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## THE EUROPEAN.

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

#### The London "Times" on Buchanan's Election.

[From the London Times, November 17.]

The question as to the preponderance of the slaveholding power and the extension of slavery into new territories are resolved in a manner unfavorable to the hopes of the North and of that great portion of the English community which sympathized with Northern policy and traditions. But not only is the fate of Kansas decided by this event, but the foreign policy of the Union must be held to be deeply influenced in a sense contrary to the wishes of moderate men, both at home and in Europe.

It cannot be forgotten that Mr. Buchanan, when Minister in this country, gave but little assistance to the peaceful settlement of the questions that had arisen between America and England. It has been thought, and not without reason, that Lord Clarendon's endeavors to terminate more than one dispute were baffled by the American representative, not with any wish to involve the two countries in war—an event which he probably thought no amount of acrimony could bring about—but because he saw in the countenance of his angry spirit an electioneering advantage to himself in his candidature for the Presidency. Nor can it be forgotten that at the Ostend Conference, where doctrines entirely subversive of the commonest rights of nations were promulgated, Mr. Buchanan took a principal part. The acquisition of Cuba by almost any means was adopted by the Conference as the keystone of a true American statesman's foreign policy, and it may be inferred by analogy that aggression on other American states with valuable ports or territory would follow in due course.

The new President is rather a man who seeks for popularity and office than one resolved to carry out schemes on which he is fixedly set. He was not a candidate for the Presidency because he wished to make aggression on Spain, but he accepted strong language regarding Spanish rights because it would tell on the election for the Presidency. It may be hoped, therefore, that now he is at the summit of his ambition, he will disengage himself from those dangerous schemes to which he has so conspicuously committed himself. From this point of view Mr. Buchanan may, in spite of the Ostend Manifesto, be considered though it was on the Cincinnati platform, be a President sufficiently scrupulous as to the law of nations. We trust, for the sake of America and the world, that this will be the case. But still it is impossible not to recollect that there are men who aspire to the same exalted position which Mr. Buchanan has already attained, and who may consider the persistence in the same doctrines as an advantageous policy. More than one of these is connected with the present Government, and may prolong the irritation and bickering which have marked the existing Presidency. Such men as Jefferson Davis and Douglas have been the evil gen-

uses of President Pierce, and may perhaps bring equal discredit on the Government of his successor. We trust that Mr. Buchanan, now that he is placed in the highest office which an American citizen can fill, will rise to his position, and administer the affairs of his country with firmness and independence of judgment. The power of an American President is perhaps beyond that of any analogous Minister in a free State; he is a sovereign irremovable during his term of office, and may, if he chooses, be practically his own Minister. We sincerely hope that he will understand the true interests of the land he governs, and that as far as regards England he will endeavor to preserve those feelings of mutual esteem and good-will which, within the last few years, have grown up so largely between the two countries.

[From the London Times, November 19.]

There is one assurance in the long and able letter of our Pennsylvanian correspondent of Saturday last which we should receive with the most extreme satisfaction, were it not overthrown by the commentary which he appends to it. Mr. Buchanan, as President, he tells us, will not only be superior to Mr. Pierce, but must not be measured by the standard of the Ostend Manifesto.

We desire most earnestly to believe this. It is our wish that America should have for her chief magistrate a man in every way calculated to secure the respect and promote the best interests of the community over which he presides; and nothing could more disentitle him to that respect, or more entirely compromise those interests, than an adherence to those doctrines of the supremacy of might over right, and of the justification of violence by an arbitrarily assumed political necessity, of which Mr. Buchanan has unhappily made himself the expositor.

But when we seek for proofs in support of these flattering assertions, they are entirely wanting. We are told that Mr. Buchanan settled all questions between the English and American Governments during his residence as ambassador here, and that he cannot choose his ministry exclusively from the South. The first assertion is rather rashly hazarded, when we remember that not only did Mr. Buchanan not settle the Central American and Enlistment questions, but that he kept them alive, and omitted in one instance to transmit to his government the offer of mediation distinctly made to him by Lord Clarendon.

As for his administration, we agree that it is not likely that it will all be formed from the South, but that is of little moment to us, if it be formed, as it is sure to be, of men who, whether Southern or Northern, are pledged to the extension of slavery and devoted to the policy of annexation. These slaves, says an American political satirist, that the South makes the most out of, are all North of Mason and Dixon's line. Mr. Buchanan's principal adviser will be probably Judge Douglas, senator for the Northern State of Illinois, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the ablest and most unscrupulous advocate of slavery extension.

The South has never been without obsequious admirers in the North, ready, after having made a reputation by denouncing slavery, to employ the reputation so made in its support, and to employ against the interests of those who raised them to power the very power which they owe to them. Such men are known to America, from the flexibility of their political countenance, by the homely but expressive name of "Dough-faces;" and it matters little, so far as the interests of freedom within and tranquility without the State are concerned, whether the new President's Cabinet be filled by Southern men, such as Jefferson Davis or Senator Toombs, or by Northern doughfaces, only too happy to be employed as their obsequious and unscrupulous agents.

We do not derive much comfort, therefore, from the assurance of our correspondent that Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet will not be exclusively Southern, still less from the fear which he expresses that slavery will be extended, that Abolitionism will be feebly resisted, and

that there will be a want of respect for foreign rights and political ethics.

This is just what Mr. Buchanan's previous career would lead us to apprehend, and these are strange reasons why we should form of his administration better hopes than that of Mr. Pierce. Nor are we much reassured by being told that Cuba will probably be annexed, but *must* be purchased, like Louisiana; for we fear this same "must" expresses a moral, and not a physical, necessity—a species of sanction which has no binding force at all to men wanting in respect for foreign rights and careless of political ethics.

Passing over, then, the remarks of our correspondent, whose premises seem not a little at war with his conclusions, let us try to make out for ourselves, not from the invectives of party or the declamation of disappointed ambition, but from a fair consideration of the *case* as it stands, what are the prospects of this country and the United States from the election of Mr. Buchanan.

In the first place, there can be no doubt that it will be regarded, and justly regarded, by the South, as a great and signal victory, its importance being measured by terror felt by the victorious party after the defeat in Maine, by the enormous exertions by which alone it has been obtained, by the fact that it was gained over the North for the first time active and united, and by the great probability that this triumph, signal as it is, unless improved to their advantage, may be the very last which the South is destined to obtain.

The victory has been one rather of superior organization and dexterity than of greater force; it has required all the influence of Government to secure it, and has been mainly promoted by threats of disunion, which cannot be used with similar effect on every succeeding occasion. All these things tend to enforce upon the Southern mind the necessity of using the next four years so as to make the very utmost of their success, and place a party inferior in number and intelligence on a footing of superiority which nothing but a revolution and civil war can destroy. They have the President and the majority in both Houses; their political existence is at stake, the quarrel with the North is henceforth irreconcilable, the struggle has begun in earnest, and on either banner "*de victis*" will soon be inscribed in very legible characters. We are therefore justified in expecting that, so far as the internal policy of the Union is concerned, the course adopted by Mr. Pierce will be persevered in and carried out with even still greater violence.

Now or never is the time to increase the number of slave States, to admit Kansas, to subdivide Texas, and to seek wherever it may be found fresh territory in which to plant the institution, the extension or repression of which is henceforth the only issue of American politics. Whatever be Mr. Buchanan's personal predilection for reasonable and moderate counsels, we believe that he will have great difficulty in standing against the violence of men by whom he is surrounded, and who are committed to an extent which admits of no increase to the propagation of slavery and the counteraction, by whatever means, of the free spirit of the North.

As regards foreign policy the prospect might at first appear to be equally gloomy. The election of Mr. Buchanan over Fillmore, agreeing, as they essentially do, in home politics, is a declaration on the part of the American nation in favor of the foreign policy of the former over that of the latter—that is, a declaration in favor of aggression and annexation. Moreover, the spirit of annexation is essentially Southern, having reference to the necessity of obtaining new slave States, to counterbalance the accession of free States from the North.

Still, we are disposed to be much more sanguine as to the foreign than as to the domestic policy of the new President, and we are convinced that his election by no means implies hostility to England on the part of the Democrats. An aggressive foreign policy, carried out in the spirit of the Ostend Manifesto, means a foreign war, and a foreign war is, in the present state of the Union, a contingency which North and South would be equally anxious to avoid.

The South would view with dread a chance of a rising among their slaves, in the suppression of which they would have little to hope from the sympathy of the North, and, having little accumulated capital, would suffer severely from any restriction of their power of exportation. The North would view with increasing disfavor the prosecution of foreign conquests, which they would justly regard as really made over themselves, and

would naturally refuse to aid in operations entailing upon them great immediate loss, and ultimately destined to counterbalance or undermine their due influence in the councils of the confederation.

