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THE EUROPEAN.

VOL. I. No. 4.]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1856.

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THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Comments of the New York Press.

[From the New York Tribune.]

That the President has a right and is bound to lay before Congress all information essential to their intelligent action on public affairs, is conceded. But that he may, through the form of a statement to Congress, as a large portion of the people as disloyal to the Union, forgetful of their constitutional duties, and treacherously hostile to their fellow-citizens, is not clear. The President accuses the Republicans of saying what they do not mean and meaning what they do not say

—of "pretending to seek only to prevent the spread of slavery into Territories," but really seeking something very different, and of denouncing all their fellow-citizens who do not unite with them in assailing the Constitution, &c. This is not the diction suited to a grave public document—it is the slang of a reckless demagogue on the stump. It degrades the Presidential office, and will only serve to exasperate those whom it assails, misrepresents and defames. No man ever stood more self-condemned than Franklin Pierce, when, after having hurled at the objects of his malevolent abuse all the foul charges he could imagine, he finally accuses them of "unreasonable intemperance of thought and language." In fact, many of his missiles rebound upon his own head; but one of them never will. In accusing the Republicans of being "ardently attached to liberty in the abstract," he fires a shot which they cannot return. Neither in the abstract nor in the concrete does he seem to cherish any more attachment to liberty than would have befitting any of the Tory governors of our Revolutionary era, who might have employed his general line of argument with very few adaptations of phraseology.

Having broadly arraigned the Republicans as disloyal and traitorous, Mr. Pierce turns a short corner, and "confidently believes" that the great body of them "are sincerely attached to the Constitution and the Union." They will not thank him for this supererogatory certificate of good intentions, but despise alike the unfounded attack and the superfluous vindication.

It is strange that Mr. Cushing, or whoever was the concocter of this most discreditable Message, should have the hardihood to ignore the agency of Jefferson, Washington, Dane, John Randolph, the last Continental and first Federal Congress, in resistance to the extension of slavery, and pretend that the Missouri struggle of 1819-20 was the first in which this question was involved. There is a brazen hardihood, an absurd audacity, in this mode of treating a grave public question, in full view of the fact that the whole subject has been freshly discussed in almost every school-house of those States. There are half a million school-boys to-day in those States who could unanswerably convict the President of a dishonest suppression of material facts on this head. When a cause will not bear a statement of the whole truth, why cannot its champions perceive the wisdom of silence?

But Mr. Pierce proceeds to assume that the Missouri Compact of 1820 was rendered void by the refusal of the North to extend it to newly acquired Territories in 1819-50! Is it possible that any man can believe this? Suppose two neighbors to own a tract in common, which they agree to divide by a certain arbitrary line, and their bargain is solemnly ratified and recorded. Thirty years afterward, they acquire another tract, lying just beyond the former; and one of them proposes that this shall be divided as that was. "No," replies the other, "I stand by that bargain, but I do not choose to make another such." "Then," says the former, "I repudiate the first compact, and shall proceed to wrest from you your share of the land divided under it." Is there a court anywhere that would sustain him in this course? Is there a lawyer, besides Franklin Pierce, who could be hired to appear as his advocate?

[From the New York Herald.]

One half of the Message or thereabouts is devoted to a special plea on the Kansas question. The general idea is that the Northern men are a very unprincipled set of rascals, who give the Government no end of trouble, and would have blown the Union to the four winds, but for the foresight, and the wisdom and the energy of poor Pierce. Of course to establish this, he needs to adopt all the old Democratic tricks, and dissimulate pretty extensively; to assert that the supporters of Fremont were "inflamed with a desire to change the domestic institutions of existing States;" to assure the supporters

of Fremont that "their course has no other possible outlet than disunion and civil war;" to state that the opponents of a military despotism in Kansas want new laws of restriction to force free institutions upon the Territories; and generally to misrepresent the whole course to events during the past two years. And, after all, when the whole special plea has been completed, he is forced to admit in the first place that the government of Kansas has been overturned—"interrupted" is the word he uses—without hindrance from the general Government; and, secondly, that there are on the statute book of Kansas "laws violative of the Constitution," which nevertheless this same Franklin Pierce employed the forces of the general Government in enforcing. He endeavors to excuse himself by laying the blame on the "people of the North and South." But this is ridiculous. The "people" of the North and South took very little interest in Kansas. A few persons North and South went to Kansas to settle. A few were sent by rabid abolitionists from New England to see that the Territory was abolitionized. A few more from Missouri were sent in by the slave interest to see that the Territory was prepared to be a slave State. Under these circumstances, what was the duty of the general Government? Clearly to take no part in the controversy, but to see that the Territorial Act was fairly and freely carried out. What did it do? It interfered in the controversy directly and openly, by taking the side of the slave interest, and censuring one set of invaders only; and having, by its countenance and support, helped the Missouri invaders to seize the polls and choose a Territorial Legislature for Kansas, it sent the United States troops into the Territory in order to carry out by force the laws which the President now confesses to have been "violative of the Constitution," and to force slavery upon the people of Kansas with fire and sword. It will take a good deal of special pleading to satisfy the people of the United States that this policy was just or creditable.

[From the New York Times.]

President Pierce dies hard. He does not make what Dame Quickly calls a "good end." Instead of dropping off like old Jack Falstaff, in a gentle mood, "babbling o' green fields," he dies cross—scolding and cursing like a drab.

His Message, sent into Congress yesterday, is the most unbecoming and malignant party diatribe we have ever seen from so high a quarter. One half of this document is devoted to a studied falsification of political history, as the basis of a libel upon those of the American voters (over two millions in number) who disapprove his administration. This is done under the false pretence of giving to the country "information of the state of the Union." It is in keeping, it is true, with the whole tenor of his public career, and only shows that the man who enters upon the Presidency an aspiring demagogue is quite certain to quit it a disappointed, soured, and resentful one. It proves that, throughout his administration, President Pierce has been nothing but a partizan, and that, even now, as he surrenders his place to his successor, and his own acts to the judgment of posterity, he finds it impossible to rise above the party level upon which he has been living, or to see anything beyond the vulgar party necessities of which he has been the slave.

In this document President Pierce asserts that those of his fellow-citizens who supported Colonel Fremont for the Presidency, though "pretending only to prevent the spread of slavery into new States," were "really inflamed with a desire to change the domestic institutions of existing States"—and that for this purpose they waged war upon the Government—transgressed what they themselves knew to be the limits of the Constitution, and endeavored to prepare the people for the desolations of civil war—"burning cities, ravaged fields, and slaughtered populations"—by which alone, as they are well aware, the objects they seek can be attained. If President Pierce believes what he thus asserts, his retirement

should be into an idiot or insane asylum. He lacks the common sense needed for the discharge of the common-place duties of private life. The assertion is flatly contradicted by the declarations of the parties assailed—by their character, by all the probabilities of the case, by every kind and degree of evidence required for its refutation. In its support, not a particle of proof can be adduced. It is the offspring of his own morbid and diseased imagination, or of a partizan rancor which spurns probability, and is utterly indifferent to truth.

[From the New York Evening Post.]

The history which the Message pretends to give of the affairs of Kansas is a perfect tissue of misrepresentations from beginning to end. We will only notice the excuse which Mr. Pierce makes for not having interfered to preserve the peace of the territory during the incursions of the Missourians, when they drove the settlers from the polls, and substituted a Legislature of their own for the members whom the people have chosen. He says:

Imputed irregularities in the elections had in Kansas, like occasional irregularities of the same description in the States, were beyond the sphere of action of the Executive. But incidents of actual violence or of organized obstruction of law, pertinaciously renewed from time to time, have been met as they occurred, by such means as were available and as the circumstances required; and nothing of this character now remains to effect the general peace of the Union.

The violence and fraud which the Message calls "imputed irregularities," are things of which Mr. Pierce had warning beforehand and knowledge at the time. He knew that the settlers were driven from the polls by illegal violence time after time, and that preparations were making to repeat the outrage till the Missourians should have the legislative power in their hands. Yet he remained perfectly inactive, never interfering with the military power of the United States till the wrong was consummated, and till the spurious Legislature, thus constituted, had passed a code of laws establishing slavery in the territory. Then he interfered with the military power to enforce these laws, and of this interference he now makes his boast, calling it the restoration of peace and order.

Of such matter is the greater part of a Message composed, which professes to "give Congress information of the state of the Union."

The same disregard of truth which is so apparent in the President's Message, is not less evinced in the President's correspondence with foreign Powers; witness the statements made in Mr. Marcy's notes upon the enlistment question and maritime law.

SPIRIT OF THE GERMAN PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES.

General Republican Association of the Germans in the United States.

The German Press of this city is occupied with the discussion of a project for the formation of a general association. The German Republican Association in Boston has published an address to the German Republican and other liberal clubs in the United States in favor of the project, from which we make the following extracts:

After eighty years' existence, the condition of this Republic is as follows:

Slavery—condemned by the whole civilized world, as a crime against the fundamental principles of human society—is extended designedly over the finest territories of this continent, by falsehood, fraud and violence. The largest and most fertile part of the lands belonging to this nation falls a prey to slaveholders and speculators, who gradually monopolize the real estate, cause prole-arianism, and reduce the laborers to dependence and servitude.

The irresponsibility of the legislators and officials, with their head, the king in the black dress-coat, and the change of officials consequent upon the changes of the administration, create the spirit of bribery and office-hunting in the highest degree, and excite in the minds of thousands the desire to live without labor at the expense of the nation.

The greater the villanies, the more certain they are to remain unpunished, and the greater their success. Here, in this country more than elsewhere, crime receives recompense, and virtue punishment; the consequence is, that an offensive war of vice, brutality and barbarism,

against honesty and civilization, is becoming general.

Such a state of affairs must, according to the teachings of history, lead to the destruction of liberty and the utter ruin of the country, if a remedy be not soon applied.

The last election has shown that a majority of the people of the United States appreciate this danger, and are desirous of averting it.

As the consequences of the reaction will fall first upon the foreign-born citizens, it is their especial duty to assist in sustaining freedom for themselves and their children against the attacks of aristocrats and mobs.

The fact that the Germans—the most numerous and intelligent part of the emigrants, and therefore their natural representatives—acknowledge this duty, is seen from the circumstance that the majority of them, probably 200,000 voters, have at the last election gone with the Republican reform party. But there are numerous signs showing that the Germans in the country may be united almost unanimously in an organization which, resting on the principles contained in the Declaration of Independence, would join that party amongst the native citizens which promises most sincerely to carry out those principles, until a radical peaceable reform, political and social, is successfully accomplished.

In order to effect this object it is proposed:

1. To form a general committee *pro tem.* in the city of New York, consisting of five members, to transact the business of the whole organization.
2. This central committee to keep a record of all German Republican societies throughout the United States.
3. All liberal societies in each State to form a State central committee, which has to transact the business between its State and the general organization.
4. That the whole organization shall establish a German and English daily and weekly paper, edited and conducted by men appointed by the general committee, and that the capital required for starting the same (\$25,000) be divided amongst the various societies, in shares at \$10 each.
5. To hold a general convention of all societies belonging to the organization in the month of May next, in Buffalo, to appoint a permanent general committee, instead of the committee *pro tem.*
6. That the principles of the organization be as broad and as general as possible, in order to induce all Germans to join this association.

REMARKS.

It will be advantageous to the cause of liberty and progress to have a German liberal organization with a central organ. But it appears to us that this organ ought to be in the German language only. In regard to the principles of the organization, we agree with the editor of the *Criminal-Zeitung* in the opinion that the adoption of principles "so broad and general" as to include all Germans in the society would prove fatal to the undertaking.

Statistics of Poverty in New York State and City.

The New York *Staats-Zeitung* (a daily Pierce Administration paper) of the 1st inst., contains extracts from a very important document, being the thirteenth yearly report of the "Society for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor," in the city of New York, from which we make the following translations:

From the 31st of December, 1854, to the 31st of December, 1855, 204,161 poor persons in the State of New York received relief by the State and the Counties, amounting to \$1,379,951. The number of poor in that year had increased 65,814 from that in the year previous. From the census of 1851, it will be seen that the population in the last twenty years has increased sixty-one per cent; the number of poor in the same period increased seven hundred and six per cent. In the year 1831 there was one poor to every 124 persons; in the year 1855 there was one poor to every 17 persons. If pauperism increases at that rate for the next fifteen years, there will then be, in the city of New York, one poor person to every five persons! If these figures were not obtained from the official report just published, they could hardly be believed; but still they do not yet express the whole poverty of New York. Besides the 204,161 persons who receive relief by the State, there are 141,357 poor persons being relieved by the Commission-

ers of Emigration; so that, on the whole, 345,418 poor persons received relief in the State of New York in the year 1855. This shows that there is in this State one pauper to every eleven persons.

Ireland has been taken for the poorest country of Europe, but poverty in Ireland is much less than in New York. The population of Ireland is twice the number of that of the State of New York; and in Ireland, in 1855, 304,000 poor persons were relieved. The State of New York has, therefore, twice the number of paupers (in proportion to the population) as there are in Ireland! Besides, poverty in Ireland is rapidly decreasing, (ten per cent. in one year,) whereas in the State of New York it is rapidly increasing! All these figures relate to the whole State of New York. In the city of New York alone the proportion of the poor is much greater. In the year 1855, 100,815 poor persons were relieved here by the city, and 130,685 by the Commissioners of Emigration. The Poor-house Department expended for the poor in the city, in 1855, \$816,672.

The society has afforded relief during one year (from 1st of November, 1855, to 1st of November, 1856,) to 43,516 persons, to the amount, in round numbers, of \$31,000. If from this sum, the expenses of the society for officers, rent, &c., are deducted, each of these poor people will have received one dollar for relief during a whole year. The society testifies that there are at least 43,000 poor persons, who are ashamed to ask relief of public societies, but who, nevertheless, very pressingly require the charitable assistance of their fellow-men. How much poverty and wretchedness had necessarily to be left unrelieved by this society!

SPIRIT OF THE SOUTHERN PRESS.

Re-opening the Slave-trade.

The *Carolina Times* of the 25th has the following comments upon the Message of the Governor of South Carolina:

The more exciting topics—the institution of slavery, the continuing necessity for slave labor; and, above all, the fact that cheap labor is the only vital element which would add prosperity to the rural pursuits of the planting States—furnish themes for the balance of the Message not already noted. The re-opening of the Slave-trade, and its bold and manly advocacy by the South, is now demanded by the position in which we are relatively situated to those who oppose our domestic institution. The mere act of Congress declaring the Slave-trade "piracy" was passed at a time when the justice of slavery was not advocated as boldly, even in the South, as it now is. We have done temporizing with our adversaries, and the sentimental, puritanical condemnation which ten years ago feebly opposed the institution, is now hushed for ever. Not a voice in the South will ever hereafter be raised to say that slavery is wrong or wicked, and no excuse is wanting to boldly sustain the claims of the slaveholder against all who may wish to injure or suppress his rights as owner or master. That act of Congress, as it stands upon the statute-book, is a blot upon the character of the slaveholder—for, if it declares the Slave-trade "piracy," its defaming effects must continue to proclaim to the world that the negroes now held by us as slaves are also "plunder." Will, and can we, submit longer to such a state of things? The approaching expiration of the treaty for the maintenance of an armed naval force on the coast of Africa, furnishes at least a plausible opportunity for the discussion of this question. We should press this discussion in order to arrive at a proper solution of those causes which have so stimulated Northern progress, fattening, as it does, upon cheap pauper labor—and the stand-still state of the South, whose labor is only furnished by the natural procreation of our slaves. We are willing that they may derive their supplies of labor from the starving hamlets of over-peopled Europe, but we claim to be allowed to elevate, civilize and Christianize the African for the same purposes—and with better results for the progress of mankind.

