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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

From Dickens's Household Words.

THE PERILS OF CERTAIN ENGLISH PRISONERS, AND THEIR TREASURE IN WOMEN, CHILDREN, SILVER, & JEWELS.

BY CHARLES DICKENS.

CHAPTER II—Continued.

The Prison in the Woods.

The difficulty was one which, I think, might have puzzled wiser heads than ours. How were six and twenty living souls (being the number of us prisoners, including the children) to be got out of the Palace, in the face of the guard that watched it? And, even if that was accomplished, when could we count on gaining five hours' all to ourselves for the business of making the rafts? The compassing of either of these two designs, absolutely necessary as they both were to our escape, seemed to be nothing more or less than a rank impossibility. Towards morning, I got a wild notion into my head about letting ourselves down from the back of the Palace, in the dark, and taking our chance of being able to seize the sentinels at that part of the building, unawares, and gag them before they could give the alarm to the Pirates in front. But Short, when I mentioned my plan to him, would not hear of it. He said that men by themselves—provided they had not got a madman like Drooce, and a maundering old gentleman like Mr. Pordage, among them—might, perhaps, run some such desperate risk as I proposed; but, that letting women and children, to say nothing of Drooce and Pordage, down a precipice in the dark, with make-shift ropes which might give way at a moment's notice, was out of the question. It was impossible, on further reflection, not to see that Short's view of the matter was the right one. I acknowledged as much, and then I put it to Short, whether our wisest course would not be to let one or two of the sharpest of our fellow-prisoners into our secret, and see what they said. Short asked me which two I had in mind when I made that proposal?

"Mr. Macey," says I, "because he is naturally quick, and has improved his gifts by learning, and Miss Maryon."

"How can a woman help us?" says Short, breaking in on me.

"A woman with a clear head and a high courage and a patient resolution—all of which Miss Maryon has got, above all the world—may do more to help us, in our present strait, than any man of our company," says I.

"Well," says Short, "I dare say you're right. Speak to anybody you please, Gill; hint, whatever you do, man, stick to it at the trees. Let's get the timber down—that's the first thing to be done, anyhow."

Before we were mustered for work, I took an opportunity of privately mentioning to Miss Maryon and Mr. Macey what had passed between Short and me. They were both thunderstruck at the notion of the rafts. Miss Maryon, as I had expected, made lighter of the terrible difficulties in the way of carrying out our scheme than Mr. Macey did.

"We are left here to watch and think, all day," she whispered—and I could almost hear the quick beating of her heart. "While you are making the best of your time among the trees, we will make the best of ours in the Palace. I can say no more, now—I can hardly speak at all, for thinking of what you have told me. Bless you for putting confidence in me once more! Go now—we must not risk the consequences of being seen talking together. When you come back at night, look at me. If I close my eyes, it is a sign that nothing has been thought of yet. If I keep them open, take the first safe opportunity of speaking secretly to me or to Mr. Macey."

She turned away, and I went back to my comrades. Half an hour afterwards, we were at our second day's work upon the timber trees.

When we came back, I looked at Miss Maryon. She closed her eyes. So, nothing had been thought of, yet.

Six more days we worked at cutting down the trees, always under the eye of the same good character for industry from our Pirate guard. Six more evenings I looked at Miss Maryon, and six times her closed eyes gave me the same disheartening answer. On the ninth day of our work, Short whispered me that, if we did not get our axes for three days longer, he considered we should have more than timber enough down, to make the rafts. He had thought of nothing, I had thought of nothing, Miss Maryon and Mr. Macey had thought of nothing. It was beginning to get low in spirits; but Short was just as cool and easy as ever. "Chop away, Davis," was all he said. "The river won't run dry yet awhile. Chop away!"

We knocked off earlier than usual that day, the Pirates having a feast in prospect, off a wild hog. It was still broad daylight (out of the forest) when we came back, and when I looked once more in Miss Maryon's face.

I saw a light in her cheeks; and her eyes were bright. My heart beat quicker at the glance of them; for I saw that the time had come, and that the difficulty was conquered.

We waited till the night was well in, when the Pirates were in the midst of their feast. Then, she beckoned me into the inner room, and I sat down by her in the dimmest corner of it.

"You have thought of something, at last, Miss?"

"I have. But the merit of the thought is not all mine. Chance—no! Providence—suggested the design; and the instrument with which its merciful Wisdom has worked, is—a child."

She stopped, and looked all round her anxiously, before she went on.

"This afternoon," she says, "I was sitting against the trunk of that tree, thinking of what has been the subject of my thoughts ever since it spoke to me. My sister's little girl was whiling away the tedious time, by asking Mr. Kitten to tell her the names of the different plants which are still left growing about the room. You know he is a learned man in such matters?"

I knew that; and have, I believe, formerly given that out, for my lady to take in writing.

"I was too much occupied," she went on, "to pay much attention to them. I only came to the tree against which I was sitting. Under it and about it there grew a plant with very elegantly-shaped leaves, and with a kind of berry on it. The child showed it to Mr. Kitten; and asked him whether it was not pretty. He stretched out her hand towards them. Mr. Kitten stopped her. 'You must never touch that,' he said. 'Why not?' the child asked. 'Because, if you eat much of it, it would poison you.' 'And if I only eat a little?' said the child, laughing. 'If you only eat a little,' said Mr. Kitten, 'it would throw you into a deep sleep—a sleep that none of us could wake you from when it was time for breakfast—a sleep that would make your mamma think you were dead.' Those words were hardly spoken, when the thought that I have now to tell you of, flashed across my mind. But, before I say anything more, answer me—is it possible, you think I might be supposing that our attempt at escape must be made in the night?"

"At night, certainly," says I, "because we can be most sure, then, that the Pirates off guard are all in this building, and not likely to leave it."

"I understand. Now, Davis, hear what I have observed of the habits of the men who keep us imprisoned in this place. The first change of guard at night is at nine o'clock. At that time, seven men come in from watching, and nine men (the extra night-guard) go out to replace them; each party being on duty, as you know, for six hours. I have observed at the nine o'clock change of guard, that the seven men who come off duty, and the nine who go on, have a supply of baked cakes of Indian corn, reserved expressly for their use. They divide the food between them; the Pirate Captain (who is always astir at the change of guard) generally taking a cake for himself, when the rest of the men take theirs. This makes, altogether, seventeen men who partake of food specially reserved for them, at nine o'clock. So far you understand me?"

"Clearly, Miss."

"The next thing I have noticed, is the manner in which that food is prepared. About two hours before sunset, the Pirate Captain walks out to smoke, after he has eaten the meal which he calls his dinner. In his absence from the hall, the Indians light their fire on the unsheltered side of it, and prepare the last batch of the food before they leave us for the night. They knead up two separate masses of dough. The largest is the first which is separated into cakes and baked. That is taken for the use of us prisoners, and of the men who are off duty all the night. The second and smaller piece of dough is then prepared for the nine o'clock change of guard. On that food—come nearer, Davis, I must say it in a whisper—on that food all our chances of escape now turn. If we can drug it unperceived, the Pirates who go off duty, the Pirates who go on duty, and the Captain, who is more to be feared than all the rest, will be as absolutely insensible to our leaving the Palace, as if they were every one of them dead men."

I was unable to speak—I was unable even to fetch my breath at those words.

"I have taken Mr. Kitten, as a matter of necessity, into our confidence," she said. "I have learnt from him a simple way of obtaining the juice of that plant which he forbade the child to eat. I have also made myself acquainted with the quantity which it is necessary to use for our purpose; and I have received that no hands but mine shall be charged with the work of kneading it into the dough."

"Not you, Miss—not you. Let one of us—let me—run that risk."

"You have work enough and risk enough already," said Miss Maryon. "It is time that the women, for whom you have suffered and ventured so much, should take their share. Besides, the risk is not great, where the Indians only are concerned. They are idle and curious. I have seen, with my own eyes, that they are as easily tempted away from their occupation, by any chance sight or chance noise, as if they were children; and I have already arranged with Mr. Macey, that he is to excite their curiosity by suddenly pulling down one of the loose stones in that doorway, when the right time comes. The Indians are certain to run in here, to find out what is the matter. Mr. Macey will tell them, that he has seen a snake—they will hunt for the creature, (as I have seen them hunt, over and over again, in this ruined place;) and while they are so engaged, the opportunity that I want, the two minutes to myself, which are all that I require, will be mine. Dread the Pirate Captain, Davis, for the slightest caprice of his may ruin all our hopes—but never dread the Indians, and never doubt me."

Nobody, who had looked in her face at that moment—who had considered that ever I knew of—could have doubted her.

"There is one thing more," she went on. "When is the attempt to be made?"

"In three days' time," I answered, "where will the time go to, if we wait for the moon?"

"In three days' time, then, let us decide the question of our freedom or our death." She spoke those words with a firmness that amazed me. "Rest now," she said. "Rest and hope."

The third day was the hottest we had yet experienced; we were kept longer at work than usual; and when we had done, we left on the hank enough, and more than enough, of timber and poles, to make both the rafts.

The Indians had gone when we got back to the Palace, and the Pirate Captain was still smoking his pipe in front of it. We entered the hall, I looked on one side, and saw the tortillas set up in a pile, waiting for the men who came in and went out at nine o'clock.

At the door which opened between our room and the women's room, Miss Maryon was waiting for us.

"Is it done?" I asked in a whisper.

"It is done," she answered.

I was, then, by Mr. Macey's watch, (which he had kept hidden ever since his imprisonment,) seven o'clock. We had two hours to wait—hours of suspense, but hours of rest also for the overworked men who had been cutting the wood. Before I lay down, I looked into the inner room. Short was still sitting together; and I saw by the looks they cast on me that Miss Maryon had told them of what was coming with the night. The children were much as usual, playing quiet games among themselves. In the men's room, I noticed that Mr. Macey had posted himself along with Tom Packer, close to Sergeant Drooce, and that Mr. Fisher seemed to be taking great pains to make himself agreeable to Mr. Pordage. I was glad to see that Short had managed to get the company who were quick-witted and experienced in most things, were already taking in hand the two unreasonable men.

The evening brought no coolness with it. The heat was so oppressive that we all panted under it. The stillness in the forest was awful. We could almost hear the falling of the leaves.

Half past seven, eight, half past eight, a quarter to nine—nine. The tramp of feet came up the steps on one side, and the tramp of feet came into the hall on the other. There was a confusion of voices—then, the voice of the Pirate Captain, speaking in his own language, and being answered by a American mate, ordering out the guard—then, silence.

I crawled to the door of our room, and laid myself down behind it, where I could see a strip of the hall, being that part of it in which the very tortillas were set. Here, also, the Pirate Captain's tent had been set up, about twelve or fourteen feet from the door. Two torches were burning before it. By their light, I saw the guard on duty file out, each man munching his tortilla, and form in the open space. At the same time, in the part of the hall which I could not see, I heard the men off duty grumbling also. The Pirate Captain, who had entered his tent the minute before, came out of it, and spoke to the American mate, at the far end of the hall, asked sharply, in English, what that murmuring meant.

"The men complain of the Tortillas," the mate tells him. "They say they are nastier than usual, to-night."

"Bring me one, and let me taste it," said the Captain. I had often before heard people talk of their hearts being in their mouths, but I never really knew what the sensation was, till I felt mine jumping at those words.

The tortilla was brought to him. He nibbled a bit of it, spat the morsel out with disgust, and threw the rest of the cake away.

"Those Indian beasts have burnt the tortillas," he says to the men, "and their dirty hides shall suffer for it to-morrow morning." With those words, he whisked round on his heel, and went back into his tent.

Some of the men had crept up behind me, and, hearing what I heard, they had seen what I saw. They passed the account of it in whispers to those who could not see; and they, in their turn, repeated it to the women. In five minutes, everybody in the two rooms knew that the scheme had failed—that no two men whose sleep it was most important to secure. I heard no stifled crying among the women or stifled cursing among the men. The despair of that time was too deep for tears, and too deep for words.

I myself could not take my eyes off the tent. In a little while, he came out of it again, puffing and panting with the heat. He lighted a cigar at one of the torches, and laid himself down on his cloak, just inside the doorway leading into the portico, so that all the air from outside might blow over him. Little as he was, he was big enough to lie right across the narrow way.

He smoked, and he smoked, slowly and more slowly, for what seemed to me to be hours, but for what, by the watch, was little more than ten minutes, after all. Then the cigar dropped out of his mouth—his hand sought for it, and sank lazily by his side—his head turned over a little toward the door—and he fell off—not into the drugged sleep that there was safety in, but into his light, natural sleep, which a touch on his body might have disturbed.

"Now's the time to gag him," whispers Mr. Fisher, in an agony. "Secret service. Forty-nine reports from headquarters, all waiting for you but this! I'll shove you the way, sir. Don't wake that man there, who is asleep; he must know nothing about it—he represents the Public."

Mr. Pordage suddenly looked very knowing, and hurried out of the room himself. He followed Mr. Fisher to within a foot of the Pirate Captain's body—then stopped short.

"How many reports?" he asked, very anxiously.

"Forty-nine," said Mr. Fisher. "Come along, sir, and step clean over the Public, whatever you do."

Mr. Pordage instantly stepped over, as jauntily as if he was going to dance. At the moment of his crossing, a hungry rat of his unused, useless, unfortunate, limp Diplomatic coat touched the Pirate Captain's forehead, and woke him.

I drew back softly, while the child still asleep in my shoulder, lifted her little daughter, promising, at the same time, to take charge of her future welfare. Rachel was inscribed, at the school, under the name of Elisa—that of Rachel not seeming to the master an appropriate one to the singer of Israel's sorrows. It did not take Choron long to perceive that the child was born to be a professional musician; he felt convinced, however, that she was talented, and feeling much interested in the intelligent child, offered with all his expressive kindness, and so souvorous a voice, he thought, and justly too, that they were better suited to declamatory expression than to music. He took her to Mr. Saint Aubine, who was then a director of a school for dramatic instruction, with a greater reputation as a dramatic instructor; he at once admitted the little girl, and proved indefatigable in the pursuit of his task. He first began by teaching Rachel to read; at the same time he read aloud, verse by verse, the parts of Hermione, Iphigenie, Mary Stuart, &c., compelling her to commit them to memory—thereby laboring to implant in the mind of his pupil a true conception of the beautiful and sublime; but, strange as it may seem, she infinitely preferred

creeping up close to me, and taking off his jacket and shoes.

"Steady," says I. "Don't let's try that till we can try nothing else. There are men asleep near us who have not eaten the drugged cakes—The Pirate Captain is light and active—and if the gag slips on his mouth, we are all done for. I'll go to his head, Short, with my jacket ready in my hands. When I'm there, do you lead the way with your mates, and step gently into the portico, over his body. Every minute of your time is precious, on account of making the rafts. Leave the rest of them to me: let the women and children over, and leave me to gag him if he stirs while we are getting out."

"Shake hands on it, Davis," says Short, getting to his feet. "A team of horses wouldn't have dragged me out first, if you hadn't said that about the rafts."

"Wait a bit," says I, till I speak to Mr. Kitten."

I crawled back into the room, taking care to keep out of the way of the stones in the middle of it, and asked Mr. Kitten how long it would be before the drugged cakes acted on the men outside who had eaten them? He said we ought to wait another quarter of an hour, to make quite sure. At the same time Mr. Macey whispered in my ear to let him pass over the Pirate Captain's body, alone, with the dangerous man of our company—Sergeant Drooce. "I know how to deal with mad people," says he. "I have persuaded the Sergeant that if he is quiet, and if he steps carefully, I can help him to escape from Tom Packer, whom he is beginning to look on as his keeper. He has been as stealthy and quiet as a cat ever since—and I will answer for him till we get to the river side."

What a relief it was to hear that! I was turning round to get back to Short, when a hand touched me lightly.

"I have heard you talking," whispered Miss Maryon; "and I will prepare all in my room for the risk we must now run. Robert, the ship's boy, whom the children are so fond of, shall help us to persuade them, once more, that we are going to play a game. If you can get one of the torches from the tent, and pass it to here, it may prevent some of us from stumbling. Don't be afraid of the women and children, Davis. They shall not endanger the brave men who are saving them.

I left her at once to get the torch. The Pirate Captain was still fast asleep as I stole on tiptoe into the hall, and took it from the tent. When I returned, and gave it to Miss Maryon, her sister's little deaf and dumb boy saw me, and, slipping between us, caught tight hold of one of my hands. Having been used to riding on my shoulders for so many days, he had taken a fancy to me; and, when I tried to put him away, he only clung the tighter, and began to murmur in his helpless dumb way. Slight as the noise was which the poor little fellow could make, we all dreaded it. His mother—my poor friend in despair when she heard him; and Mr. Fisher whispered to me for Heaven's sake to quiet the child, and humor him in any way I could. I immediately took him up in my arms, and went back to Short.

"Sling him on your back," says I, "as you slung the little girl on your own the first day of the march! I want both my hands, and the child won't be quiet away from me."