The breach between North and South is henceforth declared and open; and though by the forms of the Constitution one party may govern, it cannot hope to carry on a war, which is a matter not of abstract rule, but of practical; and very apt to redress by the summary process of revolution inequalities which the indulgence of peace has left untouched. We also hope that Mr. Buchanan may rise more nearly than he has hitherto done to the level of his position, and, discarding, after he has obtained power, the questionable arts by which it was secured, rise above the dictation and exigencies of his party, and think more of the great trust placed in his hands than of the instruments and assurances by which that trust had been obtained. For ourselves, we can truly say that we shall respect the choice of the American nation in a matter so peculiarly of domestic cognizance, and never allow any objections we may have entertained to Mr. Buchanan's principles or professions to prevent us from dealing with respect and candor with the acts of the chief magistrate of a great, a friendly, and a kindred people.

#### The London "Daily News" on the Presidential Struggle in the United States.

[From the London Daily News, November 18.]

The one party is pledged to the principles of the degradation of industry, the necessity of an aristocracy, and consequently a resumption of the African Slave-trade and government by a self-appointing oligarchy; while the other is pledged by the very existence of the Republic to the principles of the dignity and value of industry and of equality before the law, and consequently to repudiate slavery, to uphold the bill of rights of the free States, and perpetuate a republican form of society. An antagonism like this cannot be reconciled nor placed in abeyance by any electoral victory; and if it is ever possible to interpret events in the midst of their course, it may be safely said now that the revolution just entered upon cannot be less important to the world than that which transformed "the provincials" of a century ago into citizens of the first republic in the world. Such a disruption can no more be settled by an electoral victory than our affairs could be settled in 1640 by a royal proclamation on the one hand, or a parliamentary decree on the other.

It is natural and inevitable that Englishmen should desire the election of Fremont, because he represents the party which is most nearly republican, most nearly anti-slavery, most nearly honest and respectable. But it would be highly dangerous to suppose that all would go well if Fremont were President; and those patriots may be the wisest who are beforehand reconciled to the prospect of his defeat, while yet endeavoring to obtain his return. The man himself can (as far as can be foreseen) do little or nothing. A mighty genius lodged in him may shew this supposition to be a mistake, but it is difficult to see what any mortal man can do, by the act of ruling for four years, to solve the controversy. He may abstain from foreign aggression, and give fair play to parties at home; but beyond this, it appears that he must be either a fool or a dictator, or a revolutionary leader. The Presidential office has become but too like a treadmill whereon a man must step, and can step only in one way. If so, he must wholly disappoint his party, unless indeed his party, as a whole, should in that case decline to his quality. It must be distinctly remembered that the most genuine republicans in the country are of no party at all—some standing aloof, the reserve awaiting the real crisis, and others aiding the Fremont party without sharing in its pledges. These are of opinion that the cause would, on the whole, gain by the defeat of Fremont, because, should he be elected, his party (surrounded by temptations) would be timid, conservative and unprincipled; whereas defeat would rouse them to courage and animate their political virtue.

In a few centuries history will tell of a noble opportunity for wise and good government once missed through inexperience and heedlessness, a vitiating element being implicated in the settlement, and of another such opportunity occurring before it was too late, and seized or repudiated—on the one hand justifying the confidence of all friends of human progression; or, on the other, plunging the most promising of nations into a retrograde course, and giving a new lease of life to the powers of evil.

#### What sort of Public Opinion Rules in the United States. What Buchanan has learned from the Election.

[From the Liverpool Journal, November 22.]

Mr. Buchanan, in a few months, will be the temporary sovereign of a mighty Republic; and, like other sovereigns, he must govern within the Constitution. *Public opinion rules in America*, as well as in England, and no matter what the President's private views may be, he dare not in his acts violate the policy which the thinking portion of the people approve of. Mr. Buchanan learned from the polling that slavery must be abolished ultimately; that it is time to prepare for an inevitable result; and that extension is incompatible with the maintenance of order. Accordingly, he already intimates that Kansas must be a free State; and, no doubt, he will form a ministry of such moderate views as will allay sectional differences, and retain the good opinion of the people of England.

REMARKS.

The "public opinion" that prevails with the Federal Government is the opinion of the slave-owners; for they control the slave States, and thereby the Senate, which monopolizes all the real power in the American Government. The senators from the slave States act together in a body on all questions affecting slavery, and as they can always get a few Northern senators to act with them, they will never permit any man to hold an important office under the Federal Government, unless, upon due inquiry in secret session he be found to be a pro-slavery man. In this way the North is effectually subordinated by the oligarchy.

Mr. Buchanan has not "learned from the polling that slavery must be abolished ultimately." On the contrary, he has learned that the South is unanimously in favor of extending and perpetuating slavery, and that with a few votes from the North, which can always be got, the South will continue to rule the Confederation.

#### Inconveniences of President-Making. Whether the Union can be Maintained. Consequences of the Ascendency of either Party. The Alternative.

[From the London Chronicle, November 15.]

If there be ground for the favorite boast of the Americans, that the poorest ploughman may, without madness, indulge the hope of being one day President of the Republic, it must be confessed that the citizens of the Union pay very dearly for the privilege. Scarcely has one election of a chief magistrate been concluded, when the agitations and public intrigues commence which are destined to prepare for the next. Under ordinary circumstances, the risks run are very great—quite enough to dislocate any society not constructed on principles so elastic as those which prevail in the United States; but during the contest that has just been brought to a close, the combatants have imperilled nothing less than the integrity of the Union. Of course, much that has been done or written, whether by the Government or by the people, must be accounted for by the excitement attending this periodical struggle; but it is impossible to believe the spirit of political hypocrisy and humbug so universally dominant in the States, as that all that has been said, either for or against the permanency of the Union, is utterly without foundation, or that some traces should not have been left in the minds of the people, which at a future time may bring forth fruit in renewed disunion.

If we were to judge by the antecedents of the new President, the arguery for the future would be of the most menacing character. As regards the internal affairs of the States themselves, he would appear as if committed to a policy which must, sooner or later, if there be any faith or truth in politics, lead to a severance of the North from the South. For he has endorsed the political programme of the slavery party to an extent that would render even compromise impossible, if he were hereafter to adhere to the professions made to secure his election. He would stand before his fellow-citizens armed with an authority to perpetuate, and even to extend, slavery as an institution, notwithstanding that of the whole population of the Union, in whose name he is supposed to have been elected, by far the majority is utterly opposed to it, and ready to make any sacrifice for its abolition. If importance were to be attached to the language that has been used, both in the North and in the South, during the last few months—to the Brooks

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and Sumner case—to the appeals, made in the name of liberty, to violations of its most sacred duties—we should be compelled to believe that the unwieldiness of that immense republic had at last been made manifest, and that the world would be at once surprised and edified at the spectacle of the complete disruption of a form of government which has not yet been a century in existence. On the other hand, the apologists of America declare that all this exhibition of rancor and resolution is an electioneering sham; that the principals are not in earnest, but are merely acting a part that they may entrap the masses of the people; and that, the election being over, things will subside into the old track, and the affairs of the great Republic go on as usual for four years more. We take leave to doubt if this be possible.

Whichever way triumph goes, the consequences must be fatal to the States. *The ascendancy of the pro-slavery party would be tantamount to an annihilation of the freedom and enterprise of the North*; while, on the other hand, if the abolitionists could succeed in depriving the slaveowners of their property, whether by violence or by purchase, consequences would in all probability ensue such as those which have ruined our West India colonies.

Natural apprehensions as to the foreign policy to be adopted by the new President are attempted to be allayed by the same assurances, so humiliating to the Americans, that are offered with reference to home politics. It is affirmed that Mr. Buchanan, in encouraging the national propensity to filibustering, whether on a large or a small scale, has merely played a part with a view to the Presidential election. Here, too, we must be permitted to doubt whether such practices can be resorted to so harmlessly as their apologists imagine. If, for electioneering purposes, the late war with Russia, for instance, had been effectually decried, on the ground of non-intervention, the consequences would have been fatal to the honor of this country in the eyes of foreign nations, even although the incoming ministry had by its subsequent conduct disappointed the expectations of the electoral body. If the poison had only been circulated without producing such results, it is impossible to doubt that the national mind would have become more or less diseased on the subject in question, and that the fatal effects of such tamperings with public opinion must sooner or later have become manifest. Mr. Buchanan and those who have acted with him have for years past been engaged in thus corrupting the judgment and the principles of their fellow-countrymen, until the surest way to gain the suffrages of the mob is to hold out to them that the hope that more territory, belonging to other nations, will, from time to time, be added to the States. Such political crimes invariably bring their own punishment; for, although the motive may be characterized by the levity attending an electioneering contest, the parties thus playing with dangerous weapons can never positively foresee the consequences of their own words and actions. For the present, there will no doubt be a reaction, and Mr. Buchanan will strive to reinstate America in the good opinion of the rest of the world. One of the early fruits of the settlement will, in all probability, be the resumption of entire diplomatic relations with England; and the evil consequences we have hinted at will be postponed for a long period. But the day of guilt and of punishment will not the less certainly arrive; and we, in the meantime, may profit by the warning afforded by even the apprehension of such a result.

