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For the National Era.

JEMSCHID'S CUP.

BY EDWARD SPENCER.

The caravan had halted at Bassora, and we sat in the court-yard of the old Khan, while the kneeling camels rested themselves, and the slaves went out into the market place to purchase us fresh provision—a roasted lamb, and clarified butter, and warm bread, and luscious ripe fruit. Waiting for these things, we sat on our carpets, leaning back against the soft silken cushions, languidly sipping the black fragrant coffee prepared by that pearl of mamlouks, Selim ben Nesnech, languidly arching at the amber mouth-pieces that decked the flexile stems of our narghilehs, languidly, and with a faint unconscious appreciation, hearkening to the musical plashing of the fountain, the soothing "hubble-bubble" of our pipes, and the low soft breathing of those that slept. I had turned over and leaned on my elbow, dipping my fingers idly into the clear crystal water, dreaming of soft vague things that needed not thought to compass their meaning, but glided gently through my mind as glided the blue smoke-wreaths over my lips; Hermon was propped up against his cushion, with half closed eyes, making a pretence of reading "La Mare au Diable," that most delicious pastoral of Madame George Sand; while the poet, his soft, dreamy brown eyes bent upon the marble squares of the pavement, and his hands folded over his breast, leaned forward in the trance of a rapt vision, wherein flashingly mingled waving palm-trees, lovely houris with eyes wantoning like the gazelle's, golden courts, fountains rippling four-and-twenty tunes, and pouring musk-scented rose-water into basins of crystal and ruby, goblets of wine ripe as the bursting pomegranate, purple as an Emir's blood, the plain of Balbuk from the centre of rose-gardens, the dance of tinkling feet, and damsels, like moons, pressing near their soft cheeks and warm hearts to the bosom of the sighing beloved—till his eyes flashed as those of his sires were wont to do in battle, and his high brow glistened with the dew of beautiful thought.

"By the tender soul of Nisami," burst in Hermon at last, flinging his book at the turban of a hideous old eunuch who was nodding in one corner—"this won't do!" and he began extracting the smoke from his pipe in sudden puffs, like a high-pressure Ohio steamboat. "My Western blood will stagnate here. Boys, let's get up some excitement. Break into a mosque, build a derrick, pull somebody's beard, or rob somebody's harem."

The poet eyed him with a glance of mild compassion, as we would one made restless with the toothache.

"Oh, my brother," murmured he, "thou dost most remind in thy movements of that accursed Jew who reviled the prophet Isa ben Maria, (whose name be blessed!")

Hermon stretched himself, yawned, and then, seeming suddenly to be struck by an idea, he sprang up, and slapped the poet upon the shoulder—

"Poured Saf! awake! In the name of the prophet, have compassion on us. Fill up his pipe again, oh, slave, give him some sherbet wherewith to moisten his lips. Now, oh thou dreamer, a proof of thy quality. Tell us a story! Of Africa and Ind! Of Jinnee and damsel shaped like the letter Aleef, with bosoms like twin pomegranates, and rounded lips. Proceed."

One of the mamlouks tuned a guitar, and then chanted to us in his sad guttural tones a Ghazel of Hafiz, brimming of wine, and love, and beauty, and spiced with a delicious undertone of mysticism, whereupon the poet, flinging himself back upon the cushions, and, speaking through the lips his mistress when she was absent, thus began:

Divinely gifted, oh my brothers, was the poet who said, He that lives and loves not hath not dipped in wine even in his dreams. He that lives and he that loves and suffers not knoweth but half the bliss of love. And singing these verses did Lutf, the daughter of Sheikh Yacoub, cuddle herself and dilate her heart when she grew sad.

There are no steeds like the wind-drinking mares of the Beni Malouk of Arahy the Blest, nor ever was there a virgin so lovely as Lutf, Sheikh Yacoub's only daughter. She was as a young fawn among the herds of the antelope—the delight of the world, the ornament of Kingdoms, the crown of desire. None could compare with her in justness of stature, nor in perfection of form. Her bosom was a nest for love; her waist was slender as the tender leaf of a rose of Cashmere, her breath was sweeter than musk, and the flash of her teeth would cause the heart of a desert devotee to flutter. Her closed lips resembled the seal of Salomon ben David, upon both of which (the lips and the seal) had her eyes been disturbers of souls, wild as the eye of the falcon of Tahor, tender as the eye of the ringdove of Damascus. And her voice was softer than the sigh of the sleeping zephyr, when she talked with her father, in the coming of the full moon from behind a cloud. As the poet hath said: When she looked at me, her glances cleft my heart like a sharp sword; and when she spoke, my soul kept time like a lute to the voice of her utterance.

Now, Lutf fed with her own hand her father's mare, Fatma, the pride of the Beni Malouk, the spurner of the desert, the essence of fleetness, the cutter-piper of the swift Simoonai. And Fatma, now Lutf well, was jealous of the coming of the full moon from behind a cloud. As the poet hath said: When she looked at me, her glances cleft my heart like a sharp sword; and when she spoke, my soul kept time like a lute to the voice of her utterance.

Now, Lutf fed with her own hand her father's mare, Fatma, the pride of the Beni Malouk, the spurner of the desert, the essence of fleetness, the cutter-piper of the swift Simoonai. And Fatma, now Lutf well, was jealous of her, and laid her nose against the damsel's cheek, in the fashion of a newly-wedded lover.

But the heart of Lutf was contracted; she sighed, she was not happy. Ask me, oh, oh brothers of the far West, for even in your cold land the maidens love, and sigh, and are not happy. For Allah (whose name be praised) hath so ordained it, that the bitterness of loving should be to the sweetness of loving, like the drugs of Abu Mansûr, which distorted the muscles of the face, but refreshed the stomach even as sherbet refreshes the lips. Now, there dwelt with the tribe a young man of the Afghans, named Ben Nasch, of Casih. Never there was none more excellent for perfection of form and justness of stature. He was brave and rich, and his cheeks were pink with health, and his beard was softer than silk. But Hassan loved Lutf, for she was the gazelle, and fling the dyered, and drink the wind as he flew over the desert on his mare, than to hearken to the words of women, or look towards them when they slyly lifted the veil. And his scorn made the maidens of the tribe weep bitterly; for who was there could compare with Hassan, the handsome Hassan? Not one.

"Come, my beauty," murmured Lutf, as, early one morning, ere the sun had begun to fling his bright darts upon the desert sand the yellow desert, she caressed the pride of Beni Malouk, and fed her with dates and barley meal, and kissed the white star on her forehead;

"Come, my beauty; come, my gazelle-eyed charmer; take me upon thy back, and dance with me along over the desert, for I would know—oh so much, my beauty, oh so much, how much I love thee!" And she kissed the mare again, and wept tears that dropped upon the sand like pearls from Al Raschid's hoard, when he combed it.

"Over the desert we will go, even to the cave, of the wise man; and he shall teach me why the sun no longer shines, and why the moon sleepeth behind a cloud, and why the heart of Hassan ben Casih is turned into stone."

And, drawing the white izar up so as to conceal her face, the damsel mounted upon Fatma's back, and the mare galloped off over the desert, like a lover to his mistress.

——"A glass of sherbet to the poet for those two last similes, oh slave!" shouted Hermon. Then, as the poet smiled and sipped the cooling liquid, Hermon resumed: "I say, Foursel. Say, honestly speaking, did you ever make the acquaintance of a promising youth by the name of Alexander Smith?"

"I only know one Smith."

"And that is John, of course. Never mind, though. Go on. I was only under the impression that you and Aleck had been negotiating a loan between you, though which is creditor I hav'n't the remotest idea."

"Most of all the children of men was the venerable Jemschid, the last of the followers of Salomon ben Daoud, and the heir of the magic cup. The secrets of creation were hidden to him, but said unto him, "Oh Jemschid, here we are, at thy bidding, and at thy service." The stars sung to him all their thoughts as they rolled gloriously along, and he could make the palm-tree blossom, the pomegranate burst open in ripeness, and the water spring forth in the thirsty desert. And he dwelt apart from men, alone in his cave by the well of the seven palm trees, feeding upon dates and pulse, and ever meditating thoughts that would break down the minds of common mortals, as the lush peaches of Cabul break down the limbs of the tender trees. He had but a single mat, his wondrous cup, a jar of wine for divination, while without browsed a she goat who gave him milk. Thus lived the sage, with no wealth of manse or camels, for he was rich in the fountains of divine wisdom and the mysteries of man's heart.

And Jemschid sat in the entrance of his cave, writing with his fingers in the sand strange symbols and mystic tokens of the knowledge that had come down to him from the mighty master, Salomon ben Daoud, (upon whose head be peace,) words and signs that all the wise men of Samarcand would have failed to interpret. In the matchless book of the matchless poet,* we see hold of the sacred cypress tree which Zerdusht brought from Paradise, and planted before the gate of the Temple of Fire in holy Cashmere. And on its stalk he wrote words of hallowed knowledge, and in its branches rustled the voices of the sages, speaking tones of truth and wisdom. So the tree grew until the hunter's cord could no longer girdle its stalk, and its branches overspread half the world, while the odor of its blossoms was breathed by the angels of the Third Heaven. Then did Zerdusht build about it a palace of gold, and challenged the universe to show him such another tree as the cypress tree of Cashmere. Like the cypress tree of Cashmere was the wisdom of Jemschid the Sage, built around by the golden palace of his thoughts. And like the rustle of its leaves were the voices of the dead sages, whispering in the ears of Jemschid the secrets of the cup of Allah whose dark bosom rested their weary bones!

And as Jemschid sat in the entrance of his cave, tracing figures in the sand, he heard the whinny of a mare and the timid murmur of a fair voice—and he held his breath, and looked, and lo there stood modestly before him a damsel like a full moon, and it was Lutf, the daughter of Sheikh Yacoub, with her izar half drawn aside, for he was a very old man, and her arm placed coyly over the neck of the mare Fatma, the pride of the Beni Malouk. And the heart of the sage was warmed towards the maiden standing there so gracefully before him, and he said:

"Praise and glory to Allah, the compassionate, the All-powerful! Lo! even now my heart was contracted, and I said to myself, there is no warmth in the sun nor mildness in the moon, and I looked up and thou wert before me, a reproof and a shame! Welcome, oh my daughter, for thy presence is like the morning sun to a benighted wayfarer, like the cheering rustle of date palm leaves to the desert-weary. Welcome, my daughter, and rest thyself."

Then Lutf took from the folds of her robe a present for the sage, a handfull of fresh dates, a crystal of rock salt, a cake of barley meal, and two goat's milk cheeses, camel's milk and goat's milk, and timidly laid them at his feet, saying:

"My will was strong to have brought thee many things, but thou knowest I am only a poor, weak maiden, oh wise Jemschid."

"If Jemschid be truly wise, he will regard the will of the giver, and not the gift itself, as the measure of its value. Oh, my daughter, many thanks. May Allah ever be as numerous as the sands, and thy happiness as unclouded as yon sky. What would the daughter of the chief of Beni Malouk seek of the old man? Is all well? Hath a camel strayed, or a mare been stolen, that thou comest to me?"

"Nay, oh sage," responded Lutf, hesitatingly, "all is well. I come for myself. Yesterday is gone, and the circle of to-day is very narrow. I hear thee thou hast a cup, a wondrous mystic cup, wherein one can see all that is, and has been, and will be."

"The circle of to-day, my daughter, is as wide as thy destiny, couldst thou but behold it. Aye, thou has heard rightly. I have a cup wherein Allah has revealed wonderful things, many and great things to picture themselves beforehand."

"May I look into the cup, oh sage, and see the picture of my wish and my longing?"

"Not so, maiden. Lest thou should see thee, for thine eyes are not strong enough to encounter the mysteries of the universe. Tell me thy wish, oh daughter, and I will behold if it is to come to pass, or fall away."

The old man rose up on his feet, went into the cave, and took from its shelf the famous cup. It was a beauteous beaker, large and goblet-shaped, made of highly wrought gold, fetched from the inermost caves of the Genii. On the outside were represented in bas-relief, figures set in diamonds, emeralds, and amethysts. Circling the inside, near the rim, was carved the Zodiac and its signs, while the remainder surface was marked off into seven circular compartments, beginning at the centre with the image of the universe and the seven worlds of space, while below shone the pentagram of the master—all graven with mystic signs and symbols. Holding the goblet tenderly and with care, Jemschid poured into it water from the well, and filled to the brim.

And the maiden, bending her head, muttered words, pressed out her slim neck, and hounded along over the sands like the breath of the North Wind. Ebu Seid followed close, as his whole tribe, with yells and shouts, joined in the chase. Onward, onward, over the desert, like a caravan that the pilgrim to Mecca sees gliding by him at night Yemeu-ward, and is gone out of sight ere he can look again. Over the desert they flew, Lutf in advance, and the sheikh close behind, like the cypress tree of Cashmere when the breath of coming winter, one ahead as leader, and the rest streaming on in two spreading lines behind. On, on, over the desert. And now Ebu Seid, putting spurs to his mare, had left his tribe far behind, and was beginning to close upon the maiden. Nearer and nearer he drew, until the hot nostrils of Moon-eyes touched Fatma's smoking flank, and he began to tell the maiden she was his, and must grace his tent forever. Then Lutf tearing off her izar, and baring her lovely moon face to the light, flung the long veil in the sheikh's face, and, while he drew rein to free himself, she seized her mare by the right ear, and again exhorted her:

"On, my beauty, on like the wind thou drinkest!"

And the mare sped on with the speed of a ray of sunshine, that, hursting above the morning clouds, comes glancing from rock to rock athwart the desert.

And now, who is it that hurls himself towards the maiden over the desert, like the swooping, broad-winged eagle of Omar in chase of the gazelle? With his lance poised on high, and his lips closed like the gates of Paradise against a sinning Peri? Does Lutf know that foaming black steed, that arching foot, that green turban, those flashing black eyes? Now they meet, their horses pause in mid course, and Lutf springs off her mare.

"Oh, Hassan!"

Hassan ben Casih leaps from his saddle, and clasps the maiden to his breast.

"Lutf! light of my life! My soul was weary for thee!"

One kiss, like the touch of the moonbeam upon the lotos blossom, one glance into each others' eyes, like the blending of the rays of four new-born stars, and the story is all told. There needs not another word.