Short did as I asked him in two minutes. As soon as he had finished, Mr. Macey passed the word on to me, that the quarter of an hour was up; that it was time to try the experiment with Drooce; and that it was necessary for us all to humor him by feigning sleep. We obeyed. Looking out of the corner of my eye, I saw Mr. Macey take the mad Sergeant's arm, point round to us, and whisper to him. We, continuing tight by Mr. Macey, Drooce stepped as lightly as a woman, with as bright and wicked a look of cunning as ever I saw in any human face. They crossed the hall.—Mr. Macey pointed to the Pirate Captain, and whispered, "Hush!" the Sergeant imitated the action, and repeated the word—then the two stepped over his body. (Drooce cautiously raising his feet the highest,) and disappeared through the portico. We waited to hear if there was any noise or confusion. Not a sound.

I got up, and Short handed me his jacket for the gag. The child, having been startled from his sleep by the light of the torch, when I brought it in, had fallen off again, already, on my shoulder. "Now for it," says I, and stole out into the hall.

I stopped at the tent, went in, and took the first knife I found there. With the weapon between my teeth, with the little insensible burden on my shoulder, with the jacket held ready in both hands, I kneeled down on one knee at the Pirate Captain's head, and fixed my eyes steadily on his ugly sleeping face.

The sailors came out first, with their shoes in their hands. No sound of footsteps from any one of them. No movement in the ugly face as they passed over it.

The women and children were next. Robert, the ship's boy, lifted the children over—most of them holding their little hands over their mouths, to keep from laughing—so well had Robert persuaded them that we were only playing a game. The women passed next, all as light as air, after them, I saw Short give a sign from me, my comrades of the Marines holding their shoes in their hands, as the sailors had done before them. So far, not a word had been spoken, not a false step had been made—so far, not a change of any sort had passed over the Pirate Captain's face.

There were left now in the hall, besides myself and the child on my back, only Mr. Fisher and Mr. Pordage. Mr. Pordage! I lip to that moment, in the risk and excitement of the time, I had not once thought of him.

I was forced to think of him now, though; and with anything but a friendly feeling.

At the sight of this Pirate Captain, asleep across the way out, the unfortunate, mischievous old simpleton tossed up his head, and folded his arms, and was on the point of breaking out into a spoken document of some kind, when Mr. Fisher, more likely and quickly clapped a hand over his mouth.

"Government despatches outside," whispers Mr. Fisher, in an agony. "Secret service. Forty-nine reports from headquarters, all waiting for you but this! I'll shove you the way, sir. Don't wake that man there, who is asleep; he must know nothing about it—he represents the Public."

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LIFE IN PARIS.

PARIS, *January* 14, 1858.

Emperor Alexander—Austria and the Jesuits—The Weather—Emperor Napoleon Skating—Rachel; her Career, Her Death, and Her Funeral—The Death of Reschid Pasha—A Copy of the Psalter, Printed by Guttenberg, in 1461—*First Ball at the Tuileries.*

To the Editor of the National Era.

We are still without political news of moment, but we are in daily expectation of the meeting of the International Congress for the final settlement of the pending question of the Principalities.

Emperor Alexander is said to be earnestly engaged in the liberation of the serfs. May he live long enough to see the realization of his noble undertaking.

Austria, the country of eternal darkness, is progressing inversely. The clergy is triumphant under the cloak of the Concordat, and the Jesuits now earnestly wage war against the study of the classics, under the pretence that the youth of the present day glean from them ideas of infidelity; that they are misled by the philosophical works of Flegal and Kant, and by the study of the natural sciences, especially from the works of Alexander Humboldt; and they go so far as to recommend to the Government the suppression of the press, for the interest of the church. In their wrath, they ascribe to the fact that Guttenberg was born in the city of Mentz, the awful explosion of the powder magazine. We wonder to what they will ascribe the bursting of a hot-water furnace at the church of St. Sulpice, in Paris, a few days past, during high mass, killing three persons, and danger-ously wounding many.

Until the first of January, we were favored with beautiful mild weather, but it suddenly turned cold, the river closed at many points, and all the gamins of Paris who could afford a pair of skates, flocked towards the Bois de Boulogne, to glide over those beautifully frozen lakes. Napoleon was to be received, even in the Emperor himself, the desire once more to try his skill in in the favorite sport of his youth; and his mighty Napoleon threw aside crown and sceptre, unguided his sword, and shouldered his skates, to join the rush to the Bois, fastened the runners to his heels, and away he sportively went, *pele-mele*, with the crowd, at the risk of his neck. All Paris was astonished at this unprecedented Imperial taste. Could the *Charivari* only say all it wishes, this skating mania would afford an endless theme for humors.

The grave has just closed over a woman of genius, who for the past eighteen years was the glory of the French stage. Rachel, whom it is scarcely too much to call the creator of French tragedy in modern times, died at the Villa of Narbonne, near Cannes, in the department of Var, Sunday, the 3d inst., at eleven o'clock P. M. Rachel was borne in March, 1820, at the little Swiss village of Munf, during one of the wandering tours of her parents, who were Jew hawkers, and her birth was in a living room ridiculously visiting various towns in Germany and Switzerland.

After ten years of this migratory life, the family settled down in Lyons, where the father and mother continued struggling against poverty. The mother sold and bought old clothes, the father gave German lessons, and Sarah, the eldest daughter, went about singing at the different *cafés*, to the accompaniment of an old guitar, always followed by her mother, who went from table to table, collecting the offrenings of the kindly disposed. Towards 1830, the family removed to Paris, where they have resided ever since.

Sarah and Rachel continued their visits to the cafés. On one of these occasions, the little wanderers attracted the attention of Choron. He was struck with the intelligent physiognomy of Rachel, and proposed to the two sisters that they should enter one of the classes of the Institution of which he was founder, for the study of sacred music. After speaking with the sisters, he visited the father of the children, and asked Rachel for his little daughter, promising, at the same time, to take charge of her future welfare. Rachel was inscribed, at the school, under the name of Elisa—that of Rachel not seeming to the master an appropriate one to the singer of Israel's sorrows. It did not take Choron long to perceive that the child was born to be a professional musician; he felt convinced, however, that she was talented, and feeling much interested in the intelligent child, offered with all his expressive kindness, and so souvorous a voice, he thought, and justly too, that they were better suited to declamatory expression than to music. He took her to Mr. Saint Aubine, who was then a director of a school for dramatic instruction, with a greater reputation as a dramatic instructor; he at once admitted the little girl, and proved indefatigable in the pursuit of his task. He first began by teaching Rachel to read; at the same time he read aloud, verse by verse, the parts of Hermione, Iphigenie, Mary Stuart, &c., compelling her to commit them to memory—thereby laboring to implant in the mind of his pupil a true conception of the beautiful and sublime; but, strange as it may seem, she infinitely preferred

to learn the part of Dorine, Lisette, and Marinette, of Moliere; and it took all the persuasive powers of her preceptor, to crush her passionate love for comedy, for which she was hnt little fitted.

Upon one occasion, when Rachel was to perform in Andromaque, directed by Saint Aubine, she was found to had rented for the use of one of his pupils, Rachel went to Mr. Vedel, then cashier of the *Theatre Francais*, and requested him to come to see her perform. He promised, and, for a wonder, kept his word. Mr. Vedel was so much surprised at the marked talent of the little girl, that he suddenly left the theatre, jumped into the first hackney coach at hand, and drove in all haste to the director of the *Theatre Francais*. Mr. Jousin de Lasalle begged him to return with him to witness the little theatrical performance, which they reached before the third act had begun. The director shared the cashier's admiration, and promised to allow her to enter the Conservatoire, with a gratification of $120. The following day, she entered the Conservatoire; but, unfortunately for her, Mr. Jousin de Lasalle ceased to be director, and his successor, Mr. Vedel, was so much taken up with his own troublesome affairs, that he never again thought of the sum of $120 promised by his predecessor.

The Felix family was numerous, being composed of father, mother, one son, Raphael, and five daughters—Sarah, Rachel, Rebecca, and two others, who died young. The parents felt obliged to rely on the talent of their little daughter for aid, and determined to accept the first offer made. It was not long before an engagement was proffered by the manager of the *Theatre Gymnase*, with a salary $600, and a promise of an increase of one-third the second year. This was most greedily accepted, and Rachel's studies were interrupted by the preparations to be made for her first appearance before the public. On the 24th of April, 1837, she made her debut in a piece written expressly for herself, by Paul Dupont, called *La Vendeenne*. The piece was studied and performed in a very few days, but Rachel did not meet with success. The clamor was so discouraging, by this failure, and Rachel was consigned to secondary parts; she was in despair, and tried in vain to enter the *Theatre Francais*. Michelot, her professor, put every obstacle in the way, and Provost went so far as to advise her to abandon the stage. Rachel then went to Samson, who, with his great perspicacity, soon became aware of the worth of her talent, and consented to give her lessons. These lessons he followed most earnestly, and he completed her course of studies. Rachel never forgot how much she was indebted to Samson. Finally, Mr. Vedel recalled Rachel to mind, and requested to see her; finding her worthy of the boards of the *Theatre Francais*, he cancelled her engagement with the *Gymnase*, and made an engagement with her for the *Theatre Francais*, with a salary of $800. It was not until the 12th June, 1838, that she again prominently appeared before the public. The programme of the *Theatre Francais* for the 12th of June, 1838, announced Rachel's first performance of Camille, in *Les Horaces*. The next day, Rachel was already celebrated; the Parisian critics were startled by her powerful talent, by the originality of her conception, and, above all, by a certain concentrated power of expression, thrilling to the very soul of the hearer.

Rachel always held in great affection the part of Camille, and it was, perhaps, the character in which the great actress produced the deepest impression. In the fourth act, her mute performance, whilst listening to the death of her lover, was probably one of the grandest exhibitions of intense agony ever presented to the public. The silence of Rachel in that scene was more terrible than the most powerful denunciations; her symmetrical form was here thrown in one of those glorious attitudes which would have made the fortune of a sculptor. As to the delivery, it was one of impassioned fury with which she concluded that scene; to attempt to describe its effects would be vain. It was in the character of Camille that she resumed the continuation of her triumphs at the *Theatre Francais*, after her long leave of absence, to travel. In this predilection, there was more than a simple preference; there existed in it a personal weakness for this character, which was a creation of her own, as no other tragedienne had ever attempted it; it was her own work and conception that she loved in Camille.

Her popularity sprang almost instantaneously to its highest point, and no better proof of it can be adduced than the circumstance of her salary, which was eight hundred dollars in the first year, being raised to four thousand dollars the second year.

In after years, her income varied from sixty thousand dollars to eighty thousand dollars, according to the number of times she appeared before the public, during her yearly campaign, which, in her case, was of several months' duration.

Rachel, up to the close of her career, continued regular in her study; and the strongest proofs of her progress were, her yearly and decided improvement which took place in her performance of the part of Phedre. Never of a strong constitution, Rachel gradually found her constitution yielding to the profession too great for her feeble frame, and she at last fell a victim to the illness she contracted in the United States, to which may be ascribed the loss of this great actress, so prematurely cut off in the thirty-third year of her age.

Rachel made her will on the 21st of last month, and it has been sent to a notary at Paris. She leaves a fortune of three hundred thousand dollars to her two cons—one, who is still a child, the other years of age; the other, somewhat younger, is at the College of Saint Barbe.

The funeral took place in Paris, Monday, January 11. At twelve o'clock, the coffin (by the side of which the females had spent the night, praying) was placed in the hearse, drawn by six horses. It was covered, in place of a pall, by a white sheet ornamented with silver stars; and on it was placed a crown of *immortelles*, immediately behind the hearse was the Grand Rabbi, Isidor, of the Israelitish Consistory of Paris, wearing a long black robe, fastened by a belt round the waist, a black three-cornered hat, and white bands. The father, mother, and brother, and son, of the deceased, acted as chief mourners. The cords of the pall were held by Alexander Dumas, sen., Baron Taylor, Mr. A. Maquet, President of the Society of Dramatic Authors, and Mr. Geoffroy, editor of the *Journal de Francfort*. Fifteen mourning coaches, a great number of private coaches, and a vast crowd of persons, followed. In the crowd there were a great number of literary and theatrical persons, among which were to be seen Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny, and many other distinguished members of the French Academy; Messrs. Emile de Girardin, Alexander Dumas, jun., Leon Gozlan, Theophila Gautier, Firentino, Mario Urchard, Monselet, &c.—all writers; Messrs. Alphonse Royer, Roqueplan, De Beanfort, and others, directors of Parisian theatres; Messrs. Duprez, Roger, Mario, Bonnaché, and most of the great singers of the opera; all the artists of the *Theatre Francais*, including Madames Plessy, Brohan, Fix, Favart, Emilie Dubois, &c.; Mr. Mocker and other actors of the *Opera Comique*; Mesdames Lefebrere, Lermercier, Abouï, Borghi Mamo, Farguell, &c. In short, all the theatres of Paris fully represented by their performers. The cortege proceeded to the Jew's cemetery, which is included in that of Père la Chaise.

The cemetery was too small to contain the large crowd collected, and estimated at 20,000 persons. In the course of the day, medals, biographies, and portraits, of the deceased, were offered for sale in the streets. The *Theatre Francais* was again closed in the evening of the day of the funeral, as a mark of respect to its greatest artist.

The death of Reschid Pasha, to whom Turkey owes all her reforms in modern days, will be severely felt, and by no one more than by the Sultan himself.

At a book sale, which took place a few days ago, a copy of the Psalter, printed by Guttenberg, at Mentz, in 1461, was sold for two thousand nine hundred dollars. It was badly bound, and not in very good condition. Only three other copies are known to exist—one is at Treves, the second at Paris, and the third at Mentz. The purchaser was a gentleman of small fortune, named Marsel, of the Boulevart Beaumarchais. Mr. de Rothschild bid for it up to two thousand eight hundred dollars.

The first grand ball at the Tuileries, for the present season, took place on Saturday evening. The saloons were most brilliantly lighted up, and three orchestras played during the evening—one in the Salle des Marechaux, another in the Gallerie de la Paix, and the third in the gallery on the right. The Emperor and Empress went repeatedly through the rooms, and did not withdraw until half past twelve; but dancing was kept up till three in the morning. Though the number of invitations was very great, the prevalent influenza prevented the saloons from being overcrowded.

For the National Era.

ISSUES OF LIFE; OR, DOING GOOD AND MAKING A LIVING.

☞ *By favor of the Editor, his old friend thus addresses the Public.*

Philadelphia Bible Tract, and Periodical Office, 1,604 Chestnut st., January 26, 1858.

DEAR DOCTOR: Nearly thirty years have passed, since we and one of our friends attended the lectures at Jefferson Medical College, in this city. Our temporal destinies soon diverged. The friend alluded to became and continues a Mississippi planter and slaveholder; you have long been known as an Anti-Slavery editor; and I am still struggling on as an unsectarian preacher and publisher. The Lord grant that our eternal destinies may mercifully converge at His Throne!

Notwithstanding public positions and protracted labors—unless in cases pre-eminently commanding—our great country is too great for much general knowledge of individuals. We touch society, as rain-drops touch the sea, and melt into the mass. Not only recently-matured natives, and immigrants from all parts of the world, have never heard of us; but our kindred, school-mates, and later companions in church and state, disperse interdistantly over the continent, push into the strife of noisy and dusty capitals, or hide among the peaceful beauties of rural seclusions, and we become lost to us as we to them. A short time since, I received a letter from a lady in Wisconsin—as though I had been a message from another sphere—honoring me with expressions of pleasure at having accidentally met my name once more, reminding me of our friendly relations nearly a quarter of a century ago in the District of Columbia, informing me of her marriage to a graduate of "Old Yale," describing her daughter, now seventeen years of age, charming me with the poetic designations of her roseate home and its emerald surroundings, giving evidence moreover of confirmed Christian character and happy heavenly hope, and, finally, inquiring for somewhat of our own history in the interval—alluding particularly to our "lively 'wee' daughter," who, in reality, grew to womanhood, married, and, alas for us! in less than a year went down to the grave, with her babe on her bosom, never there has rested for seven years gone! Meanwhile, other children have thronged the home, some of whom now pass out and in as "young women and maidens," and, in a word, a whole world of plans and efforts, gains and losses, anxieties and anxieties, hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, has swept around its orbit since, yes, impressively enough to us, but, like an undiscovered planet, will not our correspondent beneath the brisk brightness of her northwest sky.

So much for distance, retirement, and new associations. To these occasions of loss, how many others might be added! How often do estrangements occur, because of conditional changes! How often hitter alienations, because of party controversies! And how often painful, and permanent bereavements, because of resistless death! This last statement is strikingly suggested to me by a new departure. Within a few days, the papers have brought word of the decease of the venerable CHARLES AVERY, of Allegheny city. I am not informed of particulars, but know that he was gathered of a glorious transition from earth to heaven. CHARLES AVERY was one of the princes of Pennsylvania, one of the nobles of the nation, one of the noblest of humankind. In his family, he was full of love and kindness; in his neighborhood, ant with benignity and politeness; in business, judiciously enterprising, "his word as good as his bond," and his bond as good as a thousand bonds; in the church, a spiritual exemplar, a fervent preacher, a liberal benefactor, and a perpetual benefactor; in the state, an enlightened and undeviating patriot; and in all relations of philanthropy, especially in improvement of the colored race, an almost unequalled contributor and promoter. The ship from Europe brought news of the death of a number of distinguished persons; but what corrupt and paltry characters the most of them were, in comparison with this patriarch of piety and charity as CHARLES AVERY! "But hold what manner of love that the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God! *therefore the world knoweth us not, because it knew him not.*" But what difference does it make, whether the world knows us or not, if we can only live and do good. "*The Lord knoweth them that are his,*" and this is enough. The time is coming, when such a life as that of CHARLES AVERY will be honored as one of the chief glories of the social universe.