Dissolution of the Union.

[From the Charleston Mercury.]

We believe it is for the advantage, both of the South and the North, that the Union should be dissolved, and the two people, delivered from the incessant warfare which makes their political union a madness, a shame, and a misfortune.

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Well, the election has been carried by a bare constitutional majority—not a majority of the popular vote. and in the face of this mere escape from an anti-slavery triumph over us we are called upon to lay down our arms and give ourselves up to rejoicing. We are invited to think that we have not only triumphed, but that we have won security by our victory. And yet all the elements of this war are raging around us. When the freesoilers nominated their candidate, they had no expectation of electing him. They only proposed to lay the foundations of a party which might hope to gather strength and volume as it rolled, and which might eventually become the dominant power of the Union. The furious fanaticism, which from all directions, seized upon this movement and hurried it on, gave a temporary expectation that it might be successful even in its first trial. It barely failed of success; and it failed, because there are a body of people at the North deeply impressed with the necessity of preserving the Union, and who saw, in this hurrying madness, a presage of its speedy dissolution.

And it is under such circumstances that the *Enquirer* asks us to be at peace; to think of nothing but party amity; and to hope that, by sustaining Mr. Buchanan liberally and cheerfully, we can smother this terrible flame that has burst from the core of Northern society, and that will accept no other food than the homes of the people of the South. Why do they call us ultraists? The people of the South, or any part of the South, have never asked for anything but that we may be allowed to enjoy our own without hindrance or molestation; that we may be allowed to make our own foreign and domestic relations, that we may be allowed to take the whole responsibility of our own institutions, and our own government. The North says it is better, wiser, richer, than we; more capable of progress; more inventive, more productive in arts and letters. By what unaccountable folly is it, then, that the North, so given to close calculation, so little disposed to sacrifice anything from mere sympathy and kindness, should hold on to this Union as a thing necessary, and to be preserved even by violence?

REMARKS.

What Portion of the South desires to Separate. Consequences of the Union to the North.

Notwithstanding the threats of secession which the South indulged in for political effect before the late election, the fact is that the slaveowners are almost unanimous in favor of keeping up the union with the free States. There are, however, some few individuals who believe that the slave States could sustain a separate existence and keep up slavery, and go on making acquisitions of territory. We believe, on the contrary, that the slave Republic would soon be at war with some of the great European powers, that the extension of slavery would be definitely stopped, and that the confederacy of slave States would have but an ephemeral existence. A great emancipation party would spring up in their midst, and the Northern slave States would seek admission into the confederacy of free States.

The North is wholly mistaken in holding on to the Union "as a thing necessary, and to be preserved even by violence." At first the Union was necessary for military purposes; it is no longer so for the North, on the contrary, the connection with the South is a source of weakness in a military point of view.

That connection yields no honor to the North, nor are there any commercial or economical considerations which should induce the free States to remain in a political alliance with the slave States. Under the Union the North will have to bear the brunt of the wars which the aggressive policy of the South will lead to, and the North will have to submit to a government inimical in its very nature to the principles of liberty.

The *Charleston Mercury*, in the remarks quoted above, overrates the importance of the Presidential election. As long as the oligarchy can control the Senate, they will be masters of the federal government whoever may be the President.

The *True Delta* (neutral) alleges that the outrages about the polls, in depriving legal voters of their rights rendered the election a mockery.

RENEWAL OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The Governor of South Carolina on that Subject. Vote in the South Carolina Legislature.

[From the Charleston Standard.]

The measure of reopening the Slave-trade may not be vital to our interest. Though we would be the better of more labor, we can do without it; but we can never do our high office in the work of human progress without the purpose to compel the recognition and acknowledgment of our own peculiar institution. If, in fact, the trade were re-opened it would give opportunity to enterprise at the South; it would give civilization to other savages; it would give labor to our resources, and millions upon millions to the wealth of this State. But it is chiefly important for the reason that it will give to the South an opening and an object. Hitherto we have had no opening, and patriotism itself has been an eulogy of a society antagonistic to our own. Hitherto we have had no object, unless that be one—to propitiate the North. We have confessed their censures to be right, by deprecating their severity; we have striven for the toleration of slavery by ignoring its distinctive features; and we have been content to any exclusion from the prospects of its perpetuation, by slight concessions to its temporary necessities. But to have something to ask upon our own part—to rise to the vigor of a living system—to feel that we have a cause to advance—that a social trust has been committed to our keeping, which we are bound to perpetuate—that we are to be unhandled of federal legislation, not so much for the reason that it hurts us, as for the reason that there is no right to lay a hand upon us. This is the object that will give us manhood, and we will take our steps to the very bulwarks of the Federal Government, with an intrepidity which, as outlaws, we have never felt. The South has been weak and in danger, because she has ever been upon the defensive; and it is to be doubted whether endurance is ever equal to infliction; but, when we also take the aggressive attitude, and stand before them as their peer and equal, they will bend in supplication to us for that very forbearance which we have been content to ask of them. And it is as the first movement in this direction—the first step to this result—the first official utterance of a spirit of Southern independence—that we regard the message of Governor Adams as the most important document that has appeared in the country since the period of the Revolution.

It is a step which will never be receded from. The South has already shown the purpose and the ability to reward her champions; one representative from South Carolina has already found that in that way glory lies; others will make the same discovery; and we believe that the tide of events will now roll on with accumulated volume, until the South shall be redeemed of Federal servitude, or become the sovereign arbitress of her own destiny.

[From the Charleston Mercury.]

But one thing, we think, should, be insisted upon steadily and peremptorily—that the Slave-trade, when revived, should be put under the same protection and restrictions of law as the emigrant trade. But all possible legal protections should be made to surround the trade in slaves; and that, while they raised the masters and owners of vessels from the condition of pirates and outlaws, they should also secure to the slaves themselves comfortable room, food and good treatment in their passage across the ocean. It is the outlawry of the Slave-trade that has made it a system of cruelty. Give it the protection and regulations of law, and it would naturally fall into a system of humanity, where the interests of the owners and the well-being of the slaves are perfectly harmonious.

On the 25th November the House of Representatives of South Carolina discussed the subject of the renewal of the Slave-trade. Those who were opposed to the measure sustained a motion to refer that portion of the Governor's speech which related to the subject to the Committee on Colored Population, so that, in the language of Mr. Yeadon, the mover, the matter might be treated with as little respect as might be consistent with parliamentary usage. The motion was defeated. Yeas 20, nays 91, and a special committee was appointed.

SPIRIT OF THE NORTHERN PRESS.

The State of Education in the Free States.

[From the New York Tribune, November 26.]

Of all the Northern States, the Buchaneers succeeded in carrying only Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois; and of these States, and especially of that portion of them to which the Buchaneers were indebted for their majority, it is a striking fact, quite sufficient to explain the result, that in the matter of common schools and the general intelligence and education of the people they fall decidedly below the level of the other Northern States.

Pennsylvania has now a good and improving system of common schools; but it is a thing of very recent introduction—most recent with those counties that needed it most—and a large part of the adult population of the State never enjoyed its advantages nor felt its influences. The history of common schools in Pennsylvania is curious and instructive, and a knowledge of it is essentially necessary to understand the political and social condition of that State. The constitution of Pennsylvania as originally adopted—and also the constitution of 1790—required the Legislature, "as soon as conveniently may be," to "provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the State in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis." But when the subject came to be acted upon in the Legislature, an effective opposition was being made to it by the Quakers and the members of some other religious sects, including a large portion of the best educated part of the people, on the narrow, selfish, and short-sighted ground that, as they already had schools for the benefit of their own children and their own sect, it was not fair nor just to tax them for the education of other people's children. In spite of this opposition an act was finally passed as long ago as 1809, by which all children between the ages of five and twelve, whose parents should report themselves unable to pay for their education, were authorized to attend the most convenient neighboring school at the public expense. It is evident, however, that this was a most inefficient provision, and it proved not much more available than does a similar system still in force in Virginia and other Southern States. In large districts there were no convenient neighboring schools; while the eleemosynary character of the provision, the confession of poverty required from the parents, and the narrow limit of age within which it could be availed of, made this provision of very little practical value.

At length the intelligent and educated people of Pennsylvania awoke to the conviction that by refusing to educate the people they ran the risk of subjecting the State and themselves to be ruled by a set of demagogues, who found the means of political influence in appeals to popular passion and prejudice, and in the arts of pot-house politicians, so potent with those unable to read, and never accustomed to think for themselves. But this new attempt to give efficiency to the provisions of the constitution encountered an opposition similar in many respects to that which had defeated the former one. There were still many old hunkers unwilling to be taxed to educate other people's children. There were counties which had settled down into such a condition of self-satisfied ignorance, as not to feel any disposition to be at the expense of providing for their own children that advantage of schools which they had never enjoyed for themselves. Partly to obviate this objection, the plan proposed and adopted—but which only went into operation so late as 1835—was to leave each county to determine by its votes whether it would entitle itself to its share of a general fund raised for the use of common schools, by assuming itself a certain proportion of the expense of these schools. If anybody wishes to know the counties which have been slowest to assume this expense, let him study the returns of the late Presidential election, and he will find that the majorities given for Buchanan afford a pretty certain guide not only as to the parts of the State, but as to the very counties in which the system of common schools has met with the least acceptance, and has made the least progress.

Let us now take a glance at Indiana and Illinois. So long as the chief immigration to these States was from Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky, no effort was made to apply to the education of the people the splendid bounty of every thirty-sixth section of the public lands, granted for the establishment of common schools, by the immortal ordinance of 1787. So far from it, the proceeds derived from the sale of these lands, at least in the State of Illinois, were diverted from their intended

purpose, and applied to the general expenses of the State. Since the recent introductions into the northern portions of these States of a large immigration from New England and New York, the school funds and common schools have been placed on a better footing. But, of course, this very recent legislation, has had as yet no effect to dissipate the deep ignorance of the earlier and more southern settlements. By the census of 1850, Indiana contained 69,445 persons over twenty years of age who could not read and write; and it is precisely to the counties which contribute most largely to make up this array of ignoramuses that the Buchaners owe their majority in this State.

Precisely the same thing is observable in Illinois. In the Ninth Congressional District of that State, commonly known as Egypt, there are—or were in 1850—11,186 persons of adult age—all of them of native birth, except 199—unable to read or write. This District gave the Buchaners some ten thousand majority—just about his entire majority in the whole State. In Winnebago County, on the other hand, where the last census shows but nine persons who could not read and write, Fremont had a majority of upward of 3,000. Nor does this hold true merely of the three States of Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois. The same thing is to be observed throughout the free States. The cities, the wards, the counties, and the townships in which Buchanan's vote has been heaviest, are precisely those in which is to be found the larger number of ignorant people.

Let us learn from this that it is not merely by electioneering efforts and spasmodic exertions, once in four years, that the yoke of the slaveholders is to be thrown off. The great means which must give the Republican principles their final triumph, and which can alone give them a final triumph, is the enlightenment of the people. Schools and the press are the great instruments on which we must rely; and with the school systems now in operation in all the free States, and with the rapid increase in ability any power of an independent press, we may reasonably hope that twenty years will show a most satisfactory change in the ability of the free-labor States to govern not only themselves, but the nation.

Amalgamation in the South.

[From the New York Tribune, November 26.]

The late Col. Richard M. Johnson took one of his own slaves to wife—we do not know whether with or without benefit of clergy. We have always understood, however, that he treated her through life with uniform kindness and regard; and it is well known that he educated his and her daughters adequately, and in due time married them to two white Kentucky Democrats, giving a good farm with each. So far as we know, they still live, and are rearing up another generation of Kentucky Democrats. In the full knowledge of these facts, the Jackson Democratic party chose Col. Johnson as their candidate for Vice-President, and elected him in 1836, giving him the votes of most of the slave States. He ran again in 1840, and fell with his party; but that was not his fault, and he was a stronger candidate than his colleague, Martin Van Buren. And he possessed a little more sense, or kept himself at home instead of speaking all over the country, the brave, kind-hearted Colonel would have been nominated for President and elected; for he was popular till death, and we do not know that his family relations ever ever cost him a vote.

No, it is not amalgamation—it is freedom for the enslaved—that is so "revolting to the thought," and "shocking to the senses," of our pro-slavery politicians. They do not object to becoming the parents of colored children; but they protest against any infringement of their inalienable democratic right to sell those children after they are born. For every case of amalgamation to which a voter for Fremont was a party, there are ten, twenty—yes, forty—cases of such amalgamation by Buchaners, and the whole country knows it.

Renewal of the Slave-Trade. Even Virginia in Favor of it.

It has been supposed, notwithstanding the earnestness with which some of the Charleston and New Orleans papers have entered upon an agitation for the revival of the Slave-trade, that some security existed against that disgraceful measure being forced upon the country in the interest which Virginia and the other breeding States have in securing to themselves a monopoly of the supply of the American slave-market. With all the devotion of Virginia to free-trade doctrines, it has not generally been supposed that she would be prepared to apply

these doctrines to her own great staple, or to admit the slave-breeders and slave-traders of Guinea and Congo to a free competition with her in the barracoons of New Orleans and Mobile.

Yet an article will be found in another column copied from the Richmond *Enquirer*, the leading Sham-Democratic organ in that State, which sustains the policy of the revival of the Slave-trade with no less zeal than the Charleston *Standard* and the New Orleans *Delta*. From this it would seem that the opposition of Virginia to the revival of the Slave-trade is not to be relied upon. Or, perhaps the *Enquirer* anticipates that the interest of Virginia in preventing the revival of the Slave-trade will be overborne by the conjoint interest of the planting and navigating States in its revival, just as these same two interests, conjoined, triumphed in the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States over Virginia, on the question of the continuance of the Slave-trade for twenty years.

The New York "Tribune" on Mr. Meagher's Desire to have "Light-Haired, Blue-Eyed Saxon Slaves."

"A BRITISH LIE.—A late number of the London *Times* charges the editor of this paper with having expressed a desire to become a slaveholder. The anonymous bully lies. The only slaves Mr. Meagher would wish to have are the kind his ancestors several hundred years ago possessed—light-haired, blue-eyed Saxon slaves."—*Meagher's Irish News*.

Though Mr. Meagher's aspirations run rather ahead of his friend John Mitchell's, who only longed for a lot of fat niggers in Alabama, they are yet quite moderate, considering the fact, which he brags of as above, that he is the descendant of an ancestry of slaveholders. This fact, by the way, may perhaps account for that zealous preference of monarchy and aristocracy over republicanism which animated his soul during his career in Ireland as a rebel against the "light-haired, blue-eyed Saxons," who afterward caught him and kept the tables turned upon him until one memorable day in Australia. In view of all these circumstances, it is, perhaps, only natural that Mr. Meagher should now wish to have some men, women and children of the same Saxon breed as chattels.

