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

What is the Democratic Party in the United States?

[From the London Times, December 8.]

The Democratic party of America, like most political unions which have been fortunate enough to secure for themselves the monopoly of a popular name, has undergone many transformations, and advocated at different times views not easily reconciled with each other. The Democratic party has always included the South, and something more. The principle that moved the South has always been the maintenance of the institution of slavery; but this principle has till the late contest been kept in the background, the issue raised being on one of its secondary manifestations. Thus, the South resisted the Federalists, and constituted itself the champion of State rights, from a jealousy of the interference of Congress with its own domestic institution, and it was joined in this struggle by a portion of the North disliking, upon principle, any approach to a powerful central government. So, when the South found that the extension of the Republic was necessary for the support of slavery, it became the advocate of a vigorous executive, a closer union, and an aggressive foreign policy, and was aided in these views by a portion of the North, bewildered by the confusion of ideas which treats national greatness as identical with the extension of national territory. Till the present election, the South and a considerable portion of the North have always agreed in the same conclusion, though they have not arrived at it by the same premises. But in the election just past the case has been very different. A considerable portion of the South went heartily with the violent and unconstitutional measures by which it was sought to establish slavery in Kansas; the remainder of the South was lukewarm, and the supporters of Mr. Buchanan in the North were utterly opposed to [illegible] in all its manifestations. It is now quite clear from the admission of Mr. Buchanan's own supporters that the victory was obtained by representing him to any portion of the United States as [illegible] identified with the policy of Mr. Pierce—who is, we hear, about to claim the result of the election as a vote of formal approbation on his own conduct—while another party were told that they might rely upon it that if Mr. Buchanan were returned all his efforts would be devoted to obtaining the freedom of Kansas. The tactics were very successful, and men conversant with the high tone of morality which usually directs the proceedings of a contested election will not be surprised to hear such conduct too nicely. But when the election is gained such manœuvres have their difficulties.

What is Mr. Buchanan to do? Is he to make Kansas slave or free?

REMARKS.—The question whether Kansas shall be free or not does not depend upon the President. His power is very limited. The Government of the United States is, in fact, in the hands of the Senate, as we have fully shown in various articles in the previous numbers of the EUROPEAN.

Pictures of the Southern States by an English Traveller.

The "Gentlemen" of Virginia and North and South Carolina—their Dress, Manners and Conversation. Life in a Georgia Hotel.

[From the London Daily News.]

In Virginia and North and South Carolina, I was in what is popularly supposed to be the aristocratic region of the American Union. Here, the Southern papers assure us are to be found the American "gentlemen" *par excellence*, as distinguished from the Northern *en furiers*, the "small-fisted farmers and greasy mechanics" of Massachusetts and Connecticut, whom "free society" is scornfully described as producing in abundance. I am giving my impressions, of course, only of the surface of society, and only of that portion of its surface with which one comes in contact in railways and steamboats; but the fact is that, at least to the traveller on the wing, the aristocratic element in the population is nowhere visible. From Baltimore to Montgomery, in this State, in no species of conveyance did I meet with more than two persons who, judging from dress, manners and conversation, would in England be called "gentlemen." I confine this observation especially to the slave region. It is not true of New England. There may be a hundred and one reasons, every one of them a good one, why my experience has been peculiarly unfortunate, but my fellow-passengers from Baltimore southward, bore no manner of resemblance to anything which the lowest and wildest radical in the Old World would call "gentlemanly." They were dirty, *de toute manière*. They were shabbily dressed; they chewed tobacco, and spat its juice in showers; they talked slang; they seemed never to have washed any portion of their persons in their lives. In South Carolina, the chosen home of chivalry, I sat in a carriage in which the mud formed by years of dust and oceans of saliva was three inches deep on the floor, in company with men into whose presence most English ladies would be afraid to venture. I sat at breakfast and dinner side by side with individuals who, whatever their other qualities, had certainly no more claims to gentility than chimney-sweeps or cab-drivers, and we were waited on with a deference and assiduity which our English Johns would do well to imitate, by negroes, who certainly, in all the endowments which give men social standing in an aristocratic country, save birth alone, seemed to me to be just as good company, and a vast deal more entertaining, than those they served. The aristocracy of race, I think, never appeared under a more ludicrous aspect. I draw no conclusion from this in any way derogatory to the general character of the people, as compared with those of any other country. But I must say that I do not feel warranted in drawing from it the conclusion that the "gentility" argument, on which the Southern press has placed great stress in its recent defences of slavery, is a silly delusion. The sneers which have been launched forth at Northern vulgarity wear a curious aspect to any one who has had the felicity of passing a short time with the well-to-do class, the travelling class, in short, of those States which claim the exclusive honor of harboring the graces. A clean, well-dressed, educated man in a Southern railway carriage is by no means a rare phenomenon, though there is but one class for all grades, but in the South you may travel thousands of miles without seeing one. So much for the advantage of slavery as a refiner of manners. I shall doubtless be told, in reply to this, that I must seek for specimens of Southern gentility in the mansions of the wealthy planters; but I claim the right to judge the effect of an institution from the mass whom we meet on the highways, and not from an infinitesimally small number whom we must seek for in seclusion, and who owe all their external advantages to the fact that their wealth enables them to live apart from slavery, and out of the atmosphere which it generates. . . .

I am staying in a "hotel" in which all the chairs are made of deal; in which there is an average of three beds in

every cold, bare, whitewashed room; in which I am waited upon by filthy negroes; in which my looking-glass is nailed to the wall, and is only four inches square. Two-thirds of the men in the little town board in it, and before each meal wash in two tin basins, and arrange their hair at a glass in the hall with the same comb and brush, suspended therefrom by a stout cord. How they "board" may be guessed from the fact that I sat down at breakfast this morning with sixty "gentlemen," and that within ten minutes of the ringing of the bell, by my watch, there was not a soul at table but myself and two others. All had eaten and gone. There was not a single clean shirt to be seen among the whole party, and yet every one of them wore a black shabby coat, of Parisian cut, and the thinnest and lightest boots that could possibly be got to hold together. Our "parlor" is exactly like a ward in the hospital at Scutari. The furniture consists of deal chairs, except the rocking chair; and its carpet appears to have been manufactured about the time of the Revolution. All its colors have disappeared under the influence of tobacco-juice. We are lighted in it by one candle of diminutive proportions, which, with the assistance of the whitewashed walls, just makes the darkness visible. The house is such a one as you would expect to see tenanted by burly farmers, in top boots and corduroy; in which one would look for coarse cloth and thick soles; in which most Englishmen would think a decent shooting coat rather out of place. But such is the passion here for foreign fashions that every one in and about it, with his threadbare black suit, his doubtful linen, his patched unbrushed Paris boots, wears the appearance of a strolling actor out of employment. The ladies of the house come down in the evening attired in all the hues of the rainbow, and sit in the parlor after dinner, in melancholy grandeur, in the uncertain light of the solitary luminary of the place. The men smoke and spit in the bar, and the niggers lounge in the passage. Every one seems trying to avoid everything in the matter of costume, which would be in the least degree suitable to active life, in a half-settled region in the heart of a forest-covered continent.

Territorial Aggrandizement only Valuable as the Means of Extending Slavery.

[From the London Post, December 4.]

There is no portion of the globe to which the attention of the public, not only in this but in other countries, is directed with more earnestness and anxiety than to Central America, and the magnificent and not far-distant island of Cuba. Many of the people of the United States have long regarded that valuable island as an acquisition which would consolidate their power in the Southern States, and *give extension and permanency to the frightful curse of slavery*. The marauding expedition of Walker, and the feeble and disorganized condition of most of the Central American States, have attracted in the great Republic that species of interested sympathy which is one of the worst features of the American character. The Panama railway, and the threatened occupation of this important line in the United States—the projected ship-canal through Honduras—the settlement and subsequent rendition by England of the colony of the Bay Islands—the rendition of the Mosquito Territory—and, lastly, a difference between this country and New Granada—are all matters which have recently excited deep and equal attention on both sides of the Atlantic. The clamor which has been raised in America against this country has produced its fruits. The Bay Islands have been restored or transferred to the State of Honduras; and, by another convention concluded in August last, the question of the Mosquito Protectorate has been extinguished. Commissioners are to be appointed to fix the boundary between Honduras and the Territory of the Mosquito Indians, and the former also engages not to molest British subjects in the enjoyment of any property which they may possess in the Bay Islands group. The King of Mosquito Indians is to receive from the Republic of Honduras "some reasonable sum by way of annuity for a limited period," as an indemnity and compensation for the extinction of his and their interest in the said Territory. The amount of this annuity is to be settled by the Commissioners. This may be a very just and equitable arrangement as far as this country, the Mosquito Indians, and the State of Honduras are concerned. We do not pretend to assert that any better could be suggested. But it is impossible not to see that agencies have been at work extending to a much larger sphere than the benefit of the native tribes, or even the welfare of the people of Honduras. These agencies, though not avowed, may by their results easily be traced. *There are certain classes of persons in America who hold that slavery is the normal condition* of a vast proportion of the human race, and who advocate the restoration of the most detestable traffic that ever disgraced and afflicted humanity. The Charleston *Standard* admits that the Slave-trade might diminish the value of slaves, but it suggests this compensation: "There is buried now under every acre of land in South Carolina fifty dollars in gold, and the day that the savage African is landed on our shores to cultivate it, that gold will glitter upon its surface." Will not its brightness be dimmed by the sweat, the tears, the gore of "the savage African," who, with a soul to be saved and faculties to be educated, is to live and die like the brutes that perish, not in their native wilds—which the missionary has never penetrated, but which the almighty dollar will speedily open to American enterprise—but amongst a community calling itself Christian, and loudly proclaiming the perfect equality of the white race? This is a specimen of the religion and humanity of the Southern States.

But it is well known that the filibusters who have left their country to reinforce General Walker are *in fact propagandists of slavery*, fully impressed with the belief that the day is not far distant when Central America will be covered with States acknowledging the great domestic institution of a portion of the American people. Such weak States as Nicaragua, Honduras and New Granada, cannot long resist that gradual and almost imperceptible process of annexation, produced by a constant influx of American adventurers, which in time is quite as successful as the more speedy and more honorable conquest by the sword. But should the American Government somewhat anticipate this process of annexation by taking military possession of the Panama railway, it is fortunate that England has, on the Central American coast, a naval force quite sufficient to protect British interests elsewhere than in New Granada, and to join in preserving order along that great line of communication over which, for the welfare of the commerce of the world, no single nation should be permitted to exercise exclusive control. *In the policy of the dominant party in America, territorial aggrandizement is only valuable as a means certain to promote the extension of slavery.*

SPIRIT OF THE GERMAN PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES.

The German Vote in the late Presidential Election.

[Translated from the Abend-Zeitung.]

The American correspondent of the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, who writes over the signature of * * * and is looked upon by the German pro-slavery papers here as one of the most reliable sham-democrats, who has always insisted upon the conservative (anti-republican) character of the German vote in the United States, writes the following on the 9th of November to that paper:

Without the assistance of the German Republicans the States of Ohio, Iowa, Wisconsin and Michigan would not have gone for Fremont, and even the State of New York would have remained true to the Union and the Constitution.

Separation of the Free from the Slave States.

The Freie Presse (a German daily, published at Philadelphia in commenting upon a letter from a Citizen of Pennsylvania to the Charleston *Mercury* maintaining that the interests of slave-labor in the South and of free labor in the North can never be harmonized on a national basis, and, on that account, justifying a separation of the Union, says:

We fully agree with the views of the writer, in so far as they define the present position of the slavery question with clearness and precision. We also are of opinion that the determination of the South to insist upon the acknowledgment of slavery as a national institution, and upon its legal right of extension, must necessarily lead, ere long, to a dissolution of the Union. . . .

If the South insists upon her pretensions, which she has fought for so obstinately in these latter times, the days of the glorious Union are numbered. The North neither will nor can abandon her position, and in the struggle of opposite interests and principles the tie which until now has held together both parties will be severed for ever.

Private Charity. Dreadful Condition of the Poor. The Tone of the American Press against Alms-giving Censured.

[Translated from the Criminal-Zeitung, December 26.]

American journals have lately set their faces against all kinds of private alms-giving. The New York *Tribune* goes so far, as to denounce even soup-kitchens as demoralizing. The philosophy of Mr. Greeley may perhaps furnish him with reasons, not accessible to the usual understanding of mankind. We, for our part, frankly confess that we cannot see the reason why a plate of soup should demoralize the character of a hungry man; and, although begging is not desirable, it is still less so, to refuse a starving or freezing man a pittance. Possibly the giving of food or any other trifling relief in time may save the life of a human being. It certainly produces no kind of agreeable impression upon us, to be informed by the daily papers that "some unknown man was frozen to death last night in consequence of want of clothing and shelter." The case is a simple one. Suffering prevails here to a frightful extent. The State does little or nothing for relief, and the efforts of organized societies prove unavailing to heal the evil. The only hope for the poor is private charity, and if this be refused, there is no alternative left to the poor but to die or to commit crimes. Sometimes alms may be misplaced, but if only one act of private charity is rightly applied, there is more gain by it than can be countervailed by injudicious alms-giving. As long as the needy cannot be supplied with work or with assistance from the State, private charity is the duty of individuals. How many persons may starve or freeze to death in New York during one winter? And is not every case of that kind a reproach and a crime of society?

Slave Insurrections in the South.

The same paper comments on the case of one of the negroes in the late insurrection in the South, who endured seven hundred and fifty lashes, and died under this torture, refusing or being unable to reveal any details of the pretended plot. It says: "The enthusiastic believers in the inferiority of the African race may deduce from this case a new proof of the inferior mind of the negroes. But it certainly appears that the *hearts* of the down-trodden sons of Africa are sound. There may be as much difference in the measure of human character as in that of commerce, but it is evident to us that a slave who chooses rather to lose his life under the lashes of his tormentor, than to be untrue to his conviction, is a great man, whilst the barbarism of his 'Caucasian' executioner calls the blush of shame to our cheek."

Marcy on Privateering. His Proposition shown by the "European" to be Injudicious.

[Translated from the New York Abend-Zeitung.]

In one of the first numbers of the weekly journal, the EUROPEAN, it was proved with much acuteness that the counter proposition of Mr. Marcy, the Secretary of State, in regard to the stipulated abolition of privateering is but a hole into which the United States themselves would plunge, and that the acceptance of this American proposition by the great maritime powers of Europe would not be advantageous to the United States; but, on the contrary, a heavy blow to them. For, if private property at sea be secured against *contraband of war*, England, for instance, could use her mighty fleet (the ordinary duty of which, escorting commercial ships would be rendered unnecessary) for the blockading of American ports, thereby making the small marine of the United States entirely useless.

These hints of the EUROPEAN are now circulated in higher spheres, and the American Government feels very uncomfortable in thinking that its proposition may be accepted by the next Congress of Paris.

SPIRIT OF THE NORTHERN PRESS.

The "American Celt" on the Duty of Irishmen to Political Parties in America. Large Irish Vote for Fremont. Emigration of Irishmen from the United States.

We come now to speak of United States politics, so far as they concern ourselves. Of the old parties formed soon after the Constitution itself, but one remains—the

Democratic party. To that party three-fourths of all our naturalized emigrants have belonged since its first formation. . . .

But from 1840 to 1850 it is not so clear that the immense strength the American Democracy derived from foreign sources was judiciously employed. The annexation of Texas and the Mexican war are events on which the patriotic American may yet look back with regret. The march of this northern nation towards the tropics may well fill every thoughtful mind with apprehensions for its future unity. There cannot be a voluntary union without an identity of interests and a community of feeling. These naturally flourish in the air of the great lakes, and are fed by the river system of which the Mississippi is the central channel. But it is yet to be seen whether California may not prove a curse instead of a blessing to the older States—whether in its voracity for Mexico and Cuba, the Northern eagle may not sicken and die of the offal of old Spain.

In so far as "the *Irish* vote" has sustained the Democracy in its encroachments on Spanish America, it seems to us that it has not strengthened the Union, while it has done violence to its own best instincts. . . .

We cannot resist events which are decreed, but at least let us preserve our Irish honor from the stigma which would for ever attach to it, if we made ourselves active in hunting down a kindred people in Spanish America. . . .

Our most powerful motive for breasting no small share of menace and anger—after the one we have just stated—was the hope that the appeals of the Republicans to the better feelings of freemen, would help to break up the unconditional dependence of Irish-born citizens on the Democratic party. We do not think the record of that party since 1840 justifies their *implicit* faith, bordering, as it does, on a fanatical devotion. The Republicans, having voluntarily bound themselves *not* to interfere with slavery where it *exists*, but only to prevent its *extension* into territory now free, we saw at once they were not fairly liable to the constitutional charge against the old Abolitionists. Their declaration in favor of equal civil and religious rights, at Philadelphia, though not so decided or straightforward as the Democratic declaration at Cincinnati, we were willing to accept as a first mortgage on the party. Whether that was a wise course to take, becomes us not to say, but certainly no argument which we have seen has been conclusive enough to convince us to the contrary. That a respectable portion of our countrymen by birth, in several States of the Union, did shake off their fanatical dependance on party, and act manfully from individual conviction, we are right happy to hear. Outside the great cities, perhaps one-third, in some localities full one-half, "the Irish vote" was cast for Fremont and Dayton. In this metropolis, where we are almost all on one side, this may seem incredible; the Auburn *Advertiser*, however, stated immediately after election that in the central counties of the State "five-sixths" of the adopted citizens voted the Republican ticket; explaining distinctly that by adopted citizens it meant Irishmen, equally with Germans; the Troy, Watertown and Buffalo papers made a nearly similar report for the northern and western counties. It is pretty certain that the Irish Republican vote of New York, (exclusive of the *city*,) if not a majority of the whole Irish vote, was at least a *tie*.