"Thy veil, Lutf, where is it?"

"It flutters atop Ebu Seid's lance, as he comes. He would have seized me, when I flung it in his eyes and escaped."

"It is good. Ebu Seid must not wear the favors of a maiden of Beni Malouk. Take this for thy veil, until I recover thine own." And unwinding the light scarf which he wore as sash about his waist, he gave it to her, and then, mounting, rode off to meet Ebu Seid, while the maiden, with her heart melting with love like grapes pressed in a child's fingers, went slowly homeward on Fatma. She did not dare to glance behind, but she rode on slowly and more slowly. Then she heard the sound of hoofs behind her, near, nearer, and Hassan rode up, mounted on Moon-eyes, and leading his own black steed.

"Here is thy veil, Lutf."

"Let it be thy scarf, Hassan, and let this be my veil."

"It is good."

And they rode on in silence.

"Lutf, to-morrow I shall bring presents to the father's tent. What sayest thou, joy of my life?"

"Thy will is my will, oh Hassan, son of Casih."

* Firdousi's Shah-Nameh is thus known among the Persians.

† "The White Camel of Dschelladin," is the name given by the Arabian astronomers to the Nebula Nebulosa.

For the National Era.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF SARATOGA.

No. 3.

UNITED STATES HOTEL, *Aug.* 3, 1859.

MY DEAR G.: A thousand thanks for your long letter and all its charming details.

I told you of our projected ride to Saratoga Lake. It came off yesterday at five o'clock. The rains had soaked the roads around this place, which are sandy, so our drive was the pleasanter for a clear day and a cool temperature. The east piazza, fronting Broadway, after dinner is crowded with guests—those who are so fortunate as to own carriages make up parties to drive out every fine day; not that they can by any possibility enjoy the same routine of driving, any more than any other ever-recurring occupation, but then it is a distinction here to ride out in one's own carriage, when so many stand to gaze and admire, and envy the happy ones who ride, while they must go on foot. This seems a hard judgment upon poor human nature, but, then, somehow it is so, that men and women do things when they are stared at, that they would never do all alone by themselves. I speak out of my own experience, for I every day feel how much of my pains-taking in dressing is to please a crowd of people, not one in a hundred of whom I know, or care to know. But you do not want my wisdom, but pictures of Saratoga. Well, then, it is five o'clock, and Broadway in front of the hotel is crowded with turn-outs of its wealthy inmates. The piazza is crowded with ladies and gentlemen promenading, doing the agreeable to each other. Here and there you see a flat or a hat, which shows you a lady who, at the hour appointed, will, with her party, leave the disconsolates to hide away in their chambers, to drive off to the Lake or elsewhere. A drive is charming enough, under certain circumstances; but to be cramped up in a carriage for two hours, when the company is not to my mind, is a modern purgatory; but it is here a part of the routine of life, and is to be gone through with as such. I am told, in a dry season, the roads are so dusty as to be all but intolerable, and that these carriages follow so close to each other that the sense of suffocation is ever present; and the entire route is one long-continued discomfort. How imperious are the demands of fashion!

After we had promenaded with others a half hour on the piazza, Mr. H. signalled for our carriages to come up. Mrs. A. led the way, taking me by the arm, and was followed by Amelia and Dick. We filled the first carriage, Mr. H. seating himself on the box with the driver. Miss Clara and Miss Eliza D., with their cousins Henry and William, filled Mr. D.'s carriage, which had been loaned to "Aunt Martha" for the occasion. After I had taken my seat, I looked along the line of beautiful women, to see if I could see Aunt Jane among them, and there were not a few faces who looked inquiringly, as if they asked, "Who is that young girl?"

The drives near Saratoga have nothing very delightful in scenery to make them attractive. After we had been out about an hour and a half, we reached the Lake House, and there we saw the cows were to be driven up from the piazza, and our fashionables thronging this little hotel and its grounds. Some were seated under awnings, some on the porches, and some in summer-houses, very many of whom were sucking lemonade through a straw, and eating ices—not certainly because they needed sustentation of any sort, but from very idleness. Why such people do not die of dyspepsia is a wonder to me. Their various capacities are always at work, eating, drinking, talking, and having papers of French confectionery in their pockets to keep their stomachs constantly at work.

The lake is seen from the high and steep hill on which the hotel stands, extending north. It is a beautiful scene, as we saw it lit up by a bright sun, and sweept over by a fresh breeze. As we did not drink sherry-cobblers, we descended to the shore of the lake, and walked up by its margin a few large boat for a sail about the lake. It was a glorious afternoon, and white clouds, piled high up, looked like silver domes of some vast celestial city. Miss Amelia repeated some verses which I remembered then, and I was charmed with its propriety and elegance; then, too, her enunciation was perfect. Mr. H., whom I am beginning to like, took up his parable—I believe that is proper; it certainly is Biblical—and he spoke in the spirit and in the manner of a Hebrew prophet of his recitations. I then looked at Dick, to see if he had nothing to add, but the thought never came into his mind that he was expected to say something in the same line. Not a sign did he make, lest he should be detected in a yawn, as Amelia was making her recitations, was all the compensation she sought for. It happened just as feared it would, when "Aunt Martha," turning to me, asked "if I was not poetical, and had I never contributed to the literature of such an hour as this?" I replied, "No, dear madam, I learned so many of Doctor Watts's Divine Songs in infancy, and his Psalms and Hymns at Sunday school, that I was weary of them ere I was twelve years old, and my beginning Night Thoughts at school. When the reflux of poetry will flow into my soul I cannot tell, if ever." Miss Amelia was incredulous, and, to try me, she dared me to repeat any one of Dr. Watts's Divine Songs, which, she said, "had been taught her by her nurse whom she kept at her bed-side at night, fearing to be left alone in the dark, repeating these hymns till she was utterly exhausted, and the morrow morn to finish." This challenge was enforced by Mr. H. and "Aunt Martha." Feeling my honor was in question, I began with the Cradle Hymn; my voice trembled at first, but I became reassured, and went through it with strong feeling, and with applause from every one. They were all profoundly silent; not a rustle of silk nor change of movement was heard, which to me was a sign of greatness of genius; for when the lyre is touched by a master mind, its tones vibrate and thrill all hearts.

Dear Doctor Watts! how many millions of little ones have been hushed to sleep, bathed in visions of love and beauty, by this sweet hymn, as your mother, or nurse, or aunt, Amelia said, "this was not one of the Divine Songs though it was indeed divine;" so, then, I repeated,

"Whene'er I take my walks abroad,
How many poor I see;
What shall I render to my God
For all His gifts to me," &c.

And Dick, to show that he was brought up in the same school with me, repeated,

"How doth the little busy bee," &c.

but all the young ladies declared they were not to be put off with verses known alike to all of them, and dared him to make another trial of one not so familiar; whereupon, to my great joy, Dick with great emphasis and sobriety of face repeated the hymn—

"Whatever beasts disturb the street,
There should be peace at home:
Where sisters dwell, and spiritus meet,
Quarrels should never come," &c.

Now, if my dear cousin had gone through with the whole body of English lyrics, he could not have made a better hit; for my guess is, that when three girls roam together at a watering place, living out of the same trunks, there is need for a daily recitation of this Divine song.

Thus we sailed happily occupied upon the surface of this beautiful lake, surrounded by hills, under a glorious canopy of clouds. I was dreaming of something, when Amelia turned to me, and with a sudden exclaimed, "Netta, I hope *you* are not pious!" I was embarrassed for the instant. If she had asked me if I was a member of the Dutch Reformed, I would have said, "Yes I am;" but when she asked me if I was pious, I was at a loss what reply to make, and Dick, like a stanch, honest Knickerbocker as he is, asked, "Miss Amelia, and why not pious?" "Pardon me, Netta, for being so brusque; but it that moment came into my mind that you were so familiar with your hymns, might be pious, and I really do not like pious girls. We have one in Miss F., on our floor, who won't go down to breakfast even, until her hair is dressed by her *friseur*. Now, I make up my hair very nicely for breakfast, but when dressing for dinner I am compelled to wait a full half hour, because my turn comes after Miss F.'s, and she keeps him at work upon her beautiful head of hair, while mine, which is very intractable, and needs so much labor, has to do with as little as may be; for, do you know I think she hrihes him very high, or else he is in love with her hair, and delights to be at work upon it. Be that as it may, I do not see what a pious girl has to do with a hair-dresser, for it is contrary to the Scriptures for her to do so."

"Contrary to the Scriptures for Miss F. to have her hair done up by her *friseur* rather than by herself! Where is the text?" asked Mr. H., in a tone of greatest surprise.

"Text! I do not know where the text is, but I am correct; and, as I have a high respect for the Scriptures, I do not like to feel as her what is said in the Bible against dressing hair of pious ladies in a fashionable manner—for I take it that what was spoken by the Prophets and Apostles was said, not for a day, but for all time."

Being thus appealed to, I repeated the verse in the Epistle of Peter, commending wives whose adorning was not the plaiting of the hair, and of wearing gold, and the putting on of apparel.

"But what does Paul say?" asked Amelia.

Neither Dick nor I could recall any words of Paul on the matter of dress, and Dick asked, "why she had referred us to him with such emphasis," when she replied, "Oh, he is such a woman-hater," turning up her pretty lip in a way that quite fascinated Dick. Then she turned to me once more, and said, "Now, Netta, you believe Peter to be an Apostle, if not the chiefest of all the Apostles, as they do in Rome; and if Miss F. is pious, she does so too; and now I want you to tell me, what right has Miss F. and all her set to wear costly ornaments, and keeping the hair-dresser a whole hour, while I, who am not the least bit pious, wait for him with the greatest impatience, losing my temper, while Miss F. is breaking the Ten Commandments."

Dick, greatly amused with her mock earnestness, asked, "Which of the ten?" She answered, "The very first one; for she sits down before a mirror which flatters her, and her hair, and I don't believe she takes half the time to say her prayers."

Dick defended Miss F. very cleverly, saying the text was expressly confined to wives, and did not mean young ladies; that Scripture texts were made were not to show any desire for dress, but girls whose fortunes were as yet doubtful were at liberty to dress as they pleased, so as best to please those they hoped to win. He made an ingenious, lawyer-like argument about it; and though it confounded Miss A., it failed to convince her, as it did me; for could I be in doubt as to a matter of duty, I would submit the text to one of my Sunday-school scholars, and implicitly abide by her decision.

We reached the place of landing, leaving this matter unsettled; and it was at once superseded in our social minds by a boat, as the boards were all engaged, we went into the pistol gallery, and, would you believe it, at my first shot, 'I brought down my man,' as duellists say. Not one of the young ladies was successful, though they fired ten times a-piece. When these performances were over, I, for one, having gone down in a sea of gold, we began to ascend the hill, and Mr. H., who had been very assiduous in his attentions, offered me his arm, but I preferred to hold up my dress with both hands, while Amelia accepted Dick's arm, and went off treading on her dress for the sake of gratifying Dick's gallantry, or her own love of mischief. Dear me! she has gained her point with poor Dick ever since, and I see her little arts of making him useful to her, with surprise at her success. She is one of those women of whom Pope tells us, in his Satires, "who never drank a cup of tea without a stratagem."

The crowd at the Lake House had already dispersed, and we hastened to take our seats for a direct drive homewards. When we were seated, Miss Amelia, to my great annoyance, began to talk to Dick about Longfellow, and in order to enlist me in her cause, she said, "Hiawatha; and I told her the truth when I replied that I had attempted to do so. "You have read Evangeline?" I shook my head. "Is it possible?" she exclaimed. "I think it the finest poem in our language." Whereupon I remarked, in a timid tone, that "I had heard it said that Mr. Longfellow lacked the first requisite of a poet; for, though a man of acknowledged labor and taste, he had exhibited no power from which we could infer that he had the spirit." Thereupon there arose quite a blaze of indignation against such an illiberal criticism. I fanned the flame by telling all I had heard from Dick, who gave Longfellow great credit for versification, but denied that he was worthy of the high title of a poet. In this discussion the young ladies and gentlemen were all enlisted, every one echoing to the praise of the Boston poet. Dick never so much as hazarded a remark, but I saw a twinkle in his eyes, hearing me using his criticism as made by a very distinguished gentleman, whose word was law with me in all such matters. And when I was pushed for proof of what I had said, (for they insisted I was not so ignorant as I claimed to be,) I told them what I had read of the "Golden Legend," that it was the old German ballad of "Poor Henry," patched out with stories from "The Infancy of Jesus," known to all readers of the Apocryphal New Testament. To my surprise, they had no reply to these charges of piracy, and so Miss A. changed the topic by calling our attention to the new moon, which now showed its harp in the evening sky.

On reaching the States, we separated to go to our several rooms, and, on my entering, there sat Mrs. H. and her daughter Sophia, and Aunt Jane, all of them in tears. "What has happened?" I exclaimed. Then it was I learned with deep sorrow that Dr. Alexander had died at the Virginia Springs. It was a great grief to Mrs. H. and Sophy, as it is to all the ministry, and to the Presbyterian church in the entire city. Poor Sophy felt she had lost her spiritual father; for you know he knew everything, and aided her in reading the best writers of Germany and France, and would spend hours with her, when a young girl, in correcting their false science, and so enriching her with his library and his own great intellect. And I could not but feel my own great bereavement, when I gave the news to my friends, that griefs as my own. Mrs. H. told me the clergy were to hold a meeting at the Presbyterian church, to-morrow morning, and we shall go with them, to show, so far as we may by so doing, our sympathy with his own people, our here, in this expression of our reverence for this great and good man.

Mr. H. and Miss Clara called at our rooms, to take me down to supper, and to engage me for the ball-room, but I declined; and so here I am, writing you this long letter. Miss Clara brought me the enclosed rules for knitting a Talma, like the one she wears, which I asked of her for you. It is very pretty, and perhaps you will thank her, through me, for sending it.

Thursday Morning.—I have just returned from the Presbyterian church. The meeting was presided over by Dr. Spring, of New York, who made some admirable remarks. The resolutions were offered by Dr. Nicholas Murray, who made a beautiful speech upon the character and labors of dear Dr. Alexander. He was followed by Dr. Cutler, of the Episcopal church, Brooklyn, and by Dr. Kennedy, of the Methodist church, New York. But as you will see all the speeches in the next *N. Y. Observer*, I will spare my report.