#### REMARKS.

The *Chronicle* is right in saying that the ascendancy of the pro-slavery party would be tantamount to an annihilation of the freedom and enterprise of the North. But there is no force in the remark about the abolitionists depriving the slaveowners of their property. The South would abolish slavery if separated from the North, and the North would enter upon a new and glorious career. The Northern Republic would sympathize with the cause of liberty all over the world, and that cause would triumph; England, instead of having a redoubtable enemy in America, would have a staunch ally, for the policy of both countries would be the same—the extension of human liberty.

#### Misconception of the Power of the President.

[From the London Star, November 22.]

It is vain, perhaps, to speculate on the course which Mr. Buchanan may take when in power. But we may

fairly assume that he will not carry into effect the frantic filibustering projects, foreign and domestic, avowed by his more violent supporters. We have all heard, of course, the programme of policy which these raving politicians announce, including the conquest of Cuba, the extension of slavery by way of Kansas to Oregon and the Pacific, the possession of Nicaragua and the whole of South America for the same purpose, the revival of the African Slave-trade, and even the reduction of the laboring white population of the Southern States into slavery. But Mr. Buchanan, whatever his feelings may be, is a man of powerful and sagacious intellect, with wide varied political experience both at home and abroad, and is not likely, we think, despite the Ostend Manifesto to deliver himself into the hands of these besotted brawlers. No man of ordinary sense or decorum, we may be quite sure, will march through Coventry with such a set of ragamuffin ruffians. We should not be surprised, indeed, if Mr. Buchanan acts with these precious supporters of his, as Sir Robert Peel did with the Protectionist party in England, and at the expense of treachery and ingratitude to his party wins for himself the approbation of the wise and good, the blessings of them that are ready to perish, and the admiration of posterity for all time to come.

#### REMARKS.

The *Star* wholly misconceives the power of the President. He cannot prevent the establishment of slavery in Kansas, under the existing laws of Congress—he cannot thwart any policy which it may please the Southern oligarchy to adopt, for the politicians know full well that that oligarchy makes Presidents, controls the legislation of the General Government, and disposes of all the offices in the gift of the Government.

#### Policy of Mr. Buchanan. Renewal of the Slave-Trade. The President's Authoriza- tion not Required.

[From the London Star, November 21.]

The election of Mr. Buchanan is the result of that Southern and slavish influence that prevents the United States from becoming the freest nation in the world.

Thus we have hope in Mr. Buchanan, but at the same time we ought to say that the hope would be turned into alarm if we could believe the predictions that were made in New York a few hours previous to the election. According to these predictions, not only will efforts be made by the new President to people Kansas with slaves and to occupy Cuba, but he will seek to revive that most hateful slave traffic in the coasts of Africa that has for so many years been proclaimed by England and America to be a crime in the sight of God and man. Mr. Buchanan, it is said, will do so, if he be honest to the engagements announced in the Cincinnati platform, and as a means to find a slave population for outlying territories. But we hope these are only the prophecies incident upon a high state of partizan and feverish anxiety, for such conduct would at once bring the United States into embroilment with other Powers. There could be no more miserable spectacle presented to a civilized world than that of the President of the American Republic, rather than a British slaveowner and man-stealer to go to the coast of Africa and carry off his sable sons and daughters. It would cause a feeling of opposition in England and Europe which it would be most difficult to suppress; and how, under such a outrage, collision could be avoided with America, we cannot undertake to say.

#### REMARKS.

As to the revival of the Slave-trade, the horrors of the middle passage can be prevented by an application to that traffic of the present laws regulating the passage of emigrants from Europe to the United States. The trade does not require what is called stealing. *Emigrants* from Africa can be procured, and they may be called apprentices. This is the plan now recommended for immediate adoption by the *New York Herald*. The *Star* does not correctly understand the American system of Government. "The President of the American Confederation" would not be called upon "to authorize slave cruisers;" nothing but a repeal or modification of the present acts of Congress is required. If the prohibition be removed, any person may on free trade principles engage in the traffic.

#### How a Disputed Presidential Election can be Settled.

[From the London Daily News, November 22.]

It appears to be an undisputed fact that a vast manufacture of votes has been carried on by the Democratic party, and especially in Pennsylvania. The charge is specific, and supported by an array of evidence which appears to silence denial; for we observe nothing like denial or any reciprocal charge in any of the American journals which have reached us. There is a Supreme Court in every State, and at Washington, and it remains to be seen whether the elections will be impugned before any such court. If not, the reason will probably be that there is a better tribunal before which the will of the majority may be truly ascertained. The United States have a Parliament, happily; and while they have that there is no occasion to rebel. A federal Parliament is not so easy to corrupt as a State election. A manufacture of votes may carry a State, which leads other States, and thus decide an election against the popular choice, but the process must be much longer—if it were at all practicable—with a federal congress. If there is faith in the Judiciary of the Union, the validity of the election may be tested in the Supreme Court. If such faith is shaken (and if so, what a change since the days of Marshall and Story!) a session of Congress will disclose the quantity of the nominal majority, and show what the national will and opinion really are.

#### REMARKS.

The Supreme Court has no power to test the validity of a Presidential election. Many questions may arise in a Presidential election. More than one set of electors in a State may send in a return; or, where only one return is made, the election may have been carried by force or fraud; one party may assert that the person elected is disqualified, which may be denied by another party. In these and other cases the struggle will be to get possession of the White-house, but still the President *de facto* may be resisted by the President *de jure* whenever the latter is sustained by a powerful section of the country. In our judgment, the Presidential system is sure to lead to the destruction of the Republican form of government.

#### Power of the Millions of Freemen in the North. Whether Kansas will be a Free State.

[From the London News.]

The *News* contends that the opposition will be strong enough to modify, restrain and correct the national policy.

To announce, therefore, that the fate of Kansas is decided, that slavery is not to be confined within its present limits, and that the South is still to rule the Union, is not only hasty and foolish, but ignorant and highly insulting to the great body of the American people.

Our readers must be tired of hearing of "the three-fifths suffrage," by which alone the members from the slave States have got into Congress at all, any time within the last twenty years. But that prodigious abuse must be referred to, whenever the prospects of American parties are in question. No sane man can suppose that this suffrage (the suppositious support of three-fifths of a slave population, which on all other occasions is declared not to be human at all) can *subsist any longer than the millions of freemen in the North choose to permit*; and no more can any sane man doubt that the opinion and will of those free millions, when reproduced in Congress, must effectually check and modify any policy proposed by a very small minority who owe their opportunity of speech in Congress solely to an imaginary suffrage—in brief, a majority which may be bagged at the polls on a single occasion, by a superior organization, and, as alleged, by fraud, can at pleasure make itself heard and felt in Congress, so as to change the administration and render the President either reasonable or incapable of much mischief. Whether such a course of events would not bring on disunion is another question. Our opinion is, and has been for twenty years past, that a revolution, in one form or another—peaceable or violent, easy or formidable, by treaty or by the sword—is the natural and inevitable consequence of the earliest compromises of the constitution; and there is certainly nothing in recent or present events to make us suppose that the preparatory process is suspended.

Looking at the plain facts of the day, we see more and more evidence that the conflict is in no respect

decided, nor in any degree mitigated, by the mere result of the Presidential election. The latest news from Kansas is that very little interest is felt about the Presidential election there, as both parties were resolved on carrying on their struggle, whatever might be doing in Washington. The free settlers are resolved (and there is a remarkable pertinacity in the sons of Pilgrims when settling new countries) neither to admit slave institutions nor to go away. They know themselves to be not only the majority, but almost the entire population of Kansas. They have bought the land and built their dwellings, and they intend to make their own institutions. They are still importing arms, ammunition and provisions, and organizing themselves for the assertion of their rights. The border-ruffians are preparing for another invasion, and both parties declare that the previous struggle was a mere skirmish in comparison with the warfare about to begin. As Western Missouri is by no means united in support of the invasion, and as the South sends only fighting-men and no settlers to Kansas, it appears probable that the election of Mr. Buchanan cannot indeed settle the fate of Kansas, but only, at worst, draw the distant States into the conflict, and make Kansas literally, as it was before metaphorically, the battle-field of the Union.

## REMARKS.

The millions of freemen in the North have about as much control over the Federal Government as the people of Hungary have over the Government of Austria.

There will be no conflict in Kansas—the pro-slavery men have undisputed control of the body called the Legislature of that Territory—a body which has been fully recognised by the present President—and no one can reasonably expect the next President to repudiate its authority. The settlers in Kansas will resist it no further, for the question as to the validity of the acts of that Legislature is no longer open—it has been settled in favor of the border-ruffians.

#### Respect in the United States for the Majority. Whether the Questions at Issue are Interesting to the People of Europe.

[From the Liverpool Times, November 22.]

