the Northwest to seek New Orleans for a market rather than New York, it would certainly not postpone the seeking until Brooks, Wise, Michie, and Giddian should set up their Utopian empire.

The essential error of those great economists of the South is, that they forget how utterly dependent the South is upon Northern capital. The power of the cotton crop all resides in that. We talk of covering England, in case of severed relations, by withholding cotton from her mills. It could not be withheld a month without all Northern capital in food, plant, and dairy. Even with all the facilities of Northern consumption of cotton, and Northern ships to carry it for him to every market of the world, and Northern capital to draw upon, he is too poor to wait for a return from Liverpool or Havre. It is a notorious fact that the planter is always in debt, and has nearly always squandered the profit of his crop before it is gathered. But this squandering recommended by the *Magazine* is chosen, and let the embargo it proposes to lay upon Northern capital be imposed, and, without money, shipping, credit or manufactures, can we conceive ruin more stretched and pitiable than must at once visit him? A high cloud upon every interest of the South?

Cotton, an intricate without capital, is powerless. And, fortunately, the capital of the South is not derived, as we have seen, from converting cotton into cloth—but from a free and infinitely diversified source, with which cotton has nothing to do. It is, in fact, well known to all practical men familiar with the manufacturing interest, that no portion of Northern capital is so unprofitably and deeply invested, as that locked up in cotton mills and cotton machinery. We depend upon the factory master for land, and the means of procuring it. Nor can we be made, as the *Magazine* suggests, wholly dependent upon our fisheries. But of the \$616,400,192 of the products of manual dexterity at the North, the fisheries yield but \$9,600,976—and the union of both them and the cotton factory from the south could hardly afford it rapidly—especially as the capital released from the latter would instantly seek more profitable service.

The *Magazine* will, therefore, do well to learn enough of political economy to know that as long as the laws of human nature, which is but another name for the laws of trade, remain what they are, political cannot be made to carry with it commercial operation. There is no magic lamp for Aladdin Wise to rub, or dividing-rod for philosopher Brooks to conjure with, that can suddenly interpose that substitute for the money, the shipping, the ships and the markets of the North, without which the South is in a condition of impotent pauperism. There is no Kelt or Giddian powerful enough in the arms to shut the Southern markets against necessary articles of Northern manufacture, without which the South is a pauper, neither housed, fed, nor comforted. Tariffs are of no avail. Tax the products of our shops as you will,

you only tax your own consumers, and increase the difficulty without diminishing the necessity of buying. Northern industry is indeed beyond the reach of dissolution.

The Persecution of Passmore Williamson Compared with the Proceedings against Colburn in Pennsylvania.

We find going the round of the papers the following paragraph:

"In Philadelphia, Passmore Williamson, Edmund Schellman and Moses Hagar have been held to bail to answer the charge of conspiracy to libel the Hon. William B. Reed, Mr. W. B. Knapp and others."

It would seem from this that one of the first points of the triumph of the Buchanan party in Pennsylvania has been the revival of that system of legal persecution and oppression of which Passmore Williamson has already been so distinguished a victim.

This abuse of the powers of the law, especially in connection with the prosecutions for libel, has always been a favorite resort of the Sham Democrats of Pennsylvania. For themselves, they carry the liberty of the Press—the *Aurora* formerly did and the *Pennsylvanian* does now—to the utmost extreme of license, stopping short of no falsehoods and no abuse of their political opponents, but pouring upon them all that same torrent of calumny of which the illustrious Washington was one of the earliest victims. But while claiming for themselves and freely availing this extreme of license, these Sham Democrats of Pennsylvania have never hesitated to overstrain and pervert the law for the purpose of cooling the newspapers and shutting up the mouths of their opponents against the utterance of unpalatable truths.

The *Tribune* compares the persecution of Passmore Williamson to that of Colburn by Judge McKean.

"Through McKean, as Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, had looked on with perfect complacency as long as it was Washington, Adams and Hamilton, who were the subjects of abuse, without once thinking of calling the attention of grand juries to the libels upon them put forth by Bachs, Dimes, and Colburn; as soon as Colburn, under the penname of *Peter Porcupine*, opened upon himself and the Sham Democrats generally, than he became at once sensitively alive to the calumnies of the press; and not content with the common law against libels—which, indeed, the Constitution of Pennsylvania had modified somewhat in McKean's discomfort, by allowing the truth to be given in evidence—he conceived an intention of his own for punishing Colburn, or rather fished it up from that magazine of tyrannical precedents and bad law afforded by the edicts of the bishops, with which, as with other legal lore, the learned judge was perfectly familiar. Having had Colburn brought before him on the charge of publishing certain libels, without the least color of law for it in any Pennsylvania or even under English practice, he obliged Colburn, not only without trial, but without any indictment found against him, to give bonds to keep the peace and not to publish any more libels; and when, some years after, Dr. Bush recovered a verdict against Colburn for some strictures upon his murderess and now totally abandoned and repudiated practice in yellow-fever cases, this recovery was set up as a forfeiture of Colburn's bonds, which he or his sureties were compelled to pay! This method of punishing truth-tellers, printers, or of frightening them into silence by the apprehension of double penalties, refused recognition, and has, however, been denied to be law by a distinguished Federal lawyer, who confirmed McKean's selection of him to fill the post of Chief Justice—made in hopes of punishing Federal laws—by setting aside this tyrannical innovation which McKean had introduced. The Pennsylvania Sham Democrats of today would seem to have resorted to a similar dodge in the charge of 'conspiracy to libel' mentioned at the beginning of this article."

THE GERMANS IN AMERICA

The Course Purposed by them in the late Election. Their Abandonment of the Sham Democratic Party accounted for.

One of the most remarkable facts to be noticed in the late Presidential contest in the United States is the accession of the majority of the German voters to the ranks of the Republican party. Hitherto the mass of the Germans have, like the bulk of all other

adopted citizens, cast their votes for the ticket which—however undeservingly—bore the appellation "Democratic." In all previous elections the millions of the South relied, with the greatest certainty, upon the support of the whole German population; but suddenly the scene is changed, most of the German authors and orators are found amongst the truest friends of Republicanism, the German popular organs are converted into stout supporters of Fremont.

This very interesting political phenomenon will puzzle the minds of politicians unacquainted with the peculiarities of the German character, but it nevertheless admits of a natural and easy explanation by those who have discovered the hidden springs of action in the Teutonic race.

In the first place, it must not be forgotten that in all previous contests between the so-called "Democratic" party and their opponents, there was no distinct antagonism on the great slavery issue. The "Whigs" generally contended for a United States Bank, Protective Tariff, Internal Improvements and other measures of like import, and the "Democrats" fought against these measures. No great principle was apparent on either side, but the Democracy had the sagacity to assume the special championship of the foreigners in advocating liberal naturalization laws, and the German emigrants, who were indifferent on all the other questions, paid a debt of gratitude to their special friends, by voting the "clean Democratic ticket" on every election-day.

But when, in the last Presidential election, despotism and freedom were arrayed against each other—when it became clear that a slaveholding aristocracy claimed dominion over all the vast territories of this confederacy, and that the Republicans were the only party contending for the predominance of freedom, the Germans did not hesitate to leave, en masse, the ranks of the Sham Democracy, and to swell those of the Republican party. Their good, sound common-sense was stronger than any party-shackles and party-names, however popular. The hatred of colored races—which predominates largely in most of the American communities—was in vain appealed to in their case, for the Germans do not hate negroes, but love all human beings; the Bible arguments in favor of slavery produced no effect on them, for they are unworried by religious prejudices of any kind; false patriotism was brought to bear upon them with no effect, for amongst the Germans the most enlightened cosmopolitan ideas prevail; they do not profess to admire this or any other confederacy when ruled by despotism. The various devices of misrepresentation used by the slaveocracy to hide the real issue, which deceived many Americans, proved unavailing with the Germans; for their scholars and students, trained by modern philosophies in abstract reasoning and logical thinking, were sounder than the spider web of sophistry which proved effectual in catching a great number of native Americans. The superior system of education in Germany has produced a wide-spread, firmly-rooted, independent thoughtfulness; a clear, bright, extensive, grasping intellect, which could not be darkened, confused or perverted by the strongest efforts of their opponents in this country. The determination of the Germans to fully co-operate with the Republican party—"the party of progress and freedom"—was aided and confirmed by the German Revolutionists of 1848, who now, for the first time in this country, were enabled to use their rights of citizenship for the same cause which they had embraced at home.

The leaders of the Revolution of 1848 in Germany were, with very few exceptions, foremost in the defense of liberty in America, and thereby testified their clear perception of the unity and solidarity of freedom's great cause throughout the whole world.

All these causes combined have contributed to give the German population here a full comprehension of the real issues of the struggle, far superior to the conceptions of most of those "to the manor

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born." One example will suffice to illustrate the truth of this conclusion. Throughout the Presidential campaign one-half of the American press attacked Mr. Fremont on account of his pretended Catholic religion, whilst the remaining half labored to defend him by denying this assumption. But the German papers—including that small number which embraced the cause of Buchanan—never mentioned this subject, except to ridicule the whole controversy; for all the German journalists were well convinced that their readers could not be influenced either for or against Fremont on account of his religious belief, whatever that might be.

The accession which the Republican party have received by enlisting in their ranks a majority of German citizens constitutes one of the most important events in the history of the United States. The number of German Republicans is considerable, their organization throughout the free States is rapidly completing, and the effect of their comprehensive intellect will be powerfully felt in the future destiny of this country.

(From the New York Tribune, November 20.)

"THE LAGERBIER MANIA"—ONCE MORE.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune.

Sir: Your paper of November 9 accidentally fell into my hands a day or two ago. My attention was attracted to an article taken from *The Herald*, and headed "The Lager-bier Mania." It seems to me that a commentary would not be out of place. It reminded me forcibly of the leaders and paragraphs of many of our late campaign papers, which were distinguished by an unscrupulous twisting and perverting of facts, calculated to frighten, to mislead, to bewilder and to get the many who grew their information from those impure sources. The facts of the writer of this article are mostly stated incorrectly, and his speculations, to say the least, altogether unwarranted. I am a German, I am an habitual beer-drinker, and, therefore, desire to put in a plea for old King Bremen. Of course, I shall not take it on me to prove that the evils mentioned in it may not arise from the abuse, that is, immoderate use, of lager-bier. Regular toper I shall not take under my protection.

The author's introductory remarks I pass over. They are very far-fetched, and look as if forcibly pressed into service to give a magnificent air to the wine-craze who is mounting this tripod, a sort of lion's skin which does not quite cover the animal within.

He says the history of the German nation proves the truth of the assertion that food has a great influence upon a man's temperament. Well, how? Why the history of Germany more than that of other nations? It is not said what is objectionable in their food.

The character of that people in the days of Arminius seems to have been very different from that of today. The cause may be easily accounted for, when their food is considered.

Not a word is said how they differ, whether for the better or the worse, though the point in which the remark is made is very apparent. According to Tacitus, the Germans, in the time of Arminius, were good eaters and drinkers, and got credit at the same time for some very commendable virtues. Just like our "damned Dutchmen" of to-day. Some of your dyspeptics—your nervous men. They eat and drink well, because they have good stomachs; and that their heads are as good, they have abundantly proved.

What is meant by the old "Bavarians" I cannot make out. Does it mean the aged men of Bavaria at the present time, or their ancestors of a thousand years ago? In either case the illustration is very lame.

Sedentary habits have often been attended with a tendency toward obesity, lager-bier or no lager-bier. If your "clerks and young men about town" (which latter never before have been suspected of sedentary habits) do not take enough exercise, it is their fault—not the lager-bier's.

Then its effect on women is mentioned. The writer professes to have seen frequent cases of sickly infants in consequence of the mothers being addicted to heavy drinking. In the next line it is stated that women have no taste for it, seldom drink it, and that in Europe it is considered vulgar by them to drink it. True, a great many of them do not like it, but I never before heard that it was considered vulgar, though I lived some twenty years in Germany.

