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For the National Era.

PORTRAITS FOR THE PEOPLE.

BY JOHN SMITH THE YOUNGER.

No. 4.

THE WASHINGTON LETTER-WRITER.

Hot. What letters last thou there? I can but thank you.
King Henry IV.

The rapid increase of that very interesting instrument of civilization, the Penny Press of the large cities of the Union, and the fast-growing desire for information throughout the country in general, have created within the last few years a numerous, and, in the main, a most meritorious class of subordinate writers at Washington, who are known as the "letter-writers." Formerly, in the good old days of newspaper indolence, it was customary for five or six of the editors of a single particular section of the country to unite in retaining the services of a correspondent at the seat of Government, who furnished them with merely a meager synopsis of the daily proceedings of Congress, occasionally, perhaps, venturing a timid expression of his individual opinions with regard to passing events and public measures. Three or four of such correspondents, who were generally also connected with the Washington papers, occupied at this time the entire field, and often realized by their labors upwards of one hundred dollars per week. Now, the number of letter-writers is upwards of thirty, and their salaries vary from fifteen to five dollars a week. A few of the large papers, indeed—such as the "New York Courier and Enquirer"—pay handsome salaries, and secure the services of gentlemen of high character and talent; but the mass of the penny papers, the "New York Sun," or "Herald," for instance, pay their correspondents about six dollars a week—and it is often really surprising, to find how much intellect and industry can be obtained—for the wages of hod-men.

The great mass of readers, who are every morning edified by the correspondence from Washington, which they find in their daily newspaper, have very little idea of the arduous labors of those by whom it is furnished. The poor letter-writer thus reaps as scanty a harvest of public gratitude as he does of dollars from his employer, who, by the bye, is perhaps continually boasting of the immense cost at which he obtains his Washington news. As soon as the House opens, which during the greater portion of the session is at eleven o'clock in the morning, the letter-writer may be found at his post—one of the desks which are placed in the recesses between the pillars adjacent to the bar. Here he sits, making notes, till one or two o'clock, when he runs into the Senate chamber, and exchanges with one of his colleagues there his account of the House proceedings, receiving that of the doings of the Senate in return. He then hastens back to the House, and commences his letter for the evening mail, taking a note, at the same time, as no one but himself knows, of what is meanwhile going on. Four o'clock is fast approaching; and if a prosy speaker, who is only talking for Buncombe, has possession of the floor, he obtains—whatever may be its value—the letter-writer's heartfelt prayer for his lungs; if the country, a Western Senator's famous anathema could not equal in bitterness that malediction, of what rush to the Senate; and then what an effort to close up the letter! But there has, perhaps, been a vote on some exciting question, and the "yeas" and "nays" must be copied. Off he flies to the room of the Clerk of the House, and there finds half a dozen of his colleagues struggling over the list. Confusion! The less only ten minutes until the mail is sure to be lost! But by a terrible effort he makes out his list, and reaches the cars just in time to fling his package to the conductor, the train having that instant started for Baltimore. Yet the labors of the poor letter-writer have hardly begun. There has been a secret session of the Senate, and he must hurry out the subject discussed with closed doors. In order to obtain this important piece of intelligence, he must see one of the Senators with whom he is intimately acquainted; and, hurrying as fast as he can to Coleman's, he is fortunate enough to find the great man at the bar, refreshing himself with a glass of brandy and water before sitting down to dinner, for the day is cold and his stomach is weak; and, as the letter-writer approaches, he justifies his indulgence by quoting for the hundredth time a portion of the Epistle of Paul to Timothy—the only portion of that Apostle's writings with which, we well venture to say, the gentleman has ever been known to meddle. However, the Senator is in a gracious mood, although it is before dinner, and, with a craftiness worthy of "Richelieu" himself, the letter-writer sifts out the invaluable item of news.

Chuckling over his good fortune in penetrating the deepest recesses of Executive mystery, the letter-writer thinks of dinner. It is now just nine hours since he swallowed a cup of cold coffee, and in the interval the only pabulum which he had had time to obtain has been three pickled oysters and half a dozen glasses of Monongahela at Foy's grog shop in the Capitol basement—the solids bearing to the fluids by which they were accompanied about the same proportion as Falstaff's pennyworth of bread did to his many gallons of sack. Having dined—the process being terminated more abruptly than usual by an unfortunate quarrel with one of the waiters, respecting the right of exclusive possession of a devilled turkey—our friend strutts into the bar room, to gather the news and accept invitations to drink. Having prosecuted both these objects to the fullest practicable extent at the "National," he follows them up still further at "Brown's," loses not sight of them at the "United States," and perhaps does not feel satisfied till after he has driven them to the utmost extremity at "Fuller's." It is now near midnight, and the letter-writer is ready to commence the epistle which goes by the mail in the morning. So, ordering a jug of hot whiskey punch and a shilling's worth of cigars, our friend lights a candle, dropping an extra one into his pocket, and proceeds to his room. Cursing the waiter who has allowed his fire to get down, he stands for some minutes in the grate, study, silently regarding the fast-dying embers. He is attempting to extricate the events of the day—the proceedings of Congress and the intelligence which his evening researches have obtained—from the apparently hopeless confusion in which they now repose in his brain. He scratches his head, and, making a desperate effort, looks as wise as General Scott does when he tries to hoax himself in the House about eleven o'clock in the morning; but all will not do, and so he applies himself to the jug, when a smile, stealing over his features, announces that "his friend and pitcher" has rendered potential aid. So he lights a cigar, and, cheerfully seating himself at the little green table which fulfils all the purposes of writing desk, washstand, toilette, and secretary, he throws pen and dashes away till five closely-written pages of foolscap lie spread out before him. The sheets are folded, enclosed in an envelope, and left on the table, where the packet is soon afterwards found by "John," who conveys it to the bag at the railroad depot. It is now three o'clock in the morning, and convincing himself by reversing its mouth, that the jug is entirely empty, the letter-writer flings himself on his bed, and in five minutes is wrapt—like his epistles of yesterday—in peaceful oblivion.

Such is the daily life of a letter-writer at Washington! And yet, day after day, some of these gentlemen write a volume of matter, full of correct information, sound political knowledge, intelligent strictures on measures and men, and that prescience of coming events which can be obtained only by an extensive experience, aided by the most sober and dispassionate thought.

It is quite true, that amongst the letter-writers are men of little talent and less principle; but their abilities and character are in keeping with the journals for which they correspond. They are the fabricators of astounding pieces of intelligence, and invent the startling "still later" news from Washington, which is ushered forth with flaming capitals, and swells the mid-day chorus of the news boys. In their hands also is the retail trade, in the scandal and gossip of a city, proverbial for the filthiness of the one and the flatulence of the other. They are continually making changes in the Cabinet, recall the foreign ministers, and make and revoke appointments at their sovereign pleasure. They pump Mr. Martin Renahan every morning, and know all the secrets of the White House, from the attic to the basement-story. At least, we may say of them, as his master says of Francis in the old play—

"I dare be sworn thou hast been in the buttery,
Sleeping thy morning hour in fat ease,
And in the butler's tattle—ay, or chatting
With the gib waiting woman, ere her mistress—
These bear the key to each domestic mystery.

These industrious emissaries of an "independent press" are very fond of the society of those Congressmen and other officials, who—what shall we say?—"will go home till morning." *In vino veritas* is one scrap of Latin which they are able to understand; and they lose no opportunity in these cases of testing the maxim. Well, indeed, may they say—

"Nay, fear not me, for I have no delight
To watch such creatures. Have I ever myed
Of virtue nought to boast of—

and so the member's suspicions being perfectly lulled, he readily shakes the letter-writer's thirst for "items" and prog.

But the gentry we have just been describing do not by any means constitute the majority of the letter-writers at Washington. The respectable press of the chief cities of the Union is represented by able and intelligent writers, and their influence on legislation and the movements of political parties is as great as it often is salutary. They keep a sharp eye upon the leading men of both parties, and comment on public measures with much greater freedom at all times, and often with more intelligence and justice, than the editors of the journals to which they contribute. Hence it is that the politicians entertain a wholesome dread of the letter-writer, and have a castigation from him much more than they do one from a party editor, who is not always so well informed as his correspondent, and therefore does not know where to strike with the greatest effect; is never so moderate, and therefore less dangerous; whilst, being constantly liable to the accusation of fierce partisanship, his censures are easily turned off, as a matter of course. The rivalry amongst these gentlemen in procuring the earliest intelligence of all political movements is productive of most salutary effects. Political intrigue is thus rendered infinitely more difficult and hazardous, and the public are enabled to watch the whole game. Now, this important surveillance, exercised at the seat of Government by practical and intelligent writers for the public press, has much more to do with the purity and integrity of our institutions than many imagine. Wisdom did indeed utter her voice when it was said, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty;" and the solemn warning cannot be too often repeated. Let us suppose the record of the sayings and doings at Washington cease to be minute and universally diffused—let the public eye relax in its watchfulness—let the interest in every political movement no longer come home to the bosom and business of every man, and it needs no one to arise from the dead to foretell the speedy influx, not of one corrupt, but of more successful ambition, the rapid accumulation of political corruptness, and the inevitable sequence of bondage or revolution.

It is sometimes not an uninteresting study to observe the manner in which public men at Washington manifest their instinctive sense of the influence exerted by the letter-writers on the popular mind. And many amusing anecdotes illustrative of this fact are related. The present President of the United States figures in one of those anecdotes which we have heard. One morning, Mr. Polk, when a member of the House, on entering the Capitol, met Mr. ——, one of the most intelligent and highly educated men that ever discharged the duties of a Washington correspondent, and thus accosted him:

"Good morning, my dear ——; I am very happy to meet you. I am infinitely indebted to you for the manner in which you have noticed my speech on Monday last."

"Not at all, sir," replied Mr. ——; "the obligation is altogether on the other side—you gave me such excellent materials for at least one interesting letter."

"No, no; not so," returned Mr. Polk; "I really am much your debtor; and, as I know that the services of you gentlemen of the press are often poorly requited, I hope you will allow me" —and here he put his hand in his pocket.

"I beg you will not," broke in Mr. ——.

"Oh! really, I must express"—

"Oh! not at all necessary"—

"My dear sir, I insist"—

"But, sir, I"—

"Well, then, my dear sir, if you say so"—buttoning up his pocket—"I wish you a very good morning, sir!"

Several amusing instances of the liberality of certain classes of members to the letter-writers have been recorded; and one at least is worth repeating, as it illustrates at once the value which statesmen of former place upon literary labor, and the independence of the press.

A tall, awkward, coarse-looking man, who might have set for the portrait of the "Raw Western Member"—which we mean to give by and by—stepped up one day to a reporter's desk, and, pulling out a leathern purse, very long and very lank, thus addressed the man of letters:

"I'm mighty pleased with you for that speech which you done up for me last week—the speech on the bloody banks."

"Oh! yes—I recollect—the report was made is *extenso*, at your request, sir."

"Yes, *I axed it just so*—and it was done up well I like to encourage the press; a free press is the right bower of these United States. Young man, that's your money!" and, so saying, he dived to the bottom of the purse, and, counting out dollars in specie, he laid it down, as somebody says in an old play, "with the air of an Emperor."

"My dear sir," said the letter-writer, in the quietest manner imaginable, "my dear sir, I am exceedingly obliged to you. The value of the handsome compliment which you have just bestowed on my poor services is enhanced a hundred fold by the courteous manner in which it has been conveyed to me. What can I do in return? Will you have the goodness"—handing back the coins—"will you have the goodness to step down to Mr. Foy, and ask him to join you in drinking my health. You perceive I have added another, to make up the price of a bottle. And now, sir, I bid you good morning!"

The honorable gentleman for a moment looked puzzled, but then coolly dropped the silver into his purse, and returned to his seat!

But it need hardly be said, amongst Congressmen and intelligent politicians at Washington, there are comparatively few who resemble the author of the speech on the "bloody banks" in his appreciation of the gentlemen of the press. In general, the orators on the floor of Congress evince a proper regard for the ready-writers—the convenient laders by which many of them have risen to fame and power. And well they may! However, we will have occasion, hereafter, to initiate the reader into some of the processes of the mysterious manufacture by which sound becomes sense; blundering dulness utters the words of sober reason; and eloquence oft-times,

"Like its inspirer, bere,
Though stale, not ripe; though thin, yet never clear;
So wavering between two soils that it knows
Ready, not strong; overflowing, though not full;

assumes, on paper, the form and aspect of "thoughts that breathe and words that burn!"

The letter-writers and reporters have wielded a mighty power—either for good, as we have shown; and those who form the chief wields have their sharp and ready pens know it. But innovation, revolution, progress—call it what you will—is the order of the day; and that new agent of civilization, of whose potency and value we can as yet form but a partial estimate—the electro-magnetic telegraph—may itself take this great business in hand, so that our letter-writer may also may exclaim, with the Moor, "Othello's occupation's gone!" So that the work be properly done, all well. The mendacious scribblers who debase the honorable calling, driven from this, will seek the horsewhip in some other sphere. Truth will be triumphant, and truth will be diffused, and, upon the morrow,

"Fresh fields and pastures green!"

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

NEW YORK, *January* 27, 1847.

DEAR SIR: By the British steamer, arrived at Boston, I have received a number of English, Scotch, and Irish newspapers, and letters from correspondents in Ireland, full of interesting intelligence. Some of these papers and letters I shall forward to you, as you may wish to make extracts for the Era. The letter of the "Learned Blacksmith," Elihu Burritt, will be of great interest. He is performing a great work of philanthropy in Great Britain on the Peace question. In the London *Herald of Peace* I learn that a number of letters by him, entitled "The Heroic Age of the United States."

