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# THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 10, 1849.

For the National Era.

## SKETCHES OF MODERN REFORMS AND REFORMERS, IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

### NEW SERIES.

*Mrs. Elizabeth Fry—Mrs. Amelia Opie—Lady Noel Byron—Miss Harriet Martineau—Mrs. Mary Howitt.*

It would do injustice both to my own feelings and the facts of history, to leave it to be inferred, [illegible] that the Women of England have not furnished some of the purest and brightest names in the galaxy of Modern Reformers.

Looking ever so casually in this direction, what figure so promptly meets the eye as that of ELIZABETH FRY—the friend of the prisoner, the boundman, the lunatic, the beggar—who has been aptly named "the female Howard." Mrs. Fry hardly deserved more credit for the benevolent impulses of her heart, than for the dignity and urbanity of her manners. They were natural, for they were born with her. The daughter of John, and the sister of Joseph and Samuel Gurney, could hardly be else than the embodiment of that chasity which never falters, that philanthropy which embraces every form of human misery, and that amenity which proffers the cup of kindness with an angel's grace. In youth, her personal attractions, and the vivacity of her conversation, made her the idol of the social circle, and severe was her struggle in deciding whether to become the reigning belle of the neighborhood, or devote her life to assuaging the sorrows of a world of suffering and sin. Happily, she resolved that Humanity had higher claims upon her than Fashion. Her resolution once formed, she immediately entered upon the holy mission to which, for nearly half a century, she consecrated that abounding benevolence and winning grace, which, in her girlhood, were the pride of her parents and the delight of her companions.

Though her eye was ever open to discover, and her hand to relieve, all forms of sorrow, it was to the inmates of the mad-house and the penitentiary that she mainly devoted her exertions. Wonderful was her power over the insans! The keenest magnetic eye of the most experienced keeper paled and grew feeble in its sway over the raving maniac, compared with the tones of her magic voice. Equally marvellous was her influence over prisoners and felons. Many a time, in spite of the encore of vulgar turnkeys, and the positive assurances of respectable keepers, that her purse and even her life would be at stake, if she entered the wards and cells of the prison, she boldly went in amongst the swearing, quarrelling wretches, and, with the doors bolted behind her, encountered them with dignified demeanor and kindly words, that soon produced a state of order and repose which whips and chains had vainly endeavored to enforce. Possessing peculiar powers of eloquence, (why may not a woman be an "orator?") she used to assemble the prisoners, address them in a style of charming tenderness all her own, with blunt assent to regulations for their comfort which she proposed, shake hands with them, give and receive a blessing, return to the keeper's room, and be received by him with almost as much astonishment and awe as Darius exhibited towards Daniel, when he emerged from the den of lions.

In this way, Mrs. Fry became frequent examinations of the prisons of England. She pursued her holy work on the Continent, visiting prisons in France, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, and Prussia. In the early part of her career, she encountered both at home and abroad some rudeness, and many rebuffs. But her ever-present dignity, tact, and kindness, at length won the confidence and plaudits of the great majority of her own countrymen, and of many philanthropic and titled personages in other lands. She was a favorite of the Kinge of Prussia and Denmark—the former, when in England, paying her a complimentary visit at her own house. She sought and embraced frequent occasions to press, in person, the subject of her mission upon the attention of crowned heads and ministers of state. She accomplished a great work in the cause of Prison Reform, in ameliorating the Penal Code, and improving the condition of Convict Ships and Penal Colonies. Her special mouth-piece in Parliament was her brother-in-law, Mr. Buxton—her measures were supported by Mackintosh and other illustrious Senators—and it is the highest tribute to the dignity, zeal, and tact, and eloquence of her, over her enterprises, that they got the better of Sydney Smith's love of ridicule, and drew from him two or three hearty articles in their favor in the Edinburgh Review. This greatly useful and greatly beloved woman died in 1845, at the age of sixty-six. To her may be applied with equal propriety Burke's beautiful tribute to Howard:

"She has visited all Europe, not to survey the magnificence, the antiquities, or the curiosities of temples; not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the proportions of those edifices, on which princes and nobles, or nobler municipalities, have lavished their wealth in the pride of their hearts; but to dive into the depths of dungeons, to plunge into the infection of hospitals, to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the measure and to weigh the misery, depression, and contempt; to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to visit the forsaken, and to compare and estimate the sufferings of all men in all countries. Her plan is original: it is as full of genius as of humanity. It was a voyage of discovery, a circumnavigation of charity. Already the benefit of her labors is felt more or less in every country. I hope she will anticipate her final reward by seeing all its effects fully reaped in her own."

Mrs. Fry having been a member of the Society of Friends, we easily turn to Mrs. AMELIA OPIE, also belonging to that venerable body. As Mrs. Opie wrote the celebrated work on *Lying*, we must tell the truth if we say anything of this excellent lady. When I saw her, though the eun and shade of more than sixty years had fitted across her path, her conversation and manners retained much of the sprightliness of youth, and would have been very agreeable, had she not affected more juvenility than she really possessed. Nearly half a century before, she had sent to press a volume of poems, marked by graceful versification, sweetness, and pathos; and a domestic tale, "The Father and Daughter," which depicted life as it actually exists, and was distinguished, amongst the mass of sentimental nonsense which floated all around, by lively narrative, and a high moral tone. This novel run through several editions, and still holds its place in libraries. Since then, numerous works of fiction have flowed from her pen, which bear the same literary impress, are elevated in their moral aim, and tend to soften the heart, and make us love mankind better than before. Some of Mrs. Opie's last gifts have been Lid on the altar of Humanity. She has been the warm friend, both in youth and in old age, of enterprises for the improvement of man, without respect to clime, creed, or color.

I have said that Mrs. Opie was a Quakeress. In doctrine, she belongs to the strictest of the sect, while the talks of Barclay's Apology and Byron's Childe Harold, of George Fox's preaching and Walter Scott's novels, in the same sentence, and with equal delight. Her friends, but joined them "on convincement," while far advanced in life, with habits firmly fixed, and after passing the line where it is easier to change one's coat than one's manners. Under that glossy orange satin dress, there beats a heart whose every sense is open to truth, and whose sympathies gush out in streams like a fountain. Her brother Cousin, till they have swept the entire circle of human want and woe. Suppose this worthy Christian philanthropist is hurling her indignant Quaker spirit (and are they not fond of hearing?) the fine things Sir Walter Scott said to her in Melrose Abbey, or the Lady of the Lake, or the stanzas uttered in her ear when leading her into the drawing room of Lord Pitsfoodie, or what Campbell, Byron, or any other man, when she was participating in a discussion with Wordsworth and Sir Thomas Lawrence, about the relative merits of poetry and painting, or how she used to all her circle of friends, that she danced with Lafayette—she is only one of a great crowd of book writers and book readers on both sides of the Atlantic, who have felt a kind of inebriating glee they have shone as conspicuous spangles in more than one comet's luminous tail.

In her declining years, Mrs. Opie was occasionally sent into the world some effusion of her benevolent pen, on religious and charitable subjects—lives in a neat style at Norwich—shows her visitors round her little collection of paintings, partly the product of her husband's lively pencil—is active in all works of love and mercy—is a Tract, or Bible Society, with the warm-hearted Bishop of Norwich—and delights to guide her friends through the long aisles of his aged cathedral, when the organ sounds its sweetest notes.

The domestic circumstances which I first saw Mrs. Opie remind me to say a few words of Lady NOEL BYRON, the widow of the poet. She appeared as full of life and joy as the Italian sun never evening. Edified by her intelligent conversation, and charmed with the softened grace of her manners, one could not but say to himself—this is the woman who, if she pleased, can lay her voice, that bland men, belonged to *the* Lady Byron, the wife of the wild genius, whose erratic and wild life is related in Moore's Life of Byron, and made him the mad suicide he was. But they now slumber so profoundly, that one must disbelieve they ever existed. The mystery must die with the parties.