If this remark held true of the Irish in other States, with reference to town and country, it would point a singular moral. If the rural Irish should turn out mostly Republicans, and the city Irish continue mostly Democrats, what would it prove? Granted, that in the great cities opportunities of acquiring political information are more common—are not the agencies of corruption also more common? In the uncrowded country where every man feels society, and society feels every man, where, if there is less *gas*, there is more oxygen—is it not possible, think you, for plain men to perceive plain truths? We should think it was a thing quite possible! That, in some States, besides New York, our class have tolerably well shaken off old party shackles, we know. Take Wisconsin, for example. In the recent "Address of the State Central Committee to the Republicans of Wisconsin," the Committee says:

Among the most eloquent advocates of our principles during the canvass were Germans, exiled from their own land for love of liberty: among the most indefatigable laborers were the Norwegian and German editors and local canvassers, and distributors of documents. *Instances have not been wanting of valuable and gratuitous labor for the Republican cause from among the Irish population.*

. . . In the interior, as we have shown, our brethren of the same emigration exhibited a personal and political independence, unprecedented in the history of the Irish in America. Our earnest recommendation to them is, to maintain the manly stand they have taken; to look on no party with the eyes of worshippers; to change fearlessly when they find themselves in the wrong ranks: and never allow it to be said, as was said to, and printed by, Mr. T. F. Meagher on the eve of the last election, that a few individuals can "keep the Irish straight"—in the harness of any party, which outrages their feelings and despises their remonstrances. This line of conduct we venture most respectfully to urge on those who are citizens; *as to those who are not naturalized it is for themselves to judge, whether after their recent experience of the general social feeling towards foreigners, the title and privileges of adopted citizenship are worth the cost of a life-long controversy.* We do not feel that it is our place to discourage any one's choice; *but for our own part, though seven years ago, we impatiently looked forward to the day of our civil majority, we afterwards declined to avail ourselves of it when it arrived. We cannot express an hypocritical admiration which we do not feel;* we are willing to go as far as any one in a policy of conciliation; but we cannot sacrifice truth to falsehood, to propitiate the spirit of the age or the genius of the place.

Some excellent and high-spirited Irishmen of Philadelphia and Louisville have, we hear, turned their hopes towards Brazil or Buenos Ayres. Many others have left and are leaving this port for California and Australia. From Liverpool, in the past year, several thousands of our people have followed the track of Gavan Duffy, Wilson Gray, and Edward Hayes. At the Bombay bar, we hear of the distinguished success of an old compatriot, Richard Dallas, of Limerick.

[From the New York Herald, December 27.]

The New Administration. General Cass Pushed for Premier. The Finger of Russia Deep in the Pie.

Our special despatch from Washington, of this morning, introduces some new characters of a very distinguished class as among the Cabinet-makers at Washington and elsewhere. It appears that, looking ahead with her far-reaching diplomatic sagacity, Russia has thrown the weight of her political agencies and influences in this country in behalf of General Cass for Secretary of State to the incoming Administration, and that all the probabilities are in favor of his appointment. . . .

The vantage ground which will be secured by Russia with General Cass at the head of the Cabinet, will be manifest to every reader. General Cass is the intractable enemy of England. Had he taken the oath of Hannibal against her, he could not have pursued her with a more constant hostility than that which has illustrated his life since he has been a candidate for the Presidency. Such a sleepless foe of John Bull at the head of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet would naturally be the very man for Russia. His influence in favor of Russia with the President elect, would also probably be greater than with any other President; for while Mr. Buchanan remembers his ministerial residence at St. Petersburg with grateful satisfaction, mellowed and ripened by age, his recent mission to England cannot be recalled without unpleasant sensations. The grand hospitalities of the sagacious Nicholas were one thing, but the patronizing airs and diplomatic pretensions of Palmerston and Clarendon were quite another thing.

The future influence and power of the United States among the great nations of the earth are nowhere better appreciated than at St. Petersburg. It was the policy of Nicholas to cultivate the most friendly relations with us, as against England; and this is the policy of Alexander, with a side change of the programme in favor of Louis Napoleon. . . .

Origin of the Project to make Kansas a Slave State. Why Douglas and Pierce Supported it.

The New York *Tribune* describes the origin and progress of the infamous Nebraska Bill. It says that the original instigators—

Were the slaveholding planters of Western Missouri, especially of the district known as the Platte Purchase, who wished to sequestrate for their own special use the rich lands of Eastern Kansas. This was the real origin of that plot which has shaken the country to its centre, and the ultimate results of which nobody is yet able to foresee—a sordid desire on the part of these Missouri hemp-growers to engross to their special use this valuable and fertile tract. They had formerly succeeded, by Senatorial plot and connivance, Mr. Benton acting as their agent, in annexing to Missouri that very Platte Purchase, in which most of them dwell; and they hoped now, by a similar Senatorial plot, Mr. Atchison acting as their agent, to go a little further, and to erect the fertile and desirable lands of Kansas into a nice little pocket slaveholding State, a sort of tender to the Platte Purchase, of which they should have not the political control only, but the landed property also, obtained, in the freedom from free-labor competition, at very moderate prices.

To this plot, thus base, sordid and covetous in its origin, Mr. Douglas added a political element, or rather this political element was held out to him and to others by the artful and pertinacious Atchison as a means of interesting them in the enterprise. It was suggested that the erection of a new slave State, west of and adjoining Missouri, was not merely a matter of interest to the slaveholding planters on its borders; it was a matter of interest, so Atchison argued, to the whole South, and that not alone or chiefly in a pecuniary point of view. The new market it would open for slaves, and the new opportunity it would hold out to slaveholding emigrants from the older States to establish themselves advantageously there, were things of trifling importance compared to *the political consequences to be expected from the erection of Kansas into a slave State.* Not only would it strengthen the South by the addition of new votes in the Senate, but, as happened in the case of the admission of Missouri, *its moral effects* would be still more conspicuous. *It would give to the South a new sense of conquest and superiority, and to the North a new feeling of weakness and defeat,* which would do more than even half a dozen Senatorial votes, to *strengthen and assure the ascendancy of the slaveholders.* After this preamble, the temptation held out by Atchison to Douglas was the popularity which, by taking advantage of his position as chairman of the Committee on Territories to initiate this measure, he might acquire at the South, and the certainty of thereby *securing the Presidential nomination* as Pierce's successor.

Mr. Douglas never had any great reputation for political virtue; so it is not surprising that this temptation proved altogether too strong for him. Under its influence, he reported the bill which will render his name as immortally infamous among statesmen and politicians as that of Benedict Arnold is among soldiers. The bill thus reported, there were four parties, either of whom might have prevented its passage, but all of whom, under various instigations and motives, combined to carry it through. President Pierce, had he used his influence against the bill as freely as he did for it, had he even preserved a decent neutrality, could have defeated the measure. But Pierce was induced, as Douglas had been, to sell himself to the tempter, in the hope which he earnestly cherished of securing thereby *a re-election for himself.* He knew that he had been selected as the candidate of the Democratic party on account of his acceptability to the slaveholders, and he had no idea of allowing Douglas to cut him out at that game.

The Northern Democratic members of Congress, by refusing to vote for the bill, might also have defeated it; but as the example of Pierce seemed to show that entire subserviency to the slaveholding interest was the high road to political promotion, they, too, succumbed to the same temptation which had proved too strong for Douglas and for Pierce. The Southern Democrats, too, might have prevented not merely the passage of the bill, but even its introduction, had they declined to give it their support. However advantageous to the South the proposition of Mr. Douglas might at first blush appear to be, it was manifestly unjust; and had there been, among the whole body of Southern Democratic members of Congress a single one who possessed a particle of the spirit of Aristides, this attempted swindle might have been nipped in the bud. But no such Southern Democratic member of Congress was to be found. That party had maintained its political control of the Southern States by putting itself forward as the special champion of the rights of the slaveholders, and it was seduced by the prospect that, by availing itself of this unexpected opportunity to repeal the Missouri Prohibition, it might strengthen and confirm that control. Indeed, with Douglas, Pierce and the Northern Democrats so willing, it would have been quite too much to have expected from the Southern Democrats the part of Joseph.

The "American Celt" on Irish Immigration into Canada.

The progress of colonization in Canada West, in proportion to their numbers and circumstances, we are informed, has been highly gratifying for the past year. The claims of Canada, as a self-governed country, with resources wholly undreamt of by the ordinary emigrant, were at first rejected on this side with an ignorant impatience of inquiry. They have, since the date of the Buffalo Convention, been much more fairly canvassed both in the United States and in Ireland. The grand system of railroads now in progress, all over the Province, will every day demonstrate the soundness of the views of those, who insisted that it should not be left out of the emigrant's map or falsely set down as "uninhabitable." Two, at least, of three new townships settled the last summer, north and west of Toronto, are mainly in the hands of Irish proprietors, and we have the authority of the Ottawa *Tribune* for the fact, that the Buffalo Convention has largely helped to turn the stream of settlement into that valley. The Canadian Directors and the active local Society established at at Toronto, deserve great credit for this result: but no number of individuals could have accomplished what they have done, were it not for the very liberal "free grants" which the present Government has, most wisely for the interests of the Province, held out as inducements to actual settlers.

The "American Celt" on the present Condition of Ireland.

Politics are dead, but Society is alive—and a *new set of political principles*, not less Irish, but, *perhaps, more suited to the altered age*, will naturally flow from the new sources of social independence, which are slowly opening for our friends at home. Christmas in Ireland, in 1856, may almost be called "merrie Christmas," and the New Year may almost be called "happy,"—not only for what it inherits, but for what it promises.

The *American Celt* perceives and acknowledges the improvement, without clearly comprehending the main source from whence it comes—the establishment of the poor law.

THE INDIANS—HOW TREATED.

[From the New York Tribune, December 27.]

We publish in another part of this day's paper a communication from Governor Stevens of Washington Territory, respecting the Indian hostilities on our Pacific coast, or so much of them as had occurred within his jurisdiction.

The conflicting accounts that have appeared during several months past of the progress and character of the conflicts there have seemed to defy a solution consistent with a recognition of the equal truth and honesty of the civil authorities and of the military commander of the district, General Wool. There are, however, two things touching this matter of Indian hostilities on our frontiers, which we consider settled. One is, that if the Indians were treated properly—and by that we mean honestly and decently—by the whites, we should never have Indian difficulties nor Indian wars. This is the uniform testimony of all intelligent and humane men who have ever resided among them. It is the testimony of General Cass and of General Houston, repeatedly given in public and private, as the fruits of their long experience on our northern, western and southern frontiers, among the various tribes which still linger upon the edges of our advancing civilization. The other fact, which we consider equally well established, is, that a considerable portion of the pioneers of our infant settlements consider the Indians a race which should be cut up by the roots and exterminated to make room for the whites. In the late annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the following passage occurs to substantiate this opinion:

It cannot be disguised that a portion of the white population of the Pacific Territory entertain feelings deeply hostile to the Indian tribes of that region and *are anxious for the extermination of the race.*

Starting from this point, we may see that the romance and incidents of Indian life and an Indian campaign will be necessarily represented in totally different aspects, according as the representations shall be made by persons belonging to one class or another of individuals. The same train of events, when examined by the calm eye of impartial justice, or beheld by the fiery gaze of impetuous passion and deadly hate, wears a totally different aspect. So too in the treatment of cases which arise where the Indian is involved. To the eye of justice and moderation, one remedy presents itself; to that of brutal imperiousness, which but too often marks the military administration of our Indian affairs, another and a totally different one; and that is the one usually administered. So that, thus far in our history, the Indian has generally been the victim of lawless outrage in the first instance, and, for his defences against such, he and his have been ground under the heel of the military power of the Government.

And now as to the precise *gist* of the late Indian war in Oregon and Washington—a war that has been marked, as all such wars always are marked, by hideous cruelties on both sides, the outrages of the whites being no less barbarous than those of their savage foe. Our readers know that on one side it has been charged that it was a war gotten up and carried on by the whites at a ruinous expense as a swindling speculation on the Government. Such is the substance of General Wool's representations. It has been alleged that the regular troops could at any time have brought it speedily to an end, if the volunteer force under Governors Curry and Stevens would withdraw from the field. On the other side, we have the speeches of General Lane of Oregon, in the House, and now we have the exposition of Governor Stevens, to show that the Indians were the original aggressors, and that the people were compelled to fly to arms in self-defence.

From the statements on the one side and the other, and from private sources, we derive this conclusion: That the whites of both Washington and Oregon have been too eager to extend their settlements and claims into the Indian country. The white settlements there have hitherto been confined to the coast side of the Cascade range of mountains. On the Pacific slope, parallel with the coast, runs the beautiful Willamette, the seat of the principal population of Oregon. There, too, are the other smaller rivers of Oregon, the Umpqua, Rogue River, and yet feebler streams, pouring their waters into the Pacific. On the same side of the mountains in Washington Territory lies Puget's Sound, around which capacious basin and its numerous arms are congregated the major portion of the population of that Territory. The Columbia river lies between the two Territories, forming their boundary, and, running east and west, pierces the Cascade Range about 150 miles from its mouth. Here it is broken by extensive falls, marking as entire a division between the upper and lower countries as if made by the mountain range itself. This range of country on the coast thus described has hitherto contained, as we have said, nearly the entire population of Oregon and Washington. Here, too, is abundant room for them both now, and, from present appearances, for twenty or thirty years to come. Indeed, unless something occurs to stimulate settlements there more than is now foreseen, the progress of population in future will be very slow. The country is not in a prosperous condition. The settlements languish. Improved places can be obtained at far less than their cost. The sudden rise of California stimulated these settlements for a time, and they furnished lumber and agricultural products for the new population below at very profitable rates. But California no longer needs them. The resources of that State have been developed, and she is no longer an importer but an exporter of such products as Oregon and Washington can furnish. The influence of this changed condition is disastrous. Horses and beeves are become dull of sale at fifteen or twenty dollars the head and wheat is worth no more than thirty cents a bushel. Oregon and Washington are thus in a measure thrown back and being thrown entirely on their own agricultural resources, their prospects of rapid growth are not encouraging.

Yet notwithstanding, it has been the aim of the settlers and the ambition of the Governors of those Territories to extend their settlements into the interior, over the great valley lying between the Cascade Range and the Rocky Mountains. This attempt, inconsiderately made as we shall see, has been the cause of the recent Indian difficulties, and upon those who have made it, and not upon the Indians of that valley who have resisted the attempt, rests the responsibility of causing the recent war.

The more recent history of our Indian difficulties is sufficient to show that there is no sort of wrong that is not done to the Indian, and no sort of crime that is not committed against him. If an individual of a tribe pilfers a lame cow of an emigrant train, forthwith a detachment of dragoons is sent to commence war against the whole body, the United States back the effort with an appropriation of two millions and a half of dollars, and a general butchery of men, women and children follows. Like the colored man of the slave States, the Indian is an outlaw. He has no remedy for offences committed against his person before the legal tribunals, where his kind are the only witnesses, for their testimony is promptly rejected in the courts of law. He must, therefore, become his own avenger for wrong done to him, or he must go unrevenged. He is victimized on every side. If the white man wishes to plunder him of his land, he takes an individual, improvises him into a chieftain, and makes a treaty giving to himself what territory he wants. If the lawful claimant resists and undertakes to expel the intruder, the charge of treachery and murder is raised, and every red man to be found is knocked on the head. If the white man wishes to get up hostilities against a tribe, and at the same time fill his pockets by the operation, or merely wishes to rob with impunity, he paints his face and makes his descent upon an emigrant train, gathers his plunder, flies, and reports the act as an Indian outrage, and calls for war by way of punishment. In one quarter or the other, if not in all, such has been the experience of Indians on the Plains, Indians in Florida, and Indians on the Pacific. We invoke, as the least to be asked, a humane administration of the Government towards this race, so completely in our power, and claim that the policy toward them shall be such as to result in their gradual absorption by the whites rather than in their extermination by force of arms.

Mr. Cobden on the Reasons which induced the British Government to Relax the Maritime Code in the late War.

Correction of his Statements respecting the United States. Whether the United States Government will Ratify Mr. Marcy's Proposition if the proper Explanation be appended to it.

Mr. Cobden, in a letter recently published, says that in 1854—

It was unmistakeably evident that the American people were determined that their merchant ships should not be visited and searched by our cruisers, and that any attempt to revive the proceedings which led to the rupture of 1812 would be resisted, would lead to bloodshed, and would, in all probability, end in a war between the two countries. Our Government, therefore, very wisely yielded the point; and, in doing so, met the wishes not merely of America, but of every nation of Europe.

Upon this the London *Morning Post* observes:

Mr. Cobden here forgets the very obvious distinction which the United States Government has always made with respect to the right of "visitation" to examine for goods, and the right of search to seize British subjects, the enforcement of which led to the war of 1812, and to a complicated negotiation, which was left unsettled by the Treaty of Ghent in 1815.

Chancellor Kent, in his Commentaries on American Law, (7th ed., p. 124, published in 1851,) says: "But neutral ships do not afford protection to enemy's property, and it may be seized if found on board of a neutral vessel beyond the limits of the neutral jurisdiction. *This is a clear and well settled principle of the law of nations.*"

In 1780 the Empress of Russia proclaimed the principles of the Baltic Code of Neutrality, and declared she would maintain them by force of arms. One of the articles of that code was, that "all effects belonging to the subjects of belligerent powers should be looked upon as free on board of neutral ships, except only such goods as were contraband." The principal Powers of Europe, as Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Germany, Holland, France, Spain, Portugal and Naples, and also the United States, acceded to the Russian principles of neutrality. But the want of the consent of a power of such decided maritime superiority as that of Great Britain, was an insuperable obstacle to the success of the Baltic conventional law of neutrality; and it was abandoned in 1793 by the naval powers of Europe, as not sanctioned by the existing law of nations, in every case in which the doctrines of that code did not rest upon positive compact. *During the whole course of the wars growing out of*

the French Revolution, the Government of the United States admitted the English rule to be valid, as the true and settled doctrine of international law, and that enemy's property was liable to seizure on board of neutral ships, and to be confiscated as prize of war.

