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WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE TOWER OF HARKSTONE CASTLE.

IN THREE CHAPTERS.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "PAUL FERROLL."

CHAPTER I.

On the rocky height by the sea shoree of D—shire stands Harkstone Castle. It was inhabited some seven years ago by a very old man, who had been in possession nearly half a century, and during that time had never been known to give a hint as to his successor. He saw neither friend nor foe, except when absolutely obliged. His estate was well managed, by his own agency and that of his steward and attorney; but that was the only ostensible employment he had. He spent his time alone, and was so inaccessible, that people forgot he was alive till they were aroused to the fact by hearing that he was dead.

The probable contents of his will, then, excited great interest; for the estate was wholly in his power, and he had no near relations. He might leave it to his attorney, to the Queen, to his housekeeper; he might turn Harkstone Castle into a hospital; he might have made no will at all; and this seemed the most probable, for none was found, and none had been made by his attorney; and the latter began to make inquiries into his nearest of kin. It was not difficult to find this person, though he was very remote. He was a young man in the army—Charles Graburn, by name—a man of small means, but not absolutely poor. He was not aware himself that he had a relation in the world; for his parents, who would naturally have talked at times over cousins and great uncles, died when he was young, and his pedigree had nothing in it interesting to him. When informed of his prospects, he at first refused his belief.

"I should like it well enough," said he; "but it's not true. You'll find a will, I'm sure, and I shall only have had the trouble of changing my habits, to return to them again."

He hung back from taking any steps in the business, and really thought of his chance as little as he could help.

One rainy afternoon, his regiment being then quartered at Birmingham, he was sitting in the mess room of the barracks, playing at chess with a brother officer, when the sound of a carriage, coming through the great paved court, and round to the steps of the entrance, drew his eyes to the window, and there he beheld, looking from a railroad fly, the face of Mr. Spoker, the attorney who had the care of his business.

"I'll be back before you play," said he. "I see a fellow who wants me;" and meeting Mr. Spoker in the passage, he had time for but "Good morning," before the attorney said:

"A will has been found."

"I knew it," said Graburn, turning back. "I'm glad I never reckoned upon Harkstone Castle."

"You will enjoy it the more," said Mr. Spoker. "All is left to the next of kin."

"To me?"

"Yes, all to you. He wrote one will, leaving it to you by the name of Grayburn, with a *y* in the name, and another to his 'next of kin,' as if he would make it as sure as possible."

"So it's mine," said Charles.

"Yours, yours," said the attorney.

"Thank God!" said Charles Graburn, betraying that he had been more interested than he had allowed. Then, turning back to the mess room, he entered it, singing "I'd be a butterfly."

"What's happened to Charley now?" said his opponent, Frederick Palliser by name, who had been determining where to move his castle. "Charley turned songster!"

"I have got four thousand pounds a year, and a fine castle, since I went out of the room," said young Graburn.

"By Jove!" said the other.

Charles Graburn got leave from his Colonel, to whom such an occasion seemed a very sufficient reason for granting it, and went down next day to his new possessions.

Harkstone Castle stood on an isolated low hill, just a quarter of a mile from the beach. Behind it are higher hills, thickly clothed with low wood; and in modern times, by commanding the castle, these surrounding hills would have made it an indefensible place. But its position suited the century it was built in; the hill was steep on all sides, so as to stand in place of a fosse; and the towers followed the irregularity of the ground, covering the top of the hill with a building which afforded abundant shelter and defence to those who manned it. In these latter serene times, it was merely picturesque. The internal walls towards the court were pierced with convenient windows for the inhabitants; and when they would look out to the sea and landward view, they did so through narrow apertures, which, though enlarged since they were intended for mere arrow slits, had been altered judiciously, and without spoiling the appearance of the castle. The last possessor had left less trace of himself than any one who had lived there fifty or sixty years could possibly be supposed to have done. He had burned all his letters before he died; his books were all on the book-shelves; not so much as a blotting book bore the mark of his signature on the paper. He had lived to extreme old age, and had seemed to take pleasure in obliterating all signs that he had lived at all. Charles eagerly opened drawers, and searched cupboards; there was scarcely a relic of the old times just passed, though there were many of the older times which had gone by a hundred years—nay, several hundreds. Suits of armor there were, black jacks, spurs, cannon balls; but nothing to tell what the last man had enjoyed, done, or suffered.

Charles was greatly employed in riding over the estate with Mr. Spoker, and arranging what improvements must take place, what timber be cut down, what exchanges with neighboring squires set on foot. He found, also, that although the castle had been well taken care of on the whole, some repairs on a large scale were become necessary; and he was absorbed in surveys and plans by which to gain the double object of preserving the beauty and character of the building, and at the same time doing to it what was essential for its repair.

One day, when he was looking at the building from the outside, it struck him that one of the projections had no corresponding room within; he was quite certain that where the outer wall expanded into what might be a room of tolerable size, the inside was a flat surface, forming only one side of a passage. He ran up stairs directly to examine it, expecting to find a doorway blocked up. There was tapestry along the wall; but when it was lifted, nothing but the rough stones were discovered; no trace of doorway, no mark of any former aperture in the wall. It was so unlikely, however, that the projection should consist of solid masonry, that Charles determined to search the outside, to ascertain whether any window might be hidden under the ivy. He mounted a ladder accordingly, followed by a workman carrying a saw and pickaxe; and searching through the ivy in various places, for it here quite mantled the wall, he found, in fact, a window, strongly defended with iron bars, but which admitted the eye dimly to penetrate into a room within. Curiosity was alive to read the secret of this hidden chamber; and making a footing for himself on a projection of the wall, by the aid of stout boughs of ivy, he gave place to the workman who had accompanied him, to break out the bars with the pickaxe he carried, and give him access. While this work was going on, he looked anxiously into the room, which he saw better and better as the ivy was cleared, and the dimmed glass removed. It was tapestried; and the hangings seemed to have fallen in places through the effects of damp and time; a bed occupied one end, with a canopy crowned with a bunch of feathers, and these began to wave as the air got in. On the side, at right angles with the window, was a narrow door, which opened from the corner of the room, evidently not into the corridor outside, but into either a concealed passage running parallel to the corridor, or into another room. There was a heavy chair by the bed, thrown over and lying on its side; a small table, with a cup on it containing fragments of dry flowers. In one part of the room, on the floor, was a heap of silk or stuff, flung down, it should seem, on some day or night long left behind; the curtains of the bed were quite drawn back on the side next the window, and something dimly glittered when the light fell on the carpet, like an instrument or ornament of steel.

Charles impatiently looked at all, while the man worked away at the window bars; and when they yielded at last, he sprang in. There was little more to be learned with regard to all these objects than what he had already made out. Only the clothes of the bed were thrown over the pillow, just as a hasty strong hand might replace them after they had been opened. Charles Graburn flung them back as far as they would go. The inside of the bed was filled with a huge dark something, plainly it had been a pool of blood.

Charles and the workman looked at each other in mute horror. The latter was the first to speak.

"There's been foul work here, I doubt, sir," said he. "Best cover it up, and say nothing."

"Cover it up! Not I," cried Charles; "I'll search it out to the very end. Who remembers the tower?"

"If anybody does, 'tis Mrs. Many," said the workman; "she that was housekeeper before the master."

"What! and alive still? Where is she?"

"At the house in the forest, sir, where I heard your honor went to tell her of the master's legacy."

"I remember, I remember; she was very ill."

"She'll never be no better, I'm of opinion to think. She's bound to die; she's ninety if she's a day."

"I'll see her this minute," cried Charles, resolving within himself that nobody should carry her the news of the discovery before he could judge of its effect upon her; and hastily descending the ladder, he told the servants and laborers below that he had found strange things, which were not to be meddled with till he came back, and ran off at the speed of a young man to the cottage.

It was a very neat dwelling, a little way within the woodland district called the Forest of Byer, part of which belonged to the Harkstone estate as a leasehold under the Crown. The ancient woman had survived the master whom, old as she was, she had looked on as a young man, and might well do so, for she was bed-ridden; and he, up to the close of his life, had been able to walk as far as her dwelling. She was attended by a woman, who, although nearly sixty, the older woman persisted in calling the girl. The girl was a sad specimen of the fair sex, not above three parts in possession of her wits; brown, almost black, of complexion, part of the darkness of her hue consisting in dirt; her few ragged locks hung loose about her hare head; her large under-lip drooped on her chin, and her swollen nose matched the lip in its proportions. The clothes she wore were bound round her more like rags than woman's clothes, though they were not bad in themselves; and she seemed in a hurry to do every office that any one asked or wanted, as if she felt herself born to be everybody's slave. This old girl, whom the older woman called Phillis, came out hastily at Charles's call; and without seeming to understand that he wanted her to inquire whether her mistress could see him, guided him straight into the chamber where Mrs. Many lay half alive, as it should seem, in her bed.

Charles felt he must not be too abrupt. He therefore began to say something about the legacy; but the old woman, when she understood who it was, began:

"You were here on Wednesday about that; it's all right. Do you want anything else, sir?"

"Indeed, I have something else to ask you. The castle is a strange old place, and I want to know whether there are any hiding-places, any private rooms or passages, about it?"

"None at all, as I know of," said Mrs. Many. "Everybody's dead and gone now that could have been hidden in them, or care about them, except you," said Charles.

"But there's none at all," said the old woman.

"Yes, there is one," said Charles, resolving to try the truth upon her—for he saw she either knew of none, or would not allow it if she did—"and there's been murder done in it."

The old woman answered nothing, but fixed her glassy eyes upon him; he fixedly returned the glance, and hers gave way the first.

"What have you seen?" said she.

He told her exactly.

"I saw it, too," said she, fifty-five years ago, but never spoke of it till now. I believe he's dead that did it."

"You believe only? You are not sure?"

"It was not the master, if that's what you mean," said the old woman. "It was his sorrow; but it was another man's sin."

"And you—and you," said Charles, in great emotion.

"No, sir. I had nothing to do with it, except being the first to see it. My mind's as easy as the poor girl's there."

"I conjure you," said Charles, "tell me what you know."

"Well, you do know already, sir. What more? Master Walter hid yonder girl's mother in the tower, and there she perished."

"Master Walter? Whom do you mean? And that wretched woman, her mother; what is it you mean?"

"I mean the master that's just dead. 'Twas in the time of the old squire, his father, who I was housekeeper to; and Master Walter was man and boy about the house, and very well beloved. I was thirty-two when he was twenty; he went away to amuse himself somewhere or other among the furreners."

"And then, what then?" said Charles, as she paused in her story.

"Why, then, it was a year and a half after that a man came to me as could speak no English like us, and could do nothing but make signs. He gave me a letter from Master Walter, which said that he had been acquainted with a young lady, who was a mother by him, and he had sent his little infant to my care, (there it is, the girl there;) and the brother of the child's mother, the letter went on to say, had become aware, and was dodging them everywhere for vengeance. His father must not know, and he must bide the mother. Now, in those days, the tower you've found out was merely neglected—it's been forgotten since; but he bade me ready it for the young lady, and open a door long locked outside the castle, at the foot of the winding stair, and the night after he and she would be there. I'd no time to say no, if I willed it, and I did not will it; for I loved Walter, and the old squire was very harsh upon him. So I took the parcel out of the strange man's hand, and, looking in, 'twas indeed a young infant; and first, in a great fright, I ran down home to where my husband was sick, and showed him the letter, and told him all; and he bade me lay down the baby, and we'd tell the neighbors 'twas no business of theirs. The poor child was well-nigh starved with cold and hunger, and I doubt if ever it got over that journey, let it come from where it might; but, for my part, I thought more of the lady and Master Walter, and I did as well as I could for them in the tower."

"The lady actually lived there?" said Charles, finding the old woman pause.

"Yes, yes, and nobody knew—we thought nobody knew. But it's always been my opinion that some one or other saw me go out or in at the low tower door, one midnight, carrying in the poor baby—the girl there—for the mother would see her. That would be three weeks after the lady came; and Master Walter was planning taking her elsewhere, but told me he was afraid the brother had not yet given over seeking; and, sir, it was perhaps a week after, Mr. Walter was gone with his father to sessions or assizes, I forget perfectly which, and I went in through the hidden passage from my room, and the lady was gone, sir. But she had been murdered first; the bed was a pool of blood."

"Horrible!" cried Charles, starting, and shuddering as he stood.

"And I could do nothing till Mr. Walter came back, late that evening. Then he like went mad in that room, and he said nothing I could understand, but cries and groans like a speechless animal; and at last down the little stair he ran, and I following, just saw him disappear in the darkness, and not a word nor a sign to say where he was going. I was all of a tremble, and just turned back through the room, and dashed the clothes back over the bed, and ran out and locked the door, and never went near it again, and Master Walter was not heard of, as I know of, for years; but the old squire was a strange man, and might have news of him without ever telling the like of us a word."

"I never heard anything of this," said Graburn.

"Not likely you should, sir. It was when she was an infant; and though I still call her a girl, she's fifty-six, if she's a day."

"When did he come back, then?" said Charles.

"Not long before the old squire died, and that's five-and-forty years now since. He said nothing to me, nor I to him. It was just as if neither of us knew what the other was thinking of; and so it always has been—not a word between us. But I saw he sought to see the child, and I brought her in my hand one day from the woman's where I boarded her, for my husband was dead; and he looked at her, and said, 'How old is that hideous creature?' 'Ten years,' I said, looking full at him. So he understood, and gave me a great sum of money—twenty pounds—and turned away."

"How strange!" said Graburn.

"I don't know," said the old woman; "she *was* a hideous discreditable creature, and grew worse and worse. But he always behaved very well, and when the old squire died, he gave me this cottage, and money enough yearly; and now I can understand perfectly well the legacy is for her; for I am but a few days more for this world, and I've made her safe of it."

"Of course he was not married to the lady," said Graburn.

"He was," said the old woman.

"O, no, no," cried Charles, quickly; "no, he could not have been. Why do you think so? I hope not; for in that case she is the heiress."

"O Lord, no," said the old woman. "What could *she* do with the castle and the estate; he knew better than that; a few hundred pounds suit her better than your thousands."

"I don't know how that may be," said Charles; but I do know, if she is his legitimate daughter, the thousands are not mine."

"Nonsense," said the old woman; "I would not have told you if I had thought. To think of our old Phillis being the lady of Castle Harkstone, indeed!"

"What reasons have you for believing them married?" said Charles.

"He said he was," said the old woman, "in his letter, and I never doubted it; but don't go to trouble yourself about it. Give the girl a little money year by year, and let her live on in the cottage here, with some one to live with her. Folks have a notion she's something of a daughter to me, though wrong enough; but that's no matter."

"Where's the letter?" said Graburn.

"It was used to be in my box; but I dare say the mice have eaten it," said the old woman.

"Let me see it, however," said Charles.

"I will, sir, I will," said the old woman, "if I can lay my hands on it; but I am desperate tired."

Charles perceived she was; but he also perceived her reluctance to let him see what he asked for. However, he would not lose the opportunity; and, succeeding in obtaining the key, which she acknowledged was in her pocket by the bed, he unlocked the only box in the room, and saw in one corner a heap of hoarded money, and in another some yellow papers, perishing with age, tied up with a string.

"That's them," said the old woman. "Take 'em, and just put them in the fire; there's nobody but me knows of 'em, and *you* also now; and when I'm gone, you'll have the secret all to yourself."

Graburn did take them, and, giving back her key, bade her good morning, and said he would call again to-morrow, and have a little more talk with her, for he was sorry to see how he had tired her.

"Aye, aye," said the old woman. "And as you go out, be so good, sir, as to call the girl, and send her to me."

Graburn did as she requested, and looked with altered eyes upon the half-witted ancient girl, who, he believed, had already thrust him from his place in the fine old castle. He eagerly took out the withered letters as he walked along, and tenderly stretching the crumbling paper, read, with the utmost difficulty, the one in which Walter asked the aid of Martha for the lady who he swore to her was his wife, while the other papers proved to be a certificate of the marriage and baptism.

"That's enough," said Charles, putting back the documents. "So it's all over with me and Harkstone."

He walked very soberly home, and ate his dinner without a very good appetite. Next morning, early, he went again to Martha's cottage, to get further information if possible, but, early as he came, it was too late. The old woman, over-excited yesterday, had died in the night; and Phillis, on her knees, was scrubbing the floor, while one of the neighbors superintended the arrangements which followed the bustle of a sudden death.

"The secret is all to myself now," thought Charles.

CHAPTER II.

As soon as the young Captain got back to the castle from the old woman's house, he ordered a horse, and rode off to the town where Mr. Spoker, the attorney, lived. To him he communicated the discoveries, and the unwelcome fact that the nearest of kin was Phillis, the old man's legitimate daughter.

Mr. Spoker was excessively vexed. He read and re-read the documents, to convince himself, if he could, that they were insufficient proofs of her claims.

"After all, Captain Grabnrn," said he, "it is plain Mr. Chinaway did not mean her to have it. He knew all about her, as well as he could know anything; and it's my opinion, from that first paper he drew up, in which he evidently had forgotten the spelling of your name, that he meant the estate for you, but preferred writing another, in which he called you next of kin, to making inquiries about you."

"I think so too," said Charles; "but the words are clear against me, and perhaps the meaning also."

"Why did the old fool show them to you?" said Mr. Spoker.

"Not from any good will to Phillis," said Charles, "merely because I *would* see them."

"Why could not you let them alone?" said the attorney.

"That don't matter now," said Charles. "The hideous old girl has her rights saved by it."

"But perhaps," said Mr. Spoker, "the documents are forged. Who can tell?"

"I'm sure I can't," said Charles.

"Besides, this Phillis may not be the same child. She may be the old woman's, put in place of the right one. She did not say this girl was *not* her own?"

"Yes, she did."

"No, no; she did not tell you that."

"She did, though."

"She did! What was the use of going to the cottage? You are the only witness against yourself."

"Except these papers."

"O, hang the papers!"

"Do you think," said Charles, "they would stand in a court of justice? How do you think a jury would decide?"

Mr. Spoker took them, examined them all through again, to discredit them if possible.

"They would give it against you," said he. "Plague! Besides, the old girl would be much better off with a hundred pounds a year, than with more," said Mr. Spoker. "Her father knew that well enough."

"Very true," said Charles, "but the money's not mine to give or keep."

"If you had let the tower alone till the architect came," said Mr. Spoker, "the old woman would have been dead by that time."

"Well, it's all over," said Charles. "I have not sold my commission, that's one good thing, and I shall be no worse off than I was before."

"Besides," said Mr. Spoker, "the girl's a fool, and can't make a will. She's old and unhealthy; you must come in before long as her natural heir."

"Next of kin again!" said Charles, smiling. "No, thank you; one tumble's enough," added he, quoting the Fire-king's opinion.

He was in haste to leave the scene of his short-lived fortunes; but he waited, for the sake of his unwelcome cousin, to break to her the change of her fate. He returned to the cottage where the old woman's corpse lay, in the grand serenity of old age, upon the bed, and the forlorn ancient girl sat solitary by it.

"I want to speak to you, Phillis," said he; "come this way, will you?" and she followed him into the little kitchen. "What's to become of you, now that your friend there has left you?"

"Mother, do you mean?" said Phillis.

"Aye."

"Mother said I was to bide in the house," said Phillis.

"But what shall you do for money?"

"There's some in the box; and mother said I was to have it."

"Have you the key?" said Captain Graburn.

"He's in mother's pocket," said Phillis.

Charles bade her fetch it, and unlocked the box, to see what effect the wealth therein contained would have on her. She looked at it quite unmoved.

"There is a great deal, indeed," said Charles. "Shall you ever spend it, do you think?"

"Yes, I suppose," said Phillis.

"Yes, yes, money slides away; and so it would, if you were much richer."

Phillis made no answer, but began to dust the inside of the box.

"And you know, Phillis," said Captain Graburn, "that you are much richer? Mr. Chinaway—you know? the master, I mean, who died last month; he has left the castle to you."

Phillis went on dusting; but the tears spurted out of her eyes, and she hung down her head. She was so accustomed to be the object of mockery and jeering, that she believed herself to be so now; and Charles Graburn perceived it.

"Don't think I am making a joke of you," said he. "You can hardly believe it; but, upon my honor, you are his daughter, and everything he has comes to you."

She put down the lid of the box, dusted the top, and went back to the bed-room, plainly convinced that the grand gentleman was amusing himself at her expense, and that she must be patient as usual.

He got up to follow her, but reflected that, as she took it in this way, the news would come better by means of some of the people she was accustomed to talk with; and having no mind to dwell on it more himself than was necessary, he went back to the castle, sent for Mr. Spoker, and delivered up everything to him, just as it had been when he came first, and commended to his care the hapless heiress.

"If she prove quite a natural," said Mr. Spoker, "she must be made a ward in chancery; and as you are next heir, the court will give you the management of the estates. But if she have wits enough to get along for herself, somebody must be found to live with her."

"Aye, aye; that's the best way; I want nothing more to do with it," said Charles. "And I thank you, Mr. Spoker, for your good offices throughout the affair, (besides professional services, which we'll settle;) I heartily wish you farewell. I shall run to the station, and catch the up-train; and you'll be so good, will you, as to send my traps after me."

"Fare you well, sir," said old Spoker, and the tears came in his eyes. "You are an honorable man as ever lived. I wish to my heart you had not gone into the South tower."

CHAPTER III.

It was a very short time after these events that old Phillis became Miss Chinaway, and that Mr. and Mrs. Spoker lived with her in Harkstone Castle. Mr. Spoker continued his practice as usual, and was little at home. His wife and their little boy were constant inmates of Harkstone, and, more or less, companions to Phillis. But her habits were too much confirmed by age, and by her very limited intellect, to alter in proportion to her fortunes. She slunk about, dropping courtesies to the footman, till strictly forbidden by Mrs. Spoker, and dusting her room with unconquerable pertinacity. When the idea could be conveyed to her that any particular thing was wrong, she would forbear that thing—why it was wrong she never reflected, the fact was enough; but, as to other prohibitions, she disregarded them. Courteseying to the footman she left off, but dusting she adhered to. She made an enormous quantity of worsted stockinge, ceasing to knit only at those times when she had no more worsted; for it was very long before she understood that she had money to spend in procuring things she wished to have. Idleness, unhappily, she could not enjoy; nor was the labor she had been trained to any pleasure to her; if anything occurred which could fill her vacant hours, therefore, it was a boon. One of Mr. Spoker's brothers brought the old heiress a dog; and this dog she dimly looked upon as her charge, and fed and attended upon it, till it doted upon her. Its real name was Fido; but she called it by the general name of "pooppy," which she was accustomed to apply to dogs of all ages.