A letter from MARIA WEBB, of Belfast, dated 1st month 1st, are some particulars of the famine prevailing in Ireland that are heart-rending. She writes: "I have been, for the last few weeks, overpowered with sensations arising out of sympathy on behalf of the famishing, destitute, state of our own peasantry. I do not mean the peasantry in the letter-sense, but those who have been in agricultural counties, where things are truly in an awful state. But, instead of entering further into painful details, which I hope you will permit I shall enclose some documents that will give some little idea of the state of those districts on behalf of which the Belfast Ladies' Association has been formed. There is a gentleman in New York, of undoubted worth, whom I knew in childhood, to whom I had intended writing by this steamer, had not pressing engagements prevented my performing the duty, whilst I was acquainted with him, thus will oblige me by showing him these documents, and, at the same time, to inform him of our state. I hope you will soon for a contribution on behalf of his perishing countrymen. The person I allude to is ——, of Broadway. *Can America do anything to save our poor people? or are she determined to be silent?* We are getting over much Indian meal, it is true, through our merchants; but could not your farmers afford to send us some wheat?"

The sudden rise in the price of breadstuffs, since the arrival of the steamer, by which some of our speculators have made fortunes, and which will stimulate speculation in the staples of life, will, I fear, prevent many from contributing to the necessities of the poor Irish, who, in a different sense of the word, are "our neighbors." But it is to be hoped that there are some in this city and this country who will of their abundance contribute to aid the starving Irish, and, in the spirit of duty, do I hope that the descendants of the Irish people in this country will remember their father-land in this time of its extremity, and that it may be said of each almoner of the bounty, "Blessed is he!" "The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me." What a lovely sight it would be, if while the Government of this country is carrying on, at immense expense of life and treasure, the murderous war in Mexico, a portion of the citizens should unite in contributing one or more cargoes of breadstuffs to the famishing Irish! The God of Peace and Philanthropy would surely look upon such an act with complacency, and say, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me!"

In the *Belfast Commercial Chronicle* for December 23, 1846, is a letter to the Duke of Wellington, on "the destitution in Skibbereen, Ireland." It should move a heart of stone to read such recitals. In the same paper you will see an account of a lecture on slavery, by the Rev. Dr. William, of Glasgow. In the Highlands of Scotland, much destitution and distress prevail, but which, from a great economy and the sufferers, is not so likely, as in the case of Ireland, to engage public attention and effort.

In the London *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, January 1, 1847, which I send you, is an interesting "Report of the first Anti-Slavery Meeting held at Jufsico Station, Bimbia, Western Africa, Bight of Biafra." Most of the speakers were black men, who had been slaves. Rev. John Clarke is a Baptist Missionary, formerly of Jamaica. He has visited this country, and is favorably known, both here and in England.

In the *Glasgow Argus*, of December 7, is a powerful memorial and remonstrance respecting slavery, to the Churches of the United States of America, by the Synod of the United Secession Church. If the Christians of England and the United States will listen with unprejudiced attention to the kind remonstrances of their brethren, in reference to the evil practices existing in both countries, great good may result, in the reformation of individuals and communities, and in riveting in stronger bonds the moral, philanthropic, and Christian people of both nations.

I send you one of *Douglass Jerrold's Weekly Newspapers* for December 26th. It may be you have not seen this journal. It is, as you perceive, a small folio of 22 pages. On the 23d January it was to be enlarged to 32 pages, or 96 columns, which is the utmost limit allowed by the stamp law. Its price is 5d., or 10 cents. This paper contains the news of the week, the debates in Parliament, the miscellaneous occurrences, law and police reports, City proceedings, foreign intelligence, literature, correspondence, original and various new serial articles. You will be pleased to see that the first article in the number I send you is by my friend Douglas Jerrold. Elihu Burritt, on "A Social System of Benevolence for the relief of Ireland?" Should you take this paper regularly, you will see, from week to week, in all parts of the country, can be furnished with a variety of intelligence gathered by an experienced master of the craft.

With this, I forward four numbers of the London *Nonconformist*, full of interesting ecclesiastical, political, literary, and miscellaneous articles. The editor, Edward Miall, will doubtless have had a personal acquaintance, is an independent and able "defender of the faith," both with his tongue and pen. You will find, in these columns, a great variety of rich and instructive matter.

Have you seen, in the *Mobile Daily Advertiser* of the 14th January, an account of HARRISON ELLIS, a slave, who, with his family, had been liberated, at the instance of the Presbyterian Synod of Alabama and Mississippi, and sent as a missionary to the African Colony of Liberia? The natural and intellectual powers of this man, his facility in acquiring languages, (equal almost to his brother, Elihu Burritt, the Learned Blacksmith,) and his various powers, seem to have been remarkably appreciated in Alabama. From the long account given of him in the Daily Advertiser, (about a column in fine print,) I infer that Ellis, as he is in many respects, another Frederick Douglass. We regret that such a man should be sent out of the country; not that it is to be regretted that they will do good wherever they go, but because *such* men are more needed at home than abroad. Neither he nor Frederick Douglass would have expatriated themselves, had it not been for dire necessity. When will this necessity cease to exist, and MAN, according to his capacity, have opportunity to fulfil the duties of life? Ellis will add a value to the Southern press. I am sorry to see that, in the paper containing an account of Mr. Ellis, are the following advertisements: "A negro brilayer for sale;" a "Negro for sale;" "For sale, a middle-aged negro woman." The editor would have omitted good letter, at least, if, *without paper*, he had omitted such advertisements.

Your paper is not so full of anti-slavery matter, nor so denunciatory, as some would desire, but, from the best information, I can obtain, it is doing the great body of Christian Abolitionists very well. Continue to "speak the truth in love," and you will have great influence throughout the whole country. Candid men, in other States as well as in the free States, will learn to distinguish between furious denunciators and those who aim to promote the true welfare and best interests of both master and slave. If we can have a hearing, and a candid reception of truth, tens of thousands will emancipate themselves from the fetters of bigotry and welfare of communities, no less than of individuals and families, depend, under God, upon liberty being proclaimed throughout the land, to all the inhabitants thereof.

L. T.

Dr. G. BAILEY, Jun.

For the National Era.

RAILROADS, TELEGRAPHS, AND WAR.

MR. EDITOR: I have read with interest your remarks in your paper of the extension of the magnetic telegraph, and its application to war, as a medium of communication, both in time of peace and war. With the general views expressed regarding the magnetic telegraph as by far the most important in its effects upon civilization of all the inventions of the nineteenth century, (railroads alone excepted,) I have long entertained the opinion that the general extension of the system over a country are beyond the powers of man to foresee; and that, as in the case of the introduction of steam, it can only be followed up them. My present object, however, is to present to you a view of the subject from which we can even only form a dim conception, and which, though it appears to me to be almost on the surface of the subject, has never, to my knowledge, been publicly mentioned. I allude to the fact, that communications, at great distances, by means of the magnetic telegraph, is so easily cut off, and, consequently, so entirely at the mercy of *any one* disposed to interfere with it, that, in the present state of things, it must prove utterly useless in time of war, and this, too, not merely in the case of an offensive war or one waged by the defenders upon their own soil, but even one waged by the defenders upon the enemy, for, how easy would it be for the invading party to cause the interruption of the chain, *within the enemy's lines*, by the agency of spies or disaffected persons, who, in the experience of modern warfare, will always more or less abound, in the most approved and scientific manner? It is obvious, as it appears to me, may be made with regard to the conveyance of troops or munitions by means of railroads, in time of war; the communication, being so easily interrupted, the dangers which must be at the mercy of every one who could be induced, by the love of distinction or the offer of reward, to run the risks of detection and punishment, are such which the experience of all war proves is not sufficient to prevent the accomplishment of enterprises of less importance in their consequence, and more perilous in their execution. Have you seen, where read that the British Government have determined to add no more iron steam vessels to their navy, on account of the danger which lies in the subject of being disabled by shot—a danger which is said to be greater with them than with wooden vessels. Now, if this be true, and I see no reason to doubt it, and, if, as I have supposed, both magnetic telegraphs and railroads must, from the very nature of the case, prove unreliable, and, consequently unserviceable, in time of war, it is not unreasonable to see in these concurrent circumstances an evidence that it is the will of the God of Peace that the powers of darkness, which, if it were not so, no longer put weapons into the hands of men for their mutual destruction, but should prove an outward, indeed, but not therefore to be less foreordained, fulfilment of that gospel of "Peace on earth and good will towards man?"

These remarks have been called forth by your observations upon the efficiency of the magnetic telegraph as a means of conveying intelligence in time of war, but you will not therefore suspect me of anything like a sectarian spirit.

Truly yours,

INDEPENDENT.

LETTER FROM ROBERT OWEN.

To the Congress of the United States:

The time is near at hand, if it be not already upon us, when the authorities of the world will be, by the irresistible voice of public opinion, called upon to abandon those false fundamental principles on which alone society has been based, and the irrational character of men has been formed, and to replace these false notions, derived solely from the inexperienced imaginations of half-civilized men, for eternal truths—for laws of Godhead—unknown to change, and which, in practice, can produce good only to the human race. For it will be now ascertained that, in all past ages, men have been solely governed by the same false fundamental notions, varied only by the irrational prejudices arising in the peculiar latitudes and longitudes of each division of our race. And so much extent have these errors been carried, that the latitude and longitude of the birth and training of any individuals being given, the general language, religion, habits, manners, and prejudices of that individual are thereby also given.

The universal fundamental errors are, that each one from his own peculiar organization, education and feelings, and therefore that they should be made responsible for what they may be to their equally ignorant fellow-men. Upon these universal errors are engrafted the peculiar errors of the respective latitudes and longitudes in which each one has been placed and instructed; and thus has each one been, unknown to himself, forced to become most irrational in thought and action, opposed to his own happiness and the happiness of his fellows.

The change required to make men into rational beings is to prevent this veil of ignorance, which is prepared for each new generation by the existing matured generation, being formed, as at present, to prevent from their birth to their full maturity of mind and body; and, instead thereof, a new character must be created for them instead, to be based on the knowledge that no one can create his own mind, or his own opinions, or his own feelings, and that, for man to attempt to deceive himself or his fellow-men, or to deceive themselves responsible to one another for that which they could not create, is to act to the utmost limit of folly and madness, and, for man to attempt to deceive the principles of rationality and happiness; to create universal falsehood and deception, and to render charity and kindness from man to man and nation to nation impracticable.

In addition to this fundamental change in the character of the infant from birth, to give him the language of truth—the language of truth—the straightforward honesty, in look, word, and action, he must be well employed, well placed, and well governed; and, to attain these results, he must be supplied by an entirely new combination of external objects, previously calculated to have their irresistible influence in producing each one intelligent, good, kind, and charitable; in other words, to become a *full formed superior rational being.*

That these principles are true, and the practice most desirable, all who have been enabled to overcome the prejudices of their latitudes and longitudes will now admit; but the difficulty which prevents them from at once to know how to effect the change from the false principles and injurious practices so long established throughout society for the true principles and their beneficial practices.

This difficulty will now be found from want of a knowledge of the *practical* affairs of life, upon a scale sufficiently extended to enable them to comprehend how it is practicable to do it, without the violence of revolutions, without injury to any one, and great benefit to all.

ROBERT OWEN.

WASHINGTON, *January* 29, 1847.

For the National Era.

POPULATION.

It is profitable sometimes to look into the depths of political science, and to see what it is that keeps so obly operate upon our social condition, and to trace to their true source the various evils that multiplied around us. Even as a subject of life speculation, few things can be more interesting; but when we look also to the evils which flow from the prevailing ignorance upon the subject, and to the incalculable benefit which would result from a clear and comprehensive knowledge thereof, it assumes an aspect of importance which must challenge for it the first attention of all who have any regard For those reasons, I was highly gratified on seeing in the Cincinnati Herald, of the 9th of December last, some remarks upon Malthus's Essay on Population, over the signature of Cadmus. I rejoice in it, on account of the evidence it furnishes of a disposition to investigate the subject; though I was sorry to find that the calm, dignified, and impartial spirit of true philosophy, was but slightly manifested on that occasion. It is a grave subject; this of the effect of the life to which fate has forced, fore been heir; and it ought to be approached in quite another spirit than that which would dictate from the mouth of those who might honestly differ from us, as "monstrous and abominable" proceeding "from the heat-oppressed brain," "a scare humanity withal;" or insinuate that those views were dictated by a "mischievous" purpose of protecting existing evils from the spirit of improvement which is abroad in the world, and that he who ventured to utter them was "a prejudices of a devil?" Surely a subject, upon the right understanding of which hangs the destiny of millions upon millions of human beings, should be approached in quite another spirit than this.