Always, dear G., your NETTA.

HOW TO KNIT A TALMA.

For Netta, My Dear Young Friend.

Cast on four hundred and fifteen stitches.
1st row, seam.
2d row, seam.
3d row, knit plain.
4th row, seam.
5th row, knit three stitches plain, knit two together, thread forward, knit one, thread forward knit ten, slip a stitch, knit two, pass the slip stitch over the two, knit ten, thread forward, knit one, thread forward, knit ten, make hole as before, and so on, being careful to make row and knit three stitches plain after the last hole at the end of the needle.
6th row, seam.
7th row, as the 5th.

Proceed in this manner until you are about to make the 10th hole, then narrow before and after the holes, slip and bind as usual. This will bring nine stitches between the holes and the slip-and-bind stitch.

Then seam across this row, seam the next, knit plain next row, seam across again here. Then seam in the color, and knit as before, until you come to the ninth hole. Then you will have eight stitches between the holes. Then seam in the dark color, seam again, knit this row plain, seam this row, and then seam in the other color, and proceed as before. Every time you narrow, to have one less stitch between the holes and the slip-and-bind stitch. In seaming after the one row of holes, narrow every fifth stitch, then every tenth stitch, then every fifteenth stitch—your judgment must guide. Then knit a stitch, thread forward, and narrow, for the row of holes to put the cord in. Finish by seaming twice across, and knitting once plain; then bind off.

For a large talma, cast on five hundred and eighty-three stitches, having eight between. For an infant's talma, cast on three hundred and nine, having eight rows of holes.

Fringe—Cast on fifteen stitches, knit three stitches, thread forward, knit two together, knit one, and so on.

Dampen and press before drawing out the fringe.

Nine ounces pink, six ounces white.

Saratoga, August 4, 1859.

INKLINGS FROM THE FRONTIER;

OR,

LIFE ON THE PLAINS AND ADVENTURES IN THE TENTED FIELD.

Headquarters, Antelope Hills Expedition,
In Camp on Paoseo Creek, July 6, 1859.

To the Editor of the National Era:

To the contemplative observer and close student, human nature, especially human nature in its campaign gear, turned loose to act its part throughout its various phases in the midst of wild, untamed, and uncontaminated inanimate nature, presents an ever-varying source of interesting study. In civil life, when surrounded by men and women, moved by and acting under the influence of every passion, and every rule and form of business and fashion that ever finds its way into the human heart, we may fancy ourselves possessed of that acumen which enables us to read the characters of those with whom we come in contact with some degree of accuracy. But these men and women seldom act in their usual part, and are ever seeking to cover their motives, as it is only when here, on the vast and almost limitable plains, away from the turmoil of business and the follies of fashion, with their influence and restraints, surrounded by the beauties and the grandeur of nature, untarnished by the hand of art, the soul of man throws off the shackles of society, and becomes almost transparent—human nature comes forth in its shirt-sleeves, and the observant student may read character as he runs, and measure the width and depth of the minds, the souls, of those around him. Whether a man be learned, refined, of noble soul, high aspirations, and fine feelings, or whether he be gross, grovelling, ignorant, and selfish, the close observer, who turns his attention to the study of human nature, can draw him out and take his measure. And here, in the midst of campaign life, we are at no loss for a variety of specimens of humanity. For almost every rank in society, every station in life, furnishes a representative—officers and soldiers, gentlemen of leisure out on a pleasure excursion, teamsters and camp-followers, the refined and the rough. But the greatest variety of character is to be found in the ranks of the army, where men from every class of society, of every calling and profession, the refined and the uncouth, the high and the low, the collegian and the ignoramus, the good, bad, and indifferent, all mingle together in the common category of "Uncle Sam's men."

But the contemplation of the various characters who compose the moving community campaigning over the plains need not engross the attention of the student. New and strange sights and scenes are ever presenting themselves to the enraptured view, and causing new thoughts to well up from the great deep of the soul. Varying and picturesque landscapes are continually opening before the eyes and receeding behind, as you march along. New points of strange varieties; variegated flowers, quaintly formed and brightly colored, creatures of beauty, ministering to the finer feelings of passing humanity; strange insects, and curious insects, little strangers, who timidly peep out at you from under the broad cactus, or the leaves of some other semi-tropical plant, or sit gaily perched upon the leaves of plants, or swing on blades of grass, and sunnily sing their merry little songs; swarms of lively little birds deploy by regiments, and wage a war of extermination upon grasshoppers and grass seed; while now and then may be seen larger animals, as the buffalo, the antelope, the deer, and gently looking at us as intruders on their private domain. All this conspires to render a summer's campaign romantic and pleasant. The painter, poet, botanist, geologist, ornithologist, and zoologist, find ample sources for amusement, gratification, and study.

You never have been campaigning over the Southwestern plains? Then imagine yourself a member of our party, mounted on a fine blooded steed, with long, shaggy tail, mane, and forelop, fleet of foot, and gifted with great powers of endurance. Do you see that high mound-like eminence to the left or south? Turn your charger's head towards it, give him the rein, and he will soon carry you along the gradual ascent up to the summit, from whence you have a grand view of the whole country in every direction, as far as the eye can reach. When you have taken in the landscape, and admired the beauty of the scenery, turn your attention to the moving column of the Antelope Hills Expedition, and watch it as it measuredly winds its serpentine course over the rolling prairie. In advance of all, some twenty roods, you see a motley little group. They are our Indian guides, trailers, and interpreters. After them comes the advance guard—ten troopers, led by a non-commissioned officer. Then, with the aforesaid space intervening, comes the commanding officer, Major Emory, and his staff. And then, in regular order, with a like space between each, come the four cavalry companies, marching by twos, and each led by its captain. In rear of the cavalcade are the centre guard and detachment of pioneers, for the purpose of removing obstructions (should any present themselves) from before the train. Next come the hospital and baggages for the comfort and convenience of the sick, and the private carriages and buggies of the gentlemen excursionists, followed by a long, long string of Government wagons, nearly a hundred in number, and in each of which is attached six mules. These are followed by the drove of beef cattle, while the rear guard bring up the rear. You involuntarily exclaim, "Oh, what a grand and imposing procession to be traversing those wild but quiet old plains, and how well-ordered is the line of march!"

But you are unwilling to descend into the low country. A cool and balmy breeze fans your temples and refreshes your energies, and you still stand gazing at the passing column. Owing to numerous little ravines and chasms running off to the north and to the south, we are compelled to make a very zig-zag road, and as our long cavalcade and train moves along, it will not take a very great stretch of the imagination to enable you from your elevated position to imagine you see a monster serpent in agonizing contortions making its way to the westward. We travel over the untoed prairie, but leave a large and plain road behind us, which will not be effaced for years, even if the tide of emigration does not flow in this channel.

Towards the rear of the train, a huge cloud of dust always rises, and lazily rolls away to the northeast, before a lazy southwest breeze.

Scattered along the whole length of this immense line, for a mile or two on either side, you may see sportsmen—officers not on duty, our gentlemen of leisure, officers' servants, and soldiers with leave—who hunt as they travel, and shoot turkeys, prairie chickens, jackass rabbits, and other small game.

Now descend, and take an easy hand gallop until you reach the hospital or the command, when you will please to make a more close inspection of the command, as it passes you. Tighten your reins when you come opposite the party of Indians. The first to attract your attention is a small, wiry-built man, apparently about thirty years old; the blackest, keenest, and brightest pair of small eyes you ever saw, dance beneath a pair of heavy and shaggy eyebrows. He wears his black hair hanging over his shoulders, and is possessed of regular European features, but as black as theace of spades. This is Wildcat, the son of a celebrated Seminole chief of the same name, and the principal guide of the Antelope Hills Expedition. In rear of him, Indian fashion, is a large, athletic, olive-colored Delaware, the Indian trailer who led Major Van Dorn into the Camanche camp last fall. He glories in the name of Gen. Jackson, and takes great delight in receiving and returning a military salute. The others, with the exception of Red Shoulders, is a very comical fellow and full of fun, are half-breeds, and are Delawares.

Now, drop back, and let the advance guard pass you, and, as the commanding officer comes up, you have a good opportunity to note his personal appearance. He is a large, square-built man, with broad chest and shoulders, a ruddy countenance expressive of firmness and decision of character, blue eyes, light auburn hair, and a countenance full of the milk of human kindness. Some persons, not good judges of color, might pronounce him red-headed.

But, without stopping to study the peculiarities of the officers, let us pass back, and take a few moments to examine our soldiers. There are several, with books in their hands, and absorbed in reading, as they ride along. These are studious men, who never lose a moment's time, if they can avoid it. Their five years in the army will not be lost to them, for they have made it a storing their minds with useful knowledge. Another group of young men are engaged in an animated conversation. We are now passing over a lovely and beautiful country. Gentle slopes recede from us for a mile, and meet others, thus forming lovely and enchanting vales. The slopes are numerous, and run in almost every direction, giving the whole country the appearance of a billowy sea, suddenly stilled after a heavy storm. Beauti

built. Then we may hope within some reasonable time to assemble here again, some of us not much older than we are now, to rejoice that the work which has been so auspiciously begun here has been auspiciously completed. [Applause.]

Why, it is a shame to think of so long a time in connection with the monument. Did you think, Mr. Governor, when you talked about twenty-five or fifty years, that (as I read the other day, Mr. Governor, in the Boston Journal, the story of New England) the few thousand men of the first emigration to New England had already multiplied to the number of seven hundred? We to put off twenty-five or fifty years that which we have got seven million men and women to do? Why, I believe the ladies might knit stockings enough to build the monument in less time than that, [laughter:] and those who cannot knit stockings might knit those more modern articles of workmanship, of which, I am very sorry to say, I do not know the name. [Renewed merriment.] But we are going to complete this monument. We in Ohio will do a little; you in Massachusetts will do a great deal, and all New England will do something, and thus the monument is to be built.

And, then, when the work is completed, I will tell you what I should like to see—the sons and daughters of New England joining hands with their brothers of Virginia to build another monument at Mount Vernon, commemorative the sentiment there—thus proving to them, if we do love liberty, and mean to maintain it, yet we and brethren of a common Union, and mean to maintain "Liberty and Union" one and inseparable, now and forever. [Prolonged and enthusiastic applause.]

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 25, 1859.

TO ADVERTISERS.—Business men will find it greatly to their advantage to advertise in the *Era*.

Messrs. Pennigill & Co., S. B. Niles, and Joy, Coe, & Co., are our authorized advertising agents for Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.

The following gentlemen are accredited agents for the *Era*:—W. Lloyd Garrison, Boston, Mass.; J. A. Innis, Salem, Mass.; Thomas Wheeler, Cincinnati, Ohio; L. T. Pain, Mount Union, Ohio; Joseph Hughes, Philadelphia, Pa.

A CARD.

It is due to the subscribers of the *National Era* to state that the paper will continue to be edited and published under the provision made by its late editor and proprietor, in view of his intended absence in Europe.

The *Era* will remain true to the principles it has always advocated. Writers of eminent ability will contribute to its editorial columns. Its literary department will be placed in skilful hands, and no effort will be spared to make the paper as nearly as possible what it has always been.

The value of the *National Era* as the representative of free principles at the National Capital, and to the family of its late editor as their only available means of support, makes it my imperative duty to continue its publication without interruption.

MARGARET L. BAILEY.

Washington, July 11, 1859.

THE CANADIANS ON SLAVERY—WHAT THEY MIGHT DO.—All parties in Canada are avowed enemies of Slavery, and their sympathies, as a part of Christendom, are not to be despised. But if the Canadians really desire to aid us in the great cause of emancipation, they have it in their power to render us the most efficient aid. Let them do what we cannot do, as a State, as they can do, with the consent of the mother country, by a unanimous and persistent appeal to Parliament. The British Provinces are old enough and large enough to take this position, and the heart of the English journals and statesmen would respond to so serious a proposition would be made in that quarter, if the Provinces really desire to form a part of the American Union. With the five Provinces converted into as many States, or perhaps into seven or eight States, the power of Slavery in the Federal Councils would be reduced to insignificance. As a condition of annexation, the freedom of fugitive slaves already here would be stipulated, as a matter of course; and the repeal or essential modification of the fugitive law would strip it of its terrors to all who in future might make their way to that region. But, with the British Provinces represented at Washington, Slavery would be driven to its foreshadowed and the Oligarchy would cease to give a diabolical tone to the public opinion of any section of the Union. By all means, let us annex the Provinces. The Northern Sham Democracy dare not oppose the measure.

EMERSON ETHERIDGE.—The election of Mr. Etheridge to Congress from Tennessee is a bitter pill to the Slavery Propagandists. Southern newspapers, which profess to be opposed to the revival of the African slave trade, cannot forgive him for having offered the resolution in Congress declaring the trade to be inhuman as well as piratical. The Memphis *Avalanche* (portentous name!) would be glad to see Mr. Etheridge "pelted with the kicks and curses of an indignant and outraged people;" and, as a climax of wickedness, the *Avalanche* charges that Mr. E.'s resolution "has become a part of the Black Republican platform." We would suggest to the editor the use of philosophy. It will not be many years before scores of such men will be elected to Congress from the South, and so time and use will reconcile him to the disgrace, if, in the mean time, his *Avalanche* is not converted into a vulgar land-slide, and swept into the ever-flowing tide of the Father of Waters.

THE ULTRA SOUTHERNERS WILL ACCEPT BRECKINRIDGE.—The most ultra class of politicians in Alabama are lauding Vice President Breckinridge to unmeasured extent. The *Mobile Tribune*, which advocates a slave code for the Territories and the revival of the slave trade, thinks that "it is difficult to name a person who is better fitted to make a true, constitutional, no-partisan President." The *Montgomery Advertiser*, which is ready to dissolve the Union if Congress refuses to protect Slavery in the Territories, copies the remark of the *Tribune* with approbation, and explains away the declaration made by Mr. Breckinridge in 1856, that he "belonged to no party which has for its object the extension of Slavery." The *Advertiser* is aware that the Vice President supported the Lecompton fraud, and that dead, like chastity, covers a multitude of sins. But, Mr. Breckinridge has a reputation for moderation, and is less objectionable to the North than any other Southern "Democrat," his chances for the Charleston nomination may be counted first rate.