"Pooppy," she would say, "come, pooppy, pooppy;" and he fawned on her and frolicked around her, much the more aristocratic possessor of the castle of the two. By slow degrees, she came to assert this dog's right to do what he liked—to lie on the chairs, to drink the cream, to run over the garden. An order not to allow these things from Mrs. Spoker would have been obeyed, but eluded, nay, perhaps, resented; and Mrs. Spoker had her own views, which induced her to cultivate the affections of the heiress.

Her little boy was four years old; and ancient Phillis made many advances to him, which the mother was very anxious to promote. But Phillis's notions of children were all drawn from those who occasionally had been confided to her old guardian's care, and among whom she had always been a favorite; but then their habits were not so tender as little Harry Spoker's. What she heard other people say, she was much in the habit of adopting; her addresses to these young persons, therefore, had usually been in the style of her mother's. "I'll give you the stick, naughty boy;" or "I warrant I'll soon make you remember." No idea of execution had attached to these menaces, either in her own mind or that of the urchins, who proceeded in their own course quite regardless of her. But Harry Spoker thought of them more seriously; and in his answers he treated them as though they had been truths. "Naughty, ugly, old miss," would he reply; "I will whip you, for I hate you." Phillis paid no kind of attention to these hard words, but would pour her tea into the saucer, and hold it out for him, as if no bad language had passed on either side. If he took a fancy to pull her gray hair, or to search her pocket for her housewife, he was quite welcome; and when he once or twice hid his face behind the screen, she played at bo-peep with him till he was himself exhausted. "I've laughed out all my laugh," said he; "stop now."

Her persevering blandishments by degrees overcame his suspicions, and he began to grow fond of her company, and to exert all his whims and much of his affection upon her. This made her very happy, and she became his slave, as much as if she were still the ragged dweller of the cottage. Mrs. Spoker was delighted, for she knew that Harkstone Castle was in the old girl's power.

"If she have but the sense to make a will?" said she to her husband; "and I really don't myself think she is deficient. She chooses her own dinner now, and she can buy things at the shop as well as anybody."

"That's all very well," said Mr. Spoker; "but her sense or her nonsense alike ought to leave the estate to the Captain; and, my dear, I won't have any interference to induce her to dispose of it otherwise. Now I'm quite serious."

Mrs. Spoker answered nothing, but she kept her own ideas on the subject. She could not quite satisfy herself whether or not Phillis believed that she was really the owner of the castle. Phillis inhabited it in silence, as she had done the cottage, conforming to all that other people did; but Mrs. Spoker tried to arouse in her a sense of possession. She often exhorted her "to exert herself to fill her position;" words which, like others, Phillis adopted, and, when she found occasion, applied them.

[TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

"THE PHANTOM MUFF-HEAD; OR, THE SOLDIER'S OATH."

Father. Do I behold?
Son. He sees me——
F. No—it cannot be. You have a name——
S. What now? [*Aside.*]
F. That name?
S. Is Snooks.
F. And on your breast?
S. A mole.
F. Ha, ha! My mole-marked only son. Oh, bliss! But no——[With distrust.]
S. He doubts—[tears open his waistcoat]—Be-e-hold!
F. [Cautiously.] 'Tis there, indeed. Thy mother's name?
S. Was Jane!
F. Base fears begone—

Come to my arms, oh! mole-marked son of Jane!
For mountains mole-hills prove, when moles prove true;
And to affection's instinct all is plain,
When sons are Snookses and their mothers Jane.

[Villagers dance; Bandits fire a *feu de joie*; Monks and Nuns fall on their knees, and the faithful servant wipes his eye with his coat-tail.]

[This is all of the above highly-terrific yarn that will appear in the columns of the Chicago *Tribune*. The remainder can be found only in the New York *Vermifuge*. Snuffkins writes for the *Vermifuge*; Biffkins writes *only* for the *Vermifuge*. Among its corps of regular contributors may be mentioned Boggs, Hoggs, Moggs, Scroggs, and Toggs. A thrilling romance is in course of preparation, from the pen of Noggs, who has been engaged, regardless of expense. Fanny Fungus furnishes one column per week for the *Vermifuge*, at an alarming sacrifice of the dictionary. The *Vermifuge* contains all the murders, suicides, rapes, seductions, and other disagreeable terminations of affairs of the heart. They appear regularly in the *Vermifuge*. For sale by the boys.]—*Chicago Tribune.*

SMITH, THE POET.

All readers of poetry must be deeply indebted to the Athenæum for its elaborate exposure of the plagiarisms of Mr. Alexander Smith. The noble perseverance with which every phrase of Mr. Smith's has been overhauled, and the stores of collected and recollected learning which have been adduced to demonstrate the bard's want of originality, are unprecedented in the annals of the literary police. Mr. Smith is left without the faintest rag of reputation, and for our own part, thanks to the Athenæum, we do not believe that he is capable of uttering the humblest sentiment of ordinary life, without borrowing both thought and words from some predecessor.

We are firmly convinced that, if he had to desire a domestic to unfasten one of his (Smith's) boots, he would steal his expression from Shakspeare, and say, "Undo this button." (King Lear, act V, scene III.) It is almost supererogation to help a case so clearly made out, but, as in the course of Mr. Punch's own reading, he has chanced to light upon a few passages which Mr. Smith has appropriated, and which have escaped his reviewer, Mr. Punch will complete the good work by subjoining them.

The plagiarisms, in the following cases, are even more apparent than the majority of those exposed by the Athenæum, and have the additional feature of being the fruit of plunder from books which it is rather probable Mr. Smith may have seen, and not from antiquated and forgotten rubbish, which in all likelihood he never came across, and which nobody but a book-worm with a motive is ever likely to come across twice. At the same time, Mr. Punch assures Mr. Smith that this exposure is made in all kindness of feeling, and in the earnest hope that, by proving to a young poet that he is utterly without merit of any kind, he may be excited to cultivate his genius, prune his irregularities, and emulate the immortals.

In Mr. Smith's City Poems, he says:
"*And bees are busy in the yellow hive.*"
What says Dr. Watts?
"How doth the '*busy, busy bee?*'"
Mr. Smith:
"The age *demands her hero.*"
Lord Byron:
"*I want a hero*—an uncommon want."
Mr. Smith:
"And these be my *last words.*"
Sir Walter Scott:
"Were the *last words* of Marmion."
Mr. Smith:
"*A sigh* and *curse* together."
Sir Walter Scott:
"And draws his last *sob* by the side of his *dam.*"
Mr. Smith:
"*Night*, and the *moon* above."
Latin Dilectus:
"*Nox erat, lunaque fulgebat.*"
Mr. Smith:
"*Earth* gives her slow *consent.*"
Old Hundredth Psalm:
"With one *consent*, let all the *Earth.*"
Mr. Smith:
"And *islands* in the lustrous *Grecian* seas."
Lord Byron:
"*The Isles of Greece, the Isles of Greece.*"
Mr. Smith:
"Be hers *long years of happiness* and peace,
The *Sovereign of our heart.*"
National Anthem:
"Send her victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us,
God save the *Queen.*"
Mr. Smith:
"The *breeze* is prosperous, mark the swelling *sail.*"
Mrs. Barney Williams:
"The *wind* it is ready, and the *sail* it is set."
Mr. Smith:
"Each *star* that *twinkling* in the sky."
Original Poems for Infant Minds:
"*Twinkle, twinkle*, little star.
Mr. Smith:
"I look not forward unto *darker days.*"
Dr. Charles Mackay:
"There's *a good time* coming, boys."
Mr. Smith:
"Now, *sound trumpets.*"
Alfred Tennyson:
"*Blow, bugle, blow;* set the wild echoes flying."
Mr. Smith:
"*Cradled* on yonder lofty *pine.*"
Nursery Song:
"Hush-a-by baby, *on the tree-top,*
When the wind blows, the *cradle* will rock."
Mr. Smith:
"No *character* that servant-*woman* asked."
Pope:
"Most *women* have *no characters* at all."

But enough. The same process by which the Athenæum has been enabled to accumulate proof of Mr. Smith's dishonesty would equally aid Mr. Punch, but the work has been done by twin critics—done, too, in kindred spirit; and the public, despite its weak admiration for Mr. Alexander Smith's freshness, pathos, and vigor, may take the solemn assurance of the *Athenæum* and of *Punch*, that there is no single word in all Mr. Smith's poetry that has not been previously used by somebody else.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE MAN WITH A BUNDLE.—You have met him. Burly, broad-shouldered, a little careless both in dress and gait, as if conscientiously opposed to precision of any kind; and his face—from the curve of the smooth-shaven chin to the gleam of the gold spectacles that sit astride his nose—beams with exhaustless good humor. About five P. M. is his hour, when you can generally see him heading as if homeward, and carrying thitherward a brown-paper-enveloped parcel. From long familiarity with this feature of his personality, we had come to designate his otherwise anonymousness, as "the man with the bundle."

It may have been imagination on our part; but, as we met him the other cold afternoon, his face seemed so absolutely radiant with the heat of genial benevolence, that we thought the thermometer at the corner of Milk street went up two degrees as he passed. We determined to make an effort to know more about him.

To-day our desire was gratified. Turning into Marsh's, to purchase the goose-quill now between our fingers—we can't abide mineral pens—who should be standing at the counter, closing, at the same instant, the lid of a magnificent writing-case and a bargain for its purchase, but our radiant-faced friend.

"To what address shall we send this?" said the clerk, with a tone indicating extreme respect.

"Nowhere," responded the purchaser; "I always carry my own bundles."

"Yes, sir, but this is heavy, and it will be a pleasure to us to send it."

"Young man," replied the other, "I always love to take something home at night, to show my wife and children that I have not forgotten them while at my business, and I wouldn't give a pin to make anybody a present without I carried it into the house myself. I want to see 'em take it. Besides, sir, I never allow anybody to be bothered by sending things home for me, that I can carry myself. I began life by lugging about parcels as a dry goods man's boy, and many's the weary mile of sidewalk I've trudged, to carry a yard of ribbon or a paper of pins to somebody, too proud or too lazy to carry it for themselves. I haven't forgot my old thoughts, and, what's more, though times have changed with me since then, I ain't ashamed to be seen in the streets with a bundle."

"Yes, sir, but this is heavy."

"No matter, I'm strong;" and out he went, with such a glow in his face, that one could imagine it lighted up the now dim sidewalk, rods ahead, as a locomotive burner illuminates its trace.

Another well-known street face passed him in the door, coming in. Purchasing a Congress knife, the new comer said, in a sharp and dictatorial tone, "Send it to my house (No. fifteen hundred and something, Washington street) immediately; I shall want it as soon as I get home."

"Two different men," suggested we, as the clerk closed the door after him.

"Very," was the reply. "The man with the bundle is Mr. ——, the honest owner of hundreds of thousands, and there never was a subscription paper yet, that didn't get his name for something handsome. The other man failed last week—all there was of him to fail—and isn't worth his salt, but he had rather take the commercial disgrace of failure, at any time, than the social disgrace of being seen in the streets with a bundle."

Two different men, indeed! We shall take off our hat the next time we meet Mr. —— on the sidewalk. Long may he live, and carry bundles to make people happy.—*Congregationalist.*

QUEER DIET FOR OLD GENTLEMEN.—The first time I caught sight of milk in a Chinese street, it was in the hands of a female carrying a cup of what I thought to be the genuine unchalked article.

"Excuse me, but what is that?" said I.
"It is milk," she replied.
"What milk—cows or goats?"
"Woman's milk, sir."
"Woman's milk! for what use?"
"It has been bought for an aged neighbor."
"And what's the price of that cupful?"
"About eighty cash."

Subsequently, I discovered that it was not unusual for nursing women to sell their own milk for motherless babes or octogenarians in second babyhood, the nurses drawing their own milk to vend it at 2*d.* or 3*d.* a cup.—*Milne's Life in China.*

One of Henry Fox's jokes was that played off on the late Mrs. ——, who had a great fondness for making the acquaintance of foreigners. He first forged a letter of recommendation to her in favor of a German nobleman, the Baron *von Seidlitz Powderts*, whose card was left at her door, and for whom a dinner was immediately planned by Mrs. ——, and an invitation sent in form. After waiting a considerable time, no Baron appearing, the dinner was served; and during the second course, a note was brought to the lady of the house, with excuses from the Baron, who was unexpectedly prevented from coming by the sudden death of his aunt, the Duchess *von Epsom Saltz*, which she read out to the company, without any suspicion of the joke, and to the entertainment of her guests, among whom was the facetious author.

GOD'S PURPOSES IN ALL THINGS.—We know not the eternal purposes of God. We look at the immediate and transient result, not at the ultimate and permanent. Thus, the mariner cannot come to port by reason of the storm and rocks which obstruct his course; he thinks the weather imperfect, the world not well made; and you often hear men say, "How beautiful the world would be, if there were no storms, no hurricanes, no thunder and lightning!" While, if we could overlook the cosmic forces which make up the material world, we should see that every storm and every rock was needful; and the world would not be perfect, and accomplish its function, had not each been just in its proper time and place. An oak tree in the woods appears quite imperfect. The leaves are colled up and spoiled by the leaf-roller; cut to pieces by the tailor-beetle; eaten by the hag-moth and the polyphemus, the slug caterpillar and her numerous kindred; the twigs are sucked by the white-lined tree-hopper, or cut off by the oak-pruner; the horn-bug, the curculio, and the timber-beetle, eat up the wood; the gall fly punctures leaf and bark, converting the forces of the tree to that insect's use; the grub lives in the young acorn; fly-catchers are on its leaves; the spider weaves his web from twig to twig; caterpillars of various denominations gnaw its tender shoots; the creeper and the woodpecker bore through the bark; squirrels—striped, flying, red, and gray—have gnawed into its limbs, and made their nests; the toad has a hole in a flaw of its base; the fox has cut asunder its fibrous roots in digging his burrow; the bear dwells in its trunk, which worms, emmets, bees, and countless insects, have helped to hollow; ice and the winds of winter have broken off full many a bough. How imperfect and incomplete the oak tree looks, so broken, crooked, cragged, gnarled, and grim! The carpenter cannot get a beam, the millwright a shaft, or the ship-builder a solid knee for his purpose; even the common woodman spares that tree as not worth felling. It only cumbers the ground. But it has served its complicated purpose, given board and lodging for all these creatures, from the ephemeral fly, enjoying his transient summer, to the brawny bear, for many a winter hibernating in its trunk. It has been a great woodland caravansera, even a tavern and a chateau, to all that heterogeneous swarm; and yet no man but a painter thinks it a perfect tree—and he only, because the picturesque thing serves his especial purpose. But no doubt the good God is quite contented with his oak, and says, "Well done, good and faithful servant." He designed it to serve these manifold uses, and to furnish beauty for the painter's picture, and meaning for the preacher's speech. Doubtless it enters into the joy of its Lord, having completely served his purpose. He wanted a caravansera and chateau for those uncounted citizens. To judge of it, we must look at all these ends, and also at the condition of the soil that had a superabundance of the matter whereof oak trees are made.

We generally look on the world as the carpenter and millwright on that crooked oak; and because it does not serve our turn completely, we think it an imperfect world. Thus men grumble at the rocky shores of New England, its sterile soil, its winters long and hard, its cold and biting springs, its summers brief and burning, and seem to think the world is badly put together. They complain of wild beasts in the forest, of monsters in the sea, of toads, and snakes, vipers, and many a loathsome thing, hideous to our imperfect eye. How little do we know! A world without an alligator, or a rattlesnake, a hyena, or a shark, would doubtless be a very imperfect world. The good God has something for each of these to do, a place for them all at his table, and a pillow for every one of them in Nature's bed.—*Parker.*

SLAVES IN NAPLES.—The King of Naples, emulous of the French Emperor, has been doing a little bit of trade in the slave line at Alexandria. According to the *Presse d'Orient*, the Neapolitan consul there lately purchased forty negroes to send into Europe, for a pious purpose, as he said. Slavery being pretty nearly abolished in Egypt, the authorities thought it odd that a high Christian functionary should have made this purchase of man's flesh, and opposed the departure of the negroes. After a good deal of negotiation, however, the Viceroy consented to their being shipped off this time, but upon the understanding that no more traffic of this sort would be allowed.

LETTER FROM JUDGE JAY.

THE NORTHERN CONVENTION.

BEDFORD, N. Y., *Sept.*, 24, 1857.

GENTLEMEN: I have been favored with your letter, inviting me to add my name to a call for a Convention of citizens of the free States, "to consider the practicability, probability, and expediency, of a separation between the free and slave States."

The subject you propose for consideration has long been to me one of deep and painful interest. Although fully aware of the many social, commercial, and political advantages resulting from the Federal Union, I am nevertheless convinced that it is at present a most grievous moral curse to the American people. To the people of the South it is a curse, by fostering, strengthening, and extending, an iniquitous and baneful institution. To the millions among us of African descent it is a curse, by riveting the chains of the bondman, and deepening the degradation of the freeman. To the people of the free States it is a curse, by tempting them to trample under foot the obligations of truth, justice, and humanity, for those wages of iniquity with which the Federal Government so abundantly rewards apostates to liberty and righteousness.

In my opinion, while the Union continues to be thus a curse, it will be indissoluble; and that, should it ever cease to be a curse, it will be a blessing. Allow me to trespass a little upon your patience in explaining the grounds of this opinion.

An aristocracy, few in numbers, and scattered over an immense region, but from common interest acting as a unit—an aristocracy, not of birth, nor of education, but solely of wealth in land and in the bodies and souls of men—now governs with insolent and arbitrary sway twenty-five millions of people. This united aristocracy, acting in concert with almost any political party at the North, can wield the vast and increasing patronage of the General Government. Northern Democrats have deemed it expedient to form with those lords of the lash a most intimate and submissive alliance; and, scorning and repudiating the sentiments of Jefferson on human rights, these pretended friends of liberty and equality are now the humble and willing instruments of a crushing and loathsome despotism. The seductions of the Federal Government, proffered through the friends of Slavery, have converted the Northern Democracy into a stupendous organized LIE; a party with liberty ever on its lips, and human bondage in its heart—a party always ready at the bidding of its patrons to sacrifice liberty of speech, of the press, of legislative debate, of petition, and even of the pulpit itself, on the altar of the Southern Moloch. Discarding alike the deductions of reason and the monitions of conscience, this party adopts, with the unhesitating faith of a votary of an infallible Church, every doctrine, whether constitutional or political, which it may be the policy of the slaveholders to propound. Now, surely, it is not to be expected that a party that lives and moves and has its being in its union with slaveholders will aid you in dissolving that Union.

The slaveholders, in concert with their Northern allies, have established the trade of UNION-SAVING, a trade exceedingly convenient to each party concerned. Whenever a new aggression is to be made on the rights of the North, or a new outrage on humanity to be perpetrated, awful threats are fulminated from the South, that the Union shall expire in blood, unless the North will accede to the new demand. Instantly, the Union-savers begin their work. They warn the people of their dependence on the South, and of the horrors of the impending civil war, and they insist on the reasonableness of the new claims. A panic is soon manufactured. Politicians become uneasy about the next election; the merchants are fearful lest grass will grow in our streets, if not trodden by Southern customers; and our cotton parsons pray and preach about the preservation of the Union and the peace of the Church. The result of the continuance is a virtual submission to the mandates of the slaveholders, under the term of a COMPROMISE; the Union is saved for a while, and the farce ends with paying some of the savers, and leaving more to look for their reward the next time.

The Democratic party, although wholly consecrated to Slavery, does not embrace all the Pro-Slavery of the North. In every party there are individuals who occasionally deem it prudent to bow down before the dark idol. In general, the homage of all but Democrats is distrusted, is coldly received, and but poorly rewarded. Still, adventurers from all parties are continually investing capital in the Union-saving trade. The painful experience of Mr. Webster seems to have proved an unheeded lesson. His audacious plea for throwing open the new Territories to Slavery, that "the law of the formation of the earth settled forever, with a strength beyond all terms of human enactment, that Slavery cannot exist in California and New Mexico," was received by those for whose favor he sacrificed himself with silent contempt; while even Southern jurists revolted from his hideous doctrine, that the rescue of a fugitive slave from the custody of an officer, by unarmed men, was a *levying of war against the United States*, an act of high treason, to be punished with death!

A late occurrence in Boston may satisfy you that, while so many Northern men are willing to pay obsequious court to slaveholders, however personally odious, there can be little disposition at the North to part the chain which binds it to the slave region.

In June last was celebrated the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, connected with the "inauguration" of a statue to Warren. Wonderful as it may seem, pains were taken to make this celebration a demonstration of respect for human bondage, and of insult to the champions of human rights. The notorious James M. Mason received, as he himself asserted, a "gracious invitation" from the "gentlemen of the Bunker Hill Association" to witness the spectacle. A distinguished gentleman of Boston, not professing to be a Democrat, addressed the assembly, telling them, "The State of Virginia is represented here to-day by a Senator in Congress, whom it has been my *privilege* to know personally in a sphere of common duty, whose name has been noted for more than one generation for services in State and National councils, and whom I take pleasure in *welcoming* here on his first visit to New England soil;" and the Virginian, we are told, was "received with loud applause."

That the full significance of the "gracious invitation," the complimentary introduction, and the applause of the crowd, may be understood, it must be recollected that all this incense was offered to the author of the *Fugitive Act*, that accursed outrage on the rules of evidence and the precepts of justice and humanity; of that act which was most justly stigmatized by an eminent English jurist (Dr. Lushington) as "a measure as cruel and unchristian as ever disgraced any country." This vile statute Boston gentlemen of "property and standing" had enforced by municipal and military power; they had permitted the very door of their court-house, in which was detained a fugitive slave, to be fenced with chains, so that their judges, on entering the temple of justice, were required to do obeisance to that power which tramples on all justice, by stooping beneath the emblems of its tyranny.