Next, lager-bier has to account for the fact that Germany is subject to the rule of thirty-six petty tyrants, and for the indifference with which this state of affairs is endured. A person that charges them with indifference in this matter must be very ignorant of what has been going on there for the last twenty-five years. Is it so very strange that they have not yet been successful in bringing about a change, when the "enlightened" Americans have not yet been able to get rid of slavery, a riddance desired by the majority of their people, with no outside forces to thwart it? And this evil, too, quite a new one compared with royalty, which had a thousand years to grow up to what it is. Truly, one does not need lager-bier to explain that. Moreover, those Germans who have lived long enough in this country that is "ruled by Americans" to know something about it, are seriously revolving it in their minds whether those petty tyrants are not preferably to a phantom liberty, where individual independence is drowned in party wiles and social prejudices.

Next, the writer tells us what he saw in the lager-bier saloons. "Lager-bier stuporously" characterized the crowd of habitual drinkers there.

My extensive experience on this point is altogether different. Whenever I entered a saloon of that kind, a general hum of voices pervaded the somewhat smoky atmosphere; discussion was going on in the various little clusters of guests; frequently my ear caught debates on subjects of the highest order—literary or philosophical—evidently handled only by "grassy" men. However crude the views advanced might have been, they were surely not a sign of mental imbecility.

The impression was altogether more favorable than his one produced by a visit to the inferior establishments where brandy, rum, and gin-schnapps are dispensed, and where I never heard anything but a hoarse howling, profane swearing, or some refined evasion on horse.

The benevolent portion of the patrons of European beer furnish the writer with an example how, under such circumstances, men sink into a state of materialism, and lose the appreciation of the beautiful. "Beer," according to him, "destroys all fine distinctions and grinds the edge from our critical faculties."

To be tainted with materialism by a Yankee is doubtfully such. Where is art-life more stirring—where more generally diffused than in those very beer-drinking countries? The horrible doubt that "grass" so many of the managers of the web-looms in this country do not speak particularly for the appreciation of the beautiful. Further, is not Germany, decidedly a beer-drinking country, acknowledged to be foremost in critical acumen? Some who habitually are running down her literary achievements are willing to admit that criticism has become almost a national propensity; and this turn of mind is not confined to the professional man.

If the writer saw at a German fair festival a lager-bier saloon frequented by a police and struck with a woman by a sentimental air, it would only show that they know how to discriminate in regard to time and place.

The effect which lager-bier, according to this standard, has on the physical man is positively frightful. But it is a little singular that Germany is one of the poorest countries for medical practitioners, and that the population is remarkable for health and vigor. Its "evident action on the lower part of the spine" and hardly as pernicious as to cause "the frequent loss of that power to which we owe the essential joys of matrimony," if we may believe the statistical returns and the complaints of every population.

A plausible suspicion is that the real beer men have called on the editor of *The Herald*, and pointed him to do the handsome thing if he will help him to cry down "lager-bier." But it is of no avail; we won't be daunted off in that fashion. Three cheers for old King Bremen!

Nov. 14, 1856.

"A BAVARIAN BUCHMANN."

DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

How Slavery is kept up by the Union, and would be abolished if the Union were dissolved.

The *Andover* (South Carolina) *Spectator*, October 16, writes distinctly that Slavery could not be sustained, but for the aid of the North.

We look upon the institution of Slavery as deriving its value and maintaining its existence from the Union. Destroy the Union, and, as a necessary consequence, you

destroy Slavery. This is the reason why the ultra-abolitionists of the North desire and advocate dissolution. They know that they can thus the more speedily accomplish their nefarious purposes. While the Union exists, we have the Fugitive Slave law. Dissolve the Union, and the obligation of our Northern brethren to render up fugitive slaves ceases, and there will be no Federal authority to enforce the law. We could never expect, in the event of separation, to obtain an equivalent of the fugitive not by treaty. Under the present form of government, both sections of the Union feel a strong moral obligation, independent of other considerations, to stand by and defend the Constitution. Although a large majority of the Northern people are opposed to extending Slavery into free territory, yet we believe unanimously, if not nearly-nearly unanimous, of them, are opposed to interfering with it in the States where it exists; and that, if any foreign power were to invade our rights as slaveholders, our Southern brethren would make common cause with us.

If the Union were dissolved the non-slaveholding white population of the Northern Slave States would speedily insist on the abolition of Slavery, and the other States would be compelled to follow the example. As matters now stand, the North guards the slave-owners from foreign interference, whilst they are consolidating and extending their power. The overwhelming influence of the Federal Government is used to suppress the advocates of emancipation in Virginia, Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware and Tennessee—they know full well that it would be useless to attempt to oppose the policy favored at Washington. Were the Union dissolved, the friends of emancipation in those States would be relieved from the incubus which now weighs them down. A few years ago, when the power of the General Government was comparatively small, and its policy was not so decidedly pro-slavery, there was a strong abolitionist party in Virginia, Maryland and Delaware.

Remove the influence of the General Government in favor of Slavery, and we shall soon see the slave master's tyranny which prevents the emancipation of the subject destroyed. The white mechanics and laborers are now engaged into the opinion that it is well for them to have those persons who are now slaves kept in that condition; but a little discussion will suffice to satisfy the free men dependent upon their labor for their support, that it would be far better for them if the slaves were all liberated, so that no labor could be had without being paid for. As to the suggestion that the slaves would not work if set free, it is refuted by experience everywhere. In the free States, as well as in the Slave States, the colored people are as industrious as the whites who are engaged in those few employments which are left open to the former—employments which are for the most part of a merely casual character. Indeed it is surprising that any people should bear up as well as they do against the oppression and cruelty which they have to sustain even in the most favored parts of the Union.

The statesmen of all the Southern States would readily recognize the necessity for establishing Slavery on account of military considerations, if they could no longer call upon the millions of the North, with their great military and naval power, to sustain them against France and England.

We conclude that the writer quoted above is quite right, when he says, "Destroy the Union, and as a necessary consequence you destroy Slavery."

What our Brethren in England say.—The *Brandon Courier* of the 16th, (Canadian paper,) says:

"The return of Mr. Buchanan shows that the Americans are determined to uphold the cursed system of slavery. It is most astonishing how the North wickedly plays into the hands of the South."

The New York Tribune Adds.—"But does any man and intelligent man really believe that Mr. Buchanan is now going to be a Republican President? If there be such a one, respect for him must provide any special expression of our opinion with regard to his expectations. Only let him wait and see."

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE EUROPEAN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE EUROPEAN.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1856.

NICARAGUA.

Walker's Projects. Expected Assistance from England and France. Trap for them. Recruiting in the United States for Walker.

The New York *Herald* of November 22d says:

The scheme, on which Walker has kept his eye steadily fixed from the first day on which he entered Nicaragua has been to re-organize that and the other little republics of Central America, and to form of them and Mexico a federal Southern republic, which would act as a counterpoise to the influence of the United States. It was a grand and highly politic scheme. He calculated thereby, and very reasonably, too, to conciliate France and England, and to enlist their Governments in his support. That he has not been unsuccessful in this plan is evidenced by the good relations and kindly feelings that have existed between him and the officers of the English man-of-war lying in San Juan, to whom he had, perhaps, commended his views.

The *Herald* goes on to say, that some of Walker's supporters wished to make a descent upon Cuba from Nicaragua, but that Walker resisted their project; and that Mr. Soule fully approves of Walker's plans.

He (Mr. Soule) is now in the United States, engaged in forwarding Walker's views, and in raising supplies of men and money to enable him to hold his ground and establish his government on a firm and permanent basis. Under the incoming administration he will probably find no obstacle to carrying forward a grand plan of military colonization in Nicaragua. There is nothing in our neutrality laws to prevent this. The expeditions which may be sent out from here cannot legally be interfered with. They will not have been got up for the purpose of making war upon a nation with which we are at peace, but simply as volunteer emigrant companies. In this

light, and with the inducements which Walker can hold out, there can be no limit set to the number of men who can be placed at his disposal. But say that he can within six or twelve months hence calculate on an army of ten thousand men, what obstacle could be then interposed to the realization of his project of a great Southern republic? The feeble governments of Mexico and of the Central American republics could offer but little resistance to his progress. France and England, seeing in it the best means of counterbalancing the influence of the United States and re-organizing Central American society, would rather aid and abet him than otherwise; and as for our government, it could have no excuse for interfering with the movement. Looking at it, then, in this point of view, Walker's vision of empire seems anything but chimerical. It is quite realizable, and the chances in its favor are evidently greater than those against it.

As to Walker's edict, annulling, among other old laws, the decree abolishing slavery, it was not issued in the interest of the Southern States of this republic, as has been represented. It was rather issued in the interest of the social progress and development of Nicaragua. Previous to the revolutions in which these Central American republics threw off their dependence on Spain, slavery existed there in virtue of the common law. Its existence depended not on constitutional provisions nor on written law, but simply on common usage and the natural law. But when the revolution was successful, its leaders, acting under the influence and exaggerated ideas of the old French Revolution, and assuming in its broadest sense the principle evolved in our own Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal, passed decrees abolishing slavery in those States.

It is to be observed that Costa Rica is at war with Nicaragua, and the United States are at peace with both.

The neutrality laws are not confined to a mere prohibition of enlistments of men to serve in foreign armies against countries at peace with the United States. Those laws forbid the hiring or retaining of men to serve in any military capacity abroad. But we readily concede that those laws are not violated by the holding out of inducements to persons to leave the United States for the purpose of being enlisted in a foreign service; and when Mr. Marey asserted, in his correspondence with Lord Clarendon, that the Courts here had held such a proceeding to be unlawful, he stated what was wholly incorrect. It was this assertion which gave Mr. Marey an apparent advantage in the enlistment controversy, and not his lumbering and inapplicable quotations from the writers on public law.

We have no sympathy with Walker's projects—his object is to establish slavery in Central America; and if he succeeds, there will be a few rich aristocrats there, and a multitude of poor wretches forced to spend their miserable lives for the aggrandisement of their oppressors. As to the natives, who are a simple and worthy race of people, they will be utterly exterminated by these ruthless invaders.

The *Tribune* of November 24th says:

It appears from the official statements in *El Niaguense*, Walker's newspaper organ, that within the last fourteen months he has received from the United States a little over 4,100 recruits. Of these, 144 are reported as having been killed in battle. Walker's whole force on the 1st of November, including the last arrival of 325 men from New Orleans, under Col. Jacques, was, by the returns, only 1,275 men, leaving about 2,700 to be accounted for. The discharges made by Walker are very few, and only of those absolutely incapacitated for service by wounds or sickness, except now and then one who has been able to muster the means to purchase his release from this degrading and dangerous servitude. A certain number have attempted to run away, but this is too perilous for many to venture upon; and even those who succeed in escaping the vigilance of their master run great risks of perishing miserably of starvation or sickness before they can make their way home. With the most ample allowance, then, for discharges and runaways, it is reasonable to conclude that more than 2,000 young men from Walker's ranks have perished from the disorder and the climate since Walker undertook his filibustering conquest of that country.

At whose door do the deaths of these deluded young

men lie? Not so much at Walker's as at the door of those men in New York, New Orleans and San Francisco, who have been the active instruments, the crimps who have entrapped these victims; and still more at the door of those speculating capitalists who have furnished the means to transport them to Nicaragua, there to become the military slaves of Walker. Nor does the responsibility end with these men. It lies also at the door of a government which has suffered this horrible trade to go on in direct defiance of our neutrality laws, without anything more than merely colorable attempts to prevent it, and of late without any attempts at all. This is a trade far worse than the Coolie trade, of which the worst that can be said is, that the Coolies are enticed from home to be worked to death or starved to death for the benefit of their purchasers, while Walker not merely exposes his dupes to become the victims of still more frightful mortality, but employs them, not in any innocent or productive operation, but in robbery, plunder and the expulsion from their homes of the native Nicaraguan proprietors, whose lands and houses he takes possession of and advertises to sell at auction.

The *Tribune* is mistaken in supposing that the emigration of Walker's men from the United States to Nicaragua has been in direct violation of the neutrality laws. It does not appear that any of these men have been enlisted or hired here; for aught that appears, they were never under any obligation whilst in the United States to leave and go and serve Walker.