SLAVERY AT PIKE'S PEAK.—The St. Joseph (Mo.) *Journal*, in publishing an account of a Pike's Peaker's experience, says:

"The Rev. Jacob Adams, who is an old California miner, took out a complete outfit, consisting of some six wagons drawn by oxen, with loose riding horses, and was accompanied by his son, H. C., several young men of his neighborhood, and three stout, active negro men of his own. After prospecting to his full satisfaction for three months in the various mines, with poor success, he gave up the idea of a business undertaking, sold out his supplies, and at once returned to the States."

We are not informed whether the elder Jones sold out his "three stout, active negro men" among his other supplies, but the fact that he was permitted to travel safely through Kansas or Nebraska, or both, with his supply of biped cattle, shows very clearly that the Dred Scott decision is something more than a paper catchword.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE SUPREME COURT.

The degree of authority conceded to the Supreme Court is the true test and touchstone of political creeds. He who acknowledges the right of the Court to bind the Legislative and Executive branches of the Government by its decisions, as well as the Executive and the people is a Federalist; and he who denies that right is a States Rights man. Forty and fifty years ago these distinctions were universally recognised and acted upon. Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Taylor of Caroline, and William B. Giles, were the representative men of the Republican or States Rights school. Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, and John Marshall, were the great lights in the Federal ranks. The former class maintained that the Federal Government is one of limited powers; that the Constitution is a compact between the States, by which certain definite and limited powers are delegated to the common Government, and all others not expressed in the compact are reserved to the States and to the people. These are propositions which cannot be denied, since they are entirely conformable to the letter of the Constitution itself.

But if the Central Government thus constituted by the States for specific purposes is made the judge of its own powers, it will always be clear to the distinct understanding that the reservation of rights to the States and the people can be of no practical utility. Even on the absurd supposition that the Federal Government is always to be in honest hands, there would still be no guaranty that it would not gradually encroach upon the rights of the States. The most honest men cannot always be disinterested. The best men are prone to be swayed by their prejudices, and those prejudices are sure to favor the assumption of power in their own hands. Hence, on this idle and romantic supposition that the Federal Government will always be honest, there would still be a constant tendency to consolidation, and the overthrow of the rights of the States, if that Government is to enjoy the exclusive right of determining its own powers. But with the proverbial dishonesty and ambition of politicians, the reagved rights of the States would not be worth the parchment upon which they are inscribed, if the Federalist theory of interpretation holds good.

The Federalists not only claim for the Central Government the exclusive right of interpreting the Constitution, but they assign that high prerogative to a particular department of it, viz: the Supreme Court. The Constitution invests the Court with the Judicial power of the Union, for determining the rights of persons and property in a certain and comparatively limited class of cases. But the Federalist theory invests the Court with supreme political authority over the States, as well as the co-ordinate departments of the Central Government.

We propose to examine briefly this theory by which the States are reduced to the condition of counties, and the Legislative and Executive branches to mere agencies for carrying out the decrees of the Court. We propose to show that no such power is given to the Court by the Constitution; and that those who confer it have no better authority than fire of many other latitudinarian theories; this being the fruitful mother of them all.

The first section of the third article of the Constitution declares that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." The second section declares that "the judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, or other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States; and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects."

The reader will ascertain, by a careful examination of this clause, which embraces every class of cases falling within the jurisdiction of the Court, that they relate to questions involving the rights of property, or personal rights; and in no one of them is the Court authorized to determine political questions, or questions involving the relative powers of the States and Federal Government, or the relative jurisdiction of the co-ordinate departments of the Government, viz: the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial. There is not a line of the preeminence claimed for the Court by the Federalists of the old or new school. And can it be believed that the extraordinary prerogative of determining political powers and jurisdiction would have been given except in express terms? Would the Court have been given this transcendent power by implication? Such a proposition is absurd in itself, and is expressly negatived by article ninth of the amendments, which declares that the powers not delegated by the Constitution to the Federal Government are reserved to the States and to the people.

By a careful examination of the above clause, and by a careful reading of the amendments, it will be seen that the States cannot be sued. In questions involving mere property rights between the States, where a tribunal independent of the contending parties is desirable, the Constitution has made the Supreme Court of the Union the arbiter. But no such authority is given in controversies between the United States and a State.

Doubtless the Supreme Court is supreme within its own sphere. So is the Legislature. So is the Executive. The Legislature is not enjoined to conform its legislation to the decisions of the Court. The President is not warned to keep his recommendations within the same pale. These departments are co-ordinate with the Court, and are supreme within their spheres and importance. The Legislature is first named in the Constitution, and is undoubtedly first in dignity, importance, and power. The Executive comes next in order and consequence. They come directly from the people by election, and are the responsible guardians of political and civil rights. The Court is a necessary adjunct of these, and its officers are appointed by them. To make the Court supreme over all, supreme over the Legislature and Executive which elect it, and supreme over the States and people who created the Government itself with limited powers, is as illogical as it is dangerous to public liberty.

We have said that the Court is supreme within its proper sphere. It determines rightful questions of property and personal rights without appeal. But it has no right to say to Congress, "thus far shalt thou go, and no further." The decisions of the Court never have overruled the deliberate policy of the country as expressed on the statute book. It has doubtless been restrained in calling attention to acts of hasty legislation, or to mere mistakes; but when the Legislature and the Executive determine deliberately upon a course of policy, it always so happens that the Court finds reason to acquiesce.

As an illustration of this fact, we may mention that the Court has never yet pronounced against the constitutionality of the purchase of Louisiana, although all parties in the country at the time agreed that there was no authority in the Constitution for the act. Even Mr. Jefferson himself, who as President authorized and approved the purchase, yielding to pressure, by a political necessity, admitted the act to be unconstitutional. The Court has never ventured to non-suit a Louisiana plaintiff on the plea that the Territory or State was no part of the Union, although perhaps three-fourths of the judges, forty or fifty years ago, entertained the prevalent belief that the Constitution was violated in the act of purchase.

The conservative instincts of the Court fifteen years ago would have led it to decide against the admission of the foreign State of Texas into the Union by joint resolution of the two Houses of Congress, instead of by treaty; but no such decision has been made. It has never been decided that a Texan cannot have redress against a citizen of New York, on the plea of non-citizenship. But suppose the Court were to make such a decision, would Texas and Louisiana in the cases supposed be ruled out of the Union? Would the President forthwith recommend and Congress enact a law annulling the unconstitutional proceedings by which those States were brought into the Union? If they did not, then the decisions of the court, as political authorities, would fall to the ground, and, upon the Federal theory of interpretation, the President and Congress would be guilty of a high misdemeanor.

We have said that the Supreme Court has always said that to the established policy of the country. When a United States Bank existed, the Court pronounced it constitutional; and if a case involving the question could now be brought before that body, there can be no doubt that it would decide just the reverse. The Sham Democracy still adhere to one Jeffersonian principle, viz: its hostility to a United States Bank. But the Court would readily conform its decisions to the dominant idea, if called upon, just as it has done in regard to Slavery. Until within a few years, the Court has, from the foundation of the Government, heaped decision upon decision, going to establish the doctrine that Slavery is a local institution, existing independently of the force upon positive law; and, hence, that it did not exist as a matter of right in the Territories. But when Slavery got complete control of the Federal Government, and seemed destined to rule everything for an indefinite period, the facile judges had no difficulty in coming up to the mark by reversing the decisions in conformity with the Cincinnati platform.

So it will ever be. The Court is not independent of public opinion, and its political decisions have no more influence upon the minds of the Opposition, than those of any other dozen lawyers in the country. When the decisions of the Court were against the Slavery, the sentiment was unanimous in repudiating it as a political authority. Now that its decisions are thoroughly Pro-Slavery, the Oligarchy, like Shylock, cry, "A Daniel! a second Daniel!" The South and the Sham Democracy no longer hold the Jeffersonian theory of States Rights. They are thoroughly Federalized, and even Toryized. Yet to the Federal idea of a Supreme National Control Government, the Black Democracy have added the maxims of Toryism and Absolutism—the maxims of passive obedience and submission to whatever wrong and outrage a corrupt Government may impose.

HON. JOHN M. ROTTS FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

Mr. Botts may well exclaim, "Save me from my friends!" His bold and manly opposition to the Black Democracy, to their perfidious repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to their numerous schemes of Slavery propagandism, and to their system of peculation and plunder, have gained for him the respect and admiration of all who are not the mere creatures of the party in power. But in an evil hour his Southern friends have put him in nomination for the Presidency, and immediately they begin to qualify or explain away all the manlier traits in his public life, and to manufacture for him a sound Southern platform to stand upon. In spite of disclaimers, the newspapers will insist the name of Mr. Botts will be regarded as his organs; and this is particularly true of those in his immediate vicinity. The *Richmond Morning News* is one of this class. It is a new enterprise, and in many respects liberal and enlightened; but there seems to be a fatal necessity reigning upon the organs of public opinion, in the Slave States, which constrains them, like the needle to the pole, to bow before the Slave Power. They may set out with the best intentions in the world; but no sooner do they venture into the sea of politics, than the magnetism of Slavery compels them to sail Southwardly. As a case in point, we quote the following passage from an editorial in the *Morning News* of the 17th instant. The object of the editor is to show the impracticability of Governor Wise's theory of Congressional protection to Slavery in the Territories. But mark how his little bark, with the manly Botts on board, is warped from its intended course, and compelled to pay homage, with flag at half mast to the Slave Power. The *News* says:

"Now, we are not about to dispute the doctrine of intervention. It may or may not be the true doctrine. Every word that Mr. Wise has said may be true. The Supreme Court may hold that Congress is bound to protect that Slavery has a constitutional foothold in the Territories. It may follow as a corollary from that doctrine, that Congress, by the clause in the Constitution quoted yesterday, to protect all property of citizens of the United States, wherever from and of whatever kind. But it does not follow that it would be safe, expedient, or useful, for the South to ask Congress to legislate *specially* upon the subject of *Slavery*. We say, we do not think it would be safe. We do not mean to be understood as either approving or denying it. Other weighty considerations, a long way this side of the question of mere abstract doctrine, press on our attention. There are many abstract doctrines it is useless to discuss, and many rights it is inexpedient, any, positively unlawful, to exercise.

Thus it is that Mr. Botts is immediately dragged down from his liberal and respectable position, to one much below that of Mr. Douglas, and but little, if any, better than that of Governor Wise.

It is evident that the friends of Mr. Botts and other Southern aspirants to the Presidency mean to occupy the ultra Southern ground of intervention for Slavery, if the Sham Democracy shall dare to vacate it by the nomination of Mr. Douglas. They will follow the example of their friends in Kentucky, who immediately seized upon the slave-code theory when the "Democracy" ventured to talk about nonintervention. But the party at Charleston will not be driven into the trap. They will not accept either Mr. Douglas or his theory of popular sovereignty, although shorn of its vitality.

The Kenosha (Wis.) *Telegraph*, speaking of the great popularity of Carl Schurz among the Republicans of that State, says:

"It appears to be conceded that no man in the State would create more enthusiasm, and call out a larger vote, than Mr. Schurz, were he nominated. Of his qualification for the position, we have seen no doubt expressed by the Republican journal. Others may be as well fitted to discharge the duties of the post as he, but none better. That he would be transcendantly elected, there cannot be a shadow of a doubt."

UNION WITH THE SOUTHERN OPPOSITION.

The advances made by Northern Republicans to Southern Oppositionists are received with indifferent marks of gratitude. The proposed concessions of the New York *Tribune*, now that they have given offence to right Republicans, and been declared inadmissible, have failed to meet the demands of even the most liberal school of Southern Oppositionists. It is true that they are referred to as signs of returning reason and moderation on the part of the North, but nothing more. The *Tribune* is informed by the organs of Southern Opposition that it must not expect union with the South on any such terms; and that nothing short of a return to the basis of the compromise measures of 1850 will be listened to by the South. The Northern Republicans are also required to abandon their party organization and name, and fall into rank as private soldiers, under the lead of the conservatives. Those who have never damaged their reputations by assuming the Republican name.

This imperious tone of the Southern Opposition has gained strength since the result of the August elections has become known. They now have high hopes of dividing and breaking up the Republican party, and will listen to no terms short of its ruin.

The article below, from the Baltimore *Clipper*, which belongs to the more liberal school of Southern Oppositionists, and has the name of Mr. Botts at the head of its columns for the Presidency, will illustrate the above remarks. The *Clipper* says:

"The New York *Tribune* is the chief organ of the Anti-Slavery party. It is the great advocate of the Republican party. It has labored zealously and earnestly to maintain the integrity of that party, and has warmly and powerfully held the *sectional theory* of William H. Seward, that the States of the Confederacy must be all free or all Slave States. The Sham Democracy and the *Tribune* and its followers hooted at the organization of an Opposition party upon any other basis than that of Republicanism. It then seemed the Republican party could never lose control the result of the Presidential election in 1860. *Gradually its tone has changed. The mountain sound not go to Mahomet, Mahomet is to go to the mountain. The Opposition would not heed the vain-boasting of the Tribune, and the Tribune has lowered its key.* After claiming first that the Republican party alone had the Opposition, then that either a Republican or some one else pledged to use all his influence and authority in favor of Free-Soilism in the Territories must be selected as the Opposition candidate for the Presidency, it has recently put forth a more practical proposition.

"The Opposition is the best friend of the *Tribune*, and may be considered the definition of the position of the ultra Republican leaders. We have little doubt that 'the great lodge' of Republicans are willing to unite in the election of a President with four classes of persons, under whatever party name they are now known, viz: those who originally belonged to the Liberty Nebraska bill, and are still hostile to that measure; those who resisted, and now condemn, the Kansas policy of Pierce; those who repudiated, and still denounce, the Lecompton swindle and its authors and abettors; and those who will strenuously and persistently resist Free-Soil legislation for the African slave trade, Congressional intervention in behalf of Slavery in the Territories, and the acquisition of foreign territory for the purpose of increase the power of Slavery in this country.'