But James M. Mason had higher claims to the sympathies of a certain class than his authorship of the Fugitive Act. The Legislature of Massachusetts had resolved that "We have received with deep concern information of the recent violent assault committed in the Senate Chamber at Washington, upon the person of the Hon. Charles Sumner, one of our representatives in Congress, by Preston S. Brooks, a member of the House of Representatives, in Congress, from South Carolina—an assault which no provocation could justify—a gross breach of parliamentary privilege—a ruthless attack upon the liberty of speech—an outrage on the decencies of civilized life—and an indignity to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"*Resolved*, That we approve of Mr. Sumner's earnest and fearless declaration of free principles, and his manly defence of human rights and free territory."

This language of the Legislature respecting the Southern ruffian was, of course, distasteful to the slaveholders, while the commendation bestowed on Sumner was necessarily felt by many in Boston as a rebuke of their own conduct. It might be for the commercial advantage of Boston to conciliate the South, and not a few would be glad to insult Sumner and the friends of human freedom. Brooks had been praised beyond a "gracious invitation," but his eulogist still lived. True, that eulogist was a disunionist in profession, but then a desire to dissolve the Union involves no moral treason and incurs no reproach in a *slaveholder*. In a letter to Brooks's constituents, Mason declared, "I know of none whose public career I hold more worthy of the free and cordial approbation of his constituents than his. He has shown himself alike able and prompt to sustain the rights and sentiments of his constituents in debate and by vote, or to *vindicate in a different mode*, and under circumstances of painful DUTY, the honor of his friend." In reference to the then pending election, he intimated that in case Fremont should be chosen President, "but one course remained for the South—IMMEDIATE, ABSOLUTE, ETERNAL SEPARATION."

Such was the man whom Boston gentlemen deemed proper to honor; such was the man who on BUNKER HILL was received with applause!—applause which glorified the Fugitive Act, justified the outrage on Sumner, rebuked the Legislature of Massachusetts for its regard for human rights, and breathed the aspiration, "Union and Slavery, now and forever." Boston has indeed no monopoly of FLUNKEYISM, but she has contrived to give it a depth and an intensity rarely surpassed by the most ingenious servility. And think you, gentlemen, that men who thus prostrate themselves before the Slave Power will, from the love of Liberty, aid you in rescuing the North from its degrading domination?

If we turn to the American church, a mournful scene meets our view. The fine gold has become dim—the salt has lost its savor. The Church, whose office it is to distribute the bread of life, is scattering among the people the apples of Sodom. The great struggle of the Southern portion of the Church is at present to array "the sum of all villainies" in the garments of Christianity, and to teach for doctrines the abominations of the slave code. Thank God, some of these Pro-Slavery Churches have severed their connection with their Northern sisters. The absence of Reverend and Right Reverend slave breeders and traders from our Church councils will tend to save those councils in future from much temptation and from much guilt.

The Northern Church is, with rare exceptions, pursuing, in regard to Slavery, a time-serving, man pleasing policy, probably still more offensive to God than that of our Pro-Slavery politicians. The larger portion of our clergy, like the Priest and Levite rebuked by our Lord, pass by on the other side, evincing neither sympathy for their wounded brother, nor indignation against his assailants; while others pass over to the thieves, bless them in the name of the Lord, and aid in robbing their helpless victim. Of all our Northern Churches, the Methodist has afforded the most striking and painful illustration of the corrupting influence of political and ecclesiastical union with slaveholders. The hypocrisy of this Church is melancholy and astounding. Founded as an Anti-Slavery Church, and recording in its standards the most express condemnation of Slavery as sinful, it became the unscrupulous tool of the slaveholders. In 1836, the General Conference, alarmed by the awakening conscience of the North, and anxious to screen the Church from the odium which was then attached to the utterance of Anti-Slavery sentiments, voted that it was "decidedly opposed to *modern* abolition." How far the modern abolition which they opposed differed from the ancient abolition of the fathers and standards of the Church, it did not suit their purposes to explain. Said John Wesley—"I strike at the root of this complicated villainy. I absolutely deny all slave-holding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice. Men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers." Said Dr. Coke—"The buying of men is complicated crime." Said Bishop Asbury—"O Lord, banish the infernal spirit of Slavery from thy dear Zion!" Said Dr. Adam Clarke—"In heathen countries, Slavery was in some sort excusable, but among Christians it is an enormity and a crime, for which perdition has scarcely an adequate state of punishment."

In 1780, the church voted that it acknowledged that "Slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, contrary to the dictates of conscience and true religion."

In 1785, the Conference declared, "We do hold in the deepest abhorrence the practice of Slavery;" and in 1836, when this condemnation of *modern* Abolitionism was fulminated, their book of discipline most untruly affirmed, "We declare that we are *as much as ever* convinced of the great evil of Slavery."

The word "modern" was a fraudulent but transparent veil, intended to hide, if possible, the hypocrisy of those who used it. The resolution was demanded to satisfy the vast number of Methodist slaveholders and traders, and avowed Pro-Slavery Methodist ministers.

The Georgia Conference boldly threw aside the mask, and, with unblushing front, voted that "Slavery, as it exists in the United States, is *not* a moral evil."

The New York Conference of 1836 virtually degraded from the ministry the fathers of the Methodist Church, by resolving, "None ought to be elected to the office of a Deacon or Elder in our Church, unless he gives a PLEDGE to the Conference that he will refrain from agitating the Church with discussions on this subject," (Abolition.) Imagine John Wesley asked for a pledge, as a condition of ordination, that he would never preach against a certain popular sin! Sooner would he have gone to the stake, than thus betray his Lord and Master. Did any Church ever before bestow ordination on terms so iniquitous, so utterly at variance with the duty of the Christian ministry, so audaciously defiant of the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ?

"A man with a black skin," said John Wesley, "being wronged or outraged by a white man, can have no redress; it being a law in all our colonies that the oath of a black against

a white goes for nothing. What villainy is this!"

Little did the father of Methodism think, when writing this sentence, that this same villainy would be freely and gratuitously perpetrated by a body of Methodist ministers, professing great respect for him, and pretending to hold his sentiments on the subject of Slavery!

The General Conference of 1840 resolved, "That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for ANY PREACHER to permit colored persons to give testimony against white persons, in any State where they are denied that privilege by law."

In no State did the law recognise these Church courts, held by Methodist preachers, nor attempt to define what persons might be admitted as witnesses; nor did the jurisdiction of these courts extend beyond controversies about Methodist doctrine and discipline. Every minister had full legal authority to admit what witnesses he pleased. Yet, to give the villainy of the slave code the sanction of ecclesiastical example, these Methodist ministers, deliberately, and of their own free will, determined that, in the slave States, no man, bond or free, clergyman or layman, whom God Almighty had given a dark complexion, should be permitted to testify in their Church courts, where a *white* man was a party. The testimony of their own converts, of their own communicants, was to be set aside as unworthy of credit, on account of the tincture of their skin! By this rule, moreover, the Southern preachers gave themselves the privilege of committing, with impunity from all Church censure, any immorality, provided there were none but "colored" people to witness their misdeeds. Surely, it is a cause of thankfulness, that those who seduced and bullied our Northern Methodists into all this wickedness, have since withdrawn from the Conference, and formed a Church by themselves, in which, without rebuke, they can enjoy the luxury of despotic authority over the poor and helpless.

I have referred to this melancholy and humiliating history to show the demoralizing influence, even over Christian ministers, of ecclesiastical union with slaveholders. But, alas! the political union still existing is nearly as disastrous to our churches. It is to this union that we must attribute the unhappy position of the American Tract Society, and the false statements and jesuitical arguments by which those who control it either deceive themselves or try to deceive the public. Driven from the absurd pretence, that they were constitutionally restrained from rebuking the sins of evangelical slave breeders and traders, while at full liberty to censure evangelical smokers and dancers and novel readers, they now discover that to offend the slaveholders will lessen the circulation of their tracts, and curtail their receipts, and therefore they must do evil and tacitly countenance sin, for the glory of God and the salvation of souls! So, also, from the same holy motives, as we may infer, this same Society, year after year, submits all its publications to the absolute and irresponsible censorship of a champion and eulogist of American Slavery, and an unblushing apologist of its multiplied abominations.

Again, then, I ask you, gentlemen, what possible reason have you to expect that those in Church and State who have surrendered their consciences to the seductions of the Union will listen to your Call, and aid you in breaking a power which they glory in saving? While I believe you are doomed to disappointment, I nevertheless rejoice in every exposure of the immoral influence exerted by the Union. I rejoice in such exposure, as tending, not to bring about dissolution, but to render it unnecessary. When the people of the North shall cease to idolize the Union, they will cease to offer on its altar their rights and their duties; when released from their self-imposed thraldom to the Slave Power, they will cease to place its minions in office; when no longer covetous of the trade and the votes of the South, they will no longer be bullied into all manner of wickedness, and into submission to all manner of insult, by the idle and ever-repeated threats of dissolution. But when this day arrives, the Union will be converted from a curse into a blessing. Our lower-law divines, instead of vindicating cruelty and oppression, and denouncing as fanatics all who esteem the will of God a higher law than an accursed act of Congress, will become preachers of righteousness. Democrats, seeing the Federal patronage wielded by the friends of Liberty and the rights of man, will, in the extent and rapidity of their conversion to truth and justice, eclipse all the marvels of New England revivals; and men who have for long years been bowed to the earth by spinal weakness will, as by miracle, stand erect. Till all these things come to pass, the North, I am persuaded, will continue its union with the South; and when they do come to pass, you, gentlemen, will have no wish to see that Union severed.

At the close of the war, Washington, solicitous that the divine favor might rest with the new-born Republic, publicly offered the prayer that God would "dispose us all to do justice and to love mercy." May the Union, when exerting an influence in accordance with this prayer, be indissoluble; but God forbid that it may ever be saved by promoting, extending and perpetuating injustice and cruelty, by invoking the wrath of Heaven, and becoming a proverb and a reproach among the nations of the earth!

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant, WILLIAM JAY.

Messrs. Higginson, Phillips, Mann, and Garrison.

A Model Mayor.

Sometimes it is the misfortune of a city to have an ass for mayor. Such was the case about twenty-five years ago with a certain city, which it would be impolitic, not to say impolite, for us to name in this connection. He was so ignorant that the wags sent a book pedler to him with English grammars, immediately after his election; and when he declared he had no use for the book, the pedler said: "Everybody tells me you must have it, and study it too." He came into office, and took his chair in stately dignity. In a few minutes the clerk laid before him a paper, which the Mayor was requested to endorse as one that had passed under his eye. The clerk remarked: "It is only necessary that you write your initials upon it."

"My *nishels*," said the Mayor, "what's my *nishuls*?"

Now, it so happened that P was the first letter of both the Mayor's names, and the clerk very innocently replied: "Oh, sir, merely write two P's upon the back of this paper."

His Honor the Mayor took a quill in his trembling hand, and, with the perspiration on his brow, wrote "TOO PEZE," and the document is on file in the office unto this day.—*Philadelphia Press.*

The Boston *Gazette* tells this story of business sagacity: "One day during the past week, a firm gave a check to one of their creditors for two thousand dollars, which he presented at the bank, where he was informed that it was drawn for five hundred dollars more than stood to the firm's credit. Having some little doubt of the solvency of the firm, he drew his own check for five hundred dollars, and deposited it to the account of the firm, when he was promptly paid the full amount. The firm stopped payment the same day, and will pay somewhere about thirty cents on a dollar; but our friend, by a little timely gumption, obtained seventy-five per cent. of his claim."

When the Duke of Wellington went to Oxford as Chancellor, he was very much puzzled when they told him he was to make a Latin speech at the inauguration. In this dilemma, he applied to his physician, as most likely from his prescriptions to know Latin, and he made a speech which answered very well. "I believe," said the Duke, "it was a very good speech, but I did not know much of the matter."

A citizen of Chicago, who was in Kansas after the election, tells the editor of the *Democratic Press* of that city, that, in a long conversation he had with Stringfellow, the latter conceded that the popular verdict was in favor of making Kansas a free State, and said that he was willing to give up the contest, and would henceforth devote himself to making it a Democratic State, which he thought was the next best thing to be done. He has become largely interested in real estate in Kansas; and it is thought he is entirely satisfied with the result of the election, as it will greatly add to the value of his property. Kickapoo, where so much illegal voting was done, is on the Missouri river, nearly opposite the town of Westport, Mo., and on the day of the election the ferry boat was constantly running between the two places, carrying over crowds of Missourians, who did not conceal their intention of voting. According to the Leavenworth *Times* affidavits have been sworn to, testifying that the U. S. troops did vote at Maysville, several times over, at the suggestion of Walker; and John Herndon, a respectable citizen of Platte county, Mo., also swears that the Governor wanted him to vote, after he told him that was a citizen of Missouri, and had no right.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1857.

☞ The office of the *National Era* is removed to the newly-erected "Republican Building," corner of Indiana avenue and Second street.

☞ CIRCULARS.—An Annual Circular to voluntary agents is now on its way to them. We shall need their aid more than ever, and we hope they will be prompt. Next to gold, as we have said, Eastern notes are preferred; still they must do as well as they can, and if they can find nothing but notes current in their own neighborhood, send them, provided the banks be solvent.

We send out the Circular at this time, so that our agents may renew the clubs before they expire, and procure new subscribers in time for the beginning of the session of Congress. Let us again remind them, that more than usual exertions will be required, these hard times, to keep up the list of the *Era*.

THE RE-ELECTION OF GOVERNOR CHASE.

We were right in discrediting the reports of the defeat of Governor Chase: he is re-elected by a majority of from two to three thousand votes. In Hamilton county, where he has always resided, he gains largely on the vote given last fall for Fremont. The more Mr. Chase is known, the more he commends himself to the confidence of the People. The Opposition was unscrupulous, and basely attempted to run him down under the odium of a defalcation of which one of their own Party was guilty, but which was first brought to light and corrected under his Administration.

The New York *Evening Post* well remarks—

"The result is a gratifying one in every point of view. It is the most complete political victory that the Governor has ever achieved. His previous successes, numerous as they have been, were obtained partly through the division of his opponents. He was elected to the United States Senate by a minority; and when he first ran for Governor, had the opposition been united, he would have been defeated by about ten thousand votes. In the late election, the opposition were united; the vote of the Americans was too inconsiderable to be chronicled by the Ohio press, their merger in the Administration party having become absolute; so that the vote just given was a fair test of the opposition strength of the State.

"In the two years of his gubernatorial administration, Mr. Chase has built up the Republican party from a small plurality to a majority, and has placed the future administration of its affairs upon a firm and enduring Republican basis. He has purified it of its secret foes as well as of its transient and unreliable allies, and has consolidated all the friends of Freedom and Economy into a compact political organization. This is the fruit of wise statesmanship; it is the ripened confidence which his good sense, probity, and forecast, have inspired. No one who looks at his Administration without prejudice, any longer doubts that, like Saul in Israel, he is superior by a head and shoulders to any Governor that Ohio ever had before him. Governor Chase is one of the few men now in public life who has always been faithful to his convictions, and whom no immediate or prospective political advantage has seduced into improper dalliances."

DOCTOR L. D. GALE, OF WASHINGTON.

Last spring, on the incoming of the Administration, ex-Mayor Lenox published an article in the *National Intelligencer* against Miss Minor's school for free colored girls of this city, and denouncing Dr. L. D. Gale for being one of the trustees of this school. This was the first intimation that the appointments of Examiners of Patents were to be regarded as spoils of office. The Patent Office is the guardian of the rights of inventors, and of capitalists purchasing patent rights. The capital to be protected amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars, and this sum rests upon the integrity and capacity and industry of those men in the office known as Chief Examiners. These have heretofore been educated to their office duties, and have gone up regularly, having served an apprenticeship as Assistant Examiners. But all this is changed now, and Dr. Gale has been removed from his position, to give his office to a gentleman from Missouri, who has had no experience in the Patent Office.

Dr. Gale has had eleven years service in the Patent Office, during which time he has acted upon upwards of four thousand applications for patents in the various branches of applied chemistry, agriculture, medicine, as well as other branches of manufactures and of art. He was for ten years Professor of Chemistry and Geology in the University of New York, and for five years a manufacturing chemist in that city. And now, after all this long service in the office, he has been removed, only because of his sympathy in Miss Minor's effort to elevate the daughters of the free colored People of Washington. This could not have happened under the late Administration, for Miss Minor's school was warmly patronized by the ladies of the President's household.

We number Dr. Gale among our friends. We know him to be devoted to every good word and work—a man of open-handed benevolence, eminent for his intelligence, integrity, and industry; and we are glad to say to all concerned in obtaining patents, that Dr. Gale is now a Patent Agent in this city, as well as an analytic chemist, and we hope and believe his skill and ability will command the confidence and patronage of all who may read this article.

THE VIRGINIA SYNOD.—This body has held its annual meeting in Washington this week. On Friday evening, the report recommending a withdrawal of the Synod from the General Assembly was adopted by a nearly unanimous vote. Resolutions were then adopted, that the Synod of Virginia approve as a whole of resolutions adopted by the convention of a portion of the church which lately met at Richmond, Va. Secondly, they will cordially co-operate in the organization of the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church, which is to meet in Knoxville on the first Thursday of April.

HARPER'S MONTHLY FOR NOVEMBER.—We are glad to see that the Monthly is still issued. The Harpers have suspended; but as their assets are ample, they will continue their business. The number before us possesses its usual attractions.

Ex-Governor Seymour, of New York, has been nominated as a member for the Assembly. Whether he will accept or not, we do not know.

The will of Dr. R. W. Griswold is disputed by his two widows—one of them divorced, illegally she claims.

☞ The Disunion Convention, which was to be held in a few days at Cincinnati, has been given up on account of the monetary panic. We presume, for the same reason, that the projects of the Southern Commercial Convention will be postponed. Mr. Dudley Mann's giant steamship will hardly be built while money is so scarce.

The retail book trade is at a stand-still in almost all places. In times like these, the people purchase few books.

WHAT SHALL BE THE ISSUES.

The New York *Herald* assumes that the Kansas Question is settled, and that with its settlement closes the agitation of the Question of Slavery. The *National Intelligencer* seems to think that sectional disputes must now give place to the old issues of Finance and a Tariff, which have been revived by the recent monetary revulsions. The Philadelphia *North American* rejoices heartily that any cause has been potent enough to withdraw attention from the sectional issues which have for so many years shaken the Union—that the present calamities in the business world have forced upon the People the issue of a Protective Tariff; and, it adds—"To this issue we stand pledged, and we prefer it to all forms of sectional agitation, as intended to promote the welfare of the country and the harmony of all its varied interests."

The *Herald*, which supported Col. Fremont, is now a champion of Mr. Buchanan, and affects to point out the true policy of his Administration. The *Intelligencer* is always a Quietist, favored the election of Mr. Buchanan, but cherishes a tender longing for the resurrection of the Whig Party. The *North American* was formerly a leading Whig paper; on the dissolution of its Party, became a supporter of the Republican movement, without disavowing its Whig doctrines, and now, as we perceive, rejects that movement, and thanks Heaven for the revival of the Tariff Issue, which is to shut out the discussion of the Question of Slavery. They all agree that the Country is more deeply concerned in the re-organization of the Banking System, and the Revision of the Tariff, than in any other measure. The fate of Kansas they consider settled—henceforward, there is no controversy between the Slave Power and its opponents—of course, there ought to be, and will be, no Republican Party, no Pro-Slavery Party.

These papers forget that the whole Opposition from the Free States in the next Congress has been elected upon the issue of Slavery, raised by the Sectional Party which finds its representative in Mr. Buchanan. Their views about Finance or Protection had nothing to do with their nomination or election. The People were not dreaming of a revision of the Tariff or a National Bank. They had been aroused by the usurpations of Slavery—alarmed by its bold pretensions and its abhorrent doctrines—rendered indignant by the subservience of the so-called Democratic Party to its policy of extension and aggrandizement—and they elected representatives pledged to resist and put down that policy. There is not a Republican Senator or Representative in Congress who stands there in virtue of his views concerning a Tariff or Bank—not one who could have been elected on those issues, had they been presented in place of the momentous questions which, for the last few years, have determined the form and direction of Parties.

The Commercial and Trading Interests, always sufficiently selfish, may forget everything else in the necessities of the hour. Cities, where Mammon rules, distracted, irritated, desperate, from bank-suspension, mercantile failures, universal distrust, and fear of impending ruin, may, for a time, think of nothing but stocks, rates of exchange, and discount. Newspapers, dependent upon the Trading community, may become totally absorbed in questions of mere material values, and imagine that the only duty incumbent on the American People now is, to bewail the fall of the great Babylon, as if the end of the world had come.

But, we must remember that these monetary troubles after all do not affect deeply the masses of the People, out of the cities; are of transient duration, and so obviously the result of causes over which legislation has little control, that they cannot change the organization or policy of political parties. The broken merchant, the suspended banker, the ruined speculator, may devote themselves to the restoration of their fortunes, utterly regardless of the public welfare, but there are still plenty of citizens who cannot be seduced into making pecuniary issues paramount. They will not neglect their own interests, but they will find time to watch over the good of the commonwealth.

In 1837, when general bankruptcy swept over the country, we were a great deal poorer than we are now—afflicted with short crops and a scant supply of specie. And yet, without the aid of a United States Bank, without a Protective Tariff, in fact, under a Tariff with duties decreasing from year to year, without any legislative help whatsoever, the People worked themselves clear of all embarrassments, and became, in two or three years, more prosperous than ever. Now, we are far richer—our resources incomparably greater—we are abounding in all the necessaries of life—with gold and silver enough in the country for all the purposes of Trade, without need of paper currency. All the evils we are suffering, we have brought upon ourselves; and by our own energies and good conduct, we must extricate ourselves. This we are beginning to do: we shall be rapidly progressing by the time Congress shall meet; and we shall have accomplished the work before that body could agree upon any measures of relief, as they are called.