You, Doctor, will be prepared to excuse this digression—if, indeed, it be one—Brother Avery was one of my main helpers in olden agency days. He was, I believe, a member of the vestisory of Paris, wearing a long black robe, fastened by a belt round the waist, a black three-cornered hat, and white bands. The father, mother, and brother, and son, of the deceased, acted as chief mourners. The cords of the pall were held by Alexander Dumas, sen., Baron Taylor, Mr. A. Maquet, President of the Society of Dramatic Authors, and Mr. Geoffroy, editor of the *Journal de Francfort*. Fifteen mourning coaches, a great number of private coaches, and a vast crowd of persons, followed. In the crowd there were a great number of literary and theatrical persons, among which were to be seen Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny, and many other distinguished members of the French Academy; Messrs. Emile de Girardin, Alexander Dumas, jun., Leon Gozlan, Theophila Gautier, Firentino, Mario Urchard, Monselet, &c.—all writers; Messrs. Alphonse Royer, Roqueplan, De Beanfort, and others, directors of Parisian theatres; Messrs. Du

nied by a substitute, to strike out all after the word "Resolved," and insert—

"That there be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate, to Cornelius Wendell, the sum of $8,150, as a compensation for publishing 20,000 copies of the opinions of the Judges of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott vs. John F. A. Sandford, the said sum in full for copyright and all other charges incident to the said publication."

Mr. Evans asked the consideration of the amendment reported by the committee.

Messrs. Seward, Hale, Wilson, and Hamlin opposed it.

Mr. Doolittle offered an amendment, to exclude the imputation that the Senate sanctions the opinions of the Court, in ordering the appropriation. This was voted down.

The Senate then proceeded to consider the special order, being the bill to increase the military establishment of the United States.

Mr. Davis concluded his remarks commenced yesterday in favor of the bill; and the debate was continued by Messrs. Houston and Toombs against the bill, when the question was taken on the amendment of Mr. Toombs, to strike out the first section, which provides that there shall be two companies added to each of the regiments of dragoons, cavalry, and infantry, and mounted riflemen. The amendment was rejected by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs Bell, Chandler, Collamer, Crittenden, Dixon, Doolittle, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Gwin, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, Houston, Johnson of Tennessee, King, Pearce, Pugh, Simmons, Sumner, Toombs, Trumbull, Wade, and Wilson—25.

Nays—Messrs. Allen, Bayard, Biggs, Bigler, Bright, Broderick, Brown, Cameron, Clay, Davis, Evans, Fitch, Hammond, Hunter, Iverson, Jones, Mallory, Mason, Polk, Sebastian, Seward, Shdell, Stuart, Thomson of New Jersey, Wright, and Yulee—26.

Mr. Biggs moved a proviso, which was agreed to, limiting the time of service to two years.

Mr. Stuart moved to strike out the second section, which gave the President authority to increase the number of privates in each company serving in the field or at remote stations to ninety-six; which motion also prevailed.

Mr. Stuart then moved to strike out the fourth section, which provides that hereafter regular promotions in companies, according to the regimental grades of commissioned officers, shall be by regiments or corps, instead of by arms of service, as now regulated in certain cases.

This motion led to a long debate; and without taking any question, the Senate, at ten minutes past five o'clock, adjourned to Monday.

HOUSE.

The Kansas Committee—The Speaker announced the select committee to whom the President's Kansas message was referred, with instructions, under the resolution adopted on the 8th instant, as follows: Messrs. Harris, of Illinois; Stephens, of Georgia; Morrill, of Vermont; Letcher, of Virginia; Wade, of Ohio; Quitman, of Mississippi; Winslow, of North Carolina; Bennett, of New York; White, of Pennsylvania; Kalbridge, of Michigan; Anderson, of Missouri; Stevenson, of Kentucky; Adrain, of New Jersey; Buffinton, of Massachusetts; and Russell, of New York.

The Steamboat Law.—The House resumed the consideration of the bill further to amend an act to provide for the better security of the lives of passengers on board of vessels propelled in whole or in part by steam, and for other purposes.

Mr. Florence, of Pennsylvania, proceeded with his argument against the use of tin rivets or plugs for steam-boilers, and in favor of the use of fusible alloy for that purpose.

Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, took occasion to say that he hoped the bill would be referred to the Committee of the Whole, as it was a measure of very great importance to the commerce of the country.

Mr. Whitely, of Delaware, opposed the bill, because it would interfere with and cripple internal trade, because it would greatly augment the horde of office-holders to be appointed by the National Administration, and more especially because it destroyed the existing safeguard against boiler explosions, by allowing the use of tin plugs instead of fusible alloy.

Mr. Washburne, of Illinois, moved the previous question, which was seconded—yeas 102, nays not counted.

Mr. Houston then closed the debate on the bill, replying to the several objections which had been urged. The House had had ample time to consider the bill, he said, and he opposed the reference to the Committee of the Whole, because that might be fatal to it, as every gentleman who was familiar with the course of legislation well knew. He did not suppose the bill would be acceptable to steamboat owners; it was not intended for the protection of their interests, but for the protection of the lives of passengers, often endangered through their cupidity or negligence.

The question was taken on the motion to refer the bill to the Committee of the Whole; which prevailed—yeas 113, nays 79.

The attention of the House was next called, by Mr. Stanton, to the subject of the controversy of another witness, John W. Wolcott, of Boston, who had refused to give direct answers to questions propounded to him by the select committee on the subject of money alleged to have been expended by Lawrence, Stone, & Co., in procuring the passage of the last tariff act. Mr. Stanton, by authority of the committee, submitted a resolution, directing the Sergeant-at-arms to take the witness into custody, and bring him to the bar of the House, to answer for a contempt of its authority. This led to a long discussion, in which the relative power of the House and the rights of witnesses were strongly depicted, and the resolution was finally adopted by a decisive vote.

The House then adjourned.

Friday, February 12, 1858.

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HOUSE.

Mr. Wolcott, being brought to the bar of the House to purge himself of contempt, asked and obtained further time till Monday, to consult with his counsel.

A Question of Privilege.—Mr. Fenton, of New York, rose to a question of privilege. Various rumors had been afloat, of the interference of the Government in the legislation of the House. These rumors had taken some shape in the correspondence of newspapers, to which he desired to call the attention of the House. If such interference had taken place, it was right and proper that the House should vindicate its dignity.

Mr. Florence, of Pennsylvania, objected to the gentleman's proceeding, unless he stated his question of privilege.

Mr. Fenton stated that he was just about to do that, and sent up the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the Speaker, to inquire and investigate whether any improper attempts have been made, or are being made, by any persons connected with the Executive Department of this Government, or by any persons acting under their advice or consent, to influence the action of this House, or any of its members, upon any question or measure upon which the House has acted, or which it has under consideration, directly or indirectly, or any improper promise, offer, or intimation, employment, patronage, office, or favor, under the Government, or in any department or service, has been conferred or withheld in consideration of any vote given or to be given, withheld or to be withheld, with power to send for persons and papers, and with leave to report by bill or otherwise.

Mr. Warren, of Georgia, declared the resolution to be nothing more nor less than an insult to the House. He understood the gentleman from New York as proposing that resolution as a matter of privilege, but it did not go far enough to make it such. If the gentleman would put his finger upon the party to whom the proposition was made, then it would be a proposition for which he would be willing to vote; but he was not willing to sit in his seat, and see the whole House insulted.

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Mr. Fenton said he proposed to state to the House what he knew. He had raised this question in what he believed to be the discharge of a duty to the House and to the country. He then read from various newspapers, to sustain his position. The first was from the *South*, of the 10th of February, stating that while the special committee of the House were wandering over the earth in quest of fraud, the Senate should take the initiative by sending the Kansas Constitution to the House, and then, doubtless, the influence of the Administration would prevail. From the correspondence of the Richmond *Enquirer* saying that the Lecompton Constitution had arrived, and would be (to day) submitted to Congress, with a special message from the President. The vote upon it was uncertain. Strict party discipline might carry it through the Senate, but in the House there was a majority of four against it. It was said that Mr. Buchanan had declared his intention to put it through in thirty days. [Laughter.] These four votes might be had, as there were a number of desirable executive appointments to give out, but that required nice engineering.

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Mr. Warren said he would raise the point of order. The Chair decided that it was no question of privilege, and it was radically wrong to allow him to proceed. He hoped, therefore, that the Chair would determine at once the question which he raised.

Mr. Fenton then proceeded to read from the New York *Tribune* a paragraph stating, in substance, that it was understood until Monday last that Mr. Burns, of Ohio, would oppose the Lecompton Constitution, but that on the morning of that day he had changed his mind, on the understanding that his son-in-law should retain the valuable place of postmaster at Keokuk, and that he himself should be appointed marshal of the northern district of that State at the close of his term of office—yea—26. He next read from the Constitution of the United States and Washington's Farewell Address to sustain his position. He desired to say that all this rumor required that they should vindicate by this examination the dignity and prerogative of the House.

Mr. Warren said that he could not speak for the other side of the House, but he would say that his side could not be bribed, because they were not made of that sort of material. If the gentleman attempted to insinuate that there was a man upon his side of the House who could be influenced by the hope of reward to take any action at all, he had mistaken his character altogether. They would see that his point was well taken, that it was not a privileged question. If they wanted to attack the President, the Cabinet, or the Democratic party, they should come up and attack him openly, and they would meet them, but not attempt to stab him in the dark.

The Speaker stated that he had heard the statement of Mr. Fenton, and it was his opinion that there was nothing in it that justified the resolution. However, he would not undertake to say that this was not a question of privilege, but would refer the question to the House, for its decision.

Mr. Burns, of Ohio, at this stage of the proceedings, called for the reading of the paragraph from the New York *Tribune*.

The paragraph having been read,

Mr. Burns pronounced it a falsehood from beginning to end.

Mr. Stephens said there was nothing in the statement from any person known to the House. The member had presented nothing but newspaper articles, correspondence, and vague rumor, which did not show that any such understanding existed between the gentleman from Ohio and the President. He therefore moved that the whole subject be laid on the table.

After brief remarks by Mr. Giddings, of Ohio,

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to—yeas 108, nays 88—the Administration men and Americans voting yes, the Republicans, nay.

The House adjourned until Monday.

Monday, February 15, 1858.

SENATE.

Mr. Wilson submitted the following resolution, remarking, that as he had something to say upon it, it could be read, and laid over under the rule:

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to communicate to the Senate, if not incompatible with the public interest, the instructions given to the Hon. Richard K. Meade, United States Minister to Brazil, previous to his departure from the United States.

Mr. Seward gave notice that he would ask leave to introduce a bill to reorganize the Supreme Court of the United States and the Circuit Courts of the United States, so that the several States shall be represented by judges in said courts more nearly on the basis of their Federal populations, while the administration of justice shall be made more speedy and efficient.

The joint resolution from the House of Representatives, making an appropriation for the payment of the contingent expenses of committees of the House of Representatives was read, and, without being referred, was, on motion of Mr. Hunter, considered and finally passed.

Indiana Contested Seats.—Mr. Hamlin moved to take from the table the bill to confirm the report from the Committee on the Judiciary, on the the subject of the contested seats of the Hon. G. N. Fitch and Jesse D. Bright.

The Chair announced that the hour for taking up the unfinished business had arrived.

Mr. Hamlin contended that his motion was one of privilege, and overrode all others.

The Chair having ruled (as the Reporter understood) that the subject was up, Mr. H. went on to show that it was, and a general discussion ensued, which was participated in by Messrs. Benjamin, Collamer, Pugh, Toombs, Simmons, Trumbull, Green, Stuart, and others. When the question was about to be taken—

Mr. Hunter suggested, that as the Senate was thin, and the hour somewhat late, the further consideration of the subject should be postponed until one o'clock to-morrow, with the understanding that the question should be taken at that hour. The suggestion having been acquiesced in—

Mr. Slidell moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Executive business; which was agreed to, and after a brief session the doors were opened, and the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.

Mr. J. G. Jones, of Pennsylvania, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported a joint resolution making an appropriation of $35,000 for the payment of the contingent expenses of investigating committees of the House of Representatives during the present session; the same to be added to the contingent fund of the House.

Mr. Jones said this resolution was intended to cover expenses already incurred, and work already laid out by two or three only of the select committees. There were seven select committees already ordered; besides which, the Judiciary Committee was about to report to the House a proposition to impeach one of the Judges of the United States. If they chose to act to the full extent of their powers, it was his own opinion that $100,000 would not be enough, but that the House could scarcely reach $150,000.

Mr. Harris, of Illinois, asked to have the estimated expense of each one of the committees stated.

Mr. Jones said it was a mere matter of opinion only.

Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, chairman of the select committee on Lawrence, Stone, & Co., said that committee had no means of knowing how far their investigation would proceed, but the expense already incurred would exceed $1,000, and he had no reason to expect that, in any event, it would go beyond $2,500.

The joint resolution received its several readings, and was passed.

Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, made an ineffectual effort to introduce a resolution authorizing the President of the United States to negotiate for the acquisition of the Canadas, the Island of Cuba, and other adjacent islands, with the understanding that none of these Territories shall come into the Union as States until they have a sufficient population for one member of the House of Representatives, and shall have a fair opportunity to frame their institutions in their own way.

Mr. John W. Wolcott, the contumacious witness in the Middlesex Mills case, appeared at the bar of the House, according to appointment, and presented his answer in writing in regard to the alleged contempt. He disclaimed all intention of disrespect, but entered into a long argument against the right of Congress to arraign him in the manner it had done.

Upon the conclusion of Mr. W.'s answer, Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, in accordance with the views of the committee, proposed resolutions, declaring the reply unsatisfactory, and that the said Wolcott be committed to the common jail of the District of Columbia, and kept in close custody until he shall signify his willingness to answer the questions propounded to him by the select committee. Mr. Stanton gave his views as to the power of the House in the premises, which he deemed ample, and denied that the question of jurisdiction could now be raised.

After ineffectual propositions to amend and lay the whole subject on the table, the resolutions were passed by a vote of 133 to 55.

Mr. Waldron, of Michigan, presented resolutions of the Legislature of that State, asking aid for various objects of internal improvement.

Mr. Brayton, of Rhode Island, presented resolutions of the Legislature of his State, in the shape of instructions to the members to vote against the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution.

Various bills and resolutions were introduced, and Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, moved to suspend the rules to allow him to offer a resolution of inquiry as to expenditures in Kansas for a Legislative Assembly; pending which motion, the House adjourned.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1858.

☞ Mr. Wheeler is the accredited agent for the *Era*, in Cincinnati, Ohio.

AN INSTRUCTIVE RECORD.

The Administration papers admonish prominent members of the Democratic Party not to hazard their political prospects by opposition to its policy. Whatever the character of its measures, the safe part for the aspirant for station is, strict, unquestioning obedience: dissent leads to alienation, and alienation to political death. The politicians now who, while professing allegiance to the Democratic Party, array themselves against the course of the President on the Lecompton Constitution, can expect nothing but loss of position and influence.

These considerations suggest a review that may not be uninstructive. With rare exceptions, the movement which contemplates a transfer of the Federal Government from the Slaveholding Oligarchy to the *People* of the States, has taken care of the public men who, having severed old party attachments, have committed themselves honestly to its support. Practical and liberal, it has rewarded with its favors those who, rather than oppose it, have sacrificed position in their parties; but, where unable to find such men to its hand, it has created them.

In looking back over the progress of this movement, we find the first bold protest in the Senate of the United States, against the domination of the Slave Power, pronounced by Thomas Morris, whose speech in 1839, in reply to Henry Clay's denunciation of the Anti-Slavery Cause, was distinguished by a powerful exhibition of the principles now advocated by Republicans, and a fearless rebuke of the servility of the old parties. This was just before the political organization against the Slave Power, so that Mr. Morris, repudiated by his party, fell a sacrifice to his love of liberty. He died before the new Party had gained strength enough to take him up, and restore him to the place which his manly courage had made honorable.

In the House, about the same period, the Herculean efforts of John Quincy Adams in behalf of the freedom of petition and debate on the subject of Slavery—an issue then, with which the whole Question of Slavery was identified—gave him a position to a great extent independent of the Whig Party; a power which, as a member of that Party, or even a President of the United States, he had never wielded; a fame infinitely greater than that which belongs to the highest station.

Joshua R. Giddings, the hero of a hundred battles, made his appearance in the House about 1838: true to the great movement of Freedom, that movement has taken care of him, and, after all the vicissitudes of Party, he still occupies a seat in the House, the oldest member, having for twenty years served his country by defending the rights of man.