"To obviate all doubt as to the character of the Presidential candidate it is willing to favor, the *Tribune* says 'he must be a man whose life and character were an assurance that, if elected, his Administration would energetically resist the attempts to extend the area or increase the power of Slavery in the Union.' This is a step nearer to the right position than we supposed the ultraism of the North would ever be brought. *There is a point beyond which needed to reach the compromise measures of 1850, which furnish the only sound and safe position we can regard for the country, and for all sections.* We want no more sectional agitation. The North has no need of it. The South is injured by it. The Sham Democracy party makes it a means of dividing the Opposition, and invariably wins whenever the canvass is allowed to turn upon that question. The course of the *Tribune*, representing the ultra portion of the Republican party, *affords some hope that Northern sentiment is approaching nearer and nearer to conservatism and satisfactoriality*, and that the canvass of 1860 will find in the field a great and powerful *national* party, with a bold sectionalism of all kinds defiance, and will smash the Sham Democracy and whole Opposition, and be enabled to control the result of the Presidential election."

This is the spirit of union which actuates the most liberal Southern Oppositionists. It is needless to demonstrate that it is the spirit which at co-operation in the election of President with such men. The *Tribune* has declared against the idea of surrendering the name of the Republican party, and against the abandonment of its characteristic principle of hostility to the extension of Slavery. The above article from the *Baltimore Clipper* is a well-established and somewhat unfair statement of the *Tribune's* position, in order to suit the immediate object in view. How idle, then, is the hope indulged by certain politicians on either side of the line, that the Republican party of the North can be brought into co-operation with the Southern Opposition, on the terms which the latter propose!

Nothing could be clearer to our minds than that a coalition formed on such terms, by the politicians, would be defeated by the people. The Republican party was organized on the one great idea of taking the Administration of the Federal Government out of the hands of the Slave-propagandists. Sham Democracy, in putting it into the hands of honest friends of Freedom. If the party leaders abandon this high purpose, and attempt to turn the power of the Republican organization to other and altogether different objects, they will soon find themselves without followers. Another party will take their place, which will pour into the shade the Buffalo secession from the Democratic ranks in 1848. Not a tithe of the Republicans would stoop to the dishonorable conditions proposed by the Southern Opposition. The back-bone of the Republican party is the Northern tier of States, and that back-bone will be broken the moment such concessions of principle are made as would enable the party to carry a Southern State. We are no sectionalists in feeling or principles; but the fact is indisputable, that Republicanism is a bugbear in the slaveholding States, and that any party in that region which allies itself with us will be doomed to overwhelming defeat.

We have no fear, and we repeat, that there is a good deal of latent Republicanism in the South; but it is unorganized, under the ban of proscription, and utterly incapable of independent action, except in a few cities on the Northern border. It is doomed to remain in this helpless condition until Republicanism is inaugurated at the capital. We may then look with confidence for its development in the South. The leaders of the Black Democracy know this, and hence their alarm.

Every genuine sympathizer with Republicanism in the South desires to see the party at the North stand fast by their principles, but in the spirit of justice, moderation, and liberality to all sections and classes.

One of the editors of the New York *Commercial* recently visited the prison at Sing Sing. He remarks that the majority of the female prisoners in the prison-child. This is a beautiful boy, about two years old, born in prison of a convict mother, who was sent there for passing counterfeit money. He is the pet of the prison, and the admiration of every visiter. A short time since, a wealthy Southern lady offered to adopt the child. The boy would be virtually elected, there cannot be a shadow of a doubt."

THE REVIEW.

Plutarch's Lives. The Translation called Dryden's Corrected from the Greek, and Revised by A. H. Clough. Five Volumes. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co.

We have here a new edition, by an accomplished Oxford scholar, of Plutarch's lives, in five octavo volumes, printed upon the best paper, and in a type and style of very superior excellence.

The work is prefaced by a biography of Plutarch, accompanied by notes, and concluded with a good index. So far as respects the mechanical merits of the book, it may be properly classified, and this judgment is as applicable to the texture, body, and purity, of the paper, as to the quality and character of the typography.

Of all the works of antiquity, the lives of Plutarch have probably exerted most influence over very many distinguished characters of modern times; and we doubt whether now, in the wide range of the literature of the ancients, a work can be named so generally read by the young men of the world as are these biographies by Plutarch, or which, when read, afford an equal stimulant to their ambition.

Independent of the inherent difficulty of translating a work of an ordinary Greek writer into English, there is, in the case of Plutarch, others, arising from the errors and imperfections with which the early manuscripts abound, and from the peculiar involvement of his sentences, so interwoven, one with the other, as to extend his periods to great lengths, taxing at once the skill of the translator to discantangle and break them into parts, or to give them such a literal rendering as to make good, readable English.

Great, therefore, as has been the demand for a good translation, no one had, as yet, been furnished, according, in all respects, with the requisitions of criticism, until the appearance of the present edition. This version has for its basis that called Dryden's, though no one of the five volumes of the work is entirely the distinguished poet. For the edition bearing his name, the great poet wrote, in his very best manner, the Epistle Dedicatory and the Life of Plutarch; the Lives themselves were translated by as many as forty different hands—some of them distinguished as poets, wits, and scholars, in various departments of literature—and among them men famous almost as any on the rolls of England's worthies. Mr., afterwards Lord John Somers, whose great name so conspicuously honors English history, translated the *Life of Alcibiades*.

Notwithstanding the *eclat* by which this work of Dryden's was heralded at the time, its translations were the smooth versions, learned, and, taken as a whole, might be considered more as a bookseller's job than as a publication, upon the perfection of which the translators staked their characters as authors and scholars.

Boon was therefore left for further adventurers in the same field, and accordingly, though repeatedly published, Dryden's version had been printed, and on several occasions revised, the brothers John and William Laughorne, about 1760, gave a new translation, with notes, Plutarch's Biography, and a copious index.

This later translation, though dull and feebly written, was supposed to be, on the whole, a more faithful rendering of the Greek into English than any former one, and has in the main, through numerous editions, kept possession of our libraries ever since.

Thus rapidly noticing the *Englished* editions of Plutarch's Lives, we come, finally, to Mr. Clough, it may be as well for us to state that George Long, a distinguished Cambridge scholar, and the writer of many of the articles for Smith's celebrated Dictionaries of Greek and Roman Antiquities and of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, translated Plutarch's lives into smooth volumes, between 1844 and 1848, at London, the lives of so many of Plutarch's heroes as were connected with the civil wars of Rome, with very valuable notes, illustrative of the text and of the history of those times.

Mr. Long, who is a fine scholar and writer, as well as a profound and enlightened thinker, had translated and edited the whole work of Plutarch as he has done this part of it, there would, in our opinion, have been no necessity for the edition by Mr. Clough, placed at the head of this notice.

Prior to the translations we have mentioned, and in the young, vigorous manhood of our literature, Sir Thomas North gave us, from the French of Amyot, an English translation of Plutarch, the first in our language. This is in good, racy old English, was published at London, 1579, and was the Plutarch of William Shakspeare—the mine from which he derived the materials for his Roman Historical plays—and from which most of his Greek and Roman lore appears to have been acquired.

Well does the writer of this remember with what interest, many years ago, he took up the play of Antony and Cleopatra and the Roman plays of Shakspeare, on the one hand, and the lives of Antony, Brutus, Cæsar, &c., by Plutarch, on the other, and traced the allusions, incidents, and characterizations of the great dramatist to their sources, in these ancient biographies as *Englished* by Thomas North.

Well may Englishmen and their offspring cherish Plutarch's Lives, if for no other reason than that in them is to be found the origin of one of the mightest combinations of human genius, and the truest representations of the might and majesty of their English tongue.

From such a comparison of parts of these translations as we have found leisure to make we have no hesitation in saying that the one revised by Mr. Clough, now under consideration, is the most faithful to the original, and, it seems to us faithful to the original, whilst it is clear, strong, and idiomatic. The revision of the Dryden text has evidently not been a nominal one, but close, rigid, and severe, with the text of the old Greek biographer every moment by his side and at his elbow, and with such aid as he could derive from the great collections in the literature and bibliography of Greece and Rome since former translations were made. It does not pretend to be an entire new translation, though it is probably as accurate a rendering of the original as can well be made, consistently with the idioms of the two languages and the peculiarities of the style of Plutarch.

The notes are for the most part in appendices at the end of each volume, and are not numerous, or rather not extended, but always have the merit of illustrating the text, and, whilst brief and pertinent, are at times eminently philosophic and suggestive, dissipating by a hint, a cloud of apparent obscurity, and throwing a volume of light upon the subject-matter and its relations.

Taken as a whole, it is unquestionably the best edition of Plutarch's Lives in English, though not superior to those parts of the same work heretofore noticed as translated by Mr. Long, of whose labors in the same field, Mr. Clough appears to have availed himself. The index, though full, is one of mere reference, and could be improved by making it analytic. The index of such an edition of such a work should be an analysis of the whole.

Plutarch himself, of whom very little is certainly known, was a man of great, good, amiable, and noble-minded man, with a mind imbued with the true heroic sensibility, delighting to honor virtue and to record and extol virtuous action.

He was a philosopher and moralist, and, though strictly belonging to none of the ancient schools, reverenced above all others the teachings and characters of Socrates and Plato, and piously set apart the birthdays of these purest of the ancient teachers for a holy celebration. Nowhere in ancient literature are lessons of the true heroic, in action and contemplation, so constantly and so invitingly inculcated and held up for our emulation, as in the pages of Plutarch. And no other writer of antiquity has contributed so largely to the formation of the heroic character in modern days.

Napoleon was one of Plutarch's men; and Pitt, the great Earl of Chatham, was formed after the Plutarchian model, and declared, in one of his celebrated letters to his nephew, Lord Camelford, that of all the works of antiquity, the Lives of Plutarch were the greatest, and contributed most to the formation of virtuous and exalted character.

Our immortal Bard, the great Shakspeare, was evidently a close reader of him, and Montaigne, the greatest thinker of his age, and one of the immortal names of the world, valued him above all other writers, and declared, that he never seriously settled himself to the study of any book of solid learning excepting Plutarch and one or two others. It is a little curious that two of the most learned Shakspeare commentators have been Plutarch's Lives and the writings of Montaigne, Plutarch's great admirer—his copy of Montaigne, then translated into English, being still in existence, in which is inscribed one of the few of the immortal bard's autographs yet remaining.

There have been those, who, mistaking with a single blindness the great merits of the work for defects, have severely criticised Plutarch's Lives, (and what work of God or man has not thus been criticised?) But the best answer to such criticisms is, if an answer be at all needed, that these Lives have continued their controlling hold upon the world, have exerted an exciting influence over the minds of men capable of exaltation, far exceeding that of any other work of antiquity; and though forming a constant model for productions of a similar character in modern days, and provoking numerous and elaborate attempts at imitation and rivalry, have never yet been approached in readable and instructive excellence. All similar attempts at biography have been comparative failures. Plutarch's Lives stand alone in their excellence, probably more entirely so than any other great masterpiece of human genius. Our Homers, and Miltons, and Dantes, and Shakspeares, with the illustrious roll of like kindred names, are conflicting rivals to one another among their respective advocates for the supremacy. But to Plutarch, the world has yet no rival to offer. In his sphere of excellence he has no competitor. By the admitted judgment of mankind, he stands alone.

Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co., have now furnished an edition of his great work worthy of its character.

The French Revolution of 1789, as viewed in the light of Republicanism. By John S. C. Abbott. With one hundred Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square. 1859.

The mass of the French people are a kind and generous race, and, if the French revolution is still a problem, it is probable that the country has never known an Administration more unpopular and distasteful to the sentiments of the Southern heart than Mr. Buchanan's.

While the politicians of all parties there have, one by one, with a few honorable exceptions, been driven or seduced, apparently for self-preservation, to take extreme grounds, and have been encouraged and sustained in their conduct by Federal power, the popular heart has been festering with dissatisfaction, both with its immediate representatives and with the National head at Washington.

The mind and feeling of the Southern people are evidently not in harmony with the men assuming to represent them, or with the system of measures propounded by agitators for their support.

There is a lurking discontent, as yet of chaotic and unanalyzed, everywhere manifest, which sooner or later must find an intelligible and efficient interpretation. Extreme and violent as have been the slavish devotion of politicians, local and Federal, Presidents and would-be-Presidents, in rivalry with one another for Southern support, based upon extreme Southern sentiment, it is to our mind clear that the mass of the Southern people have not been won by them, nor have they given them their confidence. There has been, behind the popular vote cast, a something unexpressed—a deep feeling of dissatisfaction—of which the vote has not been the proper exponent.

What will be the analysis of this dissatisfaction, or of the mode and place of expression it will ultimately find voice, we do not now pretend to say—our present object being only to indicate the fact of its existence.

INTERESTING LETTER FROM OREGON.

We insert the following letter from Oregon, not for the confident assurance which it gives of a Republican victory, for that is still a matter of doubt, but for the intimacy it gives of postcript, but we offer it as an intelligent account of the state of parties in that remote section of the Union, and for the explanation which it gives of the causes which led to the unexpected success of our friends. We call especial attention to the appeal made to the Republicans on this side of the Rocky Mountains, which is apprehend that when the time arrives he will find a sufficient reason for voting or amending the laws which punish the slave trade as piracy, as he may safely do without any risk of perjury. Mr. Douglas must therefore write another letter.

BARGAIN AND CORRUPTION.—The *Star* of this city professes to have possession of facts proving conclusively that Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, the member of Congress, and Mr. Forney, of Pennsylvania, have entered into a bargain, by which the former is to be elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the latter clerk of that body. In order to carry out the terms of this agreement, Mr. Forney is to bring the seven or eight Anti-Lecompton Democrats to the support of Mr. Sherman for Speaker, while the latter is to guaranty the support of the Republicans to Mr. Forney. The *Star* accompanies this statement with the following comment: "We know not how far the gentlemen whose votes have been formally sold are themselves parties to the bargain." As the *Star* has not derived its information from any one of the gentlemen whose votes are to be sold, it is quite clear that either Mr. Forney or Mr. Sherman has been so foolish as to make a confidant of the editor of the *Star!* A beautiful story, indeed! Is it not singular that newspapers, whose interest it is to acquire a reputation for truth and fairness, should, from sheer partisan malignity and suspicion, set forth slanders so palpably absurd? What are your facts? Produce them.