We do not wonder that the French people expect their Government to do everything for them, and when starvation threatens, that they betake themselves to revolution. Such has been their training. The Government, whatever its form, has been in the habit of treating them as children, too stupid or weak to take care of themselves; and it has assumed to determine and regulate all the forms of their industrial as well as political life. This is not the American idea. What we want from a Government is, *security to the rights of each citizen*, and then, generally, *to be let alone*. If there be any works necessary to the development and prosperity of the citizens, to which their means individually or collectively are inadequate, then they desire the interposition of Government. But this true conception of Government is rejected by that class of men who would leave no freedom to the individual. They want laws to direct where the People shall buy and sell, how they shall use their capital and labor, how much farming, and trading, and manufacturing, they shall do, and what shall be their habits generally.

Too late!—we have outgrown this antiquated system. As well may we expect a resurrection of the old Whig Party, as a revival of the issues of a National Bank and Protective Tariff. The newspapers referred to, delude themselves in hoping that the great Question, *shall Freedom or Slavery rule the destinies of this Continent*, can be thrust aside, because the Commercial Interest is just now undergoing a revulsion, to which at certain periods it has always been subject, especially under an inflated paper currency. This great Question is still undecided. Even the fate of Kansas, which is a mere incident of it, hangs yet in suspense. We have elected our Delegate; but it would seem as if the most barefaced Fraud had deprived the Free State Party of the Legislature; and it is notorious that the framing of the State Constitution is under the exclusive control of the Pro-Slavery Party. Should a slave Constitution be sent to Congress, will it dare to ratify it, in the face of the fact now demonstrated by the election of a Free State Delegate, that the majority of the people of the Territory are opposed to it? Settled, indeed! the whole Question will be reopened in the next Congress.

While such papers as the *North American* would abandon the discussion of the great Question of Liberty, we see no indications on the part of the Southern press or politicians of a disposition to ignore the Question of Slavery. Everywhere in the South, it is the only issue. The late elections in that section have been carried for the Administration on this ground, and no other, that it is a stanch supporter of the views and policy of the South in regard to Slavery. Its newspapers abound in discussions of this topic. Scarcely a number of the Richmond Daily *Enquirer* appears, in which the Pro-Slavery virtues of Mr. Buchanan do not form the themes of its editorials. The free States, with a folly often characteristic of them, may subordinate or forget the questions in controversy between the Slave Power and the Non-Slaveholders—but the South never does either. It has possession of the Federal Government for the next four years, is laying all its plans with a view to continue its possession in 1860, and does not hesitate constantly to threaten a dissolution of the Union, should its ambition then be thwarted. In full view of these facts, are we to disband the Republican forces, sink the Question of Freedom, leave the Slave Power undisputed master of the field, with the Chief Executive, Congress, and the Supreme Court, under its absolute dictation, and the doctrine blazoned on its banners that Slavery by the Constitution exists in the Territories? And for what?

For the sake of getting up a Party on those very novel issues, a Protective Tariff and a National Bank!

Southern politicians would no doubt hail such a demonstration. Nothing would delight them more than to see the Northern States divided on questions of political economy. Their Democratic friends in those States could make a better fight against Protection and Banks, than for Slavery and the Dred Scott decision. It would be vastly edifying to see the People of the free States wrangling about an impracticable policy among themselves, while the Slave Power, undisturbed, would march on, strengthening its possessions and extending its conquests.

No—the Republican Party will not disband its forces, or forego the great object of its organization. It will not abandon the doctrines of Liberty, by which it has been cemented, and in the strength of which it has revolutionized nearly all the free States, for the purpose of accommodating itself to the sordid politics of cities that gave their support to Mr. Buchanan, because they expected that his election would give confidence to the Business Community, render its gains solid, and its adventures successful. It will scarcely assent to the wisdom of disturbing a Tariff passed by votes given without distinction of Party, not yet a year old, and the operation of which is not yet known. It will hardly be guilty of the folly of wasting its time and getting up profitless dissensions in its own ranks, by lending countenance to the vagaries of those politicians of a past generation who fondly hope for the re-institution of a National Bank.

The Non-Slaveholders of the country have been insulted, brow-beaten, proscribed by the Slaveholding Oligarchy—their rights invaded, their interests sacrificed. Territory dedicated to Free Labor has been wrested from them, in violation of good faith, and opened by violence to slaves. Doctrines repugnant to Liberty, abhorrent to modern Civilization, destructive of the highest interests of the country, and inconsistent with the stability of the Union, have been forced upon one great Party in the free States, sanctioned by a majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and accepted by the present Administration, which stands openly committed to their enforcement. At this hour, the Oligarchy has more complete possession of the Federal Government, a more effectual control of its policy, than at any former period. From its past usurpations we know its future policy, even were its organs silent. But, it wears no disguise—it has thrown off the mask. What it means by the repeal of all restrictive regulations against Slavery, and by the enunciation of the doctrine that the Constitution of the United States carries Slavery with it into all territory, now existing or to be hereafter acquired, is not so much to obtain possession of Kansas, as to facilitate its gradual occupation of the continent on our Southern and Southwestern border. This constitutional principle, as it styles it, being established, will of course secure Slavery in Cuba, and in any other Territory that it may be able to annex hereafter to our Union.

This being the policy, these the doctrines of the Slave Power and its "National Democratic Party," the course of the Republican Party is a very plain one. It will resist and put down that policy; it will denounce and overturn those doctrines; it will not discontinue its organization or action till it has placed the Federal Government in all its departments on the side of Human Liberty; and made the Union what the Constitution intended it should be, a means for the establishment of Justice and the extension of Free Institutions. It seeks no sectional strife, but, when one section of the Union attempts to elevate the Sectional Interest of Slavery to the rank and power of a supreme National Interest, it will not be deterred by the senseless clamor about sectionalism, from arraying itself against a policy so detestable and ruinous. It will not regard with indifference any public interest, or neglect wise measures to advance it; but it will not revive obsolete questions, or seek to disturb that policy in reference to Trade and Finance, which the country, when undistracted by passion or anxiety, has agreed upon. Its first great duty is to meet and decide those issues of Slavery presented by the Slave Power and its instrument, the so-called "National Democracy."

Gov. King, of New York, has issued his proclamation for a State Thanksgiving on the 20th of November next. Some of the journals suggest that a day of fasting and prayer would be more appropriate. However it may be with the people of the cities, we do not believe the yeomanry would give their consent to the temporary abrogation of this time-honored institution.

THE ELECTIONS.—Minnesota, we fear, has gone for the Administrationists. Iowa is Republican. Kansas is all right, provided Gov. Walker refuses to endorse the enormous frauds of the Border Ruffians. At any rate, Parrott is elected to Congress.

CINCINNATI HOG TRADE.—There has been a further decline in the price of slop-fatted hogs at Cincinnati. The *Price Current* of that city says that they are now dull, at four dollars and seventy-five cents and five dollars and twenty-five cents gross, with a continued downward tendency; and on 'change, on Tuesday, October 20th, corn fatted hogs were offered at five dollars and fifty cents net, for November delivery, without finding buyers. Those who have contracts to receive hogs at seven dollars net in November are in an uncomfortable condition. The *Price Current* is of opinion that farmers will hold back, in hopes of meeting a better market as the season advances; and this will lead to an increase in the weight of hogs brought to market, and a heavier supply in December—because, when they are fatted, they must be sold for whatever they will bring.

The Boston *Journal* has seen a specimen of wrapping paper made from the fibre of the Chinese sugar cane, in Newton, Mass.

THE DIVISION OF THE VIRGINIA DEMOCRACY.

During the past summer, it has been evident, from the tone of the Democratic journals of Virginia, and from the gossip of the Richmond letter-writers, that a secret quarrel has been raging between the partisans of Governor Wise and the friends of Mr. Hunter. The journals in the interest of both gentlemen have uniformly denied that they were rivals for the office of United States Senator, or that they were arrayed against each other in any manner. At the same time, the journals friendly to Gov. Wise have noticed Mr. Hunter in a style which cannot be misinterpreted. The same is true of the journals which are in Mr. Hunter's interest. There can be no doubt that the Democrats of Virginia at this time are divided into two parties—the friends of Governor Wise, and the friends of Mr. Hunter. Governor Wise is a warm supporter of the Administration and the Kansas policy, and, what is of greater importance, the Administration favors the Wise party. The Richmond *Enquirer* is the leading organ of this wing of the Virginia Democracy.

Mr. Hunter, it is supposed, if friendly to Mr. Buchanan, dislikes his support of Governor Walker. The most, however, which can be proved against him is his non-committalism upon these points. The organ of Mr. Hunter is Mr. Pryor's paper, the *South*; and this fact is damaging to his national reputation, for the *South* is an ultra Slavery advocate.

A Virginia correspondent of the New York *Times* not long since expressed his opinions of Mr. Hunter with freedom. They were unfavorable to that gentleman, and the *South* took up the cudgels in his defence. In reply, the same correspondent says:

"I repeat now, as the result of more minute inquiry, that the suspicions of hostility to the Administration, which before attached to him, (Mr. Hunter,) by reason of his identity with the *South*, amounts now to conviction, superinduced very naturally by his obstinate silence under repeated charges of this character. A feeling of distrust *does* prevail against him, and will survive any avowal of friendship which he may make; for who can doubt that it would be actuated by a sense of danger to his political prospects? Whatever may be the result of the Senatorial contest, I am satisfied that he is doomed, so far as his Presidential aspirations are concerned. Should he be re-elected to the Senate, believe me it will be under a stifled protest, and because of an unwillingness on the part of the people of Virginia to consign him so peremptorily to the shades; but that the distrust which is now felt will operate to his defeat in the Presidential race, there is not a shadow of doubt. He is esteemed an ally of the Southern fire-eaters, and therefore too sectional to be chosen for the Presidency. The great governing principle of 'expediency' would not be faithfully reflected in him, judging by the general convictions of his position with reference to an Administration that is regarded as essentially national and conservative. As a criterion of the feeling entertained towards him in this region, I would refer to the fact, that in a county in this neighborhood called Lunenburg, the *South*, which is said to reflect his sentiments and opinions, is not tolerated. I was informed that the people there and elsewhere despise it, as being the author of the bickering and divisions which now threaten the Democratic party in Virginia. I ascertained this upon good authority."

It is not difficult to discern, even from this letter, that Mr. Hunter and Governor Wise may be rivals, and yet not for a seat in the U. S. Senate. Both may indulge in loftier aspirations. And if such be the truth, the man who, while being an undoubted friend to Slavery, can present the best face towards the Northern Democracy, has the best chances of winning the Presidential chair.

JEFFERSON DAVIS AGAIN.—This gentleman has been delivering another speech in Mississippi, on the times. We select a paragraph from the published report, which is the key-note to the whole:

"These, he said, are troublous times. The sectional arrogance, puritanical intolerance, and licentious fanaticism, of one portion of the Confederacy, are of so violent, aggressive, and unconstitutional a character, that their inevitable result will be, if not restrained and moderated by a better feeling North, or, what is still more reliable, if not boldly met and put down by a united South, to tear asunder, and forever, the bonds of our Union! He could assure his hearers that it was in no spirit of pleasurable anticipation that he looked forward to any such contingency as this. Some of the most endearing reminiscences and associations have grown out of his connection with the Federal Government. While yet a boy, he was called to duty in its military service, where he remained up to mature manhood. He had seen its flag wave its graceful folds in the peaceful civic pageant, and witnessed it borne aloft in the clash and cannon-clouds of the battle-field; he had seen it in the East, brightened by the sun at its rising, and in the West, gilded by his declining but golden rays; and to see that flag sundered, to see one star torn from its azure field, would, he felt, imbue him with a sorrow such as only a parent feels for a lost and beloved child."

When will a "panic" come to this business of saving the Union? While all other humbugs collapse and vanish into the air, this one deceives its millions of victims.

SYNOD OF MISSOURI.—The Synod of Missouri (New School) held its annual session at St. Louis, last week. The principal topic of discussion was the action of the New School General Assembly at its last annual meeting, with which body the Missouri Synod has been heretofore connected. A St. Louis exchange says:

"The usual routine of business was attended to, but the matter that most engaged the time and attention of the Synod was its relations with the General Assembly, in view of its action at Cleveland, in May last. This came up under the report of the Committee on the Assembly's minutes. Rev. Mr. Glenn, Chairman, stated that the committee, being fully aware of the diversity of sentiment which prevailed, found it difficult to make such a report as would harmonize the body. Some were for adhering to the Assembly, some for going with the Southern secession, and some to the Old School Assembly. The committee were desirous, if possible, of holding the Synod together, and would therefore recommend the following action, by way of compromise, and as the only thing which in their judgment would accomplish the result. 'In view of the action of the late General Assembly on the subject of Slavery—

"'*Resolved*, That this Synod does withdraw from the Assembly, and will not send up its records.

"'*Resolved*, That we cannot go with the Richmond Convention, but will remain an independent Synod until the providence of God shall seem to make clear our way of duty.'

"This report was signed by three of the committee. Another report was read, signed by two, recommending adherence to the Assembly. These reports called out an able and ample discussion, in which nearly all the members participated. The motion to accept the majority report, and adopt the first resolution, was passed, by a vote of seventeen to ten. This result having been reached, the second resolution passed unanimously."

This action, considering the condition of the Missouri Synod, is an Anti-Slavery victory. The seceding party is condemned, while it is not at all unlikely that the Synod will, ere long, resume its old relations towards the General Assembly.

ELECTIONEERING DISHONESTY.—The Administrationists made astounding exertions at the late election contest in Minnesota, as we learn from our exchanges from there. They were determined to win, no matter by what means. In the election last spring, they resorted to illegal voting at St. Paul, and in the late election they attempted to deceive a class of foreign voters by the circulation of falsehoods. The *North American*, of Philadelphia, says there are four thousand Scandinavians in Minnesota, and that the Administrationists issued a circular in their language, charging the Republicans with being monarchists, and of dividing the Union, giving the free States to England! Through such statements an attempt was made to mislead the Scandinavians, and we fear that it was successful.

LEAVENWORTH COUNTY FRAUD.—The way in which the Kansas officials make out a Pro-Slavery majority in Leavenworth county, is by counting several hundred more votes in Kickapoo than they ever claimed to have there. A correspondent of the *Missouri Democrat*, writing after he has had an interview with Gov. Walker, says:

"Walker brings the result of the election in various precincts of Leavenworth county, and shows the county has gone Pro-Slavery by a small majority. Taking him at his word, it is enough to convince any man that frauds most damnable, enough to make the hair rise from the head of a bald-headed saint, have been perpetrated in the Kickapoo precinct. They only claim about 200 voters, and polled a Pro-Slavery majority of 481. The Governor says he stationed a company of 48 dragoons at Kickapoo, to protect the ballot-box, and that the whole company voted; 12 voted the Free State ticket, and 36 the opposition. He claims that they had a right to vote, because they had been in the Territory over six months. The balance, enough to make up the 461 majority, went up from Leavenworth, and yet Leavenworth only gave about 240 majority for the Free State ticket; not so much as the city gave Adams at the municipal election. It is strange that after 300 Pro-Slavery voters had left Leavenworth city, that it, and the surrounding country, which is so thickly settled, should poll so small a majority. It is also a new feature in the hill of Kansas politics, that the Governor has a right to station troops at the different precincts, in order to carry the election in favor of Slavery."

SENATOR JONES.—This newly-chosen Senator, from Tennessee, was originally a mechanic, and his sympathies are upon the side of the workingmen. He is opposed to a system of representation based upon slaves, and would have only *whites* counted. He has recently delivered a speech, of which a Tennessee Pro-Slavery journal says:

"It was the most remarkable speech it has ever been our lot to hear, the chief and only ingredients being egotism and mobocracy. It was brimming full of class bitterness, and low-flung class prejudices. We doubt if any respectable American audience in the whole history of the country ever stood patiently, and listened to so mobocratical and jacobinical an harangue.

"If an exact and *verbatim* report of it could be obtained, printed in a pamphlet form, and a copy laid upon each Senator's desk when its author made his appearance in his seat, we have scarce a doubt that every patriot and statesman in that honorable body would instinctively rise from his place, and go over to the other side of the house, as the Roman Senators once fled from the contamination of the traitor Catiline. Our readers cannot realize how low, how despicable, how dirty, a thing it was, without having heard it for themselves. We might more tolerate its treasonable sentiments, if it had possessed the merit of being a chaste and learned literary production. Robespierre uttered sentiments as bad, but he clothed them in language that bespoke the scholar, the gentleman, and the orator; but the language and manner of the modern mobocrat were coarse, vulgar, and ungrammatical."

The trouble is, that Mr. Jones is not sufficiently a tool of the Slave Oligarchy.

OREGON.—The new Constitution of Oregon bids fair to contain some curious features. One of these, prepared at the last dates, in the Convention, was to abolish the grand jury system, on account of its expense and inquisitorial character, and substitute therefor the result of examinations before justices of the peace. Another is to make the Governor *ex officio* Treasurer of the State; to have no Lieutenant Governor; and to make the Secretary of State Governor *pro tem.* in case of the death of the Executive. A third novelty is the limitation of the number of members of the State Senate to fifteen, and of the Assembly to thirty, with biennial sessions. A fourth is the *viva voce* system of voting at all public elections. This has been done all along in Oregon, and is the old English plan, adopted thence into Virginia, and from Virginia carried westward through Kentucky and Missouri to Oregon. The voting is done in the same way in Kansas. There are some other interesting features, which may be briefly stated thus: Judges of courts are rendered ineligible to any office other than a judicial one during the terms for which they may have been elected, and for one year thereafter. Towns and cities are prohibited from contracting debts for any purpose whatever; banking charters are absolutely prohibited; so that the business of corporate banking will not be recognised.—*Phila. North American.*

Some of the proposed sections of the Constitution alluded to above, we like, while others are of doubtful expediency. The idea of crowding several State offices into one is new, but a pernicious one. Shinplaster banking will not flourish in Oregon, if the Constitution is adopted, and its towns and future cities will not be allowed to run into debt as heavily as the cities of the Eastern States.

THE INDIANA FREE BANKS.—We clip the following from the Indianapolis *Daily Journal* of the 19th instant:

"We publish to-day an important document. It is the report of the Auditor of State, of the condition of the free banks since complying with his demand for increased securities to meet the depreciation of stocks in the East. It will be seen that, *estimating the securities at the very lowest rates* to which they have descended during the panic, they exceed the amount of issues nearly *ten per cent.* Since this estimate was made, stocks have advanced in New York about ten per cent., making a security for every bill of the banks, embraced in the report, of twenty per cent. more than its face. If this does not make our free-bank issues safe, it is simply because Indiana bonds are not worth the sixty-five or seventy cents on the dollar, at which they have been estimated by the Auditor. We doubt if there is any money in circulation anywhere that is so entirely safe, and so impossible to be made bad. If every bank fails, and every proprietor fails, the Auditor has means enough to redeem every dollar, and leave a surplus. The bills are, moreover, recommended by the State Treasurer to be received in payment of taxes."

According to this report, Indiana bank bills must be good, and we can perceive no reason why they should be held in the seaport cities at more than the usual discount. In times like these, the only safe bills seem to be those issued by banks having securities in State or United States stocks, which securities are in official hands.

UNION AGAINST FERNANDO WOOD.—There is a prospect that all the opponents of the Administration in the city of New York may unite to defeat Fernando Wood, who is the Administration candidate for Mayor. The *Tribune* is in favor of this policy, and other journals are friendly to the plan. A thorough union of *all* the opponents of Mr. Wood will certainly defeat him, and, as he is an unscrupulous politician of the Tammany school, it is highly desirable that he should fail of a re-election. The *Commercial Advertiser* says:

"These are not times in which citizens can bear increased taxation, or even sustain their present burdens in that respect. And yet experience teaches us that under Democratic rule our city taxes invariably increase in terrific ratio. Shall this state of things continue, or shall it be remedied? If the response is, that it shall be remedied, then, how shall the remedy be administered, and how be made effectual? Are the Republicans and the Americans, as the two existing opposition parties, ready, *in good faith*, to put their party organization in abeyance, and make nominations irrespective of party?

"We are glad to see that the *Tribune* proposes to do this, and would fain hope that it speaks with authority. Will the Americans do the same? Will any number of influential citizens co-operate with them, and so all who desire good government, whatever their party preferences, combine to give us a single opposition charter ticket, which shall commend itself to every honest citizen, as one worthy of his hearty support? If so, there is hope. But we cannot too earnestly impress upon our readers the undoubted fact, that if the opposition to a corrupt and extravagant city government is divided, the re-election of a corrupt and extravagant government is as certain as the rising of to-morrow's sun."

The Review.

The Atlantic Monthly. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Company.

The first number of this widely-heralded magazine will be looked upon with eager interest in many quarters, and we presume with critical eyes. Whether it claims much for itself or not, the public have claimed for it a great deal, and will be disappointed unless it satisfies its high expectations. But who does not know that the *first* number of a serial work, be it newspaper, or magazine, or quarterly, often falls in merit far short of the succeeding issues?

But this issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* will, we believe, satisfy reasonable people, who remember the difficulties in the way of getting out a nonpareil *first* number. In the style in which it is issued, it reminds us of the lamented *Putnam's Monthly*, in its palmy days. The columns are double on each page, the type is clear and open, while the paper rivals the snow in purity. The pea-green of *Putnam* is exchanged for a more sober light-brown. Thus much for the *apparel* of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

The more prominent prose articles we will mention. The leading article, and one of the best in the number, is entitled "Douglas Jerrold." It was written by an intimate friend of the deceased subject, and is at the same time a sketch of the life of Mr. Jerrold, and a criticism of his works. It is finely written, and worthy to lead off in the new magazine. "Florentine Mosaics" is an article interesting to artists, scholars, and all lovers of the fine arts. The same may be said of "The Manchester Exhibition." A story, by the name of "Sally Parsons's Duty," is in the popular vein, and is a sketch of life in Revolutionary times. The best story, to our thinking, in the number, is that entitled "Pendlam: a Modern Reformer." It is a vivid, racy, and original sketch, and carries a first-rate moral with it. Or, rather, it abounds with wholesome truths. "Pendlam" is a man without ballast, who turns reformer, and from an orthodox clergyman becomes a wild spiritualist and Fourierite, and finally brings up at last in the Romish Church. The history of his life is told with great power. An able, solid article upon "British India" follows, which is peculiarly appropriate at this time. "Akin by Marriage" is a to-be-continued story, and opens well. The last article is "The Financial Flurry." Of course, it treats upon the distressing revulsion among business men. It touches lightly upon it, however. It does not descend to profound argument upon the subject, and it will neither offend believers in a shin-plaster currency, or hard-money advocates.