The two distinct propositions, that enemy's goods found on board a neutral ship may lawfully be seized as prize of war, and that the goods of a neutral found on board of an enemy's vessel were to be restored, have been explicitly incorporated into the jurisprudence of the United States, and declared by the Supreme Court to be founded in the law of nations. (*The Nereide, 9 Cranch*, 388.) The rule, as it was observed by the Court, rested on the simple and intelligible principle that war gave a full right to capture the goods of an enemy, but gave no right to capture the goods of a friend. The neutral flag constituted no protection to enemy's property, and the belligerent flag communicated no hostile character to neutral property. The character of the property depended upon the fact of ownership, and not upon the character of the vehicle in which it is found. After vindicating the simplicity and justice of the original rule of the law of nations against *the speculations of modern theorists*, and the *hostile* [illegible] of the armed neutrality which attempted to effect by force a revolution in the law of nations, the Court stated that nations have changed this simple and natural principle of public law by conventions between themselves, in whole or in part, as they believed it to be for their interest.

The unanimous decision of the Court was pronounced by Chief Justice Marshall.

Chancellor Kent concludes that the belligerent right is no longer an open question—"that the authority and usage on which that right rests in Europe, and the long, explicit and authoritative admission of it by this country, have concluded us (the Americans) from making it a subject of controversy; and that we are bound in truth and justice to submit to its regular exercise, in every case, and with every belligerent power who does not freely renounce it." (1 *Kent Com., Lecture* 6.)

Mr. Cobden appears to be wholly mistaken in asserting that the Americans intended to resist the exercise of the belligerent right of search of neutral vessels for the purpose of capturing the enemy's property found therein. That right is fully recognized by the Americans. They deny, however, the right to search American vessels suspected of being engaged in the Slave-trade, that not being a *belligerent* right.

Mr. Cobden has confounded these different matters together. It was natural for him to make a mistake on the subject, but he is bound to explain to the public how he came to allege that it was the attitude assumed by the United States, which led England and France to relax the old rule affecting neutrals. Speaking of the United States, he says:

Those who were in a position to observe the manifestations of public opinion in the press of that country, and through the speeches at Washington on the eve of the Russian war, and, still more, they who knew what was passing between the United States Minister in London and the Foreign Office, need not be told that any serious attempt on our part to uphold the right of search, which, I may truly say, is essential to the maintenance of our ancient belligerent rights, would not have been tolerated by that country.

We do not know what was passing between the United States Minister in London and the Foreign Office, but we suspect that nothing of the kind alluded to by Mr. Cobden was passing there. We, however, were in a position to observe the press here, and the proceedings in Congress, and have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Cobden has been misinformed on this subject.

Mr. Cobden says:

But the question which Parliament will have to decide, judging from the sentiments put forward by those organs of the press supposed to be connected with the Government, is whether, having of necessity gone so far, it is not for our interest, beyond that of any other nation, to embrace the offer made to us by Mr. Marcy to exempt private property afloat from capture during war? I have not the least doubt, when this proposal is discussed in the House of Commons, taking for the starting-point of the argument the *status quo*, as settled in the Congress of Paris, which no sane man will dream of disturbing—that there will be all but a unanimous decision in its favor.

It is not probable that the United States Senate will ratify President Pierce's proposition, *if an explanation be added* to the effect that the laws of siege and blockade are to remain in full force, and yet Mr. Marcy's letter, referring to those laws, says that they "interdict all trade with the besieged or blockaded places," and maintains that nothing more ought to be required by belligerents.

If the rule be laid down without any qualification "that the private property of the subjects or citizens of a belligerent on the high seas shall be exempted from seizure by public armed vessels of the other belligerent, except it be contraband," it may and probably will be contended that the laws of siege and blockade cannot thereafter be enforced so as to interfere with private merchant vessels not having contraband goods on board. It is clear that other countries besides the United States would not be prejudiced by the fact that Mr. Marcy's letter assumes that the law of blockade is to remain in force. And it would be contended by the United States that the proper meaning of the words of the new law should not be varied by any expressions in the preliminary correspondence. A similar argument has recently been urged in the controversy respecting the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

One thing may be safely calculated upon, viz.: that the United States will not, in case of war, abide by any declaration respecting belligerent rights, if it finds its enemy obtaining any advantage from it—excuses can always be found for refusing to perform engagements made with the enemy prior to the war—it can easily be pretended with a sufficient show of reason that the other party to the compact has not fulfilled his part in all respects, and consequently that it is no longer of any binding obligation.

Portraits of the Judges at Washington.

The Washington correspondent of the New York *Herald* gives the following description of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States:

The Chief Justice merits the first notice. He is a Roman Catholic in religion, a Jesuit in morals and politics, and was appointed by General Jackson by way of reward for the removal of the deposits. Whatever strength of intellect he may at any time have possessed, has been greatly impaired by old age and ill-health; but although unfit for the duties of the station, he holds on to the office for the sake of the salary.

Judge McLean was also appointed by General Jackson in reward for services against John Quincy Adams, while acting as Postmaster-General, or, as some say, to get rid of him. He has had a hankering for the last twenty years to be President, and ever since 1832 regularly every four years his name is feebly announced by some small newspaper in Ohio or elsewhere for the Presidency. He would have been glad to get the Whig nomination in 1848, and was extremely eager last year, but consoled himself by rejoicing at Fremont's defeat.

Mr. Justice Wayne was also appointed by General Jackson. He had been representative from Georgia and was distinguished as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. He is a good lawyer, a scholar and a gentleman—the only gentleman, in the true sense of that word, on the bench. He has always been regarded as a safe constitutional Judge, conservative but enlightened. It has been much the practice among some of his judicial brethren to disparage and underrate him, but the Supreme Court Reports contain no opinions more distinguished than Judge Wayne's for learning, ability and sound principle.

Judge Catron, of Tennessee, is another of General Jackson's appointments, but no one can imagine for what reason, unless to show the contempt which the General is said sometimes to have expressed for that tribunal. He is certainly as free from any qualifications of a Supreme Court Judge as the horse he is said once to have groomed.

Daniels, of Virginia, is the next in order of seniority. He was appointed by Van Buren, and was one of the worst of the many bad appointments of that administration. His appointment was earnestly resisted by Mr. Clay and other distinguished lawyers in the Senate, as a disgrace to the station; but the influence of the Richmond Junta prevailed. He is narrow-minded, ignorant, and bigoted beyond the extremest measure of Virginia politicians.

Judge Nelson, of New York, is another instance of good luck supplying the place of merit. His ability is about the average of the best of the County Court Judges in the Southern and Southwestern States. He has some little faculty to grasp and understand the constitutional principles involved in the Missouri Compromise.

Grier, of Pennsylvania, was appointed by Polk against his own judgment, yielding to outside influences. His violent denunciation of abolitionists in the Presbyterian General Assembly, of which he happened to be a member, elevated him from some petty judgeship in Western Pennsylvania, to a seat on the Supreme bench. His record as a democratic politician is said not to be very good. He is vacillating in his opinions, rough in his language, rude and vulgar in his manners, without a single quality becoming the high judicial station he unfortunately holds; but he has more intellect than some of his brethren on the bench.

Curtis, of Massachusetts, was appointed by Fillmore, and owes his place to his supple sycophancy and the subserviency of his family to Daniel Webster. He is very much of a wooden nutmeg, and turns an honest penny by making books, which lawyers practising in the Supreme Court have to buy.

Campbell was appointed by Pierce, and is the worst looking man on the bench. He is from Mobile, was the author of the Nashville disunion resolutions a few years ago, and would now be a secessionist if the life office was not a good thing. He adds neither dignity nor learning to the tribunal.

William Smith O'Brien on the Principles of Government. He declares that the British Government is a Republic.

The following is extracted from O'Brien's book, (recently published,) on "Principles of Government; or, Meditations in Exile."

In all monarchies the sovereign is aided by a council, whose advice cannot be wholly overlooked. In some States the name and intervention of the sovereign are used only to give authority and dignity to the determinations of his council. In England, for instance, royalty is little else than a mere pageant. Ever since the Revolution of 1688 the Parliament has been the governing power of Great Britain. No ministry has been able to hold office, except when supported by a majority in Parliament; so that *virtually the Ministers of the Crown have been chosen by the Parliament*. The sovereign has in many cases been prevented from appointing to office those who would have been most acceptable to him; and in the administration of public affairs the ministry so chosen virtually dictate to the sovereign, whilst nominally they receive his commands. Even the language held by the king, in addressing his people from the throne, is not his own. It is an accepted principle that the speeches and acts of the sovereign are the speeches and acts of his ministry. *Until the period of the Reform Bill of 1831-32, the influence prevailing in Parliament was that of the aristocracy.* Even still it may be said that the influence of the aristocracy prevails more in the Government of England than that of either the democracy or of the Crown. It is almost a *misuse of words to call such a constitution a monarchy. It has been* an aristocratic republic, of which the nominal head has been called a king; but that king has possessed less personal influence than has been enjoyed by the President of the United States, or by the chief magistrates of many other republics.

At Sparta, two kings possessed, by inheritance, the title of royalty, but they exercised few of its prerogatives. Their power was so limited, that Sparta must be considered as a republic, in which the prevailing influence was aristocratic in its nature. *Venice was called a republic, but there was less of popular liberty in Venice*

than has existed in many monarchies. It was an oligarchy.

From these observations we conclude that when we compare limited monarchy with a republican form of government, *we ought not to be misled by mere names.* In the organization of the executive department of a state, prudence suggests that the structure of the constitution should be adapted, not to a speculative theory, but to the circumstances of the people for whom it is created.

In England, a limited monarchy is unquestionably more acceptable to the nation at large than the simplicity of republican institutions. It is in the nature of mankind to love pomp and pageantry, and to worship idols. They, therefore, willingly proffer homage to the person or object which they invest with a fictitious grandeur. A democratic republic cannot be permanently maintained in any country, unless there prevail amongst the people such public spirit and intelligence; and even if it be maintained, civic virtues of the highest kind are required to prevent the existence of evils incidental to the abuse of power. In the republics of ancient Greece, oppression was practised by the dominant majority of the multitude, with as much recklessness as has ever been exhibited by the caprice of imperial tyranny. The republic of Rome was never free from faction. The struggles between plebeian and patrician power—between usurping dictators and the vindicators of popular freedom—not only called into action vehement passions of mutual antipathy, but also gave occasion to proscriptions and bloody conflicts; so that it is not surprising that the Romans should have willingly sought refuge from civil contentions under the mild rule of such an emperor as Augustus. The history of the Italian republics during the middle ages presents a continual series of internal dissension and of external conflict. Even the Swiss Confederation does not offer to those who closely examine the constitution of the several states, and the conduct of its internal affairs, much to justify a belief that popular liberty is always found in republican institutions.

These observations are made, not for the purpose of reconciling the reader to the maintenance of tyranny in any form; not for the purpose of deterring him from seeking the greatest possible perfectibility in political institutions; but in order to prevent him from being *misled by mere names*, and in order to convince him that much of evil must be expected under even the most perfect form of government that can be devised.

REMARKS.

Mr. O'Brien is right in saying that "until the period of the Reform Bill of 1831–32 the influence prevailing in Parliament was that of the aristocracy." But since the passage of that act a large majority of the members of the House of Commons has been elected by constituencies composed for the most part of mechanics, laborers, clerks and others dependent upon their industry for their support. And virtually the ministers of the Crown have been chosen by the House of Commons. It cannot be doubted by any intelligent person who takes the trouble to investigate the matter, that the slaveowners—the oligarchy of the South—exercise more influence in the Federal Government at Washington than do the aristocracy of Britain in the Government of that country.

Frequency of Shipwrecks on the Jersey Coast. Inadequacy of Measures adopted by Government.

[From the New York Evening Post.]

Relief for the Shipwrecked.

Another of those shipwrecks, attended with loss of life and severe suffering, which occur with such terrible frequency on the coast of New Jersey during the winter time, has just been announced, and its details *for the twentieth time excite amazement and indignation at the inadequate measures adopted by Government* for the safety or comfort of wrecked mariners and passengers cast upon our shores. No portion of our extensive sea coast has been so often the scene of calamitous wrecks as that long, sandy reach on the shore of New Jersey, which, commencing at Squan Beach, near Sandy Hook, and terminating at Absecom, includes the narrow ridges of sand separated from the main land by Barnegat Inlet, near which the ship *New York* has just been wrecked. The whole region is fatal to commerce and human life, as has been witnessed repeatedly after severe storms, when the shore for miles is strewn with the cargoes and fragments of wrecked vessels, and not unfrequently with the bodies of their crews and passengers. Lying, as it does, directly in the path of vessels bound to this port, the chances are, that in a thick easterly storm, such as prevailed on Friday night, a ship inward bound would lose her reckoning, drift shoreward and be stranded; in which case the safety of all on board would be fearfully endangered.

Such being the character of this coast, and the *frequency of shipwrecks there* in winter being well known, it might be supposed that the Government would provide suitable *accommodations and shelter for wrecked mariners and passengers* who had succeeded in reaching the land. The details of the wreck of the *New York*, which we published yesterday, and others which we have given to-day, show how very inadequate are the means provided for the comfort of her unfortunate passengers. Three hundred men, women and children, in drenched garments, are landed upon the coast, and are forced to remain during two or three days without proper shelter or food, in the cold, and wet and snow, so that some of them perish of hunger and starvation, because a few additional station-houses for their shelter had not been erected on a coast known to be dangerous, and in the winter time the scene of more maritime disasters than any other of equal extent in the country. The only precautions previously taken, it would seem, to secure the comfort of these people, have been the erection of a few hovels, at intervals of five miles, each of which is capable of containing not more than four or five persons without crowding.

Nothing can excuse such culpable neglect to provide for the most ordinary wants of shipwrecked persons, and it is the duty of Congress, admonished by the late disaster, to make an immediate appropriation for the establishment of spacious and comfortable buildings at reasonable distances, in which such persons can obtain shelter and warmth until their removal to this city or elsewhere.

The establishment of life-boats and life-saving apparatus, with a force to man them, is very well as far as it goes, but its efficiency is of little avail, if, after the shipwrecked persons are landed, they are to be exposed on a bleak and inhospitable coast to the full rigor of the storm, without proper shelter. The expense of erecting suitable buildings would be trifling, and the direct practical benefit, as is shown in the present case, very great. It is to be hoped that Congress will act at once, while the details of this shipwreck are fresh in the public mind, as it is very possible that, in the rigorous and stormy winter before us, other vessels, as fully freighted with human beings as the *New York*, may be stranded upon Squan Beach or Barnegat, and their crews subjected to sufferings of equal or greater severity. An appropriation, if passed at once, might lead to the erection of temporary buildings for the reception of shipwrecked persons, and thus some measures be taken to aid the cause of humanity, as that of commerce has been aided by the passage of an appropriation for a revenue steam-cutter for this port.

NEW YORK CITY GOVERNMENT.

Conduct of the Grand Jury and of the Mayor. The Police.

[From the New York Tribune.]

At the close of the labors of the last Grand Jury of this county a resolution was adopted which was intended to impress a belief, in the minds of those who do not understand its secret impulse, that the police force of [illegible] efficient, and requires no remodelling to make it efficient. Let us take a peep behind the curtain. The foreman of this Grand Jury is the Mayor's candidate for President of the Board of Councilmen. He had frequent interviews with the Mayor during the sittings of the Grand Jury. Who wrote the resolution? Whose interest was it that dictated its passage? Who has profited most by the corrupt use of the police in the late election? Who is most interested in creating public opinion in favor of the present police system? Who is devoting his time and energies to attempts to influence our new legislature against any change in our present corrupt and inefficient system of police? Fernando Wood! In fact there *was no investigation* of police doings by this Grand Jury. That resolution was passed in the face of numerous complaints against policemen, lying in the office of the District Attorney, and of numerous indictments for grave offences hanging over policemen. The Grand Jury were either ignorant of these facts, or they were unjustifiable in their attempt to influence public opinion upon the police question.

It is boasted that this was a remarkably efficient Grand Jury. How stood the facts? They found but sixty-seven bills during a session of three weeks. The preceding Grand Jury found, in three weeks, 202 bills, beside investigating the rottenness of the police system, and making presentment accordingly. These are facts about which there is no dispute. If this Grand Jury had desired to investigate the condition of the police, it might have called witnesses who would prove that *warrants have been sent repeatedly to the Captain of the First Ward Police, and never executed, nor attempted to be executed*, upon well known offenders; that *no complaints against the police have been tried for months*, though there are numerous charges of a grave character now pending. Had it investigated the reasons for this delay, as was its duty, it would have ascertained that the *fault lies with the Mayor, in not calling the Police Commissioners together.* If it had pressed the inquiries further, it would have ascertained that *the reason why* he did not call the Commission, was, his knowledge that many of his minions on the police had conducted in such a manner as to merit dismissal from the department, and that even his support could not save them. But probably the foreman did not receive instructions to go into this investigation. We wait impatiently for the action of the Legislature on the subject of the police. We trust it will be animated by a different spirit from that of our late Grand Jury.

A Fremont Man Murdered in Mississippi.

[From the Franklin (Iowa,) Republican, December 19.]