A SENSATION ITEM.—That Gov. Chase arrived at the National Hotel, Washington, *incog.*, as was specially telegraphed to a Boston paper, at second-hand from the New York *Herald*. How did Mr. Chase visit your city, a place where he had resided for six years? Did he visit Doctor Bailey's family—old friends—*incog.?* Was it because he was *incog.* that the *Herald* correspondent knew just how he felt about the Dred Scott decision? Was he in disguise, he would have been about as *incog.* in Washington as the President himself, when he is not disguised.—*Columbus (Ohio) State Journal.*

We will add to the above, that Governor Chase walked to the *Era* office and back to the Hotel, a distance of nearly half a mile, and to we know not how many other places, in broad daylight, by day and night, without any mask or other disguise, he was not generally recognised by hundreds of men who have been familiar with his person for years.

Presidential Candidates; containing Sketches, Biographical, Personal, and Political, of Prominent Candidates for the Presidential Nomination. By John S. Jenkins. New York: A. B. Burdick, publisher, 8 Spruce street. 1859.

This volume deserves a more particular notice than we have space to give to it to-day. It is a neat octavo of 360 pages, and embraces a large amount of valuable information for all parties and sections. The names of the gentlemen whose lives are briefly sketched are as follows: William H. Seward, Stephen A. Douglas, Salmon P. Chase, Edward Bates, Daniel S. Dickinson, John Bell, John C. Hale, Alexander Stephens, N. P. Banks, Andrew Johnson, John McLean, Henry A. Wise, R. M. T. Hunter, Henry Wilson, Jefferson Davis, James L. Orr, John Minor Botts, James H. Hammond, Howell Cobb, John C. Breckinridge, John C. Fremont.

Besides accurate details of the personal and political history of these distinguished gentlemen, the book contains extracts from their writings and speeches upon the leading topics of the day; so that no one can mistake their positions. "The names of Messrs. Pierce and Buchanan," says the author, "are omitted, as men who have gone through a campaign, and through a Presidential term." A favorable and friendly view is taken of each of the candidates, but no one falling into the nauseous vice of indiscriminate eulogy. Mr. Bartlett deserves credit for the skill and taste with which he has touched the salient points of character, and presented the men to view by a few strokes of the pen. The book commends itself to all parties.

MR. STEPHENS, OF GEORGIA.—A gentleman from Mr. Stephens's district, on his way North, gave it as his opinion, in the course of conversation with a friend in this city a few days ago, that his success in declining a nomination for Congress was the well-grounded doubt of his re-election, if again a candidate.

Mr. Stephens was regarded and denounced by many of his old friends as a renegade from his true principles, and as such had lost their confidence.

Quietly, in the social politics of his district, his conduct was very generally and freely commented upon, and a powerful opposition was being concentrated against him, which would in all probability, have resulted in his defeat, had he been in the field. So says a Georgian.

He also represents Senator Iverson as extremely unpopular—alleging that his own friends regard his course as too weak for his position, and gives it as his opinion, that the Opposition is very powerful, and that it will be shortly united upon principles so broad as to sweep the Iversons and Stephens's, and that class of politicians, from the public counsels. They are regarded as narrow-minded men, and as proving by their conduct, ultra views of public policy, that they are too little for the wants and exigencies of the country. Our informant expects to see this whole class of men in Georgia shortly swept from power.

From the whole tenor of the conversation to which we have referred, and which was extended to great length, we infer that there is a prevailing discontent in Georgia, and that throughout a large part of the South, with the men who have for some years past there dominated politically; that this discontent embraces measures as well as men, and that it will at no distant day assume a form potent for radical change.

Blindly subservient as have been the two recent Administrations to what was supposed the interests and passions of the South—one following in the footsteps of the other with progressive intensity—it is probable that the country has never known an Administration more unpopular and distasteful to the sentiments of the Southern heart than Mr. Buchanan's.

While the politicians of all parties there have, one by one, with a few honorable exceptions, been driven or seduced, apparently for self-preservation, to take extreme grounds, and have been encouraged and sustained in their conduct by Federal power, the popular heart has been festering with dissatisfaction, both with its immediate representatives and with the National head at Washington.

The mind and feeling of the Southern people are evidently not in harmony with the men assuming to represent them, or with the system of measures propounded by agitators for their support.

There is a lurking discontent, as yet of chaotic and unanalyzed, everywhere manifest, which sooner or later must find an intelligible and efficient interp

POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE.

REVIVAL OF THE SLAVE TRADE.—A Convention of the Democratic party, says the Port Gibson *Reveille*, of Claiborne county, Miss., pursuant to a call, met in the town of Port Gibson on Monday the 8th inst.

Among the resolutions adopted are the following:

"*Resolved*, That we deem it due to exact justice, equal and exact, and sound policy, to declare as the voice of this meeting, that so much of the 29th article of the Revised Code of this State as declares against the legal traffic, and forbids the bringing into this State of slaves from beyond the limits of the United States, under the penalty of $1,000, ought to be expunged from the statutes; and regarding the said enactment as an endorsement of Federal usurpation, as a reflection upon the institution of Slavery, and as being contrary to sound Southern policy, we do further declare it to be the sense of this meeting that the Legislature of this State ought to repeal said enactment at its approaching regular session."

SLAVE CODE.—Senator Brown, of Mississippi, claims a prior right to Gov. Wise's slave-code-for-the-Territories hobby. As far back as June, 1848, he uttered in the House of Representatives the following views. He said:

"The conclusion, Mr. Chairman, to which my mind has arrived on the several points involved are briefly these: That every citizen of the United States may go to the Territories, and take with him his property, black or white, or any other description of property. That neither the United States Congress nor Territorial Legislature has any power to prohibit or exclude it; and that the power of legislation, by whomsoever exercised, in the Territories, whether by Congress or the Territorial Legislature, must be exerted for the protection of all—for the Southern slaveholder no less than for the Northern dealer in dry goods."

Again, at Elwood Springs, in 1850, he said: "We are prepared to demand the same right to go into all the Territories with our slave property that citizens of the free States have to go with any species of property, and we should demand for our property the same protection that is given to the property of our Northern brethren. No more, no less."

These views of Mr. Brown were then regarded, even in the South, as impracticable and illiberal; at this day, every Southern man who rejects them is suspected of Free-Soilism.

GOV. CHASE.—The New York *Herald* expresses the opinion that Gov. Chase is the most prominent candidate for the Republican nomination for the next Presidency of all thus far named.

SENATOR SEWARD.—The South, says the St. Louis *Bulletin*, evidently is preparing itself for the Presidency of Mr. Seward. A correspondent of the Charleston *Mercury* speaks of him as "a gentleman of polished manners and almost matchless intellect."

HON. J. M. BOTTS.—The Baltimore *Clipper* and the Richmond *Morning News* place the name of Mr. Botts at the head of their columns as a candidate for the Presidency.

SENSITIVE.—The Virginians, of all parties and factions, appear to sympathize with Gov. Wise in his misfortune with the Donnelly letter. They appear to think that the honor of the State of Virginia is touched by the unofficially placed upon that letter by the outside world, and that the Secretary of the Navy is now hurrying the preparation of such of the vessels as are yet in the Gosport Navy Yard.

The amount of money in the Treasury subject to draft on the week ending August 15th, was $4,172,000.

It is understood that the contractor for carrying the California mails has recently secured the Post Office Department that his engagement will be fulfilled. The Government is determined that the mails shall be transported by that route. George Law is said to be the backer of the actual contractor, Johnson.

A REPUBLICAN CIRCULAR.—The Republican Circular which has found its way into the public journals, as of the date of August 16, was not issued until the 20th of May, by the National Republican Committee, which met at Albany at that period. The Argus-eyed press of New York has for once been imposed upon.

WASHINGTON ITEMS.

SENATOR DOUGLAS.—We understand that, in private conversation, Senator Douglas gives utterance to sentiments still more heretical, if possible, to the Lecompton standard of orthodoxy than he has yet thought proper to make public. In the presence of Democrats and Republicans, a few evenings since, he ridiculed the idea that the Constitution carries Slavery into the Territories, or that the Dred Scott case has so decided; or, if it had so decided, that it would amount to anything. We understand, also, that he denies the right of Congress to exclude slavery from the unorganized Territories; that they would in such a case be trespassers. This position, by the way, would seem to spoil his theory of popular sovereignty. That is a strange sort of sovereignty which depends entirely upon the will of Congress. He insists that it requires a special enactment of the Territorial Legislature to establish Slavery.

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The Paris correspondent of the *Daily News* says that hitherto no arrangements have been made for the transport of troops to Italy, and that the Government is determined that the mails shall be transported by that route. George Law is said to be the backer of the actual contractor, Johnson.

TWO DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

The royal mail steamship *Asia*, Capt. Lott, which sailed from Liverpool at one o'clock P. M. on the 16th instant, arrived at New York at noon on Thursday.

The steamships Arago and Weser, from New York, arrived at Southampton on the morning of the 4th instant, within an hour or so of each other.

The Vigo reached Queenstown about midnight on the 3d, and Liverpool about 24 hours later.

The Conference at Zurich.—It is announced that the Conference at Zurich would be opened on Monday, the 8th of August.

Count Colloredo, the representative of Austria at the Conference, passed through Dresden on the 4th, on the way from Vienna for Zurich.

M. Pinelli, the representative of the Court of Sardinia. He first visited Paris, and had been well received by the Emperor.

M. de Bray, representative of Bavaria for Zurich, to attend the Conference on behalf of France.

Great Britain.—Parliamentary proceedings had been mainly confined to discussions upon the supplies, all of which had been duly voted in accordance with the Ministerial estimates. Included in the supplies are £180,000 towards a direct telegraph to Gibraltar; £10,000 to aid in the conversion of the copper currency into one of bronze; £5,000 compensation to Mr. Barkely, authorized by parliamentary grant, for a service of which he was afterwards found to be innocent, &c. &c.

Earl Cowley is announced that Government intended to adhere to the principles upon which the system of national education in Ireland had hitherto been conducted.

The Bill for the suppression of the Slave Trade, as amended by the Commons, will be reserved for the army. The volunteers are to be enrolled for a period of five years.

It is stated that the "Great Eastern" steamship will be taken up by the company to the contractors, in an entirely complete condition, on Thursday, the 18th of August.

The Sardinian Government has consented to go to India as a member of the Council, and also as Chancellor of the India Exchequer.

A deputation of the Cotton Supply Association, Earl of Ellesmere in the chair, waited on Newcastle, for the purpose of urging the encouragement of cotton culture in the British colonial possessions.

The strike in the building trade in London daily became more serious, and it was feared that, on the day the Asia sailed, there would be a general turn out. The demand made by the trade unemployed. A great meeting of workmen had been held in Hyde Park, and a determination was evinced to abide by the "nine hours" movement. The employers had likewise had a meeting, and resolved to resist the demands of the men.

France.—The Bank of France on the 4th instant reduced its rate of discount to 3½ per cent, and also passed a resolution to make advances on the security of the stock for three next payments against the deposites of the securities.

It is stated that the Emperor would not enter Paris at the head of the troops, because a Cabinet and Privy Council urge that he would incur too much risk by exposing himself for so long a time.

Bodies of French troops were continually arriving at Marseilles from Italy.

The *Moniteur de la Flotte* announces that orders had been given to the French commercial ports to proceed immediately with the disarmament of all vessels armed or in the course of fitting for the service of the African coast.

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THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

G. BAILEY, Editor and Proprietor.
D. R. GOODLOE, *Assistant Editor.*
J. G. WHITTIER, *Corresponding Editor.*

Vol. XIII. Sunday, January, 1859.

The *National Era* is about to enter upon its Thirteenth volume.

Twelve years ago, when the Discussion of the Question of Slavery was practically prohibited in this District, the *Era* was commenced for the purpose of asserting and defending the Rights of Discussion, and of giving fair expression to Anti-Slavery Sentiments. In the House of Representatives, John Quincy Adams and Joshua R. Giddings alone gave it moral support; in the Senate, it found not a single well wisher; while outside of Congress it stood here, solitary and unsustained, under ban and menace. A conflict followed, in which an excited population sought to suppress it by violence, but it resisted the storm, maintained its position, and from that hour the Liberty of the Press was established in the District of Columbia.

Twelve years have passed, and to-day, the *Era* finds twenty among the most distinguished members of the Senate, elected to carry out the Principles of the Anti-Slavery Conscience, and the House almost controlled by Representatives, with whom it can consistently and heartily act as a coadjutor.

While the cause it has advocated has advanced so rapidly, I am constrained to say that the *Era*, since the advent of the Republican party, has not advanced in its pecuniary interests. Influential newspapers, once in opposition, but now united in the same movement, and as a Democratic journal, upholding kindred sentiments, naturally engross a large portion of Republican patronage.

This was to be expected, but still I think there is room for improvement, and I hope to continue to be sustained. It was the first Press in the country to the standard of Freedom in the Capital of the Republic. For twelve years it has been identified with the Anti-Slavery cause, and especially represents the Anti-Slavery element of the Republican Party. Although independent in its Editorial organization, it was the first paper to advocate a general union of the Opponents of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, in a Democratic Journal; took a leading part in the formation of the Republican Party, and, while holding itself at liberty to [illegible] what is considered blameworthy, [illegible] was uniformly attached at its time to the principles. It has never been a burden to its friends, never solicited, nor at [illegible] any time would have been willing to [illegible] any kind of official or congressional patronage, has always been self-sustaining. From the Office of the Era, I have repeatedly that shall enable it to retain a position gained by so much effort, and to continue to wield an influence which, I trust, has not been exerted for evil.

The coming year will be a critical one for the Republican cause. Strong efforts will be made to control the Anti-Slavery Party, and to the views of those, who, unwilling to support the Administration, do not yet appreciate the nature or objects of our movement. Squatter Sovereignty, Know Nothingism, Pro-Slavery Democracy, and Whiggery, are all working together for the construction of a platform, from which shall be excluded the Anti-Slavery ideas that very element which gave birth and gives vitality to the Republican Party. Can the *Era* be dispensed with at such a period?

Its contributors will be continued to our columns; and with pleasure we announce that we have engaged as Assistant Editor, DANIEL R. GOODLOE, a native of North Carolina, a resident of the Capital of the Nation, and a publisher of the Anti-Slavery Cause.