The great struggle is over, and Mr. Buchanan is the adopted of the American people. On this side of the water the feeling was in favor of Col. Fremont, because it was believed that his success would have arrested that march for the expansion of slavery on which the South has entered, and which may be said to have triumphed in the person of Mr. Buchanan. Where sympathy for a cause comes into antagonism with self-interest, the former, in a majority of cases, gives way; but so repugnant is the English mind to the principle of slavery—to the "domestic institution," as it is called—that in this instance the reverse is the case. Our sympathies ought, measured by the standard of the pocket, to be with the Southern planters. Almost to a man they are free-traders, abhor the differential duty of thirty per cent., by which the New England manufacturers endeavor to hold their ground against imports from the old country, and if the Union were rent asunder, they would be drawn closer to us by those ties which convince them that we are their best customers. And yet, as we have stated, even this strong motive for wishing them success is counterbalanced by our love for an abstract principle—that principle which declares all men to be equal in the eyes of the Omnipotent, and the corollary from which is, that all men ought to be equal in the eyes of the law.

It is amusing how soon party spirit, carried to the verge of excess, subsides in the United States when the will of the sovereign people becomes known. It scarcely here with indistinctly a equal in but an unequal preponderance which is the genius of the American Constitution to represent. However fierce the struggle, however superhuman the efforts which have been made to secure victory, the belligerents, when the battle is over, lay down their arms without forgetting each other's respect. It requires a long course of educational training in practical freedom to attain this control, but it is possessed by the Americans to an extent unknown in any other country where free institutions exist, and the solution of the enigma must be looked for in the fact that every man feels himself an atom in the great total—the equal of the foremost in the land, and the self-

respect so generated pays to the State the homage of an ungrudging submission. Men deserve to be free who can make such sacrifices for individual opinion, and yet yield with patriotic philosophy to the course of events which they cannot control. The Union stands in little danger of disruption while this noble sentiment animates the breasts of American citizens.

It will be the policy of the British Government to preserve a strict neutrality between the contending parties in the United States. The questions at issue are questions with which persons not Americans have little or nothing to do, for we are not amongst the number of those who believe that a statesman of Mr. Buchanan's rank will countenance the seizure of Cuba, or throw his arms over the piratical expedition of the filibusters in Nicaragua. Many points are introduced into a great political struggle like the Presidential contest, for the sake of a temporary success, with which the winning candidate elevated to power seems to be identified. The main issue in the late election was the extension of slavery by the South to keep pace with the growing expansion of power in the North and West, and this issue has been answered in the affirmative. It is our business to stand by, quiet spectators of the game, and if it be played out in a way which interferes with no extraneous interest, any, the least interference on our part, would be impertinent. In fact, we believe, from Mr. Buchanan's antecedents, that he will exert himself to remove the scandals brought upon his party by the policy of his Southern supporters, and that the civil war which has disgraced Kansas, and roused the ire of the free States, will receive, under his administration, a check which must remove all just cause of complaint.

Enough has transpired to show that the political power of the abolitionists has been sadly overrated. The determination to preserve the Union in its integrity is the first consideration with all right-minded Americans; and although the Governors of the Southern States recently met to concert measures for seceding from the Union in the event of Colonel Fremont's success, we believe that, had that gentleman been elected, the Southern States would have resigned themselves to the result with the same magnanimity as their Northern countrymen. The question of slavery, after all, is a question of dollars; and the time, we hope, is not distant when the North and the South will come to terms on this vexed question, and agree upon some scheme which will set it at rest for ever. Mr. Buchanan is a compromise between two extremes, and in the present condition of things it is perhaps fortunate that he has been chosen to fill the Presidential chair at a time when prudent councils and a firm hand are indispensable for piloting the vessel of the State into the harbor of safety.

## REMARKS.

The remark of the Liverpool Times that "the minority bow with instinctive respect to that numerical preponderance which it is the genius of the American Constitution to represent," is somewhat misleading, seeing that a great many of the leading men of the South threatened to pay no respect to the Federal Government unless their man should be elected to the Presidency. We may here observe that it is not the genius of the American Constitution to represent a numerical preponderance—that Constitution is a compound and compromise of political principles. The assertion that "the questions of issue are questions with which persons not Americans have little or nothing to do" is wholly erroneous, as well as the proposition that "the question of slavery, after all, is a question of dollars." Upon the slavery question the fate of the Republic depends. Moreover, if the Southern oligarchy continues to rule the Confederation, the United States will soon be at war with England, for the South is only waiting for a favorable opportunity to rush forward and aid in the destruction of the great European liberal power. This fact is well known to the statesmen of Russia, and will exercise a powerful influence over their policy. Domestic misrule and foreign wars, got up for the purpose of extending slavery, these are the price to be paid by the free States for their connexion with slavery. Instead of being a mere question of dollars it is the question of questions, the first on which all American politics turn, whether domestic or foreign.

#### Triumph of the Pro-Slavery Party in the United States. Their Objects. Opening Nicaragua to the African Slave-Trade. England's Hostility to the Renewal of the Slave-Trade.

[From the London Post, November 22.]

The recent success of the pro-slavery party in the United States has led them to adopt a tone, and to indulge in speculations, of a somewhat startling kind. Having won a great victory—a fact which it is impossible to deny—they are evidently determined to make the most of it. We ought not to be surprised that, under these circumstances, they should express—through their organs—the firmest determination to uphold their favorite "institution" in defiance of its enemies. This is the least that could have been expected. But we were hardly prepared to find that, not content with maintaining slavery where it now exists, they are boldly seeking to extend it to the South as well as to the West. The fate of Kansas and the adjoining territories, we presume, has been decided for the present by the election of Mr. Buchanan. But his adherents in the South are not satisfied with these results. They look impatiently for further triumphs. Their object is not only to extend, but to perpetuate slavery; and, in order to effect their purpose, they do not hesitate openly to advocate measures of the most unscrupulous—nay, of the most criminal—character. It is well that we should know what these are, because we may be forced to resist them. Indeed, we should be bound to do so, unless we chose deliberately to abandon our high position among the nations.

The following extracts from American journals recently received in this country will best explain our meaning: "We have more than once referred," says the New Orleans Delta, "to the necessity of introducing slavery into Nicaragua, as the only means by which Walker and his followers could consolidate and perpetuate their new Republic; because, from the nature of its climate and products, the Anglo-American settlers were unable to cultivate the soil profitably themselves, and the native mongrel inhabitants were almost totally worthless as free laborers. We also alluded to significant assurances we had received from authorized sources that Walker designed, as soon as he could prudently do so, to publicly legalize slavery within his dominions, and invite slaveholders to emigrate thither with their slaves. We know some weeks since that a decree to this effect had been drawn up, and we now learn that it has been promulgated. We confidently pronounce it the wisest, most prudent and statesmanlike act of his administration. It is the one thing needful," &c.

With regard to the decree alleged to have been thus promulgated, we would observe that the position of Walker is as yet by no means secure. His enemies, we learn by the latest accounts, were still sanguine of success, and the Costa Ricans, in particular, appear determined to resist to the last. It no doubt suits the views of his sympathisers in the States to assume that he has established a firm footing in Central America. But this he has certainly not hitherto done, whatever he may yet do. Bearing this fact in mind, let us return to the journal in question, which is not satisfied with advocating the introduction of slavery into Central America—it explains to us, in addition, the mode in which that may be most effectually accomplished. "There is another step further along, however," it continues, "more difficult, it may be, but scarcely less important, as a prime auxiliary in making the first effective—that is, opening Nicaragua to the African Slave-trade." Another journal, the Carolina Times, expresses itself still more strongly upon this point. After referring to the decree of Walker, establishing slavery in his so-called dominions, it adds, "For our own part, we are highly pleased with the decree, for we are decidedly in favor of the re-opening of the African Slave-trade, in order that the pace of wretches may be reduced to such a figure that every industrious poor man may purchase and become a slaveholder," &c.

Let not the men of the South deceive themselves upon this point. England will never consent to the revival of the Slave-trade. Her abhorrence of it remains unmitigated and unconquerable; she has pledged herself to its suppression by innumerable treaties; she has opposed it by active hostilities for fifty years; and she will not now abandon a policy which has, under the blessing of Providence, had the effect of extinguishing the traffic in every quarter excepting in the colonies of Spain. We believe that France is equally in earnest in this matter. Let the men of Louisiana and Carolina consider these things. They may rely upon it that, in their efforts to

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revive the Slave-trade, the opposition of the Northern States will not prove their only difficulty.

England's consent to a renewal of the slave-trade is not required. The unfortunate decision of the British High Court of Admiralty, which was followed by the Supreme Court of the United States, that the Slave-trade is not contrary to the law of nations, is decisive of the question.

### Recognition of Walker by the United States. Its Object. The Frebooters Denounced. Establishment of Slavery by Walker. Whether England ought to Interfere.

[From the London Post, November 17.]