Fifteen years ago, John P. Hale stood in the House, a zealous member of the Democratic Party. His first blow was struck against the despotism of the Navy; his second, against the despotism of the Slave Power. The Annexation of Texas, then urged as a Slaveholding measure, on Pro-Slavery grounds, he resisted to the last, but, finding himself in opposition to his Party, he resigned, went home, and carried his appeal to the People. His life since then is part of the history of the great Movement of Freedom. It rewarded his brave desertion of his Party beyond his expectations—sent him to the Senate of the United States in 1847, and, after a brief interval, again in 1855, and to-day he holds his seat in that body in virtue of the sacrifice he made of Party to Principle in 1845.

Let us glance at later records. Mr. Fessenden, a distinguished member of the Whig Party, acknowledges the superior obligations of the Republican movement, and is sent to the United States Senate.

Another Whig, still more prominent, clinging to old party attachments, is as if he had never been. Hamlin, long a leader of the Democracy, gives up old associations, rather than serve a Party which is the servant of Slavery, and the People first make him Governor, then send him back to the Senate to occupy six years longer a post which he had so long filled with honor and efficiency.

Bell, of New Hampshire, a Whig of high position, recognising the paramount claims of the Republican Movement, is sent to the Senate for six years.

Vermont is represented in that body by two Senators, who, although time-honored Whigs, when the hour came, responded cordially to the demands of the Party of Freedom. And from Rhode Island and Connecticut, we have three Senators, once Whigs, but who now hold their seats in consequence of their adherence to the cause of Republicanism.

What an instructive chapter is furnished by the later politics of Massachusetts! The Republican Movement would have continued in public life the men whom the People had been accustomed to honor; but they haughtily refused to acknowledge its claims or recognise its legitimacy. What followed? The rejection of the old leaders, the selection of new. Webster, Everett, Winthrop, are passed by; Sumner, Wilson, Banks, are set up. Sumner and Wilson, secessionists from the Whig Party, are placed in the Senate; Banks, once a leader of the Democracy, is sent to the House of Representatives, made Speaker, elected for a second term, then chosen Governor.

Look at New York. Submission to the demands of a Party ruled by Slavery, consigns Millard Fillmore to private life, and strips him of influence. Manly resistance to Slavery, in defiance of Party policy, puts William H. Seward in the Senate of the United States for six years, and his fall recognition of the Republican Movement continues him there for six years longer. Dickinson adhered to the Democracy, so-called, through all its phases of Pro Slavery senility, and goes out of political life; King, true to Freedom, abjures such a Democracy, and Republicanism sends him to the Senate.

Everywhere this new Element of power makes itself felt. It keeps Grow in the House, makes Bingham Governor, and restores to the Senate Cameron, all secessionists from the Democratic Party. It puts Chandler, once a Whig, in the place of Cass, one of the foremost leaders of the Democracy. It takes Chase, a man who had held no public station, puts him in the Senate for six years, then elects him Governor of Ohio, and re-elects him, appealing to the wisdom and purity of his deeds, in justification of his claims. It re-elects Wade to the Senate, because, for its sake, he had abandoned the Whig Party, and returns to the House Nichols and Leiter, who had sacrificed their position in the Democratic Party. Trumbull of Illinois, Doolittle of Wisconsin, Blair of Missouri, all Democrats, Grimes and Harlan of Iowa, Whig, and Durkee of Wisconsin, an old Anti-Slavery man, acknowledging its power, stand in Congress, the representatives of its policy; while Walker, Jones, and the Dodges, obedient to the Pro-Slavery Democracy, sink to a powerless obscurity.

Is not the record an instructive one? Does it not show the power and the liberality, too, of the New Movement? It deals with men as they are, and cares nothing for their Party antecedents. It asks but one question—Will you now and hereafter be true to Freedom? Let the young men of the country ponder the record. The Pro-Slavery Democracy may curse, but its curse shall be turned into a blessing. Even he whose only ambition is for place or power—a low ambition at best—would do well to recollect that in this great controversy between Freedom and Slavery, the path of Principle is the path to Honor.

LEGISLATIVE INSTRUCTIONS.

Legislative instructions are not much respected of late years by Democratic Senators. Much more deference is paid to the requirements of the Slaveholders. Mr. Jones, of Iowa, presents the resolutions of the Legislature of his State, instructing him to vote against the Lecompton Constitution, and calmly announces his purpose to disregard them, and vote for it. Mr. Pugh, of Ohio, enjoined by Legislative resolves, framed by members of his own Party, to oppose and vote against the Lecompton Constitution, may literally obey, should it become necessary to vote directly upon that measure, but, meantime, he labors for the success of all incidental and preliminary motions, calculated to facilitate the adoption of the Constitution. According to a correspondent of the New York *Evening Post*, he worked hard in the House during the late struggle on Mr. Harris's resolution for a select committee, to defeat that project. Governor Allen, of Rhode Island, is also under instructions to vote against Lecompton, and he is generally set down by letter-writers as opposed to it, but he votes as steadily with the Administration on all points, as if the salvation of his soul depended upon his fidelity to Party, and we predict that he too will disobey instructions.

The best way is to select men who will do right without instructions—who will serve the People, not as eye-servants, but as men of Principle and Honor.

DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

Nothing pains our Southern friends so much as to make merry over their threats of a dissolution of the Union. They bewail it as betraying a want of patriotism, a dus reverence for the Union, to say nothing of a proper regard for themselves. Senator Davis, the other day in the Senate, was quite shocked that Mr. Fessenden did not evince more feeling, when the dread subject was talked about, and, for himself, when questioned, denied most solemnly that he had ever given utterance to any Disunion sentiments.

The New York *Herald* is exceedingly anxious to impress New York merchants with the idea that there is a combination of Southern men to dissolve the Union, should Calhoun's Lecompton Constitution be rejected. The Alabama Legislature has authorized the Governor, should the virtue of Congress reach that point, to take measures for calling a State Convention, which is then to ascertain what is to be done. One or two other States have done likewise. Their action is quite deliberate, and looks to no precipitate conclusion.

The movement is almost too insignificant for comment. When such men as Walker, Stanton, and Wise, come out against Lecompton, and the Legislature of Tennessee cannot make up its mind, as to what instructions it shall give its Senators, and other Southern States are silent, nervous people may go to sleep with the comfortable assurance that the Union will at least survive James Buchanan's Administration.

THE REVOLUTION GOING ON.

The election of Ex-Governor Grimes of Iowa to the Senate increases the number of Republican Senators to twenty-one. Thus steadily does the Revolution go on. New England, with a single exception, stands in the Senate a solid phalanx for Liberty, and that exception, we trust, will soon cease. Mr. Allen's term expires with this Congress, and the Legislature of Rhode Island, to be elected in the spring, must choose his successor. Let us hope that the freemen of that State will put aside all local jealousies, mere personal considerations, and take care to return men pledged to the election of a Republican Senator—to make New England a unit on the great question of the age and the country. The Northwest is gradually falling into line: Iowa and Wisconsin have already taken their places: the changes effected in Michigan and Illinois, give promise of a speedy and complete renovation; and the Republicans of Indiana will doubtless soon have an opportunity of securing for that State in the Senate its proper position. Pennsylvania and New Jersey will be the last to yield to the demands of Freedom, but yield they must—so that in the course of a few years, the Senate will have ceased to be the bulwark of Slaveholding usurpation.

EXECUTIVE INFLUENCE.

Several newspapers, North and South, having stated that Executive influence would be brought to bear to secure the passage of the Lecompton Constitution, and one of them having made specific charges against a member of the House, involving corruption by the Administration, Mr. Hoard, of New York, introduced last Friday a resolution in the House for the appointment of a committee to investigate these charges, and ascertain whether Executive influence had been used to secure the votes of members. The movement occasioned much irritation on the Administration side—members scented the idea of instituting a solemn investigation to determine the correctness of mere newspaper reports: the purity of the supporters of the President needed no such safeguard. So the inquiry was refused, by a party vote, the Administration side voting nay.

Possibly the movement may do good, by admonishing all concerned in improper influences, if there be any such, that they are watched—so that it may be rather difficult hereafter for a member who has voted against the Administration, to change his course, and vote with it.

Congressional virtue is a great thing, and we hope it may be preserved in all its purity, whether committees be appointed to watch over it or not. And yet it will happen that People fail sometimes in selecting their Representatives. A seat in Congress is not inaccessible to bribes. Public men have been bought—even the great Bacon yielded to temptation. The history of our politicians for the last four years shows that the rewards of Executive power have not unfrequently compensated the Representative for defying the will of his constituents. The disapprobation of the People has too often earned the patronage of the President. The profits of a collectorship or consulship have been granted as rewards for a patriotic disregard by the representative of the will of his constituents. What has been, may be, even under the lofty Administration of James Buchanan.

For the National Era.

KANSAS.

Where lies in light the land I love,
Beneath blue occidental skies,
With bold, unfettered wings, the bird of Jove
The empyrean flies—
And Freedom, like that tameless bird,
In every vale is seen, on every mountain heard.

In that far land which lies supine
Beneath the orient's broad embrace,
The bird of Jove first tried his wing divine
In the eternal space—
And Freedom's soul was with him there,
Baptising plain and hill, impregning all the air.

But faction rose, and fraud came in,
And crimes that should for aye appal,
Leagued with lewd giant and festering sin,
Ruled with red hand o'er all—
Then swept through earth the din of hell,
And, drunk with human blood, the reeling nations fell.

O'er Europe's western hills of snow,
And genial valleys wooed by love,
Whose chequered deeds of guilt and glory show
The mighty and the mean,
The bird of Jove undaunted swept,
And there, for many an age, the watch of Freedom kept.

But priestly craft, and kingly power,
And faltering faith in God and man,
Brought on in time the sanguinary hour
When blood in rivers ran—
And deep beneath its crimson wave
Embalming nations sank, blent in one general grave.

O'er this loved land, which lies in light
Beneath these blue and brilliant skies
That bound and bless our proud and eager sight,
The bird of Jove still flies—
But startles, mid his sunward way,
At sights and sounds that seem born of the elder day.

* * * * *

Pause! ye who seek to rend the oak!
You think a feeble foe to find,
But dream not of the mighty backward stroke!
Pause! ye who sow the wind,
Or reap the whirlwind's sudden wrath—
Mightier than dragons' teeth lie quickening in your path!

Kentucky, Jan., 1858. W. D. G.

TUESDAY IN CONGRESS.

In the House, on the contested election case of Henry Winter Davis, Messrs. Phillips of Pennsylvania, Hatch of New York, Zollicoffer of Tennessee, and others, discussed the case in its various aspects.

In the Senate, the case of the Indiana Senators was contested, and, by a strict party vote, Messrs. Fitch and Bright were allowed further time to take testimony, which serves to give those gentlemen an opportunity to vote for the Lecompton fraud.

SLAVERY AND FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Mr. Wilson has submitted in the Senate a resolution calling upon the President to communicate to that body, if not incompatible with the public interests, copies of the instructions given to Mr. Meade, our Minister to Brazil. It seems that this Virginia gentleman, carrying with him abroad the same fanatical devotion to Slavery that has marked his career at home, has indicated to the Emperor his opinion that that institution being common to both countries, but exposed to hostile influences "from without," should form the great bond of union between them. We copy his address, as we find it in the Washington *Union*:

"SIRE: I have the honor to present to your Imperial Majesty my credentials as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Brazil.

"In accrediting a Minister to this Government, mine is not thereby merely discharging a courteous duty to the greatest Power of the South American continent, but is giving expression to its sincere desire to unite with the Imperial Government of Brazil in maintaining a policy that shall forever bind the two countries in bonds of peace and friendship, give additional life and energy to an already growing and prosperous commerce, and finally result in the permanent wealth, prosperity, and power of the Southern Confederacy, whose destinies are wrapped up those of the two great continents in which they respectively exist.

"My Government is daily impressed with the points of resemblance and identity of interest which should make the ties between the two countries indissoluble, and direct the policy and aspirations of each. An equal extent of territory, of gigantic dimensions, gives to each nation an assurance of future power that lifts it above the sphere of mere apprehensions, and imparts to its position a dignity that he longs only to conscious strength.

"Their approximation, in many respects, in their political, constitutional organization, is well calculated to develop kindly feelings and social sympathies promotive of mutual benefits and future commercial progress, while an institution common to both countries, fixed and deep ly rooted in the soil, (with many hostile projects to encounter from without,) does now establish an affinity between them, and will insure, for mutual defence, a unity of action and feeling that will prove invincible in the future.

"The Southern Confederacy, Sire, desires at all times be happy to be assured of the health and happiness of your Majesty and the imperial family of Brazil."

To which his Majesty the Emperor made the following reply:

"On receiving the letter by which the President of the United States has accredited you in the capacity of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to my Government, I have sincerely to thank him for this new proof of his friendship, and it is highly gratifying to me to hear the friendly expressions of the sentiments inspired by the relations of the United States with Brazil, which are reciprocated in terms of the same extent; and, aware of the duties imposed on it by the position it occupies among the nations of South America, will continue to employ, as hitherto, its lawful influence for the prosperity of the neighboring States."

The propriety of Mr. Wilson's resolution is manifest. The American People have a right to know whether Richard K. Meade, of Virginia, who seems to consider himself the representative merely of the sectional Interest of Slavery, speaks by authority: whether the President has authorized him to propose covertly to the Emperor of Brazil a policy which looks to the division of North and South America between Brazil and the United States; to suggest to the Emperor the expediency of jointly establishing a balance-of-power system in this New World, in imitation of the old European policy: whether the President gave Richard K. Meade an insight into the marvellous likeness between the Imperial, central despotism of Brazil, and the Democratic, Republican, Federal Government of the United States, engendering "political and social sympathies:" whether he authorized him to propose to Brazil an alliance offensive and defensive, on the ground of the existence of Slavery in one half of this country and in the whole of that country, for the purpose of rendering it forever "irrevocable." Clearly, Richard K. Meade considers Slavery not only a National Institution of the United States, but *the* National Institution, to the protection and aggrandizement of which our Foreign Diplomacy is to be directed. He plainly invites the Emperor of Brazil to an alliance for the maintenance of Slavery. Brazil and the United States are the two great Powers of the New World, the cornerstone of whose institutions is, Negro Slavery, against which the Civilization of the Age is warring—let them unite, then, "for mutual defence," make North and South America the perpetual home of Negro Slavery, and they may defy the world.

This is the sublime statesmanship of Richard K. Meade. Is it sustained by the President? Give the People light.

THE PROSPECT.

The Kansas Question assumes from day to day as many different phases as there are Telegraphic correspondents. A few days since, it was settled that Mr. Calhoun had acknowledged the fraud in the Delaware Crossing returns, resolved, on consultation with the Cabinet, to give certificates of election to the Free State majority of the Legislature, authorized Judge Douglas to announce this fact—and it was also settled that this stroke of policy would break up the Douglas organization, and secure beyond all doubt the speedy passage of the Lecompton Constitution, accompanied by a declaration of the right of the People to change their Constitution at their pleasure. After the People had been sufficiently excited by this New York telegraphic news, then it was proclaimed that General Calhoun had done no such thing—that the Southern men would hear of no announcement of the

WASHINGTON ITEMS.

The Washington correspondent of Forney's *Press*, a Democratic journal, says:

"Gen. Calhoun visited Judge Douglas shortly after his arrival. They had a long conversation, several persons being present. The Judge inquired in reference to the returns from Delaware Crossing. Calhoun made no answer. Before they separated, the question was again made. Calhoun replied, that the return had been properly certified. Judge Douglas then gave him some sworn evidence on the subject. Calhoun read and turned pale. About one o'clock at night, Calhoun sent to Douglas's house that he was convinced there had been fraud at Delaware Crossing—540 votes being put down, where only 40 votes were cast—and that he had made the correction in the record, with the approval of the President. He authorized Judge Douglas, Mr. Harris of Illinois, and Gen. Quitman, to publish this fact."

It is thought by some, that while the Administration assures Northern Democrats that Calhoun will issue certificates to the Free State candidates in Kansas, in case Lecompton goes through Congress, that functionary (Calhoun) will keep his promises to the Southern men here, and give the Legislature to the Pro-Slavery candidates, or at least to the State officers.

In the E. A. Ogden, which arrived from the Missouri river, says the St. Louis Republican of the 1st inst., came passengers from Kansas: Gen. Calhoun, late President of the Lecompton Convention; Judge Cato, of the Supreme Court of Kansas Territory; J. P. Carr, Esq., who claims to have been elected to Congress under the Lecompton Constitution; J. P. Henderson, Esq.; Capt. Samuel Kramer; and Major Miller, agent of the Sioux Indians, from Fort Bent. These gentlemen are all in Washington.

The Kansas correspondent of the St. Louis *Leader* says that Governor Denver will probably veto all the acts of the special Legislature. It is stated, however, that the friends of another Constitution have strength to carry the measure over the veto of the Governor. The propriety of repealing all the statutes of the first Legislature had caused much discussion. There was a rumor at Lawrence that Governor Denver will soon be recalled, and that Mr. Porter, of Albany, will be appointed in his stead. The report was discredited. The Fort Scott difficulties appear to have been of a private nature.

Senator Douglas wrote a strong anti-Lecompton letter to the mass meeting in Philadelphia, last week.