It will be observed, that there is nothing in this number to show the position of the new magazine upon political subjects. Yet we learn, from the prospectus, that it will hold opinions upon these questions, and express them fearlessly.

The poetry of this number is not remarkable. There are two or three fine pieces, but nothing which we might naturally expect in a specimen initial number, which advertises Longfellow, Whittier, Bryant, Emerson, and Lowell, among its contributors. This will be rectified, we presume, in future numbers.

The editorial department is also a little deficient. This corner should be, in a first-class magazine, the most interesting and able portion of the whole. In some, it is. We recollect at this moment the *Christian Examiner*, of Boston, and the *Westminster Review*, as examples. Unquestionably, this department will improve with age.

Upon the whole, then, we commend the *Atlantic Monthly* to our readers. It occupies a position peculiarly its own. It runs no race with any established serials. It has no illustrations, publishes *only original* matter, and will, we are told by its publishers, treat upon political and national subjects on proper occasions. The matter furnished for its columns will be from the best authors and writers, both of this country and Europe. Such a magazine is worth reading, worth sustaining, for its success will be an honor to the nation. If the United States cannot support an independent literary magazine without pictures, what a commentary will it be upon our intelligence! So, the *Atlantic Monthly* has our best wishes for its success.

Household Words. New York: John Jansen, publisher.

The November number of this excellent periodical has been received. It has passed into new hands—we refer to the *reprint*—but is published in the old style. The present number contains the usual variety of good matter. One article bears directly upon the matter in dispute between Mr. Dickens and the *Edinburgh Review*, respecting the Circumlocution Office. It gives some facts which go to prove that the English Government has in its employ men who are utterly unfit for their places.

"Mrs. Badgery" is a humorous sketch, written to ridicule over-done sentimentalism. The monthly reprint of this periodical is now so issued that the continued story usually occupies four weekly numbers, is *commenced* in each monthly part, whereas it should begin and end in each number.

The Eclectic Magazine. New York: N. H. Bidwell, proprietor.

The November number of this favorite magazine lies upon our table. Its general character our readers are acquainted with. It *selects* matter from the whole range of European literature, and publishes it on a large, open page. In addition, it gives every month a finely-executed portrait of some distinguished personage. In this number, we have the portrait of Agnes Strickland, so widely known and admired for her gossiping sketches of the English Queens. If the portrait is a good one, we cannot but think what a pity it is that she is an "old maid!" Such a sweet and wholesome-looking face should certainly have made some lover wild—some household happy. The latter may have been the case as it is.

This number of the *Eclectic* contains a variety of excellent articles. The leading one is entitled "Philosophy, Old and New—Ancient and Modern." It is a profound treatise upon a very interesting subject. The articles which follow are, with two or three exceptions, brief and sketchy. Several capital stories are published in this number, one of them, "A Queen's Revenge," we gave to the readers of the *Era* a few weeks since.

Harper's Magazine. New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

The November number of this favorite monthly has been received. Notwithstanding the temporary suspension of its proprietors, this magazine was never more successful, nor has any previous number that we remember excelled this in matter or illustrations.

The first article is the third part of "A Winter in the South," which is happily illustrated with twenty wood engravings. "A Reminiscence of Rome" follows, with ten more illustrations. The third article is the notorious poem entitled "Nothing to Wear," also illustrated. Notorious we call it, from the dispute respecting its authorship, which so occupied the columns of the New York journals last summer. Here the poem appears by *William Allen Butler*, which is evidence that the Harpers consider Miss Peck's claims as worthless. "In High Latitudes" is an illustrated article, and the letter-press is readable. Of the articles which follow, we can only say that they are varied and interesting. Some are original, some selected, and all entertaining matter. The Editor's Table in this number contains a lengthy disquisition upon the English and their manners. It is, upon the whole, an appreciative criticism upon a great nation. The circulation of *Harper* stands now at 170,000 per month, and the publishers state in their prospectus that they disburse $3,000 every month to authors and artists for work on the magazine.

Little Paul. Published and for sale as above.

This is the November number of Harper's series of story books.

It is of course by Jacob Abbott, who writes all the stories of the series. We know of no writer for children who excels Mr. Abbott for vivid interest and graphic description. He adapts himself to his readers with ease, and understands all their tastes and inclinations. He is sometimes a little improbable in his incidents, but children usually have a very large bump of the marvellous, and he writes for them—not for grown-up people.

"Little Paul" will be a favorite among Mr. Abbott's stories, if we do not mistake. It is full of interest, and will grace the fireside of many a pleasant home, now that the evenings are beginning to lengthen.

Universalist Quarterly Review. Boston: A. Tompkins, publisher.

This quarterly is ably edited, and the present number contains several interesting articles. We have been specially interested in an article in reply to Mr. Brownson, of the *Catholic Quarterly*. The two reviews are discussing the question of the infallibility of the Catholic Church, and apparently in a good temper.

WASHINGTON ITEMS.

It is affirmed by the friends of the Administration that the President is determined to crush the new Nicaragua filibustering expedition. On the other hand, General Walker and his friends do not relax in their preparations for war, and evidently believe that Mr. Buchanan will wink at their invasion.

Disorderly street occurrences are upon the increase in Washington. Unoffending citizens are struck down by scoundrels in prominent streets, and the police force seem to be powerless. An omnibus-driver, says the *Star*, was dreadfully beaten at the foot of the Capitol one evening last week. If the municipal authorities cannot govern Washington, Congress will have to take the matter in hand.

The Secretary of War has been on a flying visit to New York.

David Dunn, of Maine, has been appointed to a second-class clerkship in the bureau of the Second Assistant Postmaster General. Salary, $1,400.

The *Star* of this city contains the following paragraph respecting the approaching election in Baltimore:

"The question has arisen whether the Democrats of Baltimore should or should not essay to avail themselves of their nominal rights as citizens of Maryland in the approaching election for State officers and members of Congress. It strikes us that, unless satisfied beforehand that they will be protected in the exercise of the right of suffrage, to essay to vote on that occasion will be simply to imperil their lives, to no good end. It is clear to nearly all outside the limits of that corporation, that its authorities—of course, including the police—are leagued with the gangs who consider the attempt of a Democrat to exercise the right of suffrage there a crime worthy of the death penalty, and who act with impunity on that maxim."

Would Democratic journals have given similar advice to the people of Kansas, similar advice a year or two ago, when the Border Ruffians, leagued with "the authorities," made it dangerous for honest men to show themselves at the polls? That outrage was laughed at by Administration journals, but it seems that this time it is their ox which is gored. It seems, however, that in the late riots in Baltimore the fighting was commenced by Democrats.

The first mail on the overland route between the Mississippi and the Pacific coast, under the contract of the Post Office Department with James E. Birch, arrived at San Diego, California, on the 21st of August, after a journey of only thirty-four days. It is remarkable, from the fact that the journey was made from San Antonio in about half the usual time required to cross the backbone of the continent over any other route, and without the previous placement of relays of animals along the route, which will in due time be stationed there to facilitate the enterprise. The entire success of this trip vindicates, eminently, the wisdom of the firmness of the President and Postmaster General in resisting the sectional appeals against that particular route, when making the selection.

In twelve months from this time, those at the North whose business affairs connect them with California, will wonder how any other than this Texas route could have been dreamed of, so glaring will its advantages over all others travelled between the Mississippi and Pacific have become, in that time.—*Ex.*

The above paragraph fails to state how long the mail was in going *from Washington* to San Francisco. The *distance* of this route is certainly as great as that of the more central one.

The Great Fire and Loss of Life at Chicago.

The telegraph has already given the main particulars of the destructive fire and serious loss of life at Chicago, on Monday morning. Nine buildings, occupied as stores, were consumed, and eleven lives lost, by the falling walls. The fire originated in the hardware store of Cormick, Cross, & Co., on South Water street, whose loss is $42,000; insurance, $32,000. Among the other sufferers, are A. D. Titsworth, clothier—loss, $42,000; insurance, $20,000. J. H. Dunham—loss, $24,000; insurance, $18,000. Clark & Dater, grocers—loss, $40,000; insurance, $30,000. Mrs. Andrews—loss, $6,000; insured. Honore & Co., druggists—loss, $2 000. Lewis & Page, paint and oil store—loss, $70,000; insurance, $50,000. Dr. D. S. Smith—loss, $6,000; insurance, $5,000. Dr. Maxwell—loss, $8,000; insurance, $5,000. E. Hempstead, grocer—loss, $16,000; insurance, $15,000. Tappen Brothers, clothiers—loss, $8,000; insured. D. B. Cooke, & Co., bookstore—loss, $115,000; insurance, $70,000. R. G. Greene lost twenty pianos and other property, valued at $50,000; no insurance. Mr. Erben, of New York, $2,000; no insurance. William Stacy, bookbinder—loss, $25,000; no insurance. W. Wright—loss, $26,000; insurance, $19,000. J. B. Shay, dry goods—loss, $90,000; insurance, $45,000. Blake & Webster, millinery goods—loss, $10,000. E. Wright—loss, $36,000; insurance, $20,000. J. A. Smith, hat store—loss, $10,000; insured. The total loss is over half a million of dollars. We have already given the names of those who lost their lives. Some of the bodies presented a most shocking spectacle. The *Times* says:

"A Milwaukie fireman, named Cooper, was taken out of the ruins, after having been buried there for about two hours. He was insensible when first taken out, but soon revived, and commenced *swearing at his rescuers for not digging him out sooner!*"

Some of the bakers in New York have commenced selling their bread by weight.

Dr. Brandreth, the "pill doctor," is a candidate for the New York State Senate.

ELECTION IN IOWA.

Le Claire, Iowa, *Oct.* 19, 1857.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The returns of the election held on the 13th instant are slowly coming in, and it will probably be two weeks before the result is officially declared; but enough is known to warrant the conclusion that the Republicans have carried the State, by a majority of 2,000 or 3,000—a decided gain on the vote in August.

The contest was spirited; both parties took the field, with the determination to conquer, if possible. Judge Lowe, Republican candidate for Governor, and Ornan Faville, Republican candidate for Lieutenant Governor, canvassed the State, assisted by Henry O'Connor, Judge Smith, and Governor Grimes. Ben. M. Samuels and G. Gillaspie, Democratic candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, were equally active, and used all their skill and eloquence to convince the people, that if the Republicans triumphed, the State of Iowa would be flooded with negroes, &c. The old cries of Amalgamation, Negro Equality, &c., were raised with increased vehemence. The new Constitution was assailed as an Abolition instrument, aiming to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, providing for the education of white and colored children in the same schools, and other like enormities.

But the Republicans were not drawn away from the real issues by such trickery; and it is safe to say, that the whole question of Slavery and Slavery-extension was more fully discussed than ever before.

In this county (Scott) the Republicans have gained largely since the August election, having elected the entire county ticket by between 200 and 300 majority; and this in face of the bitter opposition of the Pro-Slavery Know Nothings, who voted directly with the Democrats. Mr. Nicholas Rusch, a thoroughly educated German, is re-elected Senator. He was first elected in 1856, to fill a vacancy; and having performed his duties in such a manner as to prove his ability and faithfulness, he was unanimously nominated for a full term.

It would perhaps be interesting to analyze some of the county returns, but that must be deferred for the present. Let the following, however, be noted:

Dubuque, with its large Celtic population and Governmental patronage, is, as usual, Democratic, having a reported majority of 1,500 on the State ticket. This is nearly balanced by the good Republican Henry county, which gives 1,100 majority for Freedom.

Henry is the banner county, and can always be depended upon; and why? Simply because where the most seed is sown, and the soil is best cultivated, there will be reaped the largest crop. When Iowa was represented in the United States Senate by Dodge and Jones, when the State was considered as part of the lawful prey of the Slavery-Extensionists, when it was not fashionable to oppose the "peculiar institution"—then a faithful band was found in Henry county, which ceased not to utter its voice against oppression, and which for years maintained the only Anti-Slavery paper in the State—*The Iowa True Democrat*—at Mount Pleasant, by S. Howe.

To-day the people of Iowa are indebted to those self-denying men who, amid obloquy and reproach, *dared* to maintain the right against the wrong. Yours, &c., E. R.

THE TIMES.

To the Editor of the National Era:

We find all the world about us suddenly fallen from prosperity to poverty, and some say it is all owing to the tariff being too low, some to the extravagance of our wives and the vast expansion of their dresses; but, sir, I believe it is all owing to the banks, and to the abuse of public confidence by these banks, which are created to make rich men richer and poor men poorer. Now, this is not understood by the day-laboring class, to which I belong. Let me give an example, showing how easy it is for rich men to become richer. By the last bank report of the good old Granite State, where, if anywhere, the simplicity and honesty of the fathers have come down to their children, it is shown that 42 banks of that State had a specie basis of $220,527, and paper bills out amounting to $3,684,673. Now, then, the stockholders of these banks were getting at least six per cent. interest on $3,864,146, and dividing among themselves $161,848 76, without the expenditure of a single dollar. And who pays this interest?

The merchant borrower, it may be said. And who enables the merchant or manufacturer, as the case may be, to pay his interest? Certainly, the consumer of the goods imported or manufactured. And who make up the great mass of consumers? The mechanical classes; laborers of all classes and all names. Those who spend and are compelled to spend the money as they earn it. This seems as plain as a pike-staff to me.

And what is the effect of making money plenty? Who is benefited by this? The rich stockholder and the rich men in all pursuits, who are the first to profit by a rise of their goods, while the working man is the last to get up his wages, which are the first to be depressed when a change comes over the money market, as we all know by experience.

Now, what we men of labor need is permanency of value to the dollar and what it will bring. And this can only be had by having a hard-money currency. Let the working-men say, we will have no more of bank-made prosperity, for we are the many, and the many can never protect their rights, when rich men can make paper bills stand in the stead of dollars.

A Hard Worker.

KANSAS.

Correspondence of the Evening Post.

The Election—How Mr. Parrott, the Free State Candidate was Chosen to Congress—He Receives his Certificate from Governor Walker.

Leavenworth City, *Oct.* 16, 1857.

For several days prior to yesterday, there were conflicting rumors regarding the result of the election, and among them was a semi-official announcement of the defeat of Parrott, and the loss of the Territorial Legislature to the Free State party.

It was alleged that Johnson county had given a very large vote for the Pro-Slavery ticket, more than sufficient to absorb the majorities which Parrott had obtained in nearly every other county in the Territory. One precinct, named Oxford, in Johnson county, returned some 1,600 majority in favor of the so-called Democratic party. Immediately on these returns being received at Lecompton, measures were taken by some of the Free State party to establish the fraud by sending to the place aforesaid.

The evidence of the fraud was of such a glaring character, on the representation of those who went to Oxford, that Governor Walker and Secretary Stanton went down to the place, and on a search for the judges of the election who purported to have made the returns to them, found only one, and he denied having made any such as were alleged.

They also found that there were but about twenty people, all told, who resided where sixteen hundred and upwards were returned as having voted.

In consequence of this and other discoveries of fraudulent returns of a similar character to the one stated, Mr. Parrott was notified that he could have his certificate of election without any further delay. This news was received last evening, and it is now fully settled that, throwing out the ascertained fraudulent votes, Marcus J. Parrott is elected to Congress from this Territory by more than five thousand majority.

There are also twenty-eight out of thirty-nine Free State members of the Territorial House of Representatives, and nine out of thirteen members of the Council, as I have before stated.

This is good news, and shows that we are all right on the question of *Free State*, when it is presented for our action.

The Constitutional Convention reassembles next Monday, and there will be a very interesting session, occasioned by the recent result of the election. Truth.

Reports of the Kansas Press.

Election returns have been received from nearly every county in Kansas, and the result is, every district—except the Leavenworth and Atchison districts—*has gone overwhelmingly Free State.* Such a disparity of strength was scarcely ever before exhibited between two contending parties for power, as is seen in the vote throughout all Kansas, except on the immediate Missouri border. Seventy to nothing—one hundred and fifty to three—two hundred and forty to nothing—nine hundred and five to eleven: this is the way the vote runs, where the polls were not convenient of access from Missouri. We said the Free State ticket was overwhelmingly victorious, except in the two districts mentioned. In this we slightly erred. According to the true vote cast in this district, the Free State party carried the day by thirteen hundred majority, out of an aggregate of about two thousand three hundred votes. All was right so far, and would stand so, except for the fraudulent returns mentioned elsewhere.

Admitting, however, the Johnson county, and all other fraudulent returns, Marcus J. Parrott is elected by about three thousand majority, and *Secretary Stanton has indicated his readiness to give him his certificate of election.*

Johnson county has sent up to the Secretary's office returns giving for the county some seventeen hundred Pro-Slavery majority. The mass of these returns are from the Oxford Precinct, a little town on the Missouri line; or, rather, the village, what there is of it, is on the Missouri side. There are not thirty legal voters living at that Precinct, and only some eighty were polled the first day. But the polls were kept open, or pretended to be, another day; and now, the pretence is made that from a thousand to fifteen hundred votes were polled the second day. Now, according to the census of the Pro-Slavery men themselves, *Johnson county contains only four hundred and ninety-six voters, and a total population of only eight hundred and ninety inhabitants!* Of course, such monstrous returns give *prima facie* evidence of being fraudulent throughout. A majority of ten hundred thousand would be just as reasonable and honest from Johnson county as this seventeen hundred majority.

We learn that *Secretary Stanton openly avows his conviction that the returns are fraudulent, and of course, under such circumstances, he can give no certificates based upon them.* Indeed, should an attempt be made to defraud the members, rightfully elected by the people, of their seats, by the admission of these fraudulent returns, we think we speak advisedly when we say *that the peace of the whole Territory would be immediately and most imminently hazarded thereby.*

The people of Kansas have staked their all, almost, upon this election, and now they *will not stand it* to be defrauded again out of their just rights. If it be again demonstrated to us that there is no reliance to be placed upon the ballot-box, what alternative is left but that of perpetual degradation and Slavery, or a prompt recurrence to the final resort of oppressed and down-trodden peoples? Those now in authority—especially the Secretary and Governor—have resting upon them, at this moment, a most awful responsibility. Upon their wisdom and justice in this case depends the peace of Kansas, and, we may add, the peace and perpetuity of the Union.

Let them beware, for they tread upon a volcano!

The rights of the freemen of Kansas cannot long be tampered with through such damnable means. Federal bayonets will prove inefficient for the protection of members whose seats are thus fraudulently obtained, and who never can obtain them except through complicity of the Executive officers. Such officers shall be held first in responsibility to an outraged people. Should certificates be given on such fraudulent returns, let the people be prepared to settle this question in a manner that shall effectually put an end to military dictatorship and ruffian rule in Kansas.—*Lawrence (Kansas) Republican, Oct.* 15.

NEWS FROM EUROPE.

Halifax, Oct. 20.—The Royal mail steamship Europa, Capt. Leitch, from Liverpool on the afternoon of Saturday, the 10th instant, arrived at this port at 11 20 o'clock this evening. She left Liverpool at 1 P. M. of Saturday. She reports that she passed on the 13th a large vessel, ship-rigged, apparently a screw steamer, standing east; 14th, passed a large screw steamer, steering east.

She has £63,160 in specie.

The steamship Indian, from Quebec, arrived out on the 7th, and the Persia, from New York, on the 10th.

The steamship Borussia, from Hamburg for New York, put back to Hamburg on the 7th. The cause was not stated.

There is nothing later from India.

There had been a terrible storm on the English coast. The American ship S. B. Kimball, from Sunderland, bound to New York, had been lost. Her crew had been all saved.

The American crisis was severely felt in England and France, and money throughout Europe was advancing. Specie was being shipped to America.

The King of Prussia was feared to be dying.

It was reported that the Governor General of India had been recalled.

The Bank of England had raised its rate of discount from 5½ to 6 per cent.

The *Times* has some remarks on the increase, and says: "The suddenness of the renewal of the drain of gold which has led to this step has taken the public by surprise, because they were not prepared for the extraordinary news by the two last American mails. Allowing due weight to that intelligence, there is nothing in the movement to create alarm, although there is a high probability it may soon have to be repeated." Upon the whole, it is possible that the combined operations of the American panic and the Indian insurrections may for a time have affected English resources to the extent of two or three millions, but the *Times* considers, as regards the Board of Trade of the Empire, that it is impossible to discover a cause of fear. The discount establishments have also advanced their rates ½ per cent. The *Times* argues in the same article that fright alone is the cause of the daily ruin now going on in America, and that there is nothing in what is now passing which will, before any length of time, interfere with the business of the country.

The London *Commercial Daily List* of Friday evening says it is the general opinion that money matters have seen the worst in America, and although much caution has been observed in the negotiations of bills, the feeling is rather better than it was yesterday.

The rate of discount is now from 6 to 7 per cent.

The weather has been very stormy on the English coast, and numerous wrecks are reported, including the ship A. B. Kimball, from Sunderland to New York, which was wrecked on Goodwin Sands. Her crew were saved.

The English papers are filled with reports of the fast-day sermons. The London *Times* devoted twenty-six columns to abstracts from the discourses delivered in 164 churches.

Rev. A. R. (? C. H.) Spurgeon addressed, at the Crystal Palace, the largest audience that has ever assembled in modern times to listen to the ministry of the Gospel. Nearly 24,000 people were present. A large sum was collected in aid of the Indian relief fund, and the contributions at churches generally were on a liberal scale.