The leading doctrine of the essay of Malthus teaches, that it is the duty of man to control his natural desires or passions, governed by an enlightened judgment and a pure conscience. That we ought not to form matrimonial connections, and assume the responsibility of a family, until we were prepared, in every sense, to discharge the sacred duties pertaining to that relation; and, in particular, that we should see to it carefully, that we have the means necessary to provide for the physical wants of the helpless beings that may be given us in charge. It purports to show, by a careful examination of the subject, that we have been very infinitely beyond what human nature has ever yet experienced; and that, in proportion as this line of duty is pursued, we may rise to the degrees of prosperity and happiness which the people may enjoy. And further: that where this duty is generally neglected, vice and misery will ensue, consequently, the conclusions merely in the form of mathematical connections, a greater number of people will be brought into being than can by any possibility be supplied with food, and the natural laws of nature, of human life; so that destitution, want, and misery, are the unavoidable lot of a greater or lesser number of people, according to the circumstances. And hence, from an imperious necessity, the Angel of Destruction, in some of its multifarious manifestations, must precipitate a large number into a premature grave. This our author traces a very large proportion of the vice and misery which exists in the world to a neglect of the wholesome law, and, in fact, he shows (may I not say conclusively) that there is no possibility of permanently avoiding the evils in question, but by a return to the path from which they naturally proceed; and that the prosperity, session and exercise of all other virtues, in the utmost conceivable perfection, will not compensate for the omission of this one duty; but that such omission will, despite our efforts, produce the results which the Creator has ordained to flow from it. It is true, that, in the first place, it is very inexorable, and will not be suspended by God to accommodate our short-comings in this any more than in other cases. Now, is there any thing so very monstrous in all this? Nay, is there any thing that is not true? Let that be pondered well.

True, this theory presents the subject of human improvement in a different light from that in which it has been viewed by many ardent reformers. It is a great disappointment to them, as they appear to suppose; for the improvement of the social condition of the people is dependent upon their conformity to the laws of their being; and, consequently, they must learn to conform themselves to those laws, before any rational hope can be entertained of any permanent advancement towards a state of perfect order and happiness. This of course will be a work of time and difficulty; but surely, when the magnitude of the object is considered, it will be found a better encouragement than to know that it is possible.

With regard to one of the leading positions of Malthus, we may convince ourselves of its truth by the use of a little arithmetic.

Suppose it was possible to provide the necessaries of life for all who would be brought into the world, if each one, at the proper age, should be in entering the matrimonial state, and that this had been done ever since Noah descended from the ark. What would the world now be now living? Taking a rate of increase which is found to be less than that which is possible under such circumstances, and making the calculation, we find that the population would be so much more than accommodate but a small fraction of them, even with the local room to live, much less furnish them with the means of subsistence. It is by no means possible for them to live packed as close as pickled herring in a barrel, and piled one above another from the surface of the earth, forming a solid globe of flesh and blood, reaching in every direction as far as the region of the moon, there would still, are this, be myriads of human beings which could not be accommodated. It is therefore evident, that some check to the natural tendency of increase is a necessary condition of our being; and that, if this check is not furnished by the prudence and foresight of the people, it will inevitably be furnished by something which will—as

"War and Pestilence, Disease and Dearth,
Sweep the superfluous myriads from the earth."

Here, then, is an important principle, operating in all times and in all places, with few and unimportant exceptions—a principle lying deep down among the primary springs of human action—below and behind what is seen by superficial minds as the sole evils which afflict the race; and Malthus deserves other treatment than merely that for calling our attention to it in the manner he has done.

W. J.

HARMONY GROVE, *January*, 1847.

RAVING COOL.

RAVING COOL.—The editor of the Lynn News tells the following story:

"A countryman took his seat at a hotel table, opposite to a gentleman who was indulging in a bottle of wine. Supposing the wine to be common property, our unsophisticated country friend helped himself to it, with the other gentleman's glass.

"That's cool!" exclaimed the owner of the wine, indignantly.

"Yes," replied the other, "I should think there was ice in it."

LYRIC.

From an unpublished Opera, entitled "Life according to Law."

BY EBENEZER ELLIOTT.

Sabbath holy!
To the lowly
Still art thou a welcome day:
When thou comest, earth and ocean,
Shade and hedge, field and meadow, and motion,
Help the poor man's heart to pray.

Sun-naked forest,
Bird that soarest
Over the mute empurpled moor,
Thistle-down, and harebell-like flower,
Wind that over dew-drop goest,
Welcome as the poor man's poor.

Little river,
Young forever!
Clouds, gold bright, and beautiful glue,
Happy woodlark, gladly weeping,
Gnat, within the wild rose keeping;
Oh, that they were blest as ye!

Sabbath holy!
Pure as lowly
Paint with flowers thy glittering soil;
Fill children's sons and daughters,
Bid thy mountains, woods, and waters,
Pray to God, the poor man's God!

From the fever,
Hide never
Those Who Toil, (Pass not the door,)
From the gleam of airless alleys,
Lead them to green hills and valleys
Weary Lord of Hosts, to pray!

Pale young mother,
Daughter, brother,
Sister, father, in decay,
Great-bowed sire, that life-long toiled,
Waits hope-pale, and, ere night be highest,
Come and drink the light and air.

Tyrants curse ye
Tyrants curse ye,
Life for deadliest wrongs to pay;
Yet, on Sabbath, bringing gladness
Unto heirs of weary sadness,
Still thou art "the Poor Man's Day!"

DR. CHEEVER'S LETTERS ON THE WALDENSES.

THEIR NATIONALITY, RELIGION, AND SCENERY.

A Christian mind always takes great delight in studying the footprints of God in reference to his church. But a great part of ecclesiastical history, so called, is occupied in tracing the synagogue and church of Satan. Ecclesiastical history, for more than a thousand years, is almost solely occupied with the pranks and antics of the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition; while the history of the church of Christ, in the fire and blood, at the stake and with the sword, or lies open only to the eye of the Great Shepherd of Israel, who has followed his little flock on mountains, in deserts, in wilderness, in dens and caves of the earth, in sheepskins and goat skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented.

Now, there is no portion of this little flock, the history of which can be pursued back into antiquity so far and so distinctly as that of the Waldenses; for many in regard to the antiquity of the Church of God are so great, so remarkable, so conspicuous, so both instructive and interesting to bring those providences out into the light, to see in them the fulfilment of the divine promise, and to ask, What does God intend to do with a flock so miraculously guarded and preserved, perpetually persecuted yet not exterminated, hated but not destroyed, cast down but not in despair, and having so many seals by which the Lord knoweth them that are his, and by which they know that they know that he is keeping them? They are the bush burning, but not consumed. Does not God mean still to keep it burning, but still unconsumed, and by it to kindle a warm light in the world?

It is one of the most astonishing things in the world, that directly at the doors of the Romish Court, under the very nose and slumbers of the Vatican, there has always existed an unconquered community of Protestant Christians. They are dwellers in the valleys, and the gospel has never gone out amongst them; and, from time immemorial, the inhabitants of one of their valleys have borne on their coat of arms the emblem of a torch surrounded with dandelions, with the Latin inscription, *Lux lucet in tenebris*—The light shineth in darkness—and the motto of the Waldensian Church, *Lucernæ ardentes*—Lights burning and shining—or *rather*, The Waldensian Church regards itself as the lamp-stand, and this is the term by which the Waldenses signify their church, as the Church of the Vaudois, a name entirely distinct from that of the Cantons de Vaud in Switzerland. The old historian Leger, the learned Beza, Benard, of Montecuul, Chanaline de Bellaque, Faber, Gilly, Tecnemon, and others, have demonstrated this to be the origin of the name, and not Waldo, as has sometimes, by a mere pun, been supposed. Perrin, Perrinus de Lyon, who wrote against the Waldenses, says that they call themselves *Vallenses*, because they dwell in the valleys. Jean Benard said that they were called *Valdenses*, from a *vaudois*, or *vallée dense*, because of the dense errors in which they were involved. Leger, Beza, and others, have derived the name of Waldenses from Waldo, or from the Waldenses, as given him, because he received his own doctrines from them. The term Waldenses is now generally used by the inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont. Faber, in his admirable work on the ancient Vallenses and Albigenses, restores himself to the term Vallenses.

The mountains inhabited by this extraordinary people are called the Cottian Alps, a name which begins with liberty, as Lucerne does with light, for when the Romans subdued the Cottians, they conquered all other chiefs of Cisalpine Gaul, Cottius, defended by the rugged and inaccessible defiles of these mountains, and, in defiance to Cæsar and his legions, and reigned as King. It is the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is about his people; and these same defiles have served to the people of God as places of living refuge which all the power of Rome has never been able to subdue.

This region is one of great magnificence and beauty. It comprehends on the summits of its mountains some of the grandest points of landscape scenery in all Europe. In this range of Cottian Alps, from Mount Viso on the south to Mount Cenis on the north, there are three rivers, the Po, the Pellice, and the Clusone. Shortly after quitting the mountains, the Po receives the Pellice and Clusone, and the Clusone into the Po, which then waters the very rich and beautiful plains of which the principal part of the Waldenses dwell. It is along these two tributaries of the Po that the valleys lie, which from time immemorial have been the dwelling place of the Waldenses. On the Pellice lies the valley of Lucerne, and the Clusone lies that of Perouse, with that of St. Martin, and on the Augrona, a torrent which runs into the Po, lies the valley of Pinerolo. The valley of Lucerne is about twenty miles in length, that of Perouse is about fifteen, and that of St. Martin and Pinerolo, which are the principal mountain streams, spread out like the lesser ramifications from the larger roots of a tree. The mountains are in irregular ridges, with only here and there are a people, who have made the most of these scenes of great luxuriance and beauty, while the mountain ridges that separate and guard them rise into the clouds, with the well-known characteristics of Alpine grandeur and sublimity.

There is almost an endless variety in the scenery. You enter gradually from the lovely plains of Turin into the mountainous region, the face of nature becoming constantly more wild and picturesque, until you are encircled and shut in from the world by eternal barriers, varied at their base, but rock-ribbed and ancient as the sun. Here the forms of nature have a solemn and awe-striking grandeur, which makes an element of powerful discipline to a susceptible mind." There is, indeed, a mingling of every quality of beauty and majesty in this scenery, so that if you thought to select a place in which to train up a people for the of Jehovah and faithful to their God, of all regions in the world you would choose these mighty Alpine solitudes. The soul is sometimes filled with ecstacy at the exquisite beauty of the sc

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 4, 1847.

FAMINE—DEATH FROM STARVATION—PLAN OF RELIEF.

The letter from our New York correspondent, on the first page, refers to the terrible ravages of Famine in Ireland. The English papers received at our office are full of heart-rending details of starvation and death. The Famine is severe. The granaries of this country overflowing, the poorest living luxuriously, speculators realizing fortunes by dealing in wheat and corn, while the curse of Famine is brooding over every rood of land in poor Ireland.

The *Freeman's Journal* announces 1,200 notices to foreclose mortgages on Irish estates. According to a statement in the same paper, out of a population of 8,000,000, 2,500,000, in ordinary times, are destitute, and the total cost of providing for these is £11,375,000. How then, it asks, "is this enormous sum to be paid by a country whose gross rental amounts to only £10,000,000?"

To give some idea of the terrible distress, we present a few startling details.

At Skibbereen, Ballydehob, Scull, Castlehaven, Castletown, and other places, ten or twelve funerals a day are common, and collections are made in the churches to provide coffins for the destitute.

The "*Nation*" heads a paragraph, "*the coroners too few!*" The coroners, it says, in Mayo, begin to be too few to hold the inquests. "Death by starvation," "Death from utter destitution," are verdicts which have become painfully frequent.

Men with vacant stare, smitten with despair, wander listlessly along the highways, and skeleton women, with livid lips, pour forth piteous supplications to travellers to save their children, dying of want. The moaning infant attempts in vain to draw life from the exhausted mother.

The *Cork Examiner* says, that in the neighborhood of Castlehaven, one meal of cabbage a day is the only food of the inhabitants.

In the neighborhood of Crookhaven, says the *Cork Examiner*, a collection was made on Sunday, to purchase a biier to take the dead bodies to the grave without coffins; for so numerous had become the deaths, the living are no longer able to purchase coffins.

O'Connell, at the usual weekly meeting of the Repeal Association, said that the state of the country was ten-fold worse than one week before. The frost had set in, and cold and hunger were doing their work. In Connaught there were forty-seven deaths from starvation in one week—forty-seven cases in which coroners had rendered the verdict of "death from starvation."

The benevolent clergyman of the little parishes near Dunmanus Bay, said to a special reporter "My dear sir, no description that I could give would: for a moment adequately tell the misery, wretchedness, and sufferings, of my poor people. They are in the most frightful state of destitution that can be possibly imagined. They are living almost entirely upon a description of weed called sea-wawn, for they have long ago eaten up whatever cabbage and turnips were in the country!"

"In a second house I visited in Macroom," says a special reporter, "I found no less than half a dozen members of a family huddled together in a heap, composed of hay, straw, rushes, shavings and God knows what, that was covering whatever, save the rags that constituted their only habiliments. They were obliged to throw themselves indiscriminately together, so as to keep warmth in their attenuated frames."

"The *Cork Examiner* contains a letter signed N. M. Cummins, J. P., Aun-mount, Cork, addressed to the Duke of Wellington. We give an extract: I went on the 15th instant to Skibbereen, and to give the instance of one townland which I visited, as an example of the state of the entire coast district, I shall state simply what I saw there. It is situated on the eastern side of Castlehaven harbor, and is named South Reen, in the parish of Myross. Being aware that I should have to witness scenes of frightful hunger, I provided myself with as much bread as five men could carry, and on reaching the spot I was surprised to find the wretched hamlet apparently deserted. I entered some of the hovels to ascertain the cause, and the scenes that presented themselves were such as no tongue or pen can convey the slightest idea of. In one hut, six emaciated and ghastly skeletons, to an appearance dead, were huddled in a corner on some filthy straw, not sole covering what seemed a ragged horse cloth, their wretched legs hanging about, naked above the knees. I approached in horror, and found, by a low moaning, they were alive; they were in fever—four children, a woman, and what had once been a man. It is impossible to go through the detail; suffice it to say, that in a few minutes I was surrounded by at least two hundred of such phantoms, such frightful spectres as no pencil can describe, and I feel a certain number were delirious, either from famine or from fever. Their demonic yells are still in my ears, and they haunt the imagine my frightened brain. My heart sickens at the recital, but I must go on. In another case, decency would forbid what follows, but it must be told. My clothes were nearly torn off in my endeavor to escape from the throng of pestilence around, when my neck-cloth was seized from behind by a gripe which compelled me to turn. I found myself grappled by a woman with an infant just born in her arms, and the remains of a filthy sack across her loins—the sole covering of herself and babe. The same morning the police opened a house on the adjoining lands, which was observed shut for many days, and two frozen corpses were found, lying upon the mud floor, half devoured by the rats."