The Governor of South Carolina against Free Mechanics. Why Discussion is Prevented in the South.

The New York *Tribune*, speaking of the recent Message of the Governor of South Carolina, advocating the revival of the Slave-trade, says:

"The object which he proposes to himself and the South Carolina Legislature in that revival is, not merely the reduction of the price of labor, but the total expulsion thereby from the Southern States of the class of white laborers."

This jealousy and hatred of laboring white men as the most dangerous enemies to the institution of slavery, and the resolution to crush and keep them down, may be traced through the whole course of slaveholding legislation.

All laboring white men are no better than "aliens" to the South and her peculiar institution; and, being very dangerous to its perpetuation, are to be starved out and driven away by the reduction in the price of labor, consequent upon the introduction of an unlimited supply of slave labor from Africa.

This, indeed, is but the natural consummation of the policy which, in the course of the last twenty years, has obtained such absolute control in the slaveholding States, and by virtue of which the slaveholders are everything, and everybody else of no account. The pretended dread of slave insurrections to be stirred up at the South by Northern Abolitionists, and by the discussion of the slavery question, is, and has been from the beginning, a mere cover. It has not been the dread of slave insurrections that has led to violations of the mail, to arbitrary and tyrannical laws, and to acts still more arbitrary and tyrannical without any cover of law—like the recent expulsion of Mr. Stickland from Mobile—directed against the circulation of books and newspapers, and even the confidential expression of private opinion. What has led to all these outrages has been, not the dread of negro insurrections, but an apprehension lest the non-slaveholding population of the South might, if the subject were freely discussed, come to look at slavery in the same light in which it appeared to Henry and Jeffer-

son; and might learn to have it, with Washington, "among their first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery might be abolished by law." Abolition by law, not insurrection, is the shadow dimly seen in the distance, and distorted by a guilty conscience into a horrible phantom, that strikes terror and dismay to the hearts of the slaveholders. It was this brain-sick terror that prompted the felonious assault of bully Brooks on Mr. Sumner—that led to the high-handed measure of preventing by force and violence the formation in so many Southern States of a Fremont electoral ticket, and which now leads Governor Adams to propose, by the revival of the African Slave-trade, to expel from the South all white men who are not also slaveholders.

Renewal of the Slave-Trade. Threatened Opposition of Virginia.

[From the New York Herald.]

Let us suppose that in all the cotton States the Southern Confederacy party combine to push this measure, what will Gov. Wise and his Virginia fire-eating brethren have to say? They will say, No! We are opposed to the introduction of niggers from Africa. We have niggers to sell; the cotton States are our markets; you give us fair prices now, but still the best of niggers yields but a small profit upon the prime cost of the article. Re-open the African Slave-trade, and the slaveholders of Virginia who raise niggers to sell, will be ruined, from the ruinously low prices at which the real African article will be sold. The African importer can make money upon his niggers delivered in Charleston at one hundred dollars a head, the same article which the Virginian cannot afford to raise and sell at less than a thousand. In a word, it is preposterous to talk of bringing the King of Dahomey into competition with Gov. Wise in the nigger markets of Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile and New Orleans.

REMARKS.—We do not believe that the opposition of Virginia to the renewal of the Slave-trade will be persisted in. [For our reasons see ante, page 11.] The advocates of the measure have the best of the argument on Southern grounds, and will bear down all opposition.

Northern Slaveowners—Why more Cruel than Southern Masters.

[Correspondence of the Evening Post.]

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, November 20, 1856. Horrible as Slavery is in the hands of Southerners, it is far more cruel under the rule of Northern men. The reason is obvious—no Northern men would ever embrace Slavery, and become a practical Slaveholder, until he was lost to all respect for himself, lost to all sense of justice, and his conscience not only asleep, but dead. In short, no Northern man would ever leave his home in a free State and go South and buy negroes, until he was ready for any crime that would pay; and these are the wretches, who compose Northern masters, that are generally represented as more severe than Southern men.

What tongue or pen can describe the horrors of a slave shut up on a plantation, not only under a brutal master, but under a still more brutal overseer, whose principal recommendation is, that he can whip out of the unprotected slaves the greatest amount of labor. In confirmation of this, we see, in every slave State in the Union, advertisements signed by merchants, judges, physicians, members of Congress, planters, clergymen, ladies and others, that run in this way:

Run away—My man Fountain: has holes in his ears—a scar on the right side of his forehead—has been shot in the hind parts of his legs—is marked on his back with the whip. Apply to Robert Bensley, Macon, Ga.—*Georgia Messenger*.

The sea must give up its dead, before the sufferings of poor Fountain can even be realised or known. Holes cut in his ears; scars on his back from the whip; lacerations in his legs; scar on his head. How many blows and cruelties have been inflicted upon this poor unprotected man, that are not in the catalogue, as certified to by the said Robert Bensley; and what must be the degraded sentiment of any community that can tolerate such fiendish torments. Nothing in "Uncle Tom's Cabin" that would probably exceed this; and here it is certified under the hand of the slaveholder himself, and in the newspaper; and no one in Georgia blushes at this outrage upon humanity.

Poor Fountain—truly if God be just, there must be in Heaven joys unspeakable for those who, on earth, have endured sufferings like this. First, robbed of your own liberty; robbed of your own wife, your own children,

and all their possessions you can earn, day after day, week after week; and then, the greatest amount of toil for a frail body. How in pools of his flesh with the last in presence of him not allowed to see him, and he with tures, even in God driven to despair, fly, fly to the sweet end of these tortures.

This, this, is the lot of the master himself. Hundreds of advices atrocious. Here

Run away, negro! out of one of his ears.

A short time since the notice of a reply instantly: abolition lies."

I replied, they slaveholders must be the ever produced—if the public prints, the lower regions, male or female, (who would be so in victim after robbing hope in the future, elties before a Chr this can be imagin

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[From the Anti

The utmost that been elected, would against the admission a majority of the appointed no Governor was not acceptable extremities, the slave the Government by would have had to revolution. That t applying this form. And who can say character (allowing ington and the nerv

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and all their posterity for ever: robbed of every dollar you can earn, day by day; fed only on a peck of corn a week; and then your bones and nerves lacerated till the greatest amount of labor can be extracted from your frail body. How many times has this poor victim stood in pools of his own blood, drawn from his quivering flesh with the lash of the brutal overseer, and probably in presence of his own wife and children, and even they not allowed to shed one sympathising tear to comfort him, and he without hope, under these agonizing tortures, even in God himself. No wonder the poor slaves, driven to despair, will run—run they know not where—fly, fly to the swamps, or into the grave, rather than endure these tortures.

This, this, is American Slavery. Here is the evidence of the master himself, with the scars on his victim. Hundreds of advertisements are now before me, equally atrocious. Here is another case:

Run away, negro boy Kett, 15 or 16 years old; has a piece taken out of one of his ears. George Kinlock, Charleston, S. C., owner.

A short time since, on board a steamboat, I brought to the notice of a slaveholder some of these facts. He replied instantly: "These are all a pack of damned abolition lies."

I replied, they may be lies, but if so, then the slaveholders must be the most shameless wretches the world ever produced—if they can, under their own hands, and in the public prints, publish such an account of themselves. The lower regions could not probably furnish a monster, male or female, (either with or without a cloven foot,) who would be so infernalised as to first thus torture his victim after robbing him of all, even to the last ray of hope in the future, and then parade his unparalleled cruelties before a Christian world. What villainy equal to this can be imagined?

CLARKSON.

What Fremont could have done. He could not have made Kansas Free.

[From the Anti-Slavery Standard, November 29.]

The utmost that Fremont could have done, had he been elected, would have been to interpose his veto against the admission of Kansas as a slave state. With a majority of the Senate against him, he could have appointed no Governor or Judge of that Territory that was not acceptable to slavery. Had the conflict come to extremities, the slave power could have put a stop to the Government by the stopping of the supplies, and he would have had to choose between compromise and revolution. That the slaveholders would be capable of applying this form of question to him, who can doubt? And who can say that he would have the force of character (allowing him to have the prudence of Washington and the nerve of Jackson) to have withstood it?

As long as slavery is tolerated as an integral element of the Government it must and will rule, and its extension is only a condition of its existence. The only check the North can give to slavery is to withdraw the countenance which her religion, and the protection which her strength affords it. A true Commonwealth, with no taint of slaveholding compromise upon its garments, standing erect and fearless, facing the bloody anarchy which would baptize its weakness and its crime by the name of a slaveholding republic, would be a presence which slavery could not long endure. The only augury of hope which we draw from the doings of the past year, is from the changing flight of men's thoughts and passions and the bolder wing they spread. The people have been better than their leaders, and the speakers have been stronger than their platform. The agitation, in spite of politicians, has been an anti-slavery one. The crime of extending slavery has had to be deduced from the antecedent and yet greater crime of slavery itself. An amount of information as to the nature and necessary incidents of slavery has been spread abroad such as could have been scattered or received under no other circumstances. The mind of the North was never so well abolitionized as it is now—not by the policy of the Republican party, but by the necessities of human nature which dominated over that policy.

Though we cannot deny that we should have snatched a fearful joy had the election of Fremont dislodged the pro-slavery ravens from the national carcass on which they are fattening, still it would be with the sure belief that those that replaced them would not soon become as greedy and as little chary as themselves.

Renewal of the Slave-Trade. Temporary Opposition.

[From the New York Tribune.]

"The Governor of South Carolina, in his Message to the Legislature of that State, advocates the revival of the African Slave-trade, and thinks that every branch of labor should be in the hands of slaves. In this position he will not be sustained by the general sentiment of the Southern States, which is averse to such a measure. To revive the Slave-trade, would be to restore a system of barbarity and wickedness for which the South is hardly prepared, and which will find comparatively few advocates outside of the limits of South Carolina, where radical folly and fanaticism prevail about as extensively as in Massachusetts."—*Hartford Times*.

We hope the *Times* is correct in its assumption that "the South is not prepared" for a revival of the Slave-trade; but if it is prepared, it will soon bring the Northern Democracy over to the support of that measure. Had the Governor of South Carolina in 1852, proposed in his Message the repeal of the Missouri Restriction, the *Times* would have met that proposal with a denunciation of its "radical folly and fanaticism" at least as thorough and hearty as that above cited of the proposed revival of the African Slave-trade. Even when Douglas proposed and Toucey supported the Nebraska act, the *Times* opposed its repeal of the Missouri Restriction with manly directness and vigor, denouncing that act as a violation of the terms of accord on the slavery question laid down by the Whig and Democratic National Conventions in the spring of 1852. But Douglas carried his measure, and the *Times* gradually edged into the ranks of its supporters, doing its utmost last spring to re-elect Toucey, and this fall to give the vote of Connecticut to Buchanan; and now, we see it coolly commends the doctrine of the Nebraska bill as essentially sound and just, identical with "the great principle of the Revolution—the right to self-government"—and in strict accordance with the Whig and Democratic platforms of 1852! Where, then, were the Democracy and the wits of the *Times* during the struggle of 1854?

The "Squatter Sovereignty" Humbug.

[From the New York Tribune.]

We never did and never can assent to the fundamental principle of the Nebraska bill. We hold the Territories to be the common property of all the people of the United States. We recognise no right in any person, whether residing in the Territories or elsewhere, to plant there institutions at war with natural justice, Christian morality, and the inalienable rights of man "to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." We deny that any five, ten or twenty thousand people who may first have scrambled upon one corner of a vast territory, may plant there a system of labor which degrades the free working-man, depreciates the value of the soil, and virtually excludes the citizens of the free States from settling there. In short, we believe that the exclusion of slavery from the federal territories, first embodied in a draft of law by Thomas Jefferson in 1784, sanctioned by congress in '87, and upheld by the free States in a dozen subsequent collisions, is but the application to the territories of those imperative dictates of justice and liberty which distinguish a truly Christian commonwealth from a barbarous pagan despotism like that of Attila, Jenghis Khan or Jonker Afrikaner. And especially with regard to Kansas and Nebraska do we hold the undeniable fact that the slave States, by the Missouri Compromise, solemnly agreed that these should be free and only free for ever, to reinforce and redouble the natural obligation resting on the Federal Government to shield them peremptorily and absolutely from the scourge and blight of slavery. If, then, these territories are ever to be put up and raffled for by Freedom and Slavery—the party which crowds the larger number of immigrants upon their soil within a given time to be predetermined the winner—the Republicans cannot take part in making up the game. If forced upon us, we may be compelled to play it, under no matter what conditions; but we cannot unite in making it, for we will not be concluded by its result. Kansas and Nebraska belong to free labor—belong to it by natural right, and are doubly secured to it by the Missouri compact—and it will never give them up. Rush them into the Union as slave States, and we shall still demand their restoration to free labor, and struggle on till they are recovered. Our people are there, and will not be driven away. Impison, rob, hang, shoot them, if you will;

those who are spared will stay, and scores will take the place of every one who for freedom's sake is immured in a dungeon or doomed to death.

What will be the Results of the Late Election. What the Fremont Party Proposed to do.

[From the Practical Christian.]

Buchanan is elected by an ample majority. Moderate, non-extension pro-slavery has been beaten by ultra, unlimited pro-slavery. The Union has once more been saved, and the slaveholders are triumphant. Kansas will come in as a slave State, likewise Utah, New Mexico, &c., &c., &c. Cuba, Central America, and another large slice of Mexico, will in due time be annexed to our glorious pro-slavery Union. Slaveholders will take their slave waiters at pleasure into any and every part of the Union, and be guaranteed the right to do so by the Federal Courts, the Federal Arms and the Federal Treasury. The African Slave-trade will be re-opened, and it will become an unpardonable offence for any man to speak or write publicly against constitutional man-stealing, &c. All this is before us. The people will it. The political majority will it with all their hearts, and the political minority will it with more or less of their heart—it has their partial consent, at least.

So long as the present Federal Union, Constitution and Government last, they will all be positively and hatefully pro-slavery. Slavery has had its way, and will have its way until a radical revolution. All a moderate, non-extension pro-slavery party could possibly do, would be to restrain the rampancy of the great red dragon a little, and to give the external aspect of the nation a temporary respectability; which respectability would in the end only strengthen and consolidate the fatally established peculiar institution that has been enlarging and ossifying the national heart from birth.