Walker's position, for months after his descent upon Nicaragua, was precarious in the extreme. Indeed, it was not until after his government was recognised by the United States—a step taken apparently with the sole view of enabling the adventurer to hold his ground—that he became really formidable. The moral effects of that recognition were such as it was intended to produce. Under its sanction adventurers of every grade hastened to join the filibustering chief from all parts of the United States, and among them it is now said he can count M. Soule, ex-ambassador to Spain, whose strange proceedings in that country and at Ostend must still be fresh in the remembrance of our readers. Viewed as a whole, this filibustering invasion of Nicaragua, and its results, afford us an insight into the political morality of the Western world which it is impossible to regard without uneasiness. Such things, we believe, could not take place in any part of Europe—may, were such an enterprise as that of Walker's attempted, it would be condemned by the unanimous voice of all governments, whether despotic or free. To find a parallel case on this side of the Atlantic, we must go back to the early middle ages, when the sea kings sailed the ocean, and regarded every country upon which they could obtain a footing as their lawful prey.

Meanwhile, the great and absorbing question which agitates the United States is now becoming an important feature in the politics of Central America. It is asserted, and upon extremely probable grounds, that Walker has identified himself with the slavery party, and that he will take the earliest opportunity of reintroducing the "institution," as its advocates delight to call it, into the countries which he has subjected or may subject to his dominion. Slavery was declared to be illegal by the Central American States after they had flung off the Spanish yoke, and the law must, therefore, be altered before it can be revived in that quarter. This contingency we confess that we confidently anticipate, provided Walker is enabled to hold his ground—a circumstance which, by the last arrival, does not seem quite so certain as some have supposed. He owes his recognition by the United States to the slavery party, who doubtless saw in him a fit instrument for extending their influence and propagating their views. They came forward to his aid at a very critical period in his career, and it is not probable that, under the circumstances, either he or they will forget such obligations. We perceive, indeed, that some of Walker's friends deny his pro-slavery sympathies, but we must have better proof than their assertions before we place reliance upon such probabilities. The interests of both the parties in question point clearly in the opposite direction.

It may be asked whether we are not called upon to inter- fect in these Central American complications, but we believe the question admits of a simple reply. Filibusterism is no doubt an alarming feature in transatlantic politics, and the strange combination of Democracy and slavery is ominous of future mischief; but so long as no attempt is made to impose the institutions of the model Republic upon any portion of our dominions, we best consult both our interest and our honor by maintaining a strict neutrality. To lay down any precise rules as to the right of intervention in foreign quarrels is simply impossible. Every State must judge for itself in determining these nice points, and such, in fact, has been the practice of nations up to the present time. Our interests in the contest now raging in Central America are too remote and uncertain to entitle us to take an active part in it. But we confess that we cannot regard the future without apprehension. No one can tell to what consequences the success of filibusterism in Central America may lead, and at the present time the chances appear to be in favor of its success. Under these circumstances we must be prepared to defend our possessions, wherever situated and by whomsoever attacked

The policy of forbearance, when carried too far, invites aggression. We have, in the West, carried this policy quite far enough. Happily there is as yet no ground for active interference, but it is our duty to watch closely the progress of events, and, if compelled to act, to act vigorously and effectively.

### Importance of the late Presidential Election. Character of Buchanan.

[From the London Economist.]

It seems certain that Mr. Buchanan has been chosen President by a large majority. It is the victory of the party whose principles of policy are the extension of slavery, the acquisition of fresh territory, in order to aid that extension, and the destruction of the few remaining restraints on popular tyranny which the wisdom of the founders of the American Constitution had established. Three characteristics more fatal to peace and progress can scarcely be imagined. The Buchanan Government, if it be true to the avowed doctrines of its chief and his active supporters, will be violent and retrogressive at home, aggressive and filibustering abroad. We cannot forget that Mr. Buchanan has been deliberately and elaborately a mischief-maker—more dangerous even, because more decent, than M. Pierre Soule. He was the moving spirit of the Ostend Conference, where freebooting doctrines were consolidated into a manifesto; and the Central-American quarrel was his own pet affair—not Mr. Pierce's; it was got up and kept alive by his perverse ingenuity alone. His elevation, therefore, of itself is a fact disturbing and deplorable enough.

### SPIRIT OF THE GERMAN PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES.

#### Wretchedness in New York.

The *Staats Zeitung*, the only German pro-slavery paper in New York, contains an extract from the report of a committee appointed by the Legislature of the State to inquire into the condition of tenant houses in this city, from which we make the following translation:

In twenty districts of the city of New York there are more than 1,200 tenant houses of the lowest character, with no less than ten families in each. In some there are twenty families; in a few others a hundred families are crowded together; one contains a hundred and ten families, some of whom consist of from eight to ten persons living in one room, or in a dark cellar, the air alone of which is sufficient to create dangerous diseases. In these places there are to be found *drovards of both sexes, blind and crippled children, girls from ten to fifteen years old, human beings of every age and color, living and sleeping pell-mell together.* There are found crawling about on the floor children without any healthy food, who, according to all appearance, are destined to become inmates of our prisons or hospitals, if an early death should not save them from such a wretched future. Indeed, we have no words to describe the misery and sufferings, of which the report of this committee bears testimony. In some houses black and white people—negro men and white women, white men and negro women, cohabit together. There may be seen young faces enervated with unmistakable signs of want and neglect—living pictures of early age superinduced by wretchedness, vice and poverty, misery and crime in their most appalling forms, met the committee at every step. Scarcely one room could be found free from sickness; scarcely one family unincumbered by drunkenness; very few attempts at cleanliness, industry and temperance were visible, and wherever such signs appeared the committee learned that such families had not long resided in the premises, so that demoralization had but partially commenced its too certain work on them. It is feared that the mephitic air will prove contagious to many, that their constitutions will be undermined, that they will soon fall a prey to disease and poverty. Dirtiness, drunkenness, vice, neglect of health and of children, combine to present a doleful picture, the reality of which the observer may perceive every day in the midst of riches and luxury.

Many of the owners of these tenant houses derive a larger income from them than from palaces in the best parts of the city. *Every underground cellar which is not absolutely overflooded with dirt and water is inhabited by one or more families.* There is not the least ventilation, the floors are covered with dirt, and the waste pipes, coming from the upper rooms and running through these

cellars, diffuse a suffocating stench sufficient to infect the whole neighborhood.

In the face of these disclosures, who is ready to assert that this is a Christian city? Are these the consequences of our liberty—the great triumphs of civilization in the nineteenth century? Can anybody doubt that more than our Christianity is needed to make human society that which it ought to be?

### The German Press on the Presidential Message.

The German Republican papers comment severely on the recent Message of President Pierce. We translate the following extracts from the same:

The *Pioneer* says:

The King in a black dress-coat, after proving that his position permits him to do anything he pleases, seems to be willing to prove at the conclusion of his career, that he may say anything he likes.

That the Republican party has been defeated is not sufficient for him. No! he, like his Southern masters, makes it a crime for that party that it has fought for victory, that it has dared to exist, and to express an opinion different from that of the slaveholders and their first servant. Those topics only which are agreeable to the South are allowed to be discussed. This is the new Union doctrine pronounced by the slaveholders, and repeated by their minion.

It is a matter of course that the actions of the banditti in Kansas and the banditti laws enacted by the pro-slavery invaders are set down as the natural consequences of the action of the North. The defence of right against wrong is a criminal assault, and produces a natural reaction, therefore right must suffer everything from wrong; this is the new legal doctrine of Mr. Pierce, it being also the legal doctrine of kings, by the grace of God. In the President's eyes freedom has no more rights than slavery;—may more, freedom ought to give way everywhere, when slavery advances.

The *New Yorker Staats Democrat* says:

This Message crowns the efforts of Mr. Pierce. It is a complete characteristic of his administration: it consists of lies and misrepresentations. That part of it which treats of the state of the Union is fit only for an electioneering pamphlet, written before the fourth of November, and even as such Capt. Rynders would have written it better, as he would have disguised the lies a little more skilfully. Pierce has proved that he was a tool of the slave power during his whole administration, and now, in the moment when he is forced to leave the Presidential chair, he still shows himself to be a bitter partisan and an enemy of the North.

The enumeration of the attacks, which the poor innocents, called slaveholders, had to suffer from the North during a great number of years, is very comical. President Pierce, who is so fond of these poor creatures, must have shed tears in describing their intense sufferings. These tears of compassion and sympathy must have blinded the eyes of poor Pierce, else he would have seen, that it was the North which always remained on the defensive, and that the South was the aggressive party.

The *Abend-Zeitung* says:

The unworthy manner with which the President abuses his high official position, to cast aspersion upon the Republican party and to degrade it in the eyes of the country by vulgar defamation and insult, which hitherto have been used in the lowest grog-shops only, might create scorn, if such a sentiment were not overborne by contempt for a man, who groves by every word he utters that he is nothing but a puppet in the hands of Davis's extreme Southern faction. It was believed that Mr. Pierce, after having lost all chances of re-election would free himself from the influence of this faction; but this supposition rested upon the error that he acted from calculation and not from weakness. This Message stamps Mr. Pierce irretrievably as the *President fulminant*.