Regent Calhoun has decided *not* to issue certificates of election to anybody in Kansas until the fate of the Lecompton Constitution in Congress is ascertained. The reason for this is, that some of the Southern members of Congress refused to vote for Lecompton, if certificates were issued to the Free State candidates. We may be pretty sure, if Lecompton goes through Congress, Calhoun will return a Pro-Slavery Legislature, and thus perpetuate his power, and say Douglas Democrat who treats the mere assertions of the Administration to the contrary, wilfully deceives himself. Let Mr. Calhoun issue his certificates *now*—if he will not, he proposes to cheat somebody.

POLITICAL SUMMARY.

A great anti-Lecompton meeting was held last week in Philadelphia. Colonel Forney was chosen chairman. Secretary Stanton delivered an able speech upon Kansas affairs. He alluded, in the following language, to the remarks of the President, in his late message, that he had received no official returns of the January vote against the Lecompton Constitution:

"The people of that Territory had provided for a Convention, but they had not clothed them with power to put the Constitution they agreed upon in operation without submitting it to the people. But the Convention attempted to assume the power; and, after the Legislature had been called together for the purpose of preventing it, and had authorized an election on the 4th of January, at which more than ten thousand votes were cast against it, the President tells us that he has no official information of that vote. I doubt not that the President's statement is correct; but I tell you that I was present on the 19th or 14th of January when Governor Denver, my successor, formally, in the presence of the Speaker of the House and the President of the Council, opened the votes, and counted ten thousand of them, and it was then well understood that a considerable number of precincts had not yet sent in returns. Since that time, I have seen by the newspapers that the vote had reached twelve thousand. The whole vote of the election of the 21st of December, held by the authority of the Convention, both for and against the Slavery clause in the Constitution, was 6,710, and at least one half of that was utterly fraudulent, as is known and will be acknowledged by every fair, intelligent, and honest man in the Territory and on the borders of Missouri, whilst it is evident that on the 4th of January there were from ten to twelve thousand votes cast against the Constitution.

"I have heard no charge of fraud against the party who polled the large vote against the Constitution. Even if these gentlemen had been as ready to commit fraud as the other party, there was no necessity for it, and certainly there was not a disposition shown to it, because they threw around the law every possible guard which was necessary to secure honesty.

"The real vote of the whole Pro-Slavery party could not be more than 3,000 or 3,500; that of the Free State men was from 12,000 to 15,000.

The Territorial Legislature of Kansas has passed a bill to provide for a new Constitution.

George Bancroft, W. F. Havemeyer, George B. Butler, and other distinguished Democrats of the city of New York, having issued a call for a public meeting, to protest against the Lecompton policy of the President, several thousand people assembled at the time appointed, but found the door of the hall closed against them. Subsequently, Mr. Bancroft came out in a strong letter in opposition to the Lecompton policy, for which, we regret, we have no room.

The Americans of Connecticut have called a State Convention, to be held on the 24th inst., of those who "do not approve and proscriptive policy of the late Republican Convention, and who are in favor of a reorganization of the American party of Connecticut, and the nomination of an American ticket for State officers;" and "for the purpose of adopting a platform of principles, nominating a State ticket, and taking such action as may be necessary for a thorough organization throughout the State."

Some of the men concerned in this movement, we are sorry to learn, were once sterling Anti-Slavery men.

KANSAS.—A correspondent of the Kansas *Daily Ledger*, writing from Lawrence, under date of February 2d, says:

"To-day the members of the investigating committee went before Probate Judge Miller, of this county, and swore out a search warrant to search the Surveyor General's office and adjoining building, to find the election returns of the 21st December and 4th January, as they wanted them before the committee. A warrant was issued, and Sheriff Samuel Walker, of this county, went up this afternoon, and, under a wood-pile, buried in the ground, a candle-box was found, and brought here; and to-night, in presence of Governor Denver, C. W. Babcock, President of the Council, and G. W. Deitzler, Speaker of the House, the members of the committee, and a great crowd, in open court, the box was opened, and lo, and behold! all of the returns of both of said elections, including the much-talked-of Delaware Crossing returns, footing up only three hundred and forty-nine votes! were found!

"The Governor, Mr. Babcock, and Mr. Deitzler, examined most of said returns, and swore that they were the returns of the said elections, having previously been examined by them, in presence of John Calhoun, at his request; accepting, of course, the Delaware Crossing returns, which have been discovered for the first time. The court, after hearing the evidence, ordered the returns to be placed in the hands of the committee for ten days, and then to be returned to the Governor. Adjutant General McLean, Calhoun's chief clerk in the Surveyor General's office, when before the committee, a few days ago, swore that he had seen those returns in Calhoun, at Weston or Platte city. Some of the boys doubted that, and have been watching the Surveyor General's office for several days, and saw them buried, I believe, by McLean and three others, in person, at night. This accounts for the direct accusation of Sheriff Walker in finding them."

OHIO.—The Democracy of Toledo met in Convention a few days ago, and among the resolutions adopted were the following:

"That we are uncompromisingly opposed to any action, by Congress or otherwise, that does not allow the people of the Territories to regulate their own domestic affairs in their own way, undisturbed by any power but that which is vested in the legal and *bona fide* electors therein.

That we are uncompromisingly opposed to the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution, thereby clothing that instrument with the force of law, and compelling the submission of its people to its rule; and that it is no answer to our objections to say that they may change it, if they will, after they have become a State.

"That our thanks are hereby tendered Messrs. Cox, Groesbeck, Hall, Lawrence, and Cockerill, Representatives from Ohio, for their votes on the reference of the special message of the President transmitting the Lecompton Constitution to Congress, and we entertain a confident hope that they will maintain their integrity against all the blandishments of power, and the insidious seductions of corrupt demagogues."

The meeting was presided over by Josiah Riley, Esq.; and Ira. E. Lee, Esq., acted as secretary.

The Legislature of California convened on the 4th January. Ninian C. Whitesides, of Yuba, was chosen Speaker of the Assembly, and J. W. Scobey, Clerk. The Lieutenant Governor being *ex officio* President of the Senate, Thomas N. Cheshire was chosen President. In the 8th of January, Governor John B. Weller was inaugurated with appropriate ceremonies, and proceeded to deliver a short address, which has been received with great favor in all parts of the State. The Senate has rejected Edward C. Forman, formerly postmaster of Sacramento, Secretary of State, and W. F. Brockelbank his Private Secretary.

The returns of the assessors of the various counties in the State show that the value of taxable property in California amounts to $131,806,268 93. This exhibits an increase of $18,348,268.92 since last year.

On the 8th January, James L. English, the late State Comptroller, resigned, and Thomas Findlay, the new one, all the moneys in the Treasury, amounting to nearly $450,000, receiving his receipt and discharge in full, Mr. Findlay owing him *one cent*.

The New York *Herald* gives the following account of the caucus of the Democratic members of Congress, held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on Saturday night:

"John Cochrane, of New York, was called to the chair, and J. H. Reagan, of Texas, acted as Secretary. Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, stated the object of the meeting to be to effect, if possible, an concert action on the part of Democratic party, relative to the business before Congress. It frequently happened, he said, that the Republicans were in a majority, and the reason why it was so, was that they were always on the ground when the roll was called; whereas the Democrats often absented themselves from the Hall after a certain hour in the day. He desired to remedy this in some manner. He moved that a committee of five be appointed, with power to call meetings, and attend to business generally."

The commission appointed to take the census in Oxford precinct, Johnson county, have just completed a correct census of that wonderful precinct. It exact number of *bona fide* voters at the present date—and there never were any more of them—*is thirty-three.*

FROM KANSAS.

St. Louis, Feb. 16.—Kansas advices state that some of Lane's men had visited Westfield in search of Jennison, a member of the Lecompton Convention. Mr. Stover is recovering from his wounds.

The grocery of Patrick Laughlin, who killed Collins at Doniphan a year ago, was demolished, and the occupants driven to the street.

A skirmish had occurred at Fort Scott, but Denver refused to send troops.

OREGON AND KANSAS.

EUGENE CITY, O. T., *Dec.* 25, 1857.

To the Editor of the National Era:

I wish to present, through the medium of the *National Era*, some facts respecting the respective merits of Oregon and Kansas Territories. I have resided in Oregon five years, and feel that I am tolerably prepared to point out its advantages and disadvantages.

The climate is mild and even. It is a very rare occurrence for the thermometer to fall as low as zero, and as rare for it to rise above 90. The nights in the summer are uniformly cool—so much so, that a person can easily sleep comfortably under a blanket. The winters are so moderate that many families have lived for years in log cabins, without anything to fill the cracks, except clapboards nailed on them.*

The health is incomparably better than any portion of the country east of the Rocky Mountains, and with which I have any acquaintance; and I am tolerably familiar with the country lying between St. Joseph, on the Missouri river, and the ascent of Laurel Hill, in the Alleghany Mountains.

As to the soil, it is *all* rich; bottoms, valleys, hills, and mountains all producing wheat, rye, oats, barley, potatoes, cabbage &c., of the finest quality, and in great abundance. Thunder storms are almost unknown. It is not likely that a lightning-rod will ever be erected in the Willamette valley, from the fact that they would be considered utterly useless. So much for Oregon. Now, for Kansas.

It is well known that Kansas is a high, open, prairie country; that it is subject to great extremes, both of heat and cold. Winters are tensely cold, with deep snows. The summers very hot, and at times sultry, producing musquitoes to any amount. Again, that country is subject to the most violent and destructive thunder storms. In Kansas, beasts and men are often destroyed by lightning.

That Kansas has fertile soil, it is not to be disputed. So far as Indian corn is concerned, it is far ahead of Oregon; but as to wheat, Oregon it is just as far ahead of Kansas. And when we come to speak of the health of Kansas, there is no comparison with Oregon. Bilious complaints, in various forms, such as chills and fever, bilious fever, typhoid and congestive fevers, are common to Kansas. I have no prejudice against Kansas—I wish that country and its inhabitants abundant success as a free State. But, in truth, I am bound to say, if any man wants a pleasant and happy *home*, let him not stop east of the Rocky Mountains, but make his way to Oregon, where 40,000 more inhabitants are now needed, mostly in the way of mechanics. Having drawn a brief comparison between Oregon and Kansas Territories, I will conclude with a short chapter on the kind of emigrants Oregon needs.

First we want skillful mechanics, industrious, sober mechanics, of almost all kinds—such as carpenters, wagon-makers, carriage-makers, harness-makers, shoemakers, tanners, hatters, broom-makers, &c. We are importing all sorts of manufactured articles from the Eastern States, from an eight-horse-power having to transport them down to a clothes-pin, when almost all of them could be manufactured here just as readily as in any other part of the world, if we had the mechanics to do it. We have any amount of the finest water power in the world. We have an inexhaustible supply of the finest timber that ever grew out of the earth—such as red, yellow, and white fir, pine, yew, and cedars of a gigantic size, white oak, black oak, maple, ash, balm, and many other kinds too numerous to mention. The price of labor is too high—smiths charge from $3 to $5 for shoeing a horse. Iron is worth ten cents per pound. Carpenters get from three to five dollars per day, common laborers five dollars per day and their board, and all kinds of labor in proportion. Thousands of common laborers are wanted, and could get ready employment.

Again, Oregon needs first-class school teachers. Such teachers are very scarce, and receive from fifty to one hundred dollars per month. Competent female teachers are greatly needed. They could get from thirty to twenty-five dollars per month. The great difficulty in *keeping* a supply of female teachers is, they *all marry off in a few months*—no matter how *homely*, old or young, they all marry.

The great question is, how are those emigrants to get to Oregon? I answer, they must come by sea; and if they have not the money to pay their passage, they must *borrow* it from their friends; and when they are honest and industrious, they will soon be able to pay it back. Columbia College, situated at this place, (Eugene City,) has about 150 students, and a large portion of them are females. It is in great want of a female teacher, but there is none to be had.

Respectfully, &c.,

JAMES H. D. HENDERSON.

* To-day, our prairies are as green as a wheat-field in May, and the wild strawberries are in bloom. December 25.

KANSAS CORRESPONDENCE—THE GREAT FRAUD.

LAWRENCE, *February* 4, 1858.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Much interest is being felt here in relation to the election frauds. A committee was recently appointed by the Legislature, for the purpose of investigating the frauds alleged to have been committed at the 4th of January election. You are aware that the whole thing was made to turn upon the vote said to have been polled at the Delaware Crossing.

It was known that the notorious Jack Henderson had received the returns from that precinct, and accordingly he was arrested, and brought before the committee of investigation. He immediately wrote a line to Calhoun, requesting that the returns from that precinct should not be opened; and accordingly, when the returns were examined, which was done in the presence of Gov. Denver and the Speakers of the House and Council, the returns from Delaware Crossing were not presented.

Since Calhoun left the Territory, it is reported that he has stated that the Pro Slavery ticket had been elected, and also a majority of both branches of the Legislature. This led to an examination of the matter, inasmuch as it conflicted with the returns examined in the presence of the gentlemen before alluded to. A process was accordingly instituted, by which the return of Gen. McLean, Calhoun's chief clerk, and the custodian of the papers in Calhoun's absence, should be brought before the committee of investigation. McLean was by process of law brought before the committee, and put upon oath. He testified that soon after Calhoun left the Territory, a messenger, purporting to come from Calhoun, called on him, and received the returns left in his possession; since which time he had not seen them, and, as he *verily* believed, had been taken to Washington. The person calling for the papers was, as alleged by McLean, unknown to him.

The committee, however, did not believe this statement, although made under oath. They accordingly sent the sheriff of Douglas county with a sufficient posse, to bring McLean and papers before the committee. They had, previously to sending out the posse, received intimations of the papers' whereabouts, so had no difficulty in finding them.

McLean was found at the Surveyor General's office, with a posse of some fifteen or eighteen persons, and thirty or forty loaded muskets. McLean protested against the search being made, asserting the sheriff had nothing was to be found of which he was in pursuit. The sheriff replied that he thought he knew where the papers were. McLean inquired, where? The sheriff replied, "I think they are buried under a pile of wood, back of this office. Whereupon McLean lost countenance. He did not sink, but doubtless wished to. Meantime, the sheriff's posse had exhumed the box containing the desired papers. The sheriff was directed to bring McLean, in case the safety of the papers would not be endangered by so doing. An effort was evidently about being made to raise sufficient force to take the papers from the possession of the sheriff.

Upon receiving the word of McLean, as a *gentleman*, to come immediately to Lawrence, and present himself before the committee, who had directed the sheriff to bring him before them, the sheriff proceeded at once to convey the papers to the committee, or rather to the judge of probate, with whom they were deposited until evening. They were then brought into the Legislative Hall, and directed to be opened in the presence of Gov. Denver and the Speakers of the two Houses. A large audience was present, all of whom evinced the most intense interest in the result. The papers were then examined by the gentlemen alluded to, and declared to be the same papers they had examined in the presence of John Calhoun, on the 13th of January. They were then placed in the box, and delivered over to the committee, for temporary possession and examination.

They find, on examination, the returns from Delaware Crossing. Previous to this, the judge of election from that precinct had been before the committee, and testified that the whole number of votes polled at their precinct was 43. They have since run up to 379. This was the requisite number to defeat the Free State ticket. This is not all. Thomas Ewing, of Leavenworth, who is a member of the committee, had taken the precaution to be at Kickapoo on the 4th of January, and vote. He states that there were but two votes polled after his vote was recorded. This, it will be seen, enabled him to determine the number of fraudulent votes added after the poll was closed. They find, on examination, that Mr. Ewing's vote was the *five hundredth* (500) vote polled, and consequently there could have been but 502 votes polled at that precinct. But the books now show the names of 995 persons. Here is a gain that shows a larger rate of interest than any of the *Western* States would be willing to allow, and certainly larger than the Free State men of Kansas will allow in these hard times, and that wholly on *bogus* capital. Four hundred and forty-three gain in five hundred and two, in a few days, is certainly a *ruinous* interest to any people who will acknowledge the *corn*, and particularly when it was illegal to count anything but the *principal*. But as the Pro-Slavery party had no means of knowing what amount of capital would be necessary for their purpose, it seems to be the only way for them out of the scrape. At these two precincts it will be seen that 779 fraudulent votes, to say nothing of those polled and counted at the two dozen times at the precinct of Kickapoo, were polled, or rather added, after the polls were closed, in the county of Leavenworth alone. What else will come to light, we are not able to say.

What will the good people of the States say to this last development of corruption in the Pro-Slavery party here, who have friends and relations in Kansas, who have come here to make homes for themselves and families, depending upon the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill and squatter sovereignty for their government?

What will the President say about this kind of *non-intervention*? We have no hesitation in saying that he will repudiate the whole thing, and declare that he was been *grossly deceived*, if he has not been *duped*.

There are the most important papers in the whole country, now in the hands of a man who has not only violated his oath, but, as a dog would do, who had a bone he wished to conceal, hides it in the earth! or as a highway robber would do, who wished to conceal his stolen goods. This last is a fitter chapter on the kind of emigrants Oregon needs.

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JAMES H. D. HENDERSON.