The people here have a right to go abroad and serve in foreign armies, and the neutrality laws were passed merely to prevent those acts which foreign nations might complain of as breaches of neutrality. There is nothing to hinder any number of persons from going as passengers on board a steamer bound for Nicaragua; and it is perfectly lawful to invite and persuade them to go—also to pay for their passage. No Court in the United States has ever decided to the contrary of this.

An army cannot be collected in the United States for the invasion of Canada; a fleet cannot sail out of the port of New York for the invasion of Cuba; but the Government has no right to prevent individuals from going to Nicaragua with intent to become soldiers there.

It can, however, under the act of Congress, prevent any "military expedition or enterprise" from being carried on from the United States against any people with whom the United States are at peace. And although this may not apply to the case of an expedition to Nicaragua, yet the law of nations would be violated by this Government if it permitted armies or fleets to go from the United States to aid Walker in his war with Costa Rica.

The New York *Herald* asserts that Walker's plan is to build up an independent Central American and Mexican federal Republic, to act as a counterpoise to the United States, and that he expected to be recognised by the Governments of France and England on that account; and the *Herald* adds, that his plans having been discovered, the Government at Washington will exert itself to procure the annihilation of Walker and his army.

That Walker may have tried to cagole the Governments of England and France with this story is very probable. A similar trick was played off with success in the case of Texas, but as soon as the independence of that country was acknowledged by France and England the necessary measures were taken for its admission into the Union. Doubtless, Walker and his condottors in the Southern States would like to have his rule acknowledged by France and England, for there would then be nothing to hinder him from opening the Slave-trade. His support comes entirely from the South, and it is the object of Southern statesmen to acquire fresh territory which may become slave States, so that the control of the federal Government may be firmly secured in the hands of the oligarchy. As to any hostility to Walker on the part of the United States Government, whatever show there may be of it, we hold that it will be a mere pretence got up for the purpose of deluding the Governments of France and

England in not adopting his party, be a sufficient manoeuvre.

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The work of the City Times:

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England into a course of action which they would not adopt if they knew the real object of Walker and his party. We trust that the example of Texas may be a sufficient warning to prevent the success of this manoeuvre.

MUNICIPAL REFORM.

On what Principle a City Government should be formed.

The New York Times, in an article on Municipal Reform, complains that, besides the Mayor, the Comptroller, the Commissioner of Streets and Lamps, the Commissioner of Repairs and Supplies, the City Inspector, and various other officers, are elected by the people, and proposes that the Mayor shall have the power to appoint all these officers, subject to the approval of the Board of Aldermen. The Times wants to assimilate the office of Mayor to that of the President of the United States. "Let the Mayor remove at will," says the Times, "those whom he deems inefficient or unworthy."

The working of the present municipal government of the City of New York is thus described by the Times:

Each official "dog has his day." "Hay is made while the sun shines;" and it would only be requisite to cite the examples of one after another of those elected, who, with salaries of from two to four thousand dollars, for two years, have emerged from the slough of place worth hundreds of thousands of property, (having filled the pockets also of scores of friends,) to prove, that while heads of departments are made rich, the City becomes poor, and is involved in inextricable difficulties by the practical workings of our present charter. Taxation, for city purposes has already reached the enormous annual sum of over seven millions of dollars. The aggregate debt of the city will shortly be about fifteen millions! Yet the gnawing hunger of contractors, and of those whose fortunes, if made at all, must be accumulated rapidly, before two annual revolutions of the earth round the sun bring the next devouring wave of spoilers into place, cries out "More! more!" And we are threatened, not only with a taxation verging on nine millions, for 1858, but also with greater debt, and a nearer approach to such a catastrophe, as must necessarily end our city tragedy, unless it is interrupted.

We are not disposed to deny the truth of this picture, but we cannot concur in the opinion of the Times that the true remedy for the evil is to invest one man with almost absolute power for a fixed period of time. We fear that he would in many cases abuse this authority.

The principle of the representative system is entirely opposed to the project. Under the English Municipal Reform Act the rate-payers elect their representatives, and to them, and not to a single individual, is the municipal government confided. When an individual is invested with great authority, to be exercised during his life, or for a certain number of years, the people have to bear with him, even when it has become evident that he is incapacitated by sickness or any other cause from performing the functions of his office with advantage to the community. Besides, the great body of the voting class can know but little if anything about the character of a candidate for the office of Mayor, whereas they may know something about the candidates in their respective wards.

Instead of increasing the power of the Mayor, we would abolish the office altogether. The representatives of the people elected by the different wards should appoint all the city officers, and remove them at pleasure. These representatives should elect one of their own number to preside at meetings. Look at the example afforded by commercial and manufacturing corporations, railroad, canal companies, &c. The stockholders elect a board of directors, and they choose a president, and the board appoint and remove all the employees. If the stockholders were to elect a president, and give him full power to manage the affairs of the corporation for a certain number of years, the result would be bankruptcy in a great majority of cases.

The Times admires the presidential feature of the

federal system of government. We regard it on the contrary as fraught with danger. No republic can last long with it. A president elected by the people is very apt to place himself in opposition to the legislative body, and to seek to perpetuate his authority—a task by no means difficult when he is the commander of a large military force.

Hence the instability of modern republics, with an elective chief; this is the main, if not the only cause of their failure.

We have observed a tendency of late years in conventions which have formed new State constitutions, to emerge from the old theory that there should be one great man invested with plenary authority—an idea derived from the monarchical principle. The people of the Colonies were accustomed to look up to a royal governor, who appointed all judges and justices of the peace, and all State officers, military and civil, had the power to veto the acts of the colonial legislature, and to pardon offenders. When the colonists became independent, they still supposed it to be necessary to keep up a similar system; hence the vast powers of the President, and of the early governors of the various States. Now, in most of the States which have new constitutions, the State officers, judges, &c., are elected by the legislature or by the people, and the governor is deprived of the veto and the pardoning power. We have only one amendment to propose, and that is, that the office of Governor shall be abolished altogether, the duties now attached to it being performed by one or more officials, appointed by the representatives of the people, and removable at pleasure.

And, as to the Presidency, if the people of the free States shall ever be able to detach themselves from the slave States, let a constitution be established under which all the Executive officers of the government shall be subject to the control of the legislative body, so that there may be no collision of authority.

If it were necessary to invest a single individual with the powers now exercised by the President, he should be elected by the regular representatives of the people; for those representatives must be far better able to judge of the qualifications of the various candidates than the people at large can possibly be. But the fact is, that no man should be entrusted with much power, and every officer of the government should be the mere servant of the people's representatives. Under no other system can republican institutions be permanent.

PORTRAITS OF THE NEW CORPORATION OF NEW YORK.

Prize-Fighters, Loafers, &c.

[From the New York Herald.]

When a man become celebrated, he always calls in Brady, or some other tip-top artist, and has his picture taken, as a gratification to his friends and a joy for ever to his posterity. No doubt some of the gentlemen who have lately been elected to the responsible posts of Aldermen and Councilmen will perpetuate themselves in this way, and therefore cannot object to pen and ink sketches at the hands of the press.

A few days since we expressed a wish for some sketches of the new Corporation, to ascertain if, judging from their antecedents, they were as great scamps as they had been represented. This request has been complied with in part, and we have a large amount of interesting biographical matter on hand. Some of the sketches are favorable, but one or two look very black. One of the Aldermen elected is billed as a man who fled from his country to the land of the free and the home of the brave, to shelter himself from the vigilance of the law. He set up business in a small way as a pugilist, and was engaged as a principal in several fights. He was also kind enough to act as second in several of these elegant exhibitions. From prize-fighting to emigrant-running is a natural transition, and our conscript father became a runner. But the emigrant business not being so lucrative as politics, he determined to help save the Union and be elected Alderman, in both of which attempts his efforts were crowned with entire success. During the election, the exuberance of his supporters showed itself

in some picturesque knock-downs, black-eyes, and bloody-noses, but these are only the playful exhibitions of excited Democracy. This Alderman makes a pretty picture, and we hope he will be appointed Chairman of a Committee on Law. He must be well versed in the criminal code. Another of the Corporation has figured in the police reports rather extensively during the past three months, and has a penchant for getting drunk and kicking up rows in disreputable houses. These probably are only the eccentricities of genius too long pent up. Portrait number three is of a Councilman who is said to be tolerably well known among the "fancy." He recommended himself to the suffrages of the voters of his district by walking into a station-house and beating a policeman in his bed. He was dismissed from the police for misconduct, and is now returned by a grateful community as a member of the Corporation. A fourth Councilman is said to be a drunken lounge about engine-houses; a fifth, a dealer in old boot-legs; and an assessor has been indicted as an accessory in a recent murder.

This is a pretty fair beginning for some light and pleasant reading for the holidays. Let it go on. Let us know all about these fellows, so that we can keep a watch on their official life. The independent press is the only palladium of the people's rights. It must be vigilant and untiring. Send along the facts. Let us know who are to govern us.

ALLIANCE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES.

The New York Herald of 21st November, referring to the prevalent opinion that the Government of the United States will be ready to act with Russia whenever an opportunity offers, says:

Judging from the reported conversations of eminent Russians and the tone of such journals as *Le Nord*, the Russian Government appears to labor under misconception. Russians seem to imagine that they have only to bide their time, and then halloo across the water to the United States—and that we shall jump at a prospect of an alliance with Russia against England and France, or at least against England.

The Herald combats this idea, and insists that "if a census of opinions were taken throughout the United States, no doubt, more friends of England would be found than enemies."

But questions of foreign policy are not settled in that way. The Government of the United States, like every other government, has a policy—and its policy is the extension of slavery—the introduction of more slave States into the Union. To effect that object, conquests of the neighboring countries must be made. In pursuing that policy the United States come in contact with England; and consequently, England's enemies are the friends of the United States.

EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

A Popular Delusion Corrected.

The Cincinnati Gazette of November 20th, says:

At this day, a larger number of children attend school in Ohio than do in Pennsylvania, five times as many as in Virginia, and nearly as many as in the great State of New York; and as many as the ten States of Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Maryland, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Missouri and Arkansas.

Assuming this statement to be correct, what must be the educational condition of the people of the other States named above? The opinion prevailing in Europe that education is universally diffused here is wholly erroneous. In a great many of the States there are no common schools, and education is generally neglected. Tourists and writers on America have commonly taken Massachusetts as a fair sample of the United States, and have thereby misled the public. The census returns of the number of persons who can read and write in the United States are not reliable, for it is a common practice for people to tell the census-taker falsehoods as to the educational condition of their families.

The statements of the number of children attending the schools are more reliable, and these show that education is more generally diffused in England and Germany than in the United States.

Rowdysm in American Cities. The Causes.
The Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*, speaking of the prevalence of rowdysm in the great cities of this country, says:

"The rankest and pettiest political excitement, in which anything like principle is utterly lost in low, corner factions, is hailed as a fair chance for witnessing homicide. From rum to blood, and from blood to rum, appears to be the alternating excitement of their mind, and a vile burlesque of a certain Jack Sheppard spirit, picked up from minor theatres, and sometimes low novels, constitutes the foundation of their 'oblivion.'"

"A knowledge, in short, of the life and habits of the rowdy young men of our leading Atlantic cities, reveals an abyss of depravity which, under the circumstances, literally surpasses that of any country in the world."

"We are convinced, and have founded our opinion on very sufficient observation and facts, that, for unutterable lowness, insatiable lust of blood and intense hatred of everything out of himself or of his own vile sphere, the real rowdy of our American cities is without a parallel. And it cannot be said with justice that our laws, as they stand, encourage him. There is a law against wearing concealed weapons, which of itself should prevent much of the rowdysm to which we allude; but the passion for blood is too deeply grounded among its transgressors to render even its penalties effective. He is sometimes punished in a most exemplary manner—but all the legislation and punishment thus far exerted has been of but little avail towards really extirpating the pest."

"Perhaps something might be done by effectually putting an end to the volunteer fire-engine nuisance—a matter concerning which our citizens appear to be afflicted with a most unaccountable blindness."