### SENATE COMMITTEE: EXCLUSION OF REPUBLICANS.—

Mr. Trumbull, of the Senate, in a speech recently delivered before that body, complained that the "Committee on Indian Affairs consisted wholly of Southern men, and that on none of the important Committees was there a single member of the Republican Party." The oligarchy do not choose to be pestered with a set of Republicans on the Committees. They might present minority reports, and cause a good deal of trouble.





## 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, ultra the Slave-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 propagation of liberty on this continent as well as in Europe.

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

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

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

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

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

## THE EUROPEAN.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1856.

**The New Maritime Law. Changes of Tone of the American Press. Mr. Cobden and the London "Times" on the Subject.**

Since the publication of our previous remarks on this topic, a portion of the New York press has discovered that Mr. Marcy's celebrated counter proposition is destitute of good sense, and, in fact, wholly untenable; and moreover, that its adoption would be prejudicial to the interests of the United States.

The *Journal of Commerce* wishes the American Government to recede from its position, if it can be done without dishonor; and the New York *Times* says: "The doctrine of Secretary Marcy is of no force whatever if it stop short of protecting private property everywhere, and to do that is to put an end to war altogether."

The *Journal of Commerce* says that England, with her immense navy, would blockade all the United States ports effectively; and while American vessels were thus left rotting at the wharves, the English ships would be traversing the ocean unmolested.

The fact is, that Mr. Marcy, in the hot pursuit of his unachievable purpose of exciting jealousy on the part of the smaller maritime powers, and arraying them against England, and being, moreover, anxious to display his vast erudition, research and ingenuity, overlooked some very important considerations.

We have no doubt that the American Government will recede from its position. Indeed, the President had no power to make the counter proposition. Any engagement on the part of this country with others, providing how war shall be carried on, must be in the shape of a treaty; and that requires the action of the Senate as well as of the President.

The *Journal of Commerce* proposes the abolition

of blockades in regard to vessels not having contraband goods on board. But a correspondent of the same paper insists that even with that change in the Maritime Law, it would be unadvisable for the United States to give up the practice of privateering. The writer of this letter has overlooked the operation of the new Maritime Law providing that the neutral flag covers enemy's goods, and also the effects of the introduction of steam in ocean navigation. The business of privateering will not in future be sufficiently remunerative to pay for building, manning, equipping and sustaining large strong and fleet steamships able to cope with ships of war; nor would steam privateers be able to go any considerable distance from port on account of the difficulty of obtaining coal. For the various reasons which we have already fully set forth in our examination of this subject in our previous numbers, privateering is obsolete.

We observe that Mr. Cobden has recently written a letter to the President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, stating that if the American proposition had not been misrepresented and dealt with in a spirit of ill-will by some of the English journals, it must have received an unanimous assent in England as it had from all parties in the United States. Mr. Cobden does not understand this question, and will be rather surprised to see the sudden change in the opinion of the press here.

The London *Times* of November 26th reviews Mr. Cobden's letter, and says: "It appears to us, after reconsidering the subject, that in consenting to respect the private property of neutrals in an enemy's vessels, and the private property of an enemy in neutral vessels, we have granted all that we can afford." The *Times* is no longer deluded by Mr. Marcy's followers, but does not yet fully comprehend the bearings of the question; it has hitherto failed to perceive the full effect of the continuance of the existing law of blockades, which law is expressly recognised in Mr. Marcy's reply to M. de Martignac. Throwing out of view the mis-statements and false reasoning of that document, and taking Mr. Marcy's proposition as it stands, England would have no objection to it; but she could not consent to abolish the law of blockades, even if the whole civilized world were to unite in asking her to do so, for that would be a mere abandonment of her advantages as a great naval power, without any adequate equivalent.

**Renewal of the Slave-Trade. Apprentices from Africa. Nientungu.**

The opposition of the few slaveowners in the middle States to the renewal of the Slave-trade will be overruled by the many who have no surplus slaves for exportation, but who desire to have more laborers.

This object can be attained without a direct renewal of the old system in all its features.

The New York *Beacon* of the 6th instant, suggests how all difficulties can be easily avoided.

We would simply suggest, that it is right and feasible to introduce Cochin labor into the West Indies and other places, as a gift of \$100,000 per month, why not allow the same to be done in Africa, where the same amount of Africa, goods would be used in paying for the same? Such a measure would remove the barriers of the Slave-trade, and greatly lessen the expense of watching for slaves on the inhospitable coast of Africa. Will Lord Palmerston and the Foreign Office think of this?

His suggestion of the *Beacon* is admirably adapted to the popular taste. If Walker succeeds in obtaining his recognition by France and England, the African Slave-trade will be opened to Nientungu without any attempt at subterfuge or concealment. The treaty between England and the Central American Republic on the subject of the Slave-trade has no binding effect upon the several States now independent, which proved part of that Republic.

It is true that Bynkershoek maintained that the United Provinces, as an independent State, were en-

titled to the benefit of the treaties of navigation concluded between Austria and England and Austria and Denmark, while those Provinces formed a part of the Austrian dominions. But their claims were rejected both by England and Denmark, and Whidman, in his *Institute of International Law*, says that such rejection was right, and he is supported by the authority of Grotius and Vattel. The reciprocal stipulations of a treaty are entire and binding upon a State as one body, and cannot be apportioned to its different members or Provinces.

**Memorandum to the great Cities of the United States. The Baltimore "Sun" advises caution in telling the Truth. Its Description of Sabbath-Day Amusements in Baltimore. Murders in that City.**

The Baltimore *Sun*, of December 10, says that what that paper calls "the celebrated Arrowsmith hoax," is ascribed to a conductor upon the railroad on which the series of duels was said to be fought, and it is reported that the conductor aforesaid enjoys the joke hugely. The Baltimore *Sun* adds:

After "Ezekiel Tom," "Dred," and Mrs. Howe herself, we really doubt whether it is possible to get up anything sufficiently absurd, if only sufficiently defamatory of the Southern States, to tax in any sensible degree the easy faith of a portion of the British press and people. And with this as a general probability before us, it really leaves us to be rather cautious how we tell the truth, where such snippets of inconsiderate trifles may hurt about us, as racing correspondents of the London *Times*. We must therefore beg, as a sort of national favor, that romancing engineers and conductors on railroads, and anybody else predisposed to a frolic of this sort, will make sure of their company before they indulge their imagination, and save us all from the hoax department of the London *Times*.

By way of comment on the above, we take leave to put before our readers the following extracts from the same paper, of the same date and of the previous day (Dec. 9.) With such horrible realities before us is it not puerile to be squabbling so much about a report, whether true or false, respecting a few duels in Georgia? The *Sun* must be more cautious in future how it tells "the truth," if it desires to prevent the people of Europe from forming the opinion that a very deplorable state of affairs prevails in the great cities of the United States.

[From the Baltimore *Sun*, December 9.]

**Sabbath-Day Amusements.**—For two or three Sabbath past, the vicinity of Columbia and Scott streets has been the scene of the most disgraceful stunts and puerile fights between rival crowds of youths, whose ages are said to range from ten to sixteen years, during the progress of which they observe to the letter the example set them by the older ones of that same street, and use their pistols with the utmost recklessness and daring. During a fight of this character which took place there on Sunday last, one of the combatants, William Latashy, about fourteen years of age, and residing on Street street, near Columbia, was shot in the left thigh, the ball passing entirely through the same. He was taken to the drug store of Mr. Frank Mast, and his injuries attended to by Dr. Colburn, after which he was taken home. The citizens of that section are desirous that the proper authorities should give some extra attention to this matter for a few Sundays, or until these disgraceful proceedings are brought to an end.

[From the Baltimore *Sun*, December 10.]

**Execution from America.**—The Grand Jury of the Circuit Court yesterday indicted Jackson Hamill for the alleged willful murder of William C. Knight, at Recharite Hall, by shooting him. He was previously indicted for an assault with intent to kill Knight, and released on bail. But Knight subsequently died from his wound, and hence the indictment for murder. Hamill is not yet re-arrested. This makes fourteen indictments for murder the present term.

The Grand Jury this term have made thus far 443 presentments, and returned 441 indictments. They have not yet closed their labors and been discharged, as stated by some of the papers. They will, probably, be adjourned to-day.



him in 1837, when adversity was pressing sorely upon him. The King is pushing events all this way; but, unless it be to revenge himself on wrongs real or fancied—but which, if real, few forgive or forget—nobody sees very well what he is to gain himself in the upshot.

ITALY.

What Prevents England's Intervention in favor of Liberty.

To those who preach patience and legality to the Italians, the *Italia e Popolo* puts a question: "Of what avail can be patience and legality against bayonets and the bastinado?"

The same journal, treating of the Neapolitan question, says:

If the establishment of justice and the abolition of in-cerate oppression were the object of the joint intervention of France and England, their arms ought first to be turned against Austria, the oppressor of the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces, and the prop of the throne of Ferdinand of Naples; and likewise against the Pope, who gives an example and a benediction to King Bomba. Were these two inenb removed, which weigh upon prostrate Italy, the direct support of foreign bayonets, always menacing the patriots, would fall the tyrant of Southern Italy; and the indirect aid of the clergy would also be much diminished.