Mrs. Helen Sacia, at present stopping at the "Runion House," asking pecuniary assistance of our townsmen to enable her to reach her friends in New York, presents another to the long list of offences and diabolical outrages committed against those of the North who are induced to move to the South, and dare to express even an opinion having the least bearing upon the interests, imaginary or otherwise, of the slavocrats. The history of the troubles of Mrs. and Mr. Sacia is related to us by the latter as follows:

They removed to Jackson, Mississippi, some eight years since. Coming from the North, as they did, they discovered that they were regarded with some suspicion, yet they were permitted to enjoy comparative peace and freedom from interruption up to the crisis of the past political struggle, when, on being asked to express his political sentiments, Mr. Sacia avowed his partiality for Fremont. Thereupon commenced numerous indications of dissatisfaction, which continued up to the first of the present month, when he was told he must not avow such sentiments, or he would be dealt with. He was not disposed to seal his lips, as he was not aware that he transgressed any law or committed any wrong. A committee of desperadoes repaired to where he was at work, some two miles in the country, and gave demonstrations of their determination to make him cease speaking his sentiments or leave the State. He attempted no resistance, but, as a brave man, told them that he was not going to be gagged or driven. When he said this, one of the party attempted to lay hold of him, whereupon Mr. Sacia knocked the officious villain down, and for this demonstration in self-defence one of the party, whom Mrs. Sacia thinks is named Orbray, shot him.

Now, without exhibiting any compunction for this fiendish act, they immediately informed the wife of the deceased—now lifeless before her—that she could have twenty-four hours to make her exit, or she would receive the fate of her husband. She took them at their word, and reached this point on last Tuesday. She is a lady, genteel and amiable in her manners, and has been unquestionably well raised. Her father is a farmer of limited means, living in Montgomery county, New York, to which she is *en route*.

Office Beggars.

The Washington Correspondent of the New York *Herald*, after commenting on the operations of lobby agents, says:

There is another class that is daily increasing in number who require attention—a party by far more formidable than the lobby agent, but equally unprincipled and soulless. I mean the office beggar or place seeker. It is estimated that not less than five hundred of the

patriots are already in this city, soliciting influence in their behalf. Many of the principals are represented by agents, who are paid in proportion to the number and weight of the names they obtain to their petitions. An agent from New York City, who has undertaken to get filled up a petition favoring the appointment of a notorious "hard" to the office of collector, is promised a hundred dollars for the name of Senator Douglas, legibly written. But this, it seems, he cannot obtain, as the senator does not wish thus early to commit himself. He has, however, received his promise. Speaking of the value of signatures, while Judge Douglas's commands the highest price, that of Senator Cass has a value of only ten dollars, owing to the circumstance that the General not unfrequently, through forgetfulness, signs in favor of a half dozen or more for the same office. The value of the less conspicuous ranges from five dollars to a "private drink;" but, of course, this stockjobbing in the names of our eminent men is a "profound secret," with the parties operating. A "soft" of your city, who is in want of the surveyorship, a few days since applied to General Pierce for his influence with Mr. Buchanan; but the General politely declined the honor of interfering in any party applications with the President elect. This piece of information is communicated for the benefit of parties interested.

It is useless to shirk these agents when they get fairly on the track of their victim. If he is not to be got at in the streets, in Congress, or in the hotels, he will be dogged to his private rooms, and watched over, if he is in bed, for the first opening of his eyes. The number of New Yorkers here, who are collecting materials for an early onslaught upon Mr. Buchanan, are about ten to one to those from any other section of the Union, and fresh arrivals come in every day. The "hards" refuse a recognition of the "softs," whilst the latter claim to be the true Democrats. This state of things promises much trouble to Mr. Buchanan, which can only be avoided by rejecting the claims of the extremes of both factions. On a quire of paper before me I have the names of some two or three hundred candidates of your city who are anxious to serve their country under Mr. Buchanan.

The Panic in the South.

Atrocious Conduct of the Whites. Execrable Laws.

[From the New York Tribune.]

The recent dealings in several Southern States with slaves accused of conspiracy to revolt and overpower or escape from their masters, have exhibited some features which deserve thoughtful consideration.

1. The slaves are not allowed to read, and whoever teaches them subjects himself to punishment; there is no provision even for the reading of the laws within their hearing; yet they are held to a rigid accountability for every violation of those laws—those interdicting the assemblage of more than a small number of black persons, for example, no matter though such assemblage be for religious worship, or to celebrate a wedding or funeral: the penalty is the same.

2. Though slave testimony is good for nothing against white men, it is good enough to hang one another. Even though it be whipped out of a poor frightened creature, by whaling him within an inch of his life, it answers every purpose.

3. Though the laws are all made by white men, and are as severe and one-sided as possible, yet the poor slave suspected of conspiracy to revolt is not allowed even such protection as they proffer him; but let the neighboring white loafers once get the notion in their heads that there is or may be a plot among the slaves of any locality to revolt, and at once they set to work arresting, overhauling, questioning, whipping, torturing, hanging, without the least regard for the sacred rights of property, or the right of the victims to such protection and immunity as the law made by their masters vouchsafes them. "Law and Order" are only respected so long as they operate against these dumb, fettered chattels; wherever they are likely to bear in their favor they are coolly brushed aside.

4. A wise old Book says, "The wicked flee *when no man pursueth.*" Those who doubt this can never have scanned carefully and thoughtfully the history of pretended slave conspiracies and meditated insurrections.

False Alarms. Pretended Negro Conspiracies in New York in former times.

[From the New York Tribune.]

New York was once a slaveholding city. We too have had our lamentable experiences of these slave insurrections, real or imaginary. Take, for instance, the bloody tragedy of which New York was the scene in 1739, occasioned by a supposed plot of the slaves to burn up the city—an alarm which had its origin in the same suspicious sort of testimony which seems to form now the sole basis for the supposed existence of Negro Plots in different parts of the Southern States. Then, as now, the plot was not complete without the introduction of white men to take a part in it. There were then to be sure no Abolitionists, but there were not wanting other objects of equal popular antipathy to put into the places which Abolitionists are now made to occupy. It was said that the Papists were plotting with the negroes to burn down the town; and beside eighteen negroes burnt at the stake, eighteen hanged, and twenty-one transported, the public alarm demanded also the trial, condemnation and execution of an unhappy non-juring schoolmaster, suspected to be a Jesuit in disguise, who had come to New York on purpose to stimulate the negroes to rise in insurrection and burn the city. That we are not now subject here in New York to the same sort of panics, and that we are not driven by them to the perpetration of similar outrages, is less to be ascribed, we apprehend, to any increased enlightenment than to the single circumstance that the abolition of slavery has withdrawn us from the sphere of such excitements.

The New Treaty between Britain and the United States, respecting Central America. Success of Clarendon's Diplomacy against Pierce and Marcy's Credulity.

[From the New York Herald, December 26.]

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty ignored the sovereign pretensions of the Mosquito King, and excluded both England and the United States from any attempt at occupation or colonization of the Central American States. This Dallas treaty sets up the King of the Mosquitoes and his dominions in Nicaragua as forming a separate State, for the support of which Nicaragua is to be taxed, and for the security of which England and the United States are pledged. The two great outside Powers next provide that San Juan or Greytown shall be "a free port and a free city," and they confer very peculiar privileges upon this remarkable community, which poor Pierce denounced to Congress, after bombarding and burning them out, as "a nest of pirates" and "camp of savages." The most credulous simpleton that ever believed in the wisdom of poor Pierce will roll up the whites of his eyes when informed that this "nest of pirates," this "camp of savages," bombarded and burnt out by Pierce's orders some two years ago, has, by a treaty between this very man Pierce and England, been promoted to the highest favors of "a free port and a free city" under the special protection of England and the United States.

In the next place, as if the marking of State boundaries, the sovereignty of the Mosquito King, and the free city of Greytown were not enough, we are brought to the recognition of certain British rights in Honduras, which we had heretofore supposed this Pierce administration regarded as nothing less than British usurpations. And such is the notable scheme at last adopted by poor Pierce for the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine of foreign non-intervention in the affairs of the Central American States! Was there ever such a descent from the sublime to the ridiculous? Was there ever such a miserable joint-stock arrangement made between any two countries under the sun, to enforce, upon Kossuth's plan of intervention, the policy of non-intervention? Was there ever such a capital plot devised for out-filibustering the filibusters?

We have no doubt that this Dallas treaty is entirely the work of Lord Palmerston and his confidential advisers, and that while the labors of our Cabinet have been confined to the simple question of accepting or rejecting this or that proposition, Mr. Dallas has had nothing to do in the matter but to obey orders and sign. We apprehend, too, that the real object of this treaty on the part of England and on the part of Marcy, is, first, to supplant Walker in Nicaragua, and secondly, so far to inveigle us into new complications as to result in the speedy reduction of our influence over all Central America to that of a subordinate and silent partner. *It is Palmerston and Clarendon's diplomacy against Pierce and Marcy's credulity.*

Naturalization Laws.

The New York *Tribune* of December 30, says:

Our State now requires that ten days shall intervene between naturalization and voting. The right principle is here affirmed, but not with sufficient force. In our judgment, the interpolation of "*one year and*" before the words "*ten days,*" in our Reformed Constitution, would secure our citizens against the process of grinding out voters for the sake of their votes in a pending election, and would not be obnoxious to the great mass of our adopted citizens.

REMARKS.—We see no sufficient reason for the proposed change. What is wanted is an efficient registry of voters, whether native or adopted citizens. The period of residence required before naturalization should be diminished, not increased.

The recent Atrocities in the South condemned by one Newspaper in a Slave State. The Future of the White Laborer in the South.

[From the Newport (Kentucky) News.]

We learn from the Russelville *Herald* of Wednesday last (by telegraph) that great excitement exists in the neighborhood of Volrey and Gordensville. A negro, belonging to one of the iron-works of Tennessee, who knew something about their plan for liberty, died by the torture of the lash rather than tell of his brethren who had conversed with him on the subject of their freedom. He received 750 lashes at the hands of white savages (too lazy to do their own work) before he expired. How the people of America can stand by and see such atrocity committed in this professed land of liberty, and that too against a people whose only crime is that of seeking liberty, is more than we can understand. Even Kentucky—how can the liberty-loving people of this State stand it? Will the real producers and *working men of Kentucky* suffer these man-tortures to go on unrebuked until they *themselves fall a prey to these barbarians,* and suffer subjugation by the lash, and be bought and sold like the negro whom they now shoot, hang, or whip to death, for the crime of being known to possess an independent spirit? *If the white working men suffer the black working men to be thus treated, they must soon expect to share the same fate.* The principle is the same. The white tyrant that sanctions a law to enslave black men for the sake of gain would sanction a law to enslave the whites also for the same end, and then cut and slash, shoot, hang or whip to death, all who dared to talk about freedom or self-government. The working classes of the Southern States are too thoughtless of their own doom. Man has enslaved his fellow-man the world over, and in all ages, without regard to color, when he got the power by law to do so, and will do it here on this part of the globe, and in the present age, if he gets the power.

"At Cadiz, Trigg county, Kentucky, yesterday," says the *Herald* of Wednesday last, "a free negro was hung, after being tried by the vigilance committee," and that "a number more are in jail, some of whom will be hung."

A white man was hung not long before this for denouncing this inhumanity to man, and another whipped because his heart was moved with sympathy to witness the horrid abuse of the negro, guilty of no crime but that of a love of liberty.

This, fellow-freemen, is a most horrid state of things to exist in a free country. *The black man is robbed of his labor by* LAW, *and the white man of his by* DREAD; *and not a press in the whole South dare proclaim the fact,* (save the *Newport News,*) lest some tyrant should say, "Stop my paper." Both black and white, that labor for a living, are viewed as animals of like caliber and low grovelling nature, by the wealthy *man-owner,* except that the cringing white man, who reduces his own wages and that of his neighbor by fondling around the slave-master, is least respected. And such as these are used to set on chase after runaway negroes, to bring them back to work for nothing, that white men may also be compelled to beg for a job, and then, like the negro, get only enough to feed and clothe them for it. Oh, sweet institution of slavery! Oh, sweet barbarity! Sweet brutality and murder! Sweet wealth and poverty! Sweet learning and sweet ignorance! Oh, sweet trifling humanity!

You that dare speak out in Kentucky, let us hear your voice! Speak over your own signatures like freemen, or ask for yourselves a rope for the gallows! The time has come when we should know a skulking Tory from a patriot of liberty; and to know whether we must live by acting the tyrant, or die for imitating a Washington!

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE EUROPEAN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE EUROPEAN.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 3, 1857.

The Dwellings of the Poor in the City of New York. What should be done.

A Committee of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, aided by the police of this city, has investigated the condition of the dwellings occupied by the poor, and reports that in twenty districts there are over one thousand two hundred tenement houses of the lowest description, occupied by not less than ten families in each.

In some of these not less than seventy families reside, and into a few, more than one hundred families are crowded.

The Committee state:

Every underground cellar in these tenement buildings, that is not absolutely flooded by water and filth, is made a lodging-room for one or more of these wretched families. All of these are destitute of any species of ventilation; in most of them the floors are thick with putrid mud, and the pipes and sinks communicating with them from the upper apartments give out their offensive and deadly gas, and pollute the air of the whole neighborhood. One of the provisions of the law regulating these matters, should be directed against permitting an underground apartment of any description to be rented or used as a tenement.

The practical results which the Committee propose to secure by legislative action, are:

Ventilation and cleanliness in tenement houses, so that the public health may be promoted, the spread of infectious diseases prevented, and the expenses of public hospitals and alms houses decreased.

An enactment forbidding the renting of underground apartments or cellars as tenements.

Regulations as to building halls and staircases in houses occupied by more than three families, so as to facilitate easy egress in case of fire.

The prevention of prostitution and incest, by providing that only a sufficient number of rooms, in a room properly divided into separate apartments, shall be rented to families, and by prohibiting sub-letting.

The prevention of drunkenness by providing for every man a comfortable home.

In the great ship-building Ward of the city, (the Eleventh Ward,) which has a population of 53,282, the number of dwelling-houses is only 2,218.

These are occupied as follows:

By one family,	263
By more than one and less than five,	889
By five and less than ten,	720
By ten and less than twenty,	309
By twenty and more,	37
Total,	2,218

Average number of persons to a family,	4.24
Average number of families to a dwelling,	5.65
Average number of persons to a dwelling,	23.85

In London, the population was, in 1841, only seven and a fraction to each house; in Liverpool, six and a fraction; in Manchester, five and a fraction; in Edinburgh, six.

There are more owners of real estate in New York (in proportion) than in the towns above named, but that fact is not to the advantage of the great mass of mere laborers and mechanics. Small houses for the accommodation of these classes are erected in British towns, and there is scarcely ever any difficulty in finding a comfortable one at a moderate rent. In the more populous parts of London and other large cities in Britain, large and convenient lodging-houses have been erected for the occupation of working men with their families. In these, a nice suite of apartments, three in number, may be had for a dollar or a dollar and a half per week, and they are distinct and separate tenements. Cleanliness and good order are preserved by the persons having charge of the establishment. These buildings have not been erected for the sake of making a large profit, but they yield a fair return for the outlay, and might easily be made to pay handsomely if the proprietors (who are benevolent and wealthy men) desired it.

We hope to see their good example followed extensively in this city. A beginning has been made; one building, similar to what in London is called a "Model Lodging-house," has been erected on Mott and Elizabeth streets, which is now occupied by poor colored families, and the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor report that the experiment has proved successful.

The State might, by judicious legislation, do a great deal towards improving the dwellings of the poor, and we hold that the funds of the city should be used freely by way of absolute appropriation or loan in aid of the erection of model lodging-houses in sufficient numbers, in suitable localities, with every improvement which modern science can devise. If a few of these buildings be constructed, rents all over the city will fall to a moderate standard, and few or none will continue to pay for the wretched accommodations which they are now compelled to take at such prices as the landlords may choose to demand.

THE LONDON "MORNING POST" ON THE "EUROPEAN."

Criticism of the Doctrine of the "European" respecting the Legality of the Slave-Trade. Reply.

The London *Morning Post*, of December 1, quotes the following from the EUROPEAN, November 15.

The Constitution of the United States does not prohibit the Slave-trade—it merely gives power to Congress to do so—and Congress may repeal the existing laws on the subject. *Neither does the law of nations prohibit the trade, as it has been understood by the Governments of Europe and the United States, and the judiciary in both countries.*

Upon which the *Post* comments as follows:

For the information of those who make this assertion, we beside the memorable declaration of the Congress of Vienna, and the multitude of treaties which this country has contracted for the express purpose of the suppression of the Slave-trade,

HANSARD,

The *Morning Post* might have discovered on perusing another part of the same paper (page 16) the following reference to authorities sustaining the proposition of the EUROPEAN:

In the case of the *Antelope*, (10 *Wheat.* 66,) the Supreme Court of the United States declared that the Slave-trade, though contrary to the law of nature, had been sanctioned, in modern times, by the laws of all nations which possessed distant colonies; and a trade could not be considered as contrary to the law of nations, which had been authorized and protected by the usages and laws of all commercial nations. It was not piracy, except so far as it was made so by the treaties or statutes of the nation to which the party belonged. It might still be lawfully carried on by the subjects of those nations who have not prohibited it by municipal acts or treaties. (1 *Kent. Com.*, 200.)

This is in accordance with a previous decision of the British High Court of Admiralty in the case of Le Louis. (2 *Dodson*, 210.)

The subject has been discussed since the Congress of Vienna, and the British Government has fully recognised the law to be as stated above. The United States has refused to allow British cruisers to search American vessels for the purpose of ascertaining whether they are violating the laws of the United States against the Slave-trade.

A short time ago the *Post* had an article threatening war against the United States if they dared to legalize the Slave-trade. The *Post* evidently spoke hastily and unadvisedly. There is no treaty between England and the United States which could hinder the latter from opening the trade. It is true that the Congress of Vienna denounced the African Slave-trade "as inconsistent with the principles of humanity and universal morality," but each State was left at liberty to determine for itself, or by negotiation with others, the period when the odious traffic should be abolished.

At the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle the proposal to declare the Slave-trade piracy by the law of nations was rejected. The discussion of the Congress of Verona resulted in a mere repetition of the barren denunciations of the Congress of Vienna and that of Aix-la-Chapelle.

As to the Convention for the joint maintenance of a squadron on the coast of Africa by England and the United States, it is only for a limited period; and a report was made in the last session of Congress from the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in favor of withdrawing that force.