When we look at the system of elections prevailing in the great cities, we need no longer wonder at the existence of the evils portrayed by the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*. How can we expect to see any other state of things when a few rowdies control the primary or nominating assemblies, and thus put in the highest places of honor and profit the lowest and vilest members of the community. The volunteer fire-engine nuisance, and all other nuisances, will continue to flourish under such a system. Nor while the general government is controlled by the slave-owning oligarchy, who industriously seek the aid of the rabble in the great cities of the North, can we hope to see reform. The following resolution, adopted at a public meeting in New York city, October 10, 1848, truly states the great cause of the evil, and the reason why Republican Institutions have failed to secure good government in the principal cities:

"Resolved, That the influence of the Federal Government upon our local, State, and general elections increases with every recurring year. Not a poll is opened for a city constable, not a ballot cast for a State officer—not a general election occurs that is not prepared by emissaries from Washington, and directed by the contributions or influenced by the presence of tide-waiters and Custom-house clerks!"

This resolution was proposed by Mr. Cochrane, who has since become a federal office-holder himself, and has recently been elected by the Slavery Democracy as a member of Congress from this city.

Many would-be aristocrats in the Northern States are fond of using the argument that but for the union between the free and slave States, the former would ere this have descended into absolute chaos—they maintain that the slaveholding oligarchy have prevented the poorer classes of the North from breaking out into the wildest excesses, and destroying the Government. Our theory, on the contrary, is that the connection between the free and slave States has prevented the proper development of the Republican Institutions—has driven all men with philanthropic souls from public life—has placed all the powers of the State and federal governments in the hands of men who, being in favor of slavery, were the opponents of all measures of reform—men who denounce every attempt to improve the condition of the working-classes as the emanation of a "silly sentimentalism." But for this wretched misalliance, the political system of each of the free States would

have gone on improving from time to time—the general condition of the people would have been greatly ameliorated, and the example of this country would have been perfectly irresistible.

The London "Times" on the Present Position of the Question with Russia.

The London *Times*, in replying to the *Constitutionnel*, says:

"We beg to congratulate the country on the very timely and emphatic declaration made by Lord Palmerston at Manchester on Thursday."

"Our position with regard to Russia is sharply and well defined. We have entered into a treaty with her, in which, from a sincere desire for peace and amity, and a strong consciousness of our strength and her weakness, we exacted the very least that in justice to the cause for which we took up arms could be demanded. These conditions, so just and so reasonable, Russia has, from the very moment that the treaty was signed, sought every opportunity of evading. The period during which the Russian part of the treaty was to be performed, has elapsed, and she is still wrangling about matters infinitely too plain to admit of dispute between parties actuated by the slightest amount of good faith. She claims to substitute for the town of Belgrad a hamlet of the same name, the possession of which would give her free access to the Danube, the very thing which it was one of the main objects of the Treaty of Paris to prevent. This question she is willing to submit to a renewed meeting of the Congress, but claims in the meanwhile that we should withdraw our naval forces from the Black Sea, and Austria her land forces from the Principalities, thus leaving once more Turkey alone in presence of the power the end and aim of which are her destruction. Nothing can be simpler than our answer to such propositions. We do not trust Russia. We should be inexhaustibly weak, if we relied blindly on the word of a power 'which has,' as Lord Palmerston says, 'forgotten international rights and duties,' and is now seeking to evade obligations solemnly undertaken at a Congress of the powers of Europe. Therefore we will not abandon Turkey in her hour of need, nor withdraw one ship from the Euxine, while its presence is necessary to assert a cause for which we fought and conquered."

Any real difficulty, any honest and bona fide dispute as to the meaning of the terms of the Treaty of Paris, we can never object to refer to arbitration; but we will not refer it back to any tribunal in the world to decide whether Russia is to perform in winter—when the Baltic is closed and the Crimea evacuated—conditions which she gladly accepted in the spring, with the prospect of a long land and naval campaign before her.

If Russia means to observe the treaty, let us hear no more of this petry quibbling between Belgrad the hamlet and Belgrad the town. Let her withdraw her miserable forces from the Isle of Serpents, and let her not dare to propose that even one of her ships shall pass from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. If she means, in spite of the treaty, to retain her communication with the Danube, the alternative is not an European Congress, but an European war. "The duration of peace," as Lord Palmerston truly says, "depends on her;" let her decide, Neither she nor her hireling foreign friends, will succeed in separating France and England. The two nations are still agreed, except upon a very minor point; and, united, we may defy all the machinations of the common foe.

ITALY.

The condition of Italy excites a lively interest among all classes in England. Meetings are being held in the principal cities, Newcastle-upon-Tyne having taken the initiative:

The *Italia e Popolo* (Mazzini's organ in Genoa) says: "These evidences daily increasing, demonstrate a profound respect for our political independence. The English applaud our exertions, share our hopes, promise active co-operation in means, without assuming to dictate to us respecting any form of our institutions which the Italian judgment may consider most suitable. Our liberty is sacred to that free people."

One idea appears prominent in most of the speeches and writings made by the English patriots respecting our cause—that is a fear that we should allow ourselves to be seduced to hope for liberty through the action of their diplomacy.

Mazzini, in a letter published in the *Italia e Popolo*, says:

Can foreign diplomacy, without arms and battles, create an Italian nationality?

Can the force of example to be derived from the existence of the free, or half-free institutions of Piedmont, overthrow the foreign sway and the domestic tyrants of Italy without provoking a violent insurrection?

Can the Piedmontese monarchy, so long as things remain quiet in Italy, take the initiative in a crusade in favor of liberty? Must not a popular movement lend its right hand to the attempt?

He then depicts the condition of the people of Italy, and shows by facts that they are ripe for liberty, that the sentiment of the nation is Republican, and that the only difference of opinion lies in the means to be adopted. He says:

The *Opportunists*, the timid, the conspirators by trade preach patience, the virtue of waiting no one knows how long, and drag on from one hope to another, and from dream to dream. They said, while Europe slept in stupor, wait for a war. War came, and then they wanted to wait till Austria declared herself for one or other of the belligerents. Peace came, and then they wanted to wait the results of the memorandum, and the impossible initiative of Piedmont. To-day they want to wait for the Congress, the intervention of the Allied fleets in Naples and the completion of the Bonapartist schemes.

The *Italia e Popolo* says respecting California:

It must be confessed that the moral and political condition of this State is most alarming.

The idea of the separation of California, Oregon and New Mexico from the rest of the Union, though premature, is, nevertheless, a very probable event, judging from what has recently occurred in San Francisco.

Bomba and Louis Napoleon compared by Kossuth.—Kossuth's Speech in Manchester, Nov. 11.

The popular movement was likeliest to take effect in Naples and Sicily, but not because the Government of Naples was the most wicked, cruel and tyrannical; for the Austrian court-martials certainly did not yield the palm of atrocity to the Neapolitan judges, and, beside, the Neapolitan Government was at least Italian, and therefore less hateful than the Austrian. Even comparing with Bonaparte himself, remembering the manner in which he swore an oath of fidelity to the Constitution of his nation, the way in which he broke it, the massacre in the streets of Paris, the wholesale proscriptions, incarcerations, and deportations to Cayenne, the conclusion would arrive that King Bomba was six, and Bonaparte was half a dozen. [Laughter.] From the Bonapartist point of view there was no other imaginable reason than this, for Bonaparte and Italian freedom could have no room together on the face of the earth; and Bonaparte could not be a party to the intervention unless his idea were the ruling one. In conclusion, he hoped that if there was to be intervention again, it would not resolve itself again into a cruel trifling with the destinies of Italy. [Cheers.] The object of this interference, as gathered from official declarations, was to secure the peace of Europe, which was endangered by the misrule of the Neapolitan despot. And why? Because we were told that a spark at Naples might set at all Italy in a blaze. They wanted to preserve peace because there was danger to the despots around. But oppression was not peace; security to the slaveholder was a curse to the slave, and tranquillity to tyrants was desolation to a hopeless world. [Cheers.] That Napoleon should tremble at a spark from Italy upon the gunpowder of oppressed nations, he could understand—he might well tremble, for that spark was his doom; but what reason was there that free Britain should lend her aid to sustain the tottering thrones of European despotism? [Cheers.] The security of Queen Victoria's throne rested upon the affections of her people—[protracted cheering]—and not upon such securities as upheld the Bombas, Hapsburgs and Bonapartes. He contended that British interests, commercial or otherwise, had no dependence upon the dynasties of the continent, and, if so, why should the British Government stand up between continental despotism and their fate? He concluded by hoping that the national spirit might return, and thus prevent any further trifling with the destinies of a great and free people. [Loud cheers.]

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Kossuth on British Sympathy with Italy. Speech of Kossuth at Manchester, November 11.

Considering all things, it was evident that the prospects of the Italian movement were less favorable in 1848 than they were at present, whether we regarded the foreign relations of Italy, her power of resistance, or her internal condition. When the former struggle commenced in Italy, no man could have thought a French revolution imminent; but now, no reasonable man could doubt that the French people would soon awaken from their torpor of national degradation. An effective Italian movement might prove a trumpet-sound to awaken France; and as for England, if there was no change for the better in the British Government, a great advance had been made by the British people. [Cheers.] Whenever the hour arrived for Hungarian or Italian freedom, their war-cry of Liberty would rouse such a burst of sympathy from the British people, that no British Minister would dare to make Great Britain subservient to despotism, or to tamper with petty experiments for stifling the aspirations for national liberty. [Great cheering.] He wished British statesmen would mind that now. If the voice of the poor exile could raise such feeling, what would be the case when the principles of national liberty were the re-echo of cannon over the Continent. [Cheers.] At the present moment Austria has in Italy, notwithstanding its palpitating state, from 40,000 to 50,000 men less than Radetzky mustered in 1848. In 1848 Austria had virtually no army in Hungary; now, she needed 120,000 men to keep down Hungary and Transylvania. Croatia, too, required troops at present; and greatly more were now needed at every point out of Italy where Austria kept any forces in 1848. If the Italians would only fight now as they fought in 1848, they had double the chance of success they had then. [Cheers.] No compromises from rulers would now stand between the people and their destiny. It was not to the Italian people that the failure in 1848 was due; documentary evidence in abundance proved that. It was a great mistake to put the conduct of a revolutionary insurrection in any royal hands. When a people had gained their ends, if they chose to have a King, it was for themselves to settle; but, during the struggle, only a popular head and revolutionary energy could insure success. When King Carlo Alberto got at the head of the Italian movement, it was no longer a revolutionary struggle; it was simply a struggle of one army against another, and the smaller succumbed. Carlo Alberto had acted either to gain some provinces for himself, or to prevent the establishment of a republic in or near his own dominions; and so the cause of Italy was lost.

In conclusion, M. Kossuth appealed to his audience—when the day came for the tri-color to be hoisted once more on the walls of Milan, would there not be an encouraging cheer for the patriots from the free people of Great Britain? If one warm grasp of the hand in faith and sympathy could hasten that day, would they remain silent, would they withhold their hand because some said—and did not shrink from falsification in saying so—that Italians had no reasonable chance of success?

BUCHANAN'S SYMPATHY WITH RUSSIA.—Somehow or other, Mr. Buchanan left an impression among those aristocratic circles in England, who paid him great attention, that all his sympathies were so eminently Russian, that should he ever come into the possession of power, he would suffer no opportunity to escape of acting upon them. It is possible that during the war the new American Ambassador may have made observations which the alteration of circumstances have since changed the gist of; but I only speak the fact when I say that among influential citizens in London Mr. Buchanan is looked upon as eminently Russian in his sympathies.—*Correspondent New York Herald.*

ROBERTSON ON AMERICAN FILIBUSTERING.—There is at this moment—and I use an American term—a filibustering spirit in America, and if that leads them beyond their own boundary—if that leads them to attack foreign nations—we, in the fulfillment of our non-interference principle, should be bound to interfere also. [Cheers.] I say that a war between England and America would be almost the greatest calamity that mankind could suffer. We have every thing that can bind us to that nation; they are of the same blood, they have the same language, they have the same literature, laws, and insti-

tutions; they are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh; they are Englishmen on the other side of the Atlantic. But if they should do an injustice, are we to stand by and see it done? [Cries of "No."] No, England's great destiny makes her the protector of mankind, and we should be derogating from our own dignity if we allowed any nation, however great, however nearly allied to us, to do aught that would bring discredit upon the great principles of humanity, if we could prevent it. [Cheers.] I say, though I would have us bound to America by every thing that can bind—though I would by every tie unite us to her, and would not interfere one iota with her internal transactions, though I look with great sorrow upon them—I will not express in public my opinion on the matter—yet, rather than see her oppress mankind, I would oppose her, and oppose her to the death. [Loud cheers.]—*Speech at Sheffield, Nov. 13.*

The Anglo-French Alliance.