REMARKS.

There is a great deal of truth in the words of the *Italia e Popolo*. But how can England, without a sincere ally, venture to draw upon herself the vengeance of the despotic Powers of Europe, joined, as they inevitably would be, by the pro-slavery Government of the United States? Had not the French Republic, and the other popular governments of Europe been destroyed, or did the Government of the United States sympathize with liberty, the action of England might be prompt and truly liberal against the Neapolitan, Papal, Austrian, or other tyrannies—England's enemies—and the foreign policy of the nation might be in perfect accordance with the wishes of the people of England, wherever she is, from her present position, forced into alliances with despotisms wholly repugnant to her since France, under the existing regime, will do nothing in favor of the oppressed nationalities, England is prevented from pursuing what would otherwise be her obvious policy.

Mazzini.

On Wednesday evening a lecture upon Mazzini was delivered at Brooklyn, by the Rev. J. P. Thompson before an attentive audience. His life and labors in favor of liberty in Italy, his exile, his exertions in England for the education of poor Italian children, his incorruptibility, and his untiring perseverance were ably dwelt upon. The condition of Italy—the hopes and fears of the patriots—the difficulties and dangers to which the patriots are exposed, were admirably shown. Such lectures are of great use in enlightening the public mind, and ought to be printed and widely circulated.

Sympathy of England for the oppressed Nationalities.

From the West and Boston organs, November 1.

It is a pity that the American public, who are so generous in their sympathies, are so slow to see the great wrongs that are being done in Europe, and that they are so slow to see the great wrongs that are being done in Europe, and that they are so slow to see the great wrongs that are being done in Europe.

The reason why England has not intervened in the Italian question is not a secret. It is the fact that England has not the power to do so, and that she is not willing to do so.

In the opinion of the English press, it will not be good unless brought to that result.

REMARKS.

The Brussels organ of Russianism is right in its opinion of Great Britain. The English do sincerely sympathize with the sufferings of the oppressed nationalities; but the circumstances are so widely different from anything within their view or recollection at home, that they do not generally know how to analyse the subject, and consequently they seldom interfere with the foreign policy of the ministry for the time being. The presence in London of crowds of distinguished refugees, the improved facilities of communication with the Continent, and the late war which arose from the increased influence of the Czar after the intervention in Hungary, have induced Englishmen to consider more attentively continental questions. The *Nord* comprehends pretty clearly that the British ministry is virtually subservient to the House of Commons; that therefore it will be impossible for any length of time to withstand the national will. Hence England must daily become an increasing source of uneasiness to the despotic Powers.

The situation of England is perilous. Without one sincere ally among the first-rate powers of the world, the ministry feels itself compelled to avert the storm by one day playing off France against Russia—another day Austria against France—and then France against Austria—and striving to keep dependent on her some of the second-rate kingdoms and principalities. On the other hand, to appease the feelings at home, some demonstrations are made against the tyrant of Naples.

What a misfortune for England was the suppression of popular government on the Continent, which in 1848 had fair to supplant the old despotism!

England's Danger from a Combination of the Military Despots of Europe.

(From the Anglo-Saxon, December 6.)

We have been accustomed to regard such an event as the invasion of England by foreign despot as visionary, and, indeed, impossible, but, after all, the question is not without its alarming features, for if Louis Napoleon should be led off from his alliance with Great Britain, he might form a junction with Russia. Prussia in that case would join Russia, since France could, with an army marshaled to, or across the Rhine, keep in subjection any Democratic uprising in Germany. With France, Russia and Prussia in a state of coalition, Austria could not hold out, she must come into the general conspiracy, and then be for the conquest of England, her first intention, and drive all her free press. The present position of the continent, would make it an easy task to strike off through out on the coast of Kent, who could march to London in a few hours, possess itself of the resources of the Bank, and the capital of the empire. The Duke of Wellington thought such a thing not impossible, and therefore he said Mr. John Burgoyne to write that celebrated letter which was published a few years since.

England has no safety but in her regular position, and even that is soon imperiled under the effects of modern warfare. She has no resources to oppose the march of an army, she has no resources to oppose the march of an army, she has no resources to oppose the march of an army.

In view of the present state of such a combination England should have a better organization of her militia and volunteer forces, but that of Canada for instance, and also should have an opportunity to have in readiness a great force for the coast, and should have a capable of operating on her own element all the that may attempt to approach her. Then would be no more need of bulwarks. No towers along the steep. Her march to the mountain ways. Her home is in the deep.

We shall return to this subject, for except the alliance with France, England has nothing to avert the wrath of the northern powers and such combinations as they may organize against her.

Election Frauds, Ballot-stuffing, Judge Cupron's Charge to the Grand Jury.

The following charge was delivered to the Grand Jury of the city of New York on 1st December:

Gentlemen: My associate on this bench very forcibly and eloquently called the attention of the last Grand Jury convened here, to alleged violations of the provisions of the election law of this State at the late election in this city. I will presume that you have read the Recorder's charge, and that it has not failed to make a permanent impression on your minds. If the most important one in our statute books, can be defied with impunity by hordes of irresponsible ruffians, when officials, charged with the sacred duty of preserving the integrity of the ballot-box, can intentionally violate their trust, and no punishment follow their perjury and frauds, when American citizens can be forcibly held from the polls, or murdered in their attempts to reach them by organized bands of retained desperadoes, and no arm of the law be effectively raised to redress the wrong, when even the candidates for municipal honor are willing to reach the goal of their ambition, though the path to it be stained with the blood of their fellow citizens, whom it was the duty of those aspirants to protect, but from whom that protection was wrongfully withheld, and no investigation be instituted sufficiently searching to develop the guilt and bring the guilty to punishment—if, I repeat, from the general apathy of the public to a sense of the enormity of these outrages, they shall be permitted to pass as unimportant, then indeed may there be reason to fear that the prophecy may be promulgated in our own Government, as it was of the Roman, "the days of the Republic are numbered." Cobbett once said, "That nations sometimes lose their independence centuries before they realize the loss." The history of the world verifies the saying. The decline of States and Empires may be traced to some small act or neglect, which, at the time of its occurrence, excited no attention, but which finally, by corrupting and degenerating public virtue, closed the story of national existence in servitude or in blood. The illegal casting of a ballot, the stuffing of a ballot-box or its destruction; procuring a vote to be falsely sworn to, or falsely swearing it in; changing the ballot of an illiterate elector, hindering an elector on his way to the polls, voting or offering to vote more than once at an election may, in individual cases, be deemed but trifling wrongs. Let however these offenses be multiplied, and the public authorities neglect or refuse to notice them officials, or that which is worse let public functionaries wink complacently on the perpetrators, and how rapid and diffuse is the demoralizing influence! Gradually and imperceptibly the standard of honor is reduced, patriotism declines, and the people become feeble and revolutionaries, and at length, they are prepared to be willing instruments of any demagogue whose ambition may outstrip his virtue, in the race of popularity and power.

The iron progressive of political degeneration from such sources is to be seen their progress in the beginning. The last Grand Jury performed a praiseworthy part in that work but from want of time, that body was unable to complete it, and what was then left induces you are now invited to perform. The investigations which have been already made develop a state of facts which leave no room for doubt that the result of the city canvass exhibited by the ballot boxes will give an correct indication of the political sentiment of the electors.

I am informed that testimony will be laid before you deeply impugning the integrity and fidelity of numerous members of the Police Department.

THE NEW MARITIME LAW.

The New York "Times" and the "Journal of Commerce" against Mr. Murray's Proposition.

(From the New York Times.)

The *Frederick* furnished a highly gratifying account of the reception of Secretary Murray's amendment to the maritime propositions of the Congress of Paris among members of that body. The Emperor of Russia gives his unreserved adhesion, and offers the





and America was first... no merit, however... idea would occur to... the success of sub-... opinion upon the... old be formed, it was... of experiments... in America.

...by the Atlantic... of the Treasury... umber 20, from which... government does not... the Telegraph Com-... shall continue in... referred to:

...November 20... Commissions of... of the 13th ult... on, requesting an behalf... and London Telegraph... in regard to... is proposed to establish... land, I am directed by... that they are prepared to... Telegraph Company... ions, namely

...capital required to try

...engage in furnish the... things may still be con-... those already taken, and... that may be made to... down the cable

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Condition of New York... Thousand Children... What should be done...

...before the Board of Edu-... of considerable importance... tion has been called to the... of children in our Ward... an increased and various... and finally the... that from 10,000 to 15,000... of attend school at all... Parents, had before, rough... of the law steps, all... in class

...consideration is that the Board... allowed to the legislature to... action, and should upon the... Industrial Schools, for the... city. These schools should... of the day most convenient to

the occupations of this class of children. The occupa- tion taught should be sewing, or some simple mechan- ical branch. The children should be selected for each school by visitors employed for the purpose, who should go out to find the vagrants and little beggars, and bring them in. The police are to carry out the Truant law, as is done in Boston, and to compel the children not truly engaged in business to attend these schools. The Primary Industrial School can thus become a stepping- stone to the Ward Schools, as these are to the Free Academy.