THE LONDON "DAILY NEWS" ON THE "EUROPEAN."

Its utility to Europeans on the other side of the Atlantic. Importance of the question whether the United States are likely to assume the reality and form of a Despotism.

[*From the London Daily News, December 16.*]

As regards America, the most important inquiry that can be at present instituted regards the drift and pressure of public opinion. One instructive indication of its tendency is found in the first two numbers of a weekly newspaper, issued in the United States since the Presidential election—and probably in consequence of it—which now lie upon our table. It is called the EUROPEAN, and it seems to be intended chiefly for the service of native Europeans resident in the states. Its object appears to be to give a complete and enlightening view of American affairs, such as is daily needed by that large immigrant portion of the population which has not been brought up like the native American portion, in familiarity with parties and their names, and with the political history of the States for the last eighty years. Such a paper may, if well conducted, become as useful to Europeans on this side the Atlantic as the other, and seeing the difficulty to most people in England of understanding American newspapers, with their party language and necessarily obscure allusions, we must hope that the EUROPEAN will be well managed and attain a vigorous life.

It is of the utmost consequence to every Englishmen to know whether the United States are likely to remain nominally, and become really, a Democratic Republic, or to assume the *reality and form of a despotism*; or whether the two forms of government are to attempt a separate existence side by side. *It is of inestimable importance to Europeans of all nationalities, and especially to Britons, to know what are the prospects of labor and capital in the United States*—questions which bear the closest relation to our emigration and our com-

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merce. It is of vast importance to us, as one of the two or three free countries in the world, to know *what the alliance of the United States are likely to be;* and especially how much truth there is in the spreading persuasion that the most conspicuous and significant and influential alliance in the world—after that of England and France—will be that of the United States and Russia, immediately on the issue of the existing sectional strife becoming known.

THE NEW YORK "TIMES" ON THE "EUROPEAN."

Second Attack. Misrepresentation of the "European's" Review of the First Attack. The "European" not a Police Gazette.

Whether the truth should be concealed from Foreigners. Refutation of the charge that the EUROPEAN *proposes no remedy for any of the existing evils, except a Separation of the Free from the Slave States. The great article in the New York "Times" showing the advantages of the Separation. How it would affect the cause of Liberty in Europe. Emigration to the United States. How the New York "Times" would have the Emigrants treated. Whether European laborers should continue to flock to the United States.*

[From the New York Daily Times, December 29.]

THE WEEKLY ANTI-AMERICAN APPEAL TO FOREIGNERS.—The EUROPEAN is frank in acknowledging the object of its publication, and ingenious in defending it. It confesses that its purpose is to enlist against this country the distrust and hostility of the masses of the people everywhere; and that with this view it does gather all the records of crime, of poverty, of suffering, of malfeasance in office, &c., &c., which it finds in the current journals. But it pleads in excuse that it opposes the Government only as it is now administered—that it resists the domination of the slaveowners, which it thinks will endure "as long as the union between the free and slave States shall continue;" and that it is sustained in these views by the *Times*, from which it copiously and constantly quotes.

Our neighbor we must acknowledge rather "has us" there. We have said a good many hard things about the practical administration of our Government, Federal, State and Municipal. But the EUROPEAN must remember that we *have said all this to our own people*, and for the purpose of rousing them to apply a remedy. This is a very different thing from addressing it *to the people of other countries*, with a view to excite their hatred of the country and induce them to shun it in seeking homes.

The EUROPEAN, moreover, presents a dissolution of the Union as the remedy for the evils it speaks of. We have always regarded it, on the contrary, as certain to aggravate them all. We oppose and denounce all who advocate it, from whatever motive, as enemies to the country and and traitors to the Constitution.

The *Times* has never opposed emigration. We regard it as a source of wealth and national strength. But we have never concealed from ourselves that it has its drawbacks—that one of them is the poverty and ignorance it brings with it, and another is the ambition of those whom it throws on our shores to take the Government of the country and the control of its public affairs at once into their own hands. In the competition of political parties, too much political power, and by far too large a share of political office, have been bestowed upon them. This is the extent of our "leaning" towards the Native American Party.

The EUROPEAN is a vigorous, able and skillfully edited paper. Addressed to foreign readers, it will injure the country to the extent of its influence.

REMARKS.

The *Times* is grossly incorrect in saying that the EUROPEAN confesses that its purpose is as stated above, and that with this view "it *does* gather all the records of crime," &c. The EUROPEAN, so far from making this admission in its review of the *Times* article, asserted that the exact reverse was the case. The EUROPEAN, instead of being a Police Gazette, has never contained a single report of a criminal case in this City or State. We have no room for such matter. Those who want to read it must look to the daily newspapers, and will find themselves very much deceived, if, relying upon the statements in the *Times*, they go to the EUROPEAN for that sort of information.

We cannot concede that the good things said by the *Times* about the practical administration of the Government—Federal, State and Municipal—should not be made known to the people of other countries. The *Times* pleads that it speaks to Americans only, and that for the purpose of rousing them to apply a remedy. But surely foreigners have as good a right as native Americans to be made acquainted with these matters. Foreigners, especially Europeans and the inhabitants of the British Colonies feel a great deal of interest in the working of Republican institutions in America. Moreover, many Europeans contemplate emigration, and it is well for them to learn the facts published by the *Times* and other intelligent journals, so as to be able to determine correctly "whether they should select the United States or some other country for their future residence."

Our purpose in republishing from other papers important articles showing the actual state of affairs in the great Republic is not stated by our cotemporary with his usual accuracy and fairness. We have not confined ourselves to the task of exposing existing evils, but have labored to prove what are the true remedies. Thus we published a carefully written article in the EUROPEAN of November 29, for the purpose of convincing our readers that the evils of the municipal government of this city might be corrected without investing a single individual with almost absolute power for a fixed period of time—which, according to the New York *Daily Times*, was the only true remedy. We contended that the principle of the representative system was entirely opposed to the project, and referred to the English Municipal Reform Act, under which the rate-payers elect their representatives, to whom, and not to a single individual, is the municipal government confided. We argued the question fully and to the best of our ability, and but for the article now under review, should have concluded that we had made a convert of our cotemporary, seeing that he did not at any time afterwards venture to repeat his proposition. But as he now intimates that we never rouse the people of this country to apply specific remedies for any of the evils complained of, it is pretty evident that he never derived any benefit from the teachings of our article "On what Principle a City Government should be Formed," or else that he has ungratefully dismissed it from his recollection.

We apprehend that some others of our cotemporaries, instead of charging us with never propounding any remedies, will declare that we are constantly advocating the adoption of measures of an extreme character for the correction of those terrible social evils which the *Times* contents itself with merely describing.

It is not correct to say that we present a dissolution of the Union as "*the* remedy for the evils" we speak of; but we do maintain that if the free States had separated themselves from the slave States some years ago, the great Northern Republic, having no slaves and no oligarchy, would have gone on improving instead of retrograding—the welfare of the working classes would have been the main object of legislation, and we should not see the condition of the laborer becoming, as it is, daily more and more wretched. "The philanthropist, who is now thrust aside or trodden down by the myrmidons of the Southern oligarchy, would have exercised a beneficent influence amongst statesmen and in society at large."

We cannot admit that the evils now prevailing in the United States are the unavoidable incidents of a popular Republican Government, and we desire our European friends to understand that the true causes of these evils are to be traced to the character of the General Government, and are to be accounted for from the fact that the country is governed by the vilest oligarchy on the face of the earth.

The *Times* assures us that it has *always* regarded a dissolution of the Union as certain to aggravate all the evils which the people of the United States are now laboring under. But we find in the *Times*, of October 20, a leading article showing clearly that such would not be the result, and our readers will find this article reproduced at length in our third number, with a few comments.

It happens to be the only article which has appeared in the EUROPEAN discussing the question as to the results of a dissolution of the Union in a social and economical point of view. In that article, 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, &c., &c.

As to the supposition that the union between the free and slave States is advantageous to the cause of liberty in Europe, we regard it as the acme of absurdity. *The freemen of the North dare not intervene in favor of liberty in Europe, lest the European powers should retaliate by proclaiming freedom to the slaves in this Republic.*

The fact is, that the supporters of despotism in Europe, so far from desiring a separation of the free from the slave States, confidently count upon the destruction of the Republican form of government through the influence of the slaveowners. No assertion can be more senseless than that the despots of Europe *want to see freedom separated from slavery on this continent.* Nothing could happen more fatal to despotism in the Old World. The cause of liberty would gain a mighty ally if the free States were to form a government of their own.

The *Times* protests that it has never opposed emigration, but it holds that "too much political power, and by far too large a share of political office, have been bestowed upon" the emigrants. We maintain, on the contrary, that the adopted citizens have not enjoyed as large a share of the political offices as they were fairly entitled to.

We apprehend that the *Times* agrees with those who hold that if the able-bodied laborers of Europe are permitted to come here to labor for their American taskmasters they ought to be very humble and submissive and evince unbounded gratitude—that they ought to be treated as an inferior class, and excluded from the rights of freemen, and that when they fall sick or become old, they have no claim upon the community for support.

We are quite aware that the *Times* would rather see the immense amount of human misery here increased by emigration than admit that the high-sounding and boastful pretensions of American vanity-mongers are unfounded. Our cotemporary delights in asserting that the paupers and criminals are foreigners—that they cause all the evils which beset society, and that this country would be a paradise but for these unfortunate emigrants. It has never occurred to him that the poor must come almost exclusively from the working-classes, and that want of employment, sickness, &c. would make paupers of Native Americans, if they, instead of foreigners, were the laborers in the great cities.

When we find that one hundred thousand able-bodied persons in this city and neighborhood are seeking employment, and that the *poor are flocking from the country into the towns*, we deem it our duty to warn the people of Europe against being caught in what one of our correspondents calls "this huge man-trap."

ALLIANCE WITH MEXICO.—The New York *Herald* of December 30th says that "Comonfort has sought for means to secure at least some future for Mexico, and has proposed to our Government an alliance which shall strengthen his Government, and bring the influence of our own to bear upon the reorganization of that Republic."

The "Pionier" on the "European."

English Example, when to be followed. Criticism of the Pionier answered. The Name of a Republic. Difference between a Chosen King in a plain Dress Coat, and a Born King in Purple. England a Republic, governed by the House of Commons. How that House is chosen. Smith O'Brien and Kossuth on the English System. Freedom of Discussion on Religious Matters in the United States and Canada. Intolerance in North Carolina and other States.

[From the Pionier—German New York Paper.]

What we object to in the EUROPEAN is, that it finds nothing to blame in England, and appears to represent that country as a pattern for this Republic. But we have attributed that to the weakness which commonly induces the most radical Englishmen to look upon their fatherland, headed by Queen Victoria, as the best republic. As to the rest, we have confidence in the pure republican sentiments of the editors of the EUROPEAN, and do not believe that they would disparage this country if it were free from slavery, and other anti-republican elements.

The EUROPEAN'S defence of emigration to Canada we hold also to be an error. A republican will not settle in a country where a royal name governs. Canada must become republican, and not the United States royalist.

The *Pionier* says he would keep the German emigrants from a country where, though cheap land may be got, and wheat may be raised, yet not a free word can be spoken against the prevalent religion.

As long as no more liberty exists in any other country than here, we would prefer, in spite of Know-nothings, "Democrats," Rowdies, Mosquitoes, &c., to be a street-sweeper in the United States, than a settler under a monarchy.

REPLY.

Our contemporary is not accurate in saying that we find nothing to blame in England, and in assuming that we represent that country as a pattern for this Republic. It is true that in some particulars the Americans might profitably imitate the example set by England, especially the laws for the relief of the poor, the measures recently adopted for the improvement of the sanitary condition of towns, some of the features of the Municipal Reform Act, some of the recent amendments of the law, and of the system of administering justice, &c. &c.

It would not be interesting to our readers to go into details of English, French or German politics, except where some illustration *apropos* to American topics can be brought forward. We must not be understood as preferring every thing English to every thing American, because in advocating reforms here we refer to the experience of England in a variety of particulars where it happens to be in advance. As well might the *Pionier* charge us with seeing nothing to blame in Germany because we have asserted that a superior system of education prevails in that country.

The *Pionier* is quite right in giving us credit for being well disposed towards true Republican principles. We are not, however, misled by names, and certainly do consider the Government of England to be *more* truly Republican than that of the United States; but it by no means follows that we are satisfied with the former. Our contemporary has himself shown that the President is an elective king, and that "a chosen king in a plain dress coat may really be more dangerous than a born king in purple." We transferred to our columns in the the fourth number of the EUROPEAN the excellent remarks of our friend Karl Heinzen, the editor of the *Pionier*, on this point, and took occasion to comment on them, and to compare the English and American systems of government. We then showed that England is governed by the House of Commons, and that a majority of the members are elected by householders paying ten pounds (fifty dollars) a year rent, and observed that "this qualification was low 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."

Our readers will find some interesting reflections on the British Constitution in an extract on another page of our paper, from W. Smith O'Brien's recent book on the Principles of Government, in which he maintains that England is a republic. And Kossuth, in his recent lecture to the working classes of Edinburg, says: "This country is now the only one in which representative government is still standing, and you may believe me that hatred—inexorable, implacable hatred—of this country, is with the despots of Europe the thought of their waking hours, and the dream of their restless sleep."

Our contemporary says, in reference to emigration to Canada that "a Republican will not settle in a country where a Royal *name* governs." Is there really so much in a name, are we indeed to attach so much importance to the difference between "a chosen king in a plain dress-coat" and "a born king in purple?" For ourselves, we should prefer the country where there is but the name of Royalty without the one man power which our contemporary has so argumentatively and eloquently exposed and denounced. We fully agree with him that

"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 *Pionier* errs in supposing that the law here is more in favor of liberty of discussion on religious matters than in Canada or England. The law of New York as well as that of Canada on this subject, is the Common Law of England, and it denounces as blasphemy any attack upon the Christian religion. There have been convictions under this law in New York, but in modern times prosecutions have been discontinued here as well as in England, although the law still remains in force. It should be abolished in all the States, as well as in England and the Colonies.

In our issue of the 20th December may be found the following item:

"UNIVERSALISTS OUTLAWED IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—The Supreme Court of South Carolina has confirmed the decision of Judge [illegible] that members of the Universalist Church are incompetent to testify in courts of justice, according to the laws of that State. By this decision, the Universalists of South Carolina are virtually outlaws, as no member of that religious denomination can collect his debts, swear to an assault, or testify before the Courts in any case, even if his wife or child should be murdered."

Similar laws exist in many of the other States.

Hostility of the European Despots to the Popular System of Government in England.

The *People's Paper*, (Chartist organ,) edited by Ernest Jones, closes a long and elaborate article on the Anglo-French alliance, with the words: "Let none forget, either that *Republican France will always be the ally of England—Imperial France must always be her enemy.*" This accords with the views of all enlightened Radicals in England, who although they may strive for political and social reforms are yet quite alive to the fact so eloquently described by Kossuth: "This country (England) is now the only one in which Representative Government is still standing, and you may believe me that hatred—inexorable implacable hatred—of this country is with the despots of Europe the thoughts of their waking hours, and the dream of their restless sleep."

The Height of Absurdity. The American Press on the Arrowsmith Hoax.

The London *Times* of December 11, has an article admitting that Mr. Arrowsmith's statements respecting certain alleged outrages committed on a railroad in Georgia, are overthrown by the statements of Mr. Cuyler, the President of the Central Railroad in that State.

In the EUROPEAN of December 13, we published a letter from Mr. F. C. Adams, contradicting the statements of Mr. King, President of the Georgia Railroad, published in the London *Times*, that there had been no duel in the State for twenty years, and boasting of the excellent conduct of the passengers on the Georgia railroads. Mr. Adams says, that he recollects twelve or fifteen duels, with the incidents of which he became familiar during a few years residence in Georgia, and that duels between unimportant individuals are not there considered entitled to a passing notice. He adds, however, that the Georgians make it a point to step across the Savannah River into South Carolina to fight duels, in order to evade the laws of their own State.

As to the mildness and gentlemanly deportment of the passengers on the Georgia Railroads, Mr. Adams says, that in two instances he witnessed cases of stabbing between passengers on those railroads, and that the very hand with which he wrote this letter bore visible testimony of his interference to preserve peace in one of the cases referred to.

The EUROPEAN did not publish Mr. Arrowsmith's letter, having reason to doubt his veracity. But it is amusing to witness the eagerness with which this story of Mr. Arrowsmith is proved to be a fiction. In the same number of the EUROPEAN in which we published Mr. Adams' letter, will be found an article from the Baltimore *Sun* of December 10, in reference to this matter, in which it is alleged that any story, however absurd, if only sufficiently defamatory of the Southern States, will be credited by a portion of the British press and people. This same paper, the Baltimore *Sun*, of the same day and the previous day, contains items showing a state of society in that city in comparison with which Arrowsmith's stories are insignificant. The *Sun*, of December 9, says that Sabbath-day amusements in Baltimore consist of "pistol fights between rival crowds of youths, whose ages are said to range from ten to sixteen years."

The same paper of 5th December says, that the carrying of deadly weapons has become general, and that the youth are "growing up with a prevailing notion that killing is in no technical sense a venial thing." The same paper of 14th November, says that the city is paraded by bands of ruffians armed to the teeth, "utterly indifferent to, if not defiant of the nominal municipal authorities."

"And this is but the index to a purpose the consummation of which has, over and over, startled the public ear—*the deliberate act of homicide, the killing of men upon the slightest provocation, upon no provocation at all, and in one instance at least, as a sort of* PASTIME, consistent it is true with the character and tastes which recent events have brought into view. *We know, all of us, that the very diabolism of murder is abroad in the community. Men's hearts are full of it. It would be the merest affectation to deny that it is so, or to modify the expression of the fact. A very considerable number of men and youths in this community are at this day utterly bereft of an adequate sense of the crime of murder.* Blood-guiltiness is with them reduced to its very minimum as an offence against society. And it is fit that we should fairly ask ourselves the question *whether there are not very many who are ambitious of distinction among their fellows for having killed their man.* Concede that this is so—we do not doubt it—and what a hideous emulation must be secretly agitating the minds and hearts of too many of the profligate youth banded in vicious associations amongst us."