The London *Morning Chronicle* professes to have good authority for stating that steps have been taken for immediately proclaiming the Queen of Hindostan, and that the next telegraphic advices will probably bring news of such a proclamation.

At Calcutta, the statement was generally regarded as absurd, on simply constitutional grounds.

A large stone was thrown at a passing train on the eastern counties railway, and struck Prof. Rogers, of Boston, in the face, breaking his jaw-bone.

Catharine Hayes, the singer, was married in London, to Mr. Bushnell, of New York.

A proclamation had been issued by the Irish authorities, extending the limits of the proclaimed district around Belfast, information having been received that the people, instead of delivering up the arms, were concealing them outside the original limits, so that they would be available in case of fresh disturbances.

The London *Morning Post* of Saturday positively announces that the Governor General of India has been recalled. No other journal has the news.

Rumors were current of an approaching conference at Paris on the Danish question, affairs of Italy, the union of the principalities, and a general reduction of European armaments.

The American schooner Sarah Jane, captured on the west coast of Africa by a British cruiser, had been taken into Sierra Leone, on suspicion of being engaged in the slave trade. The sum of $12,000 was found on board, but no papers.

The steamer Indus, with the heavy portion of the last Indian mail, had arrived at Southampton. She had nearly four hundred thousand pounds in Australian gold on board. The passengers say that almost the only man escaped the massacre at Cawnpore had gone raving mad when they left Calcutta. Only three thousand persons had arrived there since the outbreak. It was believed by many at Calcutta, that when some English troops arrive out, the mutiny will suddenly cease, and the Sepoys will bring money and treasures, and lay down their arms. They are in much terror of English soldiers.

The Spanish journals fully confirm the acceptance by the Queen of the resignation of the Narvaez Cabinet. The project for the union of the two branches of the Bourbon family was under discussion in high quarters in Spain.

It was said that General de Mirasol had been nominated Captain General of Cuba, but the decree had not made its appearance in the official gazette.

The Vienna correspondent of the *Times* says it was credibly reported that direct communication was about to be established between Trieste and New York, by means of Lloyd's steamer.

The King of Saxony had paid a brief visit to the King of Prussia, and it was considered that this was the last of the royal interviews for the season.

The solemn entry of Prince Frederick William of Prussia and the Princess Royal of England into Berlin, after their marriage, is fixed for February 23d. Great preparations are making for imposing ceremonies.

A reduction of twenty-five per cent. in the export duty of hemp had been decreed in the Pontifical States.

The trial of the parties engaged in the recent insurrectionary attempt in Italy commenced on the 28th September, at Salerno.

The Russian Government has inflicted a severe punishment on the parties who violated the graves of the English and French in the Crimea.

The commission for settling the Turko-Russian frontiers in Asia has concluded its labors, and the English and French commissioners arrived at Constantinople on the 27th of September.

Turkey.—The new Cabinet has rejected all the measures approved by its predecessor, and among other projects swept away is the Euphrates Valley telegraph. The paper money spoken of by telegraph as having depreciated so greatly in Turkey, was to the amount of 100,000,000 piastres, of which 75,000,000 piastres had been issued to pay off the debts of the Sultan and his Government. It was a last and desperate resource. The Wallachian elections, like those in Moldavia, have resulted favorably to a union of the Principalities. But no one now attaches any importance to the matter.

LATER.

New York, Oct. 25.—The steamer Baltic arrived to-day, bringing dates from Liverpool to the 14th instant.

The Baltic brings £72,000 sterling in specie, and one hundred and sixty passengers.

The American ship Lexington has been totally lost near Valentia.

Later from India.—The Indian mail has arrived, with dates from Calcutta to the 10th of September, and Bombay to the 17th, the news by which was telegraphed to London.

The siege train was expected at Delhi on the 3d of September, and the assault was then anticipated to take place immediately.

General Havelock remained at Cawnpore, but would be reinforced in a few days by General Outram, who had reached Allahabad with a strong force.

Lucknow was still gallantly holding out, and would be relieved about the middle of September. Lord Elgin had left Calcutta for China.

The China mail failed to connect at Ceylon.

General Nicholson had defeated the rebels at Najof Ghar, with the loss of their guns. General Havelock had defeated the rebels near Rithoon.

On the 17th of August, the garrison of Lucknow made a successful sortie, capturing the guns and provisions of the Dinapore mutineers, who were again defeated by Major Eyre.

The rebels were threatening Allahabad and Benares.

Large bodies of troops were marching from Calcutta towards Allahabad. Troops were arriving at Calcutta rapidly from England.

A dispatch to the London *Post* says that the British forces had attacked Lucknow castle, and spiked the guns, inflicting heavy loss on the enemy.

England.—There were thirty-four horses entered and ran for the Segarewitch purse, including the American horse Prioress. The first trial was a dead heat between Prioress, Elhassim, and Queen Bess. The deciding heat Prioress won by a length and a half, amidst great cheering. The value of the stakes was over £2,000 sterling.

The American horse Lecompte is dead.

There is an excessive money pressure at London, and a further advance in the rates of interest was feared. Consols had fluctuated greatly, having been as low as 86⅞, but rallied.

The Bank of Dublin has advanced its rates to 7 per cent., and the Bank of France to 6½. There was also a great pressure at Vienna.

Messrs. Ross, Mitchell, & Co., a Canadian house at London, has failed—liabilities, quarter of a million; assets, larger.

J. Monteith & Co., and other Glasgow houses, have suspended, to large amounts.

The King of Prussia was better, but still in a critical condition.

The meeting of the Emperors of France and Austria was still talked of.

Spain.—The Ministerial crisis at Madrid still continued. Bravo and Murillo still refuse to form a Ministry.

Italy.—There was apprehensions of further disturbances in Italy.

The Butcheries in India.

The English press continue to give the most heart-rending details concerning the state of affairs in India, and of the most horrible outrages perpetrated by the native insurgents. The following is an extract from an officer's letter:

"At Segowlie, the 12th irregular cavalry mutinied. They shot their commanding officer, his wife and child, and burnt alive their doctor, with his wife and child, in their own bungalow. At Futtyghur, the wife and child of Mr. Tucker, being about to fall into the hands of another rebellious set, she called to her husband to shoot her at once. He did so, his child also, and then himself. A Major Robertson also shot his wife, and children, and himself, under similar circumstances."

Another letter from Delhi says:

"At Delhi, the diabolical cruelty of the Sepoys is horrible to relate. They paraded all the European heads up and down the city in a cart; and at Allahabad, the 6th native infantry, who had received praise in the morning for their loyalty to Government, fell on their officers in the evening while they were at mess, and killed seventeen of them. The adjutant of the regiment they nailed to an arm-rack, and made a target of his body; another officer was pinioned to the ground with bayonets, and a fire lit on his body. At another station there was one officer and his wife—he killed seven of the miscreants with his own hand; and when he saw there was no chance for himself or his wife, he shot her, and then himself, before he would let her fall into the hands of the Sepoys—because he was well aware what her fate would be—rape and then murder."

Benares, July 22.—All the women were killed by the Nena Sahib in batches, so many a day. He violated all he could first, and sent the rest naked into his camp for the men; at Jhansi, they tied the husbands to trees while the same atrocities were in process, and tore the children limb from limb. They have made mothers kill their own children.

Organized Anti-Broker Mob.

The Jeffersonville (Ind.) *Democrat* of the 14th inst. learns that about fifty of the citizens of that place met the previous evening, for the purpose of organizing a committee to mob all brokers who should attempt to draw specie from the branch of the Bank of the State, located at that place.

The leaders of the movement were stockholders and friends of the bank. A committee of ten, it was understood, were to lurk about the bank, and invite all persons demanding specie from the bank to leave the city without the redemption of their notes; and, if pacific measures would not suffice, then violence would be resorted to. The *Democrat* well says:

"If the bank can redeem, why resort to violence to sustain it? If it can redeem, what folly to cast so conclusive a suspicion upon the bank, by the appointment of a committee for so disgraceful, violent, and unlawful a purpose? The bank has now been in operation less than one year, and if it can only sustain itself at the expense of the honor of the city, and by the violation of the public peace, we say, let it go to the shades—the sooner the better for our commercial and all other interests of the city. The game between the banks and brokers is that of 'dog eat dog,' the one giving birth to and necessity for the other, and the less good citizens have to do with controlling, sustaining, or mobbing either, the better it will be for the reputation of the city."

The idea of a bank issuing paper for a currency, every bill of which is understood to be equivalent to specie, and then instigating a mob to keep people from demanding specie for its paper, is a rich one, but characteristic of the whole system, which is but an imposition on the labor and industry of the country.

Indiana Election.

Charles H. Test has beaten John Pettit, D. D., for Circuit Judge, by a large majority, in the Tippecanoe Circuit. The Lafayette *Journal* of Wednesday claims 400 to 500. This is a gratifying result, for Mr. Test is as well qualified for the post as his opponent, and is a decent man. Mr. Pettit made a good Judge, but he debased himself by his course in the contested-election case, and lost all claim to respect, even for his judicial character.

Cass county elects John W. Wright (Rep.) Representative, in place of Cullen, (Dem.,) appointed Indian Agent. This is a Republican gain.

White county has probably given a Republican majority, but the returns were not all known at Lafayette.

Jasper county is Republican, as usual, while Fountain has given a Democratic majority ranging from 6 to 100.

In Tippecanoe county, Ellis (Rep.) for clerk has 349, and Test has 400 majority.

In Allen county, the Democratic majority is 768. Last year, it was 1,281.

Laporte county gives a Republican majority of 200 to 600. St. Joseph county elects all Republicans, but, there being no opposition, the vote was light.

The Grain Crop of Illinois.

An estimate of the grain crop of Illinois for the year 1857, which has obtained extensive circulation, fixes the number of bushels at 280,000,000, upon the supposition that the number of acres under cultivation was ten million, and the yield per acre twenty eight bushels. This estimate, based upon the supposed increase in the area of cultivation, and the average yield of the land since the statistics of the census of 1850 were published, is pronounced by the *Prairie Farmer* to be grossly exaggerated. According to the census of 1850, the number of acres under cultivation in that year was 5,039,545, of which not more than 3,500,000 were planted in grain, and the yield was 77,232,184 bushels, or about twenty-two bushels per acre. In order, therefore, to realize the estimate of 280,000,000 of bushels, the area of cultivation must be nearly three times as great as that of 1850, and the ratio of increase per acre more than twenty-five per cent. greater. The following is the estimate of the *Prairie Farmer*:

"The number of acres under cultivation in this State has not kept pace during the last seven years with the increase of population. But an unusual quantity of land was planted in grain last autumn and last spring; and so did an unusual quantity of that which was planted have to be planted a second time. Nor have we yet mentioned the other fact, that since 1850 the town and city population of Illinois has increased at least fifty per cent. faster than the rural population, thus still further reducing the proportion of grain-raisers, and, as a consequence, the number of acres sown. Subsidiary to all this array of testimony, stock-raising has, during the period alluded to, increased much faster than grain-raising. But, that there may be no room for quibbling, we shall call all things equal; in other words, we shall admit that the number of acres planted in grain in Illinois has, since 1850, kept pace with the increase of population. And what has been the increase of population? About 70 per cent. If the number of acres of grain harvested in 1850 amounted to 3,500,000, the number this year was 5,950,000. Suppose we call it 6,000,000, and the average yield 28 bushels per acre, the sum total will be 168,000,000 bushels, or nearly 14,000,000 bushels more than double the crop of 1850."

The American Missionary Association.

The anniversary of the American Missionary Association was held last week at Mansfield, Ohio. An abstract of the Treasurer's report, presented by Mr. Whipple, showed that the receipts for the last year were $51,000, and the expenditures the same amount, leaving an unpaid debt of $1,434. More than one-fourth of this expenditure was for home missions.

Rev. L. V. Sawyer, of New York, preached the annual sermon. Arthur Tappan, of New York, was chosen Vice President, and Almon Underwood, of New Jersey, member of the Executive Committee. With these exceptions, the officers of last year were re-elected.

The Association adopted resolutions expressing the encouragement which it finds in the tone of the discussions of missionary and other benevolent societies on the subject of Slavery, and its regret that any of them are still willing to give their powerful influence to sustain it. Churches, Missionary, Tract, Sunday School, Bible, and Ecclesiastical associations are called on to have no complicity with that sin, and to give their support only to institutions which aim to uphold Christianity in its purity and strictness.

Senator Hunter.

This distinguished gentleman has at length been goaded by the current persistent efforts to represent him to be an opponent of the present Administrations, into writing a letter emphatically denying that allegation, while taking ground with reference to the propriety of a portion of the course of Governor Walker common to almost all the U. S. Senators, without distinction of party, representing Southern States.

Douglas's Organ on Kansas.

The *Chicago Times*, which has the credit of reflecting the views of Senator Douglas on public affairs, endeavors to digest the Democratic defeat in Kansas, unpalatable as it is to politicians of the Little Giant school. Forced, by its former avowals on the subject of Popular Sovereignty, to admit that Kansas ought to become a free State, as the People have now clearly willed, it endeavors to make a virtue of necessity, and boldly proclaims that the Constitutional Convention should yield to this decision, make an Anti-Slavery Constitution, and submit it to the popular vote. Sentiments so incendiary as the *Times* now utters, it would have been very dangerous for anybody to utter in Kansas a short time ago, under the laws upheld by Mr. Buchanan and his subordinates. Will the Constitutional Convention carry out this new Douglas policy? We do not believe it; yet we shall soon see. In the mean time, the confessions and concessions of the Douglas organ deserve to be put on record, for future reference. It says:

"What that Convention will do, or what it will not do, we have not the means of knowing. But we know that any attempt to force a Pro-Slavery Constitution upon the People, without the opportunity of voting it down at the polls, will be regarded, after the recent expression of sentiment, as so decidedly unjust, oppressive, and unworthy of a free people, that the People of the United States will not sanction it. It would add thousands to the vote of the Republican party in every State of the Union, and give to that organization what it has never had yet—a show of justice and truth. To the Democratic members of that Convention, the course is plain. The people have decided in favor of a free State, though they have not voted on the naked issue of 'free State or slave State,' they have voted practically in favor of a free State. Two-thirds of the Democratic party in Kansas have voted with the 'Free State' party at the recent election, in order to make the popular decision more emphatic. As Kansas must be a free State, even those persons in the Territory who are known as Pro-Slavery men must recognise in the late election a decision which must not be slighted nor put at defiance. To that expression of the popular will, there should be a graceful, if not a cheerful, submission. Kansas is to be a free State! That fact being ascertained, let the Convention frame a Constitution to suit her best interests upon all other questions, and let the prohibition of Slavery be put into it, clearly, and without quibble, plainly, without disguise, explicitly, broadly, and firmly. Let the Convention then submit that Constitution to the People. If it be adopted, Kansas will come into the Union next session, and the Republican party will expire, for want of sustenance."

Dry Goods.

Business at wholesale being very light, resort has been had very generally to retail sales at a reduction below the wholesale prices, for cash. Credits are now refused, and business is contracted to a cash basis. On these terms, few goods are sold. At auction nothing can be done. Large quantities of imported goods are being returned to Europe. The resort to renewals of notes, and general extensions, is becoming epidemic. Transactions of this kind have taken place in private. Bank officers inform us that most of their bills receivable, as they fall due, are met by renewals and re-discounts, and could not otherwise be paid.

There is a general disposition on the part of the creditors to ease their debtors, whom it is not their interest to let go down, if possible. The quantity of goods on hand is very large, and unsaleable on the present terms. Some expectations are entertained that the domestic exchange will improve in time to admit of a late trade before the winter sets in. We trust it may be so. The receipts of produce may improve so as to admit of a fair country trade; but we remark that the public stores of New York and Brooklyn, which were full of cereals this time last year, are now comparatively empty. The stock of breadstuffs is not accumulating as usual for winter consumption. Neither banks nor commission merchants can afford to make advances as they usually do on receipts of produce.—*Independent, Oct.* 22.

The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank of Pittsburgh—Strange Disclosures.

Pittsburgh, Oct. 22.—A bench warrant was heard to day, issued at the instance of Mr. Scott, President of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank, against James and Hercules O'Conner, brokers, of the firm of O'Conner, Brother, & Co., charging them with obtaining fraudulently, and by the complicity of the book-keeper of the bank, one hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars. O'Conner in his defence made grave allegations against the bank, denying the indebtedness of the firm, and claiming to be the agents of the bank, for the purpose of drawing specie from the other banks on their notes to replenish its vaults; that large amounts of the notes of distant banks of a less denomination than five dollars, and also counterfeit money, were drawn from the bank on their checks; that their dealings with the bank since February last have amounted to over three millions, a large portion of which was not on the private account of the firm; that the respondents in vain attempted to effect a settlement with the bank, and had placed securities in the hands of a disinterested party to cover any indebtedness.

Further investigation was waived for the present, Messrs. O'Conner having made an assignment for the benefit of their creditors.

Notwithstanding these developments, the notes of the bank are still taken by the other banks in payment of notes due them, and also by the public. It is said that its stocks will not be depreciated.

The Country Banks of New York.

Syracuse, Oct. 22.—A Convention of the country banks of the State of New York was held here this afternoon. Over thirty banks were represented, among which were some of the leading institutions in the country. It was resolved, as the duty of the banks and the intention of those represented, to prepare for an early resumption of specie payments; and before said resumption to keep their bills as near a specie basis as possible; also, to increase the lines of discounts to the extent of their ability, and to aid in forwarding produce.

A committee was appointed, to effect an association of the country banks for their mutual protection, and to arrange a system of redemption and exchanges, the committee to report at a future meeting. The committee then adjourned.

Getting Up a Bank.

The Milwaukie *Sentinel* says that the following is a letter actually received from parties in the city of New York. If this is the plan upon which the new banks of Iowa are to be "got up," it is time the people were apprised of it, before it is too late. Read the letter, people of Iowa, and learn how your new banks are to be "got up:"

"New York, No. —— Wall Street,
July 2, 1857.

Dear Sir: Understanding from some of your friends, now on a visit to this city, that you are desirous to start a bank under the free banking laws of Wisconsin, we take this opportunity to offer you our services to forward your views. Having had great experience within the past five years in "getting up" banks in Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and in Wisconsin, under the free banking laws of those States, we are quite sure your interests would be served by employing us to get in operation one for you.

Without wishing or designing to disparage our neighbors, (some of whom are engaged in the same business,) we would say that, to make a bank move on successfully, there is much wisdom to be displayed in its organization, which has not been displayed by those we have alluded to; for out of 43 they were instrumental in "getting up" in Indiana, 41 have failed; while of those we have "got up," (27,) only 14 have failed. We have made it our particular study to organize "free banks," and hence our great success; and if parties who desire to "get up" banks will be governed by the advice we give, (in our private circulars,) there is no danger but the projector of the bank will make money, and it is to the projector's interest we only look.

It will, sir, cost you but little to get up a bank with $100,000 capital, secured by stocks. With the addition of the retaining fee, $2,000, as above mentioned, about $3,000 for plates and notes, and $5,000 placed in our hands as a margin for the $100,000 stocks, we can manage to put it in successful operation.

Yours, respectfully, O. P. R.

Interesting Post Office Statistics.

The following statement shows the revenue of the Post Office Department from postage collected during the quarter ending June 30, 1857, at 25,461 post offices, the quarterly accounts having been examined, analyzed, audited, and registered in the office of the Auditor of the Treasury for the Post Office Department:

Letter postage	$245,275.18
Newspaper and pamphlet postage	147,209.07
Registered letter postage	8,117.05
Postage stamps and stamped envelopes sold	1,429,187.20
Emoluments from box rents	20,328.40
Fines for violation of post office laws	2.50
	1,850,119.46
Deduct expenditures (exclusive of transportation of the mails) in collecting the above, viz:	
Compensation allowed postmasters	$593,077.51
Incidental expenses of post offices	262,221.65
Ship, steamer, and way letters	4,977.93
	860,277.09

Showing a net revenue of $989,843 37.

Bank Reform in Tennessee.

The following is the substance of a bill pending before the Legislature of Tennessee:

1st. That no bank shall issue notes payable at any place except where issued. 2d. That no bank shall have office or branch or agency for discount. 3d. That all notes of $5 and under shall be withdrawn from circulation by the first day of January, 1859—all of ten dollars and under by the first of January, 1860—and all of twenty dollars and under by the first of January, 1861. 4th. That no notes of similar amounts after the dates aforesaid shall be issued. Sec. 5. Prohibits the circulation of all notes of the banks of other States, of the amounts specified, after the dates aforesaid. Sec. 6. Provides for the individual liability of stockholders after the exhaustion of the effects of the bank. Sec. 7. Provides that the chartered banks shall accept this act as part of their charters; and in the event of their refusal to do so, it shall be the duty of the Attorney General to institute suits for their forfeiture. Every violation of the respective provisions of this bill is made a misdemeanor.

Later from Utah and the Plains.

Captain Van Vleit, from Utah, with dates to the 14th ult., arrived at St. Louis on Saturday night, as we learn by telegraph. The dispatch states that Capt Van Vleit met the United States troops on the 22d of September, two hundred and ninety miles beyond Fort Laramie, all well. He also met Col. Johnson on the 1st of October, ninety miles east of Fort Laramie, and Gov. Cummings on the 8th of October, ninety miles beyond Fort Kearney. Some supply trains were within one hundred and forty miles of the Valley of Salt Lake, while others were far behind, and not likely to arrive there this season.

Captain Van Vleit has travelled over 2,400 miles since August 1st. He was treated with much consideration by the leading men of Salt Lake city, but heard the expression of only one opinion—that the troops and officers of the Government will never gain a foothold in their dominion.

A heavy snow fell at Fort Bridges on the 15th ult. Mr. Bernhisel, the Delegate from Utah to Congress, accompanies Captain Van Vleit on his way to Washington.

Messrs. Nicols and Reber, engineers of Magraw's wagon train, have also arrived. They left Pacific Springs on the 7th ult. They think the train will winter at Fort Laramie. The cattle of the Government trains were dying fast, and the mules were breaking down. Grass was very scarce.