Since the leading press of London has congratulated itself upon the supposed determination of Louis Napoleon to act with England in the settlement of the questions in dispute with Russia, that individual has delivered a speech to the Russian Ambassador in Paris, to the effect that France would favor Russia's interpretation of the late Treaty of Paris.

The London correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, in a letter dated November 14, after referring to that speech, says:

"We cannot help believing that Louis Bonaparte is falling back into his old habits of lying and deceiving. His protestations of good faith towards England remind us of his word of honor given to the French Government after the Strasbourg affair, not to undertake any new attempts against Louis Philippe, and of his oath to maintain the Republic, which he so substantially repeated in the months preceding the *coup d'état*. There can scarcely be any doubt that a Russo-French alliance is either concluded already, or on the eve of being concluded."

NEW YORK ELECTIONS.

How Managed. Ballot-Stuffing. Keeping Voters from the Polls. Outrages.

PRESENTMENT OF THE GRAND JURY.

The Grand Jury deems the present an appropriate occasion to state that they have not been unmindful of the many important subjects to which their attention was directed by this honorable Court at the commencement of their duties, and regret that they have not had sufficient time to make such investigations in regard to them as their importance demands. Immediately upon their organization, in consequence of an intimation made by the Court in reference to election returns, they requested and obtained the attendance of Richard B. Connelly, Esq., the County Clerk, from whom they ascertained that there were 137 election districts in this city; that returns had been received at that office at noon on the sixth day of the present month, from only 65 of said election districts. They subsequently ascertained from the same source that all the returns were not made until two days afterwards. The Grand Jury has been advised by the District Attorney that the law requires the inspectors of elections to commence the canvass of votes immediately upon the closing of the polls, and to continue the same without adjournment until the same shall be completed, and immediately thereafter to file a copy of the returns in the office of the County Clerk. The neglect, on the part of so many of the inspectors, to comply with the Statutes, in this particular, is regarded by the Grand Jury as a palpable violation of law, and offers much temptation to vitiate the will of the electors. They have, therefore, taken such action upon the subject as to cause a more thorough investigation by another tribunal. That evils exist in the present system of conducting elections in this city must be apparent to every candid mind; this, however, is not regarded as an appropriate source from which remedies should be suggested, but the Grand Jury may be pardoned if they inquire if some other method cannot be devised in the selection of inspectors of elections, which will insure a stricter adherence to all those wise provisions now in existence, so well calculated to promote, and protect, also, the purity of the elective franchise. This inquiry assumes special importance at this time from certain facts which have come to the knowledge of the Grand Inquest. In one of the election districts, at the late election, as will appear from an indictment, there was found in a ballot-box used on the occasion

an excess of more than two hundred ballots over the names entered on the poll-book, and the poll-clerk was repeatedly requested during the election, by one of the inspectors, to make fictitious entries in the poll-book, approximating in numbers to the excess of ballots. There have been complaints made before the Grand Jury of assaults upon some of our citizens on the day of the recent election, while attempting to exercise the right of suffrage, so aggravated in their character as to cause the Grand Jurors to inquire especially into the manner in which the election was conducted in many of the election districts. The Grand Jury was informed by the Chief of Police that the orders from that office, which usually precede an election, were issued at the late election, and upon an examination of the books in that department, it appeared that the usual police force was detailed to serve at the various polls. The Chief said that his was a subordinate position, and that he endeavored in all cases to execute the order of his superiors with fidelity. From the testimony adduced upon this inquiry, it appeared that the policemen detailed for this service at some of the election polls were passive observers of riotous proceedings, and did not interfere to protect citizens when their lives were in jeopardy. In all such cases, so far as they have come to the knowledge of the Grand Jury, they have, by their action, referred the same for a more particular examination to this honorable Court. The Grand Jury have reason to believe that many peaceable and quiet citizens were driven from the polls by lawless persons without being able to vote, in consequence of the want of a sufficient police force to protect them in the exercise of that right. At one of the election-polls, an election inspector was not permitted to exercise the functions of his office; he was ordered away by a member of the municipal government, assisted by a police captain, and was forced to obey their mandate. Other causes of complaint may exist, which have not been communicated to the Grand Jury, but enough is known to cause them to urge upon the Commissioners of Police the necessity of purging that department of all such of its members who neglect, in cases of necessity and emergency, to exercise their best efforts to support and maintain the supremacy and dignity of our laws; and it is to be hoped that, in all cases where dereliction of duty is found to exist, the department will be speedily relieved of the further services of such delinquents. The Grand Jury have had under consideration an unusually large calendar of cases, many of which were of serious import. They have disposed of the entire calendar, and now respectfully ask that they may be discharged from further attendance upon the Court.

JAMES BULL, Foreman.

WILLIAM P. MILLER, }
AMBROSE K. ELY, } Secretaries.

THE UNION.

Fears that Despotism will be Established. Mr. Speaker Banks on the Union. Hon. James H. Titus and others on the Subversion of the Principles of the Republic.

Notwithstanding the prevalent doctrine of the necessity for keeping up the union between the free and slave States, we have every now and then a Northern orator and newspaper declaiming against the consequences of that union.

Take, for example, the following extract from a letter from Hon. James H. Titus to William King, Esq., August 13, 1856:

If Buchanan is elected, or if Fillmore should again accidentally become the President, (elected he cannot be,) the oligarchy of the slave interest will rule the nation, and from that condition of affairs the transition to absolute despotism will be easy and rapid. In many particulars our national administration has already become a despotism under the dictation of the slaveholding States.

Do you suppose your grandfather, your father and your uncles would have wasted their time and means, and shed their blood in the cause of the American Revolution, if they had supposed the democracy for which they struggled was to be so soon given up for a wicked oligarchy—that the noble aspirations for liberty and the patriotic impulses of the people were to be so soon held in check by the arrogant demands of pro-slavery aristocrats and the selfish designs of political aspirants? No, sir! No, sir! On the contrary, Washington, and all his true-hearted followers, would have retired from the contest could they have supposed that the righteous form of government for which they were contending was so soon to be

It is a remarkable fact, that although in the late Presidential campaign many speakers and writers intimated their opinions that such a catastrophe might happen, very few of them regarded the Garrisonian Abolitionists ventured to hint that a dissolution of the Union might be preferable. Mr. Speaker Barker, in one of his recent orations in New England, laid it down most clearly and emphatically that in no case

On Saturday night, at a late hour, there was a row among some Irishmen in Francis Maxwell's house, in the Triangle Buildings, in the course of which one man, named John Kelly, was stabbed and killed by another man named Patrick Kelly. Kelly made his escape. The coroner held an inquest on the body yesterday, and

We believe that Russia will be admitted as a major state, but that Cuba will not be added until the great powers of Europe are involved in another conflict.

It may be he for adoption in novel. The French, much shall arise into either country, and to remain in their affairs, or affects. That shall not be in any to be in the paid for at a trading vessels different place

THE NEW MARITIME LAW.

(Continued from p. 34.)

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

The London Times on the Immunity of Ships of Commerce. Errors corrected. Effect of the Law of Blockade.

The proposition to exempt merchant vessels from capture has been met with approval by many of the leading European journals.

The Times (Aug. 31, 1856) says: "No one can doubt that a country like England, whose commerce covers very sea, would be glad enough to find the whole world agreeing to respect private property on board ship."

"The European Powers were justified in proposing the abolition of privateering, even if they went no further. But now they are asked to go further. The American government accepts their proposition, but generalises the principle. 'If,' says Mr. Marcy, in effect, 'you abolish altogether the right of capturing private property, privateering ends as a matter of course; but, if you retain this right, we will not consent to limit the exercise of it to any class of vessels.' Finally, the American secretary moves his amendment. To the words, 'privateering is and remains abolished,' he proposes to add, 'and the private property of the subjects or citizens of a belligerent on the high seas shall be exempted from seizure by public armed vessels of the other belligerent, except it be contraband. Thus for the first time a most important principle is proposed for the adoption of the civilized world, being nothing less than the extension to maritime trade of absolute immunity from acts of warfare. It is now a question for the family of nations whether they will decide that a cargo of sugar on the Atlantic is as sacred as the same article when stored in the warehouses of a captured seaport. It is evident that if the proposition of the United States be adopted modern warfare will be entirely revolutionized. The subject is of the highest importance, and will no doubt be discussed with earnestness and good faith."

There are several errors in the passage just quoted. The absolute immunity of maritime trade from acts of warfare is not proposed; indeed, all the maritime trade of a country might be destroyed, even after the adoption of Mr. Marcy's amendment, no alteration of the law of blockade being suggested. All the ports of the weaker maritime power might be blockaded, and in that case the advantage to be derived by merchants from the proposed exemption of merchant ships from capture would be inconsiderable, that exemption being practically confined to vessels trading between neutral ports and to vessels absent at the commencement of the war, which might go into neutral ports and there remain until the advent of peace. It is incorrect to say, that if the proposition of the United States were adopted, modern warfare would be entirely revolutionized. The New York Journal of Commerce, of September 29, 1856, makes the following remarks on this point:

"An effective blockade of our ports would indeed be the greatest possible infliction. The merchants of the United States would find small comfort for the navigation of the foreign trade of the country, in the reflection that their ships upon the high seas would be in no danger from belligerent capture. They are liable to capture for breaking a blockade, and for attempting its violation; and this rule is not proposed to change. There is little value in a theoretical exemption at sea, while they are precluded from entering or leaving the port in which they belong. War would be deprived of little of its legitimate severity through the operation of the proposed innovation."

We have seen above the error of the Times in assuming that merchandise in the warehouses of a captured seaport is absolutely exempt from seizure. There is no such exemption.

It may be here observed that the principle proposed for adoption is not as supposed by the Times, entirely novel. The Treaty between the United States and Prussia, made in 1795, provides (Art. 4) that if war shall arise between the two countries, the merchants of either country, then residing in the other, shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and settle their affairs, and may depart freely, carrying off all their effects. That private persons and property on land shall not be interfered with. That if anything is necessary to be taken from private persons, the same shall be paid for at a reasonable price. "And all merchant and trading vessels, employed in exchanging the products of different places, and thereby rendering the necessities, conveniences and comforts of human life more easy to

be obtained, and more general, shall be allowed to pass free and unmolested; and neither of the contracting powers shall grant or issue any commission to any private armed vessels, empowering them to take or destroy such trading vessels, or intercept such commerce."

The right to blockade the enemy's ports was therefore abandoned. By the same Treaty it is provided by Art. 12, that "If one of the contracting parties should be engaged in war with any other power, the free intercourse and commerce of the subjects or citizens of the party remaining neutral with the belligerent powers shall not be interrupted."

The same Art. and Art. provide 13 as follows:

Free ships to make free goods.
Free ships to protect persons, except soldiers in the actual service of an enemy.

No goods to be deemed contraband, so as to justify confiscation.

But vessels carrying contraband goods may be detained on payment of loss sustained by the delay.

Military stores detained may be used by the captors on paying the full value of them.

Mr. Marcy does not propose the Abolition of the Right to Confiscate Private Debts.

It will be observed, that although Mr. Marcy proposes the general adoption of some of the provisions of the Treaty of 1795, between Prussia and the United States, above quoted; yet he does not propose to follow that illustrious example by declaring that the right to confiscate private debts due to an enemy shall be abolished. This may be accounted for from the fact that the people of the United States are always largely indebted to the people of Great Britain.