And the *Sun* of December 10, announces that fourteen indictments for murder had been presented in the City of Baltimore in one term for murders committed in that City.

After all this, to make a great fuss about the exposure of the Arrowsmith hoax is simply ridiculous. It may be compared to a case where a man defends himself with great vehemence against a charge of petty larceny, and at the same time shows that he has committed murder, burglary and arson. The *Sun* after making these precious revelations is so preposterous as to say, "it really behoves us to be *rather cautious how we tell the truth, where such snappers up of inconsiderate trifles may hover about us, as roving correspondents of the London Times.*"

The New Maritime Law; Effect of the Law of Blockades. Opinion of the New York "Herald" that a Modification of Mr. Marcy's Proposition is necessary.

The New York *Herald* of November 27th has an article stating—

That the reasonableness of the American doctrine touching the rights of merchant vessels in time of war is becoming more apparent to the people and governments of Europe.

The *Herald* assumes that the realization of the project is a mere matter of time, but that some modification of the American proposition is necessary. The modification referred to is not explained. Doubtless, the United States would like to have the absolute immunity of ships of commerce established, and consequently the laws of blockade repealed.

The *Herald* says:

Mr. Marcy offers if foreign powers will agree not to molest merchant ships, to dispense with privateers; but, really, were England to strike a bargain with us on those terms, the advantage would be all on her side. Her Royal Navy, set free from the old familiar duty of [illegible] merchantmen, would be quite at leisure to blockade our ports. Before we could make any defence, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans and San Francisco might be closely blockaded, and the ships that were loaded could not get out, or the ships that were at sea return to port. It strikes us that we should look particularly [illegible] such a [illegible] as this, with our [illegible] privateers, and our merchant vessels free as the air of course, but obliged to sell [illegible] Holland.

As to the use of privateers, we regard it as of no consequence. But the right to employ the cruisers of the United States in harassing British commerce may be [illegible] if the new Marcy [illegible] proposed by Mr. Marcy be not adopted.

How the Poor are Relieved in New York.

(From the New York Herald, December 20.)

[illegible] Yesterday morning a man whose appearance indicated [illegible] as well as the love of liquor, appeared before Justice Brennan, on a charge of intoxication. The Justice reprimanded him and told him he might go, whereupon he begged [illegible], and in the most urgent terms [illegible] during the winter, as he had no home and no means of gaining a livelihood. The Justice was moved by his appeals, and [illegible] him with a [illegible] months' imprisonment in the Penitentiary. The prisoner, in this double capacity of offender and prisoner, left the Court rejoicing, and took the road to the "metropolitan" in order to spend the dreary winter months.

Wretched Condition of the Laboring Classes in Philadelphia. Statistics of Education in that City.

(From the New York Tribune.)

We have received a pamphlet containing two vigorously written letters on the Public Schools of Philadelphia, which the writer, Mr. Thomas L. Kane, describes as "thrown away on the Board of Comptrollers." The authorities of that goodly city are also apparently meeting with the same difficulties in respect to education as those of our own wicked metropolis. Mr. Kane certainly does not draw a flattering picture. "Complaints arising from all quarters, from owners of dwellings, stores, wharves and workshops, of the youthful beggars and [illegible] pilferers! Every magistrate called upon to commit boy thieves, boy incendiaries, boy rioters, [illegible]. The jails, the [illegible] and [illegible] Houses full, the House of Refuge also at a yearly cost, including interest, of $61,000."

Out of the 443 children in the Philadelphia House of Refuge between the ages of twelve and fourteen, [illegible] cannot read at all, and but one-eighteenth can read understandingly! Of the 80,000 children under six years who are old enough to be sent to school, 30,000 are almost entirely neglected by their parents and left on the streets. In the Public Schools, which in Philadelphia, as here, have broken up many of the private schools, the number of children in attendance between the ages of six and sixteen, is computed for the year 1854 at 44,508; the number of persons of the same age in the city, by the United States Census, is given at 109,456—showing a non-attendance of boys and girls during the years when school-training is most valuable, of over 64,000. *The proportion, also, of attendance is declining.* The increase of population in Philadelphia since 1850 being 30 per cent., of attendance on the Public Schools only 11.71 per cent.; showing that the increased population does not at all bring with it a proportionate interest to share in the means of education.

These are astounding figures to be given of a city like Philadelphia, where police control can be exercised so much more efficiently than in New York. There are, it is true, certain causes for this state of things there, which do not exist here; one principal reason being, an absurd law forbidding the Public Schools to receive any child under six years of age. Still, the numbers of children between six and sixteen who do not go to school, show substantially the same evils which our schools suffer from here, and that there is a large, increasing, dangerous class, whom the means of education do not reach. The Public Schools, whether of Pennsylvania or of New York, are good; but for some reason, which the public should understand, they are not educating the masses who most need education. Let this great want and danger be plainly kept before our citizens. Here are in the City of New York, some fifty thousand boys and girls, growing up without that special education which we have hitherto thought indispensable to the safety of the commonwealth. They are to be, we will not say victims, but ignorant, untrained men and women. They are to enter on the duties of citizenship without being able to read even a newspaper [illegible] of course, to be led by the men by every [illegible] demagogue. They are to be fathers and mothers, without valuing or in any way aiding in the education of their children. The greatest safeguard against intemperance, a taste for intelligent pursuits, they will never have. Many of them will be drunkards, many idlers, some prostitutes, some thieves and vagabonds. At the best and most hopeful view, they tend to form a great, ignorant, independent class at the base of society, "dangerous," like a similar class in Europe, because ignorant.

How is this impending calamity to be met? This is the question for our citizens and our city government. We have already sketched a plan for the formation of Public Schools by the Board of Education, which at all events [illegible] the Industrial Schools already established by private benevolence to meet the wants of this class of children. We have reason to believe that much attention has already been given to our suggestions. [illegible] the details of such a plan must be worked out by those more thoroughly acquainted with the subject; but at least we may ask [illegible] the Board of Education, that the time has now come for action, and the public would [illegible] remedy for these widely extended evils.

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.

Persia, Russia and England. Anticipated Conflict.

A despatch from St. Petersburg, of the 4th ult., states that 30,000 Russians commanded by General Hersfeld, are ready to march upon the frontiers of Persia at the first call of the Shah. *Le Nord* of the 9th has a long article on Persia, which country, it remarks, is "gradually [illegible] as a field of battle upon which, at no [illegible] distant [illegible] will be measured the relative strength of two great powers, which are at the same time European and Asiatic, and where will be ultimately decided the Great Question of Asia." The writer [illegible] by article [illegible] the Conquest of Russia is bound to [illegible] with the Shah [illegible] foreign enemy, [illegible] with the affairs of Persia, and that the Court of Persia will be [illegible] by the help of the Court of Russia."

(From the London Morning Post, December 4.)

Oxford Workingmen's Educational Institution.

It is with much pleasure that we announce the success of this excellent institution, which has now been established twelve months. The first annual report exhibited the total receipts as £54, and expenses at £19 6s 6d, leaving a balance of [illegible] 6d to the credit of the institution. This, we believe, is one of the few instances of an institution like the above paying its way, a fact attributed in a great measure to the gratuitous services rendered by several talented members of the University, and townsmen of Oxford, whose praiseworthy efforts have been carried on in the following subjects, viz.: instruction in elementary drawing, Mr. Taylor; advanced drawing, Mr. Richardson; English and Latin grammar, Mr. Andrews; French, Mr. Philitz; chemistry, Mr. Maskelyne; English composition, Mr. Joe Blake; botany, Mr. Masters; anatomy, Mr. Dowson; short-hand, Mr. Hearne; and mathematics, Mr. Smith. The adult male and female schools, intended for working-people, who have received little or no education, are also conducted by Mr. Andrews. The latter has been most successfully carried on under the instruction of several young ladies, who have bestowed considerable time and attention upon the work, while the male adult school is not so well attended as might be desired, it being much easier to obtain teachers than scholars. During the past year, fifteen interesting lectures on various subjects have been delivered in the institution, which now numbers two hundred and sixty members. The secretary has made known that competent teachers could be found to instruct on any subject [illegible] if a class of ten could be formed. In proof of the principles of the Oxford Institution being well founded and appreciated, we may state that numerous applications have been received by the secretary (Mr. Castle) from gentlemen desirous of establishing similar institutions in other towns. A dinner, to commemorate the foundation of the institution, will take place this evening (Monday) in the Town Hall, Oxford, when it is expected upwards of three hundred workingmen will sit down. A public meeting will afterwards be held, when the Rev. Professor Maurice, the founder of the Metropolitan Workingmen's College; Mr. [illegible], Deputy Professor of Mineralogy in the University of Oxford, and other gentlemen interested in the work of education and supporters of the Oxford Institution, will address the audience.

Austria and Russia.

The [illegible] *Zeitung* (Austrian Journal) of December 7, says:

During the Oriental War the Austrian policy was accused of double dealing, of standing with one foot in the Russian and the other in the Western Camp. But now that peace is established, it is evident that Austria [illegible] against its mighty neighbor a decided and [illegible] position indicated by its geographical and political position in the East only. The questions of the Serpent Island, the Bessarabian frontier and the Danubian Principalities, are in themselves of less importance than the circumstance that amongst all the continental States, Austria is most earnestly opposed to Russia on these questions.

This clear position of Austria against Russia indicates neither hatred of the Russian nation nor hostility against the Russian Cabinet [illegible] the warmth of Russian feeling in regard to the West [illegible] the Russian policy [illegible] knowledge [illegible] the divergence of Austria and Russia will inevitably become evident more and more.

[illegible]

As the press of Austria is not allowed to utter anything about politics but what is approved of by the Austrian Government, the hints here conveyed are very significant. Perhaps the recent liberal amnesty of former Hungarians or revolutionists, and the restoration of their sequestered estates, are intended as a step in the same direction. For if Austria should get into a war with its "mighty neighbor," it will be well for her to have the good will of all its subjects, and, above all, it may be deemed necessary to pacify the Hungarian revolutionary elements, which may prove exceedingly troublesome in such an emergency.

The Position of Affairs in Switzerland.

(Correspondence of the New York Abendzeitung.)

Since the return of Dufour from Paris, and after it became known that his mission had not terminated quite satisfactorily, the Swiss press (which hitherto unanimously approved of the firm position of the Federal authorities against the Prussian demands) begins to

waver, and some of the papers counsel conciliation. The weakening of the Western Alliance is a misfortune for the whole of Europe, but more especially for Switzerland, because England is thereby prevented from carrying out her good intentions towards the Swiss Republic.

Le Pays, the organ of Walewsky, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, has promulgated this fact openly, by its threats against England and Austria, and by its open proclamation of the unity of France and Russia. It is noticed that the official English press is again more polite towards Napoleon.

These vacillations exert their influence on the *Neuenburg* question. With all the "friendly intentions of the Emperor towards Switzerland," his former adopted country, which risked a war with Louis Philippe for the then refugee, the French Minister declared to Gen. Dufour, the former tutor and friend of Napoleon, that the late government of *Neuenburg* had given solid guarantees to France in regard to troublesome refugees and to the press. Insinuations of this character do not fail to influence *some* Swiss statesmen against the "foreign element," and the persecutions of foreigners may be the consequence, although this will be a triumph for French diplomacy, by compelling Switzerland to degrade herself before the usurper.

From the official report of the Swiss Legislative Committee on the demands of Russia, it is clear, that Prussia intends to demand that the prisoners be delivered up, in order to acquire thereby a legal acknowledgment of its "sovereignty over Neuenburg," and the Swiss authorities are, therefore, perfectly justified in not acceding to these demands, as the liberation of the prisoners would imply the complete acknowledgment of the title of the Prussian King to Neuenburg. As the king, in his speech from the throne, has hinted at the probability of hostile measures against the Republic, in case of her non-compliance, Switzerland prepares herself actively for any possible eventualities. Besides the 100,000 francs which was saved last year from the military *budget*, an appropriation of 230,000 francs has been made on the 24th of November, for military purposes. The Swiss Republic is capable of obtaining an army of 163,000 men, not including the National Guards.

KOSSUTH'S LECTURE TO THE WORKING CLASSES IN EDINBURGH.

He Lauds Canning's Opposition to the Continental Despots, Their Present Hatred of England.

[From the London Times.]

We extract the following from the report in the *Times*, of the above lecture:

The lecturer referred to the period when George Canning so determinately resisted the efforts of despotism that the uplifted arms of the despots fell before his words, and when under his genius England stood forth with her head high, a lion amid crouching dogs, and first amid the Powers of the earth, because the champion of right and justice. A cry of enthusiasm went through the land as the manifestoes of that eminent Minister went forth, and the despots felt they dare not challenge Great Britain, because they knew her strength and power would be irresistible, for whole nations would rally round the banner of national independence which she so proudly upheld. [Cheers.] Oh, that Canning had lived till 1848! Then not all the Czars in the world would have dared to raise a finger against the independence of Hungary. We should have been free and happy; Italy would have been free; you would have been spared the late fruitless war, and would still be the first nation under the canopy of Heaven. [Loud cheers.] But, as Mr. Roebuck had said, "England has now only to do what her big brother chooses." He went on to say that under the hideous sway of the despotic system all was at present darkness, depression, and desolation on the continent. This was a state of matters well fitted to engage the patriotic solicitude of the British people—a people whose instincts were more uncorrupted instincts than those elders in Israel who continued to offer the incense of propitiation to the golden calf of successful crime. [Cheers.] The interests of Britain, who had to preserve liberty, were perfectly identical with those who had to reconquer it. Great principles, he proceeded to say, thrive solely from expansion alone. A principle that does not extend itself is doomed to wither like a sapless tree. The despots of the Continent perfectly understand the truth, and have succeeded but too well in carrying it out. The American slaveholders, with their oligarchy of color—*the worst of all oligarchies*—understand it, and are ready to risk life, fortune, and even the existence of the American Union, for the extension of their execrable system. Principles, good or bad, can subsist only by extension. It is, indeed, the hereditary curse of mankind, that virtue should be blind, but vice ever active and far seeing! *This country is now the only one in which representative government is still standing, and you may believe me, that hatred—inexorable, implacable, hatred—of this country is with the despots of Europe the thought of their waking hours and the dream of their restless sleep.* And how could it be otherwise, when, though purple crime walks there with dilated front, incorruptible public opinion here brands it with the stigma of infamy, and holds it up to the execration of the cotemporary age, and to the reprobation of future history? [Cheers.] How should they not hate this country when the poor, homeless exile may speak as I am speaking, and raise an echoing thunder of approbation from the lips of millions? [Cheers.].

[*Comments of the London Times.*]

The *Times* devotes a long and elaborate leader to Kossuth's lecture. We extract the following passage:

"What stands," he asks, "between the raising of the world's arm and its falling on the neck of despotism? It is the momentary success of one man—only one man—a poor worm of the dust, doomed to return to dust, and his name is Louis Napoleon Bonaparte." Now, we beg to remind M. Kossuth's hearers that we expressed our opinion freely enough at the time while, it might be supposed that the usurpation was so incomplete that it might be reversed; yet, when the French had acquiesced, it was not for us to stand out. The Jewish king fasted and wept while there was hope of his child, but when the child was dead, he washed and ate food. It can answer no good purpose to reopen a question settled by those who have the power to settle it. We shall no more discuss the usurpation of the present Emperor than we shall that of Louis Philippe, or that of the first Napoleon, or the crimes of the Revolution, or the follies of Louis XVI., or the abominations of the Regency, or the fond pride and fatal ambition of Louis XIV., or the imbecility of Louis XIII., or the politic conversion of Henry IV., or any other of the numerous blots in that long royal line. In these columns, at least, we let our own Stuarts and Tudors alone, unless their conduct happens to throw light on some present alternative. M. Kossuth does not venture to tell us what to do. He does not tell us, for example, how we are to proceed to-day on the new mode of viewing things he would have us take from him. The only practical inference we can gather from his philippics is that by this next post we are to send word to all our Ambassadors and Ministers abroad, to quit the courts of St. Petersburg, Vienna and Paris, to rescind all the treaties and understandings we have made within the last ten years, to sweep every piece off the board, and invite our antagonists—that is, the three most powerful potentates of Europe—to begin a new game. Our sole reliance in this tremendous enterprise is to be certain nationalities, for whose resources, after ages of oppression, and whose honor, under all possible trials, we are to have the word of M. Kossuth. If he does not advise this course, what does he advise? If he advises nothing, to what purpose all this abuse?

Progress of the Slavery Extensionists. Southern Sentiments respecting White Laborers.

[From the London Morning Post, December 5.]