Amid all this horrible desolation, the work of distilling rum from corn still goes on.

The demand for fire arms is beyond all calculation. Whatever else they sacrifice, the Irish peasantry will have arms. The restraints of law are fast giving way. Robberies of all descriptions abound. The soldiers are constantly on the alert to prevent the plunder of corn and flour by those whom hunger has driven to desperation.

What a painful reflection, that while millions of our fellow-creatures are thus wasting away—mothers wandering, deliriously, with dead infants in their arms, and fathers cursing the day when they rejoiced in the birth of children, whose cries for bread now drive them to madness—there is a surplus of the necessaries of life in this country, enough to revive every drooping frame, and restore happiness to every mourning hut in that stricken island; and yet all that men think of is the gain resulting from the increased demand for flour and the rise in its price, when that very fact may prove the death of thousands!

Last session, when Famine only threatened, we had several letters from farmers in the West, showing the most generous sympathy for Ireland, and inquiring whether some mode could not be devised for conveying their surplus breadstuffs to the seaboard, as a contribution towards mitigating the sufferings of the poor. What was then threatened now exists. Famine is raging and Pestilence. If ever there was an imperative demand on the charities of the farmer, merchant, and shipper, of this country, that demand is now made.

A nation is on the brink of starvation. Why should not public meetings be called, committees of correspondence appointed, and the mode designated by which contributions of corn, flour, and provisions, might be concentrated at given points, so as to be conveyed immediately to Ireland? What a beautiful spectacle it would be!—ships freighted with the rich gifts of one nation to the perishing millions of another! America, under the impulse of an exalted charity, reaching forth her hand to rescue unhappy Ireland from death by starvation! Infinitely more glory would be won in this than in all the valor displayed by her soldiers on the Rio Grande or at Monterey. The chivalry of War seeks to rival the dark deeds of Pestilence and Famine. Heavenly Charity snatches a nation from the grave, and breathes life into its wasted form, hope into its sinking heart.

What miracles might not be wrought by a Benevolence such as Christianity enjoins! A few weeks since, a large meeting was called in New York for the purpose of contributing to the aid of Ireland. What, think you, was the sum total of its contributions? *Three thousand dollars!* Enough to carry relief to about twenty sufferers. A wondrous gift from a city of millionaires! Compare with this grudging charity, the benevolence of the poor Irish in that same city, who live by the sweat of their brow:

"Jacob Harvey states, in the Courier, that he has taken the pains to call upon *all* the houses in this city who are in the daily practice of drawing small drafts on Ireland, and has received from them an accurate return of the amounts received for these small drafts during the entire year 1846, and also during the *last sixty days*.

"He reveals in his interesting notebook to his own countrymen that he cannot avoid publishing it, as an incentive to those who have, as yet, done nothing, 'to go and do likewise!'

"Total amount remitted by laboring Irish, male and female, during the year 1846, from New York, $608,000; of which there went in November, 1846, $175,000.

"These remittances are sent to all parts of Ireland, and by every packet, and we may judge of the relief afforded by this, to the families of poor families in a year, when they are cut short of their usual food, the potato. It has required no public meetings, says Mr. Harvey, to induce the poor, to forth these remittances from the poor, nor do they look for any praise for what they have done. It is the natural instinct of the Irish peasant to share his last crust with his fellow-man, with those still poorer than himself; and he thinks he has done but a Christian duty, deserving of no special applause.

"It is fitted to exalt our estimate of human nature to record such a proof of the self-sacrifice and severe self-denial through which alone such a sum as is here stated, could, could in one year be remitted from their savings by the Irish at labor and at service, in and around this city. Of what other people in the world, under similar circumstances, can such a fact be truly stated!"

This is an example worthy of imitation.

Before leaving this painful subject, we cannot but express our deep regret that a member of Congress should have deemed it necessary to introduce a resolution looking to legislation against what it chooses to style the importation of foreign paupers! We believe that the Irish people welcome to their shores all the wretched of Ireland who may be so happy as to land upon them. They will lose nothing by their kindness. The pauper would be converted into the productive laborer, and gratitude would bind the Irish heart to the country of its adoption.

We would propose a national plan of relief something like this:

Let a public meeting of members of Congress and citizens of Washington be called, to meet in the hall of the House of Representatives. Let a Central National Committee of Relief be organized. Let points be designated where the surplus produce of the country might be deposited. Let a time be fixed when the contributions deposited should be concentrated at New Orleans, New York, and Boston, for shipment abroad." These points of deposite might be Pittsburg, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, &c. Let the Central Committee here open a correspondence with active, public-spirited citizens at all these places, and urge the organization of auxiliary committees. Let the plan be published in every paper in every State, local and general. Let the owners of boats, vessels, freight cars, &c., be called upon to convey contributions of produce free of charge, &c.

In this way, without feeling it, the United States might concentrate and direct its magnificent charities, so as to save Ireland from destruction.

WHAT OF THE NIGHT?

Last Monday was the day fixed for the consideration of the three million bill, but, as many seemed to be anxious to dispose of the appropriation bills, a motion was carried to postpone till next Monday, when it will again come up as the special order. Several Southern men voted against the postponement, doubtless with a view of hastening a decision in the House, that might affect the fate of the Oregon bill in the Senate.

It will be recollected that a strenuous effort was made in the House to have the clause in the Oregon territorial bill, which prohibits slavery, stricken out, and that it failed, a large majority voting in favor of the Wilmot proposition. The bill went to the Senate, and, instead of being referred to the Committee on Territories, a majority of the members of which is from the free States, it was committed to the Committee on the Judiciary, a majority of which is from the slave States. It was not accident or caprice which gave this disposition to the bill. There can be no doubt that the thing was deliberately planned, with a view to hold in check the Democratic members from the free States. The Judiciary Committee acted, accordingly, reported the Oregon territorial bill, with the anti-slavery clause stricken out; and the bill, thus amended, awaits the action of the Senate.

It must be remembered that the slaveholding interest has the numerical power in this body, fifteen slaveholding States being represented, while there are but fourteen free States.

It is difficult to foresee exactly what will be the action of the antagonistic elements. The question of slavery is necessarily forced upon the attention of both Houses; and the lines are beginning to be drawn with great distinctness. The slaveholding element has some peculiar advantages. It is, to a certain extent, a unit; it has been accustomed to rule; it knows how to bully, bluster, bluff, and browbeat; it is deeply versed in parliamentary tactics; it has a representative in the President, and an advocate in the national organ of the Democratic party; it can "bid high" for members from the free States, in the market, and, through Executive influence, buy up certain presses at influential points in those States, causing them to belie public sentiment.

On the other hand, the members from the free States are forever divided, deeming questions of pecuniary interest of more importance than personal rights. They place money above the man. They are accustomed to bow the back to the burden. They hate each other's principles more than they do slaveholding principles. They are kept down by social influences. If they venture to assert their freedom, they must expect to be snubbed, scolded, denounced, by the national party organs in this city.

Withal, their numerical superiority in the House is balanced by the predominance of the slave power in the Senate.

What, then, is the prospect for the cause of freedom throughout the country? If they would prevent the final ascendency of slavery, and expect their Representatives and Senators to baffle the arts and breast the opposition which will be brought to bear against them, they must let them hear from home. Public meetings should be held; letters should be written; the press should give voice to the will of a free people.

But, how will the struggle terminate? The consideration of the Oregon territorial bill may be deferred by the Senate till the House shall have acted on the three million bill. If this pass without the obnoxious proviso, the anti-slavery clause will probably be restored to the former bill, and pass the Senate; and the Senate will not tolerate slavery in California, the Senate will not allow the exclusion of slavery from Oregon. If the Senate restore the anti-slavery clause to the Oregon bill, the House may be persuaded to give the go-by to the proviso; but if the Senate send back the Oregon bill to the House, with the anti-slavery clause stricken out, most assuredly the House will adopt the provisoes. The three million bill, with the proviso, however, will not be assented to by the Senate.

What a spectacle to be exhibited to the world! What a crisis in the history of the country! The slave power doggedly forbidding the erection of a *free* government in Oregon, our own territory, because the free-labor interest will not give the national sanction to a slave government in California and New Mexico, free provinces, torn by violence from a sister republic! Is the slave power willing to precipitate such a crisis; to present such an issue; to stake its final destinies on this formidable struggle?

C. W. March, Esq., has become, by purchase, one of the proprietors of the New York Tribune. He is an excellent writer.

CHAPLAINS—CONGRESS—THE ARMY.

The debate in the Senate a few days ago, on the proposition to provide chaplains for the army about to be raised, was highly suggestive.

Mr. Hannegan, the mover of the proposition, was earnest in its support. According to estimate which placed the total cost of such a measure at $75,000, he said this was nothing to the vast benefits to be secured by it to the soldier. In the severest terms he denounced the want of subordination and discipline among the American soldiers in Mexico, and spoke plainly of the "robberies, cruelties, murders, ravishments," committed by them. If any class of men needed the services of chaplains, it was the volunteers. The destitution of our forces in this respect was deplorable. He was informed by Commodore Perry, that there was not a single chaplain in the Gulf squadron.

Mr. Sevier, of Arkansas, was opposed to the whole measure. It had been declared in Mexico that the war was one of Religion; and when Protestant clergymen were seen with our armies, it would give countenance to the declaration.

There were as many Christians in the army, proportionately, as among Senators.

The salary proposed to be given was too high—($1,500 and rations.) He would engage to furnish chaplains from Arkansas at a far less cost. Methodist preachers in his State got only one or two hundred dollars. It was unwise to make the chaplaincy of such a rank, and attach to it such a compensation, as to stimulate the worldly ambition of clergymen. What was the fact in relation to the chaplaincy to Congress? Was it not notorious that it had become a practice for clergymen and their friends to electioneer for it? Numerous had been the applications to him on this behalf; and, he must confess, a certain feeling of repugnance to the clergy had been the consequence.

These statements of Senators are worthy of serious attention. There can be no doubt that Christianity is brought into disrepute by the petty struggles of its ministers for an office, on account of the distinction or emolument belonging to it. We have never heard a valid reason offered in favor of the chaplaincy to Congress. So far as preaching is concerned, there are churches enough in Washington to supply all the demands of members of that body. The custom of opening the sessions of both Houses with prayer is altogether becoming. It is a public acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Almighty, and of his overruling Providence, calculated to remind the finite legislator of his obligations to the Infinite Lawgiver. But why provide an office specially for this purpose, when the natural results will be, disgraceful jealousies, beggings, electioneering among self-seeking aspirants? Why might not Congress pass a resolution inviting the clergy of the different denominations to officiate at the opening of each session? Surely they could spare a few moments for such a work, without being paid five hundred dollars for it. The world has a right to demand from ministers of the gospel conduct that shall demonstrate the absence of sordid motive.

As to our war chaplains, there must be great abuses. There are twenty-two in the naval service; but, according to the statement of Mr. Hannegan, made upon the authority of Commodore Perry, there is not one in the Gulf squadron. Absent from the seaboard, they are the sufferers from sickness and the sword specially require their services! What are they about? Their pay is abundant. What are their labors? The truth is, the chaplaincy, unfortunately, is invested with the charm of *rank*, and the compensation is attractive. Is it any wonder that worldly, mercenary men should strain every nerve to secure such a prize?

After all, there is a melancholy incongruity in the employment of war chaplains. What is the duty of a minister of the gospel? To inculcate meekness, moderation, patience, forbearance, peacefulness—to set his face against, selfishness, ambition, violence, pride, revenge, the shedding of blood—to exhort men to repentance and amendence to the laws of God, in all cases. But, if he perform his duty faithfully, what becomes of the soldier? Let a man be a Christian, honest and enlightened, and he ceases to be a soldier—he cannot consent to be an instrument in the hands of Government to shoot, stab, mutilate, or hew in pieces, his fellow-man. The Christian must make up his mind to withhold an essential part of the truth, or preach the whole truth, and—be cashiered. He may plead, however, that the chief task he has assumed is that of attending to the wants of the sick, the wounded, the dying—administering to them, in their greatest need, the consolations of religion. But, if he do so, he ceases to be chaplain in a companion of the officers. It is expected that he tacitly sanction, if not openly vindicate, any war in which the Government may chance to embark—that he shall pray the "God of Battles" to crown the arms of his country with victory; and, in his position, he must possess more moral courage than belongs to ministers generally, if he dare to do otherwise in expectation. He has thrown himself into a fiery furnace, and must not look for a miracle to save him from the flames. Let the Government provide an abundant supply of chaplains for the war service; let them all be perfectly true and fearless—erring, in season and out of season, all the requirements of the Christian religion—and the army and navy would soon cease to be. As it is, religion is perverted to the support of the principles and practice of war. Its ministers recognise the profession of arms, as one on which they may ask the blessing of God, and the camp as a not unfit place for the institution of the church. Prayers and psalm-singing, in their estimation, are not incompatible with the hatred shout, death shot, and horrid curses of an enraged soldiery. And yet, as Douglass Jerrold says, "the very idea of an army, fresh reeking from the throne of grace, issuing forth to slaughter a host of brother saints, or even of fellow sinners, seems scarcely admissible into any brain that is not already taken care of in Hanwell or Bedlam."