There is a sprightliness in the conversation of Lady Byron that wins the listener, and a common sense that edifies him, while the tinge of sadness which flows through it gives a serious and sincere hue to the vein of pure morality that pervades much of her conversation and writings. She is a sidedly plain looking—for, even in the bloom of youth, she never could have been handsome—her countenance when in repose is rather dull and uninteresting, but it lights up and becomes fine in the contact of kindred minds, and is set off by an address and manners familiar and easy.

Lady Byron's mind evinced conscious relief from the cloud which memory hangs over her, by participating in enterprises of charity and philanthropy. Indeed, she seemed to be quite a reforming apprentice, holding out, by utterance and conduct, the liberal political sentiments which constituted the redeeming feature in her husband's character. As might be expected, she is sensitive to all allusions in her presence to him, seeming desirous that the thick veil of oblivion should hide in shade and silence their marital union and separation. It is not so with her daughter, Ada Augusta—the "gentle Ada"—since Lady Lovelace, who loves to talk of her father, and glows with delight when you tell her that his works are universally read, not only in the seaboard cities of America, but among the far-away woods and prairies of the Far West.

Who that can appreciate a happy blending of philosophical acumen with philanthropic devotion, illustrated in writings profound and poetic, and conversation instructive and lively, could fail to be pleased with MISS HARRIET MARTINEAU—in spite of her tin trumpet! And well would it be for her—her reputation as a writer—her comfort as an city, if many authors and talkers used a trumpet to gather up the responses of their readers and auditors, rather than to blow private griefs or fanciful conceits in the ears of half of the public. Descended from one of the families exiled from France on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, Miss MARTINEAU inherits the firmness for philosophical speculation and the vivacity of spirit of the people whence she traces her lineage, mingled with the hatred of tyranny and love of toleration which the event that drove her forefathers to England was calculated to inspire. These French Puritans, wherever scattered up and down the world by the hunting of Louis XIV. if they have had less of iron in their character and marble in their aspect than the Huguenots of Plymouth, they have displayed their peculiar excellences fully severe, as heroic a defence of their own civil and religious freedom, while exhibiting in their treatment of others a larger measure of that Charity which sublimes Religion into Love.

Miss Martineau became a student in extreme youth. While a girl, delicate health prevented her mingling in pastimes, and, even in later years, and she sought society in books. Subsequently, an embarrassing deafness threw her upon her own mental resources for amusement and instruction. Gifted with ready powers of writing, and the needed motive for "trying her hand" being found in pecuniary necessity, she naturally turned to the pen for relief and profit. Thus she became an author at the age of twenty. During the next twenty-five years, she sent to press numerous works, ranging over a wide field of topics, some venture, others adapted to the nursery and the school, to volumes on political economy and poor laws, after the order of Bentham and Malthus. She has written tales, hymns, prayers, hymns, illustrations of political economy and pauperism and taxation, sketches of travels in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and numberless papers for reviews and magazines, exhibiting high powers of reflection and rare graces of composition, and aiming at the great and good end of instructing, ameliorating, and elevating mind. Two of her most interesting publications, and they are among the most recent, are "Life in a Sick Room" and "The Hour and the Man." The former, a beautiful picture of her own experience and reflections while suffering under deep-seated disease; the latter, a vivid and graphic sketch of her lingerings around the sacred scenes of Palestine.