The Literary Department of the paper will be conducted by JOHN G. WHITTIER, who, in the course of publication, "*Herman*" and "*Jasper*," will furnish a rich entertainment to our readers, for several months to come.

The Paper presents weekly a Summary of General News and Political Intelligence, keeps a careful record of the proceedings of Congress, and is a family paper, maintaining its place as most interesting speeches delivered in that body.

G. BAILEY.

Washington, D. C., Nov. 1, 1858.

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OUR HOUSES.
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Illustrations.—Gentleman's Costume—Cloak.

We must refer in terms of valuer to the high tone and varied excellences of Harper's Magazine, a journal with a position and influence which few periodicals, in whose pages are to be found some of the choicest literary productions of the day, and many of the ablest works as evidences of the American people, and the progress of the American mind. The September number contains fifty-four pages of instructive matter, appropriately illustrated by good wood-cuts; and it is issued punctually on the first monthly and the more philosophical quarterly blended in its pages, and its tone is as daily natural. It has great power in the creation and maintenance of a love of pure literature.—*Tuthmor's Guide to American Literature, Leader, 1852.*

Harper's Magazine is the sustained work of the kind in the language; that is to say, it is the only one in which the essays from the Editor's Table are above price. The general character of the work is such as to reason to doubt a long career of prosperity to the work.—*N. Y. Christian Advocate and Journal.*

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LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

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1 Corinthians	63	4 "	1 Peter	18	1 "
2 Corinthians	44	3 "	2

WASHINGTON, D. C.

TRACT NO. VI.

Published by the Republican Association of Washington, under the direction of the Congressional Republican Executive Committee.

OPPOSITION OF THE SOUTH TO THE Development of Oregon and of Washington Territory.

THE INTERESTS OF THE WEST.

Two votes were taken in the U. S. House of Representatives during its session last winter, one upon an appropriation for a road connecting the Missouri and Columbia rivers, and the other upon the publication of a geological report, the result of several years' exploration by Dr. Evans, under the orders of the Government, of the State of Oregon and Territory of Washington.

To exhibit these votes, with some brief comments upon the inferences which they naturally suggest, is the purpose of the present paper.

For the purpose of showing the military importance, and even necessity, of the construction of a road from Fort Benton on the Missouri, near the Great Falls of that river, to Fort Walla-Walla on the Columbia, the following extracts are made from a letter from the Secretary of War to the House Military Committee, under date of January 20, 1859:

"The numerous tribes of Indians in the Territories of Washington and Oregon, which have lately caused us a serious war, will undoubtedly require the presence there, for many years to come, of large bodies of troops, for the purpose of maintaining the quiet of the country and the safety of the settlers.

"A similar necessity will compel us to maintain a considerable force in the region along the upper Missouri and Red river of the North, to control the hostile bands of Dacotahs, Assiniboins, and Chippewas. With the present force of the army, it will probably be impossible to maintain, in each section, force sufficient to prevent the occasional outbreaks which may occur, and the consequent movement of troops will have to be kept up as heretofore. Troops in either of these sections can be moved across the country, by the route proposed, much more efficiently than by the circuitous route from either section to the adjacent seaboard, thence by water transportation to the other seaboard, and thence, by a considerable inland journey, to the place where they may be required. The advantages which this inland route thus offers would be constantly increasing with the advance of the settlements up the Missouri and Columbia, already taking place.

"The opening of the road through the mountain section would greatly increase the facilities for the settlement of the region; and communities would eventually be found sufficiently strong for their own security, and thus dispense with the necessity of military occupation. The passage of the troops from the East to the West, or the reverse, would be through the country of the most powerful of our Indian tribes, and, by the moral effect of such transit, would be the most effective preventive the occurrence of those wars, which are always attended with heavy expense.

"The near approach to each other of the navigable waters of the Missouri and Columbia rivers, renders the question of a communication for only about five hundred miles, will, in the event of a foreign war, make this route the most available in our territory for a wagon road, by which to transport the heavy supplies and munitions of war, as well as troops, which to guard the northern portion of the Pacific shore; while affording, in time of peace, facilities for the transportation of troops and supplies to the settlers with great rapidity, and at a cost *immensely* below that of the means at present used.

"Regarded as a measure of economy alone, this road possesses decided advantages. To move the ninth regiment of military from Fort Monroe, Virginia, to Fort Vaucouver, on the Columbia, cost $150,000; and before the troops arrived at the scene of their duties in the interior, the amount reached $200,000. Transportations are now stationed in the region of country with which the road connects. To keep the ranks filled, and to supply casualties, such as deaths and desertions, more than the equivalent of one regiment would have to be sent out annually, as recruits; for the average term of service, allowing for re-enlistments, would be less than four years. To move these troops from Fort Benton to Fort Walla-Walla would not take more than a month, and the cost of the movement would not exceed $100,000; while the men would reach their destination in good health, and fully prepared for service, by their daily duties on the march, instead of, after suffering the discomforts of a long sea voyage, through the tropics, for nearly five weeks, without drills and without discipline, in a condition little to take the field.

"It would seem, therefore, to be sound military policy to build the proposed road.

"The former appropriation of $50,000 for a road from Fort Benton to Fort Walla-Walla, made by the act of February 14, 1855, was quite inadequate to accomplish that object. It is in this section that a large portion of the difficulties of the proposed route are to be found; and the amount asked for in the bill, $350,000, is not deemed too great to effect the object designed.

"The effort was made, during the past session, to commence the opening of the road between Fort Walla-Walla and Fort Benton, but proved unavailing, from the hostility of the Indian hostilities in Washington Territory."

Twenty-five days afterwards, on the 24th of February, the Secretary of War addressed the following letter to the Senate Military Committee:

"Attaching much importance to the military road from Fort Abercrombie, on Red river of the North, to Seattle, on Puget Sound, which the commission of which I feel warranted in recommending the whole amount of the appropriation asked for, $350,000, I would ask that an appropriation be made for that portion between Fort Benton and Fort Walla-Walla. It will take two seasons to complete the work; and economy will require that the party making the road should winter on the line of operations, during which time the party would be engaged in getting out timber for bridges, and other work of a permanent character.

"From the best estimates that I have been able to procure, I estimate that $200,000 will be required to complete this work, one-half of which will be sufficient to carry on operations until the meeting of the next Congress.

"Regarding this road a very important one in a military point of view, I recommend it to the favorable consideration of the committee."

Upon these military reasons, which had long governed the War Department, and which had led to the appropriation of $30,000 made February 8, 1855, but unexpended on account of Indian disturbances, the Military Committee of the Senate, through its chairman, Mr. Davis of Mississippi, on the 26th of February, reported the following addition, as an amendment, to the army appropriation bill:

"For the construction of a military road from Fort Benton to Walla-Walla, $100,000."

Mr. Davis is a sectional man, but he is a military man, and he was fresh from the administration of the Department, in which the necessity of this road is specially felt. He, in fact, stated this necessity more strongly than it was stated by the present Head of that Department; even saying, that without the proposed road, "*it would be impossible to conduct successfully a war, with San Francisco and the Columbia river, by way of the oceans we now have.*"

The amendment proposed by the Military Committee was agreed to in the Senate, without objection.

In the House, the several amendments made by the Senate were referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, who reported thereon, advising the House to non-concur in this appropriation for the Walla-Walla road.

The Committee of Ways and Means consisted of the following persons:

Messrs. Phelps of Missouri,
Letcher of Virginia,
Dowdell of Alabama,
Crawford of Georgia,
Maclay of New York,
Howard of Michigan,
Morrill of Vermont,
Davis of Maryland,
Phillips of Pennsylvania.

It appears, from subsequent votes in the House, that the first five named of these nine persons were opposed to the Walla-Walla appropriation.

The subject was also acted upon by the House Military Committee, who decided that an appropriation of $30,000 was, in the words of Mr. Bonham of South Carolina, "*amply sufficient,*" and the chairman of that committee moved to amend the Senate's amendment, so as to reduce the appropriation from $100,000 to $30,000.

The Military Committee consisted of the following persons:

Messrs. Faulkner of Virginia,
Savage of Tennessee,
Bonham of South Carolina,
Stanton of Ohio,
Curtis of Iowa,
Buffinton of Massachusetts,
McRae of Mississipi,
Marshall of Kentucky,
Pendleton of Ohio.

When the vote was finally taken upon concurring in the Senate amendment, Messrs. Faulkner, Savage, and Bonham, voted against it, Messrs. Stanton, Curtis, and Buffinton, voted for it, and Messrs. McRae, Marshall, and Pendleton, were absent, or at any rate, did not vote.

The House being in Committee of the Whole, March 1, upon the army appropriation bill, this amendment came under consideration, when the following proceedings took place, as reported in the *Globe*:

"Mr. Faulkner. I will state that this subject was under consideration in the Committee on Military Affairs, and they have authorized me to prepare a bill appropriating $30,000 for the construction of this road from Fort Benton to Walla-Walla. I move to amend the amendment of the Senate, by striking out $100,000, and inserting $30,000 in lieu thereof.

"The amendment to the amendment was disagreed to.

"Mr. Bonham. I would say to the committee that $30,000 is amply sufficient and wholly asked for this work; and the Committee on Military Affairs were of opinion that that amount would be amply sufficient. And, under the present pressure upon the Treasury, I do not think that more ought to be appropriated.

"Mr. Grow. Everybody knows that $30,000 will not build this road.

Mr. Garnett. It is well known that this is a mere pretext for a commercial road; and I ask the division on the amendment.

"Tellers were ordered.

"The Committee divided, and the tellers reported—ayes 75, noes 44.

"So the amendment was concurred in."

This was a very decisive vote, nearly two to one, but the opposition was so far determined and uncompromising, that on the next day the yeas and nays were taken in the House upon the amendment, and with the following result:

Yeas—Messrs. Abbott, Adams, Ahl, Anderson, Andrews, Arnold, Barr, Bennett, Billinghurst, Blair, Bliss, Bowie, Brayton, Buffinton, Burlingame, Cavanaugh, Chaffee, Chapman, Ezra Clark, Horace F. Clark, Clark B. Cochrane, Colfax, Comins, Covode, James Craig, Curtis, Davis of Maryland, Davis of Massachusetts, Dawes, Dean, Dick, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Elliott, English, Eustis, Farnsworth, Fenton, Gilman, Gilmore, Goodwin, Gooch, Goodwin, Granger, Greenwood, Gregg, Groesbeck, Grover, Grow, Robert B. Hall, Harlan, Harris, Hatch, Hawkins, Hickman, Hoard, Hodges, Horton, Howard, Hughes, Huyler, Owen, Jenkins, Jewett, Kellogg, Kelsey, Knapp, Landy Lawrence, Leach, Leidy, Lovejoy, McKibbin, Matteson, Montgomery, Morgan, Morrill, Edward Joy Morris, Freeman H. Morse, Oliver A. Morse, Mott, Murray, Niblack, Nichols, Olin, Palmer, Parker, Pike, William W. Phelps, Phillips, Pike, Potter, Pottle, Purviance, Ready, Reagan, Reilly, Ritchie, Robbins, Royce, Scott, John Sherman, Robert Smith, Spinner, Stanton, Stevens, Stewart, William Stewart, Tappan, George Taylor, Thayer, Thompson, Wade, Walbridge, Waldron, Walton, Cadwalader C. Washburn, Elihu B. Washburne, Israel Washburn, Woodson, and Worcester—121.

Nays—Messrs. Avery, Bocock, Bonham, Boyce, Branch, Caskie, Cobb, Cockerill, Burton Craige, Crawford, Davis of Indiana, Davis of Iowa, Dowdell, Edmundson, Faulkner, Garnett, Garvell, Lawrence W. Hall, Hopkins, Houston, Jackson, George W. Jones, Jacob M. Kunkel, John C. Kunkel, Lamar, Leiter, Letcher, Maclay, McQueen, Samuel S. Marshall, Maynard, Miles, Millson, Moore, Isaac N. Morris, Peyton, John S. Phelps, Powell, Ricaud, Ruffin, Russell, Savage, Scales, Seward, Aaron Shaw, Henry M. Shaw, Singleton, Samuel A. Smith, William Smith, Stevenson, Talbot, Miles Taylor, Tompkins, Underwood, Vallandigham, Vance, Watkins, Winslow, Augustus R. Wright, John Y. Wright, and Zollicoffer—61.

The vote in the Republican ranks, with four exceptions, was given in favor of the amendment, although the effect of it was to give to the Administration the control and patronage of a considerable expenditure.

The vote on the amendment, although not exclusively sectional, is so to a degree, which renders it certain that sectional views had a preponderating influence over it.

Of the sixty-three members from the slave States, twenty and two only voted; the eight not recorded in the negative, and only fifteen in the affirmative, and of these fifteen, five, or one-third, were from Missouri, and the representatives from that State could hardly refuse their support to an appropriation which may lead to navigation on the Missouri river with the head of navigation on the Columbia river. Outside of Missouri, only ten representatives from the slave States sustained the Senate amendment, and of these three were from Texas, a Democratic party. And of the five-eating and disunion cabal which controls that party, not a single one sustained the Senate amendment.

If the one hundred and twenty-one members of the non-slave States, present and voting, gave one hundred and eight are recorded in the affirmative, and only thirteen in the negative.

The explanation of the sectional cast of the vote, as now presented, is to be found in the apprehension expressed by Mr. Garnett of Virginia, that a "*commercial road*" was the thing aimed at. At any rate, he and others perceived that a "*commercial road*" would be the thing accomplished by the proposed appropriation upon which it was put, were "*pretexts,*" or not.

Aside from this special consideration, all the general considerations applicable to the question, addressed themselves with equal force to both sides of the House. If the road was needed for the military occupation and government of troops to the Pacific, that was a reason for it, as interesting to one section of the country, as to the other. If the condition of the treasury dictated a postponement of the requisite outlay, it was a reason for delaying it, as at least as cogent with the North as with the South. It is only when we come to the aspect of the road, as a "*commercial road,*" that the peculiar hostility of the representatives from the slave States is explained.