The Courts of the United States are less liberal than those of England in their views upon this subject. The English Court of King's Bench, declared in the case of *Wolf v. Oxholm, 5 Maude & Selw. 99*, that an Ordinance of Denmark, in 1807, pending hostilities with England, which requested debts due from Danish to English subjects, and caused them to be paid over to the Danish Government, was not a defense to a suit in England for the debt; and that the ordinance was not conformable to the usage of nations, and was void. It was observed by the Court that the right of confiscating debts, contended for on the authority of *Vattel*, b. 2, c. 18, sec. 144; b. 3, c. 8, sec. 77, was not recognized by *Grotius*. (*See Cris. lib. 3, c. 4, sec. 4; and c. 8, sec. 4*.) And was impugned by *Puffendorf* (b. 8, c. 6, sec. 39) and others; and that no instance had occurred of the exercise of the right, except the ordinance in question, for upwards of a century. (*See note to 1 Kent, Com. p. 81, citing this case, ad supra.*) In the text (*ib.*) *Chancellor Kent* says: "Notwithstanding the weight of modern authority, and of argument, against this claim of right on the part of the sovereign to confiscate the debts and funds of the subjects of his enemy during war, the judicial language in this country is decidedly in support of the right."

The London Post on the Unsoundness of Notices of the American Proposition be adopted. Remarks of the London Chronicle.

The London Post of August 31, 1856, observes:

"In maritime warfare it is well known that private property becomes the property of the capturing State as of its subjects; whilst in war by land the private property of individuals is usually respected, and excluded from the subject of booty. But private property captured upon land is in a very different condition from that captured at sea. In the one case, the fact of capture shows that the place or territory is in the possession of the successful belligerent, who is in a position to prevent its removal; and to aid his cause. But in the other, if private property, not contraband of war, were permitted to pass free, the enemy would have the whole world at his command, provided he had the pecuniary means to carry on his own commerce, and thus, without involvement, he would be enabled to obtain resources for the supply of his armies and fleets."

The same paper (Aug. 23d, 1856, says:

"This would be a goods of war which would utterly destroy the great maritime Powers of England and France, which would subject their weapons of offence into about playthings, which would have the same effect between them and their opponents as the law of duelling has between a big man and a little one. The former smashes the weight and the strength, the latter places himself on the shoulders of the mark that he aims at."

The London Chronicle of August 30th, 1856, says, that Mr. Marcy's proposition "supplanted the conclusion of a great principle entirely in accordance with modern British policy, and generally with the spirit of the age. Mr. Marcy was not so far wrong, at least in principle, when he argued that 'peace must be the condition of free trade.'"

"Why not cover for ever trade from war, leaving the traders to go their way in peace, and confidence, to those who have been used to the protection? This is the answer of the American Government to the appeal of Europe. You ask us, they say, to give up our right to issue letters of marque. Be it so. But let us go a step further. Let us all pass a self-denying ordinance, and bind each other henceforth to regard all commerce as sacred."

"As has been ably shown, upon land this has already been done."

La Presse in opposition to Mr. Marcy's Proposal in relation to Contraband Trade.

The Paris paper, *La Presse*, of August 28th, 1856, refers to its issue of March 20th and 26th, 1854, to show that it then required the Allied Powers "to solve the problem laid down in 1806 and 1813 by our first Emperor. This problem was the following, viz.: 'To place henceforth, by sea as well as by land, all honest and bona fide commerce, all private property, and all innocent individuals out of the reach of warlike operations.'"

But the same paper of August 28th, 1856, resists Mr. Marcy's proposal of an abandonment of the doctrine in relation to contraband trade. Upon that point *La Presse* says, after reviewing Mr. Marcy's reasoning in favor of the proposition:

"Notwithstanding all this, it does not seem to us that the principle which forbids contrabands of war can be contested. There are not absolute rights among nations no more than there are among citizens. The rights of one are always more or less affected and controlled by the rights of others. This is a law for all the human family. The restrictions thus rendered necessary ought doubtless to be kept within their rigorous limits, but they must have their action, and each nation is in harmony with the severest justice. I have no right to prevent you from having intercourse with my enemy; but I have a right to prevent you from putting into his hands a dagger with which he would stab me. Here we have the principle by which nations have the right, when they are at war, to prevent other neutral nations from supplying their enemies with arms and munitions of war."

"The trade of neutrals ought to be free, by natural right, without any restriction as to the nature of the merchandise," so says Mr. Marcy, merely adding the exception, "unless they join in hostilities."

"But to supply them with arms and munitions of war, to give them the means of carrying on the war with new vigour—is not that joining in hostilities? If governments had not the right to select upon neutrals in the act of supplying the enemy with arms and munitions of war, from any other principle of law, they would have to from the same principle that the neutrals seized upon were engaged in an intervention and meddling in their quarrels. The principle of the law forbidding contrabands of war is founded both upon right and upon humanity."

The Nature of Objects of a Right of War, by Sea and by Land.

Before determining whether the laws of war should be so far modified as that the trading vessels of the enemy should pass free and unmolested, we should consider what is the object of war.

As observed by *Chancellor Kent*, following *Vattel* and the other Publicists, "the end of war is to procure by force the justice which cannot otherwise be obtained, and the law of nations allows the means requisite in this end."

A powerful military state can procure justice by force, by means of an invasion of the enemy's country. That country may be conquered and added to the dominions of the conqueror, who can then levy upon his new subjects contributions and taxes at will. The main object of a state in resorting to war by land is the conquest of territory, so that the enemy may be thereby coerced into yielding the justice demanded.

Now the question really is, whether a great naval power is to be prevented from procuring, by the use of the only force at its command, the justice which cannot otherwise be obtained. Why should a military power be allowed to seize the enemy's country whilst a naval power is prohibited from seizing the enemy's ships?

We may be told, that even if the enemy's merchant vessels cannot be captured on the high seas "very heavy and effective machinery of annoyance will remain," because the enemy's ports may be blockaded. But what then becomes of the theory that merchant and trading vessels employed in exchanging the products of different places, and thereby rendering the necessities, conveniences and comforts of human life more easy to be obtained and more general should be allowed to pass free and unmolested?

The truth is, that a power compelled to resort to war must be allowed to use the necessary means of coercion. If it were proposed to amend the Law of Nations, so

as to prohibit either of the belligerents from acquiring the enemy's country; it would be at once answered that the object of war by land would be defeated by that restriction, and it is clear that the object of a maritime war would in like manner be defeated if the enemy's ships could not be captured.

A great maritime power might, in many instances, derive no advantage from its strength if an absolute immunity were enjoyed by merchant vessels.

Suppose, for example, a cause of war to exist between England and the United States, the latter, to enforce its demands, might undertake to seize Canada. If successful the conquest would be retained as a "material guarantee." Now, is England to be prevented from using her naval power to force the enemy to make peace? If so standing armies are potent engines of coercion and standing navies are useless, except in certain cases where the enemy has possessions or dependencies which can be reached only by sea, and which may consequently be seized by the nation having a naval predominance.

Those persons who propose the absolute exemption of ships of commerce from capture entirely overlook the nature and objects of a state of war, and proceed upon a mistaken hypothesis respecting military operations by land. The adoption of their theory would aggrandize the importance of the great military nations, and reduce that of England to a mere shadow. These theorists, however, have mistaken the nature of President Pierce's proposition, which, as we have fully shown, is of no real use or importance, accompanied, as it is, by an express recognition of the right to prevent all kinds of trade with the enemy's ports.

PRIVATEERING.

Whether the Policy of Privateering has been questioned by the best Authorities.

Mr. Marcy says: "The right to resort to privateers is as clear as the right to use public armed ships, and as incontestable as any other right appertaining to belligerents. The policy of that law has been occasionally questioned, not, however, by the best authorities; but the law itself has been universally admitted, and most nations have not hesitated to avail themselves of it; it is as well sustained by practice and public opinion as any other to be found in the maritime code."

Such audacious assertions as these suffice for the moment to carry away a few giddy journalists who are unacquainted with the peculiar style of American diplomacy, conducted as it is by lawyers, intent on making popular displays. But a little examination will lead to the discovery that Mr. Marcy's premises are totally unfounded.

It is grossly incorrect to say that the law authorizing privateering is as well sustained by public opinion as any other to be found in the maritime code, the fact being that privateering has been almost universally denounced in modern times.

We will first notice the statement that "the policy of that law has been occasionally questioned, not, however, by the best authorities."

The leading American authorities, whether they be the best or the worst, or only second rate, certainly do not favor privateering.

Chancellor Kent, in his fifth lecture on the Law of Nations, (*Kent's Com.*, vol. 1, pages 96 to 98,) after observing that, as a necessary precaution against abuse, the owners of privateers are required by the ordinances of the commercial states to give adequate security that they will conduct the cruise according to the laws and usages of war and the instructions of the government, and that they will regard the rights of neutrals, and bring their prizes in for adjudication, and that these checks are essential to the character and safety of maritime nations—denounces the system in the following language:

"Privateering, under all the restrictions which have been adopted, is very liable to abuse. The object is not fame or chivalric warfare, but plunder and profit. The discipline of the crews is not apt to be of the highest order, and privateers are often guilty of enormous excesses, and become the scourge of neutral commerce."

Under the best regulations the business tends strongly to blunt the sense of private right, and to nourish a lawless and fierce spirit of rapacity. Efforts have been made from time to time to abolish the practice."

The efforts to stop the practice have been very feeble and fruitless, notwithstanding that enlightened and enlarged considerations of national policy have shown it to be for the general benefit of mankind to surrender the licentious practice, and to obstruct as little as possible the freedom and security of commercial intercourse among the nations."

Let us now contrast this, written in the year 1832, with Mr. Marcy's favorite authority, which he says "will be

regarded with profound respect," viz., *A Commentary on the French Ordinances of 1811*, by one Vallin. He is quoted by Mr. Marcy as follows:

"However lawful and time-honored this mode of warfare may be, it is nevertheless disapproved of by some pretended philosophers. According to their notions such is not the way in which the state and the sovereign are to be served, whilst the profits which individuals may derive from the pursuit are slight, or at least disagreeable. But this is the language of bad citizens, who, under the stately mask of a spurious wisdom and of a crafty sensitive conscience, seek to delude the judgment by a concealment of the secret motive which gives birth to their indifference for the welfare and advantage of the state. Such are as worthy of blame as are those entitled to praise who generously expose their property and their lives to the dangers of privateering."

No, according to Mr. Marcy, Chancellor Kent, Benjamin Franklin, &c., are "pretended philosophers" and "bad citizens," who, "under the stately mask of a spurious wisdom, and of a crafty sensitive conscience, seek to mislead the judgment by a concealment of the secret motive," &c.

This Vallin was a French provincial Advocate, who died in 1788. The idea of setting up his absurd twaddle on this subject as being entitled to "profound respect," must, it is conceived, have originated with Mr. Marcy's colleague, Mr. Cushing, as it savors strongly of his dashing style of argumentation.

Wheaton, in his *Elements of International Law*, part 4, chap. 2, sec. 10, says: "The practice of cruising with private armed vessels, commissioned by the state, has been hitherto sanctioned by the laws of every maritime nation as a legitimate means of destroying the commerce of an enemy. This practice has been justly arraigned as liable to gross abuses, as tending to encourage a spirit of lawless depredation, and as being in glaring contradiction to the more mitigated modes of warfare practised by land. Powerful efforts have been made by humane and enlightened individuals to suppress it, as inconsistent with the liberal spirit of the age."

Benjamin Franklin, when he was engaged in negotiating the treaty of peace in 1783, between his own country and Great Britain, communicated to Mr. Oswald, the British Commissioner, his views on the practice of privateering:

"The practice of robbing merchants on the high seas, a remnant of the ancient piracy, though it may be accidentally beneficial to particular persons, is far from being profitable to all engaged in it, or to the nation that authorizes it. In the beginning of a war some rich ships, not upon their guard, are surprised and taken. This encourages the first adventurers to fit out more armed vessels, and many others to do the same. But the enemy at the same time become more careful, arm their merchant ships better, and render them not so easy to be taken; they go also more under the protection of convoys; thus, while the privateers to take them are multiplied the vessels subject to be taken and the chances of profit are diminished, so that many cruises are made wherein the expenses overgo the gains; and, as is the case in other lotteries, though some have good prizes, the mass of adventurers are losers, the whole expense of fitting out all the privateers during a war being much greater than the whole amount of goods taken. Then there is the national loss of all the labor of so many men during the time they have been employed in robbing; who, besides spending what they get in riot, drunkenness and debauchery, lose their habits of industry, are rarely fit for any sober business after peace, and serve only to increase the number of highwaymen and housebreakers."

