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THE EUROPEAN.

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THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

How Elections are Managed in the United States. Circular from the District-Attorney's Office, Exposing the Defects in the Law. Absurdity of the Electoral System. Charge of the Recorder of New York to the Grand Jury on the Outrages at the Polls.

The following extracts from the circular issued by A. Oakley Hall, District-Attorney to the Electors and Election Inspectors of the city of New York, November 1st, 1856, show the consequences of the want of a registry of voters:

"The undersigned, however, has also received information that members of a regularly organized body of men contemplate voting as many times as possible at the approaching election in this city, in Brooklyn and Jersey City. This information, though not as yet of a legal character, sufficient to allow the proper authorities to proceed against any overt act, is regarded by the District-Attorney as deserving the urgent attention of all good citizens in every party, that they may watch carefully the polls, and as especially commanding the regard of all Inspectors in the exercise of great circumspection towards voters, for it is a positive duty of Inspectors to challenge suspicious voters, without waiting for the bystanders to interfere.

"This city contains 137 polling places; a body of 250 men, by each voting several times among these precincts, can alarmingly swell the aggregate vote of the city, and the election districts being large, and some of them six or eight miles distant from others, and many containing large numbers of tenement-houses, swarming with population, this process of double voting, (or "travelling," as the slang phrase runs,) is as easy at a thronged poll, surrounded by confusion and bustle, as its detection is difficult, unless extraordinary vigilance be exerted by electors and Inspectors. In many election districts the Inspectors (in consequence of a dominant party being so strong as to be able to divide itself into cliques, and run various tickets with various Inspectors upon them) are of the same political affinity; while, therefore, in some precincts, the Inspectors, it is hoped, will scrutinize the electors; in others it is respectfully submitted that the electors watch the Inspectors.

"This double voting will be tried, however, it is believed, at all kinds of polls, and perhaps in the most orderly precincts in the city, where suspicion may be the least excited."

"There being no registry of voters, it follows that strangers having no right to vote can do so with impunity at the polling places, in large cities, where the party for whom they desire to vote is strongly represented. Nor is there anything to hinder them from voting about as often as they please. The ballot-box is often tampered with, and ballots improperly treated as defective. The District-Attorney advises how some of these frauds may be avoided.

"The duty of the poll-clerks ends with the closing of the poll-lists, and they possess no greater right to aid and assist in the canvass than a stranger has. The oft-used pretext of safety presents no excuse for adjournment; the letter of the law adjudges the place of security for exercising the elective franchise and ascertaining its results, and neither the Inspector's fears, prejudices or whims, can control the operation of the statute."

"It is the common practice, if six hundred defective ballots be cast, to annex only one as a sample. I have known a sample annexed when the remainder existed only in the fancy of the Inspectors. One of every kind of ballot used must be attached, says the statute.

"It is further suggested in this connection, as a matter upon which the law is silent, that the inspectors publicly display the empty boxes at the opening of the poll, and direct the clerks to write the residence of each elector against his name, and that each of the various parties detail their watchers at every poll to quietly, and with the temper of the good citizen, rather than the partisan, observe all that passes, from the opening of the poll until the final dissolution of the Board."

The New York Tribune of November 6th says:

"One reform is needed now, and must be immediately struggled for till secured. We allude to a registry of voters, or some kindred arrangement for determining calmly and deliberately, days before an election is held, who are entitled to vote at said election in each poll district in the State. The Republican cause was defrauded by illegal voting not less than ten thousand votes in this city and Brooklyn, and in the rest of the State probably as much more, by illegal votes cast at the election this week.

"We must have laws that will sharply distinguish between legal and illegal voters, or decent men will avoid the polls where their suffrages are to be neutralized by those of scoundrels hired to vote from poll to poll a dozen times or more at one election."

Why have not such laws been passed heretofore? The reason is to be found in the opposition of the Sham Democracy to any reforms. The leading Shams take their cue from Washington, and there a system under which the rabble must always prevail in the great cities is highly popular.

Frauds in the Pennsylvania Election.

The New York Evening Post, of November 6th, has the following remarks on the election in Pennsylvania:

"FACTS WHICH REQUIRE EXPLANATION.—The management of the late election in Pennsylvania, particularly in Philadelphia city, is worth some inquiry. Aside from the evidences of fraud practised by the Buchanians in October, and of preparations for extensive fraud in November, the face of the returns themselves need explanation to satisfy us of fairness in the vote.

"By the census of 1850, the county of Philadelphia including the city, had a population of 408,762, and the city of New York 515,547. The ratio of increase in New York by foreign emigration and otherwise was from 1840 to 1850 nearly three times that of Philadelphia, and may be supposed fairly to be up to the same figures during the last six years.

"The returns from the two cities show, however, that Philadelphia, with a population of more than one hundred thousand less six years ago, and a ratio increase of two-thirds less in the meantime, has increased her vote of last year about the same as New York."

Outrages at the Polls—Charge of the Recorder of New York to the Grand Jury.

"Within the present week, our city has been the scene of outrages at the polls which are humiliating to us as citizens, and disgraceful to those having the power to check them. In the First Ward of this city, and almost within hearing of the office of the Mayor and Chief of Police, from the opening to the closing of the polls, there was one constant scene of riot and bloodshed. Respectable citizens, who went peaceably to the polls to deposit their votes, were knocked down and dragged through the streets without any interference on the part of the police to prevent the outrages. Hundreds were driven from the polls by an organized band of desperadoes, who openly refused to allow the electors to deposit a vote, unless it contained the name of a certain candidate.

"I have made these remarks that you may the better appreciate the necessity of prompt action on your part in certain cases which will be presented for your consideration. I will here add, that a large number of the police force was withdrawn from the First Ward by order of the Mayor of our city, and that a large number of the police force was on furlough on the day of election, and were engaged in advancing the interests of certain candidates, instead of being engaged in keeping the peace at the polls."

Misconduct of Policemen.

"Since the election, I have issued warrants for the arrest of several policemen, who, from the evidence before me, stood idly by without interfering, and saw citizens brutally assaulted; and what is very remarkable, though blood ran freely in many Wards in the city, and though men now lie at the point of death from the wounds they received on the day of election, scarce one of the offenders against the law have been arrested by any of the police."

Misconduct of the Inspectors.

"I also recommend that you inquire this day into the reason why the inspectors of the different districts have not made their returns. The law requires that such returns be made without delay. I understand that over ninety districts in the city have not complied with the statute. The failure to comply is a misdemeanor, and it

is your duty to cause investigation to be made. The District-Attorney will furnish you with the statute, and its provisions will suggest to you the course you ought to adopt."

The New York Police Converted into Election Agents. Circular from the Police Commissioners.

To the Members of the Police Department of the City of New York:

It is rumored that you will receive instructions to aid, on the 4th of November next, in the re-election of Fernando Wood to the office of Mayor. The unprecedented number of your force that have been on furlough for the last month, and that are now on furlough, and the known fact that their time has been employed in electioneering for Mr. Wood, and that they have been assessed, irrespective of party, to pay the election expenses of Mr. Wood in this campaign, induces the public to believe that an attempt will be made to coerce the Department into such a course. We consider it our duty, as members of the police commission, to apprise you of our intention in relation to any member of the Department who, on the day of election, takes any measures to advance the interests of any candidate beyond depositing his ballot. This is justice to the public and justice to yourselves. The Department was never intended for a political organization. We have come to the conclusion, that the interests of our citizens require that such members of the Police Department should be removed; and, upon proof of the fact of their interference, they will be removed from the Department. The Mayor, although head of the Police Department, has no right of authority to detail or grant furlough to policemen for political purposes; and any permission or direction from the Mayor to a policeman, to violate the duties that pertain to his office, will not be received as a defence to the charge of interfering in the election. We wish you to understand that we will vigorously enforce the penalty of dismissal upon any member of the Department against whom the charge of interfering in the election is proved.

JAMES M. SMITH, Jr.,
E. S. CAPRON,
Police Commissioners.

October 27, 1856.

Naval Voters. The Sailors brought from the Ships of War in the Harbor to Vote for the Government Candidates.

[From the New York Evening Post.]

We understand that the United States Frigate Wabash will be removed to-night up off the Seventh Ward. The steamer North Carolina, now lying within the precincts of Brooklyn, is also to be moved to-night out into the middle of the river.

The object of these movements is to throw the officers and crews of these vessels, several hundred in number, into the Seventh Ward on election day, for the benefit of Wm. B. Maclay, the Buchanan Congressman in that District, and Mayor Wood.

This is an old dodge of Mr. Maclay, who has twice been elected to Congress by the aid of votes furnished from Government vessels by order of the Government.

[From the New York Times.]

Extensive Colonization.

We learn from reliable authority that the Cochranites have imported into the Sixth Congressional District no less than 1,400 colonists, for the purpose of securing the election of the Surveyor of the Port. Mr. Stillman, of the Novelty Works, the Republican Candidate for Congress in the Sixth District, would be sure of his election, if the votes of the actual residents of the Ward were not neutralized by imported voters.

[From the New York Evening Post.]

Forged Naturalization Papers.

The contested election suit instituted by Mr. Mann, the Union candidate for District-Attorney of this city, has brought to light numerous fraudulent votes given at the recent election, under forged naturalization papers. Four men have been examined, who voted. They confessed they had never declared their intentions. The forged papers were found in the coat pocket of one of the parties, and another asserted that his papers were thrown into his house. None knew where they had come from. John Cooney has been arrested for supplying fraudulent papers.

Fraudulent Assessment Certificates.

"We have in our possession one of the fraudulent assessment certificates by means of which the late elec-

tion in Pennsylvania was carried by the Border-Buffan party.

Philadelphia, October 8, 1856.

I have recently seen a good many complaints in the Administration papers, of a lack of seamen for our national ships. The crimps have been actively engaged in drumming up recruits, but still the cry was for more men.

W. C. FLEMING, Assessor, Fifth Ward.

The man to whom this was given resides in this city, and had no more right to vote in Philadelphia than the Missourians to vote in Kansas. We hear that such certificates are plenty here, and that the men who want to Philadelphia, and used them in voting the Buchanan ticket, do not hesitate to show them, and to boast of the fact.

Naval Voters.

[From the New York Times.]

We have recently seen a good many complaints in the Administration papers, of a lack of seamen for our national ships. The crimps have been actively engaged in drumming up recruits, but still the cry was for more men. Boys have been abundant, but able-bodied men were lacking. As we were not fitting out a fleet, and no special exigency existed for sailors, the cause of this demand for men was not apparent. But it seems they were wanted to vote in the Seventh Ward to-day for the Buchanians. Able-bodied voters were the kind of men who were needed, and, if a sharp look-out be not kept in the East River Wards, there will be an unusual accession to the floating-voters of that part of the city to-day. As it is a very unusual sight to see an American sailor on board of our men-of-war, the probability is that there are but few legal voters attached to the ships now lying in our harbor. But Uncle Sam's sailors are not apt to be over scrupulous, and they will readily accommodate themselves to the wishes of their superiors in command.

Before the recent election, the New York Tribune published a series of instructions for the use of the Republican party. The third instruction runs thus:

"3. A Poll Committee, to be at the place of election at least half an hour before the polls open, and see that there are no votes in the box when the poll opens, and that none but legal ones get in thereafter until it is closed, the votes counted off, and the result recorded and declared. This Committee should include at least three strong and resolute men, who know the residents in the township as voters or non-voters respectively, and who will solemnly pledge themselves to challenge every person offering a ballot whom they do not know to be a legal voter."

Unfortunately, on a trial of strength it is generally found that the Sham Democrats have the advantage.

NEW YORK ELECTIONS.

PURCHASE OF THE NOMINATIONS. CHARACTER OF THE MAJOR OF NEW YORK. TAXING THE POLICEMEN FOR ELECTION PURPOSES.

Judge Whiting, one of the candidates at the late election for the office of Mayor of the city of New York, delivered a speech at the Academy of Music, New York, October 29, in which he made the following remarks:

"In modern times it is supposed that no man can present himself to the people for their suffrages except through an organized and well-regulated convention. The people meet together in their 'primary election,' as it is termed, and at those elections they make a selection of a representative to attend the general convention for particular nominations. And how is the selection made, and by whom is it made? Is it made by you, or is it made by the idle, the vicious, and the profligate? Who represents you in the Convention? Men selected beforehand for the purpose of nominating a particular candidate, and that candidate is selected owing to his peculiar qualifications to subserve their interests if elected. These gentlemen meet in Convention, and he who pays most as a candidate for public suffrages receives the nomination. [Cheers.] Why, it is notorious that years ago Tammany Hall sold herself to make a mayor. Six thousand dollars went into the coffers of the party organization, upon a pledge that a particular gentleman should be nominated for the office; so that the office was set up for sale. Instead of the selection being made on the ground of qualification, it was made upon the length of the pocket. [Applause.] And how is it now? Is there a man here who believes that he, with money, could not purchase a nomination from a regular organized party, if he saw fit?"

Speaking of Mayor Wood, Judge Whiting says:

"He tells us that he has no power to shut up the grogeries on the Sabbath day, and compel persons to observe it; and he says the reason is because of the Maine liquor law, which has been declared by the Court of Appeals as unconstitutional. Gentlemen, there is not one word of truth in that charge. To-day, and from the time of the passage of the Maine Liquor law, the law for the observance of the Sabbath have remained precisely the same upon the statute-book, and the Mayor has the same power now that he always had to close the grogeries; and he will do so, no doubt, if you permit him to be re-elected, immediately after the 4th of November, when he has secured the votes of those whom he now favors. He said to our good-natured friends down town: 'Gentlemen, if you will recommend me to the people of New York for re-election, and the Legislature of the State will confer more power upon me, I would rather be Mayor of the city than at the head of the nation.' This

is of a piece with the rest of the policy he has adopted. I have read in the public prints (and as they are all honorable men) I take it for granted that they speak truth) that he has imposed a tax upon every policeman under his charge to raise a fund to conduct the next election; and if that is true, I say here, and I charge the chief magistrate of the city of New York with being a tyrant worse than ever was permitted to disgrace or occupy that office. [Loud applause.] And I say further, if it is true, the policeman who submits to a species of tyranny like that is unworthy of his place, and unfit to be a watchman over your property and interests."

HOW THE REPUBLICANS WERE PREVENTED FROM VOTING.

[From the New York Tribune, November 5.]

In many of the election districts, when the polls closed last evening, from fifty to a hundred voters stood in line, waiting for an opportunity to vote. This was not because they did not go to the polls early enough, for scores of men stood waiting at those polls all the day, from immediately after sunrise till the polls closed. In numerous cases ruffians stood at the polls, and when any one came up with a ticket of the right stripe, he was by force thrust into the line near the door, and so enabled to get in his vote. Sometimes the rear of the line would remain stationary for half an hour, while dozens of men who had voted stood still in front, and let their friends pass in. Most of the men thus prevented from voting were Fremont men, and this fact will doubtless make a considerable difference in the vote for freedom in this city.

DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW YORK CITY POLLING-BOOTHS—RECKETS OF ROWDYISM.

[From the New York Tribune, November 5.]

Where I Voted, and How I Voted.—If I had read an account of a Kansas election, held in just such a place as that at which I voted the straight-out Republican ticket on the 4th of November, 1856, I should not have been much surprised; but I confess that I am a little astonished to think that a city that taxes its people to the amount of seven millions of dollars, cannot furnish the quiet respectable people of one of its up-town wards with a place to vote in equal in respectable appearance to a respectable farmer's pig-pen. If there is any branch of reform in the affairs of this city that needs reforming more than this, in giving the people decent places in which to cast their votes, I should like to be told what that branch is. To me it looks like muddying the stream at the very fountain head, to lead us into a dirty shanty that would not be considered respectable alongside of an Irish polling-booth. Shall I daugerreotype a New York city polling-booth? After waiting outside of it three hours, standing in the mud and dripping in the rain, waiting at the tail of a procession of two hundred voters, a chance to deposit a ballot for freedom's holy cause, I think I shall be able to make the picture, without the aid of solar light. Fancy a rough board shanty—a sort of 'lean-to' against a run-shop, only one low story high, with a very ragged looking front, ornamented with one broken window, and surrounded with a host of ragged, dirty, drunken, noisy blackguard men and boys, whose native rowdiness could only be kept in check by the clubs of a file of policemen, and you will have a faint idea of the outside appearance of one of the places where votes are polled in this city. To get inside, I was obliged, though sick enough to be in bed, to take position at the end of the procession, and wait till at length I was at its head, having been shoved up by those behind, between the walls of the buildings upon one side, and a line of policemen on the other, and so into the interior of this place for exercising the right of suffrage, after long suffering. The manner of getting in really reminded me of a sausage-stuffing machine; true, the meat was not swine's flesh, but some of it very swinish in character. About a score of voters were admitted at a charge, and then the stream was stopt by the policeman at the door until that squad could be put through, and passed out at the back door into a very dirty yard, among piles of brick, mortar, and lumber, to find their way again to the street, through a narrow, muddy alley. The inside of the voting shanty; where we had to wait half an hour or more, almost without fresh air, but in company with men staggering drunk, and steeped in rum and tobacco smoke, had just been plastered, the soft mortar adding to the dampness and unhealthy atmosphere of the room. Such is a faint description of the inside of a New York City polling-booth, which, wretched and uncomfortable as it may appear, is incomparably superior to many others, located in bar-rooms, where ballot-boxes and rum-bottles stood side by side, and where a decently-dressed man would not go without exciting suspicion that he came to vote against the 'Democracy,' and if he dared to express that as his intention, he would be very likely to be hustled into the street. Such are some of the difficulties that men who would gladly vote for City reform have to encounter before they can deposit their votes in the ballot-boxes. A great many persons in feeble health are unable, and a great many others are unwilling, to encounter the perils and disagreeable things surrounding the polling-places, and thus lose the right of suffrage. A great many persons who earnestly desired to vote for Fremont and freedom at this election, went to the polls, saw what they must endure to accomplish their purpose, gave up, and went home in sorrow. This may be a free country—a country of universal suffrage; but in this city, at least, that right cannot be freely exercised.

[From the New York Tribune, November 5.]

DISTURBANCES AT THE POLLS.

Early in the morning several of the polls in the First Ward were taken possession of by gangs of men armed

with clubs, knives, and pistols, who used every effort to prevent those of different politics from themselves depositing their votes. A large number of persons applied to the Mayor, Chief of Police, and Recorder, for a sufficient force of men to be stationed at the polls to preserve order. The Recorder took five affidavits against Joseph Petty and Thomas Hanly, and issued warrants for their arrest; but he could not get sufficient force to serve the warrants.

The Recorder then sent to the Mayor and Chief of Police for ten men to make the arrest. The Mayor refused giving him any, but the Chief sent some down, and executed the warrants. By direction of the Mayor, the culprits were brought before him instead of being taken before the Recorder. He, it is said, discharged them without bail. The Recorder then went to the Mayor, telling him that it was a misdemeanor to discharge prisoners without bail. The Recorder then applied to the Sheriff, and a posse of men were sent down at noon. In the mean time, however, fighting had been going on, the police amounting to nothing while a few stout Irishmen were flourishing their fists and clubs, and having it all their own way.

At the Second District poll another rabble had it all their own way. Only two policemen were visible, and they were in the poll-room most of the time. A vote distributor said that one man had been chased away and fired at with a pistol, and did not dare to return to vote.

In the Second Ward there were two votes, but they were not of much account.

In the Sixth Ward a great deal of confusion prevailed. At the Fourth Poll District, the anti-Woodites, headed by Councilman Kerrigan, and the Wood men under Pat Matthews, had a terrible fight, which resulted in the defeat of the latter. At the Third Poll District the Fremont ticket stand was torn down, and the ballots scattered. The police, it is said, would not interfere, except to protect the Wood and Buchanan boxes.