We do not, indeed, expect to see the hero of the [illegible] amenable to the dictates of common sense any more than he was to those of gentlemanly feeling. But Mr. Brooks, and his most ferocious supporters will find now that *many who were with them* [illegible] *their* [illegible], that those who see how the course recently pursued by the advocates of the extension of slavery upon this great, and, in fact, vital question has already converted the easy triumph of four years back into the stubborn and doubtful struggle which has just passed under our eyes, will also see that a continuance in that course will, at the next election, throw the power of the State into the hands of their opponents. Had the slave-owning States been content to retain their peculiar institutions and peculiar property, the North would have probably had no disposition, and undoubtedly no title, to interfere; for the Abolitionist party, though eager enough, formed no power in the State. But the South has been now for many years pertinaciously aggressive, and men who would willingly have preserved peace, have been, against their will, placed on the defensive. Eighty years ago slavery existed in but few States to any very considerable extent. It was already defunct in some, it was dwindling away in others; most people supposed it was on the point of dying out in all—but the face of affairs is changed now. It is rampant in its own territories, invasive in others, grasping everywhere. It is not that freedom has failed in putting down slavery, it is that slavery has actually, day after day, gained upon freedom, until it threatens to put freedom down. It has even created a sort of royalty to itself. A series of very violent and very absurd extracts from American journals, which went the round of the newspapers a few weeks past, and of which we inserted a few of the most truculent at the time, must not be taken as the effusions of rabid editors, foaming at the mouth with excitement, and appealing to the worst passions of their most violent readers. Those sentiments are actually shared by many in perfect good faith; but at all events, the whole South—six millions of whites and three of blacks—are *compelled to endorse them*, and they have supporters elsewhere too. It was in a New York paper that the modest and temperate proposal was put forth to sell all the poor Germans and Irish into slavery—a startling application of the doctrine now propounded for the first time in North America, that color has nothing to do with slavery; a doctrine in itself a frightful sign of the time. That the change of policy which is essential to the continuance of the Union may be effected without violence, and in the spirit of the Constitution, which provides for its own preservation, is the most sincere wish of the English nation; but we cannot shut our eyes to the magnitude of the interests now dependant on the judgment, the moderation and the impartiality of Mr. Buchanan.

REMARKS.

The *Morning Post* does not seem to be aware of the fact, that whereas the friends of liberty in Kansas were in a majority in the House of Representatives before the late election, they will be in the next session in a minority. The recent elections have been disastrous to the cause of liberty, and the South has received the greatest encouragement to proceed in its course of slavery extension. Formerly the North was unanimous against it, so far as regarded the Territories lying north of Mason and Dixon's Line, but that is so no longer. There is now a strong minority in the free States willing to act with the South.

[From the New York Times, December 27.]

A Detestable Tyranny.

We have seen nothing in the current history of the day more censurable than the attempt made in certain quarters to bring the power of the Government to bear against the circulation of the *Weekly Tribune*. It has been customary for years for postmasters to distribute among subscribers packages of newspapers that may come to their address for that purpose—receiving for the service such compensation as they may deem satisfactory. So long as it interferes with no public duty, it is difficult to understand what just objection can be urged against this course, if they see fit to adopt it. To present cavil, however, the publishers now direct the bundle to some one of their subscribers, who takes it from the office, directs each paper and returns them for delivery. We find in a zealous Western Democratic paper the following protest against this:

The law governing such a case is this: The one who receives the bundle of papers is liable for the postage on delivery, either per week or per quarter *in advance*, and when once taken from the office, he has no right to return them for a second delivery at all.

It is supposed that Postmasters throughout the country are Union men, put in the office and kept there by the *great Democratic Union Party*, and it is not expected of them that they will transcend their official duties and devote their services to the exclusive benefit of *a Abolition paper*.

We submit to the paper from which this is taken, that it is carrying party feeling a good deal too far. If the Postoffice Department existed solely for the benefit of the dominant party it might be excusable. But it is supposed to be maintained for the common good, and certainly it ought not to be made an engine of oppression to so large and important an interest as the one here involved.

Systematic Robberies at New York Fires. Dishonesty of "Disguised" Firemen and Policemen.

[From the New York Times of December 30.]

It is no little humiliation to think that there is scarcely a city in the world where robbery can be effected with such impunity as in this metropolis. Thieves here, if they have ordinary sagacity, are safe from detection and punishment. . . .

We are unwillingly led to this conclusion from an event—*one out of a thousand*—that recently occurred in the upper part of the city. A fire broke out at an early hour one morning, in a house in Clinton place, and from the pressing danger of the moment, the inmates were compelled to hurry into the street, without being able to carry away any property of value. The fire was suppressed within half an hour; but brief as the time was, a robbery on an extensive scale was effected. Watches and jewelry, to the amount of $1,000 and more, were swept off in the most systematic manner. Every room was visited, and nothing that could be easily removed was left behind.

Now, this fire occurred in a quarter of the city were thieves and vagabonds do not usually congregate. Nor had they time to assemble there. No alarm was given, and with the exception of a few persons who resided in the adjoining houses, there were none present except firemen and policemen. None, at least, entered the house. The conclusion, therefore, is that *the robbery was effected by parties disguised as firemen or policemen.* It would seem that, with the simplest precaution, a practice that reflects alike upon the fire companies and upon the police, *might* be arrested. *It is not an accidental occurrence, but one systematically carried on at every fire*—and to such an extent, that a citizen of New York, if he had the choice, would prefer to see his property burnt, than abandon it to the tender mercies of those who are so anxious to save it. If it were of any use, we would suggest that some energetic measures be adopted at once to suppress this crying evil. None should be more earnest in the matter than the firemen themselves, who, as a class, are as respectable as any other. Unfortunately, however, some of the worst characters manage to *join the organization*, and when people are in misfortune, find ample facilities for pursuing their peculiar vocation.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Management of Slaves—by a Slaveowner.

A correspondent of the New Orleans *Delta* proposes that overseers shall be required to obtain a license, and also that slaves shall be allowed to give evidence.

The qualifications of *overseers* (involving experience, skill, character and habits) should be determined by a board of experienced planters, upon the evidence of those for whom they had managed, and a thorough examination; and the relative amounts of their respective salaries fixed accordingly, and stated in their certificates or licenses; and whenever any member of the fraternity is guilty of any act of omission which, in the opinion of the board, operates as a disqualification for the proper performance of his duties, let his license be withdrawn, and his further employment be forbidden.

Negroes being generally the only persons cognizant of offences committed by overseers, their testimony should be received by the Boards, Courts or Judges leaving the question of credibility subject to such tribunals.

Should such laws and regulations be adopted and rigidly enforced, the interests of the planters, and the well-being and happiness of their slaves would be promoted; the position and character of overseers would be elevated, and their services rewarded according to their merits, and not according to the exigencies of their present, or the false testimony of their past employer.

An English Lecturer on the Progress of Slavery in America.

We extract the following passages from the lecture lately delivered by W. E. Foster, Esq., in the theatre of the Bradford Mechanics' Institute, on "The Progress and Prospects of American Slavery," as reported in the Manchester *Examiner*:

"He contrasted the slavery of the continent of Europe with that of America, and considered that freedom was in much greater danger in the United States than on the European continent. Slavery on the continent was political slavery, but what was that compared with the social and domestic slavery which came up from within, which was bound up with the very sinews and life-blood of the nation, which fed upon and grew with the growth of the nation? Wherever slavery existed, labor was decried; the owner detested labor, the slave hated labor, and the freeman, who was brought down, joined in the feeling, and turned out a worse workman than if in a free country. . . .

There was in American slavery a worse feature than that—one we could hardly have believed to exist in a savage nation, much less in a nation which boasts itself to be one of the most civilized nations of the world, for it was an indisputable fact, that in very many cases the slaveholders themselves sold their own mulatto children to the down-south plantations. Frequently they escaped from the coach, and were hunted through the woods with dogs. He did not until recently believe that dogs were used to hunt runaway slaves, but it had now become quite a matter of fact, as he found in the paper advertisements from the keepers of packs of dogs expressly for hunting runaway slaves at $25 a head, the slaveowners to "inquire at the printers." . . .

Jefferson, who was himself a slaveowner, said, "If ever our slaves should rise against us, the Almighty has no attribute which would be on our side." [Applause.] He traced the gradual annexation of territory to the slave States, including Missouri, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, &c.; exposed the Nebraska and Kansas conspiracy; and detailed the outrages recently committed by the Missouri men, or border-ruffians, to show what sort of men had carried the election in Kansas over the free immigrants. The Southern planters had got the administration of the Union, they pulled the wires of Government, and dispensed its patronage, and every man who desired place, pay or patronage, pandered to the men of the South. It was thus that, in almost every contest that had happened, the South had beat. We had good reason to fear that upon every spot of this great Territory there would eventually be slavery, even in California there was a strong feeling in favor of it; in Utah the Mormons had expressed their willingness to have slaves; in Oregon the same was to be feared; General Walker, the fillibuster, who had conquered Central America, within the last week or two had declared that there also should be slavery; and many of the Southern planters were already purchasing plantations with the view of stocking them with slaves.

Renewal of the Slave-Trade.

[From the London Morning Post, December 8.]

We have of late yielded much, perhaps too much, to our exacting neighbors on the other side of the Atlantic, but they may rely that *we will not consent to a revival of the African Slave-trade.* No British Minister will now listen to so inhuman a proposition. Indeed, it argues a strange amount of ignorance of the state of feeling in England, and in Europe generally, that such a project should be seriously discussed in any part of the United States.

We have been led into these reflections by the strong remarks which a contemporary has thought fit to make with regard to the project in question. If we recollect aright, no metropolitan journal more strenuously advocated, a few years ago, the withdrawal of our cruisers from the African coast, and consequently an unrestricted Slave-trade than the *Daily News*. Our contemporary, however, has now changed its tone, and, regarding it as the organ of a large and influential class, we view the change with no slight satisfaction. Referring in a recent article to the project in question, it says: "This is an enterprise which the rest of the world has an interest, moral and social, to interdict, and certainly will interdict. The whole civilized world has an interest, moral and social, in the civilization and elevation of Africa, and the nations of Europe are not likely to allow a handful of Americans to stop the honest and innocent commerce and agriculture which are at length, after infinite pains taken by various parties on both sides of the Atlantic, superseding the old and abominable traffic in slaves," &c. In these sentiments we need hardly say that we entirely agree. We believe that the civilized world will not permit the revival of the Slave-trade; and we believe that the suppression of that trade to the north of the equator has led to a large and rapidly increasing traffic in palm oil, ivory, cotton and other valuable products. We believe that, provided always the Slave-trade is kept down, this legitimate commerce is capable of indefinite extension; and, what is more, it is that alone which can eventually open up the hidden resources of the African continent, and confer upon its rude inhabitants the blessings of civilization.

Remarks.—Our readers will find in another part of this paper, that the *Morning Post* is mistaken in supposing that the Slave-trade cannot be renewed by the United States without the consent of England.

Shakers in Kentucky.

[From the New York Times, December 27.]

A society of Shakers settled in Mercer County, Kentucky, in 1807, and still remain there, thrifty, industrious, unobtrusive, comfortable and quiet, as they are everywhere. They began with a farm of 100 acres, and now have about 5,000, worth from $50 to $100 per acre. The community is divided into five "families," comprising between three and four hundred members. Their buildings are principally of brick and stone, and their fields are separated and inclosed with substantial stone walls, one man being constantly employed in building and repairing them. Forty miles of wall has cost them about $40,000. They have 500 head of cattle, mostly short-horns, from the best imported stock. Great care is taken of their cattle, and they thrive upon a course of feeding that is at once economical and wholesome. Cutting machines are operated by horse-power, capable of preparing a ton of feed in a very short time. The cuttings are mixed with a meal of corn and rye, ground fine. In 1855 they raised 3,100 bushels of wheat on about 100 acres, but the past year that crop yielded but about 18 bushels per acre. Fruit-preserving is a considerable branch of their business. Last year, when fruit was plenty, they put up in sugar, for market, thirty tons of fruit of different kinds.

Remarks.—The success of the Shaker communities shows the superiority of associated labor over individual competition. Why may not this fact lead to a reconstruction of *society*?

The London "Daily News" corrected.

The New York correspondent of the London *Daily News*, writes:

No sane man in America supposes it possible, after this, ever to extend the area of African slavery under the American Republic. It is the all but universal conviction of the Northern States, and the common conviction as well as impression in the Southern States, that slavery has gone as far as it can, and that it neither can nor should go any further.

Remarks.—We doubt whether this writer would be able to find half a dozen persons in this city who believe that slavery will be excluded from all the territories of the United States south of Mason & Dixon's line. It is true that many people in New York hope and expect to see Kansas free, but we fear they are mistaken. Whether Kansas, however, be free or not, it is certain that the Federal Government will remain in the hands of the South, and that slavery has not "gone as far as it can."

The correspondent of the *Daily News*, in his anxiety to present this country in the most favorable light, has run into absurdity. We must caution European readers not to place much reliance upon the statements and opinions of American letter writers to London newspapers—their principal object evidently being to whitewash the character of this country, and gratify their own national vanity.

England without an Ally.

[From the New York Herald, December 28.]

There is no ally for England in Europe. Hereafter, perhaps, when under the pressure of education, and by the kind efforts of sagacious and patriotic men, the French, Spaniards and Germans begin to exercise the privileges of self-government in a sound and real manner, there will be no reason why they should not warmly unite with England. Indeed, it would be very strange if they did not. But for the present, all alliances with those Powers, or with the still more hostile Powers of Russia and Austria, cannot fail to be fraught with deception and mischief to England. They all hate her—hate her with the intensity of spite, envy and prejudice combined. They hate her for her wealth and her trade. They hate her for her intelligence and her freedom.

How Free Men of Color in the South are treated.

[From the New York Tribune.]

There is not, perhaps, a more harmless, and certainly not a more helpless set of people in the world than the free negroes in the slave States. . . .

Yet few and feeble as these free negroes are, especially in the southernmost States, they are objects there of an absurd dread and antipathy; and not a Winter passes but we hear of bills introduced into Southern Legislatures, designed to restrict and limit the small privileges that they have, and even aiming at their forcible removal. . . .

An attempt of the sort to which we refer—a bill aiming at the expulsion of the free colored population, and to prevent their return and future immigration into the State—is now pending in the Arkansas Legislature, but we are glad to see that of the committee that reported it there was one man who had the courage—just becoming a very unusual thing at the South—to express his opinion in plain and decided terms, that free colored men are still, in spite of their color, free men, and as such entitled to the rights, privileges and consideration due to men and free men, not only according to the dictates of ordinary humanity, but under the express provisions of our State constitutions. Mr. Abbott, the gentleman to whom we allude—we wish we had the pleasure of knowing his Christian name—in his brave but comprehensive report which we give elsewhere, opposed the bill reported by the majority of the committee, on two grounds. Of these the first is: That it is in conflict with the second article of the Constitution of Arkansas, which provides in the words of Magna Charta, that "no freeman shall be taken, or disseized of his freehold, liberties, or privilege, or outlawed, or exiled, or in any manner destroyed of his life or property, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land"—a clause which, in Mr. Abbott's opinion, includes all free men, no matter what their color. Secondly, he denies that the Legislature is vested with power to deprive any human being of his life, liberty or property, unless he forfeits his right to the same by committing some crime. We are glad to find proofs that the sentiments of justice and humanity are not yet extinct at the South.

[From the New York Herald, December [illegible].]

The Late Shipwrecks. What should be done for the Saving of Life.

We are glad to perceive that the suggestions which we made a few days ago in regard to the necessity of providing better means for the saving of life along our coasts, have attracted the attention of our legislators to this all-important subject. Hon. Mr. Thompson, United States Senator from New Jersey, presented a resolution in the Senate on last Friday calling upon the Secretary of the Treasury to report whether more [illegible] means cannot be devised for the preservation of the lives of seamen and passengers wrecked on the coasts of New Jersey and Long Island. The resolution further suggests the propriety of granting relief to the families of persons who lost their lives in rescuing individuals from shipwreck. The recent disaster on the [illegible] beach, in which ten of the most active and daring wreckers of the coast [illegible] perished while in the act of saving the lives of the crew of the ill-fated bark Tigress, will, it is to be hoped, lead to prompt and efficient legislative action. Most of these men had a large family dependent upon them for support, and they are now thrown upon the charity of the public. This, however, is only one of numerous cases of the kind which occur along the dangerous coast, and by which many persons have been reduced to a state of destitution. We hope, therefore, that the resolution of Mr. Thompson will not be received with that indifference with which measures of true practical benevolence are too frequently regarded by our legislators.

That the means which have been provided for the saving of life on our coasts [illegible] should be [illegible] fully proved by the [illegible] which our reporters have [illegible] the wreck of the New York on the [illegible]. The houses which have been erected [illegible] five miles, are entirely inadequate for the purposes for which they were built. They are [illegible] accommodations for those who may [illegible] each building is not capable of holding more than fifty or sixty persons. They are without beds, and the only article of household furniture of which they can boast is an old smoky stove, while chairs and tables are luxuries they have never known. The consequence of this is that many, even after being saved from shipwreck, die from want of shelter during such inclement weather as always prevails along our Northern coasts in winter.

The Secretary of the Treasury will, therefore, we trust, make this also the subject of his investigations. But this is not all that should be done for the saving of life. It should be made incumbent on every ship to carry with her a mortar and shells, with which, in cases similar to the *New York*, a line might be thrown to the shore for the use of the life-car. Till legislation has provided for all this, we cannot say that we have done what we should for the safety of those whose lives are endangered by shipwreck.

[From the New York Times, December 27.]

Insanity Down South.

All the insanity of the country is not confined to Wall-street; there is a good deal of it down South. The recent negro insurrections, as they have been called, afford evidence that the minds of our Southern brethren are in a very unsettled state. The Montgomery (Alabama) *Advertiser* suggests a remedy for slave insurrections, which has a most suspiciously insane look about it. The *Advertiser* thinks, or at least says, that "the evil from which our South Carolina friends are now suffering might have been averted by more summary treatment of Abolition scoundrels, when caught at their mischief." More summary treatment, indeed! The *Advertiser* thinks that "simply tarring and feathering, and ejecting, an Abolitionist, is but a child's remedy, (they must have very queer children at the South,) and, so far from its having the effect to stop his mischief, it will case-harden him, and make him worse." We have never heard of a more insane idea than that of case-hardening a man by giving him a coat of tar and feathers. It is very likely that such a course of treatment may tend to confirm an Anti-slavery man in his opinions against the system, but we hardly think that one would be caught a second time who had been once subjected to such treatment.