The works of Miss Martineau that produced the greatest sensation, and most widely extended her reputation, are those on political subjects. In politics, for she is a politician, she must be classed with the radicals of the school of Bentham, Cobden, and Hume. This fact, uniting with the class of topics she handles, have not vouchsafed to her exemption from the cannons and hot shot of criticism brought to bear against the writings of the other sex. And she is too much of a woman to plead her sex in her defence against any legitimate rule of literary warfare. She is able to give as well as take in the arena of authorship. Her works, or rather tales, (for she dressed her dignitaries in the drapery of fiction,) on political economy, poor laws, and cognate subjects, drew down upon her the bitter and unchristian criticism of the Big Quarterly Review—the former being aimed at her sex, the latter at her doctrines—which only resulted in proving that the critics had very slender claims to be regarded as either as gentlemen, philosophers, or statesmen. So novel was her undertaking, that she encountered great difficulty in getting a publisher for her "Illustrations." She first offered them to the generally astute and always liberal Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. The managers declined to issue them, prophesying that the project would prove a dead failure. At length, a bookseller was found, hardy enough, or wise enough, to send into the world essays on political economy, poor laws, and taxation, dressed up in fiction by the hand of a woman. The success of the experiment was immediate and complete. The numbers were eagerly bought as they came out, the advent of each link in the series being looked for with as much interest as Dickens's Nickleby or Dombey; new editions followed new editions; Germany and France sent them over Europe on the wings of a thousand presses, and the well-selling specimen of Britain's old-womanish legislation received a shock from which it has never recovered, and looked at once as it might fall a sudden victim to the exposure of a comparatively young damsel.

Mrs. MARY HOWITT has walked gracefully over a portion of the same field of literature as Miss Martineau, gathering flowers not seen by or not congenial to the eye of the more matter-of-fact disciple of the great political Utilitarian. She has more poetry and less philosophy in her temperament than Miss Martineau, is more domestic and rural in her tastes, grapples less with the realities of life, and is more susceptible to the *individual* joys and sorrows of mankind. She is equally bountiful in her contributions to the literature of the last twelve or fifteen years; gathering a high moral aim; makes her readers good-humored, and overflowing with *kindness*; and, in her prose, has set them to thinking on the causes of human misery as Miss Martineau, stimulates them to as much activity in alleviating the effects.

In 1823, soon after her marriage with Mr. Howitt—and two more congenial spirits never closed hands at the altar—they jointly published "The Forest Minstrel," a volume of poems abounding in lively pictures of rural scenery, and filial reverence for the poetry of bygone time. They made a tour of Scotland, and, in returning more than a mile over Highland and moorland, half of which they performed on foot, drinking at the storied fountains, and holding familiar converse with the poets of those lands, and the chief of the battle-fields of a country whose novelists and bards have associated

"Romance with every grove and every stream,
The romance of some warrior-dream."

This tour, taken when their minds were alive to the associations and beauties of the scenery, and when their poetic spirit was in the ripening period of their manhood, gave the tone to many a song and story which spread over every spot between Tweed-dale and Lochlomond, and gave them a high place in the subsequent writings of the Howitts. Returning home, they published another volume of poetry, which, like the first, was warmly eulogized by the public press. They were now fairly launched on the stream of English literature. For several years, Mrs. Howitt gave much time to the preparation of her children for the journey. Being herself well educated, and assisted by the wants of her own rising household, she subsequently wrote for the Juvenile Department of the Christian Land, which were bought, read, and admired, by "the million" of her own country, are found in "morocco and gilt" on marble tables in American cities, and in yellow covers in the huts of the Western wilderness, while some, through the medium of translations, have found their way into the nurseries of Germany and the fireside circles of Poland.