The Wood party at the Fourth Poll District, after being defeated by the anti-Woodites, rallied, and proceeding to a stable near by, where they had secreted pistols, axes, clubs, brickbats, &c., armed themselves and re-attacked the enemy. A terrible conflict ensued, during which fifteen or more pistol-shots were fired, and several had their heads cut open with clubs and brickbats. Police Captain Dowling was notified, and repaired to the place with a posse of men, who in about half an hour quelled the disturbance.

At the Sixth Poll District of this Ward, the Whiting ballot-boxes were broken to pieces by the Woodites, and the fragments were carried off for kindling wood.

In the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Wards, the election passed off with comparatively little disorder.

In the Eleventh Ward two men got into a fight, and a general row, which continued a few minutes, was the result. No great damage sustained.

No disturbance occurred in the Thirteenth.

In the Fourteenth Ward a slight disturbance took place at the Second District Poll, and another at the Fourth District Poll.

In the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Wards the voting passed off quietly.

In the Seventeenth Ward, some of the Wood boxes were destroyed by the anti-Woodites.

During the fighting in the First Ward, John Gleason was severely stabbed by one Mike Curran, who also in turn was terribly beaten. He was arrested for stabbing Gleason, and is now in custody. Lawrence Finnegan was stabbed in the back at the Second Poll District, and the man who stabbed him tried to plunge the knife into his abdomen, but failed, and then ran away. James Burk was arrested for carrying a loaded pistol, and held to bail. Notwithstanding the various disturbances during the day but few arrests were made.

Baltimore Election Riots.

DESPERATE FIGHTS—FATAL RESULTS FROM THE USE OF FIRE-ARMS.

[From the Baltimore American, November 5.]

Our city yesterday was made the theatre of the most prolonged and desperate rioting. Armed and organized associations, belonging to both political parties, resorted to the fire-arms with which they were liberally provided, and fought with ferocious and daring recklessness. Individual combats and minor affrays occurred at a number of the polls, but the most serious took place in the vicinity of the second and eighth ward polls. In both these riots a large number were wounded, one at least killed outright, and it may be presumed that many of the injured will hardly survive their wounds, which are in some instances of a very serious character. The particulars and results of these disgraceful encounters were with great difficulty gathered last night; but we give such details as our reporters were able to collect.

THE RIOT AT THE SECOND WARD.

During the morning there was considerable ill feeling displayed at the Second Ward polls, but up to three o'clock no serious disturbance occurred. At that hour a furious fight broke out, said to have originated from a stone being thrown into the crowd surrounding the window. Pistols were immediately drawn and fired by both parties. The Democrats, headed by George Konig, drove the Americans from the polls and up High street. The alarm was carried to the Fourth Ward polls, and a strong body of Americans started from there. In the vicinity of the Second Ward polls they were met and driven back. Further reinforcements were then received, and the war renewed. A good proportion of both parties, by th

time, were provided with pistols, and others with clubs. Both parties fought instances exposed the regard of danger. Portions of Fawn, St. Eastern Avenue, and rible and revolting on porary advantage, others shouting at the and being carried a others, begrimed with cases covered with firing singly, and the rounding neighborho and consternation gathered, the houses instances, sought the harm's way.

The Democrats were from the polls, and re Avenue. In the ne again made a stand, on from the alleys an than an hour. Of th almost impossible to were generally carri when traced, every names.

THE RIOT

About three o'clock brought to the police there was fighting at asked to quell it. several hundred of polls, who, in a few and accompanied by small brass cannon side of the Belair M when they were met and infuriated men's pistols. A fight th Democrats taking sh Sixth and Seventh W market and the cor rallied on the Eight through the market, and the occasional through the mark mission up to dark.

Emigration fro

[From the The Water Witch, the property of Mr. American ship-owner from the port of Du having on board a bound for Montevide of the field of vent adopted by the Irish of several clergymen United States, who h flocks with a due l Nothing party tow pecially to the Irish says:

The emigrants ar lingar, and belong ing tenantry of th haps is very little lated scale, but att to the working 'cl steadily going on f last fifteen or twent now in Buenos Ayr all Roman Catholc men resident amon thony Fahey has fi position among his we understand, be them a hospital, a Mercy for the educ pursuits from whic much advantage s agricultural pursuits

The value of the of Buenos Ayres £100,000. Now its a million, and m France and Engla the River Plate a Irish, and as the country it harmo that the Irish emig ly in active and st or four years, and are quite common mitted to the coun amount, the objec relations, or to pa have induced to j the Water Witch- tation of their frie

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The Washington over the Pennsylv says:

time, were provided with muskets, whilst others used pistols, and others skirmished with knives and clubs. Both parties fought with determination, and in many instances exposed themselves with the most reckless disregard of danger. The battle-ground was spread over portions of Fawn, Stiles, Exeter and High streets and Eastern Avenue, and the spectacle presented was a terrible and revolting one. As either party gained a temporary advantage, men would be seen running with others shouting at them. The wounded were limping off, and being carried away by their companions, whilst others, begrimed with smoke and powder, and in some cases covered with blood, still kept up the fight, now firing singly, and then again in volleys. In the surrounding neighborhood the utmost degree of excitement and consternation prevailed. Children were hastily gathered, the houses closed, and the occupants, in many instances, sought their garrets and cellars to be out of harm's way.

The Democrats were finally overpowered, driven away from the polls, and retreated, still fighting, down Eastern Avenue. In the neighborhood of the Causeway they again made a stand, and there a guerilla warfare, carried on from the alleys and street corners, continued for more than an hour. Of the number wounded in this riot, it is almost impossible to give a full or correct list. They were generally carried away by their friends, and even when traced, every effort was made to conceal their names.

THE RIOT AT THE BELAIR MARKET.

About three o'clock in the afternoon a report was brought to the police stationed at the Eighth Ward, that there was fighting at the Sixth Ward, and assistance was asked to quell it. The police started, and with them several hundred of the crowd assembled around the polls, who, in a few moments, were armed with muskets, and accompanied by two gangs of boys, each dragging a small brass cannon on wheels. They passed along the side of the Belair Market, and towards Orleans street, when they were met by a concourse of equally as wild and infuriated men and youths, armed with muskets and pistols. A fight then commenced, the Eighth Ward Democrats taking shelter in the market-house, and the Sixth and Seventh Ward Americans firing from the Fish-market and the corners of Orleans street. They finally rallied on the Eighth Ward party, and drove them up through the market, accompanied by volleys of musketry, and the occasional discharge of a swivel. The fighting through the market was continued with but little intermission up to dark, when both parties retired.

Emigration from Ireland to Buenos Ayres.

[From the Liverpool Times, October 25.]

The *Water Witch*, 400 tons, Armstrong, commander, the property of Mr. Smith, one of the largest South American ship-owners in Liverpool, sailed on the 20th from the port of Dublin, laden with a general cargo, and having on board one hundred and fifteen emigrants, bound for Montevideo and Buenos Ayres. This change of the field of venture from North to South has been adopted by the Irish Roman Catholics at the suggestion of several clergymen of that persuasion resident in the United States, who have not failed to impress their former flocks with a due horror of the hostility of the Know-Nothing party towards all strangers in general, and especially to the Irish emigrant. The *Freeman's Journal* says:

The emigrants are all from the neighborhood of Mullingar, and belong to the most respectable of the farming tenantry of that district; whence we learn, what perhaps is very little known, that an emigration upon a limited scale, but attended with the most beneficial results to the working classes who have gone out, has been steadily going on from the county of Westmeath for the last fifteen or twenty years, and the community of Irish now in Buenos Ayres amounts in number to 12,000 souls, all Roman Catholic, well provided with excellent clergymen resident among them, and of whom the Rev. Anthony Fahey has for many years past held a prominent position among his flock. This reverend gentleman has, we understand, been the instrument of founding among them a hospital, and latterly a society of the Sisters of Mercy for the education of the rising generation. The pursuits from which the Irish in Buenos Ayres derive so much advantage are ship-building for the port, and agricultural pursuits generally for the supply of the city.

The value of the production of wool in the province of Buenos Ayres, fifteen years ago, did not exceed £100,000. Now its yearly value approximates close upon a million, and meets with ready markets in Belgium, France and England. The governments bordering on the River Plate act with the greatest kindness to the Irish, and as the latter are all of the religion of the country it harmonizes the two races. We understand that the Irish emigrants to Buenos Ayres improve greatly in active and steady habits after a residence of three or four years, and fortunes of from £5,000 to £50,000 are quite common among them. The yearly sums transmitted to the county of Westmeath regularly increase in amount, the object of the senders being to assist their relations, or to pay the passage of those whom they may have induced to join them. The persons who sailed in the *Water Witch* have all gone out at the earnest solicitation of their friends.

A Pro-Slavery Providence.

The Washington *Union*, in its ponderous jubilation over the Pennsylvania election, is awfully profane. It says:

And what a spectacle has that great God presented since the opening of the canvass! What strange and evil men and strange and evil doctrines have been seen and heard by our people! The infidel has been there crying aloud for an Anti-Slavery Bible and an Anti-Slavery God!

Not to believe in a Pro-Slavery Providence and a Pro-Slavery Bible, then, it seems, according to the political theology of the Administration organ, is infidelity. Nineteenth of the Christian world are infidels, according to the *Union*. The Buchanians must have a Bible and a God of their own.—*New York Times*.

Alarming Decadence of the United States.

[From the New York Evening Post.]

We venture to say that the decadence of America since the retirement of General Jackson has been more rapid, and should be more startling, than that of any other state that ever existed.

Consider the single point of expenditure. Under Adams it was thirteen millions; under Pierce it is nearly eighty millions. Is this natural? Can it be explained in any other way than by admitting an unparalleled growth of corruption? For the advantage of partisan contractors, and to reward partisan services, large bodies of troops have been transported considerable distances at a greater cost for each than would be sufficient for the performance of the same journey by the most opulent and luxurious private gentlemen. Wood has been bought by the cord for the use of the army, in the midst of the largest and richest forests on the continent, for twice as much as it would bring in the city of New York.

But these are comparatively trifling offences. What despotic or other administration that ever before controlled the destinies of a respectable people would have dared to insult other states and degrade their own, by sending out such agents as Pierce and his advisers have employed in our foreign intercourse? There is no necessity that we should go into details on this subject. The persons we refer to, their character and conduct, are more than sufficiently well known.

And in ancient or modern history, what outrages against the rights of man has been as flagrant as those which have caused Kansas to divide with Naples the pained interest of civilized men?

The *Post* does not seek for the causes of this deplorable state of things, nor venture to suggest any remedy.

TELEGRAPHIC CELEBRATION IN LONDON.

DINNER TO PROF. MORSE. SPEECH OF MR. COOKE. HIS REMARKS UPON THE MERITS OF PROF. MORSE'S SYSTEM OF TELEGRAPHING, AND HIS CLAIM TO BE CONSIDERED THE INVENTOR OF THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH. EXAMINATION OF THAT CLAIM. ITS UTTER GROUNDFELTNESS SHOWN. PROF. MORSE'S COMPLAINT THAT ENGLAND IS UNWILLING TO DO JUSTICE TO AMERICANS. REFUTATION OF THAT CHARGE.

A public dinner was given on the 9th ult. at the Albion Tavern, Aldersgate street, to Prof. Morse of the United States, by the telegraph companies, in acknowledgment of his services in the development of the Electric Telegraph, and with the view of publicly expressing an opinion of the importance of a direct submarine telegraph to America. The chair was occupied by Mr. W. Fothergill Cooke, one of the Directors of the Electric Telegraph Company, who, with Professor Wheatstone, first practically established the system in Great Britain. The chairman was supported by Professor Morse, (the guest of the evening,) Sir James Carmichael, Chairman of the Submarine Electric Telegraph Company; General Wyld, Dr. O'Shaughnessy, Sir Charles Fox, Captain Beecher, Mr. Cyrus Field, Dr. Whitehouse, Mr. Rowland Hill, Lord Charles Clinton, Dr. Black, Messrs. James Glaisher, J. W. Brett, C. K. Dyer, Algernon Borthwick, T. R. Crampton, M. Tupper, C. W. Tupper, W. Carpmal, L. Clarke, Edward Bright, E. Moseley, Bakewell, G. Seward, J. P. Andrew, J. E. Drury, C. J. Woolston, Andrews, Courtney, Brooking, R. A. Glass, R. N. Fowler, &c.

At the conclusion of the dinner the usual patriotic toasts were given; after which the Chairman, Mr. Cooke, made a speech, from which we extract the following:

"America has produced the swiftest steamboats, the swiftest ships, the swiftest yachts. [Hear, hear.] Next came the telegraph, the greatest wonder of all, which enables us expeditiously to communicate throughout the country and Europe, and when the communication is completed between this country and America, with the extent of whose system, large as it is, the most extraordinary results will be produced. To whom do we owe the original conception of that idea? It was conceived by an Englishman, and worked out and perfected by the man who first dwelt upon it whilst crossing the Atlantic. Borrowing no other man's idea, but skilled in science himself, and depending upon his own resources, he conceived for extending to America that which had been accomplished in all the great kingdoms of the old world. [Cheers.] If the railway and the telegraph were of importance to this comparatively confined island, how much more so must they be to America, where they have thousands of miles to traverse to our tens of hundreds. To that country Professor Morse, whose name I am about to introduce to you, has given the benefit of the telegraph, and the original idea of which he has worked out to per-

fection. [Cheers.] I was consulted only a few months ago on the subject of a telegraph for a country in which no telegraph at present exists. It is a great thing for me, and I do not hesitate to say that I recommended the system of Professor Morse. I believe that system to be one of the simplest in the world, and in that lies its permanency and certainty. [Cheers.] There are others which may be as good in other circumstances, but for a wild country I hesitate not to say Professor Morse's is the best adapted. It is a great thing to say, and I do so after twenty years' experience, that Professor Morse's system is one of the simplest that ever has been, and I think ever will be conceived." [Cheers.]

Prof. Morse, after acknowledging the compliment, said:

"It is, indeed, true that, among a large class in the United States—and that class, too, which may with great propriety be termed your 'friends,' (at least your natural friends)—there has been for a long period of time the strong impression that, from some cause not easily explained, there was a great unwillingness on the part of England to give to Americans their just historical position in discoveries and inventions. Such an impression existing as a principle of action is surely of some political importance, becoming, as it must become if not removed, a fostering thorn in the hearts of some of the most cultivated of the land. Such an impression, were it well founded, is fraught with danger to that good feeling which ought to exist, I will not say between the citizens of the two countries, but between the citizens of all countries. And hence it is, gentlemen, that I can accept this demonstration towards myself upon broader and more comprehensive considerations than any mere individual gratification. The cause of international good feeling I will hope is somewhat promoted by it, and however humble may be the recipient of your attention, your motives, gentlemen, stand put in noble relief. The animus which moves your act towards me this day will not the less manifest to my countrymen your disposition to show them both justice and honor. [Cheers.] Before taking leave of this topic, however, there is one consideration connected with it, which, perhaps, ought to be brought forward here. I am sure it will tend to a more charitable solution of many of the difficulties that arise in contests for priority in inventions or discoveries, or in claims to distinction from such priority. Who that is versed in the history of inventions or discoveries has not observed and been struck with a singular coincidence, a simultaneity of invention or discovery in many minds far separated from each other, with no possible—at least, no traceable—knowledge of each other's thoughts or acts?"

The Chairman proposed "The Health of Mr. Brett, the father of the submarine telegraph." [Hear.]

Mr. Brett returned thanks; and, after observing upon the value that telegraphic communication was acquiring, and remarking that it was fast taking the place of the post, entered into some interesting details of his attempt to lay down the electric cable across the Mediterranean, between Europe and Africa, and explained that it was only in consequence of a miscalculation in the latitude, and a storm that arose, by which the cable was broken, that the attempt for the time had failed.

Sir C. Fox spoke of the services of Mr. Crampton, who had had, he said, the pluck which he (Sir C. Fox) had not, to undertake to make the attempt, in which he had succeeded, in carrying the electric cable between Dover and Calais; and by his success in that attempt, to prove the practicability of the submarine telegraph. He proposed Mr. Crampton's health.

Mr. Crampton acknowledged the compliment in an appropriate speech.

The Chairman paid a high compliment to Professor Wheatstone for his services in aiding to bring the electric telegraph practically to bear for commercial purposes, and expressed his regret that the professor was not present. He referred in eulogistic terms to the inventions of Messrs. Baines, Bakewell, Whitechurch, and other electricists.

There has been a controversy between Prof. Wheatstone and Mr. Cooke, the former insisting that the latter was merely his mechanical assistant in bringing out his invention of the electric telegraph apparatus, for which patents have been granted to those two gentlemen. To this Mr. Cooke responds that Prof. Wheatstone's merits have been overrated. It will be observed that Mr. Cooke, speaking of the invention of the Electric Telegraph, says that we owe the original conception of the idea to an Englishman, and that it was worked out and perfected by Mr. Morse. Mr. Cooke is altogether mistaken in this, as we will presently demonstrate. It is not generally known on this side of the Atlantic that Wheatstone's English patent is dated 12th June, 1837. Morse's first American patent is dated 20th of June, 1840, and is posterior in date to Wheatstone's American patent. Morse's patent is for an improvement on the previously invented electric telegraphs. It is a disputed question whether his system is an improvement on the prior ones, and in point of fact it is not preferred in London or Paris.

Morse first began to build a Telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore, after Congress had made an appropriation for the purpose at the close of the session of 1843.

Wheatstone's Telegraph was in operation on the 26th

of July, 1857, on the London and Birmingham railroad, between two stations at the London end. [London Quarterly Review for July, 1854, p. 65.]

Mr. Morse intimates in his speech that his invention or discovery was simultaneous with the earliest conception of the Electric Telegraph. There is not the slightest foundation for this claim. He says:

"There has been for a long period of time the strong impression that, from some cause not easily explained, there was a great unwillingness on the part of England to give to America their just historical position in discoveries and inventions."

We believe this compliment to be wholly unfounded; that, on the contrary, there is a strong disposition in England to give Americans credit for a great deal more than they are justly entitled to. An instance of this is to be seen in the speech of Mr. Cooke, delivered at this very meeting.

Mr. Cooke says: "America has produced the swiftest steamboats, the swiftest ships, the swiftest yachts."

"Where is the American steamboat swifter than the *Persia*? Have not the English clipper ships been at least equal to the American? As to yachts, Mr. Cooke no doubt refers to the *America*, a yacht built not for yachting purposes, but solely with a view to a light rate of speed in a strong wind. What has become of that yacht? Nobody hears of it now. Would the Americans under the like circumstances, admit the superiority of their rivals? Certainly not. As to the invention of the Electric Telegraph, neither an Englishman nor an American can claim the merit of it. We may here observe, that there is a singular discrepancy in the reports of Mr. Cooke's speech, as it appears in the *New York Herald* and the *New York Times*. The *Herald* report purports to be copied from the *London Times* of September 11th, and Mr. Cooke is made to say:

"To whom do we owe the conception of this grand idea? It was conceived, worked out, and perfected by the man who first dwelt upon it while crossing the Atlantic. [Meaning Mr. Morse.] Skilled in science himself, and depending upon his own scientific knowledge, he conceived the idea of extending to America that system which has been applied in every one of the largest kingdoms of the old world."

"The *New York Times* copies its report from the *London Post*, and according to that, Mr. Cooke's remarks were as follows:

"To whom do we owe the original conception of that idea? It was conceived by an Englishman, and worked out and perfected by the man who first dwelt upon it whilst crossing the Atlantic," &c., as in our report.

The *New York Herald* of October 26th, 1856, says:

"Prof. Morse had shared in a grand telegraphic jubilee which was celebrated in his honor in London. The Professor has written to this city to say that he has already succeeded in telegraphing over two thousand continuous miles of the lines of the British Magnetic Company, a fact which establishes the practicability of a transatlantic telegraph."