THE WAY OF THE WORLD.

The world is full of conventional hypocrisy. It would seem to be the aim of a large portion of the human family to practice falsehood upon themselves—to see how far by lying conventionalities they can impose upon their own judgments, and perpetuate delusion.

A man, whose life has been stamped all over with unmitigated selfishness, after having enjoyed the consideration which wealth or connection confers, dies. Ah, how heavenly-minded he must have had fallen from Heaven! Poverty has lost a friend—virtue a defender, society a model! And all this falsification is tolerated because conventional.

In such a body as the Congress of the United States, there are Representatives of all classes and habits. Without offence, we may say that the mere fact of being a member is not *prima facie* evidence of capacity, honesty, or purity. Vice, under its grossest forms, may find votaries in an American Congress. But, it is somewhat remarkable that a dishonest or debauched member never dies! "Death loves a shining mark," and every member stricken by his dart is sainted for his virtues. Whatever the rottenness within, the sepulchre without is painted. "Woe unto the scribes of the wicked shall rot," said Solomon; the memory of the wicked is blessed by conventional hypocrisy.

But in nothing is this vice more glaringly and ridiculously manifest, than in congressional speeches and proceedings on the war with Mexico. One member talks in glowing terms about defending our country, its hearth-stones and altars, and his party hurrahs, supposed to mirror really believed what he said; when, in fact, there is not a hostile Mexican foot within five hundred miles of our borders. Others can never cease exclaiming upon the grand displays of chivalric valor and disciplined energy, at the battles of the Rio Grande and storming of Monterey. An aged Senator, bearing a military title, informed the Senate the other day, that the American Union had been so long at peace, as almost to have faded away from European vision; the bravery by which we had signalized ourselves in former wars with Great Britain was forgotten; it was well that an opportunity presented itself for showing to the world American valor; our triumphs over the Mexicans had proved that we were first in war as in peace! Grave Senators, listeners in the galleries, meantime, seemed to believe all this, though they all knew that a Mexican army was but a mob; and that the province of Texas alone, with a population not so large as that of Baltimore, had overturned the Government of Mexico, driven out all her armies, and maintained her independence against all her attempts to re-subjugate it!

Others are loud in their laudations of the regular army, and plume themselves greatly upon the coolness and courage of the American soldiery, although half of them are foreigners, and most of them are cool, because they have lost all thought of an *hereafter*.

But the heaviest showers of praise fall upon the volunteers, who are spoken of as having rushed to the battle field under the impulse of the most exalted patriotism. A large portion of the time of Congress has been consumed by the glorification of men guilty of the most outrageous excesses.

We wish the soldiers, both regulars and volunteers, could understand the real estimate placed upon them by those who are clamorous for a season to send them to the slaughter. A Senator, a few days ago, referred to the alacrity with which young *gentlemen* of his State offered themselves as volunteers, at the first tap of the drum, and lamented that such men, of the first families, and with fine prospects, should have enlisted—they were too good for the army. He was in favor of increasing the regular force, for its recruits are such as society can well spare! These were not his words, but his sentiments. One day we heard a Senator deploring the general disorder and corruption among the volunteers, denouncing them as guilty of the most abominable acts; and, two or three days after, he was declaiming, in grand style, about their ardent patriotism, and the chivalry which had brought them to Mexico to fight the sake of avenging the wrongs of their country!

When will the mechanic, the laborer, the poor man, learn to despise these arts of statesmen, who, by appealing to their vanity, and, through bounty lands, to their cupidity, are aiming to arouse in their hearts all destructive passions, and convert them into mere instrumentalities for shedding blood? What have they to gain by abandoning their homes and going to Mexico? Evil associates, evil habits, military slavery, the honor of aiding in a grossly aggressive war, and the sweet consolation of a grave on the heights of the Cordilleras!

Were our soil invaded, our liberties threatened, our families in danger, the case would be different—self-defence we hold to be the right of the individual and the nation; but we can recognize no generous feeling, no patriotism, no common sense, in the man who leaves his family and his honest employment, for the sake of enabling Mr. Polk to despoil Mexico of a few more provinces, some five hundred miles from our own borders.

ANNEXATION OF TERRITORY.

A writer, in an article on our fourth page, on the annexation of territory to the Union, speculates very ingeniously, but the conclusions at which he arrives we think unsound. We had intended to examine his article at length, but must content ourselves with showing reasons why, in our opinion, extensive territorial acquisitions will increase the power of slavery. And here the reader will pardon us for quoting from an article on this subject which we wrote nearly a year ago:

What does the past teach? That slavery lives by *expansion*. Slave labor cannot, on the whole, be profitably used in manufactures, commerce, or farming. In the growth of sugar, cotton, tobacco—that is, in *plowing*—it may be made pecuniarily income; but planting is an exhausting process, and, to be conducted with permanent advantage to the planter, requires constant accessions of territory. Deny it these, and see the results. The soil is impoverished; the free population of moderate means is forced out of the State; slave labor-ers multiply beyond the demands for employment; a wearing burden is thrown upon the master, who must feed a surplus of laborers with diminished products; he attempts to diversify his labor, and enlightened, and he ceases to be a soldier—he cannot do the attempt, or convert his slaves into freemen. The result is, a state of things in which the voice of enlightened impartiality demands emancipation. He must leave the State, or free his slaves.

Ere this, had additional territory been denied to the slavery of the old slave States, it would have been at least in process of abolition. But it was allowed to propagate itself, and, in so doing, it gathered new life. Not only were the new States, formed out of the territory originally possessed by the Union, given up to the ravages, but Florida, and the whole territory of Louisiana, were opened to it. Why did not these acquisitions, "in the direction of the tropic," operate to the detriment of slavery, and the diminution of its political power? Will the *Times* answer?—So far from losing in political power, slavery has gained incalculably, having acquired eighteen additional Senators in Congress, while Freedom has added but twelve to that body! And who so uninformed as to suppose that the prospect of the abolition of slavery is now so favorable as it was before the purchase of Louisiana?

In 1790, the number of slaves in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, was about 550,000. In 1840, it was, in the same States, 1,655,000—a tripling of increase, in half a century, of 550,000. And this, too, notwithstanding the tendency of the acquisition of territory in the direction of the tropic to diminish the political power of slavery, and work its extinction!

Let us examine the subject more particularly.

If there were no new territory opened to slavery, the growth of the free population in the old slave States, already retarded, would be totally arrested, owing to two causes—the increased infrequency of marriage, and the augmented emigration of the middling-class population. At the same time, the ratio of increase among the slaves would be diminished, in consequence of increased restrictions upon their intercourse, rendered necessary by the freeness of the population. The certain result would be, a constant diminution of political power.

Now, open to the slaveholders new territory, allow them an outlet in the "direction of the tropic," and what are the results? The older States are relieved by a wholesome drain, the surplus slaves are colonized, and their increase encouraged by every suitable means. The new States are made slave States, and are opened to the older slave States. They become stock-growers. They raise slaves for market; and now, so far from discouraging their natural increase, stimulate it. The slave population is hereby rapidly augmented. The heavy proceeds of the sales of these human beings give a stimulus to business generally. The planter, by parting with his excess of labor on profitable terms, is enabled to employ the rest to advantage. The few sections of the State which have been completely exhausted by slavery, and abandoned by the slaveholder, are taken up by settlers from the free States, who, without in the least changing the sentiment of the State or the character of its legislation, add to its wealth and its population.

In this way, the retrograde march of old slave communities is checked, and their political power still maintained, while the new States or Territories are so much *clear gain* to the slave power. Their growth is owing to immigration, not only from slaveholding portions of the Union, but also from the non-slaveholding. Vast numbers of persons, who are opposed to slavery, are induced to migrate to the old slave States, swarm into the new, and they all become slaveholders.

It is in this way that the acquisition of Louisiana and Florida has spread slavery over new regions, and established the slave power in State after State, at the same time that it has prevented that rapid diminution of the political power of slavery in the old States, which must have taken place, had the evil been confined to its original limits.

Can any one, then, assign a single reason why further acquisitions in the direction of the tropic and the Pacific, if you please, will not have precisely the same effects as the acquisitions already made?

Why deceive ourselves? The establishment of slavery in California, in New Mexico, or a part of it, and throughout Texas, will invest the slaveholding class with a power, from which there can be no escape. Of all lying dreams that have ever deluded speculators upon the destiny of this republic, that is the most bitter mockery, which holds out that the Union can remain steadfast and immovable after the non-slaveholding portion of these States has been made to kick the beam, under the added weight of ten or a dozen new, rich, powerful, slaveholding States, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean.

PARAGRAPHS.

Seventy-two Whigs and seventy-four Democrats have been returned to the House of Representatives of Maine. Legislation will be pretty well balanced.

Mr. Cushing has accepted the appointment of Colonel of the Massachusetts regiment of volunteers. Great glory in prospect, from blowing out the brains of a semi-barbarous people.

By the latest dates, it seems that an insurrection had been contemplated at Santa Fe. The wealthy Mexicans have not been annexed to the Union long enough to have grown very patriotic.

The Society of Friends, in England, has raised within its own pale £12,000, for the benefit of Ireland. The poor Irish people of New York alone have raised fifteen times as much.

Jacob W. Miller has been re-elected a Senator in Congress from New Jersey.

The whole number of non-commissioned officers and privates killed and wounded at Palo Alto and Resaca, was 152; of whom, 72 were of foreign birth; 43 were from Ireland; and nearly all laborers or mechanics.

Indian corn is growing more and more in favor in Great Britain. William Cobbett, in his day, wrote many a pamphlet to teach the people the mysteries of hoe-cake and hommony, but he could make no converts.

A steamboat, on the Mississippi river, with 225 volunteers aboard, and 50 kegs of gunpowder, lately caught fire. The soldiers made all haste to extinguish it, as the gunpowder was intended to blow up the Mexicans, not themselves.

Two reports lately appeared in the papers—one, that a fourth part of Ripley, Ohio, was burnt down; another, that Dickinson College was partly in ashes—both miserable hoaxes. Their author ought to be sing ed.

Resolutions against the extension of slavery by war with Mexico, have passed the Senate of Pennsylvania, by a vote of 23 to 3.

The House of Representatives of Massachusetts, by a vote of 190 to 47, has refused to appropriate $20,000 for the volunteers from that State.

Five hundred printers, it is said, have enlisted for the Mexican war, during the last three months. The craft is degenerating.

Hydrophobia has lately exhibited itself among the cattle in the neighborhood of Haverstraw, New York.

There are thirteen men in Boston who are worth $22,000,000. Seven millions, divided among them, would give to each a fortune of $540,000, or an income of $25,000 a year, equal to the salary of the President of the United States. The remaining fifteen millions would supply the whole of the starving population of Ireland with 3,000,000 barrels of flour; that is, 9 barrels to each family of eight persons, of the 312,500 pauper families. How easy it were to relieve all suffering on earth, were the rule of Christian benevolence strictly conformed to by the millionaires of the world!

Joseph Stackhouse, a generous fellow, 19 years old, recently lost his life, in a creek near Mount Holly, New Jersey, in rescuing from drowning a little boy, who had broken through the ice. The boy was saved, but his deliverer drowned.

The use of the somnific gas is beginning to be regarded as somewhat dangerous. A writer in the *Tribune* says extreme caution is required in its administration, because its effects cannot be previously calculated. It acts by partially checking the circulation of the blood. To hysterical or consumptive persons, it must always be injurious. Concealed aneurisms are sometimes brought by it into immediate action.

The Secretary of the Treasury has recommended an increase of ten per cent. on the duties on coal and iron.

It is rumored that the Administration are planning an attack on the castle of Ulua. We do not believe it.

The death of M. Michelet, lately announced in the papers, was not that of the historian, but of his father.

It is calculated that the railways to which legislative sanction has already been given in England, will require the employment of 300,000 men for ten years.

GENERAL TAYLOR REBUKED.

The following General Order has been issued from the War Office:

ARMY GENERAL ORDER.

GENERAL ORDERS No. 3.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJ. GEN'S OFFICE,
Washington, January 28, 1847.

The following Regulations have been received from the War Department:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, January 28, 1847.

The President of the United States directs that paragraph 650 of the General Regulations of the Army, established on the 1st of March, 1825, and not included among those published January 25, 1841, be republished, and the rule of observance as a part of the General Regulations be strictly enjoined upon the Army.

By order of the President:

W. L. MARCY, *Secretary of War.*

The following is the paragraph of the General Regulations of the Army established on the 1st of March, 1825, referred to above:

"Private letters or reports relative to military marches and operations are frequently mischievous in design, and always disgraceful to the army. They are therefore strictly forbidden: and any officer found guilty of making such report for publication, without special permission, or of placing the writing beyond his control, so that it shall be in the power of others to publish it before the termination of the campaign to which it relates, shall be dismissed from the service."