* To-day, our prairies are as green as a wheat-field in May, and the wild strawberries are in bloom. December 25.

PREPARE FOR THE FALL ELECTIONS.

The Republican Association of Washington have just completed arrangements for publishing and distributing Tracts, Essays, Speeches, hearing upon the important question now agitating the country.

Most of the Speeches delivered in Congress during the present session by the Republican members, and also those that may hereafter be delivered, can be had, enveloped and *free of postage*, at 75 cents per 100 for eight-page, and $1.25 per 100 for sixteen-page Speeches.

They will also be directed, without additional expense, to such names as may be forwarded.

Our Republican friends ought to take immediate steps to flood every Congressional district and especially districts now represented by Democrats, with these Speeches and Documents. Address L. CLEPHANE,

Secretary Republican Association.

We advise everyone who suffers from Dyspepsia or Debility in any of its forms, to use the *Oxygenated Bitters*, a medicine more favorably known than any remedy ever discovered for the positive cure of these troublesome complaints. 47

WORKINGMEN'S LIBRARY.

We understand that the citizens of Westfield, Hamilton Co., Indiana, have received some five hundred volumes of superior and excellent works, consisting of Biographies, Histories, Political, Poetical, Religious, and Miscellaneous Volumes, with some excellent donations from Hon. J. U. Pettit. This Library is principally a donation from William McClure, of Mount Vernon, Indiana. The Library is open every day, over Talbot & White's drug store. Terms of membership, 25 cents.

L. R. BOWMAN, President.
V. M. ARNET, Secretary.
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"Truth is Stranger than Fiction."

Published this Day, February 9, 1858.

FIFTY YEARS IN CHAINS;

OR,

THE LIFE OF AN AMERICAN SLAVE.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

"My God! can such things be!
Hast thou set us upon the earth to be
Unto thy weakest and thy humblest one,
Even even down to this?" WHITTIER.

430 PAGES, CLOTH, GILT BACK, PRICE, $1.00

This is the title of one of the simplest yet most interesting biographies of the day. It is the plain, homely history of an American slave in the far South, who, after two or three escapes and recaptures, finally, an old man, found freedom and rest in one of the Northern States.

"The story," says the Preface, "is true in every particular. Reproduced in a simple form, it will stand as a vouch for the reality of the narrative. The language of the slave has not at all been altered, although the life of a half century of bondage sufficed him for literary work. The subject of the story is still a slave by the laws of this country, and it would not be wise to reveal his name.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

This is one of the many books that have come from the popularity of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," but, unlike the many of its class, it is a book of facts, and does not depend for its worth upon the imagination of the author. It is an autobiography, the life of an American slave—that is to say, told by himself—and all the more effective for being published merely in the language of the plain character. The slave author states that he is now living, where he has lived for many years, on a farm near Philadelphia, fearful as they say he lay in his place of residence he knows, lest even yet may he supposed that, as an article of property, he may be claimed and taken back to New Orleans, and sold into hopeless bondage. Of the place of his residence he knows, lest even yet may he supposed that, as an article of property, he may be claimed and taken back to New Orleans, and sold into hopeless bondage. Of the place of his abode, as going so much and a few more to the fifty years of slavery that he has known, and so make the evening of his life as miserable as were his years of manhood. Yet, even this is not the worst, for his case is but of thousands, and in this addition, that they are slaves to the last, and drag "lengthening chains" to their grave. The time is past for reading slavery for amusement and excitement's sake. One peculiarity which he notes, is the total absence of the religious element, so profusely introduced in many works of this character, in a simple dignity of style, in the best worthy of its object than those grotesque and artificial attempts at attractiveness.—*American Baptist.*

Here is a book of facts, stranger than fiction, and a thousand-fold more thrilling; a simple tale of life-long oppression, revealing truthfully the workings of the "peculiar institution" in our country. To those who love, we would say, here is a story worth reading.—*Western Pioneer.*

It comprises the true history of a slave's life, written in a plain, unpretending manner. On account of the absence of all extraneous matter, it will be found to be one of the best works of its class.—*Courant, Clinton, Mass.*

This is an autobiography, written in a simple, earnest, and conclusive way. It is a book of facts, and will be read very many, and will make no converts to Slavery.—*Christian Observer, Philadelphia.*

The narrative will be found deeply interesting to all who sympathize with the oppressed and down-trodden race.—*Christian Secretary, Hartford, Ct.*

This is the title of a volume containing the history of a slave at the South, who, after two or three escapes and recaptures, finally found freedom and rest in one of the Northern States. It has the painful interest of stories of this kind, and is simply and pathetically written.—*Daily Advertiser, Boston, Mass.*

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It is written in a simple and clear style, and the reader cannot fail to be deeply interested in it. It is well adapted to give a correct view of the life of a slave.—*Religious Herald, Hartford, Ct.*

It will be read with interest by those who are desirous of becoming acquainted with the hardships which a portion of the labors of the slaves of the South are obliged to endure.—*Standard, New Bedford, Mass.*

AGENTS, READ THIS!

FIFTY YEARS IN CHAINS

Will be sold by Travelling Agents, and we wish to secure a good agent in every place in every county in the States to engage in its sale immediately. There are several reasons why this should be the best of letters, being *one published for Agents*; among others, because—

1. IT IS A BOOK OF FACTS, and the author of the narrative can be vouched for by many respectable citizens.

2. Because, although a book of FACTS, it has all the exciting interest of Romance; and whoever commences reading it will be sure to read it through. The first chapter, will, earned by his exciting enable, he finds with surprise that the time usurped hours of morning or night can be directed against the evils of a system.—*Boston Traveller.*

The story is told with great simplicity, but with much power and pathos. Wherever taken up will find it difficult to lay it down until it is finished. The merit of the work lies in its narration of personal experience. The writer does not stop to argue about Slavery, and rarely or at claim against it as a gigantic system of wrong, but compels him to feel with and weep over the sufferings of a slave, and the reader can make his own deductions. This is the work of a Mr. Lewis of Baltimore, and he ten. Leave the reader to reason, to moralize—let the writer, the sufferer, tell his story. It is a very interesting piece of self-history, this work has high merit, and is a picture of American Slavery, higher still.—*National Era, Washington, D. C.*

If truth be not stranger than fiction, it is assuredly wiser. A narrative of real experience, like the above, will have far more weight with the public than the ingenuously wrought novel, however true to life its pictures may be. The lot of the slave is a dark, but not drawn, as a solemn witness, whose business is to give the people truth. Such should be the object of all books on this subject. The time is past for reading Slavery for amusement and excitement's sake. One peculiarity which he notes, is the total absence of the religious element, so profusely introduced in many works of this character, in a simple dignity of style, in the best worthy of its object than those grotesque and artificial attempts at attractiveness.—*American Baptist.*

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"We wish that a copy of this book were in the cabin of every resident of Oregon—that it was scattered broadcast over all our Territories, wherever there are men and women who can read. In fact, let alone its arguments, are sufficient to win its readers over to the side of freedom—for it appeals not so much to conscience as to self-interest. This is the first appeal to be made to the interest, and that to the conscience will follow."—*National Era.*

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L. CLEPHANE,
National Era Office.

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MARRIAGE.

BENTLEY—WAGNER. On Thursday, February 4th, at Calvary Church, New York, by the Rev. George F. Seymour, Norman S. Bentley, to Emilie M., second daughter of David B. Wagner, Esq., all of said city.

MARKETS.

BALTIMORE MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, February 16, 1858

Flour, Howard Street	\$5.25 @ 0.00
Flour, City Mills	5.25 @ 5.50
Rye Flour	3.00 @ 3.25
Corn Meal	3.25 @ 0.00
Wheat, white	1.08 @ 1.15
Wheat, red	1.02 @ 1.05
Corn, white	56 @ 57
Corn, yellow	56 @ 57
Rye, Pennsylvania	70 @ 00
Rye, Virginia	65 @ 00
Oats, Maryland and Virginia	35 @ 00
Oats, Pennsylvania	35 @ 00
Clover Seed	5.00 @ 5.25
Timothy Seed	2.50 @ 2.75
Hay, Timothy	15.00 @20.00
Hops	7 @ 8
Potatoes, Mercer	1.30 @ 1.40
Bacon, Shoulders	7¾@ 8
Bacon, Sides	9½@ 00
Bacon, Hams	10 @ 11
Pork, Mess	16.50 @00.00
Pork, Prime	13.00 @00.00
Beef, Mess	19.50 @20.00
Lard, in barrels	9½@ 00
Lard, in kegs	10½@ 11½
Wool, Unwashed	00 @ 00
Wool, Washed	00 @ 00
Wool, Pulled	00 @ 00
Wool, Fleece, common	00 @ 00
Wool, Fleece, fine	00 @ 00
Wool, Choice Merino	00 @ 00
Butter, Western, in kegs	12½@ 14
Butter, Roll	16 @ 00
Cheese	9½@ 10
Coffee, Rio	10½@ 10½
Coffee, Java	18 @ 00

NEW YORK MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, February 16, 1858.

Flour, State brands	\$4.25 @ 4.50
Flour, State brands, extra	4.50 @ 4.75
Flour, Western	4.25 @ 4.30
Flour, Southern	4.50 @ 5.00
Rye Flour	3.00 @ 3.87
Corn Meal	2.95 @ 3.00
Wheat, white	1.38 @ 0.00
Wheat, red	1.05 @ 0.00
Corn, white	67 @ 70
Corn, yellow	68 @ 69
Rye	69 @ 71
Oats	42 @ 46
Clover Seed	8.50 @ 9.00
Timothy Seed	2.25 @ 2.50
Hay	60 @ 75
Hops	5 @ 10
Bacon, Shoulders	8½@ 8¾
Bacon, Sides	10 @ 00
Bacon, Hams	8½@ 8¾
Pork, Mess	16.25 @16.50
Pork, Prime	13.00 @13.10
Beef	9.00 @10.00
Lard, in barrels	8½@ 10
Lard, in kegs	11 @ 00
Butter, Western	11 @ 16
Butter, State	14 @ 20
Cheese	6 @ 8
Coffee, Rio	10 @ 11
Coffee, Java	15½@ 00
Wool, Unwashed	00 @ 00
Wool, Washed	00 @ 00
Wool, Pulled	00 @ 00
Wool, Fleece, common	00 @ 00
Wool, Fleece, fine	00 @ 00
Iron, Scotch, Pig	28.00 @28.50
Lime, Rockland	1.20 @ 0.00
Lime, common	65 @ 00

FROM DR. LEWIS, OF VERMONT.

BURLINGTON, VT., *Nov.* 19, 1854.

GENTLEMEN: I am pleased to state that I have tried the *Oxygenated Bitters* for Indigestion and Debility, and found immediate relief from using only a few days. I believe *I have the greatest confidence in it as a cure for Dyspepsia and General Debility*, and recommend it with much pleasure to all persons suffering under these diseases.

You are at liberty to use this as you think proper, to promote the sale of this excellent medicine.

Yours, &c., JAMES LEWIS.

The Oxygenated Bitters give a healthy tone to the Stomach and Digestive System, and act as the surest preservative against Fever and Ague, as well as other infectious diseases.

Prepared and sold, wholesale and retail, only by SETH W. FOWLE & CO., 138 Washington street, Boston, Mass., and for sale by their agents everywhere. 47

THE NATIONAL ERA,

Washington, D. C.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR;
JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

PROSPECTUS OF THE TWELFTH VOLUME,

BEGINNING JANUARY 1, 1858.

The *National Era* is an uncompromising opponent of Slavery and the Slave Power; an advocate of personal, civil, and religious liberty, without regard to race or creed; a foe to all secret combinations to control the Ballot-Box, whether under the direction of priests or laymen, and to all measures directly or indirectly countenancing proscription on account of birthplace or religion; a friend of Temperance, the Homestead, and all reforms calculated to secure to Labor its just consideration, recompense, and political weight, and to Trade, its Natural Freedom, in virtue of which every man has a right to buy and sell in whatever market he pleases.

It regards Slavery, and the issues involved in it, as forming the great Political Question of the Day; taking the ground, that Slavery, from its necessities, instincts, and habits, is perpetually antagonistic to Freedom and Free Labor, and unchangeably aggressive; that its workings can be counteracted only by a permanent system of measures; and that therefore has supported, and will continue to support, the Republican Party, so long as it shall be true to Freedom, holding itself, however, perfectly independent, at liberty to approve or condemn whatever may accord or conflict with its oft-avowed principles.

It presents weekly a summary of General News and Political Intelligence, keeps a record of the Proceedings of Congress, and is the repository of a large portion of the most important speeches delivered in that body.

Its Foreign and Domestic Correspondence is carefully provided for, and its Literary Miscellany, chiefly original, being supplied by many of the best writers in the country, makes it emphatically a PAPER FOR THE FAMILY.

My subscribers have stood by the *Era* handsomely. No paper can boast warmer or more steadfast friends. They have not forgotten that, whatever the claims and merits of other papers, the *Era*, in the face of imminent perils, was the pioneer to Freedom of the Press in this slaveholding District, and has been for eleven years the only journal at the seat of the Federal Government, representing the sentiments of the Free States on the great Question of the Country, the only journal through which their loyal representatives in Congress could find voice and vindication. They have not forgotten, nor will they forget, that while papers engaged in the same Cause elsewhere, have strong local interests to rely upon, and the papers printed here, opposed to our Cause, thrive through the patronage

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE AMISTAD CASE.

Man not Recognised as Property by the Constitution.

SPEECH OF HON. DE WITT C. LEACH,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

JANUARY 27, 1858.

Mr. Chairman: It is the unquestioned right of the sovereign people to understand fully, in all its bearings, whatever is recommended to the favorable consideration of Congress by the Chief Magistrate of the nation. And, sir, it is evidently our duty, as Representatives of the people, to investigate thoroughly all matters that have been received the high sanction to receive, approve, and adopt, what is just and expedient; and to expose and reject what is unjust or inexpedient. This is not simply our privilege—not a matter optional with us, to be done or left undone, but an imperative duty, a faithful performance of which our constituents have a right to expect at our hands. Hence, I rejoice at the entire freedom with which the annual message of the President is examined and criticised, both in this Hall and in the other wing of the Capitol. It is necessary, highly necessary, and eminently proper, that this should be done. These annual repetitions of a close and searching examination of that important document are essential to the highest usefulness, the purity and permanence of our system of government. A fearless and manly exercise of this inalienable and constitutionally guaranteed right of freedom of discussion, can not be neglected or smothered without imperiling all that we, as American citizens, most sacredly cherish.

I am aware, sir, that discussions on these occasions are sometimes deemed unnecessarily severe on the Executive; but it must be remembered, that when a man assumes the direction of the affairs of this great nation, he voluntarily makes himself the servant of many millions of freemen; each of whom has a right to know how he discharges his duties, and to proclaim his approval or declare his disapprobation, in such terms as he may deem most appropriate. And it should be further remembered, that ordinary men only are reached by ordinary means. Those in high places, who have power and patronage in their hands, may commit with impunity deeds which would be regarded as infamous, if perpetrated by the untitled and the weak. Hence, a more searching exposure, a more emphatic and severe condemnation, he come necessary, when men in high places make serious mistakes or commit great crimes.

The people, sir, have a high regard for the Presidential office, and, generally, they fill it, for the President himself. But they do not always receive with confidence, and unreservedly adopt, the opinions of him who many happen to bear the honored title; for since the fathers of the Republic fell asleep, they have learned, by sad experience, how often and how far even a President may stray from the landmarks of Freedom. Often has been verified to them the truth of Jefferson's declaration, that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty;" and they have learned to know that the higher the sphere in which a public functionary moves, the greater the necessity for closely scrutinizing his acts, and cautiously weighing his recommendations. No man's opinion, in matters of moment, is to be taken upon trust; and least of all that of a public officer, on matters of grave political import. And the subject becomes of the first importance, and demands cautious, wise, and decided action, when that opinion bears directly or indirectly on the freedom of of any part of the great family of man, or when it tends toward the establishment of rules that are liable to be construed as favorable to Slavery, or as hostile to any of those "inalienable rights" which are the birthright of every member of the human race.

Hence, sir, I have a few remarks to offer upon what the President has been pleased to recommend, relative to the Africans liberated from the Spanish ship Amistad, by the authorities of the United States, some eighteen years ago. I choose to speak upon this part of the message, rather than that other and more important portion which treats of "popular sovereignty" and African Slavery in Kansas, for the reason that in both branches of Congress the subject has already been made the text, and other gentlemen around me, I am sure, will pursue it still further, until the unparalleled iniquities practiced upon the freemen of that unhappy Territory shall be exposed to the view of an intelligent and candid world. At the same time, I am anxious that every word the President has uttered in his message, at the behest and for the interests of Slavery, should receive due attention; for I am confident in the belief that there are some multitudes in the free States who supported him for the office he now holds, that did not do it designedly for the benefit of Slavery, and that will repudiate with scorn his efforts in its behalf, and henceforth give their influence and votes to men who are more lives are a sufficient pledge that they will ever be found true to the cause of Freedom. Hence, I pay my respects to that portion of the message which relates to the Amistad Affair.