What have we seen during the late Presidential struggle? We have seen the whole South, with brazen-face, trumpet-tongue and defiant attitude, proclaiming the inherent rightfulness of slavery. We have seen the whole Democratic party at the North either re-echoing the Southern doctrine, or at least unmistakably committing themselves to slaveholding politics. We have seen the Fillmore party, with their Fugitive Slave Law candidate at their head, conniving darkly at the same general policy, saving the Union, the eternally bugabooed Union, from the so-called sectional Fremont party. We have seen the Fremont party rallying under their banner the anti-slavery, semi-anti-slavery, demi-semi-anti-slavery, no-particle-anti-slavery, and nigger-hating anti-slavery voters. And all for what? What did they propose to do? Was it to abolish slavery in the nation? No. Was it to expunge from the Federal Constitution its abominable pro-slavery portions? No. Was it to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories? No. Was it to prohibit the inter-State Slave-trade? No. Was it to enforce the constitutional guarantees of a free press, free speech and common republican rights in the slave States, where no man can even wink against slavery without danger of lynch law? No. Was it to repeal the infernal Fugitive Slave laws? No. Was it to prohibit utterly the admission into the Union of any more slave States? No. Was it to stop absolutely all further extension of slavery in the South, as well as in the North and West? No, not quite so much as this. What then? It was to save Kansas from becoming a slave State, and to secure its admission into the Union as a free State under the Topeka Constitution! And how free was Kansas to be under that constitution and its accompanying instructions from the people? Free to all white settlers and the civilized Indians, but closed utterly against all colored people inheriting African blood. Not the worthiest colored individual of that outraged race could have a home in free Kansas!

Effects of the English Reform Bill, England Ruled by the House of Commons.

[From the New York Tribune.]

Now, whatever movement shall succeed in overthrowing the despotism which the joined hands of the Slaveocracy and the Democracy have established and exercised over this nation for so many years, will be in effect, though not in form, a Revolution. As the yielding of the House of Lords to the Reform bill in 1832, in order to save itself from being swamped by a mob of new-made peers, was in reality a Revolution which established the virtual supremacy of the Lower House, so any combination of forces

which shall remove the Slave power from the control of the nation and substitute for it the will of the intelligent majority, will be a shifting of authority from one influence to another, nothing less than revolutionary. For twenty-five millions of men to take the direction of their policy, the making of their laws, the appointment of their rulers, out of the hands of less than ninety thousand, will be a revolutionary measure much more decided, as well as more efficient, than that which established the principle that the popular voice, when it could command the House of Commons, was not to be drowned by the vote of the House of Lords.

After this admission that the House of Commons is virtually supreme, we hope to see the *Tribune* no longer following the common practice of railing against the Government of England as being monarchical or aristocratic.

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.

The Premier of England on "Grenay Mechanics' Institute." His speech at the Manchester "Grenay Mechanics' Institute."

At eight o'clock in the evening (November 5th) a meeting of the Manchester Mechanics' Institute was held in the Free Trade Hall, which was densely crowded.

On the platform we observed the Earl of Wilton, Mr. H. Heywood, Sir E. Armitage, the Mayor of Manchester, the Mayor of Salford, Mr. W. Brown, M.P., Mr. Brotherton, M.P., Mr. H. V. Vaughan, Professor A. Scott, Messrs. T. Hazley, J. A. Turner, E. Watkin, J. Heron, W. Fairbairn, C. E. Ke.

The chair was taken by the President, Mr. O. Heywood, who addressed the meeting at some length, and gave an interesting sketch of the history of the Institution.

Lord Palmerston (who was received with great cheering) then said:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: It is impossible for any possible for any Englishman to be present on this occasion, in this magnificent building, and amid the vast assemblage that I have the honor to see around me, without feeling proud of the country to which he has the happiness to belong. [Cheers.] And if any Englishman must be acquainted with such feelings on an occasion like the present, how much more gratifying must it be to one of those who are charged with the conduct of the administration of the country, and who cannot but feel yet deeper satisfaction and additional pride in the contemplation of that which is an indication not merely of the progressive wealth of the country—not merely of the increasing intelligence, but which is also a proof of the spread of those sentiments and sympathies between the different classes of society which are the surest foundation of the welfare and prosperity of an empire! We are assembled in a building which in its splendor is worthy of the appearance of the present day or of one of those great commercial States which in the earlier periods of history played so powerful and prominent a part in the affairs of the world—[cheers]—but it is an edifice remarkable not only for the magnificence of its structure, but for the purpose to which it has been applied, and for the cordial support it has manifestly received from those who are collected within its walls. There are two remarkable circumstances peculiarly distinctive of the times in which we live—the principle of co-operation for common objects and the general diffusion of knowledge. In former times there were many men eminent in all the branches of human learning, but, as regards the great masses of mankind, the avenues of knowledge were to a certain degree closed; but the arrangements of later periods which are improving from day to day, tend to diffuse among the great mass of the community, or, at all events, among all who are willing to receive instruction, the results of the labors of science and the fruits of the investigations of the learned, and for these purposes the institutions of which this is so distinguished a member are undoubtedly well deserving of encouragement and support. The intellectual qualities as well as moral feelings of our nature are scattered broadcast over the face of the earth. We find them everywhere, in the lowest classes as in the highest. Their development depends on the opportunities which are offered for their culture, and it is to these institutions that we are indebted for the facilities which are so advantageously presented. In this country, fortunately, the road to wealth and to honors is open to all. Some of those among us who have filled the most distinguished situations have sprung from the humblest position, and have raised themselves

by their talent and good conduct. The great merit of these institutions is that, whereas the laboring classes are unable by their own unaided exertions to obtain access to those books and those means of instruction which are necessary for the development of their intellects, and whereas their hours of leisure are so few as to afford them but little opportunity for mental culture, you open to them the whole range of the treasure of science, and, whatever line their genius may be best adapted to follow, you furnish them with the means of cultivating their faculties and thus increase their knowledge, and, through their knowledge, their happiness. [Cheers.] Man is endowed with a double nature—the moral and the intellectual. Both contribute to his pleasure and happiness; his moral enjoyments are independent of external support—they begin with his home and constitute his domestic attachments; extending a little further, they assume the character of friendship, in a wider range, they become love of country and patriotism, and with a still further development they take the shape of benevolence and philanthropy. These pleasures are within the reach of every man, and no man needs assistance to enable him to enjoy that happiness which consists in the exercise of his affections; but his intellectual qualities require assistance for their development. It is true that knowledge is power, but assuredly those who afford the laboring classes the means of acquiring knowledge contribute not merely to their advancement in life, but also to their innocent and laudable enjoyments. [Cheers.] Great respect, no doubt, is due to science and old sayings, but, at the same time, it must be admitted that though they may be generally correct, they sometimes mislead the judgment. We have often heard the same quoted from the words of one of our great poets, that

"A little learning is a dangerous thing—
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring."

I hold that this is a mistake, and much error has it produced. A little knowledge is better than no knowledge at all. [Cheers.] The more knowledge a man has, the better; but if his time and the means at his disposal do not permit of his acquiring deep and accurate knowledge, let him have as much as he can, and, depend upon it, he will be all the better for it [continued applause]; and, although he may not be able to drink deeply of that spring, if his lips have once tasted of it he will go back to the same delicious waters whenever he has an opportunity, and his thoughts, be they great or small, will refresh his fancy, invigorate his intellect, raise him in the scale of civilization, contribute to his individual happiness, and make him a more useful and honorable member of society. The first object of instruction ought to be that which we have been told is the meaning of education—to teach a man how to live; and, to teach a man how to live, his attention ought first to be directed to that pursuit to which he means to devote himself through life; there, indeed, he should drink deeply, and there he should endeavor to perfect his knowledge, but should he on that account not endeavor to enlarge his mind, to extend his views, and obtain information on other matters not connected with the business of his profession? Then we may be told that we will make him a more amiable man in knowledge, to which I reply that it is better for a man to be a suppler than to be ignorant and uneducated. There are many lines of information which it is most essential for a working man to pursue, but from which, were it not for institutions such as this, he would be hopelessly excluded. In the first place, there are certain laws of nature, of which some govern the trade in which he is employed, some govern and control his industry, and on others depend the well-being of his existence; and yet these laws are not to be known by the simple-minded man. They are the result of deep reflection and long experience, and can only be ascertained by consulting the works of those who have minutely investigated and carefully explained them. If a man were to enter a town of some foreign country, where there were laws the violation of which was attended with pain, imprisonment, or, it may be, with death, would he not be deemed mad if he did not take the earliest opportunity to make himself acquainted with those enactments, so that he might avoid the penalties attached to their infringement? Yet there are laws of nature applicable to the daily pursuits of men which, if not attended to, inflict bodily pain in the form of disease, imprisonment in the shape of the loss of corporeal powers, and even death, through the neglect of those sanitary conditions on which life depends. [Cheers.] How important, then, it is that the working classes should

be made aware of those natural laws and regulations which are indispensable to their own welfare and to that of their families. And why should not a life of labor be now and then cheered by the cultivation of the imaginative faculties? [Cheers.] Why should not a day of fatigue be relieved in the evening by the occasional indulgence in the pleasure of poetry, and in that delightful enjoyment which the best works of fiction impart? Such occasional recreations, though they ought not to be the sole object of reading, are nevertheless useful, by giving buoyancy to the intellect and inspiring the mind with noble sentiments and feelings which deserve to be cultivated. You cannot expect a working man, having but a small portion of time to devote to pursuits of this description, should become an historian; but why should he not, by the aid of books well adapted for the purpose, gain a general knowledge of the history of this country, learn something of the rise, decay and fall of empires, and judge of the causes which contribute to national prosperity and to national ruin? Your Institution furnishes the means whereby the working man may inform himself on those great matters, and obtain clear ideas on many other subjects of importance. Why should he not have some knowledge of the constitution of the universe? I may be asked whether I would make him an astronomer, or expect him to calculate eclipses, describe the orbits of comets, or examine the course of the planets? By no means; but, of all sciences, the mechanism of the universe is that of which a man who has little leisure at his disposal may most easily obtain an insight, by the knowledge of those facts which are the result of deep study and careful calculation. An ignorant man believes that his country is the only one in the world, that this planet is the only great portion of creation, that the sun is placed in the firmament merely to warm him, the moon to light him home, and the stars to amuse him on the journey; but when he is led into the secrets of that vast universe, the contemplation of which fills the mind with awe, his views become liberal and enlightened, his mind is raised above the ordinary grovelling ideas of life, and he finds himself a superior being to what he had been before. [Loud cheers.] It is clear, therefore, that institutions which promote such desirable objects, are eminently deserving of the support of the people; they are peculiarly congenial to the habits of the British nation, and they are singularly in accordance with the spirit of the British constitution. They tend to bring together the different classes of society, combining them in the bonds of good fellowship, allaying their jealousies, mitigating their asperities, and causing them to work together in harmonious action for the general benefit of the commonwealth. [Cheers.] I beg to congratulate the people of Manchester, therefore, on the noble institution of which this hall is the cradle. I felicitate them on having led the way for other institutions of a similar nature, and I argue well of a system which is supported by so vast and influential an assemblage as I have now the honor to address. Rely upon it, that, much as the fame and reputation of this great city may depend on its commercial prosperity, its accumulated wealth, and its vast mercantile intercourse with the remotest regions of the earth, there is nothing that will more conduce to your honor, nothing on which you will reflect with greater satisfaction, nothing by which you will be greater contributors to the happiness of your country, than the efforts you are now making to educate those who of themselves have not the means of acquiring that knowledge which it is fitting that they should possess. Be assured that as long as you go on in that course you will have no reason to regret any time or trouble it may entail on you. You will have the satisfaction of feeling that you are raising in the social scale those who are dependent upon you, and you will be rewarded not only by the grateful emotions which your benefits will evoke, but by the knowledge that you will see rising annually under your parental culture a race of men more and more intelligent, more and more deserving of the fostering care that you bestow upon them, and conducing more and more to the honor of their country and to the prosperity of the land in which they live. [Enthusiastic applause.]

REMARKS.

Sentimental Southern; shrewdly contrasted with those of British Noblemen.

This excellent speech shows that the sentiments of the British aristocracy towards the working classes are far different from those of the Southern oligarchy. It is a commonly received notion that the British

English sympathies are far different from those of the Southern oligarchy. The British

aristocracy are naturally, and from their social position, antagonistic to the interests of the working classes; but the fact is, that British gentlemen who have inherited fortunes are generally at the present day more zealous supporters of the interests of mechanics and laborers than are the great bankers, brokers, merchants and manufacturers either in Britain or the United States, who have accumulated fortunes themselves. Nor is this surprising, seeing that in the pursuit of wealth men are apt to become hard-hearted and selfish. Thus the principal manufacturers have opposed the leading measures which have been recently adopted in favor of shortening the hours of labor in factories, and they do not approve of the principle of the law for the relief of the poor. The wealthiest and most influential men in England are pleased to get an opportunity for advancing the interests of any institution designed to improve the mental or moral condition of the classes which are the object of so much contempt and contumely on the part of a set of brutal and ignorant slaveowners, who, with Governor Adams of South Carolina, think that all labor ought to be performed by slaves, and that they should be kept in a state of ignorance, in order that they may not become dangerous. It would be absurd to expect to see these men imitating the example of English noblemen, and taking a lively interest in the welfare of "greasy mechanics."

Crimes amongst Protestants and Catholics.

Kossuth and no Popery.—"Kossuth," says the *Nation*, "Kossuth the patriot has turned out Kossuth the mountebank; woe, still, a miserable fanatic and an ingrate. He is now employed in calumniating Catholicism—Catholicism that gave to Hungary all the freedom that once was hers."

Kossuth has received a severe rebuke from a fellow-countryman, M. Stercz, in a letter, from which the following is an extract:

"We find that the crimes of the intolerant power, Protestant Prussia is more than of the whole Catholics in France, Belgium, Spain, Russia, Poland, Austria, Italy and Hungary. We see, to walk through the inhospitable streets of London, the crowned goddess of demoralization. It horrifies us to see in the police reports, the hundredth of performed crimes by the members of the high English Church—murders of every kind, thefts of a most decided nature, forging of a most cunning and tricking character, demoralizations the most corrupt."—*The Citizen*, New York, December 6.

Mr. Stercz's statements are simply absurd, and incapable of misleading any but the most ignorant. We reproduce this article for the purpose of showing what sort of reading is furnished to the Irish of this city.

Free Trade as Understood in the South. Protection to Sugar Planters.

(From the New York Evening Post.)

There are 2,581 planters in the United States, a number large enough to people a considerable village. For their sake we are taxed thirty dollars an every hundred dollars' worth of sugar brought into the country. For their sake we pay thirteen or fourteen cents a pound for brown sugar, when we might have it for eight or nine. Twenty-seven millions of people taxed for the benefit of two thousand seven hundred private individuals! Not content with this liberality, Congress has lately made this favored class a further present of seventy-five thousand dollars. Let the planters take the gift and release our households from the burden of the sugar tax. Our climate, according to their own admission, is not suited to the culture of the cane. The early and unexpected winters, the rains and frosts of our climate, cut it off or forbid its juices to ripen. The cane fields must be frequently replanted at great expense. In the West Indies it costs but from two cents and a half to three cents to make a pound of sugar; in Louisiana it costs twice as much, even in favorable seasons.

ITALY.

English Sympathy for Italian Independence.

The English operatives have long acknowledged the justice of the liberal struggle for freedom on the Continent. The Italian cause, so perseveringly sup-

ported by the pen of Mazzini and the firmness of the Italians themselves, now excites special interest, not merely among the operatives, but in the nation at large. The *Italia e Popolo* congratulates the Italian liberals upon these favorable symptoms, and it publishes the address of the working men of Newcastle-upon-Tyne to their brothers, the working men of Italy. We translate the following passages:

Unfortunately, the masses in England have greatly neglected the foreign policy of the nation, and have permitted aristocratic ministers and diplomatic conspirators to falsify the sentiments of the people. These sentiments are however unanimously in favor of the oppressed nationalities.