By order:

W. G. FREEMAN, *Assistant Adj. Gen'l.*

The publication of the letter of Gen. Taylor, respecting military operations in Mexico and the conduct of the Administration, was undoubtedly the occasion of this proclamation. The Administration intended to show that the General has been guilty of an act which is punishable with dismissal from the service.

A movement has been made in Congress, designed to counteract this measure of the Administration. Mr. COCKE, of Tennessee, last Friday, asked leave of the House of Representatives to introduce a resolution warmly commendatory of the conduct of Gen. Taylor, and directing the President to cause a gold medal to be struck and presented to him, in token of his achievements at Monterey. Objections being made, he moved to suspend the rules; and pending this motion the House adjourned. For information concerning it, see our report of congressional proceedings.

THE SUPREME COURT.

Hereafter, the *Era* will contain a satisfactory report of the proceedings of the Supreme Court of the United States, prepared by an excellent reporter. To-day we give the report of the opening proceedings in the Lexington case, and a part of the great speech of Mr. Webster. The remainder of the speech will be given next week.

RUMOR OF PEACE.

Rumors of peace in prospect are afloat. See article from Baltimore Clipper. It is by no means improbable that a negotiation is now on foot, and we should guess that Mr. Calhoun knows more about it than some of his Senatorial brethren.

THE INSPIRATION OF CONGRESS.

No one can conceive of the inspiring influence of ladies on members of Congress. One-half of the eloquence so lavishly expended in this eloquent body, should be set down to the credit of woman. Last Monday many bright eyes lit up the galleries of the House, and produced a most amazing effect upon a small gentleman who had the floor. His subject was unimportant, and for a time he addressed himself to the Chair with remarkable directness. But, in some lucky movement, he caught sight of a charming Beauty in the gallery, behind him. "Right about face," was the word; his head was literally turned; his eyes kindled; the fire of eloquence began to glow upon his round, fleshy face; his voice rambled through all the notes of the gamut; his frame expanded as much as skin would let it; and over and anon, a mellow smile would liquefy his features, upturned always at such momentous crisis to the lady, who seemed to exert an attraction upon him like the spell by which the snake draws the innocent bird within reach of its folds. At last he closed, having made, as he thought, a most decided hit. The question being determined in his favor, he took occasion to walk up the aisle, so that he might give to the dark eyes, by which he had conquered, the privilege of admiring both the orator and the man.

TEMPERANCE IN THE NAVY.

A strenuous effort was made a few days since, while the naval appropriation bill was under consideration, to abolish the spirit ration. A minority, however, contrived to defeat it, by continually embarrassing the proceedings with amendments. At last, the House agreed, by a vote of 76 to 65, to an amendment of Mr. J. A. ROCKWELL, allowing six cents per day to such seamen as may elect to receive the same in lieu of the spirit ration now allowed in the navy. It would have been more in accordance with reason and the spirit of the age, which has little sympathy with the spirit of wine, to have prohibited the Government from supplying rum to the navy. Nobody would think it an infringement of the rights of sailors to forbid supplies of spoiled meat or vegetables. Why is it unreasonable to withhold what is worse than either? But the resolution adopted is better than nothing.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have on hand several excellent communications, which shall appear soon. Unfortunately, the usual letter from our Boston correspondent is crowded out. We hope he will pardon us this time. An apology is due to T. E. for the delay of his communication.

COLONEL CILLEY AND HIS RESOLUTIONS.

We intend to publish next week a corrected report of the remarks of Colonel Cilley in support of his resolution directing the President to withdraw our armies from Mexican territory.

THE MARKETS.

We have not yet been able to make arrangements for furnishing brief reports of the markets in Baltimore and the principal Eastern cities, but they will soon be completed.

THE BLACK LAWS OF OHIO.

The Senate of Ohio has postponed indefinitely all the bills reported to repeal the black laws. The vote on postponing the bill to repeal the testimony law stood, yeas 19, nays 14; one Democrat voting in the negative; three Whigs, Goddard, Madeira, and Stutson, in the affirmative.

CONGRESS.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 28.

Yesterday, Mr. CILLEY called up his resolution to withdraw the army of the United States from Mexican territory, and made a few remarks in support of it. A motion to lay it upon the table prevailed without a dissenting voice.

To-day, in the Senate, the bill to raise an additional force was considered, and several attempts were made to amend. These war bills and resolutions give Senators a fine opportunity for displaying their military lore. Mr. Benton, to-day, demonstrated, to the satisfaction of every body, that he had completely digested Vattel on the law of war, and Cesar's Commentaries. Many were the jeers he caused to stand erect, while he referred authorities to show the true meaning of "*Contribution*," "*soltiguer*," "*solto*," &c. Mr. Benton is great for elementary instruction.

The Senate, on an amendment offered by Mr. Atchison, of Missouri, to raise volunteers instead of regulars, indicated its preference for the latter by a vote of 30 to 26 against the amendment.

The House commenced, yesterday, Mr. Allen, proposing to authorize the President to raise 10,000 additional volunteer troops, (which he had not asked for,) was voted down.

The proviso which authorized the President to appoint officers in the recess of the Senate, was stricken out; but a proposal to exclude members of Congress from any of the offices about to be created, was rejected—only 17 voting for it.

The bill was then reported with the amendments; and on a proposition to strike out that portion of it which related to land bounty, a debate arose, which was cut short by adjournment.

In the House, the naval appropriation bill was taken up in Committee of the Whole. At 1 o'clock, Mr. Sims, of South Carolina, was speaking.

Mr. SAWYER arose and asked whether the resolution passed this morning did not require that debate be now closed. [This was a resolution "to close the debate at 1 o'clock to morrow," which, instead of being passed yesterday, was passed to-day.]

Mr. FICKLIN, the Chairman, decided that the resolution, though offered yesterday, not being passed till to-day, required that the debate should close to-morrow at 1 o'clock. An appeal was taken; no quorum voted, although a quorum was present. The House came out of Committee, and thereupon ensued a struggle between the parties, which lasted till 10 o'clock at night, when the House adjourned, without voting any thing, after having bewildered with all kinds of motions, and ordered the yeas and nays a score of times, amid a continued uproar.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 29.

Mr. SIMS, of South Carolina, concluded his speech in the House on the naval appropriation bill. The resolution, offered yesterday, not being passed till to-day, required that the debate should close to-morrow at 1 o'clock. An appeal was taken; no quorum voted, although a quorum was present. The House came out of Committee, and thereupon ensued a struggle between the parties, which lasted till 10 o'clock at night, when the House adjourned, without voting any thing, after having bewildered with all kinds of motions, and ordered the yeas and nays a score of times, amid a continued uproar.

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to offer the proposition to the House, that it might be distinctly before it, and come up with the three million bill.

The yeas and nays were then taken on the motion to postpone, and stood—yeas 97, nays 83.

A struggle took place for the floor, but it was awarded to Mr. McKay, who gave way to Mr. Chapman, of Alabama, that he might introduce certain resolutions of great interest to that State. The rules were then suspended, and this gentleman offered a series of resolutions calling upon the President for information as to the why and wherefore the Alabama volunteers on the Rio Grande had not been ordered to advance from that station, &c., &c. He spoke at length in support of the resolution. The question was then taken upon them, and they were adopted.

A motion to reconsider was immediately moved, and after a speech from Judge Douglass, the resolutions were laid upon the table.

Mr. Raynhum, of New York, by leave, reported, from the Judiciary Committee, several bills, which were passed. One of them was a bill to regulate the carrying of passengers in merchant vessels. It was not intended to prevent immigration, but to provide by law that sufficient space should be reserved for every passenger. Now, it was common for captains to crowd their vessels in such a manner, with poor immigrants, that many died on their passages, and others were landed in a most diseased condition.

The bill, after a speech against it from Mr. Levin, (native American,) was passed.

The pension bill was then taken up in Committee of the Whole, amended, and reported to the House.

In the Senate, as the army bill was about to be put on its final passage, Mr. Houston moved to recommit, with instructions to the committee to conform the bill to the amendments he had previously offered, authorizing the raising of volunteers instead of regulars.

Mr. Huntington moved an amendment, which was lost.

On the question being taken on Gen. Houston's proposition, it was lost, without a count. The bill was then passed, there being but three dissenting voices: Messrs. Corwin, Gilley, and Davis.

Tuesday, February 2.

The great move has at last been made. The Senate, to-day, took up the bill reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, appropriating $3,000,000, to enable the President to bring the war to "a speedy and honorable close."

Mr. Sevier made a few remarks in its support, stating that the committee had deemed it best to exclude from it all extraneous, exciting, or sectional matter; that, after a careful examination of certain official correspondence, submitted to them by the President, they had come to the conclusion that peace could be made with Mexico, and this appropriation would probably insure such a result; that he was not authorized to state exactly what territory this Government would require, but he supposed no Senator would think they ought to get less than New Mexico and California; that, in making peace, the United States would expect to receive some indemnity for the expenses of the war, also the payment of claims held by our citizens upon Mexico, and that indemnity was expected in the shape of territory; that the intelligence possessed by the President gave reason to believe that, upon a certain advance to be made to the Mexicans, to pay the expenses of the army, and other expenses, they would be willing to cede that portion of their territory he had named.

From these remarks, made authoritatively, it seems that correspondence has already taken place between the President and either Santa Anna or the Government of Mexico; that our Government requires the payment of the expenses of the war, to some extent, and payment of the claims for indemnity; and is willing to receive California and New Mexico as an equivalent; while, at the same time, it is willing to pay Mexico $3,000,000, to enable her to pay her army.

Mr. Miller, of New Jersey, followed in a short speech, surcharged with party spirit.

The further consideration of the bill was then postponed till Thursday.

The House passed the bill making appropriations for West Point; but its attention was chiefly occupied, in Committee of the Whole, with the consideration of the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill.

An amusing speech was made by Mr. Wentworth, on Oregon, Texas, the tea and coffee tax, veto of the river and harbor bill, Wilmot proviso, the South, and Mr. Wick. It was shrewd, humorous, independent, and pointed. A full report is promised by the Intelligencer.

Mr. Andrew Johnson followed, speaking, in a strong speech, many of the positions of Mr. Wentworth. He was succeeded by Mr. Delano, of Ohio, who made a most warm and eloquent speech against the Mexican war and its authors, which commanded great attention, and, towards the close, produced much sensation.

Mr. Wick then obtained the floor, and replied to Mr. Wentworth, in such a style as might be expected from a Western man with Southern principles.

The Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

Wednesday, February 3.

The House took up the army bill, with the amendments of the Senate. Several speeches were made on the state of the Union, and the House then proceeded to vote upon the amendments.

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THE MOVEMENT.

Maine.

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Of the series of excellent resolutions adopted, we quote the following:

Resolved, That the rapid and steady advance of Liberty principles, in all of our country, against the vigorous opposition of the mighty interests and the exalted station, both in church and state, affords demonstrative evidence of the rightness of the course of those through whose exertions that advance has been made, and of the majesty and divinity of those principles.

Resolved, That in sundering the ties which bound us to the parties with which we formerly acted, we were not impelled by feelings of animosity or resentment, nor by disgust with their opinions on questions of general policy, nor by suspicions that, as political bodies, they entertained *designs or intentions* of overturning our free institutions; but, that we were compelled to do it, or to fall at assenting, by our own sense of duty, and of maintaining, by our political action, the *paramount* and supreme importance of the cardinal principles of the institutions of government planted by our fathers; deeming that to postpone these to mere questions of policy is equivalent, in its effect upon free institutions, to their entire abandonment; principles having no moral power, their vitality depending on their activity.

Resolved, That the motives which impelled to this separation, and to the formation of the Liberty party, remain in all their force; and that they come to Liberty men, at this stage of our progress, enhanced in value by the deep interest in affection, by the successes which have marked their enforcement at the ballot-box; and that, in behalf of the Liberty men of Maine, and as their representatives, we renewedly vow, on the altar of our country and of our country's God, that their political support or countenance can be secured to no party, nor to any candidate, who shall prove, at a less price than the open assertion and firm maintenance of the paramount importance and place of the rights declared self-evident and inalienable by the statesmen of 1776.

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We have just received the first number of a new paper, published at Woonsocket, R. I., called the Liberty Advocate, and devoted to the interests of the Democratic cause. It is a handsome weekly, and, from the manner in which the first number has been got up, promises to be a most efficient agency.

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Mr. Wick then obtained the floor, and replied to Mr. Wentworth, in such a style as might be expected from a Western man with Southern principles.

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The House passed the bill making appropriations for West Point; but its attention was chiefly occupied, in Committee of the Whole, with the consideration of the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill.

An amusing speech was made by Mr. Wentworth, on Oregon, Texas, the tea and coffee tax, veto of the river and harbor bill, Wilmot proviso, the South, and Mr. Wick. It was shrewd, humorous, independent, and pointed. A full report is promised by the Intelligencer.

Mr. Andrew Johnson followed, speaking, in a strong speech, many of the positions of Mr. Wentworth. He was succeeded by Mr. Delano, of Ohio, who made a most warm and eloquent speech against the Mexican war and its authors, which commanded great attention, and, towards the close, produced much sensation

THE DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

PUBLISHED IN HAMPSHIRE, FEB. 1820.

The Independent Democrat of New Hampshire publishes an old document, showing the position of the Democracy in that State in 1820, the period of the memorable Missouri controversy. The Democratic party was then in the ascendant in New Hampshire, there being a Democratic Governor, Senate, and Council, (every member of which was a Democrat,) while there was a Democratic majority of more than two to one. The following Report and Resolutions were prepared in reply to a report of the Legislature of Virginia, and were adopted by both branches of the Legislature, *unanimously*. We commend the report to the attention of the Democrats in Congress.