After a variety of literary adventures in England, Mr. and Mrs. Howitt visited Germany, about 1840, where they resided some three years, in the city of Heidelberg, in the kingdom and state of the Swedish tongue. The result of their continental sojourn was, the translation into English of a large part of the literature of Germany, and the publication of his "Social and Rural Life in Germany," and her translation and compilation from British and American readers of the now widely known "Fireside Journal" of Fredrika Bremer. Deeply sympathizing with all efforts to elevate the mind and condition of their countrymen, and to lift from the brow of poverty a diadem that should combine high literary qualities with radical political doctrines, they started, in 1847, the "People's Journal," which mention has been heretofore made. Mrs. Howitt was a large contributor to its pages, both under its original name and that of Howitt's Journal. Some number of the Journal for the closing year of the year 1847 are now under my eye, and I am struck with the great amount, varied character, and beauty of her contributions. Stories for children; translations from Hans Christian Anderson; poetic gems; a sketch of Laura Bridgman; translations of Swedish and Hungarian tales; a sketch of "Poor Distinguished Deserters" which kindles indignation against war; "Love passages in the lives of every-day people?" a most touching picture of the agony of a woman on the sentence of a woman then lying in Newgate, whose execution had been postponed that she might give birth to a child—these, and such papers, scattered through the Journal, bear the mode in which Mrs. Howitt has spent her life of late years. And, her husband being witness, she is with the pen of an industrious authoress, but a model wife and mother.

While the Journal gave an impulse to the cause of Reform, it was also tributarous to the pecuniary interests of the Howitts. They had had their full share of the joys and sorrows, honors and perplexities, profits and losses, of literary life. They had experienced their fair proportion of with as hopeful a brow as anybody can be expected to exhibit, that attempts to get a living by writing "books for the million," in this age of *cheap* literature." In prosperity and adversity, they have given hand, heart, and pen, to progress and reform. Should they ever accomplish their purpose of establishing a Home in Florida, the mode in which Mrs. Howitt has spent her life of late years. And, her husband being witness, she is with the pen of an industrious authoress, but a model wife and mother.

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"The Law of Nations is, then, the supreme law of the Commonwealth of Christian States, established by the Supreme Legislature of Nations—determining their reciprocal rights, and sanctioning the remedies for the violation of these rights by war. This is the Constitutional Law of Nations what the Constitution and Municipal Law of Massachusetts are to the associate towns and counties, composing that State, or rather, by an apter illustration, what the Federal Constitution of our country is to the thirty sovereign States which now recognize it as the supreme law.

"I now come to the precise object which we come to a point of great importance to the clear understanding of the subject—while anticipating and providing for controversies between nations, has entirely prevented the outbreak of war as the final arbiter of these controversies. It distinctly says to the nations—'If you cannot agree together, then we provide a tribunal before which, if one of you it proceeds to define, at no inconsiderable length, under the name of the Laws of War, the rules and and regulations of this contest. The Laws of War, says Dr. Paley, "are that part of the Law of Nations, and founded, as to their authority, upon the same principle with the rest of that code, namely, upon the fact of their being *established*, no matter when or by whom."

"It is not uncommon to speak of the *practice* of War, or the custom of War, a term adopted by that devoted friend of our cause, the late Noah Worcester. Its apologists and expounders have called it 'a judicial trial'—one of the highest titles of glory, in the first, was warmly eulogized by the public press. They were now fairly launched on the stream of English literature. For several years, Mrs. Howitt gave much time to the preparation of her children for the journey. Being herself well educated, and assisted by the wants of her own rising household, she subsequently wrote for the Juvenile Department of the Christian Land, which were bought, read, and admired, by "the million" of her own country, are found in "morocco and gilt" on marble tables in American cities, and in yellow covers in the huts of the Western wilderness, while some, through the medium of translations, have found their way into the nurseries of Germany and the fireside circles of Poland.

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H. B. S.

For the National Era.

## SUMNER'S ADDRESS ON PEACE.

### OBJECT OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

We have never seen the precise object of this cause set forth more clearly than in the following of Mr. Sumner's admirable address before the Peace Society:

"I come now to the precise object which we hope to accomplish, *the Abolition of the Institution of War, and of the whole War System, as an established Author of Justice in the Commonwealth of Nations.*

"The Law of Nations is, then, the supreme law of the Commonwealth of Christian States, established by the Supreme Legislature of Nations—determining their reciprocal rights, and sanctioning the remedies for the violation of these rights by war. This is the Constitutional Law of Nations what the Constitution and Municipal Law of Massachusetts are to the associate towns and counties, composing that State, or rather, by an apter illustration, what the Federal Constitution of our country is to the thirty sovereign States which now recognize it as the supreme law.