The following is an extract from *La Presse*, of August 26th, 1856:

"The assent to the custom of sending forth privateers in the wars between maritime nations has not been so unanimous as the Secretary of the United States pretends. It is strange, indeed, that he should be the man to forget this fact. He may forget that Russia first set the example of abstaining from the practice in her war against Turkey in 1767 up to 1774. He may forget that the Constitutional Assembly of France proclaimed at a later period the principle of its abolition. But does he forget that the United States can boast of having condemned the custom, in a celebrated treaty, concluded by one of her greatest statesmen?"

"While we are on this subject, we may be permitted to point out another instance of a similar character, in which Mr. Marcy has made another sacrifice of truth in favor of his special argument. He says: 'The policy of the law authorizing this practice has at different times been called in question, but never by any competent authority.'

"How is this? Does he mean to say that Franklin, the author of the treaty of 1783, is not a competent authority for the present Secretary of State of the United States?"

The Difference between Privateers and Public Ships of War. The Evils of Privateering.

La Presse of August 28 says:

"Mr. Marcy cannot mean seriously to assimilate the

irregular action of privateers, in wars between nations, with the regular maritime forces. The ships-of-war of the State, and the regular forces in them, evidently afford guarantees of moderation, of discipline and of humanity; and as are not to be met with among privateers. The officers who command afford a guarantee of respect for legal warfare on their part, in many points, such as, for example, the dignity of their position, and their responsibility; and especially the superiority which the sentiment of honor inspires compared with the base and selfish motives of gain by which privateers are actuated. Another guarantee of this kind results to them from the authority they hold over the crew submitted to their orders; whereas the privateer will always be as great a terror to neutrals as to the enemy; for he scuds along the sea for his own private gain, and with no other object but to enrich himself by plunder. In the midst of the solitary expense of the wide waters, he is subject to no control which can restrain him; his passions have no other check over them than the vague recollection of a distant and impotent Legislature.

It cannot, then, be with serious intent that Mr. Marcy cites past experience on this point, and maintains that a State can always prevent such abuses. Past experience proves, on the contrary, that the most severe legislative enactments have fallen useless and ineffectual against the spirit of gain which inspires the privateer. In France, numerous laws—the ordinance of 1811, the regulations of 1778, the decrees of the spring month—Ann 11—all tend to prove both the inefficiency of the legislator, and the existence of the passions which he vainly endeavors to restrain.

We cannot, therefore, agree with the assimilation made by Mr. Marcy between letters of marque given to privateers in maritime warfare, and the enrolment of volunteer troops still in use in continental wars. What relationship can there be supposed to subsist between volunteer corps and privateers? Volunteer corps enter into the ranks of the regular army of the State; they are subjected to the same discipline, commanded by the same commander-in-chief, and they fight for the State, and against the public enemy of the State. What have they in common with privateers—men who arm themselves and fight for themselves against persons and private property.

From hence we conclude that the mere abolition of the maritime custom in use hitherto is of itself a great progress."

The *London Times* of August 21st, 1856, points out some of the evils of the system of privateering:

"In spite of the arguments of Mr. Marcy, we think there is a great difference between the morality of privateering and the capture by ships of war alone. No doubt the captain and crew of a ship of war are to some extent encouraged by a hope of prize-money; but it must be allowed that officers educated in a high sense of honor, and looking for their reward in reputation and a good standing with their profession and the public, are likely to carry out the system of capture in a very different spirit from mere adventurers united only by a thirst of gain. The crew of a government vessel is subjected to a severe discipline; its captain is obliged to furnish a strict account of all his proceedings. Very different is the case of the privateer; the crew are generally the most wild and ruthless of a profession which is happy to encourage a disregard of restraint; they go anywhere and do anything with little questioning from their own government. Their responsibility is lessened by their very obscurity, and generally is such that nothing short of actual atrocities could lower them in the opinion of their fellows. In fact, privateering is too apt to degenerate into piracy. The captain of such a vessel will take every advantage, without pity or remorse, while an officer of the regular navy is hardly likely to stretch rights to the utmost, and embitter the contest by cruelty and rapacity."

[To be continued.]

[From the New York Evening Post.]

Literature by the Square Foot.

An amusing story is told of one of the *nouveau riches* that inhabit the West End of this metropolis.

Our millionaire built and equipped a splendid palatial residence in the upper part of "the Avenue." There was wanting no elegance, no luxury, no embellishments, that vanity could suggest or money purchase. Superb mirrors, measured not by inches but by yards, flanked the spacious walls; heavy silk brocades, richly embroidered, hung from the ceilings within elegant and massive ornaments of gold; royal Wilton and Axminster carpets vied in their soft and delicate texture with the rich and aristocratic Aubusson upon the expansive floors of the salons; elaborately carved rosewood, ebony and buhl furniture graced every room; while, in a word, all the appliances of wealth, voluptuousness and refinement were there, each in its proper sphere.

One room only had been overlooked—the library! There stood the elegant book-cases gaping for their treasures, but unsatisfied.

Our nabob had two nieces residing with him—beautiful as hours, lovely as the queens of day and night.

They had persuaded with a ball on Christmas eve.

It was proposed once adopted. The guests seemed to the guests provided for, the music.

The library must on Christmas morning leading bookshelves library. Post-haste with the latest edition.

"Pshaw," says a here; with this re by these book-cases you fill them? My good backs."

The astonished authors by the square feet at length his standard works, were.

"That's too much has cost a mint already hundred for these what you give me."

The library was "backs" were the mirrors were pre and none of the than the library end some backs.

Burning of the Superior. The the crew.

[From the C

The steamer *N* left here on the 6th having, considering frequent landings, Pointe laf Wadous gon on Thursday morning of the *N* Dickson, which on last. This propeller, was a new o perior. She was about \$50,000, \$8 merchandises and Marquette. She in for repairs, but when some of her Lester, the mate, t to the boat to get repair. The propel a snow-storm net rashed Whiskey 1 companions barely to the machinery h the fire were lig breakfast the alarm in the hay piled 1 minutes the whole enveloped in flame invited the spread the guards in a v exception of some totally lost. The \$33,000.

It was the opin boat was fired by t, manifested had be the boat, and the attempted to obtai previous to the b prove to be a gc proportionate to h heavy sea.

The *Star* broug to Detroit, and a s National and Adv also, 500 bags of 1

Slaves [Corres

I find everything here in its worst s house, where a yo

They had persuaded their doing uncle to open the rooms with a ball on Christmas (last Christmas) night.

It was proposed only the evening previous, and at once adopted. But the library! how strange it would seem to the guests that, while the senses were carefully provided for, the mind was neglected!

The library must be furnished, and that at once. So, on Christmas morning, a messenger is despatched to the leading bookstores in Broadway for an estimate for the library. Post-haste comes a clerk from Messrs. A. & Co. with the latest catalogue of rare and selected works.

"Fellow," says our friend, "none of your catalogues here; with this rule measure the square feet exposed by these book-cases, and let me know for how much will you fill them? Make your own selection, but give me good books."

The astonished clerk measures and calculates his authors by the square foot. "For eighteen hundred dollars," at length he says, "I will fill these cases with standard works, well bound."

"That's too much," says our millionaire, "the furniture has cost a mint already, and I cannot go more than six hundred for these books; so make your own choice of what you give me, but fill them up for that."

The library was furnished for six hundred dollars; the "backs" were showy; the hall went off with *clat*; the mirrors were pretty; the uncle's hospitality princely, and none of the gaudy rooms were more attractive than the library and its square feet of books with handsome backs.

Burning of the Propeller B. L. Webb, on Lake Superior. The Boat supposed to be fired by the crew.

(From the Cleveland City Facts, November 18.)

The steamer *North Star*, Captain B. G. Sweet, which left here on the 6th instant, returned here this morning, having, considering the season, the weather and her frequent landings, made a very quick trip. She left La Pointe last Wednesday night at 12 o'clock, and Ontonagon on Thursday last. She brings the news of the burning of the new propeller, *B. L. Webb*, Captain Dickson, which occurred at Whiskey Bay on Thursday last. This propeller, which was built and owned at Detroit, was a new one, and on her first trip to Lake Superior. She was of about 600 tons burden, and cost about \$60,000. She had a full cargo of flour, pork, merchandise and provisions, shipped at Detroit for Marquette. She had been obliged to return to the Saut for repairs, but had resumed her voyage up the lake, when some of her machinery getting out of order, Mr. Lester, the mate, took a boat and four men and returned to the Saut to get the necessary iron-work done for its repair. The propeller lay at Whiskey Bay. On his return a snow-storm set in, and Mr. Lester, before the boat reached Whiskey Bay, was frozen to death, while his companions barely escaped the same fate. The repairs to the machinery being completed on Thursday morning, the fires were lighted, and while the officers were at breakfast the alarm of fire was given. It was discovered in the hay piled upon the forward deck, and in three minutes the whole upper works of the propeller were enveloped in flames. The freshness of her new paint invited the spreading of the fire, and she burnt down to the guards in a very short time. The cargo, with the exception of some pork in the hold, is reported to be totally lost. The insurance on the boat is said to be \$83,000.

It was the opinion of the officers of the boat that the boat was fired by the deck-hands. A disposition had been manifested had been manifested on their part to desert the boat, and the impatience became so great that they attempted to obtain passage on the *General Taylor*, just previous to the burning. The propeller *Webb* did not prove to be a good sea-boat, having a beam very disproportionate to her length, and rolling very badly in a heavy sea.

The *Star* brought the officers and crew of the *Webb* to Detroit, and a small amount of copper from the Aztec, National and Adventure mines to Hussey & Sinclair also, 500 bags of potatoes from the Saut.

Slavery in South Carolina.

[Correspondence of the Evening Post.]

CHARLESTON, Saturday, Nov. 1, 1856.

I find everything here quite new to me. Slavery exists here in its worst form. This morning I visited the work-house, where a young, delicate female slave, not over 17

years, nearly white, had been whipped till the blood ran down to her heels; then her bleeding back was bathed in brine, and she sent back to her mistress to resume her duties as a house servant.

In passing up from the Exchange, and in sight of the Episcopal Church, I met one of those vile slave-traders, with a look on his bristled face as plainly meaning "infernal," as if it had been written on his forehead in letters of fire, holding a conference with a clergyman about the purchase of the parson's slaves. Upon inquiry, I found the "divine" had a mother and three children, and his wish was to sell one of the children—a fine little girl, about eight years old—to this monster, who had taken a fancy to the mother, and would only buy the child upon condition that the mother should be included in the bargain. How they settled I could not ascertain, but it appeared very evident that had as the slave-trader appeared to my Northern eyes, he was a good man compared with the "parson."

Who can realize the sight of this slave-mother in the parson's kitchen, as she belted her holy master bringing in this slave monster to foot of her limbs, look at her teeth, and ask her every indelicate question in the presence of her own children, and there stand with the parson and bargain for her and for one of her children. Look at this mother, with her three screaming children hanging upon her, and she with her eyes turned up to heaven and saying, *Is there a God?*

If you don't find this letter too radical for your paper, I will give you some account of a pious planter, who rode to church in his carriage, and, in order to secure his conscience while he was performing his devotions, took a chain from his carriage, looked one end around the neck of his slave and the other end in his carriage-wheel.

Last Sunday afternoon I saw a slave woman, almost white, with features the most delicate, with an iron band around her neck, from which one long iron prong turned up and another down, so that she could only move or turn her head in the most measured step, without these prongs tearing her flesh and bringing blood. This poor creature was looking at the church, and, what is more melancholy, refined ladies passed her without being moved at the brutal sight. Every slaveholding clergyman, in a moral view, actually keeps a brothel in his own house or on his plantation.

CLARKSON.

The Proposed Trans-Atlantic Telegraph.

On the 12th inst. Mr. Cyrus W. Field, of New York, delivered an address in the Rooms of the Underwriters, at Liverpool, in the gentlemen of that body, and to a large assemblage of the most influential men on 'Change. Mr. Field was accompanied by Mr. J. W. Brett, and other gentlemen of note in telegraphic matters. Mr. Field contended that the project was a practicable one. Mr. Brett, of the Submarine Telegraph Company, also addressed the meeting.