Col. Hoffman, the commander at Fort Laramie, denies having caused the Mormon train to be overhauled.

Important from Kansas.

St. Louis, Oct. 26.—The latest dates received here from Kansas state that Governor Walker has issued a proclamation rejecting the late election returns from Oxford precinct and Johnson county, giving certificates of election to the Free State candidates. The Pro-Slavery men are greatly excited at the Governor's conduct.

Ohio and Mississippi Railroad.

The entanglements which have embarrassed the western division of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad Company, are said to be all unravelled, and a general compromise effected, between the creditors and stockholders and Page, Bacon, & Co. All suits are discontinued. The income bonds bear seven per cent. interest, and will run twenty years. The deed of Mr. Jenks is annulled, and Page & Bacon reconvey the road to the company, in consideration of the acknowledgment of the debt due to them, which was computed at from two to three millions of dollars. To secure this, the company will issue $2,500,000 construction bonds, and $2,900,000 income bonds, called third and fourth mortgages. The city of St. Louis will receive part of them in settlement with Mr. Bacon. Mr. S. M. D. Barlow, of New York, has been elected President.

Proposed Issue of Small Notes.

Harrisburg, Oct. 26.—A large meeting of citizens was held on Saturday evening at the court-house, to request the town council to issue small notes for the convenience of business men in making change. Judge Dock presided, and Messrs. George Bergner and John Wallower were appointed secretaries. A committee was appointed to confer with the town council on the subject.

Heavy Damages.

The jury in the case of Ferdinand Meyer against the city of Brooklyn, being an action to recover damages for injuries sustained by him on account of an accident which occurred to him on the 7th of June last, by which he was permanently injured, has rendered a verdict in favor of plaintiff, assessing the damages at seven thousand two hundred and fifty dollars. The amount of damages claimed was ten thousand dollars. Mr. Meyer was driving along Flushing avenue, with a load in his wagon, when the wheel ran into a hole in the street, and threw him from the wagon, which passed over him; and a barrel fell upon him in such a manner as to displace the spine, disabling him for life. The plaintiff charged negligence on the city, in not keeping the street in repair.

Mormon Resistance of the Government.

St. Louis, Oct. 26.—The *Republican* publishes a speech of Elder Kimball, at Utah, expressing his determination to resist the Government troops, if he has to call out even the women and children to arms. He declared that he would have Brigham Young for Governor all his lifetime.

Fire in the Ohio State Prison.

A fire occurred on Friday in the State Prison at Columbus, which destroyed the shops at the northern end of the yard. For a time, it threatened the entire destruction of the building. The loss is about $25,000. The fire originated in an act of incendiarism.

The earthquake which was felt at Buffalo, N. Y., on Friday afternoon, was so severe that the people rushed out of their houses. No damage, however, was done. At Forrestville, N. Y., the shock lasted about five minutes, and was accompanied by a rumbling noise, like the rolling of an engine. At Dayton, the shock was also felt.

Young Ladies' Riding Match.

Elmira, N. Y., Oct. 26.—The young ladies' riding match, of Chemung county, took place on Saturday. The race was a five-mile one, and was well contested. Miss Warborn, of Elmira, won the first prize, and Miss Warden, of Johnson Settlement, the second.

Suspension of the Bank of Missouri.

St. Louis, Oct. 26.—The Bank of Missouri suspended specie payment this morning. It is supposed that the remaining city banks will follow suit this afternoon or to-morrow.

St. Louis Bank Suspensions.

St. Louis, Oct. 26.—The Bank of the State of Missouri, the Merchants' Bank, and the Southern Bank, suspended specie payments today. The Mechanics' Bank still continues firm.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

The editor of a Chicago paper, having returned home from a visit to St. Louis, represents that city as suffering very severely from the effects of the financial crisis. He says that business of every description is at a stand-still; the levee is as bare of merchandise and produce as in midsummer, the business streets generally quiet, and the merchants wearing the aspect of men thoroughly disheartened. At the same time, the writer undertakes to represent things as far better in Chicago. If this be so, it is probably the result of that spirit of trade which does not mind a failure. In such times as these, representations like those we allude to are both mean and suspicious. Every place which has any commerce suffers equally from the present panic, and the more important the trade the greater is the suffering.

Only a few weeks ago, says the *New York Herald*, the transactions at the clearing-house in this city amounted to some twenty-eight millions daily; now they are not above eight. On the other hand, the cash transactions among the mercantile community have largely increased. Wholesale dry-goods dealers have thrown open their stores to retail purchasers, and are said to be receiving more cash than they ever received before. It is probable that the increase in the cash transactions of the city is fully proportionate to the falling off in transactions on credit.

If the Stamford (Ct.) *Advocate* is to be believed, P. T. Barnum is not intending to move to Europe, and is "on his legs" again. The *Advocate* thinks he is to-day a richer man than he was before the connection with the Jerome Clock Company. It is said that he has bought all the claims against himself for from fifty to twenty-five cents on the dollar, with the exception of some $15,000 held in and about Danbury, which he probably will have to pay in full. The whole of the vast property assigned by him for the benefit of his creditors has again passed into his hands, and he is now re-furnishing and re-fitting "Iranistan" in good style for his future permanent residence.

James Rodgers, the murderer of John Swenson, in Tenth avenue, New York, was arrested on Wednesday, at Woodbridge, New Jersey, and locked up in jail. He says that he spent two days and two nights in the woods, before going to the house of his brother-in-law, where he was arrested. He confesses that he stabbed Swenson.

A dispatch from this city to the New York *Herald* says:

"President Buchanan has declined the request of the Governor of Maryland for the use of the United States troops stationed at Fort McHenry, to preserve order in Baltimore during the approaching election. The President thinks that the civil power of Maryland should be sufficient to preserve order and enforce the laws."

The steamship Niagara sailed from Boston at noon on Wednesday. She had forty-six passengers on board for Liverpool, and fourteen for Halifax, but no specie. Her cargo consisted of three hundred bales of cotton, four hundred boxes of indigo, and fifty tons of ivory. Her total cargo is eight hundred and seventy packages.

The Directors of the Bank of Chester, S. C., have published a card, pledging their private fortunes for the redemption of the bank's bills.

The Spanish small coin, which has lately disappeared as by magic from the large cities, is still in circulation in the country.

President Buchanan, hearing that ex-President Pierce and his wife were about to proceed to the island of Madeira, to sojourn there during the winter for the benefit of the health of Mrs. Pierce, has taken occasion to tender to his predecessor accommodations for their voyage on the U. S. steam frigate Powhatan, which is to sail about the 20th November next, to take her station in the East India squadron, taking the island of Madeira in her route.

During the month of September there were coined, at the United States mint, 3,347,902 pieces, of the aggregate value of $1,259,440, of which $998,040 was in double eagles, and $237,000 in silver quarter dollars. Of new cents, 2,440,000 were coined.

The Philadelphia *Ledger* says:

"We fear the worst consequences for those of our merchants who have been doing a far-off business, and especially those merchants in the Atlantic cities who have failed, because there is always less disposition to pay to a dead than to a living house. The South is utterly without money, and a number of instances have reached us of very petty pretexts as excuses for non-payments."

There are in New York four hundred and ninety-two establishments where ready-made clothing is manufactured, and a number of leading houses do business to the amount of over two millions of dollars a year.

There is to be a grand military parade at Harrisburg, on the inauguration of Governor Packer.

Oxygenated Bitters.—This remedy for Dyspepsia, which astonishes all who have used it, by its instantaneous and and almost miraculous effect, has obtained a distinction and popularity beyond any medicine we have ever known.

MARKETS.

BALTIMORE MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, October 27, 1857.

Flour, Howard Street	$5.00	@	0.00
Flour, City Mills	5.37	@	0.00
Rye Flour	4.50	@	4.62
Corn Meal	3.50	@	3.75
Wheat, white	1.17	@	1.32
Wheat, red	1.05	@	1.15
Corn, white	65	@	66
Corn, yellow	67	@	68
Rye, Pennsylvania	70	@	75
Rye, Virginia	60	@	63
Oats, Maryland and Virginia	25	@	29
Oats, Pennsylvania	32	@	34
Clover Seed	5.25	@	6.00
Timothy Seed	2.25	@	2.50
Hay, Timothy	15.00	@	20.00
Hops	7	@	14
Potatoes, Mercer	1.30	@	1.40
Bacon, Shoulders	13½	@	00
Bacon, Sides	15½	@	00
Bacon, Hams	14½	@	15
Pork, Mess	23.00	@	24.00
Pork, Prime	18.00	@	18.50
Beef, Mess	17.00	@	20.00
Lard, in barrels	13	@	14
Lard, in kegs	00	@	00
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	13	@	14½
Butter, Roll	18	@	21
Cheese	9½	@	10
Coffee, Rio	10	@	11
Coffee, Java	16	@	17

NEW YORK MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, October 27, 1857

Flour, State brands	$4.65	@	4.75
Flour, State brands, extra	4.85	@	5 20
Flour, Western	4.65	@	4.75
Flour, Southern	5 40	@	5 50
Rye Flour	3.75	@	4 60
Corn Meal	3.25	@	3.30
Wheat, white	1.30	@	1.40
Wheat, red	1.20	@	1.30
Corn, white	74	@	75
Corn, yellow	74	@	75
Rye	79	@	80
Oats	45	@	49
Clover Seed	11.00	@	12.00
Timothy Seed	3.50	@	3.75
Hay	50	@	65
Hops	6	@	10
Bacon, Shoulders	9¾	@	00
Bacon, Sides	10	@	00
Bacon, Hams	10½	@	10¾
Pork, Mess	20.50	@	21.00
Pork, Prime	16.50	@	17.50
Beef	12.00	@	12 50
Lard, in barrels	12½	@	15
Lard, in kegs	15½	@	15½
Butter, Western	13	@	17½
Butter, State	16	@	20
Cheese	6	@	8½
Coffee, Rio	10½	@	11½
Coffee, Java	16½	@	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	1.00	@	0.00
Lime, common	62	@	00

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Respectfully, yours,

Dr. George B. Green. C. C. TROWBRIDGE.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

North Brookville, Mass., *October* 19, 1857.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Dear Sir: I wrote the enclosed communication before I saw the admirable article on the "Monetary Crisis," in last week's *Era*. If you think that there is anything in it worth publishing, it is at your service. The present, it seems to me, is the time to speak loudly and long on the costly and miserable system of substituting *Bank debt* for natural value money. F. A. W.

MORE "THOUGHTS ON THE HARD TIMES."

To the Editor of the National Era:

Sir: A Few Thoughts on the Hard Times, by an Observer," is the title of a tract issued at Boston, which, with a few remarks, introduces an extract "from an article in the New York *Tribune* of September 9, in which the editor discusses the sad condition of our financial affairs, together with the cause and the remedy for it." The object of this document is to attribute to a low protective tariff the present distress. As this is the only mode in which the advocates of the protective policy now attempt to advance their cause, viz: by the "*argumentum ad ignorantiam*" and the "*argumentum ad populum*"—not by proper argument, but by appeals—allow me to notice it briefly.

The question of "protection" has really passed argument. The principle that freedom of trade is essential to the greatest production, has passed into the science of political economy, unchallenged by any save those who are willing to sacrifice science to prejudices. And this fact is constantly being acknowledged by those who favor protection. Hence are the sneers about "*science*," "*theories*," "sophistry," "fallacious postulates and extravagant sophisms of free-trade logic," "politicians of the abstract metaphysical school," "recluse, speculative theorists," "transcendentalisms of that so-called science," &c. Such phrases only show the weakness of their positions. They no longer attempt to defend them by any appeals to science, but by appeals to the vulgar prejudice against science. But no sneer can be uttered against the "theories" of Political Science, which does not equally affect all science.

The first subject mentioned in this article is the export of gold. "The editor" greatly errs in saying that "our current political economy asserts the perfect inconsequence of what is termed the balance of trade, and accounts gold and silver no more desirable to a community than merchandise of equal value." "Our current political economy" only leaves the balance as trade, and the export or import of gold and silver, to the law of value. That is, they consider that if a nation has so much specie, (perhaps by producing it; perhaps by obtaining it from those nations which do produce it, *in order to export it again*, as England does from America,) that prices are raised in that country above the corresponding prices in other countries, *then* it becomes for the interest of that country to export that specie until prices are brought to the level of other countries. It is true that this is only a theory—and, as such, an absurdity—by the logic of protection. Still, it is both the teaching of reason and experience. It is true that we have exported too much of the gold of our mines. But is not that sufficiently accounted for by the fact that we have filled the channels of circulation with nearly 200 millions of paper money, (not requiring but one-third of that amount of specie in the vaults of the banks,) and hence, by a most natural process, have expelled the gold? It is an absurdity to deny that we should export gold, since we produce more than we could employ; and it is equally a folly to say that we should export as much as we do. But the fault is not with free trade. To attempt to restrain its export by the imposition of duties, is impossible; for if we imported anything, we should export gold to pay for it, as we would have a superabundance of it. To restrain its export by prohibition, would require more than the power of Government.

To prove a possible importation of gold to be a blessing, as the writer does in this tract, is to prove a deranging cause at work; for it is *unnatural* that a nation which has produced several hundred millions of gold within a few years, should import gold. Now, the cause producing this unnatural effect is plainly, undeniably, our *mixed-currency* system. And this is the point that we would wish fairly stated, in reply to this '*argumentum ad ignorantiam*.' The panic is not an effect of the low tariff. It is a coincidence, and not a result. Supposing, to take the view of the *Tribune*, that we have over-traded; there is no virtue in that fact to cause the withdrawal from circulation of one third or one half of the currency in a few weeks. Over-trading may cause a stringency, but not a panic. Why should the banks suspend? That measure was a necessity; but a necessity of *what?* Clearly of the nature of our currency; a currency composed, in two thirds part of the credit-paper of the banks, and in one third part of bills which represent an equal amount of specie—of money, of value—in the vaults. This mixed currency, this *credit* money, and *value* money, form one *apparently* homogeneous mass; but the elements are entirely distinct, and so a panic proves them to be; and that is the occasion of the distress. In other words, citizens have not confidence in the power of the banks to redeem their bills with specie, for the very good reason that they know it to be impossible. Bank expansions are always followed by bank contractions; in other words, "the bubble bursts."

No other cause can account for the phenomena of this "crisis." Richer in agricultural and manufacturing products than ever before, we stand, in the view of the world, a nation of bankrupts! Our currency! our currency!! Is it not so? Then why have the banks suspended the redemption of their bills? Have we over traded? Suppose we have; there has been no unusual demand upon us for specie, and it matters not, in accounting for our bankruptcy, how much we have *bought*, if we have not been obliged to *pay* for it. The whole explanation of the affair we hold to be simply this: The banks throughout the Union were expanded in their circulation to three times the amount of specie available for its redemption, besides owing much more for deposits. Certain failures of unsound corporations first excited suspicion; then came unusual demands for the redemption of promises—in other words, a "run" upon the banks; that necessitated a contraction of paper circulation, which greatly distressed its merchants and manufacturers who had notes to pay. Then, some of them failed; and the banks were called on for their *deposits*, as well as for specie for their notes. And they suspend, involving all in its common ruin.

And this, sir, is the beauty of a credit currency. We might have kept more than one hundred millions of the gold which we have exported; and we should have kept it—we would not have let it go—we would have exported other things first. I *say, we would have kept it*, had it not been for the fact that we already had more money than we needed in the shape of paper promises. The question which we hope the people who suffer by these "hard times" will ask of themselves, and answer for themselves, is, does it *pay* to export our gold, and *in its stead* manufacture, from paper, our money? *Does it pay?* Is the gain which we derive from saving interest on the gold which we export *sufficient* to counterbalance the loss arising from the consequent diminution of our exports, the expense of sustaining nearly fifteen hundred banks and their officers, the disturbance of all trade, and the frustration of all careful calculations, and finally the distress and ruin and shame of our whole people? But our present business is with this observer, and his "few thoughts on the hard times." That he attributes its pressure to a low tariff is sufficient evidence that he misapprehends both the cause and the consequence. But he uses one mode of disposing of the doctrines of free trade which is so entirely in consonance with his repudiation of science and logic, which is so "rich," that we beg leave to give it. The whole science of political economy, with all its teachings, is disposed of by attacking the private character of one of its disciples! Mr. Robert J. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury under President Polk, introduced our present revenue system. Accordingly, that system is overthrown, by calling *him* "a bankrupt in politics, fortune, and principle." The inferences to be drawn from this premised scoundrelism of Mr. Walker, we understand, are these. 1st. (Being a scoundrel,) he is incompetent to understand any of the plainest teachings of political science. 2d. (Being a scoundrel,) he is unsusceptible of any promptings of patriotism, or even of that selfish love of one's own country which is but hatred of others; consequently, all his measures of finance are to be regarded as traitorous, and prejudicial in the highest degree to the best interests of his country. 3d. (Robert J. Walker being a scoundrel,) Adam Smith, Ricardo, Malthus, McCulloch, and all the great economists, are wrong in their interpretations of the laws of value!

Another amusing part of this appeal is the allusion to France. France was not inveigled into this fatal principle of free trade. Oh, no! We all know how admirably France has been served under a protective system. She has diminished her production of wines and silks, by attempting the manufacture of sugar and iron, for which Nature never fitted her. We know that she paid twice over for her sugar, (*i. e.*, she has spent so much in protecting it, that the bare interest of it would purchase the amount of her annual consumption, and has besides paid once for her sugar;) that she increased the cost of cotton machinery one-third, and in other branches has done herself greater mischief, because she was too *shrewd* to leave production to go on in conformity to the laws of value. It is possible that "the manufacturing interest of France doubled between 1815 and 1827." But at what a cost! "Before the Revolution, her export of wine averaged one hundred thousand tuns per annum. Since 1820, it has varied from thirty-nine thousand to sixty-three thousand tuns. The result upon her silk trade has been the same."—*Edinburgh Review, October*, 1829.

But this tract is but an appeal to ignorance and prejudice. "The editor" clearly sees a connection between Governor Walker's course in Kansas, and "the immutable laws of trade." He sees in our commercial policy only the result of British machinations and "foreign influence." He sees in the present crisis only the result of our free-trade policy. In a word, he does not see at all. W.

SPECIE AND PAPER MONEY—A SPECULATION ON THE TIMES.

To the Editor of the Republican:

The times are out of joint. Since 1837, there has been no such pressure in the money market. Banks won't, cannot, discount. It is difficult to collect, impossible to borrow. Even rich men, in business, find it hard to raise a few hundred dollars, to meet immediate wants. House after house, and bank after bank, suspends. What does it all mean? Where will it end? What is the cause of it?

The immediate causes of our financial difficulties have been a good deal discussed, and are tolerably well understood. The *Republican*, in a recent editorial, explained one of them very clearly. But the ultimate cause—it is in our system of government or policy, that produces these alternate expansions and contractions, which have become as certain, and almost as regular, as the pulsations of the heart—this is understood clearly by but few. I propose to discuss this greater question. But I write for those who are not familiar with the subject, who never think of it, except in times like these, and I shall avoid therefore technical language and argument, and use only the popular language of every-day life.

If the city of Springfield produced this year twice as much Indian corn as it could consume, while the neighboring towns produced only half as much as they needed for consumption, what would be the result? The surplus of corn would flow out of Springfield, to supply the wants of the other towns, and the products or moneys of those towns would flow into Springfield in return. If the State of Massachusetts should produce this year a far greater amount of Indian corn than her inhabitants could consume, while Vermont and New Hampshire, New York and Connecticut, were short of that article, the result would be the same. The corn of Massachusetts would flow out to Vermont and the other States, and their products or moneys would flow in in exchange. If the United States have produced this year, as I hope they have, far more breadstuffs than they can consume, and it shall happen that England and France, and other foreign countries, shall need the article to feed their people, what will be the result? Obviously, our breadstuffs will go abroad, to be paid for by silks, knickknackery, or whatever else our people want, but do not produce in quantity sufficient for their wants. These things are so familiar, that many may think it superfluous, even foolish, to state them. Yet in this very law, operating, not on corn, but on another article, lies the chief cause of all our pecuniary difficulties.

Suppose the article superabundant in Springfield were circulating medium, instead of corn, while the neighboring towns, short of that, abounded in other articles which Springfield wanted, what would be the result? Precisely as in the case of corn—the circulating medium would flow out, the other articles would flow in, till things became equalized, and each town had its due proportion of each article. So, if the United States should produce, or become possessed of, an undue proportion or excess of circulating medium, larger in proportion to the wants of its business than the amounts held by other countries in proportion to the wants of their business, in obedience to the great law of demand and supply, applicable as much to circulating medium as to any other article of merchandise, the money would at once begin to flow abroad, and foreign fabrics or products to flow in in exchange.

Precisely this has been the case, and herein lies the root of our difficulties. This country has had a most redundant and excessive supply of circulating medium—far greater in proportion to our business wants than any other country on the globe. Not only have the gold mines of California added immensely to our circulating medium, but every shipload of gold which has tarried with us, even for a time, has added several times its value to the circulation, in the bank notes which have been issued upon the basis of such parts of it as have found their way into the banks.

From the abstract of the returns of banks in Massachusetts, made to the last Legislature by the Secretary of State, it appears that on the 11th day of October, 1856, the banks of this Commonwealth had in their vaults specie to the amount of $4,555,571.41, while they had bills in circulation to the amount of $26,544,315. Thus, their circulation exceeded their specie to the amount of $21,988,743.59. Their circulation was more than six times their specie. By the return of the year previous, the specie was $4.409,402.35, and the circulation was $23,116,024, the disproportion being about the same as last year. And it does not appear that at any time between, or even before or after, the dates of their returns, the disproportion between specie and circulation was materially less. According to the weekly statements, the banks are proportionally stronger in specie now—circumstances having tended to make them so. These facts by no means necessarily show the banks to be weak, or dangerous to bill-holders or depositors, but they do show that a small amount of specie may be the basis of an immense issue of notes for circulation. The whole excess of circulation over specie is so much added to the circulating medium of the country. Supposing Massachusetts to furnish one-fifth of the bank circulation of the Union, here is over $200,000,000 added to the circulating medium of the country, through the means of the excess of bank notes over the specie in the vaults of the banks. And if this State furnishes only one-tenth of the bank circulation, then $200,000,000 is thus added to the circulation. It is evident at once what a redundancy of currency like this, added to the specie in circulation, must produce. The high prices prevalent here, excessive as compared with other countries, is evidence of the same fact—a redundancy of currency. Money has been cheaper here (making other things dearer) than in other countries, because the supply has been great in proportion to the demand. What has been the effect of this?