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## THOUGHTS.

### THE STUDENT'S NIGHT WATCH.

How beautiful the night, through all the hours
Of nothingness, with ceaseless music wakes
Among the hills, trying the melodies
Of myriad chords, on the lone, darkened air,
Which, in the morning, shall be silent, during night
That there is none to hear. How beautiful!
That men should live upon a world like this,
Uncovered in power, and glorious light
To the broad universe, with vision free
To range the long bright galleries of creation,
Or, in the quiet study, resting my eyes,
Yon mighty hunter in his silver path?
That in those azure fields walks mighty now,
In his bright girdle weave the self same gems
That on the workers of old, shone out
Shone once, and to the soldier on her walls
Marked the swift hour, as they do now to me.

Prose is the dream, and poetry the truth.
That which we call reality, is but
Reality's reflection, and that one thought
Into the bright and boundless all might pierce.
There's not a fragment of this weary real
That hath not in its time been in the sun,
Stranger than aught wild chivalry could tell.
There's not a scene of this dim, daily life,
But in the splendor of one truthful thought,
Is even more than Fancy's wildest dream.
Might make young Romance's loveliest picture dim,
And's on the wonder-land of ancients sung—
Old Fable's glittering tales, and jingling rhyme.
How calm the night moves on, and yet
In the dark morrow, that behind those hills
Lies sleeping now, who knows what weals? O'Tis well!
He has made everything for good, and that
Above referred to, with a view to substituting a new truct, with extracts from Colonization reports and speeches of other states, a part of which will be found in the sequel of this communication. The "statute of limitations" is successfully pleaded, with respect to the sayings and doings of those who lived in the days of Slavery, because they did not manage well, and who did not write and speak truthfully and humanely; and reference shall be made to some of the sayings of recent date, and "authorized expounders," who may now or hereafter bask in the sunshine of popular favor.

Accordingly I proceed, with your leave, to sanction the positions contained in my first communication to your journal. In addressing myself to this task, I invite the attention of your numerous readers, which I have now reason to believe, will deprive them of the freedom of choice, and leave them no alternative but removal."—*Md. Col. Journal, July 15, 1849, p. 97.*

5. *It denounces and vilifies all who advocate Immediate Emancipation.*

"What has Abolitionism done? It has tightened the bonds of the slave, and made it more the cause of Emancipation, in some States, for at least fifty years. And, finally, it has smuggled a few hundred blacks from a tropical latitude, and transported them to the *congenial* climate of Canada."—*The Colonizationist, as quoted in the Md. Col. Journal, July 15, 1849, p. 97.*

"They (the free colored people) and their false friends the Abolitionists."—*Same, p. 272*

"Abolition, immediate, unmitigated, universal abolition, (which is the cry of the false friends of color) being drepened by so monstrous a Santicism"—*Colonizationist, as copied into Af. Rep, Oct. 1846, p. 150.*

"The opposition of those who profess to be great friends of our colored population, but who really were nothing more than anti-colonizationists, and opposed to the true interests and permanent welfare of that unfortunate class."—*Speech of D. M. Reese, M. D., LL. D., before N. J. Col. Soc., Jan. 1846, p. 15.*

"I can conceive of nothing more dreadful, (serville war,) except it be the fantastic and sanguinary theory of immediate, unconditional emancipation, which, with a total ignorance of the real constitution of society in the Southern States, and a reckless disregard of the peculiar relations between the master and the slave, would sacrifice the peace of the former, and the last hope of the latter, for the sake of its own impracticable ends?" *Thoughts on Colonization, by Rev. J. N. Danforth, Af. Rep., Jan. 1846, p. 253.*