But the real evidence of the insanity of our Alabama contemporary is in supposing that the South is now full of Abolitionists, clandestinely stirring up the slaves to rise against their masters. The men who do that must be the masters themselves. We have yet to hear of a solitary case of an Abolitionist being found at the South, or endeavoring to influence the minds of the negroes. The *Advertiser*, however, thinks the South is full of them, and recommends that they should be hung the moment they are detected.

Kansas: Will it be a Free State?

[From the New York Herald, December [illegible].]

Our impression is that Mr. Buchanan will consider the Cincinnati Kansas platform as the true doctrine, and as signifying the denial of any Territorial or Congressional authority to admit or to exclude slavery from Kansas, but as committing the [illegible] to the Kansas people [illegible] in the act of framing their State Constitution.

Remarks.—When the people are framing their State Constitution they will have no right to [illegible] slave property which may be lawfully held under the territorial laws. It has been expressly decided by the Supreme Court of the United States that no person can be deprived of his property through the action of a Convention framing a State Constitution. Kansas is a slave Territory, and will be a slave State.

Procuring Employment in the West for Newsboys [illegible]

[From the New York Evening Post.]

A [illegible] to the Newsboys, Mr. C. C. Tracy, of the Newsboys' Lodging House, left New York with a company of forty children, varying in age from ten to fifteen years, and chiefly gathered from the Children's Aid Society and the House of Industry at the Five Points. It was a pleasant scene, as they were assembled at the Hudson River Railroad depot, in Chambers street, from which they took their departure. They were comfortably clothed, and were so perfectly happy together, that every one who was fortunate enough to witness their delight felt a corresponding feeling. It was sufficient to know that they were rescued from the evil which beset them, and the worse fate which impended, to make the spectator feel and rejoice intensely at their escape. Among them were some noble-looking boys, worthy of the destiny to which they now look forward with a hope that cheers and makes them happy. Mr. Tracy has already secured homes for them, and they will soon be what different influences and culture can make them. Comfortably attired and well cared for, they anticipate a glad termination to their journey, and as the cars moved away they were singing their Song of the West with all the spirit of a Christmas party carolling on a pleasant family excursion to a friend's dwelling.

Remarks.—The success of these benevolent efforts shows that much more should be done in the same direction, and that these matters should not be left to private individuals and societies. Much can be done for adults as well as boys seeking employment. The condition of the working classes might be greatly ameliorated, if their interests were properly attended to by the legislature.

Renewal of the Slave-Trade. African Apprentices.

The New York *Herald* says:

The Spanish authorities have a plan to attain that desirable object, and we recommend a study of this style of working to our less experienced friend, the Governor of South Carolina. The Spaniards do not show their hand as Governor Adams did—they go to work more artistically. First, missionaries from Spain are sent out to Fernando Po, and other islands in the Gulf of Guinea, to begin the good work. After the niggers have had their heads shaved and dashed with holy water, they are to be sent over to Cuba as voluntary emigrants. If there should not be enough in Fernando Po to supply the demand—which would depend entirely on the price of niggers in Cuba—the African continent is close at hand, with its eighty millions of starving slaves, who to get rid of present evils, would readily volunteer to become Christians, much as desperate men volunteer to go anywhere. Philanthropy is the cloak of the Spaniard's idea—for he has no motive but to civilize these niggers—and he begins with missionaries. Mark that, Governor Adams.

Relief of the Poor in England.

[From the London Morning Star, December 9.]

At the Thames Police office, on December 8, William [illegible] was charged with an attempt to commit larceny. The prisoner, who was a ticket-of-leave man, pleaded that he was poor and could get no employment. Mr. Yardley, the police magistrate, said, "He had listened with considerable regret to the statement respecting the prisoner, but he could not overlook the serious offence committed by the prisoner. All punishments were intended by way of example, and he must punish the prisoner. Every destitute person in this country was entitled to parochial relief, and although it was very much to be regretted that a man able and willing to work could not find employment, the parish to which he belonged was bound to give him food if he could not get any work [illegible] elsewhere. The prisoner might be [illegible] to the relieving officer of the parish to which he was chargeable, and said, 'I am destitute, I want relief.'"

The Scientific (?) Laws [illegible]. The Farmer [illegible]

[From the New York Tribune, December [illegible].]

Departure of Filibusters.

The steamship James Adger, which left this port yesterday [illegible] to take the place of the Tennessee, which was run into Norfolk disabled, had on board [illegible] hundred and one hundred recruits for Walker's army. It is said that they will be joined at Norfolk by about two hundred additional recruits, besides those that sailed in the Tennessee. Frank O'Keefe, [illegible] Hon. David O'Keefe of this city, who has been appointed Captain in Gen. Walker's army, and sailed in the Tennessee, arrived from Norfolk on Monday morning, with five others. One of the party is known as "Mex," who was a volunteer in the Mexican army. Captain O'Keefe sailed yesterday in the Adger in charge of the recruits. Captain Lewis also returned from the Tennessee as far as Baltimore, for the purpose of arranging for the departure of recruits by this steamer.

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ld be done in the same
there should not be left
societies. Much can be
boys seeking employ
working classes might
heir interests were pro-
gislature.

[illegible]

The papers here and at New Orleans announce the departure of upwards of 700 men, to join Walker, within a few days past. The authorities offer no opposition. It is no longer held that the law forbids the advising or assisting of men to go abroad to enter military service.

Law of Libel in England. Rights of the Press.

[From the New York Times.]

The London journals are all rejoicing over a victory won by the *Daily News* over the Earl of Lucan, in a court of law. The *News*, it seems, very severely censured the Earl's conduct in the Crimea, for which he demanded a full retraction and apology. The editor of the *Daily News* refused to retract, but offered to publish any letter which the Earl might see fit to write in reply. This offer was refused, and the Earl sued the *News* for libel. Upon the trial the defense called no witnesses, but contented itself with a cross-examination of the Earl himself, and submitted the case to the jury as one in which there had been clearly nothing more than such an expression of opinion upon a matter of public interest as duty required. The jury rendered a verdict of acquittal.

What will strike many persons in this country as somewhat remarkable is the fact, that all the English journals, daily and weekly, without regard to differences of opinion or rivalry of interest, congratulate the *News* upon the vindication of the course which it saw fit to pursue.

Triumph of the Oligarchy.

(Correspondence of the London Morning Star.)

As you will have learned, long before this reaches you, the grand presidential contest in the United States is over, and Fremont, the noble representative of the [illegible] of freedom, is not elected. The slave power has gained one more great and important victory, and will, most assuredly, make the most of it. Europe must be prepared to witness the most thrilling development in the United States. The slave propagandists will have full license, as well as power, to accomplish all their cherished purposes. They want Cuba, and Mexico, and Central America, and will have them within the next four years. They wish to reopen the African Slave-trade, and they will do it. They are determined to crush out freedom in Kansas, and make that vast and beautiful Territory a slave State, and they will [illegible]. They want to restore slavery in Jamaica and the other West India Islands, and compel Great Britain to [illegible] all fugitive slaves that have taken refuge in the Canadas, and—shall we say they will accomplish this also? We do not say they will, [illegible] a war with Great Britain, and [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

Spain, Buchanan and Cuba.

(Correspondence of the New York Tribune.)

[illegible]

all the world has seen, and that Buchanan promised faithfully to carry out that programme of his party, upon which promise he was elected, cannot be forgotten. The people of Spain have received the news as if it were the announcement of a proximate war with the United States. The Government appears to look on it pretty much in the same light as the people.

Miserable Condition of New York City.

The Editor of the Toronto *Weekly Messenger*, after quoting the description of the dwellings of the poor in this city, as published in the EUROPEAN, adds the following remarks:

I know that this picture is not overcolored—that a large portion of the people of New York live in want and black poverty—that a very large share of the real estate is owned by a few persons, many of whom are the very meanest, greediest, and most heartless of the creation of God—upstarts of a day, and without a particle of feeling. Already crime, caused by misery, want, and drunkenness, is very difficult to control, with all the law machinery yet invented. What will be *the future* of such a place?

FROZEN TO DEATH.—An unknown man, about sixty years of age, and very poorly clad, was found on Thursday morning frozen to death between two carts, at the foot of Charles street. There is no doubt that the poor old man, being *homeless, went, as is customary with such unfortunates,* to sleep on the hay dock, and while there met his death from the intense cold of Wednesday night. The body was taken to the Ninth Ward Station-house, where an inquest was held by Coroner Connery, but no evidence to identify deceased could be obtained.—*Citizen, December 27.*

REMARKS.—If this had happened in London, we should have had some leading articles in the New York press on the horrible treatment of the poor by the hard-hearted English aristocracy.

[illegible]

OCEAN STEAMERS

[illegible]

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PARIAN MARBLE ORNAMENTS,
&c., &c., &c.
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SMITH & LOUNSBERY,
CARPET AND FLOOR OIL CLOTH WAREHOUSE,
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NEW YORK.
[illegible]

COLUMBIAN HALL, 279 and 281 Grand Street.
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S. & M. E. TOWLE & CO.,
late proprietors of this extensive and popular establishment, purchased the entire stock at a great sacrifice on the original cost, and as they purpose to renovate and improve the premises [illegible]

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[illegible]
SILK DEPARTMENT
[illegible]
CLOAK DEPARTMENT.
[illegible]
SHAWL DEPARTMENT.
[illegible]
DELAINE AND PLAID DEPARTMENTS.
[illegible]
MERINO AND PARAMATTA DEPARTMENTS.
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HOUSEKEEPING GOODS
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LYONS & JONES,
COLUMBIAN HALL, 279 & 281 Grand Street.
[illegible]

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E. Cheeswright, Acting Manager, New York.

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GIFT LAND.

Bureau of Agricultural Statistics, Toronto, Canada West, July 26, 1856.

To Emigrants and others seeking Lands for Settlement.

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Three Great Lines of Road,

Now in course of completion, and have surveyed and laid out for Settlement the Lands, through and in the vicinity of which those Roads pass.

The Roads, as advertised by the Agents of the Government, appointed in the respective localities to afford information to the Settler, are known as

"The Ottawa and Opeongo Road," "The Addington Road," and "The Hastings Road."

THE OTTAWA AND OPEONGO ROAD

Commences at a point on the Ottawa River, known as "Farrell's," a little above the mouth of the Bonchere River, and runs in a Westerly direction, passing through the northerly part of the County of Renfrew.

It is intended to connect this road with a projected line of road known as "Bell's Line," leading to the Lake Muskako and Lake Huron, by a branch which will diverge from the Opeongo Road in the Township of Brudenell, at a distance of about fifty-three miles from the River Ottawa, forming with "Bell's Line," a great leading road, or base line from the Ottawa to Lake Muskako, 171 miles in length, passing through the heart of the Ottawa and Huron Territory, and opening up for settlement a vast extent of rich and valuable land.

This road, and the country through which it passes, now open for settlement, is easily accessible, and the Agent for the granting of Lands in this District is Mr. T. S. French, who resides at Mount St. Patrick, near Renfrew, on the Opeongo Road, a few miles from the Lands which are to be granted. To reach the section of country under Mr. French's charge, the settler must go from Montreal up to the Ottawa River to a place called Bonchere Point, and thence by land some twenty-five or thirty miles westward to the Township of Grattan, in which Mount St. Patrick is situated.

THE ADDINGTON ROAD,

Commencing in the Township of Anglesea, in the northern part of the county of Addington near the Village of Flints Mills, in Kaladar, runs almost due north to the River Madawaska, a distance of thirty-five miles, till it intersects the Ottawa and Opeongo Road.

The Agent for the granting of the Land in this district is M. E. Perry, who for that purpose is now resident at the Village of *Flints Mills.* The outlines of five townships of very superior land are already surveyed and ready for Settlement within the limits of the Agency, lying north of Lake Massanoka, and between it and the River Madawaska. The Townships are called respectively Abinger, Denbigh, Ashley, Effingham, Anglesea and Barrie.

The direct route to this Section is by way of Kingston, Canada West, thence to Napanee, either by land or steamboat, and thence North to the Township of Kaladar, and the Village of Flints Mills, where Mr. Perry resides.

THE HASTINGS ROAD,

Almost parallel to the Addington Road, and at a distance West from it of about thirty-two miles, is the *Hastings Road.* This Road, beginning at the northern part of the County of Hastings, and running a distance of seventy-four miles almost due north, also intersects the *Ottawa and Opeongo Road,* and its extensions.

The Government Agent is Mr. M. P. Hayes, who resides at the Village of Hastings, lately called Madoc, about twenty-eight miles north of the Town of Belleville. The Road between these places is in good order. The land to be granted by the Crown under this Agency extends from fifteen to seventy miles north of the Village of Hastings. The Road through this large extent of land is passable for forty miles, and money is now being expended to extend it thirty miles further, so that settlers can get in and out without difficulty, and find a good market for surplus produce, as well as convenient facilities for bringing in whatever supplies they may require, abundance of which can be had at the Village of Hastings, where the Government Agent resides.

The direct way to reach this Section, which is easily accessible, is by *Kingston*, Canada West, thence by Steamboat up the Bay of Quinte to *Belleville*, fifty-six miles, and thence by a good road to *Hastings*, twenty-eight miles.

In order to facilitate the Settlement of the Country, and provide for keeping in repair the Roads thus opened, the Government has authorized Free Grants of Land along these Roads, not to exceed in each case *One Hundred Acres*, upon application to the Local Agents, and upon the following

CONDITIONS

That the settler be eighteen years of age.

That he take possession of the Land allotted to him within one month, and put in a state of cultivation at least twelve acres of the land in the course of four years; build a house (at least 20 by 18 feet) and reside on the lot until the conditions of settlement are duly performed; after which accomplishment only he shall have the right of obtaining a title to the property. Families comprising several settlers entitled to lands, preferring to reside on a single lot, will be exempted from the obligation of building and of residence, (except upon the lot on which they live) provided that the required clearing of the land be made on each lot. The non-accomplishment of these conditions will cause the immediate loss of the assigned lot of land, which will be sold or given to another.

The Road having been opened by the Government, the Settlers are required to keep it in repair.

The Local Agents, whose names and places of abode have already been given, will furnish every information to the intending settler.

The Log House required by the Government to be built is of such a description as may be put up in four days by five men. The neighbors generally help to build the Log Cabin for newly arrived settlers, without charge, and when this is done the cost of erection is small. The roof can be covered with bark, and the spaces between the logs plastered with clay, and whitewashed. It then becomes a neat dwelling, and warm as a stone house.

The grants thus opened up and offered for settlement are in sections of Canada West, capable, both as to Soil and Climate, of producing abundant crops of winter wheat, of excellent quality and full weight, and also crops of every description of farm produce grown in the best and longest cultivated districts of that portion of the Province, and fully as good.

There are, of course, in such a large extent of country as that referred to, great varieties in the character and quality of land—some being much superior to others; but there is an abundance of the very best land for farming purposes. The Lands in the neighborhood of these three roads will be found to be very similar in quality and character, and covered with every variety of Timber—some with hard wood and some with heavy pine.

Water for domestic use is everywhere abundant; and there are, throughout, numerous streams and falls of water capable of being used for manufacturing purposes.

The heavy timbered land is almost always the best; and of it the ashes of three acres, well taken care of and covered from wet, produce a barrel of Potash, worth from £6 to £7 currency. The capital required to manufacture Potash is very small, and the process is very simple and easily understood.

The expense of clearing and enclosing Heavily Timbered Lands, valuing the labor of the settler at the highest rate, is about *Four Pounds Currency per Acre*, which the first wheat crop, if an average one, will nearly repay. The best timber for fencing is to be had in abundance.

A settler on these lands, possessing a capital of from £25 to £50, according to the number of his family, will soon make himself comfortable, and obtain a rapid return for his investment. The single man, able and willing to work, needs little capital, besides his own arm and axe—he can devote a portion of the year to clearing his land, and in the numerous lumbering establishments he can at other seasons obtain a liberal remuneration for his labor.

The climate throughout these districts is essentially good. The snow does not fall so deep as to obstruct communication; and it affords material for good roads during the winter, enabling the farmer to haul in his firewood for the ensuing year from the woods, to take his produce to market, and lay in his supplies for the future; and this covering to the earth not only facilitates communication with the more settled parts of the district, but is highly beneficial and fertilizing to the soil.

In all the localities above named, where every settler has surplus produce, there is a good market for it near to him—farm produce of all kinds being in great demand by the lumber or timber merchants, who are carrying on extensive operations throughout those parts of the country.

According to the ratio of progress which Canada West has made during the last ten years, the value of property on an average doubles within that period, irrespective of any improvements which may have been made by the settlers.

In many counties the value of land once opened for settlement has increased *five fold* in the period named, but the average value of such land, according to the statistics of Canada West, *doubles every ten years*, in the mere lapse of time, exclusive of any expenditure thereon—and it is not too much to expect that this ratio will not diminish for generations to come.

The sections of country opened by these roads lie in and to the southern part of the Great Ottawa Region, stretching from and beyond them to the shores of Lake Huron, to Lake Nipissing and to the Ottawa River—an immense extent of country, whose resources are now seeking and will rapidly obtain development.

The *Ottawa Country*, lying south of Lake Nipissing and of the Great River Ottawa, and embracing a large portion of the land offered for settlement, is capable of sustaining a population of *Eight Millions of People*, and it is now attracting general attention, as the more western portions of Canada are rapidly filled up.

The Parliament of Canada, in its last session, incorporated a company for the construction of a railway to pass through this Ottawa country from the shores of Lake Huron to the City of the Ottawa, and thence eastward.

A survey of the River Ottawa and the neighboring country has been undertaken, and will be completed in the present year; its principal objects being to ascertain by what means the river Ottawa can be rendered navigable and connected with Lake Huron, so as to enable vessels to pass by that route from the most western waters into the River St. Lawrence and Ocean. These projected works are alluded to, and in order to show that the attention of the Government, Parliament and People of Canada has been fixed upon this important portion of the Province.

P. M. Vankoughnet,
Minister of Agriculture.

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