At the present moment they consider that the intervention of England in union with the *despot of France* is pernicious, because the Neapolitan expedition is, under the pretext of bringing the King of Naples to his senses, destined merely to prevent a revolution.

We have no confidence in that intervention. But an honest intervention on the part of England, and a frank and open war against the tyrants of Italy, be they Austrian, Neapolitan, Tuscan, Roman, or others, would be most popular. But that being impossible under our present ministry, we denounce the expedition.

"Live Italy! Live Liberty!"

We translate from another number of the *Italia e Popolo* a portion of the address of the London Committee.

After complimenting the Italians for their perseverance and indomitable constancy for so many years under such discouraging circumstances, the Londoners say:

Some pretend that the only hope practicable for the Italians lies in the intervention of France and England, and others maintain that Louis Napoleon meditates great projects for driving the Austrians from Italy. Had not reliance in foreign intervention been prevalent in 1848, the Austrians, limited by the Italians to the frontier, would never have been able to have returned. Had it not been for foreign intervention the Republic of Rome would be yet in existence; and were it not for French bayonets, the Pope could not perpetrate the crimes which occur at present in the States of the Church.

But admitting that the tyrant of France does really meditate an intervention, the Italians want an Italy that shall be theirs—in which neither the Emperor of Austria nor Louis Napoleon shall have a footing. No one can believe that he would undertake to liberate Italy from a regard to Italy apart from any personal views. The man of the 2^d Dec. is in every land too well known to permit of such a supposition.

A more plausible doctrine is preached by many who are not sufficiently well acquainted with the case. These imagine that the salvation of Italy can come from Piedmont only. If by this they mean that the Italians in insurrection against their tyrants will ask and will receive the succor of the army and the people of Piedmont, then they are not in error. But if they mean that the King of Piedmont will send his army to drive away the Austrians, then we assert that such an idea is absurd, is contrary to common sense and to facts.

Giuseppe Lafarina has written a long letter to the *Italia e Popolo*, to refute the accusation of apostasy brought against him. He declares himself to be in principle a republican and lauds republicanism. Yet he treats ironically Mazzini's republicanism, and expresses a hope that the patriots may obtain the unity of Italy, and subsequently the Republic, through the instrumentality of the King of Piedmont.

Lafarina was Minister of War and Marine in Sicily during the revolution of 1848-9, under the provisional Presidency of Ruggero Settimo. He moved in the Sicilian Parliament the dethronement of the Bourbon dynasty. Much was expected of him, and in that responsible situation he might have accomplished much; but he then trusted, as he trusts now, in the cajolery of diplomacy which feared republicanism rather than Russianism, trusted in the intervention of Piedmont, France and England, in reaching a republic through a monarchy, and consequently he was wanting in energy and foresight. Similar opinions to those of Lafarina are held by Manin and several other conspicuous men against whom denunciations of apostasy and treason have been fulminated. It might, however, be more just to consider

them as men subject to delusions. They may be perfectly honest, as their present poverty attests, and they may be estimable citizens in private life, and yet they may be wholly unfit to fill public situations in times of revolutionary crises, when the fate of generations depends upon their foresight, firmness and activity.

It is generally supposed that the constitution of Sicily subverted by the King of Naples dates only from 1812. Such is not the case. Sicily enjoyed a constitution in very remote ages, which has from time to time been suppressed, revived and remodelled. In 1848 the Parliament exercised over the Executive that wholesome English habit of confirming or dismissing a ministry, by a vote of confidence or non-confidence, without which popular representation is a farce.

The Murat Dynasty in Italy.

The following letter has been addressed by M. Manin to the *Unions* of Turin:

"Paris, November 4, 1856.

"Sir: Your Parisian correspondent has included me among the partisans of Prince Murat. That statement is incorrect, and I hope you will permit me to rectify it. I rally to the flag of the national party, whose wish is the independence and unification of Italy. I may accept an advance, though slow, in the way which leads to a final object, until an opportunity be presented of attaining it completely; but, in any case, I disapprove and reject every retrograde or divergent step, and I therefore reject and disapprove the Muratist solution, as anti-national. The Muratist solution would not be progress, but retrogression. If, to our misfortune, it succeeded, it would consolidate the Austrian domination in Northern Italy; it would introduce in Naples an indirect foreign dependence; it would probably dismember Sicily and abandon it to another foreign influence, and it would create a most serious obstacle to future unification. Murat on the throne of Naples could not, even if he wished, establish a national policy or a liberal policy. Murat on the throne of Naples would be fatally, and by the inevitable force of circumstances, the rival and the antagonist of the house of Savoy, and necessarily the friend and the ally, secret or avowed, of Austria, the natural enemy of that house.

"He who affirms that Murat, when King of Naples, would give a liberal constitution, form an alliance with Piedmont, and furnish a contingent of troops for the war against Austria is either a dupe or a deceiver. Such things Murat, while a pretender, may promise, but that promise Murat, when King, would not and could not fulfil.

"Far from me be any intention of personal offence. I speak not of the man, whom I do not know. I speak of the situation and its inevitable conditions. I sum up my intimate convictions in these words—he who is a partisan of Murat is a traitor to Italy.

"Accept, &c., Manin."

BRITISH INDIA.

Railroads—Rivers—the Telegraph.

The construction of railroads is pushed with great activity, and in a few years several great lines will be open in India, under auspices calculated to inspire capitalists with confidence. A sufficient revenue is received from the sections already open to relieve the Government from the payment of the interest it guaranteed at the time of the formation of these enterprises. The Hindoos have readily become accustomed to railroads, and make use of them, as appears by the books of the East India Railroad Company, which show that of 432,000 passengers transported during the first six months of 1856, 400,000 were of the third class, or Hindoos. As there are but few navigable rivers in India, the railroads are of the greatest utility for the transportation of merchandise. Government has commissioned engineers to explore the regions supposed to contain iron and coal mines, and the journals of Calcutta have published a series of reports of the first explorations, which are highly favorable. Very rich mines, which can be easily worked, have been found in various parts of the country. These elements ensure the future success of Indian railways, and a rapid development of the agricultural and commercial resources of the country will ensue. The electric telegraph, already established by Lord Dalhousie, is soon to be carried to Ceylon, and the principal points will be connected by sections measuring altogether about one hundred and twenty-five leagues.

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, DECEMBER 6, 1856.

The President's Message on the New Maritime Law. Mr. Marcy's Reasoning refuted, Russia and France in favor of Mr. Marcy's Proposition. What would be the actual Effect of its Adoption.

The President, in his Message, announces that the Emperor of Russia has entirely and explicitly approved of the proposition made by the government of the United States, that the private property of subjects and citizens of a belligerent on the high seas shall be exempt from seizure by the public armed vessels of the other belligerent, except it be contraband, and that assurances of a similar purport have been received in relation to the disposition of the Emperor of the French.

Lord Palmerston, in a speech recently delivered in Lancashire, took occasion to observe, that in the course of time those principles of war which are applied to hostilities by land may be extended to hostilities by sea.

We have, in the three last numbers of the EUROPEAN, discussed this subject fully, and have, we believe, clearly established the following propositions:

1. That Mr. Marcy is wrong in affirming that private property is exempted from seizure in the operations of war by land. Private property is seized and appropriated by a belligerent whenever he finds it necessary, in order to carry on the war, but mere wanton pillage or plunder, for plunder's sake, is contrary to the modern usage of enlightened nations. In the very last war in which the United States were engaged, the right to levy contributions upon the enemy was affirmed by President Polk, and Mr. Marcy himself, then being the Secretary of War, directed General Taylor to take

such portion of the private property of the enemy as he might require, without paying or engaging to pay therefor. In the face of this it required a good deal of hardihood to lay down the law, as Mr. Marcy does in his recent correspondence, "that private property should be exempted from seizure in the operations of war."

2. We have shown that the American proposition leaves the law of blockades untouched, and that consequently no change of importance would be effected by the adoption of Mr. Marcy's theory; and further, that the grant maritime powers would be denuded of all their strength, to the advantage of the military States; if merchant ships were allowed absolute immunity from seizure. If they enjoyed that privilege they would be in a better position than the owners of private property on land, for that can be rightfully seized and appropriated by the enemy, whenever the exigency of war demands it.

3. That Mr. Marcy does not propose the abolition of the right to confiscate private debts, although a provision embracing that principle is to be found in the treaty of 1785 between Prussia and the United States, from which treaty he appears to have drawn the propositions submitted by him for the consideration of the Powers represented in the late Congress at Paris. The fact is noteworthy, that the United States, instead of being more liberal in their views respecting the rights of private property during war, are actually far behind England and most of the Continental nations.

4. That when Mr. Marcy says, that privateering is thoroughly sustained by public opinion, and has been questioned by inferior authorities only, he is contradicted by the public acts of his predecessors, and by the American writers on public law. The United States Government, from 1785 down to Pierce's administration, has denounced the practice of privateering, and Kent and Wheaton affirm that it would be "for the general benefit of mankind to surrender the licentious practice."

5. That privateering is in effect rendered obsolete by the introduction of steam in ocean navigation, and by the new Maritime Law exempting from capture the enemy's goods in neutral vessels.

We do not deny that it would be proper to exempt merchant ships from capture where they are not engaged in carrying articles contraband of war, or endeavoring to force a blockade; but we contend that the effect of such a modification of the Maritime Law would be very slight, and that the exemption would be practically confined to vessels trading between neutral ports, and to vessels afloat at the commencement of the war which might go into neutral ports and there remain until the advent of peace.

Of course, a great maritime Power would blockade the ports of the enemy, and, as observed by the *New York Journal of Commerce*, "there is little value in a theoretical exemption at sea, while they (the merchant ships) are precluded from entering or leaving the port to which they belong. War would be deprived of little of its legitimate severity through the operation of the proposed innovation." A great naval power like England would lose nothing by its adoption, for in that case *British shipping would be exempted from seizure at sea, and there is no naval power strong enough to blockade English ports.* A consideration of this fact on the part of the Government of the United States will probably lead them to the conclusion that the interests of this country would not be much advanced by the acceptance of their late proposition.

The Position of Virginia on the Renewal of the Slave Trade.

The *Richmond Enquirer* contends that the revival of the African Slave-trade is a political impossibility, because "the laws of the civilized world denounce the severest penalties of piracy against it, and they in any event are beyond the range of our control."

The *Richmond Enquirer* is altogether mistaken in this. The Slave-trade is not piracy by the laws of nations, although the laws of many countries forbid their subjects or citizens from being engaged in that traffic. It has been expressly decided that those laws have no extra-territorial operation, and that if any Government shall choose to permit its people to carry on the Slave-trade, no other Government has any right to interfere. We have already (in our first number, p. 16) drawn the attention of our readers to these decisions and the reasons upon which they are founded.

As to the fact that the foreign Slave-trade is obnoxious to European sentiment, very little weight is likely to be attached to it by the Southern oligarchy; for, as admitted by the *Richmond Enquirer*, in the article from which we have already quoted: "It is idle to deny that slavery is condemned by the public opinion of the world. The States of the South are cut off from the sympathies of the most despotic as well as the most popular Governments of Europe. Whether from honest conviction or the suggestions of hypocrisy, they all join in the clamor against us. Even Spain, in whose dominions slavery exists, affects a sort of moral antagonism to the South."

The Crime of Poverty. Statistics of Poverty in England. Treatment of the Poor there and in New York.

We find in the report of Mr. Mitchell's lecture recently delivered in St. Louis, a statement that at Halifax, England, in the month of October last, five men, who had no visible means of subsistence, being out of employment and wholly destitute, were committed to jail as vagrants.

In the same lecture Mr. Mitchell states that there are two hundred thousand able-bodied paupers living in the English workhouses on public rates. And he asserts that it has come out by mere accident that in each of the workhouses in the parishes of St. Pancras and Mary-le-bone, London—

"They are in the habit of flogging women—of keeping them in order by flogging—poor women, guilty of that unpardonable offence against the London Holy Ghost—poverty. [Loud applause.] A small publication has been got up since the revelation of this treatment, and it is sold by hundreds and thousands of copies, among the working classes; it is entitled '*Dred, a Tale of the Mary-le-bone Workhouse.*' In the style of the work, well known under a similar title, it asks, where is the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Duchess of Sutherland? Where are those men who keep audiences sobbing, as they detail the suffering of the blacks in this country? Alas! for Mary and Sophia Elizabeth, for their names have become 'familiar as household words,' their skins are white. Exeter Hall has no tears for them."

We will first correct Mr. Mitchell's statistics. Instead of there being two hundred thousand able-bodied paupers in the English poor-houses there are not two thousand, and we believe we might safely say, not two hundred. The "population tables" of 1851 show that the total number of in-door paupers in England and Wales was 126,488, or one in 142 of the population; in Scotland, 5,438. These numbers included all the poor, whether orphans or widows, aged or sick. We have turned to the statistics of earlier years, and find that the total number of in-door paupers relieved in England and Wales during the week ended 20th, February, 1847, was 121,575. Mr. Mitchell need not have gone to Halifax to find poverty treated as a crime. It is made a crime by the statute laws of New York, and of most of the other States of this Union.

If a poor starving wretch in the city of New York, beg for a mouthful of bread, he is a criminal. It is a crime to be without visible means of subsistence, which must often be the condition of a poor man out of employment. Many hundreds of persons are punished every year in the city of New York as vagrants for the crime of having neither employment nor property. We have known an ex-warden of this city obliged, in order to avoid starvation, to apply to a magistrate to be committed to jail as a

vagrant. Is he are all his syn land? Why this disgraceful Atlantic?

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vagrant. Is Mr. Mitchell ignorant of these facts, or are all his sympathies reserved for the poor of England? Why will he not help us to put a stop to this disgraceful state of things on this side of the Atlantic?

We find in the *Citizen* of this week some heart-rending statements of the condition of certain poor families in Scotland, who have been ejected from their tenements. These statements are made in a letter published in England by Mr. Ernest Jones, a staunch and able advocate of the working classes. We hope and believe that the information received by him was exaggerated in many particulars, but we fear that the poor creatures referred to suffered great hardships. We doubt, however, whether we could not furnish cases as bad or worse every week in this city, where it is an every day occurrence for a poor man who is unable to pay his rent to be thrust into the street with his wife and children by means of a dispossessing process, which can be obtained by the landlord in the most summary manner imaginable. And here, instead of a comfortable asylum to fly to, which they would have in England, the poor houseless wanderers must lie down and starve, or be thrust into a filthy and disgusting jail. We ask how long shall such inhumanity be allowed to prevail in this boasted republic?

As to the statement that poor women in the two workhouses referred to have been beaten, we have only to say that if the statement be true the parties committing the assault are punishable, and that in London a trial and conviction could be had without any delay or expense to the complainants; whereas in this City an assault may be committed with comparative impunity, in consequence of the great difficulties and delay attending a prosecution. Our readers will find some important information respecting the terrible condition of the poor in New York, on referring to an article translated for our columns from one of the German papers in this city.

What our Cotemporaries say of us.