This subject has been at least twice before brought to the attention of Congress; once by President Polk, and once by the immediate predecessor of the present incumbent. Yet Congress has not hitherto deemed it worthy of serious consideration; and I trust, that since the matter has slept so long and so quietly, it will not now meet with favor at the hands of this body. And I am sure, I can safely assume that it will be permitted to sleep on; or that, if brought into the House, it will meet the fate it so eminently deserves, and be indignantly rejected by an expression so emphatic that neither the present incumbent of the Presidential office, nor any of his successors, will ever again venture to intrude it upon the attention of Congress. Sure I am, if gentlemen will but give the subject the attention it deserves, they can arrive at no other conclusion than that it has no business here.

But let us hear what the Executive says relative to this matter. I quote entire his remarks touching our relations with Spain:

"I regret to say that no progress whatever has been made, since the adjournment of Congress, towards the settlement of any of the numerous claims of our citizens against the Spanish Government. One case of outrage committed on our flag by the Spanish war frigate Ferrolana on the high seas, in the month of March, A. D. 1854, by firing into the American mail steamer El Doradoand detaining and searching her, remains unacknowledged and unredressed. The general time and manner of the Spanish Government towards that of the United States are such to be regretted. The present Minister Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Madrid has asked to be recalled; and I have yielded to his request, and a new Minister to Spain, with special instructions on all existing points pending between the two Governments, and with a date sufficiently near to enable him to have actually arrived, if this be possible. In the mean time, whenever our Minister urges the just claims of our citizens on the notice of the Spanish Government, he is met with the objection that Congress have not yet complied with the appropriation recommended by President Polk, in his annual message of December, 1847, to be paid to the Spanish Government, for the purpose of distribution among the claimants in the Amistad case." A similar recommendation was made by my immediate predecessor, in his annual message of December, 1853; and entirely concurring with both in the opinion that this indemnity is justly due under the treaty with Spain of the 27th October, 1795, I earnestly recommend such an appropriation to the favorable consideration of Congress."

So, if the President is correct, our Minister at the Court of Spain is unsuccessful in pressing the "just claims of our citizens," partly because of the neglect of this Government to pay for the Amistad Africans. And to overcome this difficulty, to put that kingdom in better "tone and temper," the President "earnestly recommends an appropriation to the favorable consideration of Congress!"

Now, sir, for one, I shall not vote for an appropriation to put Spain, or any other Power, in better "tone and temper" towards our own Government. If our citizens have just claims against the Spanish Government, we are abundantly able to see that ample justice is done them. Shall we bribe Spain, or any other Power, to deal fairly by our citizens? Shall we pay her a price for her condescending to our people what is equitably theirs? Shall we purchase justice at the hands of any Government on earth? As an American citizen, sir, I say no, never!

If Spain is justly indebted to the citizens of this Republic, let their demands be properly presented, with the requisite proof, and it is more than probable they will be recognised and paid. But if they are not—if they are rejected—then let her, as we would let Mexico or Central America, know, under similar circumstances, that justice must be done, without evasion, equivocation, or delay. Sir, we are not, I trust, so pitifully weak and so despicably mean as to be compelled to pay a price for the privilege of fair dealing with foreign Powers. As we grant justice to others, so we should require it at their hands; and it is not idle boasting to say that, if we firmly demand it, we shall speedily receive it.

How different is the language of the President from that used by Jackson relative to another European nation, whose power is far more formidable than that of Spain. But this is not surprising—not at all; for "progress"—the Democratic "progress" of the last twenty years, of which we hear so much—has played strange pranks with American parties and politics, and wrought marvellous changes in the opinions and character of American Presidents and judges!

But, sir, if it is really desirable, as I doubt not it is, to improve the "tone and temper" of the Spanish Government and the Spanish people towards the American Republic, I can suggest a remedy, easy of application, that will accomplish all the most earnest friend of peace could wish; and that, too, without drawing upon the almost empty vaults of the Federal Treasury.

Sir, let us convince our transatlantic neighbor that we are not a nation of pirates. Let us prove to the world our respect and will observe and enforce the laws of nations. Let us give her to understand that the sacred rights of property shall not be violated; that neither the strong arm of the Government, nor the bloody hand of the filibuster, shall wrest from her, or attempt to wrest from her, the beautiful and fertile islands over which she rules in this western hemisphere. Let us repudiate the false doctrine which has found too many supporters in high places, that those islands are ours of right, are necessary to our safety, and must be secured, at whatever cost of blood or treasure.

Why, sir, so bold and reckless, so lawless and rampant, has this filibustering spirit become, that it casts off all restraint, overleaps all barriers, and here, in these council halls of the Republic, openly declares in favor of "national great land robbery?" Let the speech from New York, [Mr. HARLIN,] the other day—

"I beg the gentlemen of the South not to believe that I am in the least unstrung with any sickly sentimentality on the subject of slavery. I am for the extension of slavery, but am against individual filibustering, which retards the consummation of what I hope to see—the entire possession of American and other territories which we ought to have. I believe that the time has come when the application of the doctrine of self-preservation will justify, perhaps, it necessary for the protection and preservation of our rights, to take possession of the Island of Cuba, on commercial rights in that quarter." * * *

"I tell you the nation will stop upon Cuba, and, for that purpose, suspending the neutrality law. I am a national filibuster and will go with the gentleman from South Carolina to that extent. And let me say that Northern democrats are right on the subject. They believe that they have come to this feeling naturally from their sister country, the country which gave to the South her Cavaliers, while to North was given a portion of her Puritans and Roundheads. We Northern Democrats believe that the Government should, by conquest, do certain things; but that this business of Walker was commencing at the wrong end. *We Northern Democrats are rather in favor of national grand larceny.*"

There, sir, is what I suppose we may properly term the last revised creed of the national filibusters. That is filibusterism gone to seed! That is modern, progressive Pro-Slavery Democracy run mad! That is piracy reduced to system; robbery made respectable; the old piratical principle, that "might makes right," republicanized and held up for the younger members of the Democratic family to study, and for the older ones to swear by! It is the same dogma that has been in the mouths of pirates from the earliest history of our race till the present moment; the same that has kept nine-tenths of mankind in slavery; that has filled the world with chains and dungeons and racks and dungeons and spread darkness more fearful than that of midnight over the greater part of man's earthly heritage!

Sir, if we would put the Government and people of Spain in "good tone and temper" towards this Republic, we can very readily do it by repudiating all such unfounded dogmas, and by showing, both by our words and our acts, that we still have regard for the rights of nations and the injunctions of WASHINGTON, the Father of his Country, in his Farewell Address:

"Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it?"

How worthy these words of their distinguished author! Well will it be for us, and for those that are to come after us, if we give heed to this sage advice, and by every proper means seek to "cultivate peace and harmony with all nations." Let us do this in good faith, and that feeling of animosity and jealousy which has existed between the two nations will be at once restored. The "tone and temper" of the Spanish nation towards this Republic will be changed, and all our minor difficulties can be readily and amicably adjusted.

But now, sir, let us come to the real merits of the Amistad case. The President avers his belief that this indemnity is justly due under the treaty with Spain of the 27th October, 1795. The Amistad Africans claim that the one mainly relied on by the advocates of this indemnity, as it was by the pretended owners of the Amistad negroes at the time the cause was tried in the United States courts. That article provides:

"That all ships and merchandise, of what nature soever, which shall be rescued out of the hands of pirates or robbers on the high seas, shall be brought to some port of either State, and shall be delivered to the custody of the officers of the port, in order that means may be taken entire and the true proprietor, as soon as good and sufficient proof shall be made concerning the property thereof."

Mr. Justice Story well said, in delivering the opinion of the court:

"To bring the case within the article, it is essential to establish, First, that the negroes were pirates or robbers; second, that within the description of merchandise in the sense of the treaty, that the negroes were a mere chattel property, and that they were rescued from the hands of the pirate or robber on the high seas out of the hands of the pirate and restored to the owners, that is, to the Spanish or the asserted proprietors, are the true proprietors, and have established their title by competent proof."

First, then, if the African negroes fall within the description of merchandise in the sense of the treaty? It appeared in evidence before the court, that "they were natives of Africa, and were kidnapped there, and were unlawfully transported in slave vessels to Havana, where they were sold as slaves, and were subsequently transported in the same vessels to Cuba, in violation of the laws and treaties of Spain, and the most solemn edicts and declarations of that Government." Spain, by treaty with Great Britain, had abolished the slave trade as early as 1820; and had declared all persons thus kidnapped and brought into her colonies, in violation of the treaty, should be declared free in the first port at which he should arrive. Again, in 1835, another treaty was made between Great Britain and Spain, for the express purpose of rendering more effectual the means taken for abolishing the inhuman traffic in slaves more effective." In the last treaty it is said: "The slave trade is again declared, on the part of Spain, to be, henceforward, *totally and forever prohibited and piracy.*" Spain, in 1817, and still later, by royal ordinance, on the 2d of November, 1835, the authorities of Cuba were stimulated to renewed efforts to suppress the "inhuman traffic."

Yet, in defiance of these the laws and treaties of Spain, when, in 1839, these negroes were stolen by pirates—pirates by the laws of our own country, and worse than pirates by the laws of God—and unlawfully carried to the island of Cuba, A few days after they were there rescued by the Amistad to another part of the island, they rose on their oppressors, achieved their independence, and some two months afterward were captured by a United States vessel on the Long Island coast. They were then brought to Slavery. They were free by the laws of Spain; free by the laws of nations; and free, as they ever had been, by the eternal, impartial, and unchangeable laws of Heaven. They were, as they ever had been, in that condition in which a very respectable and venerable public document declares that "all men are created;" they were "*free*," and there was no law in the Spanish dominions by which they could be reduced to Slavery."

But, sir, I go further than this, and assert that if these Amistad Africans had been slaves by the laws of Spain, the treaty making power of this nation had no authority to surrender them as "merchandise." It had no constitutional right to treat them as "merchandise," in any manner whatsoever.

Hence does the treaty-making power derive its authority? Of course, from the second paragraph of section two of the second article of the Constitution. It is true, the language there used is indefinite; and were it not for the decisions of the Supreme Court, the President and Senate would claim that it has set to their authority as a treaty-making power. But all parts of the Constitution must be harmoniously construed; and inasmuch as it nowhere speaks of men as "merchandise," nowhere speaks of them as property, nowhere even speaks of them as slaves, it is doing violence to language, and outraging the rights of the people, to assume that it sanctions the idea that men are or can be property. Indeed, the tenor of the whole instrument is unequivocally and emphatically Anti-Slavery. It was "ordained and established" by "the people of the United States," to secure, among other things, "the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity." It was to secure those "inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," in defence of which they had recently parted so freely with their blood and treasure. They had just emancipated themselves from British thraldom; they had just declared to the world, in the most solemn manner, their unqualified belief "that all men are created equal;" they had at divers times and places of Virginia's history, in stern defiance of the piratical slave trade, and, in not a few instances, their anxiety to secure the freedom of the *whole* people. I might quote, almost without number, instances in which Southern men in Southern States, and in Southern Halls, condemned the African slave trade—that very traffic, by virtue of which the President now calls upon us to make this appropriation. But I will not, on this point, detain the Committee, as these facts are notorious. Yet I cannot resist the temptation to show, from the record what the statesmen of Virginia and of Georgia thought of chattel Slavery in the "times that tried men's souls." Listen to the patriotic voice of Virginia:

"At a very full meeting of delegates from the different counties in the colony and dominion of *Virginia*, begun at Williamsburg, on the 6th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1774, and continued by several adjournments, to *Saturday*, the 6th day of August, 1774, the following resolutions were unanimously resolved upon and agreed to:"

"2d. We will neither ourselves import nor purchase any slave or slaves imported by any other person, after the first day of December next, after the date hereof, from *West Indies, or any other place.*" * * *

"For the most trifling reasons, and sometimes for no conceivable reason at all, his Majesty has rejected laws of the most salutary tendency. The abolition of domestic Slavery is the great object of desire in these colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But, previous to any application from them, that we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from *Africa*. Yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions, and by imposing duties which amount to a prohibition, have been hitherto defeated by his Majesty's negative; thus preferring the interested solicitations of a few *African corsairs*, to the lasting interests of the *American States*, and to those sacred rights of mankind *wounded by this infamous practice!*—*See American Archives, fourth series, vol. 1. pages 636 to 639.*

Hear, too, the Revolutionary people of Georgia said of the "unnatural practice of Slavery:"

Darien (Georgia) Resolutions.

"IN THE DARIEN CONVENTION,

Darien, Georgia, January 18, 1775.

"6. To show the world that we are not influenced by any contracted or interested motives, but a general philanthropy for our species, regardless of country, complexion, or complexion, we hereby declare our disapprobation and abhorrence of the unnatural practice of Slavery in this colony, upon the most sacred principles of virtue and liberty, we hereby declare our disapprobation and abhorrence of the unnatural practice of Slavery in this colony, upon the most sacred principles of virtue and liberty, or other specious arguments, may plead for it,) a practice founded in injustice and slavery, prohibiting the importation of our liberties, as well as lives, debasing part of our fellow creatures below men, and corrupting the virtue and morals of the rest; and which is laying the basis of that liberty we contend for (and which we hope the Almighty will continue to the latest posterity) upon a wrong foundation: We therefore resolve, at all times, to use our utmost endeavors to get rid of a practice so inconsistent with our country, upon the most safe and equitable footing for the masters and bondmen." * * *

Such, sir, was even Georgia Democracy in 1775. What is Georgia Democracy to-day. Said a member from that State, [Mr. GARTRELL,] but a day or two since—and he said it, too, in the sacred name of Democracy—

"I hold that the institution of Slavery as it is in the South is right, both in principle and practice; that it has ever been, and still is, a blessing to the African race; that it has developed more of the Christian virtues among us, to a untold extent; and that, by its conservative influences, it has elevated the South, morally, intellectually, in wealth, enterprise, and intelligence, to a point never attained by any other people."

"As a Southern man, proud of the place of my nativity, as the owner of slaves, as conscientious of my moral obligations, I do not hesitate to avow, on the floor, I have time not, here or elsewhere, to defend this institution, as being *strictly scriptural, in the principles of Paul, of Christian duties, and of morality, and as having the highest conservative influences upon society.*"

I have not one word of comment to make on this declaration—not a word. Let it go to the people of the free North "without note or comment." I cannot make it plainer, and I know of but one way to render it more impressive than is now is. The Author of Slavery, and Slave Power, in the court of 1841, than in the court of 1857. No one would dare so wickedly to wrong the illustrious dead. There must be some other way to do, and we find it in the phrase "earnestly recommends" Congress to disregard or overthrow the decision in the Amistad case, and in the same document pronounces the Dred Scott decision "final." Nor is it difficult to perceive what that phrase means. It means an Anti-Slavery decision, the latter Pro-Slavery. The one preserved Freedom to some fifty Africans; the other entails or is designed to entail Slavery upon countless thousands. The one has been in a position to be quoted approvingly by men in the better days of the Republic; the other was an unholy attempt to give a solemn judicial sanction to those ultra Pro-Slavery interpretations of the Constitution, which, although of recent origin, have already deeply stained the soil of one fair Territory with the blood of many freemen, and have shaken the very foundations of the Union itself. The one was in accordance with the genius of our republican institutions, and in harmony with the principles of our religion and the feelings of the People. The other is in defiance of both. They were "merchandise" one day; "pirates and robbers" the next; and again, on the third, changed to "merchandise" and "rescued!" And here is a difficulty for the advocates of this indemnity scheme to solve: If these Africans were "pirates and robbers"—and unless they were, they do not fall within the terms of the treaty, for it was one of their "crimes" that they were "rescued"—they would, by the laws of Spain, had they been delivered up to her authorities, have been subject to the death penalty, the punishment pronounced, I believe, in all countries upon those guilty of piracy. And can we for a moment suppose that in a case of robbery and piracy so aggravated as Spain has assumed to consider this, she would have failed to stringently enforce the law? Would she not have required the "pound of flesh," as "nominated in the bond?" And if so, what would the cargo of the Amistad have been worth to Ruiz and Montes? If the "pirates" had been hung, what would have been the fate of the "merchandise?" In this light, then, the liberation of the Africans by the Supreme Court caused no loss to their pretended owners.

Again, to bring this case within the terms of the treaty, it was indispensable for Ruiz and Montes to establish the fact that the "merchandise" by "due and sufficient proof." On this point, a brief extract from the opinion of the court shall suffice. I quote from 15th Peters's report, page 593:

"It is plain beyond controversy, if we examine the evidence in the cases, that the plaintiffs in error, *Ruiz and Montes or of any other Spanish subjects.* They are natives of Africa, and were *kidnapped* there, and were *unlawfully* transported to Cuba, in violation of the laws and treaties of Spain, and the most solemn edicts and declarations of that Government. By those laws and treaties and edicts, the African slave trade is utterly prohibited; the dealing in them is deemed a heinous crime; and the negroes thereby introduced into the dominions of Spain are declared free. Ruiz and Montes are proved to have made the pretended purchase of these negroes, with a view to their slave trade adventures; and so *cogent and irresistible* is the evidence in this respect, that the district attorney has *admitted, in open court, upon its accuracy* and truth, the facts stated in the depositions, and recently imported into Cuba, as alleged in their libelants' petition, and that they were *kidnapped* in violation of law, upon the most safe and equitable footing for the masters and bondmen." * * *

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"I hold that the institution of Slavery as it is in the South is right, both in principle and practice; that it has ever been, and still is, a blessing to the African race; that it has developed more of the Christian virtues among us, to a untold extent; and that, by its conservative influences, it has elevated the South, morally, intellectually, in wealth, enterprise, and intelligence, to a point never attained by any other people."