We all see, that if it were wheat or corn which was thus in excess in this country, it would flow abroad, other things coming in in exchange, until an equilibrium was produced. It is precisely so with circulating medium. When in excess in any country, it has a tendency to flow abroad until an equilibrium is produced. And money has thus tended to flow abroad, has been rapidly flowing abroad, all the while that this redundancy has existed in this country. This has produced the excessive importation about which we have heard so many groans. Our circulating medium being, through the issue of bank bills, excessive, has been flowing abroad, (just as an excess of wheat or corn would have done,) and foreign fabrics and products have come in in exchange. No tariff or want of tariff has produced this. It is the result of the great law of demand and supply, which is above and overrides all legislative enactments. Had the tariff been fixed exactly according to Mr. Greeley's wildest dream, it would not have prevented—it could scarcely have diminished—the "excessive importations." Money was plenty here and scarce abroad, cheap here and dear abroad, and abroad it would go in spite of all human enactments.

But when circulating medium begins to flow abroad, it does not flow a mixed stream, as it will flow from one portion of the Union to another. Massachusetts bills may be very good in Iowa, or Wisconsin, or Texas, but they are good for nothing in England or France. No; the stream thus forced to go abroad is of specie only. The bank bills all remain at home. You read in the papers no account of the ship Vampire taking out two millions in notes of the Cotton Bale Bank. She takes specie only; and the Cotton Bale Bank, having its specie drawn out to freight the Vampire, must curtail its circulation. And as one million of gold is the basis of the issue of six millions of bank paper, the withdrawal of one million from the banks must cause a reduction of six millions in the paper currency. When we hear that ten millions of gold has gone to London within so many months, it does not often occur to us that this has produced a contraction of the currency to several times that amount; yet, when the exported specie has been drawn from the banks, this must generally be the case.

The cause of revulsions like that of 1837 and that of the present time, and of the regularly alternating expansions and contractions of the intervening years, seems now pretty obvious. In a time of prosperity, as specie accumulates in the vaults of the banks, their circulation swells in the proportion of five or six to one. Presently our currency becomes excessively redundant, prices rise here high above what they are elsewhere, foreign goods flow in, and the excess of our currency flows abroad. But only the gold goes—the bank bills remaining behind. For every million that goes abroad, our currency must be contracted, sooner or later, several millions. Then comes a pressure. From this we gradually recover. The bank circulation having been very much diminished, the banks begin to feel strong again. Specie ceases to go abroad—now collects at home. It finds its way into the vaults of banks. Upon it the banks issue notes, five or six millions for one. There is another expansion, to be followed by another contraction as certainly and as regularly as night follows day. The contractions are more or less violent and disastrous, according as the previous expansion had been greater or less, and as other more immediate aggravating or lessening causes may interfere to hasten and aggravate or to retard and mitigate. Just now, ultimate and immediate causes continue to force an enormous and most disastrous contraction. The redundancy of currency has been excessive, it has produced wild speculation (in Western lands and otherwise) and extravagances. Other causes aid the general result. The contraction has come, bringing almost general bankruptcy and widespread ruin.

The excessive importations, wild speculation, and general extravagance in living, of the last few years, now aggravate our distress. But it is erroneous to speak of them as causes. They are themselves only effects. The redundancy of our currency has produced them. And the redundancy of the currency has been produced by our mistaken banking system, in which is the root of all our troubles. I do not undertake to say, that if we had never had a bank of issue, we should have had no times of pecuniary embarrassment. But I do say, that but for our banks of issue, such disastrous revulsions as that of 1837, and the one under which we are now suffering, could never have occurred; and that if our bank-note circulation could be put an end to, our regularly-recurring expansions and contractions would for the most part cease.

I cannot undertake to discuss the question, what would have been our present condition if no bank of issue had ever existed on this continent. Banks of issue produce other effects besides those of which I have spoken. I believe that they have, on the whole, done much more harm than good—but the discussion of that question is unimportant now. We see the evil they are now doing—let us inquire for a remedy.

The Constitution of the United States provides that no State shall "emit bills of credit." How it is that under this the States have been permitted to delegate to banks of their erection a power so forbidden to themselves, I have often wondered. The construction which has made this provision of the Constitution a dead letter has, however, become so firmly established, that it were useless now to attempt to change it. There is no hope in the General Government. The remedy for our evils rests with the States themselves.

A great part of the bank circulation of the country, and by far the most mischievous part, consist of small bills—designating by that name all bills under twenty dollars. We cannot destroy the banks—it would be folly to do so, except very gradually, if we could—but we can control the circulation. Let the issue and circulation of bank bills under five dollars be prohibited as soon as may be. Let this be followed in a year by the prohibition of all bills under ten dollars—and this, in a year or two more, by the suppression of all bills under twenty dollars—or, better still, of all bills under twenty-five dollars.

If all the States would join in this, we should speedily see an end of excessive importations and wild speculation, and the great throbs of the money market would cease. Gold, no longer driven abroad, as it now is, would accumulate in the country, and would prove our common currency. If all the States will not join in this at once, that is no good reason why we should not do our duty. Some State must set the example at the East, and what State can better do this than Massachusetts. Sooner or later, the example will be followed. We can at least stay the evil, so far as our banks produce it. We can do more; we can effectually suppress the circulation of small bills of our own and other banks in this State, thus securing our people from some of the evils of the next revulsion.

The operation of small bills in driving specie from the country may be seen in another way. Wheat is now one of our chief articles of food. Suppose a substitute for it should be discovered, cheaper, pleasanter to the taste, more convenient in the use, generally believed to be quite as wholesome, though not so in fact; and suppose this new article, exactly calculated to take the place of wheat, but not of any other article of food, could be produced and used only in this country, what would be the result? We should not want both that and the wheat. The new article would not increase our powers of consumption. Incapable, as we suppose, of being produced or used elsewhere, it could not be exported, while the wheat could. Manifestly, the substitute would generally take the place of wheat here, and the latter would, to a great extent, be driven out of the country. Well, small bills are just such a substitute for gold and silver. They are cheaper, more convenient in the use, better suited to our tastes generally. Supplying the place of gold and silver at home, they are yet useless abroad. We cannot export them. We do not need, for the purposes of our circulation, both articles. What, then, is necessarily the result? Of course, precisely the same as in the case of the supposed substitute for wheat. Generally, our people use the small bills, and gold and silver are driven from the country. But, unfortunately, the bills, cheap and convenient as they are, are not so wholesome as the solid coin, and our mercantile and manufacturing establishments are to-day sick nigh unto death from their use. The remedy is obvious, and in our own hands. Banish the deleterious substitute, and coin will flow back upon us, and prosperity be, we may trust, permanently restored. RADICAL.

The prospect of hard times for the coming winter has largely increased the number of passengers going to England. Every ship going from New York to Liverpool, has, it is stated, all the passengers she can carry, and multitudes apply for opportunity to work their way across the Atlantic. It is supposed that as soon as the news of the financial revulsion reaches the other side, there will be a decided check to the emigration from the Old World.

Washington's Opinion of Paper Money.—The following letter, written by Gen. Washington more than seventy years ago, on the paper or bank currency question, will be read just now with more than ordinary interest:

Mount Vernon, *Feb.* 27, 1787.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 30th ult. came duly to hand. To give an opinion in a cause of so much importance as that which has warmly agitated the two branches of your Legislature, and which, from the appeal that is made, is likely to create great and perhaps dangerous divisions, is rather a delicate matter; but as this diversity of opinion is on a subject which has, I believe, occupied the minds of most men, and as my sentiments thereon have been fully and decidedly expressed long before the Assembly either of Maryland or this State was convened, I do not scruple to declare, that if I had a voice in your Legislature, it would have been given decidedly against a paper emission, upon the general principle of its utility as a representative, and the necessity of it as a medium. To assign reasons for this opinion would be as unnecessary as tedious; the ground has been so often trod, that a place hardly remains untouched; in a word, the necessity arising from a want of specie is represented as greater than it really is. I contend that it is by the substance, not the shadow of a thing, that we are to be benefited.

The wisdom of man, in my humble opinion, cannot, at this time, devise a plan by which the credit of paper money would be long supported; consequently, depreciation keeps pace with the quantity of emission, and articles for which it is exchanged rise in a greater ratio than the sinking value of the money. Wherein, then, is the farmer, the planter, and artisan, benefited? The debtor may be, because, as I have observed, he gives the shadow in lieu of the substance, and in proportion to his gain the creditor or body politic suffers. Whether it be a legal tender or not, it will, as has been observed very truly, leave no alternative—it must be that or nothing. An evil equally great is the door it immediately opens for speculation, by which the least designing, and perhaps most valuable part, of the community are preyed upon by the more knowing and crafty speculators. But, contrary to my intention and declaration, I am offering reasons in support of my opinion—reasons, too, which, of all others, are less pleasing to the advocates of paper money. I shall therefore only observe, generally, that so many people have suffered by former emissions, that, like a burnt child who dreads the fire, no person will touch it who can possibly avoid it; the natural consequence of which will be, that the specie which remains unexported will be instantly locked up.

With great esteem and regard, I am, dear sir, &c., George Washington.

From the San Francisco Free Press, September 12.

THE DUTY AND INTEREST OF CALIFORNIA.

It is a common remark, that California has no interest in the question of Slavery, as it cannot affect her welfare as a State; that there is no reason why we should fear its introduction, or even a serious effort on the part of those friendly to that institution for that purpose. Admitting there is little to fear of its being established in our State, do we owe no duties to our sister States? Have we no obligations resting upon us, as a member of the Confederacy, that we should sit down, without interesting ourselves concerning a question which agitates the Atlantic States from Maine to Texas—from the shores of the Atlantic to the great Northern Lakes? This is not our opinion—it is not an opinion that can find favor with one who is a true lover of this Union, and who regards everything affecting its welfare as important to every true American heart, wherever it may beat.

As to the question of Slavery in States where it now exists, we believe all Republicans are willing to let those who control the legislation there be responsible for, and, if they choose, continue it at their own pleasure; but as Californians, responsible for the influence we exert in the Halls of the National Legislature, we hold that we have been false to the obligations we owe our country, in sending men to represent us who have betrayed the real sentiments of this State, in pandering to the extension of human bondage; and believe in so doing they have betrayed the true interests of the State they misrepresented.

This false cry of no interest in Slavery is one of the means by which the aggressive spirit of Slavery has by an adroit manœuvre turned the votes of California to their own account during the past six years. It was worthy of the shrewd policy of the politicians of the slave States, and has succeeded as they desired; but, unless the voters of the Eureka State are more besotted than we believe, the time is not far distant when they will justify their motto, and the Slavery extensionists will, to their dismay, find that the lovers of truth and justice on the Pacific shore can say, "We have found it." Neither individuals nor States have a right to think in reference to the interests of the families or States of which they are members. It is of no consequence to me or us what another may do; such a doctrine would unhinge society, and destroy all Government—it is neither consistent with patriotism, nor with the experience of mankind in all ages since Governments were established.

But, aside from this, California has a direct and all-absorbing interest in the question; she has already suffered a delay of at least three years, in the passage of the Pacific Railroad Bill through Congress, in consequence of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act; for, had our representatives on the floor of Congress done their duty, they would have never allowed it to be put off for the consideration of any other subject. The simple fact, as we have understood it, was this: The Pacific Railroad Bill was first in order in the business before the House of Representatives previous to the passage of the Kansas bill, in the summer of 1854, and it was well known there was a majority in favor of its passage; but our representatives—*the representatives of California—a State, they say, which has no interest in the question of Slavery*—consented to have a bill, which all believed vitally important to us, passed by, for the purpose of taking up a bill which was to extend Slavery, which they say is nothing to us. Well, the Kansas act, which has been the occasion of atrocities being perpetrated that are a disgrace to our country, was passed—and passed, too, by the aid of California votes, as well as by the sacrifice of her interests.

The passage of that act disgusted many of the friends of the railroad; they said, California does not want it built—the acts of her representatives establish the fact; had she really wanted it built, surely those she has sent to make known her wishes would never have dared to allow the bill, which would surely have passed at that time, to be put aside for business of any kind not immediately affecting her interests. By this it will be seen there is no such thing as being neutral. If we wish to have the railroad built, we must of necessity attach ourselves to those who are able and willing to aid us in that work. In this way, if no other, California's interests involve her in the contest going on elsewhere in the United States, and it is only by honorably taking part in the battle between Freedom on the one hand, and the extension of Slavery on the other, we have a right to look for that respect from all parts of the Union, in which is the only reliable foundation upon which to claim the passage of the bills we need enacted for our own peculiar welfare. At present, we are looked upon by the North as the slavish upholders of institutions opposed to our own interests and the spirit of the age.

At the South we are scorned as serfs are always scorned by their masters; we do their will without pay and without respect—serving a few of them by furnishing offices for those to fill who are too idle or incompetent to get them at home. It would be better for this State to be identified in interest even with the South, than to occupy its present position of a Northern State, owing all its wealth to free labor, yet voting with the South to extend Slavery, and thus forfeiting the respect and good will of both sections. While thus situated, the North cannot be interested in our behalf by any feeling of sympathy, while the South, knowing we are false to ourselves, and likely to be untrue to them, when once our eyes are opened to our own interest, give us neither support nor countenance in the great measure of the Pacific Railroad, which is to make our State prosperous, or the want of it to keep us poor and impoverished for years to come. The friends of Buchanan have said he was in favor of the road, but we have no faith in the assertion—believing it of little consequence what he is in favor of, so long as he is ruled by Southern statesmen, who will never allow a road to be built, unless, like the present mail route, it is made to pass through territory congenial to their favorite institution, where nature never marked out the way, and where it would not be of the least possible benefit to California. What folly, then, it is to cry that we have no interest in the question of Slavery, when we meet it whichever way we turn, and shall continue to meet it until its fate is sealed by the triumph of Freedom or Slavery. Let us then meet it like men—face to face, as honest men should—and give what aid we can to the cause of Justice and Liberty; let us help to put a stop to the extension of a traffic, which, to our shame be it said, is nowhere else extending at present on the face of the habitable globe.

From the Bangor Evening News.

JAMES BUCHANAN A MYSTERY TO HIMSELF.

President Buchanan *now* says it is a mystery how anybody could ever have doubted his present position on the subject of Slavery—that the Dred Scott decision is right, that the extension of Slavery is legal, and that it constitutionally exists, and Congress has no power to prohibit it in the Territories.

Below will be found a series of resolutions, drawn up and signed by Mr. Buchanan and others, and adopted at a public meeting in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in the year 1819. They are taken from the *Lancaster Intelligencer* of that year. "Consistency is a jewel;" but all jewels are not equally bright or well set, and, by a figure of speech, have been sometimes located "in a swine's snout." Mr. Buchanan's consistency will speak for itself:

"Whereas the people of this State, pursuing the maxims and animated by the beneficence of the great founder of Pennsylvania, first gave effect to the gradual abolition of Slavery by a national act, which has not only rescued the unhappy and helpless African within their territory from the demoralizing influence of Slavery, but ameliorated his state and condition throughout Europe and America;

"And whereas it would illy comport with those humane and Christian efforts, to be silent spectators when this great cause of humanity is about to be agitated in Congress, by fixing the destiny of the United States: therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the Representatives in Congress from this district be, and they are hereby, earnestly requested to use their utmost endeavors, as members of the National Legislature, to prevent the existence of Slavery in any of the Territories or new States which may be created by Congress.

"*Resolved*, (as the opinion of this meeting,) That as the Legislature of this State will shortly be in session, it will be highly deserving of their wisdom and patriotism, to take into their early and most serious consideration the propriety of instructing our Representatives in the National Legislature to use its most zealous and strenuous exertions to inhibit the existence of Slavery in any one of the Territories or States which may hereafter be created by Congress; and that the members of the Assembly from this county be requested to embrace the earliest opportunity of bringing this subject before both Houses of the Legislature.

"*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this meeting, the members of Congress who at the last session sustained the cause of justice, humanity, and patriotism, in opposing the introduction of Slavery into the State then endeavored to be formed out of the Missouri Territory, are entitled to the warmest thanks of every friend of humanity.

"*Resolved*, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the newspapers of this city.

James Hoakins.
William Jenkins.
James Buchanan.

The foregoing resolutions, being read, were unanimously adopted; after which, the meeting adjourned.

Walter Franklin, *Chairman*.
Attest: Wm. Jenkins, *Secretary*.

THE MASSACRE AT CAWNPORE.

The writer of the following deeply-interesting narrative of the massacre at Cawnpore is represented to be a faithful and intelligent native spy in the employ of the Indian Government, named Nujoor Jewarree.

"When the Nena's guns opened on the boat in which Wheeler Sahib, the General, was, (it has now been fully ascertained, from servants and others who were with the English party, that Gen. Wheeler was not dead, before the massacre, but was put wounded on board the boats,) he cut its cable and dropped down the river. Some little way down, the boat got stuck near the shore. The infantry and guns came up, and opened fire.

"The large gun they could not manage, not knowing how to work the elevating screw, and did not use it. With the small gun they fired grape tied up in bags, and the infantry fired with their muskets. This went on all day. It did not hurt the Sahib-log much. They returned the fire with their rifles from the boat, and wounded several of the Sepoys on the bank, who therefore drew off toward evening.

"The Sepoys procured a very big boat, into which they all got, and dropped down the river upon the Sahib's boats. Then the Sahibs fired again with their rifles, and wounded more Sepoys in the boat, and they drew off and left them. At night came a great rush of water in the river, which floated off the Sahib's boat, and they passed on down the river, but owing to the storm and dark night they only proceeded three or four koss. In the mean time the intelligence of the Sahib's defence had reached the Nena, and he sent off that night three more companies of the native regiment, (1st Oude Infantry,) and surrounded the Sahib's boat, and so took them and brought them back to Cawnpore.

"Then came out of that boat 60 Sahibs and 25 mem-Sahibs and four children—one boy and three half-grown girls. The Nena then ordered the mem-Sahibs to be separated from the Sahibs to be shot by the Gillis Pultun, (1st Bengal Native Infantry;) but they said, 'We will not shoot Wheeler Sahib, who has made our Pultun's name great, and whose son is our quartermaster; neither will we kill the Sahib-log. Put them in prison.' Then said the Nadir Pultun, 'What word is this? Put them in prison; we will kill the male.' So the Sahib-log were seated on the ground, and two companies of the Nadir Pultun placed themselves over against them, with their muskets ready to fire.

"Then said one of the mem-Sahibs—the doctor's wife she was, I don't know his name, but he was either superintending surgeon or medical storekeeper—'I will not leave my husband; if he must die, I will die with him.' So she ran and sat down behind her husband, clasping him round the waist. Directly she said this, the other mem-Sahibs said, 'We will also die with our husbands; and they all went and sat down beside their husbands. Then their husbands said, 'Go back,' but they would not. Whereupon the Nena ordered his soldiers, and they, going in, pulled them forcibly away, seizing them by the arm; but they could not pull away the Doctor's wife, who there remained.

"Then, just as the Sepoys were going to fire, the padre (chaplain) called out to the Nena, and requested leave to read prayers before they died. The Nena granted it. The padre's bonds were unloosed so far as to enable him to take a small book out of his pocket, from which he read; but all this time one of the Sahib-logs, who was shot in the arm and the leg, kept crying out to the Sepoys, 'If you mean to kill us, why don't you set about it quickly, and get the work done? Why delay?' After the padre had read a few prayers, he shut the book, and the Sahib-log shook hands all round. Then the Sepoys fired.

"One Sahib rolled one way, one another, as they sat; but they were not dead, only wounded; so they went in and finished them off with swords. After this, the whole of the women and children, (that is, including those taken out of other boats,) to the number of 122, were taken away to the yellow house, which was your hospital. This was the Bithoor Rajah's house in the civil lines, where I and four more Sepoys were confined, and where I had the opportunity of talking to the sergeant major's wife. After this, when we (Sepoys) were taken down with the Nena to Futtehpore, the women and children were taken away to the house where they were afterward murdered.

"'Were any of our women dishonored by the Nena or his people?' None that I know of, excepting in the case of General Wheeler's youngest daughter, and about this I am not certain. This was her circumstance. As they were taking the mem-Sahibs out of the boat, a sowar (cavalry man) took her away with him to his house. She went quietly; but at night she rose and got hold of the sowar's sword.

"He was asleep, his wife, his son, and his mother-in-law, were sleeping in the house with him. She killed them all with the sword, and then she went and threw herself down the well behind the house. In the morning, when people came and found the dead in the house, the cry was, 'who has done this?' Then a neighbor said that in the night he had seen some one go and throw himself into the well. They went and looked, and there was Missee Baba, dead and swollen."

The correspondent of the London *Times* adds to this account:

"I have seen the fearful slaughter-house, and also saw one of the 1st native infantry men, according to order, wash up part of the blood which stains the floor, before hanging. The quantities of dresses, clogged thickly with blood, children's frocks, frills, and ladies' under clothing of all kinds, also boys' trousers, leaves of Bibles, and of one book in particular, which seems to be strewed over the whole place, called *Preparation for Death*, also broken daguerreotype cases only, lots of them, and hair, some nearly a yard long; bonnets all bloody, and one or two shoes. I picked up a bit of paper with on it, 'Ned's hair, with love,' and opened and found a little bit tied up with riband. The first fellows that went in, I believe, saw the bodies with their arms and legs sticking through the ground. They had all been thrown in a heap in the well."

It would seem from the Spy's account that he left Cawnpore during the day, on the night of which the women were slaughtered after being fiendishly outraged.

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