Mr. Morse's letter certainly at the outset speaks of our experiments, but another part of his letter shows that he was only a looker-on, for he says:

"I am most happy to inform you, that as a crowning result of a long series of experimental investigation and inductive reasoning upon this subject, the experiments under the direction of Dr. Whitehouse and Mr. Bright, which I witnessed this morning, in which the induction coils and receiving magnets, as modified by these gentlemen were made to actuate one of my recording instruments, have most satisfactorily resolved all doubts of the practicability as well as practicality of operating the telegraph from Newfoundland to Ireland."

As to the "long series of experimental investigation and inductive reasoning upon the subject," the English electricians have never derived from Mr. Morse a single grain of the scientific information referred to.

As to the project of laying a cable between England and America, the invention of submarine cables is Mr. Brett's, an Englishman, and the capitalists who propose to invest their money on the great enterprise are Englishmen. The American Company, called "The New York, Newfoundland and London Telegraph Company," merely propose to connect their line at Newfoundland with the great submarine cable, and do not propose to risk any of their capital in that hazardous experiment.

The question as to the merits of Mr. Morse's claim: to be considered the inventor of the Electric Telegraph is a very simple one, and easily disposed of, for it involves neither a lengthy examination of facts nor any doubtful reasoning. The examination of a single document filed in the Patent Office at Washington, (which document we presume Mr. Cooke never saw,) and the exposure of a single fallacy will suffice.

The document in question is the caveat filed by Morse

on the 24th of October, 1837, from which it appears that he had no scientific knowledge on the subject of the Electric Telegraph. He merely proposed a certain mechanical improvement upon the then existing Electric Telegraph apparatus, which improvement he had not as yet perfected, so as to be able to describe it and obtain a patent. The fallacy referred to is a palpable one. Morse dates the invention of his mechanical improvement, not from the time when he was able to describe it, and apply for a patent, but from 1832, the time when he first heard it suggested that intelligence might be transmitted to a distance by means of electrical action.

In our next we will give extracts from Mr. Russell's work on the *History of the Invention of the Electric Telegraph*, which cannot fail to satisfy any candid and unprejudiced reader as to the real merits of the controversy.—(To be continued.)

Future Results of the Presidential Election.

"Mr. Buchanan will be soon called upon to apply the doctrines of the Ostend Despatch. Nicaragua is already revolutionized and made a slave Republic. The other states of Central America must take the same fate. From the consolidated Central American power there will issue forth against Cuba, and the other islands of the Gulf of Mexico, expeditions of filibusters, bent on conquests, slavery and spoils. Will the Northern representatives in Congress submit to this? and, if they do, is it supposable that their Northern constituencies will sustain them? If they sustain them, everything will go on according to the Southern scheme until the country is plunged into war. If they do not, there will ensue a struggle between the Southern and Northern wing of Mr. Buchanan's party, in which the Northern wing will be driven to seek protection from the Republicans. An attempt to revive the Slave-trade will, I am confident, be made by the South, and, if made, will be submitted to by the Administration. Indeed, I do not see how it can be avoided, upon the principles on which the Kansas act has been defended. Then we shall the same strategy which we have seen on this occasion; the right proclaimed of each community to determine for itself what it shall hold as property, where the property shall be obtained, and whither it shall be carried; and this as a necessary deduction from the implied truths of the Democratic creed."—Speech of D. D. Field, November 6.

Slavery Insatiable. Its Future Demands.

[From the *New York Times*.]

The demands of slavery are insatiable. Yield all that is asked to-day, and to-morrow there will be some new claim, for the refusal to recognize which a dissolution of the Union will be presented as the inevitable penalty. This is the history of the institution from the foundation of our Government to the present time. Every day its exactions become more onerous, and are pressed with greater confidence and boldness. Indeed, the fact that the slave power is learning its strength and how to use it, is the burden of many a Southern press, which facilitates its readers upon the progress which they believe the institution to be making against the vulgar democratic prejudices of the free States.

In 1850 slavery demanded a compromise, and got it as the alternative of dissolving the Union. A little later and under the operation of the same threat, it procured the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; now it insists upon the indorsement of the act of bad faith and of all the wrongs by which Kansas is cheated of Freedom. And it is a mistake to suppose that the oligarchy will confine its humiliating demands to the question of slavery alone. Not so; it will be remembered that it was about a tariff on imports that South Carolina threatened to dissolve the Union; and they are the South Carolina tenets of political faith which now control the Southern States. So, too, the South is opposed to Cheap Postage, to the Pacific Railroad, to River and Harbor Improvements, and to many another line of governmental policy, which the energy and enterprise of freedom deem essential to national development, prosperity and happiness.

And yet the *New York Times* will counsel submission to the Southern oligarchy for the sake of preserving the Union.

Professor Stowe on "Satan's Masterpiece."

How Slavery got incorporated into the Constitution. The Union graphically described.

[From the Anti-Slavery Standard, November 8.]

"Slavery," says the Professor, "is Satan's masterpiece," and the way in which it got incorporated into the Constitution he thus describes:

"Introduced by the mother country, the element was deeply fixed. All the States, except South Carolina and Georgia, were willing to give it up. Satan persuaded them to give way to these two, who had done little or nothing for the Revolution. They tolerated slavery, and, as it was a poor diseased creature, not expected to live long, they would allow it a few privileges. So they made a Constitution to that effect, yet so skillfully worded that if the system should suddenly vanish, not a word in the instrument would be superfluous or need change. Here was the Devil's *chef d'œuvre*. Doubtless he was always thinking of the fable of the peasant, who humbly begged

of the trees a handle for his axe, and that being granted cut the whole forest down. And he could make axehandles of any of them at his convenience, and they no power to help themselves, unless they dissolve the Union! at least BETWEEN THE AXE AND THE HANDLE. [Sensation and laughter.]"

The effects of this alliance and compromise with slavery are well described in another passage:

"Wherever the good makes a compromise with the evil it strips itself of all its power, and gives to the evil the whole advantage. Put a healthy man in bed with a small-pox patient, you do not make the sick man better, but you will be sure to make the well man sick. Slavery is Satan's small-pox patient, in bed with free institutions. It is the grand instrument for perpetuating heathenism in the very blood and veins of Christianity."

Is it not most obviously the first duty of the friends of free institutions to get out of the bed in which they have so long lain side by side with "Satan's small-pox patient?"

As to the Secession of the Slave States from the Union.

[From the *London Daily News*.]

As to secession in case of Fremont's election, let it be tried, and the world will soon see the slave states seeking re-admission, even on the condition of the abolition of slavery. They have not men, money, reputation or integral union wherewith to support a federal republic. If they could even achieve this, they must sink to a depth of inferiority among the nations, more galling to their pride than the act of suing for restoration to the Union on conditions of repentance and amendment. But the secession will not really take place.

It is necessary, however, for the free states to see in good time that, if they would recover their place and character among the nations, they must enter on a new course in another than a Presidential sense. The reputation of their country has sunk for some past as rapidly as a national character can lapse. If they retrieve themselves frankly and thoroughly by means of the present crisis, allowance will yet be made for past difficulties and seductions. But if they afford the slightest countenance to the bullying and bucaneeering despotism exhibited by the slave states, they must share the fate of that section of the Union.

Attempt to Explain why the Masses of the People are Deceived.

How the Presidential Election will be Received in Europe.

[From the *New York Times*.]

AMERICAN PARTISANSHIP.—The editorial overseer of the *London Times* is reported to be exploring this country in search of information touching Presidential elections. Whether he be the proper observer or reporter of what passes before his eyes, we shall only learn when he indulges the European world with his commentary; but two or three of our political idiosyncracies are, we fancy, so marked, that they stand very little chance of escaping the most obtuse investigator. They conflict so outrageously with the diffusion of intelligence and education we are so apt to felicitate ourselves upon; with the influence and reach of the press; with the whole theory of our social system; and at the same time contrast so broadly with the experience of other nations blest with representative Governments, that they must impress the stranger most painfully and to the very serious disadvantage of republican dogmas. Our immediate allusion is to the fact, that vast and controlling masses of our population can be deluded year after year into the support of measures which they individually condemn and abhor; can be induced to believe that parties hold doctrines the very reverse of what they profess and practice; and that party leaders and presses are found so depressed in the moral scale, that they deliberately and chronically devote themselves to the falsification of party issues. In a word, the great anomaly of American partisanship is, that but one party has any clearly enunciated principles; while the other accommodates itself to the locality, and with reckless malevolence misrepresents the attitude of the other. We have yet to see the spectacle of this great people voting intelligently upon the simple issue presented them in good faith by the Republicans, *shall or shall not Slavery be extended in the Federal Territories?* The issue is obscured, perverted, misstated so systematically by the advocates of extension, that hundreds of thousands will unquestionably vote for extension to-morrow who believe themselves opposing it cordially and effectively.

This will not do, Mr. *Times*. The fact is, that the great majority of the laboring classes in the great cities (except the British and Germans) do not care any thing about the extension of Slavery into Kansas, not knowing how their own interests may be affected thereby. Slavery is popular with them; they have been taught to believe it is right and proper, and that it ought not to be abolished in any of the States where it now exists.

The *New York Tribune* says:

Practically, a majority of the American people have indorsed outrages more inhuman than Poland or Hungary ever endured, and voted that it is no wrong to shoot and scalp men in Kansas for peacefully striving to keep theirs a free territory, and make it a free state. Practically, the verdict of yesterday has enslaved Kansas, and

made it treason and rebellion for her devoted inhabitants to struggle longer to avert that destiny. Fretfully, the vital millions who yesterday, at most of the polls throughout the free states jeered at "bleeding Kansas"—thus making sport of robbery, arson, rape, and murder—have been indured and commended by the vote of their fellow citizens. Practically, the American people have expressed the policy of slavery restriction inaugurated by our revolutionary patriots, and decided that liberty and justice are equal in merit and equally accordant with the aims of Democracy. Practically, the slave power has been banished to take possession of the Federal Government, and will rough shod over all who manifest opposition to its pleasure, or reluctance to its sway. Practically, it is settled, that to loathe the debasement of man to a brute chattelhood, and earnestly desire freedom for all—a crime to free America, to be punished by exclusion from the national councils, and a denial of any voice in the direction of our public affairs.

What is to become of the American people? believed so much. The answer is a plain one. Because they are being corrupted and debased by the slavery propaganda of the government. The moral between freedom and slavery has produced no favorable results. The truth is that these two will be married by Cassius M. Clay. Slavery and Slavery cannot co-exist, but one or the other must die.

What is to become of the Free Laborers and Mechanics.

(From the New York Herald, October 26.)
 The President of the Tennessee and Georgia Railroad Company has recommended that three hundred slaves be immediately purchased to work on the road. This calculation shows that the purchase money, interest, insurance and maintenance of a slave will be about forty-six cents per day, or about \$112 per cent. working days only counted. Here is the calculation in full:

The report of the President of the Tennessee and Georgia Railroad Company, in his annual report, says: "The company, in law, do not employ colored men, but, in fact, they do. They employ about 1,000 negroes, and pay for their maintenance, interest on the purchase money, and for their clothing, about 40 cents per day. This is about 112 per cent. working days only counted. Here is the calculation in full:

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Marriage and Divorce in California. Advice to London.

San Francisco, California, November 15, 1856.
 The following is a translation of a letter from a gentleman in California to a friend in London, dated the 10th inst. It is a very interesting and instructive communication, and is published for the benefit of the public. It is a translation of a letter from a gentleman in California to a friend in London, dated the 10th inst. It is a very interesting and instructive communication, and is published for the benefit of the public. It is a translation of a letter from a gentleman in California to a friend in London, dated the 10th inst. It is a very interesting and instructive communication, and is published for the benefit of the public.

rich and generous, and the old one plain and economical. An application for divorce is the result.

Hundreds have no other excuse to offer in making the application, than "uncongenial dispositions," and dislike. The process is the simplest imaginable. A lawyer with an easy conscience is engaged—most San Francisco lawyers have easy consciences when they have any—who receives the fee from the now lover. A referee is then hunted up by the lawyer, who agrees to decide according to the lady's wishes for a portion of the fee. The judge of course refers the application as requested. The referee hands his report into court, where it is often passed upon without a word of open testimony—and, in nine cases out of ten, favorably. The lady is then ready to be married again—and, having lost all delicacy by the process she has gone through, is ready to run away with the next lover without a divorce.

My advice to weak-headed ladies in the Atlantic States is, not to come to California to get married—and not to come after they are married; if they are pretty—and interesting—they are much safer anchored in some snug harbor in the Atlantic than in the open roadsteads among the shoals and breakers of the Pacific.

But for the encouragement of those who have determined to come, I will quote from the Bulletin the following advertisement. If a plain cook, thirty five years of age, has to give bonds not to marry within six months, it stands to reason that a tender little chicken of about half that age would stand no chance at all of putting away for lack of a husband up at Rabbit Creek.

W. W. W. A single female, from twenty to thirty-five years of age, to go to Rabbit Creek, Sierra county, to do plain cooking and general housework in a genteel family, and agree as to terms, within six months. Wages \$40 per month. Expenses paid. None need apply unless well qualified. Address A. C. at the office, or 111 Washington street.

N. R. Your correspondent is a married man, but his wife doesn't live in California.

AMERICAN REPUBLICANISM.

(From the London Times, October 27.)

All friends of liberty must receive the most painful impression from the Samnalia now in progress in the United States of North America. No itinerant scribbler, no anti-heretic collector of notes carefully culled to prove the necessity of himself and his class, no half-crazy friend of dynastic power, has ever written or said one tithe of the evil against the Americans which they are now uttering against themselves. Hitherto, men who were no advocates of disorder, no revolutionary propagandists—men who were content in all human affairs to await the slow action of time, the chief and necessary ingredient in all real change, for the better, were in the habit of looking to the United States of America as to one of the most striking scenes in the history of the human race. There, at least, in the freer and keener air of those new countries beyond the Atlantic Sea, the great problem had been solved. In that great community men were no longer debased with the idle pageantry of Courts; they were no longer the slaves of feudal power, nor the serfdoms of fashion. No traditions hemmed their faculties. The vast territory of the North American continent—or, at least, the more fertile and valuable portion of it—was open to their generous ambition. Their contest was a wholesome one with the powers of nature; it was not to outgambled by the fearful triumphs of war. They were far removed from Europe, and from European intrigues and turmoils. Their only anxiety with regard to the old countries was, to produce the food for which we hungered, and the cotton which we were to work up into clothing for the world. There lay a new continent before them like a blank sheet of paper, upon which they might inscribe what characters they would. The material labor, however, which they might resolve to undertake were the least part of their task. Their history, we had hoped, was to have been a comment upon the text of "Freedom," and what is the result? The answer may be inferred from the following extract from *The Messenger* (Alabama) Herald, an organ of Mr. Buchanan's party:

"Free Society! We speak at the moment. What is it but a complacent glorification of greedy mechanics, filthy operatives, snuff-soldier farmers, and moon-drunk theorists! All the Northern, and especially the New England States, are devoid of society fitted for well-bred gentlemen. The prevailing class one meets with is that of mechanics struggling to be genteel, and small farmers who do their own drudgery, and yet who are hardly fit for association with a southern gentleman's body-servant. This is your free society which the Northern horde are endeavoring to extend into Kansas."

Such is the result of sixty years of struggle. Hapsburgs, Romanoffs, Bourbons, are, then, a necessary and inevitable evil in every existing society, save one. It must not be supposed that we are founding this most humiliating train of thought upon a few outrageous electioneering squibs. We are not deriving our conclusions from the Barce pioneers of the Far West. On the contrary, we are ready to admit that any notion of American society derived solely from such a source is necessarily superficial and false. Virginia and Missouri must not be confounded in idea, unless it should turn out that the humanities of the one are even as the humanities of the other. Let us dismiss our Alabama witness from the box, and summon another from chivalrous Virginia, the State which is commonly supposed to be distinguished above all others in the Union for its intelligence and refinement. Thus, then, we find it written in the *Richmond* (Virginia) *Register*, Mr. Buchanan's confidential organ,

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

This, as we are told, is considered by the Democratic party to be the ablest journal in the Southern States.

"Free society, in the long run, is an impracticable form of society." Shades of Washington! is this, then, the end of the great experiment? He it observed that in the foregoing extract the issue is not confined to the mere question of negro slavery, but the case is broadly stated. "The experiment of universal liberty has failed." "The evils of free society are insufferable!" "Free society! we sicken at the name." To proceed to particulars, we find more particularly denounced free farms, free labor, free society, free will, free thinking, free children and free schools. We are informed that in New England the cities are "Sodom and Gomorrah," and New England generally is "the common meeting-places of howling Bedlamites." As any comment we can offer is but feeble by the side of the outpourings of the United States controversialists, we will fortify our statements by the following extract from the *South Side Democrat*, another principal organ of Mr. Buchanan in Virginia:

"We have got to hating everything with the prefix 'free' from free negroes down and up through the whole catalogue—free farms, free labor, free society, free will, free thinking, free children and free schools—all belonging to the same brood of damnable 'isms.' But the worst of all these abominations is the modern system of free schools. The New England system of free schools has been the cause and prolific source of the infidelities and treasons that have turned her cities into Sodom and Gomorrah, and her land into the common meeting-places of howling Bedlamites. We abominate the system, because the schools are free."

This is a very bad state of things, but the remedies proposed appear very questionable. The leading idea seems to be an extension of the principle of Slavery to the white as well as to the negro race. Far as the pendulum has swung upon one side, so far must it swing upon the other. Slavery is right and natural; it is founded upon Scripture, and justified by necessity. Men are born masters and slaves, and American society must be brought back into harmony with this primitive idea. The relation of master and slave is as necessary as that of parent and child. S. W. Downs, late senator from Louisiana, has just published an elaborate speech, which has been printed in one of the Washington journals. In his discourse, this enlightened statesman assumes that the white laborers of the North are not so happy, contented or comfortable as the colored slaves of the South. Reduce, therefore, the white laborer of the North to the condition of the Southern slave, and the sum of human happiness will be promoted. If this be the treatment reserved for American-born citizens whose thumb-nails are ignorant of the slightest taint, it may well be supposed that the German and Irish immigrants, who are classed with "niggers," can scarcely look for more favorable treatment. Here is the remedy proposed for persons of this class who may be found unable to support their families—mark, it is not said for acknowledged mendicants, or for persons who have applied for relief from the public funds, but simply for those who may fall into poverty, and be unable to support their families:

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

Once a slave, always a slave, would then be the conclusion of the law, for there would be little likelihood that the German or Irishman, while held in bondage, could find the means not only of purchasing his own freedom, but of satisfying the authorities that he was in a condition to maintain his family for the future. The old Poor Laws of Henry VIII, against "sturdy vagabonds" and "villiant beggars" were gentleness when compared with these Draconic suggestions for statutes in the Great Republic of North America.

KANSAS.

Fulle Times of the Republican Party.—Polly of the Attempt to Keep Slavery out of Kansas.

The Republican press is now advocating further efforts to save Kansas to freedom by sending emigrants there. The project is utterly futile. None who are opposed to Slavery can vote under the outrageous laws enacted by the sham Legislature, and there is no probability that those laws will be repealed.

The New York Times of 10th November says: "The act of Congress secured to the people the right of forming and regulating their domestic institutions in

their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. This clause gives to all who may become bona fide inhabitants of the territory the right to possess Slavery therefrom; and any man in the United States may, from whatever motive, under whatever influences, and with whatever aids, rightfully become an inhabitant of Kansas, and thus acquire a vote in the decision of its fate.

This may serve to amuse the Republicans, but is entirely illusory. A body of men calling themselves the people, have already formed and regulated their domestic institutions in their own way, have prohibited the discussion of the subject of Slavery, and have established the right of slaveowners to bring their slaves into the territory and keep them there as slaves. Moreover, irrespective of this legislation, the slaveowners claim a right to take and keep slaves in the territory, because (as they allege) it was part of Louisiana, in which slavery existed when that country was ceded by France to the United States. When Congress removed the prohibition of Slavery in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, it was useless to attempt to prevent the establishment of Slavery therein. There is no instance where Slavery has been kept out of any territory in the United States into which it could legally enter. The poor people who have been induced by the free State press to emigrate to Kansas have been woefully misled.