"And these are the tender mercies of immediate, emancipation, which would involve the master and slave in one common ruin, drive the flight of State upon the rocks, and destroy the peace and prosperity of the country?"—*Same, p. 254.*

"If ever a system was tried, it was trying and proved a failure, powerless for good, and mighty only for mischief, crushing, almost beyond recovery or redemption, the objects of its spurious philanthropy—the cause is modern Abolitionism. An Aaron Burr in the State, is the plotted disunion; a Judas Iscariot in the church, it has betrayed and sold the interests of the slave, and though the former, it may escape conviction of overt treason, like the latter, also, gives it room for grief, and will hang itself."—*Speech of Rev. Ireneus Prime, one of the Secretaries of the Presb. Board, before the N. Y. State Col. Soc., reported in Af. Rep., July, 1847, p. 196.*

6. *It opposes the instruction of slaves.*

In proof of this, I before quoted from the Proceedings of the Second Anniversary of the U. S. Colonization Society, the following: "It is the business of the free, (their safety requires it,) to keep the slaves in ignorance." I might have added the well-known declaration of Elisa B. Caldwell, D. D., one of the most learned and able men among the supporters of the American Colonization Society—"As long as we keep the negroes in slavery, the best and shortest way to make them Christians I have not been able to find, in the recent publications of the Society, any new proof that the Society or its advocates opposes the instruction of slaves.

7. *It lowers the tone of public sentiment upon the subject of slavery, weakens the abhorrence of its abominations, and strengthens its advocates.*

"But for the name of liberty, the slave of the United States is in the enjoyment of as much happiness as the majority of those of the domestic class, the laboring class, perhaps, of any country on the face of the earth."—*Speech of Rev. Dr. Wennan, of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, a Vice President of the Colonization Society, before the New York State Colonization Society, 1846. Af. Rep, June, 1846, p 192.*

"Let us look at the broad ground, that slavery has done Africa and the African race a *good*—a great *good*; and we believe that all must admit the facts?"—*Speech of Joel Parker, D. D., at the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, in the Annual Report, March, 1847, p. 88.*

"God has permitted these prejudices to exist, to make them the means of good to the abiding home of this people."—*Speech of Hon. George H. Dunn, Af. Rep., April, 1847, p. 120.*

8 *It contemplates the forcible removal of the people of color, and makes its one great object.*

This is an allegation not brought forward previously, and it relates to one of the most cruel and unchristian items in the catalogue. It is also in direct opposition to the constitution of the American Colonization Society. "The object" was stated to be the colonization of the free people of color, "with their own consent;" and it was said, to this object "its attention is to be *exclusively* directed" Now, even the President of the Society recommends forcible expatriation as the condition of emancipation!

"The Colonization Society has laid the foundation of a system designed to facilitate the ultimate emancipation of the two races of Ham and Japhet in this Confederacy."—*Resolutions offered by Hon. Robert J. Walker, at the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, January, 1849. Annual Report, p. 15.*

"The great effort of the Colonization Society is, with gradual and useful efforts, to bring about a separation of the two races."—*Speech of Rev. R. R. Ingersoll, Annual Report, January, 1846, p. 29.*

In the African Repository of October 1st, 1847, page 310, is published a plan for the removal of slaves, which includes a project for the *forcible removal of the slaves to Africa.* It is stated by the editor, that "none can fail to admire the spirit manifested" by the author of the plan, while the editor utters no word of rebuke against the villainous scheme.

Hon. Henry Clay, in his recent letter to Rich-

154 Broadway

ard Pindell, (See *New York Tribune*, March 10th, 1849.) "after full and deliberate consideration of the subject," lays it down "as an indispensable condition (of emancipation, that) the emancipated slaves should be removed from the State to some colony." "The colonization of the free blacks, as they successively arrive from the age of 20 to 21, the age entitling them to freedom, I consider a condition absolutely indispensable. Without it, I would be opposed to any scheme of emancipation." The expense of this repatriation, he says Mr. Clay, to "be defrayed by a fund to be raised from the labor of such freed slave." The African Repository of April, 1849, also, lay, let the North "show unto us a more excellent way," IF THEY CAN.