The *Independent* of December 6th says:

THE EUROPEAN.—This is the title of a new weekly journal, published at 153 Fulton street, New York, price \$3.00 per annum. It is designed primarily for the benefit of our foreign population—to indoctrinate them in the principles of our Government, and to keep them advised of political movements in Europe. It is very ably edited, and will possess unusual facilities for insight into European affairs. Such a journal will educate the foreign population of this country to a wise exercise of the political franchise. As an auxiliary in the cause of constitutional liberty against the encroachments of slavery, it deserves the warm support of all true Republicans. It will accomplish what no other journal yet has done or can do. Speaking of exiles, immigrants, refugees, with a personal knowledge of their antecedents and their wants, it will gain their sympathies and their confidence.

The *Pioneer* of November 30th says:

One of the journals most worthy of recommendation is the EUROPEAN. It is a weekly paper, dedicated to the cause of freedom in both hemispheres, and contains, for six cents, on sixteen pages, more valuable material than any other journal. It is published in New York, 153 Fulton street.

The *Aberdeen Zeitung* of December 1st says:

The third number of a weekly journal, in the English language, called the EUROPEAN, has been issued. The EUROPEAN contains, besides many valuable original articles, a great deal of important matter from the leading journals, selected with great skill. It shows a bold front against the introduction of the "peculiar institution" of the South into free Territories. This paper deserves the liberal support of all liberal-minded men, and is especially valuable to European readers. The appearance of this paper is tasteful and elegant.

OUR PAPER.—We flatter ourselves that in typography and general getting up, the EUROPEAN will compare favorably with its cotemporaries. Some alloy of error is unavoidable at the commencement of such an enter-

prise as the establishment of a new journal, but we shall endeavor to diminish it to the smallest amount as speedily as possible. In connection with the subject, it is but a matter of justice to mention the name of the firm which has supplied our type, &c., and to whose pre-eminence in their art our readers are indebted for our present appearance. Messrs. White's advertisement will be found in another column.

Office-holding by Foreigners in the United States. Deplorable Results in the Case of the Irish.

Our Irish cotemporary the *Citizen* has lately published certain articles showing that Irish citizens do not get more offices than they are entitled to. After observing that the Irish-born population is about one twentieth of the whole population of the United States, the *Citizen* inquires "If to the victors the spoils belong, who will undertake to say that Irishmen secured their fair proportion?"

Let us now take the Custom-house, beginning with the port of New York, where the proportion of population of Irish birth is not less than one to five. Out of about seven hundred and fifty offices, how many are given to Irish citizens? Just seventy-five. Out of more than five hundred of these offices to which the salary attached ranges above \$1,000, about thirty Irishmen are holders. Where the salary goes as high as \$1,400, only five hold offices, namely, one at \$2,000, three at \$1,480, and one at \$1,400.

The *Citizen* shows that in the New England States very few Irishmen hold offices under the Federal Government.

If we turn to other States what do we find? In Pennsylvania, out of nearly three hundred offices, just twenty-one of the smaller sort are filled by men of Irish birth.

If it be true that population and labor constitute the wealth of nations, and that the Irish are of the producing class, who develop the resources of this country, and that they are more loyal to its institutions than the natives, more American than the Americans themselves, we should like to know upon what principle it is that they receive so small a proportion of the offices, so little of the public money which they so largely contribute to create.

We regard the complaint that the Irish get too many of the offices, as being founded in bigotry and intolerance. We do not believe that there are as many Irish office-holders as there ought to be, having due regard to the number of Irish citizens. A similar complaint applies with even greater force on behalf of the Germans, for very few of them indeed are office-holders. At the same time, we venture to suggest that if the leading active politicians in this country of Irish birth were not interested in the success of the Sham Democracy, they would turn their attention to the great social questions of the day, and the condition of their poor fellow countrymen in the great American cities would soon become greatly ameliorated. The Irish press, instead of being subsidized by the office-seekers, and distinguishing itself by its advocacy of the cause of the oligarchy, would be foremost in the ranks of the social reformers.

KANSAS.

The New York Herald now Buchanan, and Defender of the Border-Ruffians. Reasons why Kansas cannot become a Free State. The Squatter Sovereignty Humbug.

The New York Herald of the 29th November, says:

In November, 1854, a society was established in Worcester, Massachusetts, for the ostensible purpose of assisting emigration to Kansas. From this society sprung nearly all the difficulties which have made the very name of Kansas a byword and a reproach. Armed men were sent from the North to regulate the affairs of the Territory, and the South retaliated.

This is a sudden changing of sides by the Herald. Heretofore it has contended that the President endeavored to force slavery into Kansas by the sword. The Herald supported the cause of Fremont in the late Presidential election, but at first argued that Kansas ought to be made a slave State, in order to keep up the balance of power between the North

and South—then contended that Kansas should be a free State, but that in order to keep up the balance some new slave State should be made by a division of Texas. The Herald supposed that the people of the Northern States would be almost unanimous against the border-ruffian party, but finding itself mistaken in this, goes back to its old course.

The Washington correspondent of the Herald now writes as follows:

It is admitted now, as a matter beyond all doubt, that Mr. Buchanan has substantial assurances of the disposition of the South to allow Kansas to come in as a free State—this winter, if possible. But such a concession is based on some "consideration" satisfactory to the South, and sufficient in the judgment of what is termed the "extreme" Southern men. That consideration is the natural, lawful and just growth of the South in the tropics, while the North grows in higher latitudes. Kansas is to be balanced by Cuba, Nebraska by Nicaragua, and Oregon by Southern California.

As to the alleged disposition of the South to allow Kansas to come in as a free State, it is all humbug. The people of Kansas—such of them as will go to the polls—will sustain the pro-slavery party there. If Fremont had been elected, he could not have prevented Kansas from becoming a slave State, unless he had repudiated all the acts of Pierce's administration in that Territory—had treated the proceedings of the so-called Legislature of Kansas as void—had dismissed the Governor and Judges, and appointed bold and determined anti-slavery men in their places, and had sent a military force with reliable commanders to disperse the border-ruffians. Fremont would not have done all these things if he had been elected, and Buchanan will do none of them. It will in due process of time be announced that the people of Kansas, in the exercise of the right of what is called squatter sovereignty, have resolved to establish slavery; and it is perfectly certain that Mr. Buchanan will not veto an act of Congress for the admission of Kansas on the ground that the Constitution framed by the people allows slavery.

It is true that Marcy may be somewhat indisposed to support the Southern programme to its full extent, but he will never deny the right of the people of Kansas to hold slaves if they choose to do so. The doctrine of the Sham Democracy is that the majority are sovereigns, and therefore may make men slaves, although the same majority cannot authorize the taking of private property without compensation, and have no voice in the appointment of their Governor, or of the Judges of their courts. Such is American logic and American consistency.

Even if the people of Kansas had adopted an anti-slavery constitution, it would have been decided by the Federal Judges that the holders of slaves could not be deprived of their property by virtue of any provision in the State Constitution.

The fact is, that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise Act made it certain that Kansas would be a slave State, and it is much to be regretted that any persons were induced to emigrate from the free States to that Territory.

It was not intended by the framers of the Kansas Nebraska Act that the first settlers there should have the right to prevent slave-owners from taking their slaves into that territory—a right which was claimed as resulting from the removal of the former prohibition. It must be recollected that it has been almost, if not universally, conceded, that Kansas and Nebraska form part of the Louisiana territory acquired from France as a slave territory.

We, however, deny the correctness of that conclusion, and hold that France was not in possession of the country now called Kansas and Nebraska, and moreover that the provisions of the treaty with France, instead of confirming the title of the few slave-owners in Louisiana to hold slaves there, were incompatible with the continuance of slavery, after the cession to the United States.

We shall not stop to argue these questions now, and in fact the discussion is not of much practical importance, for the oligarchy care nothing about reasoning and law on such points; they have been

always accustomed to ride rough-shod over all mere legal obstacles.

The Southern doctrine, and one sustained by Mr. Buchanan, is, that the people of a territory have "no right to dispossess any man of his right of property, whether it be slave or any other property." The Senate refused to give this right to the people of Kansas.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act repeals in terms the pre-existing Missouri restriction, whereby slavery was excluded from all United States territory north and west of Missouri, and declares that it is—

The true intent and meaning of this act, not to legislate slavery into any State or Territory, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.

Adopted ^{seven} years, 33; days, 40. Whereupon, Mr. ^{Chairman} of this, moved to add as follows:

Under which the people of the Territory, through their appropriate representatives, may, if they see fit, prohibit and extinguish the traffic in SLAVERY TERRITORY.

Which was rejected by the following vote: Yeas, 10; Nays, 33.

All the verbiage about "the true intent and meaning" was inserted merely for the use of demagogues in the elections, to enable them to engage an ignorant public with idle talk about "equities."

NILABANA

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



tion, therefore, would not be the only person who entertains the opinion that the revival of slavery and the re-legislation of the Slave trade in America, is not the best means that could have been chosen to recommend the new filibustering empire in the future and recognition of the British Government. Mr. B. B. Aguirre, whom we exhibited in my reader some twelve months since, not altogether to Mr. Aguirre's satisfaction, an undertaking to justify the American occupation of Central America and philosophical principles, is evidently quite of the same opinion; and wishing to do what he can to counteract the mischievous effect of Walter's libel, he attempts by a letter printed in the London *Times*, to throw a cloud of dust into John Bull's eyes:

The facts of the case are just these: Among the members of the Federal Government of Central America, all of which were committed to law in Montevideo, was establishing slavery and making the slave-trade pious. Walker, wishing to rescue slaves and the slave-trade, but not wishing to touch the world with an unpopular doctrine (which, indeed, even all the members of the Central American Government, and of various nations that had not rescued slaves and the slave-trade, which is a crime of the world, are represented in their mutual exhibition of loyalty, such, by the unanimous consent

No doubt it is an English idea that Slavery is contrary to natural right, and that it can only rest on positive law; and to an English public, not looking beyond England, there might seem some plausibility in Mr. Squier's argument. But the English common law is not in force in Nicaragua. The only law there just now is the will and pleasure of William Walker, and certainly there is nothing in that person's career to lead us to infer that he regards Slavery as contrary to natural right. Considering his antecedents, he may rather be supposed to entertain the opinion just now so current at the South, that Slavery is the natural condition of the laboring man, and the only solid foundation of the social fabric. Besides, if positive law is needed, there is the old Spanish law upon which Slavery formerly rested, and which, according to received legal principles, by virtue of Walker's repealing decree comes again into force. If Walker had intended that, notwithstanding his repealing decree, Slavery and the Slave-trade should continue abolished, it is to be supposed he would have said so; as he does not say so, the conclusion is that he meant to revive both.

The chief part of the persons now free in Nicaragua will soon be made Slaves, on one pretext or another, if Walker's ride continues. They will be sold into Slavery for real or fictitious debts—contracts for service will be set up against them and enforced—the poorest will be called vagrants, and forced to labor for the oligarchy. None of these contrivances are new, and as many of them will be resorted to as may be found necessary. Walker's object, moreover, is to import Slaves from Africa, if he can succeed in getting France and England to recognize his government.

PLANNING

一、基本案情：2015年12月，被告人王某在北京市朝阳区某小区内，因琐事与被害人李某发生口角。王某因情绪激动，持随身携带的折叠刀向李某胸部、腹部等处连续捅刺，致李某重伤。王某在作案后，立即逃离现场，未对李某进行救助。

Since the establishment of the independence of the Central American States in 1821, there has been in most of them a struggle between the Conservative and Democratic parties. In May, 1864, a battle was fought, the results of which were the defeat of the President of Nicaragua, Chamorro, and the occupation by the revolutionists of the city of Leon, a town next in importance to and the rival of Granada, the capital. Thereafter there were two governments in the Republic—Chamorro, the *active de jure* President, governed in Granada; and Carlos Ulloa, who assumed the title and duties of Provisional President, governed in Leon. For more than a year and a half the state of things continued. Walker went to Chamorro's residence with fifty men. The opposite party were overthrown, and when Walker having been joined by a considerable number of adventurers from the United States, seized the supreme authority, and put to death the leading associates, natives of Nicaragua, on the charge that they were not faithful to the Government.

When that time, the people of Germany have increased in regard to labor and the association as it regards of themselves and their country; and the consequence has been that the Germans have been able to keep back in embargoing to hold the ground. Industry and the peaceful arts have been more neglected when the inauguration of the labor system than they ever were before, and the Government has been completely one of the things and the industry.

The neighboring Central American states, too, beyond allusion and with their armies against the American invaders, but hitherto all their efforts against them and of the country have been futile and almost in vain.

Waller, the leader of the people of Stearns, of Indian ancestry, in front of him on the table of the conference, north of and west of importance in Oregon the capital. From there the Indian life shows a knowledge of the most important of these documents is communication addressed by his Minister of Finance. Address in the presence of State at Washington, Portland, Oregon, the recognition of the Waller's statement. The document argues that Waller's statement and words, and could hold the Pro-

dency because the Constitution of Nicaragua declares that no alien shall hold that or any other primary position in Nicaragua.

Walker's great object has been to obtain the recognition of the Governments of France and England. He expected that General Olesouris, a Cuban residing in New York, would go to Europe to represent him and open negotiations for that purpose. Walker's letter to that gentleman, dated Cranford, August 12th, 1850, which has been lately made public, contains the following passage:

With your versatility, and, if I may use the term, adaptability, I expect much to be done in England. You can do more than any American could possibly accomplish, because you can make the British Cabinet see that we are not engaged in any scheme for annexation. You can make them see that the only way to cut the expanding and expansive Democracy of the North, is by a powerful and compact Southern Federation, based on military principle.

América refused the mission, because Walker had re-established slavery in Nicaragua, contrary to his, América's, advice. There can be no doubt that Walker's real object is to advance the interest of his supporters, the Southern slaveowners. The pretence of Walker's agent in London, that Walker has not re-established slavery, is not likely to deceive anybody.

The Frankfurt (Ky.) Commonwealth publishes a letter from John L. Richmond to Hon. Charles S. Morehead of Kentucky, dated Franklin, Tennessee, Thursday, October 10, 1861, in which he says:

then, Walker has now under his command an army of from 1,500 to 1,750 men, well supplied with arms and with ammunition, well clothed and with abundant means of subsistence; and his force is continually increasing. At the present strength it is sufficient to defeat any army and all the forces that United America can bring to bear against it, and he hopes within the next two months to have an army with which to march at the doors of the River, Baghdad and San Salvador, and demand recognition for the Islamic faith in the State of the world.