ITALY.

ROYALISM AND REPUBLICANISM.—MARRINI.

In a communication to the republican paper *Italia e Popolo*, Mazzini expresses a determination to write a series of letters with a view to explain the position and plans of the republicans, and to show that the difference between parties is not respecting principles, but only as to the means of reaching the object desired by all. These letters he intends not merely for the Italians, "but also to foreigners who, some deploring and others rejoicing, point at our dissensions as significant of our impotence for true liberty, and as our shame."

"I now will prove by investigation of the subject that we are not really, but only apparently, divided."

"In France, and other countries where national existence has already been acquired at the cost of frequent and prolonged political crises, the ordinary preparation of some classes, and repeated and terrible delusions, have caused to arise the social question; a question which I do not hesitate to declare unavoidable for every people—and, indeed, the only one of importance. The political question only prepares the mode of solving peacefully this problem."

"We all know that the revolution which will give to Italy her existence as a nation must be made for the benefit, not of a class, but of the entire people, and especially of that portion the wants of which are the least provided for; but we know full well that nothing can be accomplished for the welfare of the people until Italy shall exist. The desire of our people to-day is to have a country, and nothing else."

"That federalism which would make of each city a little republic is an equivocation."

"There is not one Italy, but that is the creed of all, of Manin who shouts for the King Victor Emanuel, as it is for us republicans. And in this Italy there are but two strong elements, *action and commerce*."

"Among the thinking men of Italy, there is not one who theorizes upon the excellence of the three powers in equilibrium; not one who declares himself a monarchist from conviction of the soundness of that system; not one who dares not say as he raises the royalist banner, call it the banner of to-day—confessing that the future belongs to the republic."

"They believe, that to make Italy republican a generation of republicans must pass away. We do not believe that republicanism is ever to be formed under monarchial education, but that republican institutions alone will cultivate republican sentiments and habits in the public mind."

"No one among us, even if he could, dreams of forcibly establishing a republic; the monarchists, however, plant their system with the bayonet, whether the country like it or not. Above us all is the NATION; to her we leave the choice. We enlighten her as much as in our power lies, and we, for weal or woe, accept her will. But that the nation be enabled to declare her will, in peace and calm, it is first indispensable to drive beyond the Alps the foreign invaders; to strike down the semi-Italian tyrannies. Are we not all agreed on this point?"

We regret that, in consequence of the press of other matter, we are prevented from giving in full the above letter.

The New York Daily Times on the Absolute Control of the Government by the Slaveowners. The Last Enfranchisement of Freedom.

Notwithstanding our abiding faith in the perpetuity of the Union, and the ultimate reign of sound and free principles in the Federal Government, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that the triumph of those principles threatens to be postponed for generations, and that the most dark and desperate despotism, that ever ruled and ruined on earth, is striving to secure ascendancy in the mean time, with every advantage in its favor, and every prospect of success. To-day, twenty-five millions of our people, free and enslaved, native and foreign, black and white, are under the feet of three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders. Three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders control the Federal Executive, and wield it without justice, or conscience, or shame. Three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders control the Senate, and have used it within the last three months to extinguish all the independent power of the popular branch of the Legislature. Three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders will control the next House of Representatives. The patronage, the revenues, the army, the navy, the judiciary of the Federal Government are in the hands of these three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders, who have now left but one stroke further to complete their mastery of the means of accomplishing their frightful and perilous designs. These designs, if we may trust the unanimous voice of their press at the South, involve the acquisition of Cuba by any means whatever; the annexation of Central America, the dismemberment of Mexico, the restoration of the African Slave-trade, and eventual appropriation of the Valley of the Amazon. The secondary means to these ends consist in converting enough of the Federal territory into Slave States, to render their actual preponderance in the Federal scheme stable and reliable; and it involves of necessity the exclusion of any more Free States. Texas will be chopped up into four States, and thrust into the Union with six Senators and a dozen Representatives to strengthen the ascendancy. And the primary means to these ends consist in electing James Buchanan President of the United States; for the election of Col. Fremont, the only other possible candidate, leaves one stronghold, one barrier of resistance to the development of this monstrous plan, which the utmost energy of the conspirators cannot overcome. The Presidential Chair is the last enfranchisement of Freedom; the election of Fremont is its last hope.

The New York Times on the Insignificance of the Southern Press.

The New York Times of November 11th says, that the Southern papers, from which large extracts have lately been made by the papers of the Northern States, no more indicate the sentiment of the people of the United States, than John Frost and Colfax, the chartists, represent the people of England.

It is true that the Southern papers do not represent the people of the United States, but they do represent the men who control the federal Government—men who are not at all in the position of John Frost and Colfax. It would be more correct to institute a comparison between these individuals and the editor of the New York Times, who, like them, opposes the constituted authorities.

The Presidential Election.

The New York Tribune on the cessation of the exercise of Liberty in Europe. Whether suffragism will prevail and civilization end in despotism.

[From the New York Tribune, November 9.]

Land and liberty as well as the contentions of American slaveholders, American filibusters and American toughs over Buchanan's election, will more heartily, if not so loud, will be the rejoicings of the complex and hater, whether in Europe or elsewhere, of the rights of people, and of the plea of giving to the mass of laboring men a voice in choosing those who are to rule them. These enemies of democracy will regard the result of our Presidential election—and surely not without a good deal of plausibility—as a desperate if not a deadly blow struck as well at the idea as at the institutions of democratic government.

Look, they will say, at these famous United States of America, which have been the occasion and the object of so much empty boasting about the capacity of men to govern themselves. Look hither, and see the party which claims pre-eminently, and indeed exclusively, the name of Democratic, submitting to have its presidential candidate nominated for it entirely at the dictation of a little clique of slaveholders, and nominated, too, upon a platform of which the sole and single plank is the extension of slavery into territories—whether belonging to foreign nations or to the United States—in which that institution has been abolished or prohibited. Look to the slave States, and see all the pretended democratic rights of a free press, freedom of discussion, and freedom in the selection and advocacy of measures of public policy, and of candidates for office, totally suppressed; men who had presumed to take a part in the nomination or advocacy of Fremont, the candidate of the free-labor party, mobbed and exiled, and a reign of terror established which did not allow the formation of an electoral ticket for this free-labor candidate in more than two or three of those States. Behold, too, even the Southern advo-

cates of the doughface Fillmore, threatened with Lynch law and prosecutions for treason because they presumed to oppose themselves to the insolent despotism of the friends of Buchanan.

In the four years that are to come, freedom and our free institutions are to be put to a test and trial such as they have never known before. The days of the stamp-act and the tea tax—even the days of the Boston port-bill, of the Massachusetts disfranchising act, and of the occupation of Boston and New York by mercenary armies—were nothing to them. It is only the darkest and gloomiest days of the Revolution, such as the retreat out of Canada, or the winter at Valley Forge, that can afford a comparison. The country is in danger; liberty, equal rights, the rights of man, the right of self-government are in danger. For the first time in our history, we have a President elected, openly and professedly hostile to liberty, to equal rights, to the rights of man, to the right of self-government—a President pledged to trample them all under foot for the sake of extending slavery into Kansas and strengthening and consolidating the slave power. For the first time, we have a thoroughly sectional President, not only nominated by the South and chosen by the South, but nominated and chosen upon a purely Southern pro-slavery platform, and supported by a body of reckless and desperate politicians, who will devote themselves for the next four years, with all the advantage which Federal office will give them, to the undermining and destruction of republican liberty.

These are the four years that are to try us. If we meet them like men, if we meet them in the spirit of our republican fathers, the victory must and will be ours. Let us fight now, let us yield now, and all will be lost. We shall fulfil the hopes of those who watch for the downfall of American Liberty; democracy will give place to rightism, and rightism will end in despotism.

The Tribune fails to suggest how the slave oligarchy are to be prevented from undermining and destroying republican liberty.

Bullianism in New Orleans. Partisan Police There.

[From the New Orleans Courier, October 31.]

On Wednesday night, a little before 11 o'clock, a gang of villains, eight of whom in number, disguised in false whiskers, and with their faces partially blackened, entered the coffee-house of Mr. H. F. Sturken, at the corner of St. Louis and Marais streets, knocked down the bar-keeper with a slung-shot, turned upon Mr. Sturken, who was sitting with several gentlemen around a table playing a game, and beat him on the head with the same murder-ous implement. Mr. Sturken raised a chair and drove some of the scoundrels back. He then escaped out of the door, where others of the gang struck him down, and left him for dead on the pavement. The bar-keeper is dangerously wounded. From the spot where he was struck to the chandler where he was carried the hours and minutes were covered with his blood.

Not a word was said by the villains; their movements, apparently preconcerted, were executed in a few seconds. Both the men beaten were quiet and respectable citizens, Germans by birth.

A few minutes before this murderous assault, Mr. J. B. Rathbone, proprietor of another coffee-house at the corner of Marais and Iberville, was knocked down with some heavy weapon as he stood on the sidewalk before his door, being about to close up for the night. His head was badly cut. He neither saw nor heard any one before he received the blow.

Similar gangs of disguised vandals—perhaps the same ones—visited other places below Rampart street the same night, looting, abusing and stealing from proprietors of drinking saloons, &c. After taking several drinks all around, they would refuse to pay for them, and tell them to "charge it to Fillmore."

Police-men were said to have been near the corner of St. Louis and Marais streets when the assault was made, but ran away, springing their rattles—whether from fear, from an indisposition to interfere, or for the purpose of obtaining assistance, is not known. The police, as at present constituted, organized and controlled, is of little service in preventing depredations, and of none at all in bringing offenders to justice. IT IS A PARTISAN POLICE.

The Antislavery Standard on the Result of the Election. What must be done now?

A political anti-slavery party can never rally under a more galling leader; it can never legitimately assume higher anti-slavery ground. If it could not succeed now, can it ever succeed? If with Fremont to marshal it, and Kansas as its rallying cry, it is defeated, scattered, cut to pieces, can it ever emerge on any issue, under any leader? Multitudes of its honest and sincere men, we hope and believe, will see that it cannot, and will be satisfied that a political Union with slaveholders makes a slaveholding Government, and binds us to slaveholding masters. They are beginning to learn that the only salvation for the North, and the only hope for freedom is in a dissolution of the Union, and we will venture the prophecy that Mr. Buchanan's administration will enforce this lesson upon all of us in the course of the next four years, with the insulting arrogance and cruelty which characterizes the slave-driver who has just scourged into obedience a whole plantation of rebellious bondsmen.

The Pivot upon

It would have been twenty-five years ago on the eve of the end of the war between the every free State whose vote matters.

In these states better cause, and a more which the the greater unity political ap which it deri ment in the the matter was Missouri Com newly qualifi into the Union that Slavery is tra higher th corresponding north latitude which exist been perpetu dually of the of the late in the efforts of acquiring new ere of latitude the line which and bondage; taining a new people, he d Senate the v Texas was an was with a st in favor of the are, fostered

The London Republic

The London Republic from and ren hams in the respecting the from the Fed State remain

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Thus we people," a n and has affe deplorable powerful St justice should had the sop voted for j a brought "In her ranges the eople, but he might seen in Cou ideal gov; the redre at election are is non- ing unles not givi our years,

The Pivot upon which American Politics have turned for the last Thirty-five Years.

(From the London Times, October 20.)

It would hardly be too much to say that for the last twenty-five years American politics have turned mainly on the endeavor to preserve the balance of power intact between the North and the South, and to furnish for every free State admitted into the Union a slave State whose vote might exactly counterbalance it.

In these struggles the North had the advantage of a better cause, a larger and more intelligent population, and a more rapid natural increase—advantages, however, which the South found means to counterbalance by a greater unity of design, more perfect discipline, greater political aptitude in its leaders, and that advantage which it derived from the situation of the seat of government in the midst of a community of masters and slaves. The matter was apparently settled once for all by the Missouri Compromise, which admitted that State, eminently qualified by its climate and position for freedom, into the Union as a slave State, on the express condition that slavery was never henceforth to be allowed to penetrate higher than what is called Mason and Dixon's line, corresponding pretty nearly to the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude. It is very possible that this arrangement, which subsisted unbroken for thirty years, might have been perpetual, had it not been for the meanness and duplicity of the leaders of the North, and more especially of the late much-praised Daniel Webster. Up to 1840 the efforts of the slave States had been directed towards acquiring new territories south of the thirty-sixth degree of latitude, rather than to any attempt to transgress the line which separated the rival dominions of freedom and bondage. It was mainly with this view—that of obtaining a new slave State, which might, when more fully peopled, be divided into two, and thus neutralise in the Senate the vote of the whole of New England—that Texas was annexed and a war with Mexico provoked. It was with a similar view of redressing the balance of power in favor of the South that ignominious designs were, and still are, fostered against Cuba.

The London Examiner on the Failure of the Republican Principles in the United States.

The London Examiner makes the following quotation from and remarks on a speech delivered by Mr. Huntington in the House of Representatives at Washington, respecting the limits which Massachusetts has resolved from the Federal Government, and the reasons why that State remains attached to the Union:

Yet the hand of the federal Government has been laid heavily upon her. That malignant spirit who has usurped the Government, through the negligence of the people, too long, has pursued her with cruel and unrelenting. She has seen go down before its invidious legislation, her commercial interests. She has seen her commerce perished and ruin, like a devastating fire, sweep through her fields of industry; but amid all these things, Massachusetts has always lifted up her voice with unvarying devotion to the Union. She has loved the federal form in her courts; she has protected the person of that most odious man—Johnson both at the North and the South—the slaveholder. She has protected him when her soil thrived with indignation from the sea to the New York Bay. She, the temple of justice there have been clothed in chains. The federal Courts in other States have been closed against her, and her citizens have been imprisoned, and she has had no redress.

Yet, notwithstanding all these things, Massachusetts has always been faithful—she always been loyal to the Constitution. You may ask why, if she has been so wronged, so insulted, has she been true and faithful to the Union? Mr. Huntington says, in her clear heart, that these outrages come not from the generous hearts of the American people. She knew that when justice finally should assume the reins of government, all would be well. She knew that when the government ceased to foster the interest of slavery alone, her interests would be respected and the whole country be blessed. It was always this high constitutional hope that has always swayed the head and heart of Massachusetts, and which has made her look out of the gloom of the present and anticipate a glorious future.

Thus we learn, that "through the negligence of the people," a malignant spirit has too long ruled the States, and has affected Massachusetts in particular with various deplorable evils. Well, what did this enlightened and powerful State do in these straits? Why, she hoped, she waited. And she rested on her knowledge that when justice should assume the reins all would be well. She had the solid consolation of a figure of speech. She waited for justice. But how is justice to come about, or be brought about?

"In her clear head," Massachusetts knew that the wrongs she suffered were not the work of the American people, but we have been told they were the results of the negligence of the people, so that the people have been in fault on the one side, that of omission, and the Federal Government in that of commission. And where is the redress? In the awakening and a new Presidential election. We trust it may prove so; but surely there is something rotten in the State of Denmark, something amiss in the great American Republic, in which the most grievous misdeed may have its way unchecked for years, involving the Union in the danger of foreign

war, and plunging a part of it into the horrors of civil war, all for one man's political game. Yet we are told that the bulk of the people are good, and the principles of the Government good; but, nevertheless, she had got the upper hand, as we always see them do in novels till the last volume, and in plays till the last act, because the good folks cannot see what they have got to do, or set if they do, and are as helpless as penguins in the face of their enemies. Is this the goodness of a great nation, or to borrow Coleridge's goodness?

The principles of the general Government are execrable, and a large majority of the people have been corrupted thereby.

The Examiner is right in suggesting that there is something rotten in the State of Denmark, something amiss in the great American Republic. The principles of republicanism are not at fault, but the alliance between Freedom and Slavery has been highly injurious to the former, and threatens its entire destruction.

The Illustrated London News on the Southern Oligarchy. Dark Prospects.

This minority is in possession of all the fertile soils, and rules the majority in an absolute sense. In the Federal professions none can rise who plead the cause of the negro. The clergyman who did so would soon preach to his clerk alone, if indeed, so humble a functionary would remain with him; the lawyer would rarely have a client, or the medical practitioner a patient; the civil engineer would vainly seek employment; and the humiliated tradesman, standing behind an unfrequented counter, would close his shop. The slaveowners, therefore, are not an aristocracy, as they have frequently been called, but an oligarchy, wielding in secret the power of despotism; for, in order to perpetuate a certain bondage, they must deny to the white population the right of elevating thought, either orally or in print. Assuming, then, that the violators of the Missouri Compromise should succeed in their policy, and that slavery should dominate throughout the Northwestern territories, it is evident that the same pernicious influence which now prevails in the Southern States would extend to those bordering regions; and the country of Washington, instead of being the fortress of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed, would become a vast dunghill, in which man and intellect would be depressed.

The Post Office Violated in the South. Letters Opened by the Postmasters.

(From the New York Tribune.)

On another page will be found a letter from a lady in Georgia, expressing fully how her letters have been illegally opened, and how the Postmaster of the place refused to forward any more to the same destination—that is, to Kansas. Had she been in contact with the lowest forms of European despotism in that of her country, it is not surprising Mr. Buchanan's supporters at the South give a "British version" in his favor, the first of which is that he voted in 1846 for giving the mails to find Abolition documents. The means of treason are ever the same—circulating between those of the South and the Union. Our full correspondence, it will be seen, has never said a word openly against the postmaster institution, and the official responsibility in question was based upon the suspicious character of the person in whom whatever letter is cited was addressed.

It would be asking too much to expect our "Democratic" Postmaster-General at Washington to redress this infamous outrage, unless he set contrary to the customary systematic functions of the Government. Of this administration, or anything like it, we expect nothing but eternal co-operation with the Southern despots.

Russia and the United States. Reaction when they the ancient cordials will continue.

(From the New York Tribune, November 11.)

The late Emperor more than once said that he considered there were but two forms of government worthy of respect, viewed according to their adaptation to the two different climates. He observed to Mr. Dallas, when Minister at his Court, that his imperial form of government was fitted for the Russians, and the democratic form for the Americans; but that he had no respect for the intermediate hybrids of other countries, which were simply impossible. The late Emperor holding such views on our government, and his frankness and respect for the United States being variously exhibited, we look upon the Alliance of the Muscovite monarchs to our present onerous as a natural sequence. But now, that the democracy here, such as Nicholas understood it, no longer prevails, and the country has assumed a generic doctrine toward God and humanity that which the Czar and his sixty millions of subjects reject as unworthy the age, it becomes a serious question whether the impulse to our mutually good understanding remains, and whether Czar and people will not hold us in such contempt that the status quo may no longer remain.

The old Muscovite party, the opponents of emancipation, will remain staunch friends of the United States, but the Czar and the friends of progress in Russia will soon become disgusted with their American allies.

Danger from the Superstitious Reverence for the Union. Absurdity of allowing the Slave owners to Rule.

(From the London Star.)

The point in dispute is not merely whether Kansas is to be a free or slave State; not merely whether slavery is to be extended over the whole of that vast region called the Northwestern territory; not merely whether the slave interest is to acquire such preponderance as to stamp its own image and superscription for ever upon the face of the republic; but the question is, whether ruffianism is to supersede law, whether that mighty confederacy of States, the most marvellous offspring of the age, is to be directed by righteous principles and statesmanlike policy, or by brute force in its most brutal and undisciplined form.

The chief danger seems to arise from the superstitious reverence cherished for the "Union" by certain parties in the North, rather than endowings which they begin prepared to sacrifice conscience, and character, and every thing. The threat of separation is the device by which the South has weaned from them, one after another, those statesmen statesmen that have raised the slave power to the present insolent supremacy. If the people of the free States are to emancipate themselves from the ignominious thraldom to which they are now subjected, they must be prepared to look this measure resolutely in the face. Their passionate veneration for the Union is a matter of sentiment for more than of interest, for it may be gravely doubted whether in the long run it would not be greatly to the advantage of the North, both in a moral and material sense, to be severed from that unwholesome alliance.