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

In the House of Representatives, June 10, 1820.

REPORT.

That the committee has not deemed it necessary to inquire whether it would have been expedient for the Legislature, at the present time, to express its opinion on this important subject, if it had not been thereunto specially invited. But the Legislature of the State of Virginia has seen fit to address to the Legislatures of the different States of the Union certain resolutions, together with the reason on which they are founded, giving a construction to important provisions in the Constitution of the United States, and defining the powers of Congress. The forbearing to express an opinion, when thus appealed to, might be taken for an acquiescence in the construction contended for.

After having carefully examined the resolutions, and the reasoning offered in their support, with all that attention to which they are entitled, as well on account of the source whence they originated, as on account of the great importance of the subject to which they relate, the committee is of opinion, that the Legislature of Virginia cannot fear an erroneous construction of the Constitution of the United States, relative to the powers of Congress, which, if adopted, will prove highly injurious to the best interests of the nation.

Since the passage of the resolutions under consideration, the subject-matter of them has been amply discussed in the Congress of the United States, as no doubt it is, at this time, an unnecessary and useless labor to assign and illustrate at large the reasons why this Legislature ought not to give its assent to them.

Notwithstanding the reasoning of the Legislature of the State of Virginia on the language of the Constitution, the committee has full confidence that the power to prescribe the qualifications of slavery, as a condition of the admission of new States into the Union, is vested in Congress by a fair interpretation of the language of the Constitution.

The argument chiefly relied on is, that the prescribing such condition by Congress is inconsistent with the sovereignty of the State to be admitted, and its equality with the other States. It is admitted that "Congress, if the applicant for admission into the Union had no right whatever to demand it as a matter of legal construction, would, in making such application, might provide for the admission of such State upon the performance of precedent conditions, and requiring its sovereignty." If so, as the Territory of Missouri had no right to demand admission, the only question is, whether the right to establish slavery within their respective limits is essential to the sovereignty, which is enjoyed by the different States of the Union under the Constitution of the United States. For otherwise that much right is essential to their sovereignty, an appeal might be made not only to the solemn assertion of the unalienable rights of all men to freedom, announced in the declaration of our national independence, and which is adopted among the fundamental principles of many of the State Governments, and to the reciprocal rights of the contracting parties in admitting into the Union new States with a prohibition of slavery, but also to the enlightened judgment of what is good and just of all countries.

Slavery is prohibited by the unanimous voice of Nature, which is obligatory as well on States as individuals. The establishing or permitting slavery by a State, being thus morally wrong, the right to do it, instead of being essential to its sovereignty, *cannot exist*; except only in cases where slavery, having already irretrievably intermixed itself with indelibly established, *without great danger to the community*. Under such circumstances, it must of necessity be tolerated for a time as the sole means of self-preservation.

This painful necessity may justify the temporary continuance of slavery in certain States of the Union, where it now exists; but, in the opinion of the committee, *nothing can justify its unnecessary extension of this great evil to newly formed States.*

As far as it may affect the sovereignty of a nation, no material difference is perceived between the case where it survivors its supposed right to carry on traffic in slaves with a foreign country assenting thereto, and the case of its surrender of its right to acquire in any other way and future slaves within its own limits, and yet several independent nations, and our own among others, have without any suspicion of injury to their rights of sovereignty, bound themselves by treaty stipulations forever to prohibit the enormous traffic. Have they thereby lost what is essential to their sovereignty?

If, from the generality and conciseness of the terms used in the Federal Constitution, any doubt remained as to their true construction, in relation to the power which Congress in its particular under consideration, such doubt would be removed on examining the condition of the territory belonging to the United States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and the obligations which they were then under to form the same into States, to be admitted into the Union.

After the Revolutionary war had, by the treaty with Great Britain, and by a cession from Virginia and certain other States of their claims, acquired an undisputed title to the territory northwest of the river Ohio, they passed the ordinance of 1787, for dividing that territory into States, and for their admission into the Union. This ordinance is entitled, "Articles of compact between the original States and the people and States within the said territory, forever to remain unalterable." It recites that it was passed "for the purpose of extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions, are created; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in said territory; to provide also for the establishment of States and a government therein, and for their admission to a share of the federal councils, on an equal footing with the original States, at as early a period as may be consistent with the general interest." It then provides, as one of the articles to remain forever unalterable, that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory." The State of Virginia, with four other slaveholding States, assented to this compact; and Virginia subsequently ratified it by an act of its Legislature. The States constituted by the ordinance, and in which slavery was to be thus forever prohibited, were still to be admitted on an equal footing with the original States, and, of course, the prohibition of slavery was not supposed to be incompatible with their sovereignty.

The United States have thus pledged their faith and bound themselves to admit these States into the Union, with a perpetual prohibition of slavery; it would seem to be impossible that the Constitution, which was adopted in 1789, should certainly with a full knowledge of the ordinance, should not have been intended and understood to confer on Congress the requisite power to perform the obligation.

In further proof that the Constitution must have been so understood, might be cited the act expressly confirming this ordinance, among the doings of Congress under the Constitution. In conformity with this understanding of the Constitution, have the States northwest of the river Ohio been admitted into the Union, subject to a perpetual prohibition of slavery. Most of the other new States have likewise been admitted on such conditions as Congress, looking then to be suitable to their respective situations, has been pleased to prescribe.

This being the construction given to the Constitution immediately after its adoption, and which has been acted upon without opposition, and acquiesced in for more than thirty years, it was not to have been expected that its correctness, now at this late period, have been drawn into question.

It must be recollected that this contemporaneous construction of the Constitution, by those who had the best possible means of knowing what was its true intent. Many of the distinguished members of the Convention, who framed the Constitution, were at that time in the national councils.

Neither these States themselves, so admitted on prescribed conditions, nor anybody in their behalf, have heretofore doubted that they were on an equal footing with the original States, or that they enjoyed all the rights essential to their sovereignty.

The Legislature of Virginia attributes this early construction of the Constitution, so uniformly followed by the General Government, and acquiesced in by the States, to the score of misapprehension: and an intimation seems to be given to the newly admitted States, that the conditions and stipulations on which they were admitted, and which were solemnly ratified by them, are of no binding force. The dangerous tendency of such a doctrine is too apparent to need comment.

The Legislature of Virginia admits "that this subject addresses itself very strongly to their interest, as well as their feelings." If the obviously just and long-settled construction of the Constitution, in a particular of great national concernment, may, in a moment of excitement, be set aside in favor of supposed doubts, raised by the excess of ingenuity of reasoning, no ground of security will remain for the equal right of the States; and the foundation of the Union itself may be shaken.

An argument against the power of Congress to prevent the extension of slavery to new States is attempted to be raised from the general scope of the Constitution, and from the nature of our institutions. The Legislature of Virginia says: "It can never be believed that an association of free and independent States, formed for the purpose of general defence, and establishing justice, and of securing the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, ever contemplated the acquisition of territory, to be peopled by a population and perpetuating for others and their posterity that colonial bondage, against which they themselves had so lately contended." Power may enslave them (the inhabitants of territories) long but the laws of nature and of justice, the genius of our political institutions, and our own example, proclaim that it ought not to be exercised, and never their freedom." Can this have been intended for calm reasoning, to convince the understandings of those to whom it is addressed, or, rather, was it designed to produce an effect on the feelings and conduct of the inhabitants of the Territory of Missouri, then demanding admission into the Union? It is hoped that it cannot be believed that this association of free States, formed for the noble purposes above stated, ever contemplated that the Territory of Louisiana, or any other, should be acquired on extending hondage of any kind.

If the Constitution gives to Congress the power in question, it is not material to inquire, if there is any stipulation in the treaty ceding Louisiana to the United States, that forbids the exercise of it, in providing for the admission of the Union of the Territory of Missouri. The provision of the treaty, which is supposed to impose on Congress the obligation of admitting that territory unconditionally, is the following: "The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities, of citizens of the United States." It is not believed that this provision can have any effect whatever on the question. The admission into the Union is to be according to the principles of the Constitution. If Congress think it proper to have principles make the prohibition of slavery a condition of the admission, then surely the admission subject to that prohibition cannot be at variance with the principles.

The rights mentioned in the treaty are such as are conferred by the Constitution of the United States on its citizens, consistently with the rights of several States (if such right there be) is not one. Admitted subject to the proposed inhibition of slavery, the inhabitants of Louisiana would have the same rights, as citizens of the United States, as do the citizens of the States on the north side of the river Ohio, or as do the citizens of other States where slavery is prohibited, and the rights as is hoped, will not be soon convinced that they do not enjoy all the rights appertaining to citizens of the United States.

To avoid this conclusion, the Legislature of Virginia contends that the clause "according to the principles of the Federal Constitution" is no more than a qualification of the time of admission. But the Constitution neither states nor even alludes to any principle whatever to designate or determine the time of the admission of a new State. Such construction of those words would therefore render them wholly inoperative, and cannot consequently be admitted.

The toleration of slavery is an opinion of our common country has long furnished matter of reproach on our national character. Strong hopes were entertained that, instead of the States, which had long enjoyed the sphere of its baneful operation, suitable measures would have been adopted for its gradual abolition. *Congress, having the power, is bound by considerations of justice and of policy, by a regard to the general welfare of the nation, to prevent the further extension of this evil.*

The attempt to deny this power from Congress affords just cause of alarm. It is apparent that *slavery creates habits and interests peculiar to the Slave Holding States, and that its extension would give them a strong bond of union.* To this cause is to be attributed the unparalleled unanimity of every Senator and Representative from the slaveholding States, on the passing of the late act by Congress, affecting this subject.

Should this odious bond of union be permitted to be extended, without opposition, it will not produce merely a combination of political power as may be sufficient to enable them to control all the measures of the National Councils.

But the conservation of the South singishes as much as its agriculture. It is true that the Southern ports are further from Europe; but that circumstance is counterbalanced by the fact that nearly all the imports of the country are through Northern ports. The difference in distances is trifling; and the Southern harbors, particularly Norfolk and Charleston, are equally safe and good. It is admitting that they lie under some disadvantages of position, it is much more than counterbalanced by the superiority of the Northern ports for the exports of the country nrc necessarily made through them. The chief exports of the United States, cotton and tobacco, amount to some seventy-five or eighty millions per annum, are, of necessity, sent abroad through Southern ports. It would be in the natural course of trade for the vessels which take away these exports to return with the same ports with cargoes of merchandise in exchange for them; but, instead of doing so, they return to Northern ports in ballast, for the purpose of taking that portion of them destined for the South and taken in the coasting vessels after a transhipment, which is made by the fact, that the great bulk of Southern capital is employed in agricultural pursuits, very leaving none to be otherwise employed. If the free States furnished the great bulk of the exports, the commercial superiority would be undoubtedly ascribed to that circumstance; or if the exports from the two sections of the Union were equally divided, it would be plausibly alleged that the commercial superiority of the North was attributable to its more favorable position. But nearly all the exports being from Southern ports, their meagre and ineffectual commerce is inexplicable upon any other ground than that I have assigned.

I have now to combat the very opposite opinion, viz: that free trade caused the ruin of Italian agriculture.

I have seen an article in Blackwood's Magazine for March, 1844, which contains a few detached facts, in an argument against free trade, which I had intended to allege in corroboration of my views of slavery. The writer of that article attributes the decline of Italian agriculture to the practical free trade which existed between the various parts of the Roman empire, whereby the agriculturist of Italy was brought in competition with the fertile plains of Egypt and Lybia. It seems that the free traders in England have controverted this reasoning of Blackwood, and have shown those whom he borrows the idea; and they have assigned the same cause, slavery, for the decline of agriculture with Italy. I do; but I presume that they attribute the evil to slavery, in a different manner, show how it operates. This I think I have done. I have shown that three or four times more capital is necessary, in this country, to carry on agricultural operations with slave labor than is requisite with free labor. Where the price of land is very high, the proportional difference is not so great in favor of free labor; but the actual difference is in ways equal to the value of the slaves. This is the case, notwithstanding the profitableness of slavery to the limited extent in which it still exists. Where its profitableness is easily accounted for, and consists of the laborer's wages being transferred to the pocket of his master.

The reviewer contends that slavery existed in equal degree in Egypt and Lybia as in Italy; but without equal means of information upon the subject, I doubt the correctness of the assertion.

The Roman people, for a long period before and after the fall of the republic, were engaged in continual wars, which, in history informs us, and common sense, probably, had the effect of withdrawing most of the free agricultural population from their homes; and the introduction of thousands of prisoners, to adorn the triumphs of the victorious generals, would naturally supply the place of the freemen. We learn that such was the case; and that Italy was abandoned to the wretched cultivation of slave labor.

On the other hand, the distant provinces were less likely to have their population withdrawn to support the wars; and the inferiority of the Egyptian peasantry to the Roman people would disqualify them for the army. Doubtless the peasantry of Egypt and Lybia were as much degraded, if not far than slavery, morally speaking; but if they were not actually chattels—if each individual was so far free as to be capable of contracting and suing for himself and family—the political evils of such a state of things would be far less. The great political evil of slavery is its absorption of capital which would otherwise be employed in the exercises of improvement. If, therefore, the political condition of the peasantry in those countries was in any degree similar to that of the slaves, as represented to be, it must have been much more favorable to production than a state of absolute slavery.