These is one either matter that I mention to you, and I will then finish this letter. I close. It is this: There are two decrees in the Government here ordering the confiscation of the property of the enemies of the country, one of the 4th of April last, and one of 10th of July last. I am one of those of Chamberlaine in favor these decrees in effect, and I am present opinion that in the course two or three years at least five millions of dollars worth of valuable property will be sold under said decrees. Indeed you a list of property to be sold on the 1st January next, with an assessed valuation at every location, which I hope you will have published, as I think will give to young Chamberlaine, and indeed to all who wish to do so, an opportunity to procure superior but already more valuable than the best of the Southern portion of the United States. Military supplies of the State Government will be taken in payment for these sales to come as gold or silver, and the surplus now to bring for from who to right and ten cents on the dollar, and also mention that gold from the Southern States, wishing to contribute to the country with the slaves, are limited in number, and a decree has been issued by this Government giving to all persons the privilege to do so, the object being to invite slave labor, without the transmigration of the country can never be fully and profitably developed; upon this subject you need not entertain a doubt. I am now acting as such Secretary of the naval yard of authority

It is evident that the report of Walker's death was in fact stated, in his day, to work in connection with their cause. The policy was bluntly adopted at the instance of Mr. Smith, the United States Minister at Madrid.

which is described in *The New Kind Music*. The piece introduced to him that in these cold places he was surrounded by a strange language, seemed to be reflecting their language, but applied to people for their own. The consequence is that a change in them are now at the "anthropology" and, something in order of language is described. They are about 1000 of the ball and circulated between the eleven years, and are composed of copper, silver and steel.

The first of these is the fact that the first of the three main groups of people who are most likely to be affected by the disease are those who are most likely to be affected by the disease.

Abstract

RECEIVED

The London Post of August 21st makes the following

This image is a high-contrast, black and white scan of a textured surface. It appears to be a close-up of a book cover or a piece of fabric. The texture is dense and irregular, with many small, dark, vertical lines and creases. A prominent vertical crease or fold is visible on the left side of the image. The overall appearance is grainy and noisy, typical of a low-quality scan.

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the fact that the "new" people have been made to feel that they are not only the "new" people, but also the "new" people. This is a very important point, and it is one that has been made in the past. The "new" people have been made to feel that they are not only the "new" people, but also the "new" people. This is a very important point, and it is one that has been made in the past.

Handwritten musical score for the song "The Rose Tree". The score is written on three systems of five-line staves. The first system has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The second system has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The third system has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The music is written in a style typical of early 20th-century popular music, with many beamed eighth and sixteenth notes. The lyrics "The Rose Tree" are written below the staves. The score is handwritten in ink on aged paper.

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the importance of the children in the first instance is to be observed in the following text. The report of the two members of parliament is: "and thus in many a mother's letter to her children and back." The children's letters to their parents are not written, and a note about their parents and conversations to me as a friend and father is a picture of the world. The parents' report of the children's letters to be regarded as the children's own do their parents' own. The children's letters are not written, and the children's letters to their parents are not written, and the children's letters to their parents are not written.

The implementation of initiatives may be improved if the inclusion of an employee's opinion is given greater importance, when you think that it is better than the other way around, and when they contribute to their own development.

(The following are the lyrics of the song "The Ballad of the Green Berets")

1947

11. The following table shows the number of people who have been convicted of a crime in the United States since 1970. The data is presented in millions of people.

There is no real analogy between the two cases. When a man leaves the service in the office of the government, he is completely under its control, every movement is directed by orders and prohibitions of the government, and the whole person is under its power and discipline. The lawless man is a person outside of a body of soldiers or an organized unit, completely independent in the form of a private armed man.

[Illegible text]

It has been demonstrated that the computer simulation program can be incorporated in teaching on the system of interlocking. The experimental results have been advanced in the form of their discussion. If a further case could not be offered, it is clear that the model described proved, not only to represent the mechanism which interlocking can be easily changed in which allowed to enhance in working experience on their own practical account.

It is the responsibility of the State to ensure that the people have access to the information they need to make decisions about their lives. The State must ensure that the people have access to the information they need to make decisions about their lives. The State must ensure that the people have access to the information they need to make decisions about their lives.

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Handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff, featuring a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes various note values and rests, with some notes beamed together. The handwriting is in ink on aged, slightly yellowed paper.

1. 凡在本行开立存款账户的客户，均可向本行申请开立支票。

[illegible]

the demand for printers' services is increasing. The same inference is made, that probability is there that the demand for printers will be increased by the industrial and manufacturing labor finding the time of a printer easier? Why should the printer thank himself with a number of printers, when he is doing great business? He should be thankful for supporting him? Can we expect a printer to give up the trade in the case of taking printers in health and ability to print, or should we be surprised to find that the printers have not been treated as well as they would have been if the response had been made by a public body?

The Fantastic Question

Has there been a revolution in the way in which the human mind functions? A revolution in the way in which it perceives the world? Has the human mind been able to break the chains of physical time, and to perceive a time which is not subject to physical laws? Has the human mind been able to perceive a dimension of time in which things are not subject to the laws of causality? A question which has been asked in many different ways in different times and in different places.

1. The first step in the process of the development of a new product is the identification of a market need. This is often done through market research, which can be conducted in a variety of ways, including surveys, focus groups, and interviews. The goal is to understand what customers want and need, and to identify any gaps in the current market.

It is in the course of the proceedings to be...

Now that the major issues have been raised, let us turn to the question of how to solve them. The first step is to identify the specific problems that are causing the most serious damage to the environment. This can be done by conducting a thorough assessment of the current state of the environment, taking into account both the natural and human-made factors that are contributing to the problem. Once the problems have been identified, the next step is to develop a plan of action to address them. This plan should be based on sound scientific principles and should take into account the needs of both the environment and the community. The plan should also be flexible enough to allow for changes as more information becomes available. Finally, the plan should be implemented in a way that ensures that the goals are being met and that the environment is being protected for future generations.

[Illegible handwritten notes]

[illegible]

The first step in the process is to identify the problem. This is done by gathering information about the problem and its causes. The next step is to develop a plan of action. This involves setting goals and determining the steps that need to be taken to achieve those goals. The third step is to implement the plan. This involves putting the plan into action and monitoring progress. The final step is to evaluate the results. This involves assessing the effectiveness of the plan and making any necessary adjustments.

A handwritten musical score for the song 'The Rose Tree'. The score is written on ten staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is written in a simple, folk-like style. The lyrics 'The Rose Tree' are written below the first staff. The score continues with several more staves of music, each with corresponding lyrics. The handwriting is in ink and appears to be a personal or working draft. The paper is aged and slightly discolored. The overall style is that of a traditional folk song manuscript.

[Illegible handwritten notes]

It, therefore, was directed to compare the character of the President of the Board, Clark and Fulton, with conditions independently of the First, and the approach must be made applicable. In a previous portion of the discussion, by reference to the individuality of the four principles, and the limitation upon the sovereign will, instead of negotiating with other powers, are not a part of the mechanism, are not one of the five to be applied either in truth, and to be upon the mechanism without restriction according to, in which is not.

1. *Phragmites australis* (Cav.) Trin. ex Steud.

The neutral flag is in cases of capture, with the exception of contraband of war, and neutral goods, with the like exception, not and holds to capture under the enemy's flag. Hence it is subject to the effects of capture with, thus:

• Unemployment is a problem in every country. But it is more serious in some countries than in others. In some countries, it is a chronic problem. In other countries, it is a seasonal problem. In some countries, it is a problem of the young. In other countries, it is a problem of the old. In some countries, it is a problem of the poor. In other countries, it is a problem of the rich. In some countries, it is a problem of the city. In other countries, it is a problem of the country. In some countries, it is a problem of the past. In other countries, it is a problem of the future. In some countries, it is a problem of the present. In other countries, it is a problem of the past, the present, and the future.

belong to the enemy; and second, it must be found on board the vessel of the enemy. Now here we have a great and decisive modification of the Maritime Law, one moreover which renders privateering of no use as a means of warfare."

"Citizen merchants of the enemy who do not wish to run the risk of being captured have only to commit their merchandise to neutrals, and it will be carried safe. Their profits will be somewhat less, it is true, but they will enjoy perfect security, provided they do not violate the rules relating to places under blockade or to articles of contraband."

The principal operations of privateers have been heretofore in the capture of the enemy's goods in neutral vessels. Hence, Chancellor Kent says, in the passage before quoted, that "Privateers are often guilty of enormous excesses, and become the scourge of neutral commerce." And his excellency, Count Walewski, in his despatch to the Count de Sartiges, communicating to him the declaration of the Congress of Paris, observes, that "privateering inflicted on the commerce and navigation of non-belligerent States are injury so much the more grievous, as it gave room for the most calamitous excesses."

La Siede is right in its conclusion that the proposed modification of the Maritime Law will, by enabling the enemy's merchants to commit their merchandise to neutrals, take away the principal means by which privateering has been heretofore sustained.

Alleged Difficulty in distinguishing between Privateers and the Public Maritime Force.

Mr. Marcy contends that it will be difficult, if not impracticable, to carry into effect the declaration of the powers respecting privateering. This is what he says on the point:

"But if such a distinction were to be attempted, it would be very difficult, if not impracticable, to define the particular class of the public maritime force which should be regarded as privateers. 'Deplorable disputes,' more in number, and more difficult of adjustment, would arise from an attempt to discriminate between privateers and public armed ships."

"If such a discrimination were attempted, every nation would have an undoubted right to declare what vessels should constitute its navy, and what should be requisite to give them the character of public armed ships. These are matters which could not be safely or prudently left to the determination or supervision of any foreign power, yet the decision of such controversies would naturally fall into the hands of predominant naval powers, which would have the ability to enforce their judgments."

Mr. Marcy appears to assume that there was no difficulty in determining what was a lawful privateer under the old system. And he asserts that every nation has an undoubted right to declare what vessels shall constitute its navy.

The Government of the United States has not always recognised that right; and the London Post of August 26, 1856, comments as follows upon the course pursued by that Government in 1816:

"The course adopted by President Polk in 1846—when the United States was at war with Mexico, and when it was suggested that the Mexican government intended to issue blank letters of marque to foreigners to enable them to cruise against the United States—affords a precedent which the European powers may see the expediency of following if the United States should grant letters of marque to persons not American subjects. In his annual message to Congress, Mr. Polk observed: 'As the preliminaries required by the practice of civilized nations for commissioning privateers and regulating their conduct appear not to have been observed; and as these commissions are in blank, to be filled up with the names of citizens and subjects of all nations who may be willing to purchase them, the whole proceeding can only be construed as an invitation to all the freebooters upon earth to pay for the privilege to cruise against American commerce,' and concluded by recommending that Congress should immediately provide by law for the trial and punishment, as pirates, of foreigners who, escaping the vigilance of their own governments, should be found guilty of privateering against the United States. A stronger measure than this is scarcely possible to conceive; and if in any future contest American privateers should swarm the seas, the powers of Europe, upon the doctrine asserted and acted upon by the United States, will no doubt know how to treat those vessels which have not strict evidence of nationality."

La Presse, of August 26, 1856, in an article on this subject, says:

"Any one who has the least knowledge of maritime laws knows well how it happens when the privateer has made a mistaken seizure, what claims it gives rise to for damages and interest, and what disputes it causes, such as oftentimes are enough to prolong the war, or to cause it to break out afresh. Something like this happened between France and the United States in the affair of the *Creole*—five millions."

The truth is, that privateering has always caused a great many difficulties, especially with neutral powers. As observed by Chancellor Kent (*Kent's Com.*, vol. 1, p. 97), privateers "are sometimes manned and officered by foreigners having no permanent connexion with the country or interest in its cause. This was a complaint made by the United States in 1819 in relation to irregularities and acts of atrocity committed by private armed vessels sailing under the flag of Buenos Ayres;" and he refers to Mr. Adams's letter of January 1, 1819, to Mr. De Forest, and his official report of January 28, 1819.

There will be no more difficulty in discriminating between public and private ships of war than there is in distinguishing free bands from regular soldiers. On the other hand, the question what is to be considered sufficient evidence of the nationality of a privateer, is altogether unsettled; and the great naval powers decide the controversy in each case according to their own views, and, like the United States in the case of Mexico, refuse to leave it to the opposite party to decide what vessels shall constitute its navy.

We do not believe that privateering will ever prevail again to any important extent, but the question remains how are those powers to be treated which may endeavor to adhere to that system of warfare.

The London Post of August 22, 1856, says that if the United States

"Should use the old and barbarous appliances of war, they must expect to be treated accordingly. They must expect to have none of their seaport towns held sacred. They will be tumbled about their ears as the stronghold of privateers. They cannot hold to the ancient traditions of battle; they cannot inflict them on others and claim to be treated themselves with the gentleness of modern civilization. If they persist in being barbarous, they may depend on it that their reward will be rough usage when it is needed."

Concluding Remarks.

It is not to be supposed that President Pierce and his cabinet really attach much importance either to privateering or the proposed partial immunity of ships of commerce; but they doubtless thought that a good opportunity presented itself for getting up an argument with European diplomatists, and displaying erudition, research, and ingenuity, besides exciting jealousy on the part of the smaller maritime powers, and inducing them to suppose that England and France, in proposing the abolition of privateering, merely desired the increase of their own power, and not the abolition of a remnant of ancient barbarism.

Trans-Atlantic Telegraph.

The Associated Press agent telegraphs from Halifax as follows:

The British Government has, at the request of Cyrus W. Field, Esq., of New York, ordered a steamer to be fitted out under efficient officers to examine thoroughly the coast of Ireland and Newfoundland, and to sound across the Atlantic between these parts, to ascertain the best place for laying and landing the submarine telegraph cable. The Government has further agreed to guarantee four per cent. per annum interest on the whole capital required to manufacture and lay down the cable between Newfoundland and Ireland. Contracts for the whole extent of the Atlantic cable were signed in London on Tuesday, the 19th ult., one half to be manufactured by Messrs. W. Keefer, Glass & Co., of London, and the other by R. S. Newell & Co., of Liverpool. It is all to be completed and placed on board of two steamers ready for sea on or before the 31st of May next, and by the 4th of July next it is confidently expected that Great Britain and the United States will be in telegraphic communication.

Mr. Field and Mr. Brett, of London, were received on Thursday morning by the Chamber of Commerce at Manchester, and on the afternoon of the same day by the Commercial Association of that city.

CUBA.

The Filibuster Expeditions from the United States were Designed to Prevent Emancipation.

[From the New York Herald, November 25th.]

THE NEWS FROM CUBA.—The news from Havana published in yesterday's *Herald* is of a most important character. It was rumored in that city that General Pezuela is again to be appointed Captain-General of Cuba, and this bare supposition had created great excitement there. It was the abolition policy of General Pezuela, while filling the same station, in 1854, that gave

life and vigor to the late revolutionary conspiracy in Cuba, and caused the people of the island to send large sums of money to fit out the contemplated expedition under command of General Quidman. His measures, at that time, alarmed all classes in Cuba, and brought the revolutionary movement much nearer to a consummation than has been generally supposed. Both Cubans and Spaniards entered freely into the conspiracy, and jointly contributed to the funds of the juntas that existed in every part of the island, and the revolution was stopped only by causes in which the Spanish Government had no hand.

The change of domestic policy that followed the return of General Concha to Cuba has given peace to that island, and destroyed the hopes of the Cuban filibusters here. That feeling, now so rife among us, has been diverted to another scheme, in which it is evident, from recent revelations, Cuba forms no part. The people of the island are quiet, and the Cuban question sleeps. But should General Pezuela return and endeavor to re-establish his former policy and measures, it will immediately create a new excitement, and cause serious complications between our own Government and that of Spain.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ATTEMPTED TO KILL HIS WIFE.—A young and fine-looking Englishman, named Rooney, a machinist by trade, was brought before Justice Welch yesterday morning, charged with attempting to kill his wife. It appears that Rooney and his wife arrived in this country about three weeks ago, and put up at a house in Greenwich street. Since then he has been unable to obtain employment, and having but a few dollars in his pocket, he got disheartened. He had not been living on very good terms with his wife, who is about thirty-five, while he is only twenty years of age. Being unable to support her, he determined to take her life, and accordingly called her into the wood-shed adjoining the house, and attempted to kill her. She being strong, managed to get away from him, and shouted "Murder!" Her cries soon brought assistance, and Rooney was taken in charge and conveyed to the Station-house. He was committed for trial.—*Times*, December 2.