After showing that the North far exceeds the South in numbers, intelligence and wealth, the Star proceeds:

The number of actual slaveholders in the United States has been variously estimated. It is generally computed at 400,000. But the author of a very able article in the Edinburgh Review, just published, thinks from certain data which he adduces, that they cannot amount to much more than 100,000. And yet for seventy-five years the government of the country has been virtually in the hands of these men. Of the sixteen Presidents of the United States, eleven have been slaveholders; while, at least, three others went into office as the acknowledged slaveholders of the South. And out of the other great officers of State, we are told, on the authority of the writer just mentioned, that the South has obtained, up to 1855, 17 out of 38 Judges of the Supreme Court; 14 out of 19 Attorneys-General; 41 out of 77 Presidents of the Senate; 21 out of 38 Speakers of the House; 20 out of 124 Foreign Ministers.

Now, is it not true that those who really control, by their intelligence, enterprise and wealth, the strength and glory of their country, should take in hand the direction of its destiny? Are the intellect and energy of America to be for ever chained in the car of a small minority of slaveholders?

The small minority of slaveholders control the Government of the United States, for they are masters of the Senate, which body has virtually the disposal of the Federal offices. Under the existing Constitution of the United States, there is no hope whatever that the numbers, wealth and intelligence of the North will ever prevail against the Southern oligarchy.

(From the New York Herald of December 1.)

The Result of the Presidential Election in Europe—Our Foreign Policy.

The election of Mr. Buchanan will fall like a thunder-clap upon the European governments and people. The warmth with which the candidates of Gen. Fremont was supported by the independent press, and the independent public opinion of the United States, had led them to conclude that an event which they had grave reasons to deprecate would have been averted. Ingrat of our party insincerity, they regarded these indications as unimpeachable evidence of the popular will. And so they would have been, had not treachery, inexperience, and the absence of an effective organization combined to defeat the public cause which has ever engaged the sympathies of honest men.

Well may this result alarm the susceptibilities of other nations. For them it is pregnant with a world of anxiety and danger. It announced in the first place the deliberate decision of the American people in favor of the extension of slavery, and in the next, their equally deliberate adoption of the principles of the Dred Scott manifesto. There is no possibility of mistaking or extending these conclusions. Such are in effect the results achieved by the victory of the Democratic party. That they will excite questions which, if they could not have been finally settled, might have been indefinitely postponed—that they will render still more fierce and irreconcilable the hostility between the North and the South, and that they will plunge our foreign relations into a state of confusion and embarrassment still worse than that from which we have recently been relieved, has long been apparent to all who have not been blinded by their party prejudices.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE EUROPEAN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE EUROPEAN.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1856.

PANAMA.

THE PROPOSED SEIZURE OF PANAMA BY THE UNITED STATES. WHETHER ENGLAND WOULD OFFER ANY OPPOSITION. REMARKS OF THE LONDON TIMES ON THAT POINT. IMPOLICY OF THE LATE CONCESSIONS MADE BY ENGLAND TO THE UNITED STATES. WHETHER ENGLAND CAN POSSIBLY AVOID DIFFICULTIES WITH THE UNITED STATES. POSITION OF FRANCE IN REFERENCE TO AMERICAN QUESTIONS.

The London *Times* of 7th ult. quotes the following conclusion of the Report of the United States Commissioner, Mr. Amos B. Corwin, with reference to certain disturbances at Panama, attended with loss of life to some American citizens connected with or passengers by the new railway:

"I feel it a duty incumbent on me to recommend the immediate occupancy of the Isthmus, from ocean to ocean, by the United States, as the best practical mode to insure safety and tranquillity to the transit; unless New Granada, after the proper representations shall have been made, and the necessary demand made upon her in pursuance of treaty stipulations, can satisfy us as to her ability and inclination to afford the proper protection and make speedy and ample atonement for the wrongs inflicted upon our countrymen by the people and officials of the state of Panama."

Upon this the *Times* proceeds to say:

"The cabinet at Washington is now sitting upon this proposal, and, though Mr. Marcy is understood to be against it, it is reported to be backed by the President and Mr. Jefferson Davis. It is unnecessary, of course, to say that such a proceeding could not possibly be allowed by the British Government. A long and intricate diplomatic correspondence has just ended in the withdrawal, on the part of our own Government, from all occupation of Central American territory. The island of Ruatan, for many years in our possession, has been given up to Honduras; the Mosquito Protectorate has been abandoned, with the express object of relieving Central America from British occupation, and securing that as open and neutral ground for the projected interoceanic canal. But the ink is hardly dry with which this agreement has been signed when the United States Commissioner formally recommends to his Government the open occupation of the most important portion of the Central American Isthmus,

and the United States Government deliberately entertains and discusses that recommendation! A New York contemporary reflects the astonishment with which the sober portion even of American society itself regards this plan—speaks of it as 'an enormous scheme of ill-bustering,' and says, 'It will be read with amazement.' It is quite understood, according to this journal, what the adoption of such a plan will immediately lead to; that 'the design of Jefferson Davis and Mr. Pierce to make the Panama massacre a pretext for seizing the whole isthmus' will not be allowed by this country, and that the present Washington Cabinet will thus 'close its administration by plunging us into a war with the maritime nations of Europe.' Our opposition, then, to such a scheme is taken for granted, with all its consequences. But we do not wish to treat such a question so seriously. We will not suppose it possible that a war can arise upon so plainly untenable a ground on the part of the United States, and that the latter will put themselves so much in the wrong. The better part of American public opinion will be able to prevent this."

The *Times* has more confidence in "the better part of American public opinion" than we have. The only opinions that have any influence upon the Government at Washington are those of the Slave-owners, and it is their policy to have Slavery established all over Spanish America. That policy will be steadily pursued on all favorable occasions, despite all that England may say to the contrary.

Moreover, if England is determined to avoid difficulties with the United States, she must not only give up her West India Islands, in order that the model Republic may re-establish Slavery therein, but must also restore fugitive slaves escaping into the British Provinces and establish a censorship over the Press in England, and suppress all obnoxious remarks on "the peculiar institution" of the United States. We are by no means satisfied that even these concessions will suffice to pacify these fierce propagandists for any considerable length of time.

The men who control the destinies of this country are the deadly enemies of liberty everywhere—they hate its very name—pronounce free society a failure, hold that all laborers ought to be slaves, and are more rabid in favor of despotism than any class whatever, even in Russia.

It was impolitic on the part of England to give way to the clamor of the Americans about the island of Ruatan and the Mosquito Protectorate. England could not possibly gain anything by that policy; on the contrary, her opponent will be emboldened by it to pursue her career of aggression in Mexico and Central America with more vigor and determination than ever.

No new treaties should be made by England with this country, for most of those already made have served only to create difficulties, or increase those previously existing.

Nothing that England can do, in the way of making concessions now, will avert war with the United States whenever the latter can find strong allies, whilst without such this country is wholly unable to maintain a contest with her. Scarcely any conceivable provocation could suffice to incite the United States to declare war against England whilst she is at peace with the rest of the world. In a single-handed contest the vast commerce of the United States would be destroyed, California and Oregon conquered by England, and any armies invading the Canadas would be easily repelled.

As to the Nicaraguan question, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty is of no real value to England, for its object can be easily defeated by a well-known American manoeuvre. If Walker succeeds in establishing himself in Nicaragua, that country will be admitted as one of the States of the Union, and there is nothing in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty to prevent it. Panama may be acquired by a similar process.

It will be well for English statesmen to determine what policy ought to be pursued in regard to the now evident schemes of the Slavery propagandists on this continent.

If England should resolve to resist them she will have to act alone—at all events she cannot safely rely upon obtaining any effective assistance from France, afflicted as that unfortunate country is with the most odious despotism of modern times. The tyrant of France is far more likely to ally himself with his brother tyrants of Russia and Austria than to concern himself about the extension of Slavery in America. France, on the contrary, under a constitutional government, would see at once the necessity of stopping the progress of barbarism here, and would seek the acquisition of California, Oregon and Texas as a refuge for her teeming population. France would then have a safety-valve, and would be kept out of the arms of the Holy Alliance.

British North America. The Annexation Party.

The *Albion* of 8th November observes, that a few insignificant individuals still speak of the annexation of the British Provinces to the United States as a possible contingency.

"There are," says the *Albion*, "three chief impediments to such traitorous designs. These may be found in the loyal attachment of an overwhelming majority of the Colonists—in the assured interference of the mother country—in the unwillingness of the United States themselves to listen seriously to any feelers put out. These foolish talkers and writers entirely overlook the politics and the policy of the Union, into which they dream of thrusting themselves. They forget that there is here a North and a South, each jealous to the last degree of any accession to the other's strength, and that the aggressive spirit and the lust of dominion are assumed to lie precisely in that quarter where an increased Northern territory would be considered a curse instead of a blessing."

We may add another reason why the British Provinces should not be annexed to the United States, viz.—there is scarcely room to doubt that the latter will soon sink into an absolute despotism. It has been supposed by many persons that the free States were strong enough to control the Federal Government, but such is not the fact—the free States are in the folds of a huge anaconda, and appear to have no chance of escape.

In considering the annexation question it should be borne in mind that the Provinces were acquired and have been held by England at an immense expenditure of blood and treasure, not for the mere benefit of the few inhabitants already there, but also for the benefit of the mother country. Her rights are indisputable, and their importance can scarcely be overestimated.

LATEST FROM EUROPE.

THE RUMORED ALLIANCE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND AUSTRIA, AND BETWEEN RUSSIA AND FRANCE.

IMPOLICY OF THE FORMER.

We learn by the *Europa*, which arrived at this port on 13th inst., that an opinion is gaining ground that an alliance has already been completed, or is in progress towards completion between England and Austria on the one hand, and between Russia and France on the other.

Some of the French journals assert that the Porte has demanded that the Austrians shall evacuate the Principalities and the British the Black Sea, but that they, by a secret mutual understanding, refuse to leave. The leading English journals deny that such demand has been made.

The London *Times* Paris correspondent says:

"Whether well founded or not, the opinion is very general that not only does there exist a serious difference between France and England, on more than one point, but also that the latter has been completely reconciled to Austria, and that the former is now on more than friendly terms with Russia; and the Austrians in Paris boast that it is not possible for two cabinets to be on more amicable terms than those of Vienna and London. That a corresponding sentiment prevails between Russia and France is equally believed, and a certain ex-minister of Louis Philippe is said to have recently offered to wager a reasonable sum that England and Austria on one hand, and Russia and France on the other, would soon be more openly hostile. In all these predictions, the wish, no doubt, is father to the thought."

The London *Daily News* correspondent writes:

I really cannot explain the approximation of the English cabinet towards the policy of Austria, but by the conjecture that diplomatists must have reasons of which the public are ignorant to suspect a secret alliance between France and Russia. I observe that the *Nord*, the Russian organ at Brussels, speaks now in almost identical terms with the French Government journals of the questions on which the French and English Governments are understood to differ.

The Paris *Journal des Debats* assumes that a complete reconciliation has been accomplished between England and Austria.

No dependence could be placed by England upon an alliance with Austria. If the despots of France and Russia should act together to carry out their accursed projects, no attempt should be made by England to defeat them through the aid of Austria, for that treacherous power might, at any moment, desert her ally without the least warning.

Besides, the popular element would be wanting in such an alliance. England can do nothing for the cause of liberty on the continent of Europe, whilst despotism prevails in France. This is no time for crusading in favor of liberty; on the contrary, there is imminent danger of

a combination of principles of better it would be better to have had 1848, and revolutions would have been efforts to am multitudes, made, but the highly favored.

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a combination of all the continental despots against the principle of Parliamentary Government. How much better it would have been for England, if the whole Continent had become Republican in the Revolutions of 1848, and remained so, for in that event the European nations would have engaged in a glorious rivalry in their efforts to ameliorate the condition of the down-trodden multitudes. Some mistakes would no doubt have been made, but the main result would certainly have been highly favorable to the cause of humanity.

We have no doubt that, sooner or later, the despot of France will act in concert with his brother tyrants. England will then have to pay the penalty of her folly in 1848, in sustaining the cause of absolute Monarchy against Republicanism. She had, in reality, nothing to fear from the latter, but every reason to dread a general conspiracy against liberal principles, as the consequence of the success of the reaction.

The news from the Cape of Good Hope leads to the presumption that a new outbreak of the Kaffirs is probable, if not imminent.

In India, preparations are continued for the expedition against Persia.

From China we learn that the Imperial fleet has been burnt at Hong Kong by the rebels.

The London *Times* strongly dissuades capitalists from investing in the Russian railway concessions. The railways conceded are 2,500 miles, requiring forty millions sterling of capital.

The *Morning Post* has in more prominent type than usual a first leader of a few lines, stating that, although it is true the term has expired fixed by the treaty of Paris for the evacuation of the Principalities and of the Turkish waters, nevertheless, three different points will still be occupied, because Russia has not fulfilled her engagements.

The London *Times* correspondence mentions, that the Russian Ambassador had proposed that the disputed points respecting the Isle of Serpents and Bolgrad be settled at Constantinople, and the Porte was inclined to listen to the proposal, which would be a kind of compromise between the previous desire of Russia, backed by France and the views of the British Government.

The London *Times* of October 29th, contains a spirited article on the Presidential Election in the United States. It characterizes Mr. Buchanan as an excellent private gentleman, an unscrupulous but weak-minded demagogue, an electioneering intriguer; and adds, that he is well fitted as "James B. Platform," having no real political will of his own.

The New York Times on the Effect in England of Mr. Buchanan's Election. Whether the South will make War.

[From the New York Times, Nov. 8.]

"We are inclined to believe that Mr. Buchanan will find, long before he enters upon the duties of his office, that not only the great body of the people of all parties in the North, but the mass of the people in the South also, will resist strenuously any attempt on his part to seize Cuba, to carry out the Ostend Manifesto, or to put at hazard, by any exhibition of countenance or favor to the school of filibusters, the peaceful relations of the country with any of the great powers of Europe. He will find this, to be the settled judgment of the American people. The South—whatever may be its longings for slave territory—does not want war, and will not sustain the President in measures leading to it."

It is true that the South does not want war at present—it bides its time—waits for the proper opportunity. It may, however, a short time hence proceed to act upon its darling policy, relying upon an actual or anticipated embroilment in Europe. The Government of the United States will not fear war with England, or even with England and France united, if they get into a conflict with Russia and Austria, an event not unlikely to happen, seeing the various point of dispute which may be raised between those powers respecting the affairs of Spain, Italy or Greece.

The Ostend Manifesto. Alleged Recantation of Mr. Buchanan.

The New York *Times* of November 10, contains a letter from a correspondent who had recently had an interview with Mr. Buchanan.

The correspondent says, that if Kansas applies for admission as a Slave State, no objection will be raised on

that account. Also, that Mr. Buchanan signed the Ostend Manifesto under a false impression conveyed to him from Washington, to wit, that the people of the United States were nearly unanimous in desiring to see Cuba annexed to the Union.

All this amounts to nothing. The South will insist on the seizure of Cuba as soon as the European powers get into collision with each other—not before. It will then be discovered by Mr. Buchanan, if he be the President at the time, that the people of the United States desire the conquest of Cuba.

The New York *Tribune* of 10th November, in reference to the rumors current that Mr. Buchanan is in favor of using the Presidential power so as to secure the admission of Kansas as a free state, says:

No such policy will mark his administration. He is, as he himself has declared, not Mr. James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, the timid, conservative, well-meaning gentleman; but the personification of the Cincinnati Platform, which declared substantially that if the slaveholders could complete the conquest of Kansas, they might do it. Mr. Buchanan is one of those who recognize the validity of the border-ruffian code of Kansas, and that code, and what will now necessarily follow it, makes Kansas a slave state.

English Workmen in Russia.

The London Correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, writes:

"All the English workmen and engineers in Russian Government employment have received notice that their services will not be required after the term of their present engagements, and it is intended to replace them by Americans throughout all the Imperial arsenals and factories."

The connection between Russia and the United States is becoming closer every day. There is much sympathy between the two Governments. Both are propagandists of despotism. One seeks to extend Slavery all over the American continent, the other to establish the Russian system all over Europe. Doubtless the United States would have joined Russia if the late war had continued.

The Character of the Sham Democracy of America, as understood in Prussia.

The Berlin Correspondent of the New York *Herald* writes, (Oct. 7th, 1856), "that Fremont has a staunch opponent in the Prussian paper, *Politische Wochenblatt*, the organ of the liberal conservative party, which stigmatises him as a revolutionist, and declares democracy in America to be identical with conservatism in Europe." The organ in question is somewhat mistaken, for what the anti-republican party call democracy in the United States is far worse than conservatism in Europe. The masters of the pro-slavery party favor absolute despotism all over the world, and desire to reduce the mechanics and laborers of the North to the condition of serfs. The sham democracy here will soon be admired prodigiously by the despots of Europe.

Sympathy of the Land of Serfs with the Land of Slaves.

The following article is from the New York *Times* of October 30th:

BUCHANAN AID FROM RUSSIA.—Nothing could be more natural than that the land of serfs should sympathize with the land of slaves; and we are, therefore, not surprised to learn that the representative in this country of the Serfocracy of Russia should be lending his assistance to the Slaveocracy of the South. In the language of Professor Baps, what if Russia should come in with her talloes to grease the wheels of the Buchanan Democracy? We have reasons for believing that something of the kind is being done. It is said that Mr. Stockel, the Secretary of the Russian Legation at Washington, and *charge d'affaires ad interim* since the death of Mr. Bodisco, has been openly stamping for Buchanan in the saloons of this city and Washington, and using his influence to promote the success of the Ostend-Manifesto party. The Russian Secretary should remember Talleyrand's caution against over-zeal in subordinates, and keep in remembrance the fate of Crampton. He may find himself, one of these days, journeying towards a Siberia of diplomacy.

The sympathy referred to is perfectly natural, and it was clearly evidenced in the late war between Russia and the Allies. Mr. Crampton was made the victim of that sympathy. The United States Government believed that Russia would be assisted by Austria and would be victorious. President Pierce and his cabinet resolved to take advantage of the opportunity to break down the power and influence of England, which have been exercised against slavery and the slave-trade for many years past, to the utter disgust of the Southern oligarchy.

RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES.

SYMPATHY BETWEEN THEM IN THE LATE WAR. TRUE ORIGIN OF THE ENLIGHTENED CONTOUR. HOW THE UNITED STATES NEUTRALITY LAWS ARE NOW CONSIDERED. OBSCURITY FOR GENERAL WALKER. IMPORTANCE OF A PROPER COMPREHENSION OF THE ENLIGHTENED CONTOUR. POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT CLEARLY SHOWN BY IT. THE COMPLAINT MADE IN HAD FAITH AND SUSTAINED BY GROSS MISREPRESENTATIONS. DETERMINATION TO HAVE WAR WITH ENGLAND WHENEVER A GOOD OPPORTUNITY OCCURS.

The article from the New York *Times*, copied below, shows how the United States government now regards laws prohibiting the hiring or retaining of men for foreign military service, in just what was anticipated by those who understood United States politics.

This conduct of the government, in Mr. Russell's review of Secretary Marcy's letter of May 27, 1856, in reply to Lord Clarendon, (published in June last,) we find the following passage:

"After referring to the extravagant proposition that a man is liable to imprisonment for three years if he publishes an advertisement or makes a speech showing that advantageous terms are offered to recruits for foreign governments. Mr. Russell says: No such doctrine has ever been propounded from the Bench in this country, and none such ever will be. It will be utterly scouted everywhere now that it has served its purpose in the diplomatic controversy with Great Britain.