To show that free trade, without reference to slavery, could not have proved destructive to Italian agriculture, I would appeal to the condition of our own country. What portion of the American Union exhibits the highest agricultural improvement? Is it not invariably the case (except in the rice regions of Georgia) that the fertile and most populous parts are under the highest state of cultivation? And yet the same free trade exists here that existed in the Roman empire. It would be strange if that portion of the country which produces the greatest quantity of manure should be ruined by the rivalry of remoter regions. The only effect of that competition would be a fall in the price of land; but there could be no necessity for abandoning its cultivation.

The injurious rivalry of the Western States cannot affect the Eastern longer than is necessary to know that what it says it affects the productive energies of the country. "It will not notice another circumstance to which the same evils have been attributed. It is asserted by the advocates of free trade that the Southern States are unfortunate and purely solely to the protective policy, which benefits the manufacturer at the expense of the agriculturist. I have no wish to controvert the doctrines of free trade or protection, at present, but I shall endeavor to show that neither can be an adequate cause for the great disparity which exists in the prosperity of the Eastern and Southern portions of the Union. It is contended by the advocates of free trade that the duties which are imposed on foreign goods, have the effect of coming in competition with similar articles made in this country, and in a tax upon the consumer for the benefit of the home producer; and that when such duties exceed the amount necessary to cover the difference of the cost, out of the pocket of the farmer without any equivalent, in order to enrich the manufacturer. The extent to which this has been alleged to perform this operation of robbing the cultivator of the is equal to the difference between the price at which foreign goods would sell in our market without a tax, and the price at which they do sell, it or at which the home manufacturer can afford to sell. The advocates of the tariff deny all this, and maintain that the tax imposed by the duties on the foreign producer, while the home competition reduces no low or even lower than they would be without a tariff, to say nothing of the advantages of the domestic market which the tariff has given to manufacturing establishments. But, for the purposes of my argument, it may be admitted that the free trade theory is correct—that the tax of the tariff is as injurious as they contend it is to agriculture and manufactures. Why, I would ask, should all the evils fall upon the South, and none upon the North? Why is it that in North Carolina, and all the Slave States, without an exception, whether they be engaged chiefly in agriculture, manufactures, or commerce, continue to labor under the disadvantage of a tax, in an unprecedented ratio, while the South languishes? In the free States, whether new or old, towns and cities are everywhere to be met with, exhibiting every indication of prosperity and wealth, and whether the tariff be high or low, they go on from year to year to increase in importance. But the reverse of this is true in the South. Whether the tariff, the older slaveholding States appear to be subject to an irreversible law of decline. This cannot be attributed to the density of their population, which is in fact very much less compared with our own free States, and almost nothing in contrast with the States of Europe.

From Virginia and Maryland, the Carolinas and the Carolinas made almost no advance. On the other hand, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, increased rapidly. If the tariff produced the usefulness of the former, what caused the superiority of the latter? But now the same stagnation is beginning to be felt in the new States, which has hitherto been unexampled in the Union. The good cotton lands are becoming exhausted, and slavery has performed its mission. Emigration to those States will in a few years, and the tide will pass on to Texas, which, in its turn, will undergo the same process of rapid settlement, early maturity, and speedy decline.

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INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES WHICH HAVE RETARDED THE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH AND INCREASE OF POPULATION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

BY A CAROLINIAN.

CHAPTER V.

In the foregoing chapters I have maintained that slavery is the great cause of the unprosperous condition of the South; and have endeavored to show in what way it affects the productive energies of the country. I will now notice another circumstance to which the same evils have been attributed. It is asserted by the advocates of free trade that the Southern States are unfortunate and purely solely to the protective policy, which benefits the manufacturer at the expense of the agriculturist. I have no wish to controvert the doctrines of free trade or protection, at present, but I shall endeavor to show that neither can be an adequate cause for the great disparity which exists in the prosperity of the Eastern and Southern portions of the Union. It is contended by the advocates of free trade that the duties which are imposed on foreign goods have the effect of coming in competition with similar articles made in this country, and in a tax upon the consumer for the benefit of the home producer; and that when such duties exceed the amount necessary to cover the difference of the cost, out of the pocket of the farmer without any equivalent, in order to enrich the manufacturer. The extent to which this has been alleged to perform this operation of robbing the cultivator of the is equal to the difference between the price at which foreign goods would sell in our market without a tax, and the price at which they do sell, it or at which the home manufacturer can afford to sell. The advocates of the tariff deny all this, and maintain that the tax imposed by the duties on the foreign producer, while the home competition reduces no low or even lower than they would be without a tariff, to say nothing of the advantages of the domestic market which the tariff has given to manufacturing establishments. But, for the purposes of my argument, it may be admitted that the free trade theory is correct—that the tax of the tariff is as injurious as they contend it is to agriculture and manufactures. Why, I would ask, should all the evils fall upon the South, and none upon the North? Why is it that in North Carolina, and all the Slave States, without an exception, whether they be engaged chiefly in agriculture, manufactures, or commerce, continue to labor under the disadvantage of a tax, in an unprecedented ratio, while the South languishes? In the free States, whether new or old, towns and cities are everywhere to be met with, exhibiting every indication of prosperity and wealth, and whether the tariff be high or low, they go on from year to year to increase in importance. But the reverse of this is true in the South. Whether the tariff, the older slaveholding States appear to be subject to an irreversible law of decline. This cannot be attributed to the density of their population, which is in fact very much less compared with our own free States, and almost nothing in contrast with the States of Europe.

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From Galignani's Messenger, Dec. 5.

AN EXTRAORDINARY TRIAL IN GERMANY.

THE SEBELSTON FOR AN INTERESTING NOVEL.

The Criminal Court of Cologne sat on the 28th ult., to try M. Oppenheim upon an indictment for stealing a box from the Baroness de Meyendorff while at the Hotel de Mayence, at Coloeme, on her way from Aix-la-Chapelle to Paris. The Baroness arrived in Cologne on the afternoon of August 21; and a few hours after her alighted two gentlemen, who gave their name Kronecker, a merchant of Breslau, and Ullmann, a merchant of Berlin. Kronecker, immediately on his arrival made inquiries respecting the Baroness, particularly as to the baggage she had brought with her, and also as to the stay she meant to make. This stay was very short, as she intended to embark the next morning in steamboat going down the Rhine. At six in the morning of the 22d all her packages were brought from her apartment into the passage, and in bed there, while her valet went to her with the bill of the hotel. When he returned with the money to pay it, he at once missed from the heap of packages a small casket, which, in the hurry, he had not seen put in the mass. He immediately proclaimed the loss, and the people of the house at once recollected that the two strangers, Kronecker and Ullmann, had just taken their departure in a hackney coach, and conceived that they might, by mistake, have carried away the casket with their own luggage. Enquiry was made in the direction they had taken, but after the coach, but met it coming back empty.

The coachman informed him that one of the gentlemen had stopped on the way, but that the other had alighted at the railroad station, Essen followed the latter, and found him in one of the carriages. On being asked whether he had by mistake taken the casket with his, he said he was long to him, he assured them that he had nothing with him but the paletot on his arm. As, however, he was a very well mannered agitated, Essen's suspicions were excited, and, taking with him a police officer, he went on by the same train to Bonn. On arriving there, the baggage of the traveller was examined in presence of the officer, and two *saes de nuit*, which were seized; but the traveller, who had assumed the name of Ullmann, effected his escape. On the examination of the contents of the trunk, in the presence of an officer, the casket was found in it intact, and, among other things, several tradesmen's bills, made out in the name of Dr. Mendlessohn, a distinguished physician at Cologne. In one of the bags was a portfolio containing letters and other papers, addressed to and bearing the name of M. Oppenheim, assessor of the royal court of Berlin.

In the beginning of October and November we had several letters giving the details of this transaction, from which it appeared that the Baroness, under the name of Kronecker and Ullmann, were Dr. Mendlessohn and M. Oppenheim; that their object was to obtain the Baroness's diamonds on charge for her life for 25,000f. a year, granted by the Count de Hatzfeld, secured upon his estates. M. Oppenheim, on the 21st, was stated to be 250,000f., and could only be facilitated, if his business was devoid of all means of advancing any such sum. M. Oppenheim surrendered himself to justice, and has been in prison ever since. The Baroness has, however, still remained at liberty, though, as our readers will recollect, it was, at one time, thought that she would have been arrested, a small Prussian town on the frontier of Belgium, by the capture turned out to be Felix Mendelsohn, the celebrated doctor of music, but no doctor of laws. M. Oppenheim was accompanied by a lady in the casket, but also for having wilfully torn, during his previous examination, four documents laid in evidence against the Baroness, and destroyed them. These consisted of drafts of letters, which were, he stated, intended, of a private nature, having no connection with the matter in question.

M. Oppenheim, on being interrogated by the president of the court, avowed that he had taken away the casket, but denied that it could be imputed to him that it was any consideration with his possession of an illegal deed of rent-charge, executed by the Count de Hatzfeld, the husband of the Baroness, in favor of the Hatzfeld, upon a fictitious consideration, to the great injury of her and her children, and at the same time to avoid the scandal of a suit at law between husband and wife. The Baroness, on being examined, said, that it appeared from his letters that one of his objects was to obtain some proofs of adultery against the Count de Hatzfeld. The prisoner, who admitted this, but declared that it was only a secondary consideration with him and the other adviser of the Countess, the second charge of tearing the documents before the examining magistrate, he maintained that he was not guilty of any breach of the law, as they did not in any wise relate to the matter in question, but were introduced in the examination of witnesses. The first called was the Baroness de Meyendorff, but she did not appear. The Princess and Princesses were the valet and *femme de chambre* of the Baroness, who, when arrested M. Oppenheim, whose testimony went merely to the facts of the taking away and recovery of the casket, and the arrest of the prisoner, as before stated.

M. Windscher, the register of mortgages of Dusseldorf, was called, and, after giving evidence of mortgages intrusted to his charge, and objections that were overruled by the court, proceeding to give evidence, when the Prosecutor-General interposed, and said that, on the 21st June last the Baroness de Meyendorff had contracted at Paris, by a notorious act, to advance to the Count de Hatzfeld, the sum of 250,000f. on a rent-charge upon his estates, of 25,000f. a year for her life, but that the contract had since been annulled. He, then, addressed the court in support of the prosecution, and demanded a verdict of guilty on both counts. The counsel for Oppenheim replied, in defence of the attempt to retain possession of the casket, that, in fact, he gave an animated representation of the circumstances under which the attempt was made, and maintained that it was not a crime, referred into a robbery. He stated that the Countess de Hatzfeld, a daughter of a Sovereign Prince of Germany, was married at the early age of sixteen to this Count—a marriage that had been productive of a life of misery. Even the birth of three children could not soften her from the ill treatment of her husband, and the Baroness was obliged to separate herself from him, and go to live at Berlin with her two younger children. The Count instituted a suit for divorce, but which she (the Countess), had defended with success. The Baroness, at her, had since deprived her of the society of her children; and, by the deed of annuity to the Baroness de Meyendorff, had attempted to rob them of part of their inheritance.

He ceased to pay the Countess her stipulated allowance, and her daughter into a convent, at Vienna, where she had been educated for many years. In 1840, a reconciliation took place, and the Countess returned to live with her husband. Differences soon arose, and she was, at last, driven from her to his chateau of Schoenstein. She once more joined him, but he immediately after abandoned her and his children, and went to reside at Dusseldorf, leaving orders that she should be kept in the chateau as a prisoner. She was treated with disrespect by his servants. In 1841, her family interfered, and, at last, she was induced to sign a deed of separation, binding himself to allow her a certain income; which, however, he never paid in full. He, then, commenced to his wife that he would never be reconciled to her, and, encouraged to his youngest son, that, if he remained with his mother, he would lose forever the protection of his father. She went to Berlin, and, then, learned that the Count was living at Aix-la-Chapelle, with the Baroness de Meyendorff, and, at the same time, received a letter from her husband, and a letter from the Count to the Baroness fell into her hands, containing the following passage:

"I believe I have to you so much, because I never before loved any woman. I, in return, believe I have to so well, when one is obliged to separate from the beloved object. I will make every sacrifice to get rid of this horrible woman, and then your future happiness will be secure."

Upon this, the Countess, accompanied by a trusty friend, went to Aix-la-Chapelle, and, after some discussion, the Count promised to annul the annuity deed, but, on the following day, again repudiated his wife, and she returned from Aix-la-Chapelle, and the recovery of the deed, supposed to be in the hands of the Baroness, was resolved upon.

To prove that the consideration of 250,000f. could not be real, the counsel affirmed that neither the Baroness de Meyendorff nor her husband possessed any fortune whatever; nor could the Count de Hatzfeld, who was a mere idiot, be a fit husband, and enjoying an immense credit, possibly want to borrow any sum at the enormous rate of 10 per cent. The Baroness had then entered upon the technical question of the robbery, and insisted that, under no law, human or divine, could the taking away of the casket be considered as a crime. The counsel, after a long and learned argument, by another advocate for M. Oppenheim. The usual replies were made, and the judges retired to sum up the evidence, and, more impartially, leaving the decision to the jury, who, after retiring for half an hour, returned and pronounced a verdict of Not Guilty. M. Oppenheim was immediately discharged out of custody.

A BEAUTIFUL IDEA.—The baptismal admonition of the Hindoos is as impressive on the bystanders as it is beautiful: Little babe, then entered the world weeping, while all around you smiled; contrive so to live, that you may depart in smiles, while all around you weep!

"Many," says Newton, "have puzzled themselves about the origin of evil. I observe there is one, and there is only one way to escape it; and with this I begin and end."

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