The Missouri river offers an uninterrupted and good steamboat navigation for twenty-five hundred miles to the Falls, and from Fort Benton, near the Falls, a practicable and easy land route of five hundred miles across a country susceptible of settlement everywhere, and capable of it a country likely to attract population, conducts to Walla-Walla on the Columbia, and from Walla-Walla, emigration may spread itself, with impetuous rapidity, over and inviting regions of Oregon and Washington. This may be said to be the natural line of emigration to the Pacific, indicated upon the map by the interlocking of the head streams of the Missouri and Columbia. The road which had led to the appropriation of $30,000 made February 8, 1855, but unexpended on account of Indian disturbances, the Military Committee of the Senate, through its chairman, Mr. Davis of Mississippi, on the 26th of February, reported the following addition, as an amendment, to the army appropriation bill:

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Nays—Messrs. Anderson, Atkins, Barksdale, Bishop, Bocock, Bonham, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Bullinton, Burnett, Caruthers, Caskie, Cobb, Akin Clark, Cockerill, Burton Craige, Crawford, Curry, Davis of Mississippi, Dean, Dowdell, Elliot, Foley, Foster, Garnett, Garvell, Gilmer, Greenwood, Groesbeck, Robert B. Hall, Harris, Hawkins, Hickman, Hopkins, Houston, Jenkins, Jewett, George W. Jones, Owen Jones, Keitt, Kilgore, John C. Kunkel, Landy, Lawrence, Leiter, McQueen, Humphrey Marshall, Samuel S. Marshall, Miles, Miller, Millson, Moore, Isaac N. Morris, Niblack, Peyton, Phillips, Pike, Powell, Ready, Reagan, Ruffin, Sandidge, Savage, Henry M. Shaw, John Sherman, Shorter, Robert Smith, William Smith, Stallworth, Stephens, Stevenson, Thayer, Tompkins, Trippe, Vallandigham, Vance, Watkins, White, Wilson, Winslow, Wood, Worden, Wydyn, Augustus R. Wright, and Zollicoffer—87.

Of the sixty-four Southern members present and voting, only eleven, or only about one-sixth, voted to lay the motion to reconsider on the table.

Of the seventy-one Republican members present and voting, all except twelve voted to lay the motion to reconsider on the table, and this is the more noticeable, inasmuch as they had a purely sectional question to think pro- ing jobs, that patronage being in the hands of their political opponents.

For laying Mr. Jones's motion to reconsider on the table:

Yeas.

From the free States	83
From the slave States	11

Nays.

From the free States	34
From the slave States	53

Of the eleven slave-State votes in the affirmative, four were from Missouri, including Mr. Blair, four were South Americans, and of the remaining three, only one, Mr. Smith of Tennessee, belonge to the Southern Democratic cabal. Mr. Smith was chairman of the Printing Committee, and his kindly feeling for the public printer seems, on this occasion, to have been stronger than the attracting affinity of his political associates, the five.

The fact is thus certain, that there was some common course of reasoning, or some common instinct, operating upon the Southern members of the House, to induce them to oppose as a body a proposition, the consideration which would tend to attract population to Oregon and Washington. It was the same course of reasoning, or the same instinct, as that which, soon afterwards, induced them to vote as a body against the Fort Benton and Walla-Walla road. The signs of a common intelligence are too numerous and too marked, to permit the idea of an accidental concurrence. And we shall find, upon examination, that the basis of this common intelligence has relations with the course of public affairs upon questions which, upon a casual observation of them, seem to have no connection with Oregon and Washington.

Let us now examine the record of a vote taken in the House, January 13, upon the printing of Dr. Evans's geological report upon the Territories of Washington and Oregon.

In 1853, Dr. John Evans was employed by the Government to make a survey and exploration of those regions, and that work had been prosecuted to completion at a cost of forty-four thousand dollars. This report, also complete, was in the hands of the Committee of the Public Printing, and the cost of printing the regular number, fifteen hundred copies, was exactly computed, and amounted to seven thousand one hundred and forty dollars. Without the expenditure of this comparatively small sum, for the publication of the results of the exploration, the exploration might as well not have been made.

At the first session of the late Congress, the House passed a resolution to print Dr. Evans's report, but the resolution was suspended by a motion to reconsider, made by Mr. Jones of Tennessee; and it so happened that the vote upon the motion to reconsider was taken, when the appointed hour for the termination of the first session arrived.

At the second session, on the 13th of January, Mr. Davis of Indiana, having got possession of the House, in a speech of argument observes tions upon the importance and value of Dr. Evans's report, and, among other things, caused to be read the following extracts from a report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office:

"The report of Dr. Evans discloses the results of his reconnoissance and explorations, during four years and a half, highly favorable. Rich coal fields of semi-bituminous coal have been found in various places on Puget Sound, at Coose bay, and other navigable waters, and in other inland places, of an inexhaustible extent; he has also discovered, on a large tributary of the Columbia river, mountains of limestone, marble, gypsum, &c.

"The services rendered by the geologist to the country, in the exploration of vast ranges of Oregon and Washington Territories, and some of their localities, hitherto unvisited by scientific explorers, have been highly commended by repeated legislative resolutions in Oregon and Washington. Reports have been greatly appreciated by persons engaged in commercial, agricultural, and mining pursuits, who have urged the importance of geological explorations by Dr. Evans; and considering his labors eminently useful in a scientific point of view, as well as of subserving the interests of the Pacific shore, by indicating the localities of the country possessing mineral and agricultural wealth for our enterprising citizens, the recommendations of Dr. Evans's explorations, in the opinion of this office, are worthy of the approbation and fostering care of this Government.

"The geologist of the report is thinly present, either what has been done in the way of exploration and development of coal deposits under appropriations by Congress is to go for nothing, and remain useless, or be brought to light in another way than as proposed by further appropriations, to close the business and make the results available.

"The effect of the latter measure will be to open up new sources of trade to active industry, in the enterprising cities on the Pacific; thereby furnishing the material for propulsion, essential in our rapidly growing steam commerce on the Pacific, at cheap rates, instead of the enormous cost of the article imported from the east.

"Even in this respect the measure will contribute eminently to the advantage of that distant portion of our territory, whilst it will subserve the interests of the whole country."

The Publication of Dr. Evans's report to Oregon and Washington of the publication of Dr. Evans's report, no other reply was made beyond the following suggestions by Mr. Davis of Mississippi:

"The Government is now embarrassed. It is doubtful whether it can provide for the wants of the Government for the next fiscal year without a loan. Would it, therefore, not be better to permit the manuscript to remain where it is on file, until the Government is in a better condition to meet the expenses? Would the manuscript be injured in a few years?"

These suggestions were flippant and impertinent, and, under the circumstances, insolent. Mr. Davis of Mississippi and his political friends, who were refusing to reduce any of the public establishments, and who were urging an expenditure of one hundred and fifty millions of dollars for Cuba, and who were refusing to make economical economy, with any prospect of imposing upon public credulity the absurd belief that frugality is one of their virtues.

For the purpose of extinguishing Mr. Jones's motion to reconsider, so that the order to print might be made, Mr. Davis, of the House, moved that the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and this motion prevailed by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Adrain, Ahl, Andrews, Arnold, Bennett, Billinghurst, Bingham, Blair, Bliss, Bowie, Burlingame, Chapman, Chaffee, Ezra Clark, Horace F. Clark, John B. Clark, Colfax, Comins, Corning, Covode, James Craig, Curtis, Davis of Indiana, Dawes, Dean, Dick, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Douglas, Eustis, Farnsworth, Fenton, Giddings, Gilla, Goodwin, Granger, Gregg, Lawrence W. Hall, Harlan, Haskin, Hatch, Hoard, Horton, Howard, Hughes, Huyler, Keim, Kelsey, Knapp, Jacob M. Kunkel, Leach, Leidy, Lovejoy, Matteson, Maynard, Montgomery, Morgan Morrill, Edward Joy Morris, Freeman H. Morse, Murray, Nichols, Olin, Palmer, Parker, Pike, Potter, Pottle, Purviance, Reilly, Ricaud, Ritchie, Robbins, Royce, Scott, John Sherman, Spinner, Stanton, James A. Stewart, William Stewart, Tappan, Thompson, Underwood, Wade, Walbridge, Waldron, Walton, Cadwalader C. Washburn, Elihu B. Washburne, Israel Washburn, and Woodson—94.

Nays—Messrs. Anderson, Atkins, Barksdale, Bishop, Bocock, Bonham, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Bullinton, Burnett, Caruthers, Caskie, Cobb, Akin Clark, Cockerill, Burton Craige, Crawford, Curry, Davis of Mississippi, Dean, Dowdell, Elliot, Foley, Foster, Garnett, Garvell, Gilmer, Greenwood, Groesbeck, Robert B. Hall, Harris, Hawkins, Hickman, Hopkins, Houston, Jenkins, Jewett, George W. Jones, Owen Jones, Keitt, Kilgore, John C. Kunkel, Landy, Lawrence, Leiter, McQueen, Humphrey Marshall, Samuel S. Marshall, Miles, Miller, Millson, Moore, Isaac N. Morris, Niblack, Peyton, Phillips, Pike, Powell, Ready, Reagan, Ruffin, Sandidge, Savage, Henry M. Shaw, John Sherman, Shorter, Robert Smith, William Smith, Stallworth, Stephens, Stevenson, Thayer, Tompkins, Trippe, Vallandigham, Vance, Watkins, White, Wilson, Winslow, Wood, Worden, Wydyn, Augustus R. Wright, and Zollicoffer—87.

Of the sixty-four Southern members present and voting, only eleven, or only about one-sixth, voted to lay the motion to reconsider on the table.

Of the seventy-one Republican members present and voting, all except twelve voted to lay the motion to reconsider on the table, and this is the more noticeable, inasmuch as they had a purely sectional question to think pro- ing jobs, that patronage being in the hands of their political opponents.

For laying Mr. Jones's motion to reconsider on the table:

Yeas.

From the free States	83
From the slave States	11

Nays.

From the free States	34
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Of the eleven slave-State votes in the affirmative, four were from Missouri, including Mr. Blair, four were South Americans, and of the remaining three, only one, Mr. Smith of Tennessee, belonge to the Southern Democratic cabal. Mr. Smith was chairman of the Printing Committee, and his kindly feeling for the public printer seems, on this occasion, to have been stronger than the attracting affinity of his political associates, the five.

The fact is thus certain, that there was some common course of reasoning, or some common instinct, operating upon the Southern members of the House, to induce them to oppose as a body a proposition, the consideration which would tend to attract population to Oregon and Washington. It was the same course of reasoning, or the same instinct, as that which, soon afterwards, induced them to vote as a body against the Fort Benton and Walla-Walla road. The signs of a common intelligence are too numerous and too marked, to permit the idea of an accidental concurrence. And we shall find, upon examination, that the basis of this common intelligence has relations with the course of public affairs upon questions which, upon a casual observation of them, seem to have no connection with Oregon and Washington.

Let us now examine the record of a vote taken in the House, January 13, upon the printing of Dr. Evans's geological report upon the Territories of Washington and Oregon.

In 1853, Dr. John Evans was employed by the Government to make a survey and exploration of those regions, and that work had been prosecuted to completion at a cost of forty-four thousand dollars. This report, also complete, was in the hands of the Committee of the Public Printing, and the cost of printing the regular number, fifteen hundred copies, was exactly computed, and amounted to seven thousand one hundred and forty dollars. Without the expenditure of this comparatively small sum, for the publication of the results of the exploration, the exploration might as well not have been made.

At the first session of the late Congress, the House passed a resolution to print Dr. Evans's report, but the resolution was suspended by a motion to reconsider, made by Mr. Jones of Tennessee; and it so happened that the vote upon the motion to reconsider was taken, when the appointed hour for the termination of the first session arrived.

At the second session, on the 13th of January, Mr. Davis of Indiana, having got possession of the House, in a speech of argument observes tions upon the importance and value of Dr. Evans's report, and, among other things, caused to be read the following extracts from a report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office:

"The report of Dr. Evans discloses the results of his reconnoissance and explorations, during four years and a half, highly favorable. Rich coal fields of semi-bituminous coal have been found in various places on Puget Sound, at Coose bay, and other navigable waters, and in other inland places, of an inexhaustible extent; he has also discovered, on a large tributary of the Columbia river, mountains of limestone, marble, gypsum, &c.

"The services rendered by the geologist to the country, in the exploration of vast ranges of Oregon and Washington Territories, and some of their localities, hitherto unvisited by scientific explorers, have been highly commended by repeated legislative resolutions in Oregon and Washington. Reports have been greatly appreciated by persons engaged in commercial, agricultural, and mining pursuits, who have urged the importance of geological explorations by Dr. Evans; and considering his labors eminently useful in a scientific point of view, as well as of subserving the interests of the Pacific shore, by indicating the localities of the country possessing mineral and agricultural wealth for our enterprising citizens, the recommendations of Dr. Evans's explorations, in the opinion of this office, are worthy of the approbation and fostering care of this Government.

"The geologist of the report is thinly present, either what has been done in the way of exploration and development of coal deposits under appropriations by Congress is to go for nothing, and remain useless, or be brought to light in another way than as proposed by further appropriations, to close the business and make the results available.

"The effect of the latter measure will be to open up new sources of trade to active industry, in the enterprising cities on the Pacific; thereby furnishing the material for propulsion, essential in our rapidly growing steam commerce on the Pacific, at cheap rates, instead of the enormous cost of the article imported from the east.

"Even in this respect the measure will contribute eminently to the advantage of that distant portion of our territory, whilst it will subserve the interests of the whole country."

The publication of Dr. Evans's report to Oregon and Washington of the publication of Dr. Evans's report, no other reply was made beyond the following suggestions by Mr. Davis of Mississippi:

"The Government is now embarrassed. It is doubtful whether it can provide for the wants of the Government for the next fiscal year without a loan. Would it, therefore, not be better to permit the manuscript to remain where it is on file, until the Government is in a better condition to meet the expenses? Would the manuscript be injured in a few years?"

These suggestions were flippant and impertinent, and, under the circumstances, insolent. Mr. Davis of Mississippi and his political friends, who were refusing to reduce any of the public establishments, and who were urging an expenditure of one hundred and fifty millions of dollars for Cuba, and who were refusing to make economical economy, with any prospect of imposing upon public credulity the absurd belief that frugality is one of their virtues.

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