"No one will have the hardihood and foolishness to seek to enforce such an interpretation of the law in any other case. For example, suppose that General Walker establishes himself in Nicaragua and wants men, will anybody pretend that it is unlawful to make speeches or publish handbills showing the terms which he offers to such persons as may present themselves to him and be approved of? Will the courts decide that to advise or assist a man to go to Nicaragua is to hire him, within the meaning of the act of Congress? Are penal statutes so construed? Certainly not; and notwithstanding Mr. Marcy's repeated assertions to the contrary in his last letter, the courts of this country have held that it is lawful to give such information and assistance.

"It is not improbable that the Nicaragua case is the true cause of Mr. Marcy's virtual but awkward abandonment of his seduction doctrines, he well knowing that they would be summarily discarded and ridiculed if any attempt were made to enforce them to the prejudice of General Walker and his party."

The neutrality laws, as they will henceforth understood and acted upon, especially in reference to Central American affairs, merely forbid enlistments and hirings in the United States. Anybody may open an intelligence office—may pay the passage of emigrants—may issue handbills, publish advertisements, and make speeches in favor of emigration, for the purpose of enlisting in foreign service. As observed by Mr. Marcy, in his recent correspondence on Nicaraguan affairs, any number of persons may go out of the United States to become soldiers in a foreign country, provided that there be no organized expedition from hence."

It will be seen that Mr. Russell's predictions have already been fulfilled.

[From the New York Times, Oct. 37.]

DISGRACEFUL CONTRASTS.—The Federal Administration is proving the adage that extremes meet. It is only a few weeks since the country was agitated from one end to the other, and our relations with England were rendered for a time quite precarious, in consequence of the virtuous indignation which Pierce & Co. affected in view of the attempt to enlist a few soldiers in the United States for the British Army in the Crimea. Then we had long dissertations in the Democratic organs upon the horrors of filibusterism, and the necessity of teaching the nations of the earth that they could not with impunity punch upon our manor for fighting men. Then we shook in John Bull's face ponderous volumes of Vattel, Bynkershoff and Puffendorf, and all the other writers on the Law of Nations, to show him how naughty he had been, how grievously he had insulted us, and how he had violated every obligation of international honor and comity in enticing away some of our material for soldiers.

Unquestionably our government was right on the law and facts in this affair; but certainly when we affect such holy horror of the sin in one form, we are at least bound to avoid its commission by ourselves in another. The President of the United States was bound to resent the violation of our sovereignty by Great Britain,—but no more so than he is to resent and resist similar offences by the government of Nicaragua. The facts, however, are, that every fortnight witnesses the departure of scores of men from California openly recruited there for Walker's army. The California papers publicly announce that a company is forming at a particular point, give the names of its officers, announce the success of its enlistments, and the day of departure for the seat of war. And on sailing day of the steamer Walker's agents may be seen upon the wharves with hands full of tickets which they offer gratuitously to all who will accept them for the purpose of joining the party.

And against all this utter contempt of law and of our international obligation, no Federal officer raises a hand to check it for a moment. But, when some respectable citizens have formed a Vigilance Committee, for the purpose of ridding themselves of the villains who had long preyed upon the vitals of society, and defied statute law

and the ministers of justice, until an appeal to revolution became a necessity, behold! the Federal officers sent put a case of piracy, and are swift to pursue it as long as there is any hope of vengeance against the detectors and judges of the ballot-box-stuffers who had so long enabled the friends of the Pierce Administration to acquire and maintain their power in California. *The views of the Administration upon international comity and law would seem to have been marvellously modified since the Cincinnati Convention's indorsement of filibusterism in the interest of Slavery.*

Recruits go by the hundreds from New Orleans and other ports to Nicaragua.

In this city (New York) a free passage is offered by public advertisements to all willing to go there, and no objection is made from any quarter.

The New York Times has been entirely deceived on this subject. The people of this country have a right to go abroad, and enter into military service, and it follows that any one may render them any advice or assistance to that end.

This proposition is clearly demonstrated in Mr. Russell's pamphlet, entitled "Remarks on the English Enlistment Question, with an Abstract of the Correspondence thereon," published in New York in April last.

The actual object of the Pierce administration in getting up the controversy is truly stated in that pamphlet, in the following passage:

"It even appears doubtful whether the complaint has been prosecuted in good faith, for it seems difficult to escape the conclusion that the real object of the President throughout the correspondence has been to pick a quarrel with England, to be turned to account in the event of a defeat of the Allies in the war with Russia. If the Allies had been compelled to raise the siege of Sebastopol, and if that had been followed by the defection of Austria, it is not improbable that the United States would have been found enrolled amongst the supporters of Russia."

But Pierce demanded an apology from the British Government, which that Government refused to give. He also demanded that the men who had been induced to leave the United States, for the purpose of enlisting themselves in the British army, should be discharged. That demand was refused, and President Pierce said nothing more about it after it became evident that there would be peace between England and Russia. In a word, the United States had to back out. The President's demands were made in the expectation that the Allies would be defeated in the Crimea. But as it happened that Russia had to give way, the United States had to give way also.

If Russia had been successful, the Government at Washington being under the complete control of the slave-owners, would have seized the opportunity for putting down that great anti-slavery power—England.

The people of the North were to be bamboozled with talk about the "violation of our sovereignty." With the South no such pretext was necessary—Southern forbearance only wanted to see whether the time had arrived for joining the great military despots of Europe in a crusade against England, so that Cuba, Mexico, and other southern countries, might be seized with impunity, Slavery firmly established therein, and the slave-trade restored.

The Northern politicians are no match for the wily opponents of the South. The latter can always cajole and mislead them, especially in foreign affairs.

When Mr. Marcy commenced the correspondence on this subject he did not take the position that it was unlawful to "entice" people to leave the United States to enter into a foreign military service. That position was assumed some months afterwards, when the news from Sebastopol appeared to be very threatening to the Allies. It was then deemed advisable to set up complaints and demands which England could not possibly object to, and which have since been withdrawn.

The true merits of the controversy were somewhat obscured by the fact that Mr. Crampton in the first instance, acting upon the advice of a legal gentleman in Washington, supposed that the Acts of Congress forbade any advice or assistance to be given to persons likely to emigrate to the British Provinces for the purpose of entering the British service. Mr. Crampton wrote to several persons, intimating that such was his opinion, and showed to Mr. Marcy a portion of that correspondence. But afterwards the question of law was discussed at Philadelphia before Judge Kane, and he held the law to be otherwise. Mr. Crampton, believing that he would be justified in treating the law to be as laid down by Judge Kane, proceeded at once to advise the necessary parties that although they could not lawfully hire or

retain any person in the United States to go abroad to be enlisted, they might make known to persons in the United States the terms and conditions upon which recruits would be received into the British Army, and might assist such persons to go to those provinces; but he distinctly warned all agents who might be engaged in disseminating this information, that "No promises or contracts, written or verbal, on the subject of enlistment must be entered into with any person within that jurisdiction" (the United States.)

Lord Clarendon has, in his correspondence with the Government of the United States, insisted that Mr. Crampton was right in this; but Mr. Marcy, waiving that question, took the ground that certain witnesses had deposed that Mr. Crampton and the Consuls in New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati went beyond this, and authorized direct acts of enlistment in the United States, and the hiring of persons to go to be enlisted in the British Provinces; wherefore, it was insisted by the Pierce administration that Mr. Crampton was not a proper person to be received as the British Minister at Washington. Mr. Crampton and the Consuls denied these statements most distinctly and emphatically.

In the debate on this question in the House of Commons it was taken for granted by the various speakers that Judge Kane had, on the trial of Hertz in Philadelphia, in September, 1855, overruled his own previous construction of the Neutrality laws; but such was not the case: on the contrary, that previous opinion was referred to by the counsel for the prosecution as authoritative, and they did not pretend for an instant that the law was as laid down by Mr. Marcy in his correspondence with the British Government, and by Mr. Cushing in his official opinion. The Judge certainly held that, if the witnesses were to be believed and understood to prove that the prisoner had hired persons to go to British America nominally to be employed on railroads, but in reality to be enlisted, there had been a gross and clumsy attempt to evade the law. In this he was undoubtedly right, however improper his charge to the jury may have been in other respects; but we will add, that we do not believe there was any trustworthy evidence to that effect, and we are of opinion that Hertz ought not to have been convicted. This conviction, however, has not been followed by any serious consequences to him, for he has not been punished at all. The object of the prosecution, which was instituted by the direct orders of the Government, was obtained when evidence had been taken showing that Hertz had been in communication with Mr. Crampton. It appears that Hertz expected to get a certain sum per head for all who might go from Philadelphia to the British Provinces and there enlist themselves. In this expectation he expended small sums of money in the hope that the business would be a profitable one, and he obtained some advances on account. We can see nothing in the least degree objectionable in this.

The gentlemen who participated in the debate in the House of Commons assumed that the President of the United States would not assert in a diplomatic correspondence that the decision of the American Courts had sustained a certain construction of the Acts of Congress of such were not the case. In this they were mistaken; and the mistake was an important one, for the true character of this diplomatic controversy is shown by the simple fact that the law had not been laid down by the Courts in accordance with Mr. Marcy's letter of December 28th, 1855, but that, on the contrary, the Courts had taken the same view of the law that Mr. Marcy himself did in his first letter to Mr. Buchanan, dated June 9th, 1855.

We do not agree with the New York Times that it is the duty of the federal government to stop the emigration to Nicaragua. The Pierce administration will not attempt anything of the kind—their masters, the slaveholders, would not allow it. If a military expedition be too openly fitted out in a port of the United States, there may be some little show of interference, but hitherto nobody has been punished in any way on account of the filibuster expeditions to Nicaragua.

The New York Times innocently believes that the views of the administration upon international law have been marvellously modified since the Cincinnati Convention's indorsement of filibusterism in the interest of slavery. No such thing—the administration never seriously entertained the views attributed to them by the New York Times.

The whole affair was got up for three purposes—1st to prevent the British and Germans here from going to fight against the friend and ally of the masters of this

government, the slaveowners; 2d, to pick a quarrel with England, which was to be turned to account in case of her ill success in the war; 3d, to get up a discussion in which the erudition and astuteness of American statesmen might be displayed.

The New York Times and its colleagues have been fooled in this matter, and their gullibility on this occasion shows clearly that whenever the slaveholders desire to make war upon England they can easily get up in the North a sufficient degree of ill-will towards that country. Any pretext, however bald and absurd, will be sufficient for the purpose.

We hold that the British Government acted right in not dismissing Mr. Dallas. If Mr. Marcy had written that the President had revoked the excoquaters of the Consuls and declined to hold any communication with the British Minister, because they had authorized advice and assistance to be given to the emigrants, undoubtedly the American Minister in London would have been dismissed. But such a course could not with propriety be resorted to when President Pierce ceased to complain of those acts and justified his conduct towards the officials in question, by pretending to believe the evidence of Hertz and Strobel in those particulars in which they were contradicted by Mr. Crampton and the Consuls. Lord Clarendon could not reply that the evidence in question was too absurd for belief; he could only say that the British Government did not take the same view of the evidence.

The Pierce administration could not abandon the controversy without doing something; they could not get an apology from the British Government, nor could the men who had been "enticed away" be got back again. What then remained to be done? They would have been laughed at all over the United States if they had dropped the matter entirely. Nothing, then, remained for them but to dismiss the British Minister and the Consuls. The populace were pleased with this, as there was an assumption of superiority in it, and Marcy evinced a good deal of what is called smartness. England was insulted, but would not resent the insult then—she will probably retaliate on another occasion.

This Enlistment question is one of the highest importance, in our estimation; for, if our theory be correct, the deliberate policy of the United States Government, as indicated in this controversy, is of the most alarming kind—that policy is to join England's enemies whenever there is a chance of effecting her destruction.

Let our Philo-American friends in England examine this question carefully, and see whether our hypothesis be not the correct one; the question is certainly worthy of the most careful investigation. Let England, at all events, understand her real position, so that she may shape her foreign policy accordingly.

THE PROPOSED LEGALIZATION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

THE NECESSARY CONSEQUENCE OF THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY. WHY THE SLAVE-TRADE WAS ORIGINALLY PROHIBITED. WHAT WOULD HAVE BEEN THE CONDITION OF THIS COUNTRY IF THE TRADE HAD CONTINUED. EXTRACTS FROM THE NEWSPAPER PRESS, NORTH AND SOUTH, ON THE SUBJECT OF RE-OPENING THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The framers of the Constitution of the United States, were of opinion that slavery would soon cease to exist in this country; the opinion now entertained at the South is that slavery is to be perpetuated, and that it is to be extended over vast regions now unoccupied.

Proceeding upon the principle of the Ordinance of 1787, that slavery was to be kept out of the territories belonging to the Confederacy, the framers of the Constitution resolved that Congress should have power to stop the supply of slaves from Africa. That power would not have been given to Congress if it had been resolved that slavery should be permitted in the as yet unsettled regions of the West.

Now let us consider what would have been the condition of this country at this time, if Washington, Jefferson, Franklin and their colleagues had not been opposed to slavery.

The territories would have been left open for the slave-owners, the necessity for obtaining more slaves would have been recognised, and the Slave-trade would have been continued. Labor would have become cheap. Slavery would not have been abolished in New York, New Jersey, &c., and instead of having millions of emigrants from Europe, we should have imported laborers from Africa.

Republican principles would in that case have been repudiated long since, and a despotism established. In a word, this country would have been like Brazil.

The slave-owners tend that they ought sources of supply of slavery is legalized of slaves can be obtained Kentucky, &c. can abolished before there was made manifest have been adopted would be extended in the slave States.

To this is added, offered by England to will be induced by a growth of this country from Africa in health of the poor African w ing him from a sta country, where he w and contented labore the poor men of the S the trade, be thrown will become much which the tolling mill will be greatly benefit

We have no doubt although there may North and the slave- friends of the measure of labor in Virginia, K of slaves were reduced would establish large it has never had any nation, and never wi States can keep the lower—the Senate— tion lasts.

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[From the New The Slave-trade: Si. "We copy in another striking and significant, upon the opening the Africa: ty, and is no less proposals.

Standard takes the South in the demands the extensive formation and addressing States, and the ver in the Federal ves. But the South me, even for this pr slaves—because it the South is already orks of public utility, ent of its material r on of its laborers wo its interests.

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The slave-owners of the more Southern States now contend that they ought not to be confined to their present sources of supply of laborers; that the territories in which slavery is legalized can never be cultivated unless more slaves can be obtained than the raising states of Virginia, Kentucky, &c. can furnish; that the Slave-trade was abolished before the importance of the culture of cotton was made manifest, and that that policy would never have been adopted if it had been foreseen that slavery would be extended over the vast regions now embraced in the slave States.

To this is added, that any opposition which may be offered by England to the restoration of the Slave-trade will be induced by a desire on her part to prevent the growth of this country—that the slaves can be brought from Africa in health and comfort, and that the condition of the poor African will be vastly ameliorated by bringing him from a state of barbarism to this Christian country, where he will be converted and made a happy and contented laborer. It is insisted also that most of the poor men of the South will be able to own a slave if the trade be thrown open, and that tropical products will become much more abundant and cheaper—by which the toiling millions of Europe and the free States will be greatly benefited.

We have no doubt that these arguments will prevail, although there may be at first some opposition in the North and the slave-raising States. In the latter the friends of the measure will point out that there is a want of labor in Virginia, Kentucky, &c., and that if the price of slaves were reduced, men of energy and enterprise would establish large manufactories. As to the North, it has never had any real influence in the councils of the nation, and never will have any as long as the slave States can keep the control of the office-dispensing power—the Senate—and that will be just as long as the Union lasts.

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

As to the squadron maintained on the coast of Africa to suppress the Slave-trade, a report was made a short time ago from the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in favor of withdrawing that force.

[From the New York Times, October 25.]
The Slave-trade: Significant admission and schemes.

"We copy in another portion of this morning's Times very striking and significant article from the Charleston Standard, upon the absolute necessity to the South of opening the African Slave-trade. It is written with force, and is no less remarkable for its admission than its proposals.

Standard takes the ground that the preponderance of the South in the affairs of the Federal Government demands the extension of slavery into new territory—formation and admission into the Union of new Slave-raising States, and the consequent increase of the slave power in the Federal Senate and House of Representatives. But the South cannot afford to send away from me, even for this purpose, any considerable number of slaves—because it already suffers for want of labor. The South is already far behind the North in its great works of public utility, as well as in the general development of its material resources; and any further diminution of its laborers would be attended with serious injury to its interests.

"Nor will it do to send into the territories laboring whites, instead of slaves:—they will secure an interest in the territory in opposition to the institution of domestic slavery, and thus may fall to secure the State, and by sending whites instead of slaves, moreover, they lose the advantage which the representation of three-fifths of their slave property gives them in the House of Representatives.

"On the other hand, it will not do to send away their slaves into the territories, and then supply their place at home by inviting the immigration of white laborers;—or such a step would be full of peril to the institution of slavery at home. 'The white element would only too surely claim the aid of legislation to exclude the free labor, in competition with slave labor, is daily conservative of its own peculiar interests; and seemed possible, therefore,' says the Standard, 'the fortunes of our institution may be determined less who have no direct and legitimate connection

or all these circumstances, the Standard insists, justice of the South,—the perpetuation of its power, the supply of its demand for labor, and the use of free labor which is dangerous to slavery at all demand the re-opening of the African Slave-trade. To this conclusion, it is added, all the leading reflecting minds of the South are rapidly tending,

The Standard points, in proof of the soundness of its position, to the fact that many Southern journals which at first avoided the discussion of the subject, are now open and earnest advocates of this plan,—and that it has become familiarized to the Southern mind.

"We have not the slightest doubt of the truth of these statements. Nor, indeed, is it easy, if the Standard's premises are once admitted, to contradict its reasoning. If slavery is to be cherished and perpetuated in the Southern States,—and if its extension into new territory is to be the settled policy of the South,—then the restoration of the African Slave-trade becomes a matter of absolute necessity. The reasoning of the Standard on this subject is conclusive. The South, under the wasteful system of slave labor, is even now suffering for want of labor; and nothing shows this more clearly than the rapid increase of the last ten or fifteen years in the price of slaves. Evidently, therefore, she cannot spare slaves enough to take possession of the territories which her political aspirations require, without obtaining fresh supplies for use at home. And for such supplies she has but two resources,—one is free white labor,—to be invited from the North and from Europe,—and the other is more slaves from Africa. The former is dangerous to slavery,—because, as the Standard expressly concedes, free labor and slave labor cannot exist in harmony upon the same soil. Free labor will, in its own defence, seek to root out slavery:—and, in the long run, it is reasonably certain to accomplish that result.

"It is perfectly evident, therefore, that the South, and the whole country, will very soon find itself face to face with this great problem: how to obtain new supplies of labor for the slaveholding States. And that will of necessity involve the question of restoring the African Slave-trade. There can be no doubt that the great body of the slave interest will be in favor of this measure. Those States which depend upon slave-breeding for their profits—like Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri—will be opposed to it, inasmuch as its tendency will be to reduce the value of their slaves. But the vast regions of the cotton, rice and sugar-growing States, which depend upon slave labor, and which require that labor to be cheap, will be deeply interested on the other side; and their policy is pretty certain to predominate, sooner or later."

[Extracts from various recent articles in the Charleston Standard.]
Competition between the Whites and the Slaves.

"So many whites have come in since slaves have been restricted that this class of our population is greatly in excess. Many have taken to the walks of manual labor. They struggle for subsistence in competition with the slave, and already, even in this state, where there is still an excess of slaves, the proposition has been made and pressed to relieve the whites from the severities of such a contest."

Why the South has not Progressed as Rapidly as the North. In what Proportions the Whites and Blacks should exist together. Present Excess of Whites.