A NEW YORKER, who fired a revolver in the street in London, was let off with a slight fine, on the ground that it was a common practice in the United States, where nobody thought anything of it. The Lord Mayor said it was a very surprising state of society, but he was not prepared to dispute the fact.—*Herald*.

WASHINGTON HOTELS.—Every one who travels to Washington, except the lobby members, pronounces them the meanest, dearest, and dirtiest establishments—almost without exception—in the world. It is not remarkable that the lobby members like the hotels. As agents for the corruption of Congressmen, the Washington hotels are about on a par with the *disreputable female influence*, which the lobby sometimes finds so exceedingly effective.—*New York Herald*, December 4.

EXAGGERATION AS TO CRIME IN ENGLAND.—Whole suburbs of London are almost in a state of siege before house-breakers and burglars. The populous thoroughfares are no longer safe in the dusk. In great cities like Liverpool, cabs are stopped by groups of armed men, after dark, in the very streets—and for the rural districts, or country houses near the manufacturing towns, the inhabitants are kept in a continual fever of alarm, heightened every now and then by the account of some terrible robbery and murder. What is all this but the rumbling of the earthquake before the crater opens?—*Citizen*, New York, December 6.

This is a ridiculous exaggeration put forth on the strength of a few individual cases of burglary, robbery, and murder, which offences are more frequent here in New York than in any part of England, as we shall have occasion to demonstrate hereafter.

THE MURDEROUS RIOTS IN BALTIMORE.—The election riots in Baltimore on the 4th inst., were as serious as many a regular battle. The *Republican* reports that twenty-five persons were either killed or mortally wounded, twenty-seven dangerously, fifty-one severely, and thirty-four slightly wounded; making a total of one hundred and thirty-seven persons injured in the riots at this election.

NEW ENGLAND.—Those England to this group America were happier discoverers and settlers of the Old World over and much confusion of time he only the worked in the spirit of been less infusion of traced in other parts England has grown into old. Both in town and much quite familiar to him to rub his eyes slightly has traversed before he that he is not at home; to be remarked mostly in York, but for the language exactly where he was; or three European cities then stirred up with it. Times.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE may be an accident at it is the standard rule here. The most flagrant crime. Two hundred houses, and two thousand of various grades and executed, unnoticed, unknown paper!—*Herald*, Dec. 1.

"THE SHAME AND GLORY" is the title of a pamphlet is thus noticed by the "If the system of slavery wicked, and irreconcilable truth and purity entertain America, a debt of gratitude Christian sect to all who fully its highest idea of has been perverted and slavery and by the allurer has degraded and corrupted Episcopalianism or Quakerism proof does the British Met require to prove that it is crimes against society? Islands had been more zealous piety upheld by the than for the increase of its position in the eyes of a very different story to Unfortunately this has no few, if any, of the English portance or notoriety wh slavery proclivities of its sake of their doctrinal or supposed to confer on the

A PIOUS POST-MASTER, complains, through the letters to friends in Kn office, and not only so, Methodist class-leader, from her hands, and she miles to another office! cently refused to mail a l from a Virginia lady who

PROFESSOR HEDRICK, lat Chemistry in the Unive avowing himself in favor was in New York on Satu He will take up his resid The South cannot afford the North will welcome th situation.

A GOOD SHOT.—A *Vin Wheeling Intelligencer*, in *Charleston Standard*, wh the African Slave-trade, removal of the unfortunat native country, where the is permitted to open up to teaching them to read t where that labor of Chris heavy penalties."

NEW ENGLAND.—Those who gave the name of New England to this group of the northern Provinces of America were happier in their choice than most of the discoverers and settlers who have dispersed the names of the Old World over new regions with little meaning and much confusion of geography. New England might at first be only the expression of remembrance, but time has converted it into much more. The people worked in the spirit of the land they left; there has been less infusion of the foreign elements than may be traced in other parts of America, and gradually *New England has grown into a very close reproduction of the old.* Both in town and country, an Englishman finds much quite familiar to him. Landing at Boston, he has to rub his eyes slightly and recall the waste of ocean he has traversed before he thoroughly "realizes" the fact that he is not at home; the difference is so slight, and to be remarked mostly in minor peculiarities. In New York, but for the language, he might be puzzled to say exactly where he was; over that cosmopolitan capital two or three European cities seem to have been shaken, and then stirred up with it.—*Correspondence of the London Times.*

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN NEW YORK.—Anarchy may be an accident at San Francisco or Washington; it is the standard rule here. We hardly ever punish any crime. The most flagitious malefactor laughs at justice here. Two hundred indictments against gambling-houses, and two thousand indictments against offenders of various grades and classes lie in the docket, unprosecuted, unnoticed, unknown—merely so much waste paper!—*Herald, Dec. 1.*

"THE SHAME AND GLORY OF THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS" is the title of a pamphlet just published in London. It is thus noticed by the *London Anti-Slavery Advocate*: "If the system of slavery be a *malum in se*, incurably wicked, and irreconcilable with all ideas of Christian truth and purity entertained outside the United States of America, a debt of gratitude is surely due by every Christian sect to all who take pains to show how fearfully its highest idea of Christian doctrine and practice has been perverted and contaminated by contact with slavery and by the allurements of its bribes. If slavery has degraded and corrupted Methodism, Presbyterianism, Episcopalianism or Quakerism in America, what further proof does the British Methodist, Presbyterian or Quaker require to prove that it is the worst and wickedest of all crimes against society? If the religious bodies of these islands had been more zealous for the standard of practical piety upheld by their American fellow-professors than for the increase of their sect or the prominence of its position in the eyes of the world, we should now have a very different story to tell about American slavery. Unfortunately this has not been the case, and there are few, if any, of the English sects of any numerical importance or notoriety which has not winked at the proslavery proclivities of its American brethren, for the sake of their doctrinal unity, or the dignity they were supposed to confer on the denomination."

A PRIOR POST-MASTER.—A lady residing in Georgia complains, through the *New York Tribune*, that her letters to friends in Kansas are opened at the post-office, and not only so, but the post-master, who is a Methodist class-leader, has refused to mail any thing from her hands, and she is obliged to send a dozen miles to another office! A post-master in Virginia recently refused to mail a letter to Mrs. Jessie Fremont, from a Virginia lady who is a relative of hers.

PROFESSOR HEDRICK, lately removed from the Chair of Chemistry in the University of North Carolina, for avowing himself in favor of free Kansas and Fremont, was in New York on Saturday on his way to Cambridge. He will take up his residence in one of the free States. The South cannot afford to lose her few noble men, but the North will welcome them as a most valuable acquisition.

A GOOD SHOT.—A Virginia correspondent of the *Wheeling Intelligencer*, in noticing the article in the *Charleston Standard*, which advocates the opening of the African Slave-trade, says he is "opposed to the removal of the unfortunate children of Africa from their native country, where the pious missionary of the Cross is permitted to open up to them the way of salvation, by teaching them to read the Word of God, to Virginia, where that labor of Christian duty is prohibited under heavy penalties."

HEALTH—WANT OF VENTILATION IN AMERICAN HOUSES.—We have no question that the standard of good looks and of health is lowering, owing to the present mode of heating and ventilating—that is, of not ventilating—houses in the country. Formerly the houses were so rudely built that the air had a secure play, and the foul air engendered within was purified "without malice prepense." Then, too, there was a great chimney-place, where a blazing wood fire carried off the impurities of the cooking and sitting room and nursery, for in most houses in the country they are all rolled into one. But now the houses are better built. The doors shut close, and the windows shut closer. The heavens and the atmosphere are contrabanded. Like the meat-jars of the Shakers, the air is scrupulously excluded. Then, again, the noble, jolly, practical, poetical, ample chimney place is obsolete, and an immense stove, which would properly be the devil's patent, has taken its place. This infernal arrangement, hot as Pandemonium, glows night and day in the kitchen, and nursery, and sitting-room. The good wife and her babies are broiled over it like their cakes and potatoes. As for the composite stench of such an arrangement, it were impossible to describe them. Pure air, under such an arrangement—where can it be? How can it exist? In regard to the sleeping apartments: chimneys these have not, and the windows are so constructed that the sashes will either not slide up, or if they will, there is no weight to hold them—so if you cannot find something to hold them up, your bedroom before morning will be in closeness like the Black Hole of Calcutta. That there ought to be ventilation, never appear to enter into the heads of the unfortunate creatures who construct such houses.—*New York Tribune.*

COOKING IN THE COUNTRY.—As a general rule, in the country there is nothing fit to eat. First, as to breakfast. The coffee is simply slops, though nothing is easier than to make a cup of good coffee. There should be very little water to it, and much pure milk or cream to dilute it, of which last items there ought to be an overflow in the country. The tea may be generally better than the coffee, but it is sufficiently bad and unfit to drink. Then on the breakfast-table there is a chaos of crude dishes, when some two or three things at most, well cooked, are ample. The bread is too often sodden, the butter too much like tallow; then there is a mess of tough meat, greased and cooked to the consistency of sole-leather; a general horror of hot cakes, pies, and heaven-knows-what-all, sufficient to repel, but not to invite appetite! If this rampant, multitudinous array of a breakfast table came of poverty, we would have nothing to say about it—but it is simply the product of ignorance. There is generally an excess on the table, an extract of which excess might be, and would be fit to eat if there was anything like discreet preparation of food—but there is not. Housewives in the country, take our advice. Buy a cook-book and learn to cook, and don't spread your breakfast table with a chaotic mass of indigestible, repulsive crudities. Have little, but have it good—"a dish to put before a king," and then it is fit to put before yourselves, and not otherwise. Reform your cooking. It is simply savage.—*New York Tribune.*

THE CRY IS STILL THEY GO!—The Parkersburg *Gazette* states that swarms of emigrants from various sections of Virginia are daily passing through that place, and other points along the border, on their way to the Far West, in quest of rich lands, free schools and low taxes.—*Times.*

CIVIC CORRUPTION.—Municipal jobbery does not seem to be confined to the city of New York. We notice that in Philadelphia an attempt is being made to hand over near half a million of valuable, dividend-paying stocks belonging to the city, to an unfinished railroad, in exchange for its bonds, which are of no value as yet, and may never be worth half their face. This job has been got through the City Council, but is warmly opposed by many of the leading citizens. We observe that Messrs. John M. Reed and Thomas Balch have notified the City Government that the measure will be resisted before the Courts—as it ought to be.—*Tribune, December 1.*

THE POLISH POLITICAL REFUGEES held their usual anniversary in this city on the 29th November. The celebration was chiefly confined to their own and other European refugees. Speeches were delivered in Polish and German, and the utmost harmony prevailed.

Mrs. Stowe's "DRED."—At length we have Mrs. Stowe's new novel, and for the last three weeks there have been men, women and children reading it with rapt attention—laughing and sobbing over it—lingering with delight over its exquisite landscapes, its scenes of humor and tenderness, and rude heroisms—and glowing with indignation at its terrible representation of chartered barbarities. Such a book is an uncontrollable power, and critics who follow it with their objections and reservations—who complain that Mrs. Stowe's plot is defective, that she has repeated herself, that her book is too long and too full of hymns and religious dialogue, and that it creates an unfair bias—are something like men pursuing a prairie fire with desultory watering cans. In the meantime, "Dred" will be devoured by the million, who carry no critical almsman against the enchantments of genius. We confess ourselves to be among the million, and quite unfit to rank with the sage minority of the Fadladeens. We have been too much moved by "Dred" to determine with precision how far it is inferior to "Uncle Tom;" too much impressed by what Mrs. Stowe has done to be quite sure that we can tell her what she ought to have done.—*Washington Review.*

CIVIC BUSBLING.—The *New York Tribune* of December 2, has the following paragraph: "Twenty-two men have been ever since the 11th of November, ostensibly at work reckoning up the figures returned from the 137 election districts in the city. The real work has been done by David A. Fowler, Deputy County Clerk, and Theodore M. Squires, a young man in the same office. These men would have completed the job in twenty-four hours, and saved the city something like \$1,000, had they not been prevented by the law. It is high time such expensive folly was ended."

OCEAN STEAMERS.

TO DEPART.	
Ericsson	From New York Dec. 6... For Liverpool.
Glasgow	From New York Dec. 6... For Glasgow.
Quaker City	From New York Dec. 8, Havana and Mobile.
Prairie	From New York Dec. 10... For Liverpool.
Cahawba	From New York Dec. 12, Hav. & N. Orleans.
Arango	From New York Dec. 13... For Havre.
Arabia	From Boston Dec. 17... For Liverpool.
Atlantic	From New York Dec. 20... For Liverpool.
Tennessee	From New York Dec. 24... For San Juan.
Africa	From New York Dec. 24... For Liverpool.
Anglo-Saxon	From Portland Dec. 27... For Liverpool.
Hermann	From New York Dec. 27... For Bremen.
Vigo	From New York Jan. 10... For Havre.

TO ARRIVE.

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

Advertisements.

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Fitzhugh & Littlejohn, Proprietors, Oswego, N. Y.

A TRIP THROUGH THE LAKES OF NORTH AMERICA.—Orders for the above Work, which will appear early in the Spring of 1857, can be left with either of the following Booksellers, as well as the Trade in general, throughout the United States and Canada: D. B. Cooke & Co., Chicago, Ill.; A. Whittemore & Co., Milwaukee, Wis.; W. B. Howe, Detroit, Mich.; John A. Kerr & Co., Detroit, Mich.; C. S. Bragg & Co., Cleveland, Ohio; J. B. Cobb & Co., Cleveland, Ohio; Wanzel, McKim & Co., Buffalo, N. Y.; D. M. Dewey, Rochester, N. Y.; J. L. Pool, Oswego, N. Y.; J. C. Sprague, Ogdensburg, N. Y.; George Barnes & Co., Hamilton, C. W.; A. H. Armour & Co., Toronto, C. W.; Maclear & Co., Toronto, C. W.; G. W. Robinson, Kingston, C. W.; John McMullen, Brockville, C. W.; Hew Ramsay, Montreal, C. E.; Benjamin Dawson, Montreal, C. E.; P. Sinclair, Quebec, C. E.; J. Disturnell, 16 Beekman street, New York.

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This Manual gives to the citizen volunteer and the regular soldier those instructions respecting his duties which he could only acquire by tediously wading through a heap of military works, many repulsively pedantic, and often totally incomprehensible to the civilian. This really useful knowledge is culled from every quarter for the young soldier, is examined analytically, and is explained in popular language; and to those compilations is added much practical information not to be found in any other book. In the first part, *Insurance* is treated of; the remainder of the work is dedicated to *Regulars*, or Volunteers acting as Regulars.
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