"As a Southern man, proud of the place of my nativity, as the owner of slaves, as conscientious of my moral obligations, I do not hesitate to avow, on the floor, I have time not, here or elsewhere, to defend this institution, as being *strictly scriptural, in the principles of Paul, of Christian duties, and of morality, and as having the highest conservative influences upon society.*"

I have not one word of comment to make on this declaration—not a word. Let it go to the people of the free North "without note or comment." I cannot make it plainer, and I know of but one way to render it more impressive than is now is. The Author of Slavery, and Slave Power, in the court of 1841, than in the court of 1857. No one would dare so wickedly to wrong the illustrious dead. There must be some other way to do, and we find it in the phrase "earnestly recommends" Congress to disregard or overthrow the decision in the Amistad case, and in the same document pronounces the Dred Scott decision "final." Nor is it difficult to perceive what that phrase means. It means an Anti-Slavery decision, the latter Pro-Slavery. The one preserved Freedom to some fifty Africans; the other entails or is designed to entail Slavery upon countless thousands. The one has been in a position to be quoted approvingly by men in the better days of the Republic; the other was an unholy attempt to give a solemn judicial sanction to those ultra Pro-Slavery interpretations of the Constitution, which, although of recent origin, have already deeply stained the soil of one fair Territory with the blood of many freemen, and have shaken the very foundations of the Union itself. The one was in accordance with the genius of our republican institutions, and in harmony with the principles of our religion and the feelings of the People. The other is in defiance of both. They were "merchandise" one day; "pirates and robbers" the next; and again, on the third, changed to "merchandise" and "rescued!" And here is a difficulty for the advocates of this indemnity scheme to solve: If these Africans were "pirates and robbers"—and unless they were, they do not fall within the terms of the treaty, for it was one of their crimes that they were "rescued"—they would, by the laws of Spain, had they been delivered up to her authorities, have been subject to the death penalty, the punishment pronounced, I believe, in all countries upon those guilty of piracy. And can we for a moment suppose that in a case of robbery and piracy so aggravated as Spain has assumed to consider this, she would have failed to stringently enforce the law? Would she not have required the "pound of flesh," as "nominated in the bond?" And if so, what would the cargo of the Amistad have been worth to Ruiz and Montes? If the "pirates" had been hung, what would have been the fate of the "merchandise?" In this light, then, the liberation of the Africans by the Supreme Court caused no loss to their pretended owners.

Again, to bring this case within the terms of the treaty, it was indispensable for Ruiz and Montes to establish the fact that the "merchandise" by "due and sufficient proof." On this point, a brief extract from the opinion of the court shall suffice. I quote from 15th Peters's report, page 593:

"It is plain beyond controversy, if we examine the evidence in the cases, that the plaintiffs in error, *Ruiz and Montes or of any other Spanish subjects.* They are natives of Africa, and were *kidnapped* there, and were *unlawfully* transported to Cuba, in violation of the laws and treaties of Spain, and the most solemn edicts and declarations of that Government. By those laws and treaties and edicts, the African slave trade is utterly prohibited; the dealing in them is deemed a heinous crime; and the negroes thereby introduced into the dominions of Spain are declared free. Ruiz and Montes are proved to have made the pretended purchase of these negroes, with a view to their slave trade adventures; and so *cogent and irresistible* is the evidence in this respect, that the district attorney has *admitted, in open court, upon its accuracy* and truth, the facts stated in the depositions, and recently imported into Cuba, as alleged in their libelants' petition, and that they were *kidnapped* in violation of law, upon the most safe and equitable footing for the masters and bondmen." * * *

"If first boat passed the bridge, March 25th. While man here was taking toll, I made a clear gain of no damage, 1. Whole number of boats in April, 163; hits with no damage, 5, ditto with damage, 2. Whole number in May, 197; hits with no damage, 5, hits with damage, 2. Number in June, 205; hits without damage, 1. Number in July, 124; hits without damage, 1. Number in August, 105; hits without damage, 1. Number in September, 111; hits without damage, 3, hits with damage, 2. Number in October, 126; no hits. Number in November, 53; hits without damage, 1. Number in December, 11; no hits.

"Whole number of hits during the year, 600; hits, to some extent, 26."

Our navigation of the Mississippi river still continues. The Mississippi is as free from ice as in June, as far up as Prairie du Chien. Yesterday, a steamboat left here for Galena, there to load for St. Louis. E. R.

GOVERNOR WISE'S MANIFESTO AGAINST THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION.

The Southern Ground of Opposition—Buchanan's Message Overhauled.

THE PRESIDENT WARNED BY THE SOUTH.

A letter of nearly four columns from Gov. Wise, in response to an invitation to attend the anti-Lecompton meeting held last evening, is published in the Philadelphia *Press* of this morning.

Governor Wise says that a careful review of the President's message constrains him to differ with the President of his choice. He protests against the mode in which the Lecompton Constitution was pretended to be submitted, as anti-republican and oppressive, and as offensive to the self respect and moral sense of a free people.

After expressing the opinion that the Kansas-Nebraska act was an "enabling act" of itself, he admits that the conduct of the Topeka-ites was violent and unlawful, and that their opponents acted under lawful authority up to the submission of the Lecompton Constitution. But that has nothing to do with the issue. *In the Constitution the act and deed of the people, and is the schedule republican?* The wrong of the Topekites will not justify the wrong of the Lecompton Convention, nor cure the defects of the Lecompton schedule, which, though providing for its ratification or rejection, was submitted for approval alone, without allowing a vote upon its rejection.

After a scathing review of the Lecompton Convention's election jugglery, Gov. Wise proceeds to give a Southerner's view of the question.

The Democratic party had just come out of a severe and doubtful conflict with the Know Nothing or secret society, the most odious feature of which was a "*test oath*" to be, behold an honest, peaceful, law-abiding citizen approach the polls in Kansas under this schedule; I imagine myself an ultra-Southern slaveholder, put to the ordeal, the challenge under this clause of the schedule; I am anxious, very anxious, to record my vote for my right to hold the chief part of the little property I own; I am told that I have the right, by the grant of the high Lecompton Convention, to vote for or against property in slaves; I am challenged; I must exercise the right; I am challenged; the Bible is held out to me, to swear first to "support the Constitution of the United States;" I ask why this oath, and why that oath; I urge that the obligation is binding on me without the oath—that I love and obey the Constitution of the United States, and that is made the supreme law of the land, binding of itself—but, being urged to support that instrument, and anxious to vote for my property, I assent to swear to support it. But I am told I must, in the second place, swear also to support the Lecompton Constitution, if adopted, under the penalties of perjury and forfeiture of my Territorial lives?"

I redden into wrath under the insult of such an oath, tendered to a freeman at the polls—to support a Constitution, if adopted, before its adoption! I denounce the obstacle to my freedom of choice, and I do it in vain; I must take it, or leave my property unvoted. I suppose, sir, the imposition is almost intolerable—I take the oath; I am then, and only then, granted the privilege of voting. I vote for Slavery, but I vote under compulsion. I am then told that my vote cannot be counted; you have taken the support, if adopted, what I have voted against! Stung by insult, and then disfranchised, I go away, maddened to violence by injustice, inequality, and insult added to injury! Is that my act and deed? Is that republican? If Caligula was a tyrant for posting laws too high to be read by the Roman people, what does this deserve to be called, which puts the whole and a part together, so that a minority for the whole may prevail over a majority for one against the part? Is it not the very hocus pocus and legerdemain of keeping the promise to the ear of the people, and breaking it to their hopes? Tell you that you proved, free people, will stand insult and outrage like this, and much deeper is enough to drive peaceful and good citizens to violence, for a redress of grievances.

But the question is, not whether the Lecompton Constitution is to be imposed unlawfully, but it is the act and deed of the sovereign people, whose it purports to be—and is it republican in its submission by the schedule of the Lecompton Constitution? And mark, too, that this test oath is not the only wrong. The schedule is to be sent to Congress from a Territory for approval. After taking this oath, the casinist may determine whether he could, if the Constitution be adopted, oppose it before Congress, though he voted against it at the polls.

He contends that there was obviously a sinister and anti-republican purpose in thus giving an unfair election as to part of the Constitution, will no election as to the whole.

He denies the assumption of the President, that no people could have proceeded with more regularity in the formation of a Constitution than the people of Kansas have done. The people have not allowed a fair election at all. A fair election could not be held under the schedule, as appears from its face.

He contradicts the President's idea, that the admission of Kansas would speedily end the agitation in Congress, and localize it in Kansas. He declares that it never can be local again. It is all essential that the settlement shall be just, right, and equal, and, if not so, it is sure to be mischievous to that party sustaining power without right, and doing wrong that good may come.

The letter concludes with the following warning appeal to the friends of the President:

We have proudly, heretofore, contended only for equality and justice; but if this be wantonly done, without winning a stake—the power of a slave State thereby—it will be worse than vain. It will be matching power *per fas aut nefas*, to be lost "without redemption" for something of far more worth than political votes—*our moral prestige.* If we are not willing to do justice, we can't ask for justice; if we can't agree to equality, we must expect to be denied it. It is our bad, pouting the anti-slavery on. Suppose we had had a majority of slaveholders in that Territory, suppose a minority of abolitionists had gotten the census and registry into their hands, and had kept fifteen out of thirty-four counties out of the Legislature, suppose they had formed a Constitution, with a clause prohibiting slavery, and had sent it to Congress, without submitting it to a majority of the people to vote for or against it, suppose they had submitted all parts of the Constitution to popular vote, except the one clause prohibiting Slavery, knowing it would be voted down if submitted to a majority of the people; suppose such a Constitution, if adopted, had been submitted to Congress, and we had had the boldness of a Convention contended for by Black Republicans, demanding of Congress to sustain the doctrine of "legitimacy," I tell you that every Southern State would have been in arms, and would be roused to the shedding of blood, rather than to submit to Congress fastening upon a majority of Pro-Slavery people, an arbitrary rescript of a mere Convention, unauthorized by any election, and without even an express grant. This is the same principle, accompanied by trickery and fraud. "We are willing to do unto others as we would have them do unto us." The Southern people ask for no injustice, no inequality.

We are told that "prompt admission" of Kansas as a State will end the agitation in Congress, and localize it in Kansas. What is the Kansas question? Is it local to Kansas? No. It never can be local again. It has pervaded all places and all classes in our country. Let Congress endorse this schedule of legerdemain, let the South insist on it, let the Northern Democracy be required to consent to the injustice, and it will be made a sectional issue, universal application and citation against us for a time. Not only will the example plead, but it will be a plea in continuous cases of similar import and danger, rising successively as long as our wrong continues to be a wrong. It shall be filling up. It comes up again and again, every year, from territories extending from Mesilla Valley to Dacotah. Flatter not ourselves, then, that any mode of adjustment will do, because it is the last and final. It can not be. It is essential that the settlement shall be just and right and equal. If not, it is sure to be mischievous to that party which has snatched power without right, and done wrong that good may come of it. To do justice is always the best policy. If all would "demand only what is right, and submit to nothing that is wrong," injustice and oppression could never be perpetrated or tolerated. The ultarior effects of adopting the Lecompton Constitution, with the slave clause annexed, will be worse than referring back the question to the Territorial decision. It will arraign the Administration, and the Democracy and South, as seeking something more than is right, and for forcing resistance to wrong. It will be jagging the lion of a majority, whilst the hand of a minority is in its mouth.

It will return the chalice to our own lips when the Kansas question shall come again and again, in North Texas, in New Mexico, in Mesilla Valley, and in all our boundless domain of unsettled and fast-settling territory. It will drive from us thousands of honest Democrats in the North, who will say, Simply stand by us for justice and equality, but who must leave us when we demand more, and refuse justice and equality to others. It will raise the Black Republican flag over the Capitol in the next struggle for equality, and that, then, will raise the last dread issue of union or disunion! Are not some aiming to drive us to such extremities as will raise that issue past being laid?

For my part, gentlemen, I address you as the friend of the Democracy and the Democratic Party. They have both my best wishes and warmest friendship, and I would save both from danger and defeat. * * *

Very truly, yours, HENRY A. WISE.

To John W. Forney, David Webster, Daniel Dougherty, E. G. Webb, Esqrs., Committee.

A blessing was asked by the venerable Joseph Thorne, who is mentioned by Thome and Kimball. Conversation was taken up all round the table, and though I do not admit to be true, what Sir John Bowring told me, when in London, was his belief, that the African had superior natural powers to the Anglo-Saxon, I must say, a more refined and intelligent company it has seldom been my fortune to see and enjoy. On rising from the table, thanks were returned for the repast and pleasant interview. We then returned to the drawing-room, where, with music by the daughter of my host, and agreeable conversation, the remainder of the evening was passed.

I have been very much interested in Mr. London Bonne, a negro who owns two plantations, and with whom I am to spend next Tuesday. He is also mentioned in the work of Thome and Kimball. He is one of nature's noblemen, and has visited his name sake, London, England.

I met, at Mr. Husband's, Mr. H. P. Nightingale, a pure African, who lately bought a cargo of rice, for which he paid $40,000. When the cholera was raging here, and it was doubtful whether he would recover from a severe attack, a white man sent him word that his note had fallen due, and was unpaid. Nightingale sent his son to the President of the Bank here, and asked him to take up his paper as it matured—*which he did.* How many men are there in New York, or Boston, who would have acceded to such a request?

I am diligent in collecting facts with regard to the comparative value of real estate, now, and before emancipation. As now advised, it seems to me that lands are worth twice as much as under the curse of Slavery. A plantation of 448 acres has just been bought for £40,000 sterling, which, I am informed, could not have been sold, before emancipation, with all the negroes on it, for half that sum. The manumitted and their children are now work cheerfully for twenty-five cents a day, and find themselves. That seems a low price for a day's work; but the hands live very cheaply on vegetables and fish, and need but very little much clothing. I could live very contentedly in this climate, if they do. Besides, twenty-five cents a day is the nett price, in free America, for labor! Mr. Helper says that, "in my own immediate neighborhood, [in North Carolina,] not less than thirty young women, non-slaveholding whites, between the ages of fifteen and twenty five, labor in the fields every summer, and that for twenty-five cents a day."

This which I have cultivated like a garden; and the several plantations are not divided off by fences, but are in common, like the meadows of our native town, Northampton, Mass. None of the houses have chimneys, or any other means of warming, the fire being needed, except for cooking, and that is done out of doors. They have no carpets. What is strange to me, they have no anonyance from our house fly; I have not seen half a dozen here. Musquitoes abound, and they bite without giving you warning of their approach.

A white planter informed me that he did not know a planter who would return to Slavery, if he could; and I find this the opinion of every one.

This is the most beautiful country I ever beheld. Such clouds I never saw, and the rising and setting sun is gorgeous beyond expression. The heat is not near so oppressive as it is at home, if the same number of days. Sight stood by us constantly blowing over this island; and though the thermometer is now, at half past twelve, at 82°, I cannot keep my papers on the table without putting weights upon them.

I hope you, Mr. Editor, will live to see the West Indies. If you do not, you will die without knowing what a beautiful world we live in. No wonder Columbus wrote home to Queen Isabella, that he found it so pleasant to live in "India," for he did not know as he should be contented to live in Spain.

IOWA CORRESPONDENCE.

LE CLAIRE, IOWA, *Feb. 2, 1858.*

To the Editor of the National Era:

If the Legislature of this State goes through one half of the programme before it, this session, the members will at least earn their *per diem*. Prominent among the proposed measures is a law providing for the registration of voters; a general banking law; the substitution of county for township supervisors; the abrogation of the office of county judge, and the establishment of a board of county commissioners, &c.

Following the example of Congress, the Legislature dispenses with the appointment of a regular chaplain, whose duties are now performed by the different clergymen of Des Moines, (eleven in number,) in rotation.

Joint resolutions against the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution, instructing our Senators to oppose such admission, and requesting them to resign in the event of their declining to comply with these instructions, passed the Senate by a vote of 22 to 12, and the House by 36 to 29. It remains to be seen whether Democrats will obey his constituents, or follow the leading of Mr. Buchanan. Doubtless he will take the latter course. It would be strange should he do otherwise, after so long and so persistent devotion to the slave interest.

But the time has come when Iowa is to be rightly and truly represented in the councils of the nation. Her days of subserviency to Pro-Slavery Democracy are over, and henceforth her Senators and Representatives will be of the true metal.

On the 26th ult., ex-Governor Grimes was elected United States Senator, in the place of A. W. Jones. The vote stood, Grimes 64, Jones 41. Seventy-five Democrats voted, been in arms, and would be roused to the shedding of blood, rather than to submit to Congress fastening upon a majority of Pro-Slavery people, an arbitrary rescript of