"A contrast had been drawn between the North and South in respect of their improvements—the deficiencies of the South had been established, and the fact was charged to the institution of domestic slavery. We know that this was no evidence of inefficiency—we knew that while labor had been cut off from the South, it had continued to pour in upon the North; that in consequence of this, they have twice as much labor and less land, and it was natural and necessary, therefore, that their relative improvements should be greater. We also knew that the proportion to population at the South, the products are greater than among any other people in the world, and to us there was nothing in this contrast to cause dissatisfaction, but the fact by all the world was taken as conclusive proof of inefficiency. We know that equality could ultimately be restored by an equality of labor, but the fact that interests are already established at the North, gives them a present advantage in the race. If solicitous for free white labor, it would naturally hesitate to come in competition with our slaves, but it would the less incline to come, that there were no enterprises in existence to attract it. These were at the North, and to the North was drawn still other labor to their further progress. To stem the current of opinion, therefore, as well as to turn the tide of improvement, and give to ourselves the comforts of progress and the confidence of the world, there was the necessity for labor, and as this labor could never come from Europe, we were turned again to Africa, and the minds of men were further forced to vibrate between the alternatives of perpetual dependence or the Slave-trade.

"And there was still another step. Men have been forced to realize that whites and slaves have been brought together here in unequal and unnatural proportions. A slave society properly constituted, will have neither race in excess, and if left free to form, there is little doubt but that the race would come together in natural proportions. There would be slaves enough for labor, and whites enough for direction, and the case would be exceptional in which the white man would labor in competition with the slave, or the slave direct, except in subordination to the white man. But, as already maintained, they have not been free to form. While slaves from abroad have been kept out, whites from abroad have been forced in, and filling the rounds of employment open from the humblest labor to the highest offices of direction, they have been in the way of pushing slavery out. That slaves, if free to come, would have been competent to every emergency of labor, there can be little doubt; but, not being free to come, they have been too much

extended; they have left interstices into which free labor, by the necessities of the case, has been forced, and the institution has lost much of its integrity."

If the Slave-trade had continued the South would have been in advance of the North in manufacture and commerce. The Northern States would have remained Slave States. Great want of Slaves in the South.

"Before the abolition of the slave trade the South was even in advance of the North. We had more wealth, more enterprise, and more political power; and, while we have still continued to progress, while the products of our labor have continued valuable, we have only not kept pace with improvements at the North for the want of equal labor to effect them. The labor of our country has been tasked to cover a continually extending territory. The agricultural wants of such a wide domain was enough, and more than enough, for the capacities of all our people, and there have been none to start into collateral pursuits, and in collateral pursuits, therefore, we have been left behind. But if the Slave-trade had been permitted to continue, so that without unnatural effort we could have advanced upon the West, or if, without a widening West, our labor had been localized and forced to work upon itself within a restricted sphere, there is no room for the slightest question but that, in every branch of improvement, we would by this time have equaled any people, and have led the North beyond the hope of competition.

"Nor would there have been the political inequality between the North and South which now exists. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and New York, held slaves which they never gave away, and which, in fact, they never would have sold to the South if it had been more profitable to keep them. But, with most profitable agricultural products and an unlimited expanse of the finest lands, we wanted labor, and were able to pay more for it than its value in these states. They could sell it to us and hire free labor at a profit; and they did sell it, and thus from being slave states they became free states. And instead of being for us they became against us, and joining with the other Northern States, they found their interest in preaching a crusade against an institution which, but for this accident, they would have been pledged by every consideration of feeling and interest to defend. This turned the balance of power against us, and taking from us the sceptre of political influence, rendered it profitable at the North to become philanthropic; but if the Slave-trade had continued open, they would have found no such profitable market for their slaves. Our wants would have been supplied from Africa cheaper than they could afford to supply them. Their slaves, though of less value to them than to us, were yet too valuable to have been disposed of without a very valuable consideration, and not finding sale for them away, they would have found employment for them at home. These slaves would have increased and multiplied. New lines of employment for them would have given them additional value, and we doubt whether there are states in the Union more wedded to the institution than would have been those very states that now call the help of heaven to put it down.

"Nor is this all that happened from the suppression of the trade to place us in the minority. The southern states themselves are much less populous than they would have been. From first to last there has been a constant want of labor; three millions of our people have perhaps as many slaves as they naturally require, but there are three millions more who are un supplied. They would take slaves if they could get them, but they are not to be had at prices which will enable them to be used in competition with the free labor of the world. All we have are wanted for agriculture, and even these are not enough. While all are employed, and employed most profitably, lands all over the country are parched and unprofitable for the want of labor, and millions more could have been absorbed. The labor of those brought one year would have paid for those to be brought the next; as employments opened white men of enterprise would have come in even more abundantly than they have done; the stream of labor from Africa would have met a stream of enterprise from Europe; both would have poured in together. The population of the Southern States would have been more dense; the population of the Northern States would have been more sparse; Georgia would have been to New York as New York is now to Georgia; other states from Texas and New Mexico would have been brought in, and thus, if the slave states had held on to the sources of their real power, the South would have been the Union."

It would reduce the price of Slaves. They would then be employed in Manufactures.

"The Slave-trade would, in all probability, diminish the value of slaves—that is, in fact, the object of it—but it will not necessarily diminish the value of slave labor. The man who owns an hundred slaves would raise as much rice or cotton, or sugar or hemp, or cereal products, as he now raises. The value might be reduced, but we doubt even this. If the accessions of slave labor should be rapid, there would, perhaps, be a temporary reduction; but for all these products the wants of the world will increase in proportion to the supply. With any amount of labor they will necessarily be limited by the area suited to their production, and until that area be covered, and for ever afterwards the foreign demand will, in all reasonable probability, keep us profitably employed.

"But if slaves are brought to us in abundance, there would occur the possibility of employing them in other collateral pursuits. They cannot now be employed in

"It is time, high time, however, that we should be able to give a reason for the faith that is in us, and show the principles on which our conduct is founded, and by which it is justified. A broader, more robust and healthy philanthropy, inducted into the world by Albigenses and border-ruffians, is actively engaged in expelling the useless, noxious and irreclaimable Indian, and in enforcing labor and civilization on the negro. Thus they are advancing, not only the greatest good of the greatest number, but at the same time advancing the cause of Christianity, morality and enlightened civilization."

[From the New York Tribune, November 4.]

Reasons for believing that the Slave-trade will be Restored. "If Buchanan should to-day be elected President, the next movement to propitiate and flatter the Pro-Slavery interest, to which the nation will then have fully succumbed, will be the revival of the African Slave-trade. Such will be the next great public measure which will find its advocacy in Wall street and the support direct or indirect of such presses as The Journal of Commerce and The Commercial Advertiser. To such base uses will these hypocritical pretenders to religion and philanthropy come at last."

There are many reasons for believing this—we do not mean the base subservience of those journals to every demand, every whim and caprice of the slaveholders, for that, unfortunately, has been too well established during the present Presidential campaign to need any array of reasons to support it—but for believing that the next damage and disgrace to be inflicted upon us through the agency of such presses as The Journal of Commerce and The Commercial Advertiser, will be the revival of the African Slave-trade. It is already loudly demanded by many leading supporters of Buchanan in the Southern States. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise—a measure, so far as the interest and feeling of the North were concerned, of at least equal importance—was conceded without even being asked. It was almost forced on the South by reckless Northern demagogues anxious to curry slavoholding favor. The race of Douglas and Pierce is not extinct. On the other hand, the success of Buchanan will suddenly raise up a new host of them to purchase Southern favor by the performance of new dirty jobs. After the great concessions recently made, only two things more remain in the power of Congress to grant—the revival of the African Slave-trade and a new crusade of annexation against Mexico, Cuba and Central America. These two things, indeed, will be most likely to go together, as already several Southern newspapers are busy in proving that the annexation of Cuba, Mexico and Central America will, after all, be of no use to the South—perhaps a positive disadvantage—unless the African Slave-trade be at the same time revived to furnish laborers to cultivate the newly-acquired territory. As to the repeal of the laws prohibiting the Slave-trade, with a Senate, a House and a President all the humble servants of the slave power, that may be accomplished without difficulty. There is no constitutional impediment in the way. The Constitution does not require the abolition of the Slave-trade at the end of twenty years; it only says that it shall not take place before."

[From the New York Times.]

The Slave-trade will be re-opened. It is necessary for the support of Slavery. "The possibility of re-opening the African Slave-trade is a proposition so startling to the people of the North that many protest its utter impossibility. And so we burst of honest indignation with which the first proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise was received, testified the confidence of the masses in the free states that no such damning outrage could be tolerated. Hence a man believed that it would ever be consummated. And even when the deed was finished it was for a time difficult to realize the fact. The blow was stunning; yet, to-day the slave power sees the North so regardless of that act of aggression that it consents to divide its forces and quarrel about minor issues, when the practical question is before them for decision, whether slavery shall or shall not enjoy the first fruits of its broken faith. This contest over, if Buchanan and slavery should triumph, how long will it be ere the slave oligarchy demand the restoration of the Slave-trade—a trade absolutely essential to the maintenance of the 'institution'? It is only a few months since Senator Seward, one of the chiefs of the sham Democracy, Buchanan's intimate personal friend, and his expectant Secretary of State, made a secret report to the Senate from the Committee on Foreign Relations, (which was published at the time,) in favor of withdrawing from the coast of Africa our naval force for the prevention of the Slave-trade. This is significant of one of the influences by which Buchanan is surrounded, and of the policy which would be pressed upon his attention if elected, 'nationalism' would be quite sufficient to induce the acquiescence of our daughter Democracy."

[From the Richmond (Va.) Examiner.]

Culture of Free Society in Europe. Slavery Necessary. "We are pleased to learn that Professor William A. Smith has been lecturing in portions of Eastern Virginia on the subject of slavery—especially pleased that he denounces slavery on principle—contends that the status relation is the normal condition of society—and that slavery is a necessary, social and political institution. This involves the necessity of maintaining that society, without its patriarchal element, everywhere proves a failure in

the long run. This, we learn, he does with boldness and great ability. Slavery can only be defended by showing that even the comparatively partial and short-lived experiment in Western Europe to dispense with it has been a failure, and has placed the emancipated laborer in a worse condition than if he were a slave in law as well as in fact. No one can doubt this fact who will examine history as well as statistics. Systems formed on such opposite principles as slavery and universal liberty cannot both be right—cannot both endure.

"It has been less than three years since the utter rottenness of hireling society was first announced in the South. The announcement has met with no contradiction, much less with any serious attempt at refutation—and now, one of our ablest professors and most gifted lecturers openly maintains and promulgates the doctrine in public addresses.

"The North evades and shirks the question, but will not be able to persist in evading it much longer."

[From the New Orleans Delta.]

Free Society a failure. Necessity of Extending Slavery, and Re-opening the Slave-trade.

"In the Northern States free society has proved a failure. It is rotten in the core. It would have destroyed itself ere this, but that the disease has had an outward manifestation, and its feverish and desperate energies have been directed in denoual enmity and warfare against the South. Let the demon-ism which its presence has engendered succeed, and society, with its most sacred sanctions and its holiest institutions, will fall before it both in the North and South, and the country must become the seat of howling anarchy or iron despotism.

"Negro slavery, then, is the conservative element of republicanism, and the firmest basis of society in these United States. This truth the thinking men of the North recognize at this moment.

"Such being the social and political value of slavery, its diffusion and extension are of the first importance, and nothing, at the present time, should more nearly interest the wise philanthropist and the patriotic statesman than to devise measures to effect those objects—to restore slavery to its original national character, and make it an object of political solicitude.

"We have hereto forepointed to the measure of negro exemption as one highly favorable to the objects just named, to wit, the diffusion and extension of slavery, and the consequent consolidation of the slave-owning interest. One other measure we are in favor of, though we fear its announcement may throw some of the 'civilized folk' into almost apopleptic consternation. Nevertheless, we shall announce it, and here declare that we not only desire to make territories now free, slave territories, and to acquire new territory into which to extend slavery—such as Cuba, northeastern Mexico, &c.—but we would re-open the African Slave-trade, that every white man might have a chance to make himself of one or more negroes, and go with them and his household gods wherever opportunity beckoned to enterprise."

Establishment of Slavery in Nicaragua by Walker. Wisdom of the Measure. The Slave must be brought from Africa.

"I have more than once referred 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 and inefficient 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 knew 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 the administration. It is the one thing useful. Without it, vain would have been his conquest, vain his invincible army, vain his reconstruction of government and reformation of commerce; without an efficient labor system as a basis, all must, sooner or later, have faded away, like the unsubstantial fabric of a vision. Numbers of slaveholders have already written to us to know if they could safely take their slaves into Nicaragua to cultivate sugar, coffee, rice, indigo, or chocolate plantations, as the case might be. We have always assumed our correspondents that though slaves were not recognized by law in Nicaragua, we had no doubt they would be secured to their owners during Walker's administration, and that ultimately slavery would have an established existence there of law as well as of fact. They will now find that our confidence in Walker's sagacity and statesmanship was not misplaced. He did not fail to see the necessity which we vividly pointed out, and, like a bold statesman, he now responds to its demand.

"There is another step further along, however, more difficult, it may be, but scarcely less important, as a prime auxiliary in making the first offensive—that is, opening Nicaragua to the African Slave-trade. We have not time here to elaborate, but a glance at the statistics of slavery will show the great importance of the measure. Labor is in too great demand in our Southern States to allow many to be withdrawn for Nicaragua; the Coolie trade, devised by British policy and carried on by Boston pil-

lantroptists, is too hypocritical, too treacherous and inhuman for the civilizers of Central America to think of for a moment; and therefore the African Slave-trade and African slavery, conducted on humane principles and regulated by law, must have the preference over every other form of compulsory labor."

[From the Carolina Times.]

The Slave-trade should be Re-opened to reduce the Price of Slaves.

"The decree which has recently been issued by General Walker, President of the Republic of Nicaragua, re-establishing the institution of slavery, and inviting the importation of negroes, is now attracting much attention.

"For our own part, we were highly pleased with the decree, for we are decidedly in favor of re-opening the Slave-trade, in order that the price of negroes may be reduced to such figures as that every industrious poor man may purchase and become a slave-holder.

"We regard the course pursued by General Walker as not only correct, but challenges the approval of the entire mass of people inhabiting the Southern States, and we believe that they will sustain him in the position he has assumed.

"Hoping and believing that the confederacy now known as the United States of North America, will soon be dissolved, we took upon this movement of General Walker as that of a statesman, and we hope the day is not far distant when Central America, embracing the island of Cuba, will form part of the Southern Confederacy."

[From the New York Tribune, October 31.]

Proposed Crusade for the Establishment of Slavery in Spanish America.

"The astounding success which the slaveholders have met with during the last twelve years in subduing the prejudice of the North—first, in leading Van Buren from the Presidential canvass on the question of the annexation of Texas, and electing Polk on that question alone; secondly, in precipitating the country into a war with Mexico for the exclusive benefit of the slave interest; thirdly, in the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law; and fourthly, in the repeal of the Missouri Restriction. These four great triumphs have raised the courage, elevated the hopes, and enlarged the desires of the slave-breeder to an extraordinary degree; and should they now, in the election of Buchanan, find all their villainous outrages in Kansas and at Washington indorsed by the North, they will naturally enough consider their triumph complete, and that it will no longer be necessary to place any limit to their aspirations, or to use any disguise in carrying out their plans.

"The idea now triumphant at the South is the idea that slavery, instead of being a moral, political, and economical evil—a curse to the States in which it exists, and a thing to be got rid of as speedily as possible—is, on the other hand, a moral, political, and economical blessing—the true basis, and the only basis, on which civilization, freedom, and wealth can be built up.

"The late war with Mexico, and the acquisitions of territory thereby obtained, seem to have opened but as a mere whet to slavoholding appetite. It is now proposed to enter on a great philanthropic crusade for the redemption of the whole of Spanish America by the re-annexation of those countries, and the re-establishment there of slavery and the Slave-trade. While in one direction the philanthropic social operation of keeping out or driving out the influence of free labor extends itself by way of Kansas to Oregon and the Pacific, on the other hand, this same philanthropic operation is to penetrate, with William Walker as the leader of its vanguard, by Nicaragua and Panama to the neighborhood of Cape Horn. These countries, we are told, must be reconquered or reconquered by new slavoholding Cortezes and Pizarros. Here it is that the superhuman industry of the South may play the part of vikings and empire builders, and with Northern blood and money, may find ample fields for their enterprising prowess and statesmanship. After the slavery-enslaving adventures now in Kansas shall have completely subdued the territory, and by the help of the border ruffians and the Federal Government imposed slavery upon it in spite of the wishes of a majority of the inhabitants, they will then be at leisure to extend, in the service of the United States, the same conquering and regenerating process to Mexico and the whole of Spanish America.

"This is the business—the extension of slavery, not merely into Kansas, but into Nicaragua and the whole of South America, carrying in its train the ultimate revival of the African Slave-trade—in which, under the auspices of Buchanan, the wealth and enterprise, and political and financial resources of this nation are to be devoted."

The New York Herald of November 5th says, that the slave-trade cannot be restored, because, 1st, the public opinion of the civilized world is opposed to it; 2d, an amendment of the Constitution of the United States would be required; 3d, "we should have to annul our existing treaties on the subject, with the naval powers of Europe, and secure their consent to the restoration of the traffic;" 4th, "we should have to repeal the existing laws of the United States declaring it piracy."

From what has been already stated, it is evident that there is no force in either of these objections, except the

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first, and it is not probable that much weight will be attached to that by the masters of this Government.

But the *Herald* contends, that if the slave-trade be restored the masses of the southern working white population will be driven to the north en masse, from the overwhelming pressure of slave-labor at ten cents a day.

The Southern advocates of the measure tell the poor whites of the South that slaves will be so cheap that every white man will become a slaveowner. On the contrary, the effect of cheapening the price of slaves will be to give the finishing stroke to the non-slaveholding population—a class now forming at least six-sevenths of the inhabitants of the slave States.

It is clear and certain that one of two things must soon happen in the South—either the non-slaveholding whites, being deprived of employment and reduced to desperation, will rise and massacre the slaveowners, or the latter will reduce the former to abject subjection by means of a military despotism.

France and the English Press.

[From the London Times, October 27.]

Once more, after a considerable interval of time, the *Monitor* has been directed to call to order the unmannerly organs of the English press. The *Monitor* is the organ of the French Government. The English newspapers are merely the private utterance of individuals; it, therefore, becomes them to confront their monitor with dignity and respect, neither forgetting the interests that might be compromised by rough and unmannerly plainness, nor the directness and sincerity which are the honor and the distinction of freemen. The *Monitor* tells us that "for some time different organs of the English press have endeavored to spread calumnies respecting the French Government, which are the more odious as they are concealed under an anonymous mask, and can only be answered by contempt. We are aware of the respect which is paid to the liberty of the press in England; and, in thus pointing out its deviations, we confine ourselves to an appeal to the common sense and good faith of the English people, to warn them against the dangers of a system which, by destroying the confidence between the two governments, would tend to disunite two nations whose alliance is the best guaranty of the peace of the world."

This paragraph is framed in terms of studied ambiguity, and has taken the public both in London and Paris completely by surprise. The offending journals, the nature of the offence and the portion of the French Government attacked, are all left to the consciences of the anonymous persons who write them, and of the anonymous public who, by reading, encourage them. We are neither in the secrets of the *Monitor* nor of our contemporaries, and, therefore, know not who are the guilty writers, and what part of the French government believes itself assailed. But this we can say, with confidence, speaking for ourselves, for whom alone we have a right to speak, that, without pretending any sympathy with the manner in which the present government of France was established, or with the principles on which it is based, we recognize in his Majesty the Emperor of the French a faithful and honorable ally, whose good faith toward and effective co-operation with this country is embalm in the glorious remembrance of a successful war. We believe that the Emperor of the French is the best and sincerest friend of the English alliance within his dominions. We accept his attorney over France as the result of her own choice, authenticated by her own suffrages, and therefore as a fact which it becomes every English writer to treat with reserve, with moderation, and even with respect.