There are dangers connected with this scheme, and before the act is called for from the legislature these must be carefully considered. We must have no pre- judice on poverty. The vagrant ought not to have more advantages than the respectable poor. The schools must first make the destitution of their pupils tolerable, and no more, and then seek to elevate them. We do not believe either in any public feeding, if that is contemplated. Private individuals can accompany a need in a quiet way with their means of education, and do good; but the public never. We should have the soup kitchens of winter before last brought back on us, but carefully guarding against those and similar dan- gers, we believe some such plan as the one above sketched might be of great benefit to the city in edu- cating its most dangerous class.

REMARKS.

We differ from the Tribune on this subject. Public soup kitchens for the benefit of the poor may, by exposing the poverty prevailing in New York, be very hurtful to the vanity of its citizens, but in our opinion, the supply of soup in the waddy in winter time is an excellent form of charity. It is found to be very useful in London, and many other parts of England. The idea that all the children of the poor should be educated at the public cost, and yet that nothing should be done by the public to prevent them from starving, is in our mind absurd.

We maintain that all who are in need are entitled to be supported at the public expense. That is the theory of the English law, and it ought to be adopted forthwith in this country.

REstitution of the Management of the Railroad to the Georgia Railroad as to Bonds in Georgia, Outrages by Passengers on Georgia Railroads.

(From the New York Evening Post.) New York, December 7, 1856.

To the Editors of the Evening Post: In your issue of Saturday last you copy from the London Times the letter of Mr. John P. King, President of the Georgia Railroad, addressed to that journal, and in which is recorded the following rather bold decla- ration: "If you (the Times) really desire correct infor- mation in regard to Georgia, let me assure you that the laws against dwelling in Georgia are so strict, that I don't believe there has been a duel in this State for twenty years."

That Mr. King should have made such a bold decla- ration in regarding the State of Georgia, and, with it, we considered, create a wide-spread indignation. There is a slight mistake somewhere, and here is, Mr. King to be a high-toned gentleman, and a gentlemanly candid without, I am inclined to believe as the result of a short memory, rather than ignorance of passing events in his own State. There were in my mind, in the annual, some duels in Africa duels, with the... dents of which I became familiar during a long... residence in Georgia, and as I am in a line of business... of the most prominent of these could have escaped Mr. King's recollection I may be said to be... ing his memory with the names of some three or four.

The duel between Chapman and Jackson, the brother- in-law of the Savannah Republican, the duel between the Georgian, the duel between Charles Arnold and Henry Mungie, both of Savannah, the duel between Mr. Cook, one of the editors of the Savannah Journal, and Col. ... both of Savannah, the duel between James Charlton, editor of the Constitution, and W. James, editor of the Chronicle, and a duel near Augusta, Georgia, with the name of the assassin "prominent ones." I might mention the names of some twenty more, but that might be too long and unimportant. Individuals are generally considered as being killed in a passing moment. I had, however, almost for-

gotten that, in order to develop this penchant for this gentlemanly pastime, the Georgians make it a point to step across the Savannah river into South Carolina—a means by which they evade the laws of their own State. Clever Mr. King! Now, though I can assert that a more attentive and courteous class of conductors than those employed upon Georgia railroads are not to be found in this Union, I must at the same time admit that I have in two instances witnessed cases of stabbing be- tween passengers on Georgia railroads. Indeed, the very hand with which I write this note bears visible testimony of my interference to preserve peace in one of the cases referred to.

Yours very respectfully, F. C. ANAN.

Value Statistics, United States Statistics and reliable.

It should be generally known that, in a great variety of cases, but little reliance can be placed upon the statistics made up under the authority of the General Government, especially when the national vanity is to be gratified.

The New York Times of December 9, has the following:

Value of Statistics.—The report of the Secretary of State to Congress, giving the statistics of American commerce, makes the entire number of naturalized citi- zens in the country only 267. There are more than that number in this city alone any day in the year. The same report makes the number of registered ve- hicles in New York, 275; in Pennsylvania at 704, and in Massachusetts at 1,038. Of course the figures do not make any approach to the truth.

The Frequency of Railroad and Steamboat Accidents.

Railroad and steamboat accidents are so common in the United States, as to attract very little atten- tion. The following is an extract from the New York Times of December 9:

RAILROAD ACCIDENTS.—A train on the Cleveland and Pittsburgh Road ran into an engine train on the Ohio and Pennsylvania Road coming West, at Alliance, Ohio, this evening, killing ten persons and wounding several others. The following are the killed as far as we can be ascertained:

John Kelly, of Alliance; John M. Miller, of Alliance; Dr. Smith and lady, of Alliance; J. Atcherson, of New Garden, Ohio; Mrs. Ritchie, of New Garden, Ohio; & T. Taylor, of Philadelphia. John Hancock of New Jersey.

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On Saturday night at 9 o'clock, the new steamer New York, being fully laden, struck a rock, and was wrecked, with the loss of many lives and property. The following are the names of those who were killed: ...

Wholesale Dealers and Public Health.

The following is a list of wholesale dealers in New York, who are engaged in the sale of public health...

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by using facilities within his reach, but only in the confident hope that some turn in Fortune's wheel would enable him to restore it; the managers of the Transit Company succeeded in absorbing the whole property, and made large speculations in the shares besides, for the purpose of adding to their limited wealth. Schuyler dies in poverty and despair, while the Niagara men live, corrupting the very atmosphere of their ruined victims, and daily greeted on "change" as men of extraordinary ability and unqualified integrity.

There is nothing at this time that appeals with such force to the understanding of men, and convinces them of the corrupt state of the public morals, as these differ- ent degrees of public condemnation. If the affairs of the Niagara Transit Company were properly investi- gated, and the destroyers of its property daily held up by name to public scorn, other wicked knaves, now known to be busy using high places of responsibility and trust for the purpose of advancing their own pecuniary interests at the expense of the men who have trusted them, would be alarmed for their safety and driven from their purpore.

Freedom of the Press in North Carolina.

The Commercial, a North Carolina paper, has the following:

Freedom of the Press.—We hope the present Legislature will pass a law to prevent the circulation in the State of incendiary Southern newspapers, and other journals, that bear incite, calculated to produce discord and dissension among us. Our own papers are not permitted, without giving notice in some previous issue, to report matters affecting the institution of slavery, necessary to an intelligent view of the subject, in regard to the article presented upon it; while the New York Herald, Tribune, and other publications of a like character, abounding with abusive and insulting comments and recitals, false and calumnious, are freely circulated and paid for—the proprietors adding greatly to their wealth by Southern patronage. If the Legisla- ture should think it improper to come in conflict with the Federal authorities, by forbidding the delivery of such works by post-offices, they can fully meet the case by rendering it penal for any person to receive them, and the receipt of them is presumptive evidence of intention to circulation. Our representatives, however, who have control of the subject, will best know how to manage the affair.

The Herald of 2d December debars the North Carolina Legislature to try the experiment of making it a penal offence for our North Carolina subscribers to receive the New York Herald. Let them try the substitution experiment of bringing the authority of North Carolina into conflict with the supreme law of the land, and we shall join issue with them at Washington.

The Federal Courts have no jurisdiction over this matter. It is quite competent for the Legislature of North Carolina to check the liberty of the Press, or to make it a penal offence for any person to read any prohibited paper.

Letter from a Representative in the London Convention, regarding the United States, although a Republic in form, is practically less a Republic than England.

A letter bearing the signature of A. A. Pringle, a member of the London Convention, is published in the London Convention of London, appears in the London Convention of London, which presents a somewhat accurate picture of the result of the Presidential election. The writer says: "The British candidates for the Southern States, with the exception of Maryland, would vote for Buchanan, and that Pennsylvania, Illinois and Indiana would support their votes for him."

We extract the following passage from the London Convention letter:

The United States is a Republic. In form, but practically less a Republic than England. The British Government. An agreement has been entered into between the Convention and the Convention of London, which is a step towards the establishment of a Republic in form, but practically less a Republic than England. The British Government. An agreement has been entered into between the Convention and the Convention of London, which is a step towards the establishment of a Republic in form, but practically less a Republic than England.





ROYAL MAIL LINE STEAMERS WILL PLY regularly between Brockville and Kingston. Leaving Brockville, C. W., on the arrival of the Grand Trunk Railway Cars from Montreal, reaching Kingston the same evening, in time for the Lake Ontario Mail Steamers for Coburg, Port Hope, Toronto, Hamilton, &c.

The Train leaves the Depot, Point St. Charles, Montreal, at 8.30 A. M. For further information apply at the Office, 40 McGill street. ALEX. MILROY, Agent.

Royal Mail Line Office, 40 McGill street, Montreal.

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