The enterprise is one which, in our opinion, should be undertaken by the Governments of England and the United States, or one of them—it is too hazardous for private individuals. If it succeeds, then other cables may and will be laid down, and the New York and Newfoundland line will be superseded, as a cable will be brought direct to New York, or at all events to some point south of Newfoundland.

It remains to be tested by experience whether gutta percha is so complete an insulator as to prevent the escape of the current from a submerged wire extending from England to America. There may also be many difficulties in laying down the cable. The American company owning the line from Newfoundland to the borders of the United States, do not propose to risk any of their capital in the experiment.

We may add, that Mr. Field, who undertook to prove the practicability of the project to the satisfaction of the Board of Underwriters at Liverpool, is a paper dealer in this city, without any pretensions to scientific knowledge, and that his connexion with the business of telegraphing is of very recent origin.

MISCELLANEOUS.

SLAVERY EXTENSION IN OREGON.—A gentleman in this city has received a letter from a missionary in Oregon, in which it is declared that there is a deliberate attempt to make Oregon a slave State, and that there are already several hundred slaves in the territory. He says:

"General Lane, (the second of Brooks, of South Carolina, in the affair with General Wilson,) is one of the principal leaders in this treacherous movement. He is now in Washington laboring to bring it about. It is understood here that advice has been received here from him to the effect that the restriction (Winnet Proviso, prohibiting slavery) will be removed during the coming session of Congress, and that the way will then be opened to form a Slave Constitution."

This is the man that comes to teach the freemen of Connecticut Democracy. A man plotting to make Oregon a slave State—a plot in which he will succeed, too, if Buchanan is elected President. And yet we are told that the Buchanan party is not engaged in extending slavery. *Hartford Press.*

SLAVE LABOUR IN RAILROADS.—Vast labor in the construction of railways at the far South has been entirely abandoned, it being found that the Irish and Germans are willing enough to work in winter, but nothing will induce them to remain during the hot weather.

Slave labor has been therefore universally adopted, and large droves of negroes are raised and kept expressly for that purpose. The current rates for the hire of shoddy-bodied railway negroes is \$15 per month and their food, when hired by the month. If hired by the year, they bring \$175 per annum and food and clothing, the long term being considered more advantageous to the railway contractor.

Since Governor Wise's efforts to improve the value (not condition) of slaves, they have enhanced materially in that particular, the average price of "coarse railway niggers" in droves being from \$1,000 to \$1,200 per head.

Large numbers of slaves are insured in the Northern life offices, many of them in this city, and the severity with which they are worked depends a good deal upon the amount for which they are insured. *New York Evening Post.*

A REAL BLACK REPUBLICAN.—The *Boston Chronicle* states that a colored man named Butler, belonging to New Bedford, came from California by the last steamer, on purpose to vote in the pending election. Ascertaining that he could not vote in California, he has some four thousand miles, at a great sacrifice of time and money, to cast his vote for Fremont and freedom!

COLORED SUFFRAGE IN LOUISIANA.—In Louisiana, it appears that there is a precinct in Alexandria known as the "ten-mile precinct," controlled entirely by a colony of free negroes, who at the last election voted unanimously for Buchanan, Fillmore getting the vote of the only white man in the place. The Alexandrian American considers it an outrage that these persons should be allowed to vote, but is glad that they voted as they did.

THE NORTHERN EPISCOPALIAN CLERGY APPLAUDED BY A SOUTHERNER.—PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY.—The Rev. Lewis Traylor, of Charleston, has addressed a letter to the *Charleston Mercury*, October 22, in which, speaking of the Episcopal General Convention recently held at Philadelphia, he says:

"And from first to last, (with the exception of a single speech, which, though inflammatory enough, fell like a spark upon the water,) not a word has escaped from any one, however far away in the North, or the East or the West, which might not have been spoken at the corners of Broad and Meeting streets, and would not have met approval there. Ay, more, we Southerners have been greeted with most cordial affection, listened to with respectful attention, and treated altogether with such fraternal consideration, that our hearts are very full of love in return, and of thankfulness to God. South Carolina and Massachusetts are on the best of terms; New York and Virginia exchange and interchange continual courtesies; Ohio and Mississippi are arm in arm; Maine and Texas go side by side; and the whole Convention in both Houses, by acclamation agree to meet next south of Mason & Dixon's line, in Richmond, Virginia, expressly to give proof to the Southern brethren of confidence and affection, and evidence to all the rest of the world that however conscientiously we may differ, even about the 'question vexata' of the day, we are all determined that we will not, therefore, break the bond of Christian fellowship; but would rather, if we may, help with that fellowship to stay the torrent, which also may sweep away the fair fabric of our civil Union."

GOVERNOR GEARY A SLAVEHOLDER.—The pro-slavery course of Governor Geary in subduing the Free State men in Kansas, has been a matter of surprise to many, but need be no longer. He is one of those Northern slaveholders—owning and working men—in the South, who are the fit tools of Buchanan, Wice, Brooks, Atchison, Springfellow, Douglas, Soule, and the border-ruffians, in making Kansas a slave State. It is no longer a marvel that the pro-slavery robbers and murderers go entirely "unwhipt of justice," under Geary's administration. The *Leocompton* correspondent of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, under date of October 23, writes:

"Governor Geary cannot disguise his real sentiments, or sit on the fence any longer. That he is a pro-slavery man is well known. He owns a large number of negroes in Virginia, where he has an extensive iron establishment worked by slaves. He told a free-state man, on whom he wished to make a good impression, last week, that he meant to sell his slaves in Virginia; but he sought to gain the good opinion of the free-state men at Washington, before his appointment by announcing the same to them. Yet he still holds the slaves, and nobody doubts here that he will continue to do so, unless Buchanan's election should so enhance the price of negroes in Virginia that he should find it profitable 'to realize.'"

THE LATE RUN OF THE PERSIA TO LIVERPOOL.—The British and North American Royal Mail steamship "Persia," Captain C. H. E. Jenkins, arrived in the Mersey at a quarter past seven o'clock last night, from New York, after a very rapid passage of nine days and seven hours, meantime, having left that port on the morning of the 29th ult.—*Liverpool Times*, Nov. 8.

CONGRESSIONAL CORRUPTIONS.—Few of the professional lobbyists are yet upon the ground; but we hear of their operations and combinations elsewhere, with reference to measures to come before Congress this winter. The indications are that this winter's session will be one of the most corrupt in the history of the Government—and God knows some that have passed were bad enough. After a little while I shall be able to give you more particulars. It will be remembered that last summer I hinted at a corrupt organization of members of Congress and outsiders, who made a regular business of levying blackmail upon every measure of any pecuniary importance which came up for action, stating the terms upon which a given bill should pass the House, and defeating it unless those terms should be complied with. The leader of this gang of thieves is well known, and I would have no difficulty in putting my finger upon some of the subordinate members of the Company. It was difficult to expose them last summer, because the effort then would have been charged to party purposes. The day for that has passed; and if the banditti referred to attempt to renew their operations this winter, as I learn is their present design, you may look for disclosures that will astonish some very moral constituencies. Meantime, let me say to parties having honest business before Congress—keep clear of these sharpers; and if they approach you, defy and expose them.—*New York Times*, Nov. 15.

CORRUPTION OF PUPILS IN ONE OF OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS—DISGUSTING DEPRAVITY.—It is no pleasant duty for us, at any time, to publish to the world the sins of those who violate the social and moral laws by licentiousness, but we do not remember that we have ever had a more unpleasant task to perform than in giving publicity to the following account of the corruption of several girls, pupils in one of our grammar schools, and the depravity of those who corrupted them: About a week since, one of the monitors of the first class in a public school for girls, at the North End, happened by chance to find a written note on the floor of the school, which she read, and was so astonished at the contents that she handed it to her female teacher. The note was written by one of the pupils to another in the same class, and revealed (in language too indecent for publication) the astonishing intelligence that the writer of the note and five of her schoolmates, girls between the ages of twelve and fifteen years, had been seduced, and were in the daily habit of visiting certain places and indulging in the lowliest conduct. The disclosure was most startling to the teacher, and she instantly sent for the mothers of the depraved girls. As soon as they arrived, an examination of the children was made in the ante-room, and the girls made full confession of everything, disclosing the particulars in regard to the manner in which they were first induced to corrupt themselves, and the motives for continuing their disgusting licentiousness. As the girls related the deeds which they had performed, (deeds too shameful and beastly to be mentioned,) the anguish of the mothers was most terrible, and could they have reached the corrupters of their children their curses would have blasted them, beasts as they are, for ever. The six girls were subsequently taken to their homes, where further and separate investigations were made, and it was pretty satisfactorily ascertained that five of the girls had been introduced to their debauches, and influenced by the sixth girl, (we have her name,) how we are informed, has been reared among vile associates, and

is naturally inclined to vice. This girl has been dismissed from school. Of the men, or beasts, who have corrupted these girls, robbed them of their good names, and thrown such a blight upon the hopes and happiness of their parents, what language is adequate to describe them, or rather sufficiently to condemn them? It is a burning, blackening disgrace upon the city for such men to live in it. And yet, we understand the matter has undergone a semi-official investigation, and the conclusion arrived at is, that the whole affair had better be hushed up. This may appear wise and legal to others, but not to us. We hold that men who have seduced children from the paths of virtue, and then paid them (the girls state that they have been paid about two dollars per week for their disgusting prostitution) to continue their sins to the extent of the foulest pollution should suffer, and right smartly, too. If three men, two of them doing business on Hanover street, and the third a hackman in the employ of the other two, are to go unpunished, after having corrupted six school girls, (by presents of trinkets and money,) and attempted to ruin as many more, then we had better open the doors of our penal institutions, and relapse into that semi-civilized state when men avenge their own injuries without the assistance or interposition of law. We have the names of the three beastly scoundrels, and if no legal steps are taken to expose them, we shall assume the responsibility of doing it, in order that the public may know who to point the finger of scorn at.—*Boston Times*, November 20.

LETTER FROM THE WIDOW OF LORD BYRON.—Andover, November 10th, 1856.—To the Editor of the *Boston Telegraph*: Dear Sir—I have just received from London a note from Lady Byron (the widow of the poet) to Mrs. Stowe, of which I send you a copy:

"October 18, 1856.

"Dear Mrs. Stowe: Will you kindly undertake, in transmitting my subscription towards the relief of the sufferers in Kansas, to secure this point—that the money shall not be applied to the purpose of providing arms? It is, however, intended as an expression of sympathy with those who have resisted oppression at the hazard of life and property; and I cannot but hope that such sympathy is felt as warmly by many here as by

"Yours most truly,

"A. T. NOEL BYRON."

The inclosure was a draft for sixty-five pounds sterling. Having had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with Lady Byron, I can testify that she is one of the most intelligent and most truly excellent women I have ever seen; and her sympathy, good will, and prayers for the cause are, to my feelings, more gratifying than any amount of money. I will say of her what was said of Mary in the Gospel: "She hath done what she could."

Respectfully yours,
C. E. STOWE.

OCEAN STEAMERS.

TO DEPART.

New York	From New York	Nov. 29.	For Glasgow.
Washington	From New York	Nov. 29.	For Bremen.
Philadelphia	From New York	Dec. 2.	For Havana & N. O.
Niagara	From Boston, &c.	Dec. 4.	For Liverpool.
City of Washington	From Philadelphia	Dec. 4.	For Liverpool.
Illinois	From New York	Dec. 5.	For Aspinwall.
Erierson	From New York	Dec. 6.	For Liverpool.
Quaker City	From New York	Dec. 8.	For Havana and Mobile.
Persia	From New York	Dec. 10.	For Liverpool.
Arango	From New York	Dec. 15.	For Havre.
Tennessee	From New York	Dec. 24.	For San Juan.

TO ARRIVE.

Arago	Sails from Havre	For New York	Nov. 19.
City of Manchester	From Liverpool	For Philadelphia	Nov. 19.
Arabia	Sails from Liverpool	For Boston	Nov. 22.
Atlanta	Sails from Liverpool	For New York	Nov. 26.
Anglo-Saxon	Sails from Liverpool	For Portland	Nov. 26.
Africa	Sails from Liverpool	For New York	Nov. 29.

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