The *Monitor* speaks of danger to the alliance. Well! we will speak out of the dangers to that alliance. There is danger to the alliance, but that danger proceeds, not from the just and honest strictures of the English press on public men, whose characters are public property, but from the conduct of some who, raised suddenly to high office, seem inclined to enter on a career at once fatal to France and fatal to England. Those are the worst enemies of the French and English alliance who can see in government no higher aim than their own interest, and so become careless of the welfare of the nation and the trust confided to them. Such men, for instance, view in the negotiations for a treaty of peace an excellent opportunity for reviling and crushing the Press of a small but free State; and, as we are driven to it by the *Monitor*, we must confess that we saw with shame and disgust how easily our plenipotentiaries were beguiled by the snare spread for them before their very eyes. Again, we are not ignorant—we do not profess to be ignorant—of the colossal fortunes that have been realized within the last few years by men who fill them were plunged in the depths of indigence. We have observed with dismay the rise to the surface of the financial pool of vast bubbles; we have witnessed the most reckless and gigantic private speculation combined with the direction of public affairs; and we have seen with deep regret, that, instead of doing everything in their power to check the rising spirit of gambling, some high in office and favor by France have lent the whole influence of their position and their example to stimulate and exaggerate the evil. We have also observed with pain that the government of France has conducted its operations in many respects ostentatiously in defiance of the ascertained

and recognized principles of political economy, and thus provoked a collapse, which, come when it may, cannot fail to be injurious to the government, calamitous to France, and deeply prejudicial to this country. We detest the restrictions on personal liberty in France. We abhor her whole system of passports and its attendant annoyances. It is idle to tell us that the free discussion of those things is inconsistent with the alliance between France and England.

The *Morning Post* is of opinion that—"A true and tried alliance should not be imperilled for idle gossip's sake, nor sacrificed to the carefully elaborated schemes of the worst enemies of the champions of law, order and civilization."

We differ widely from the *Times*. We do not believe that the Emperor of the French is the best and sincerest friend of the English alliance within his dominions. On the contrary, we believe that, as he is a despot, he is the friend of despots, and the enemy of England. We utterly deny that his tyranny is the result of the choice of the French people—it is the result of his control of the military force of France, which he obtained easily enough by a violation of his oath when he was President of the French Republic. We hold, further, that it was bad policy for England to unite her fortunes to those of the tyrant for the purpose of obstructing the progress of Russia. If Austria had joined the latter power, France would have been invaded and subjugated, it being wholly impossible for the tyrant to effect any diversion in Italy, Hungary and Poland, by calling upon the people there to rise against their governments. With the whole continent of Europe under the domination of the despotic principle, what would have been the position of England?

As to the opposition of the tyrant to the liberty of the Press in England, it is perfectly natural, and need excite no surprise. It is but the prelude to an entente cordiale between him and the Czar.

FRANCE.

Extract from Correspondence of the New York Herald, Insanity of Louis Napoleon. Attempt to muzzle the Correspondents of English Newspapers. Transportation of Three Hundred Men to Cayenne without Trial. Deputation from Working Classes to the Tyrant. Reference to Freedom of the Press in England, and the Law preventing the Union of Workmen against oppressive Employers.

"It is said that the Emperor's occasional eccentricities of mind are of so peculiar a character that they merit a stronger epithet. His Majesty, though thoroughly restrained in his bodily health, and generally indicating his usual clearness of judgment, is, it is said, subject to periodic fits of abstraction so singular, yet so distinctly marked, that the most sensible alarm had been felt. On these occasions he gives orders of the most violent character, and talks with a painful incoherence; by-and-bye the paroxysm passes off, and he shows no solicitude on the subject of his former commands, which of course have not been executed, and his usual perfect equanimity returns to him."

"A most extraordinary jealousy has been evinced towards the different correspondents of the London papers. Even the circumspect and talented agent of the *Times* is reported to have had an intimation that more caution in the facts he selects for his correspondence would be agreeable to the powers that be—an intimation which that very efficient servant of the influential journal in question is said to have treated with the scorn it merited. "I am here," is reported to have been his reply, "for the specific purpose of conveying, not to the English government—which to me is nothing—but to the English public, all matters which reflect the good or evil cause of France, influencing as she does, and must always continue to do, the political pulse of England; and if I cease to perform my duty, sans peur, sans reproche, I am guilty of a deceit and fraud, the reproach of which has infinitely greater terrors for me than any intimation or warning the government of France may visit me with." The immediate cause of this is said to be the account remitted to England of some three hundred persons having been despatched to Cayenne in a summary manner, in consequence of their being members of the Maritime Society, among whose resolutions was found one decreeing the death of the Emperor the moment he returned to the capital."

"The Emperor received a few days ago a deputation from the working classes at St. Cloud, and nothing could be more characteristic of the socialistic origin; if I may so speak, of the present dynasty. The deputation consisted of fifty individuals. They were all en blouse, and were ushered in the presence-chamber with as much encouragement as Marshal Berrano and his Spanish suite, when, conveyed in a state carriage and eight horses, he came to present his credentials from the court of Madrid. The chief speaker was a man of the name of Degville, who, having read from a paper the particular grievances which sounded more especially to affect his class, said, in a bold, sonorous voice, which rung like a bell throughout that spacious hall, "Sire, we know your good heart, and it is this knowledge which brings us to your feet rather than assemble on the corners of streets and in the market-

places. But our sufferings are great; we cannot speak as do the English in their daily journals; we cannot advertise our wants to the world, and seek its sympathy or its aid; we cannot unite against an oppressive employer, for this the law forbids. The beautification of the capital is our banishment; the price of bread—now artificially high, we know, because in the time of dearth it was by ordinance made low—falls with crushing weight upon us children of toil, while upon the wealthy classes the impost has no hardship. Why not relieve us, Sire, at their expense, for our sufferings are more than we can bear."

"The Emperor displayed the greatest feeling on the occasion, and assured them that night and day his heart was filled with solicitude for their welfare, and that he hoped soon to bring forward such measures as could not fail to remedy the evils they complained of, and restore them to that state of prosperity which their exemplary conduct made them so well deserving of."

Poverty in the United States.—Return of Emigrants.

The New York *Herald*, in an article headed "The Presidential Contest as viewed in Europe," says:

There was a time when the United States were too small and puny a nation for their proceedings to attract much attention in Europe. In those days the peaceful election of a President was explained on the ground that the country was too large and the people too few and too poor to get up bloody revolutions. As soon as the country grows, said the monarchists, you shall see a very different state of things. This explanation will not answer now. The United States are now as great a nation—wealth, available power for military purposes, commerce, internal resources, intelligence, extent of territory, and all other points of comparison duly considered—as any of the European realms, not excluding Russia. There are as many vested interests here to disturb, as many poor persons to be stimulated by contentions, as many dissatisfied politicians as there are in any of the countries of Europe. Yet the elections go on every four years as usual; the canvass proceeds with extraordinary violence of manner and language; but when it is over, and the votes are cast, everybody turns round and goes back to his own trade, quietly resigned to the verdict of the majority. This spectacle must be beyond the comprehension of the leading monarchists of the Old World.

The assertion that there are as many poor persons here as there are in any of the countries of Europe, will startle our readers on the other side of the Atlantic. In the large cities, e. g., New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, Cincinnati, there is, we believe, more misery than can be found amongst a like number of persons in the large cities of England or France.

Fortunately the emigration to this country is diminishing very rapidly, and great numbers who have been unable to obtain any employment have lately returned to Europe. We learn that eight thousand emigrants have returned from the port of New York to Liverpool within the last six months. In addition to these great numbers have returned from Boston, Philadelphia, and other ports. We doubt not that hundreds of thousands who have hitherto avoided starvation and death, would be glad to get back to their native countries, if they were supplied with a free passage.

English and American Women—The Question of Health.

To the Editor of the New York Daily Times:

Sir: I know that I am a wretch; a fiend in human shape; a creature who deserves the most horrible punishment, even to that of being wedded to a strong-minded woman. I have sinned against the American female. I have dared to launch an arrow against that encampment of ermine.

Will I am going to add to my many crimes by daring to reply to "A Lady Reader" and "Another Reader," by whom I have been sacrificed in two keen little notes, that inflicted on me the most lively anguish when I read them, and completely took away my appetite.

My crime is, that, in my review of Emerson, I declared the American "metropolitan" woman to be unhealthy. I now go further, and declare the American women in general to be unhealthy! I declare it on the authority of a distinguished American lady, Miss Catharine Beecher, and refer your indignant correspondents to that lady's work, entitled "Letters to the People on Health and Happiness," published by the Harpers. I make the following extract from an article written by me in *Harper's Magazine* for September, 1856, on this very subject:

"To women, especially, is the warning voice of the physiologist directed. The startling statistics that Miss Beecher publishes regarding female health, are a sufficient indication of the fearful necessity of instant and extensive reform among the most cherished of female habits. Miss Beecher has made personal inquiries among 25 towns in the States regarding the health of their female inhabitants. The results of these inquiries she gives in full. Out of 23 ladies named by initials, we find there are only 12 healthy. Out of the 25 towns there are 6 in which the writer can not mention single healthy persons. The majority of the remainder of the towns possess but one person in full health—that is, coming within the experience of the person who supplies the statistics. These are

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What the "Moderate" Men of the South Propose.

The New York Tribune of 10th November comments on Mr. Benton's recent speech, as follows:

"Such is Mr. Benton's scheme of pacification. The Missouri prohibition to stand repealed and abolished, and the whole West open to Slavery; Kansas is to be yielded up to the slaveholders, to be followed in due time by Utah, New Mexico, Nebraska, and so forth; and in return for the border-ruffian courtesies of the slaveholders, Pennsylvania and New York to re-enact their sojourning laws! Such is the Buchanan system of policy, as marked out by Mr. Benton. Such is what even the so-called moderate men of the South mean by justice, conciliation and harmony. The difference between such men and your Aitchisons and Stringfellow, Douglasses and Bully Brooks, is only the difference between the city-tongued rogue who picks your pocket while passing himself off as your friend, and the ruffian who lies in wait for you in a corner, knocks you down by stealth, and then robs you.

Mr. Parker Pillsbury on the Inconsistencies of the Republicans.

"The time has come when we should distinguish between the mere regard for the liberty of the white man and the love of liberty for the whole race. I look with very little sympathy on that kind of Phariseism which views with holy horror slavery in California and can tamper with and support slavery in Carolina; that bears such holy indignation against slavery in Kansas, and enters into compromise and confederation with slaveholders in Arkansas; that pities Charles Sumner, stricken down by the bludgeon of Bully Brooks, and can enter into a compact to help to beat out the brains of Brooks' slave when he offers to resist his white master. We have trifled quite too much on the subject of emancipation; we have all of us become blinded, stupefied, intoxicated by the spirit of compromise and by the overwhelming tide of political and religious corruption which has swept over the land for the last half century. Slavery is no worse in Kansas than in Carolina; it is no worse to return a slave that escapes than to stand body-guard for the slaveholder to help him to retain his slave that has not escaped. The question was constantly put to the Republicans that I travelled with, 'How is it that you can declare that the Republican party has no intention to interfere with slavery where it exists, if it be such a great evil as you regard it?'—Speech at the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, October 16, 1856.

Hudson's Bay and Transportation.

The proposal to establish a penal Colony in the interior of the Hudson Bay territories is advocated with great ability in the Anglo-Saxon of November 8th, by a gentleman who resided many years in Australia. The editor sums up the argument, and says:

"Now, experience has shown, first, that criminals when transferred to penal colonies very often reform, and that on the expiration of their sentences a large portion pursue industrious habits, acquire property, and become respectable members of society. Australia is full of such cases. And experience has shown, secondly, that penal colonies are frequently resorted to by free settlers from the cheapness of convict labor, who with the reformed convicts, ere long, convert those colonies into prosperous communities, which soon take rank as British Provinces of the first class. One generation sufficed to effect this in New South Wales."

The Albion of 8th November, speaking on the same subject, says:

"We still protest strongly against the delusion that an access of convicts, in any shape whatever, can work benefit to the land that receives them: nor can we fail to be amused at the tenacity of some writers who quote Australian experience in proof to the contrary, when it is the deliberate repudiation of the whole system, by Australia, that has compelled the home Government to hawk its wares of this kind among its Colonies.

"In the discussion that has been provoked heretupon, we are not sorry to see that the whole tenor of the Hudson's Bay Company, its relation to the Provinces and to the mother country, its general bearing upon colonial prosperity, its rights and its assumptions—in short, the course which may be and which ought to be pursued in dealing with it—are beginning to occupy the public mind."

Union between England and the United States.

The London Times in a recent article maintains that there will be an intimate union between England and the United States.

England and the United States are, as a matter of fact, united in the two most important objects that can unite two nations—they have the same policy and the same religion. They maintain together the great system of civil and religious liberty, and they stand almost alone in the world in doing so. They hold together a creed which is Protestant without skepticism.

Even now, in this confusion of all political elements in the United States, we see the basis forming of a stronger union between the two countries. There ap-

pears to be little doubt that, whichever way this particular election may turn, the power of the Northern States is gradually on the increase. The South may maintain the field for a time by greater dexterity and manœuvring skill, but solid numbers and solid capital must ultimately carry it in the Union. The Northern States have this great advantage over the Southern ones: that they are the growing ones, and that being the case, they must sooner or later obtain their proper position in the Union, and with that position will come the discouragement of Slavery and sympathy with England.

This pleasant illusion of the editors of the London Times will be dispelled by their perusal of a few numbers of THE EUROPEAN. England and the United States have not the same policy. England's policy is in favor of liberty, whilst the policy of the United States is to establish and extend Slavery. We shall have to wait a long time "for the discouragement of Slavery," by the Government of the United States, and the consequent sympathy with England. The Times is wholly mistaken in supposing that "the power of the Northern States is gradually on the increase"—the reverse is the fact. The Constitution of the United States is so framed as to secure the Federal Government in the hands of the Southern oligarchy. The Times should know that the power of making war and peace is vested in the President and Senate. The legislative power of Congress is but trifling, and the House of Representatives has no control over the Executive.

NICARAGUA.

SOUTHERN OPINIONS ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SLAVERY THERE BY WALKER. OPENING OF THE SLAVE-TRADE. LAW OF NATIONS AS TO THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The New Orleans Daily Delta observes "that the establishment of Slavery by Walker in Nicaragua is the one thing needful. Without it, vain would have been his conquest, vain his invincible army, vain his reconstruction of government and reformation of commerce:—without an efficient labor system, as a basis, all must, sooner or later, have faded away, like the unsubstantial fabric of a vision. Labor is in too great demand in our Southern States to allow many to be withdrawn for Nicaragua; the coolie trade, devised by British policy, and carried on by Boston philanthropists, is too hypocritical, too treacherous and inhuman for the civilizers of Central America to think of for a moment; and, therefore, the African Slave-trade and African slavery, conducted on humane principles and regulated by law, must have the preference over every other form of compulsory labor."

There will be nothing to hinder Walker from importing slaves from Africa if he can obtain the recognition of his government by England, France, &c. The fact that the United States has recognised Walker is of no importance, so far as the other Powers are concerned.

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

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

W. H. Seward on the Conflict between Free and Slave Labor, and the Predominance of the Slaveowners. He doubts whether the Republic will not Degenerate into a Despotism.

As a practical fact, we know that the fifteen Slave States, by their Representatives in Congress, seek to exclude all additional Free-labor States, and to make the acceptance, establishment and toleration of Slavery a preliminary condition on the part of all Territories within or beyond our present borders, before they shall be admitted into the Union. If they shall be allowed to prevail in this policy, the system of slave labor will necessarily become the national system, and will contract the present range of free labor; and inasmuch as national enlargement is favored by the form of our Government, and the circumstances in which we are placed, we shall in that case be, as a nation, employed hereafter in extending a system of slave labor as far as is possible in this Hemisphere, to the exclusion of free labor. Indeed, we have begun and advanced far in that policy already, although in the beginning we abolished slave labor in seven of the thirteen States in which it then prevailed. We desisted altogether from pursuing that policy forty years ago. On the other hand, from the beginning, we

have not failed at any time to preserve Slavery where it already existed, in Territories we have added to the Union, or even to introduce Slave labor into such Territories, where it had before ceased to exist. We found slave labor existing in what are now the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri and Florida, and we have retained, and so far as in our power, perpetuated it there. We found free labor existing in Texas, New Mexico and Utah, and protected by law. We have established Slavery in Texas, and have, as the slaveholders claim, practically rescinded the prohibition of Slavery in New Mexico and Utah, and given it license to enter there. We have repented of our early policy of excluding Slavery from the Territories generally, and rescinded the exclusion of Slavery from Kansas and Nebraska contained in the Missouri Compromise law of 1820.

And during the present year, when the people of Kansas, notwithstanding that abrogation of the Missouri Compromise restriction, organized a State upon the system of free labor, we practically refused her admission on no other ground except that she made choice of free labor instead of Slavery. It is manifest, also, that the slaveholders will take advantage of the concessions already made, and thus the system of slave labor will be extended, so far as the condition and circumstances of the country will allow, throughout the present territories of the United States; and that as many of those Territories as possible will be admitted as Slave States, while an indefinite number of Slave States will be organized and admitted into the Union from the West India Islands, Central America and Mexico, if the people in the present elections shall acquiesce in and confirm those concessions. The question, then is not exaggerated when it is stated to involve the predominance of slave labor over free labor throughout the United States in their present extent, and in the whole extent to which the boundaries of the Republic shall ever after be enlarged. It is also no exaggeration to say, that the benefits or evils of the predominance of free labor over slave labor throughout the Republic, in all its present and future extent, will continue augmenting, not only so long as the Republic itself shall last, but so long as its action and influence upon the condition of mankind shall be felt. Who can assign the end of that period?

He proceeds to show what the Republican party seek, and says:

A slave-labor majority in Congress, with the co-operation of the President, will have it in his power, and be compelled by an irresistible pressure, to admit Kansas and Utah as Slave States, and acquire and annex not less than three States, in which slave labor is now established, from beyond our present borders, namely—two States in Cuba and one in Central America.

Beyond these obvious political advantages which the system of slave labor is sure to acquire, if permitted in the present canvass, there arises in the near future the necessity for a new and additional supply of slave labor from some foreign source, the only such source which can be found is in the African Slave-trade. I know how abhorrent the idea of re-opening that trade now is. It is no more so than the extension of slavery was within a period that is yet recent. It will be as easy for the Democrats and the Know-Nothings to suffer the restoration of the African Slave-trade, under pleas of necessity for saving the Union and avoiding sectionalism, and of leaving people perfectly free for the exercise of popular sovereignty, as it is for them now to suffer the extension of slavery into Kansas, and the admission of Kansas and Utah as Slave States into the Federal Union. I will not attempt to lift the curtain which conceals the consequences of so great a crime, if it is to be perpetrated: I content myself as one man who means to stand well and rightly before the world and before posterity, with the evidence of earnest admonitions and the offering of all possible lawful resistance to a further perseverance in the policy which leads so directly to that great crime itself. I invoke your co-operation. Give me that, and then if Freedom shall perish in this Republic, and the Republic itself degenerate into a despotism, Heaven and earth shall witness that we are innocent.

OCEAN STEAMERS.

Table with columns for ship names, destinations, and departure/arrival dates. Includes ships like Edinburgh, Fulton, and Washington.

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Why the British should United States. Irish America. [From the London:] The accounts that have Irish newspapers, of the ex taking place to South Americ many readers. The first im and discomfort caused by dif manners and customs. Th Irish of the really Romish dis continental and colonial Catl they than community of lang and penalties at present con the United States which it is ly external trouble to avoid. American States are forming analogous to that of the F grants into Great Britain, in States of North America, in permanent value wherever French and Flemings who