"Every year adds to their (the managers) firm conviction that the free people of color must remove from amongst us"—*Annual Report of Maryland State Colonization Society, in African Repository, July, 1849*, p. 212.

W. McLain, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, says, in the Annual Report of January, 1849, "If the presence of the various tribes of Indians in our midst was a great evil, which the Government was called upon to mitigate, and if a great national good was done by removing them beyond our borders, how much more is the existence of the colored race in the United States a great political evil, and their removal would be an immense national blessing. And if the Government had power to act in the one case, has it not the power to act in the other?"—*National Anti-Slavery Standard, May* 3, 1849.

Thus have I aimed to redeem my promise to as great an extent, Messrs. Editors, as your limits would allow. I am aware that it is difficult to prepare such an article for publication, or have it published wholly free from errors. Some of the proofs will appear stronger than others, and they may not all be most judiciously arranged. Still I present a mass of testimony, in addition to that already published in my first communication in your paper of July 6th, that will, if I mistake not, awaken very serious thoughts in the minds of all who have pledged, or may be invited to pledge, their support to the American Colonization Society, or any of its auxiliaries.

That the Society has done no good, I will not say; and it would be absurd to aver that the motives of all its founders and supporters have been wrong. That it was founded by slave-holders, for selfish purposes, is capable of proof; that it is at war with the best interests of the slave and free people of color in the United States, is conscientiously believed; that it is advocated in opposition to the principles of an enlightened philanthropy, true political wisdom, and just views of Christianity, cannot, we would think, be denied; that Colonizationists, generally, are decidedly opposed to the elevation of the people of color in this country, with a view to their remaining here, and often annoy them to make them willing to be expatriated, the colored people think they have abundant proof, who are almost unanimously opposed to the "scheme," root and branch.

Will it be said that the American Colonization Society is not responsible for all the opinions uttered by its auxiliaries or advocates? It is surely responsible for all that it publishes, without censure or exception, whether the authors be its own selected orators, its paper friends, or its auxiliaries, or their orators and friends. Will it be insinuated, that because errors, typographical or in reference, may be detected by some uncritical eye, that therefore the main argument of this article is weakened? I trust that the general scope will be regarded, the mass of proof looked to, and unintentional errors and defects candidly overlooked.

LEWIS TAPPAN.

*Cor. Sec. Amer. and Foreign Anti-Slavery Soc.*


# THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 13, 1849.


☞ *The Editor of the Era* having returned, intends to resume his editorial duties next week. He takes this opportunity of rendering thanks to the gentleman, a citizen of the South, who has so ably filled the editorial chair during his absence.

Communications designed for publication will now receive due attention, and we shall try to bring up the arrears of our business correspondence as soon as possible.

We find on our table numerous favors from the Booksellers, which will soon be noticed in an appropriate manner.

☞ Our foreign correspondence, we are sure, will attract general attention. The account of the Peace Congress, written by one of the delegates to it, is highly interesting, and the "Historical Sketch of the Prussian Revolution," by "Oswald," the first chapter of which appears today, is of great value.

☞ The articles in the *Era* this week, are valuable, but they are long, and several events of importance have no notice. The good-natured reader will find an apology for this in the absence of the editor. Next week, we hope, arrears will be brought up.

## MRS. SOUTHWORTH'S STORY.

We have on hand the first chapter of Mrs. Southworth's promised story for the *Era*, but shall not commence the publication of it till the one she is now writing for an Eastern periodical be completed—an event not far off. Judging from the part in our possession, we infer that the story will more than fulfil the high expectations raised by her late entitled Retribution. We are at liberty to add, that the principal characters are taken from life, and the main facts are true as history.

## IRREGULARITIES OF THE MAIL.

We are daily receiving complaints from subscribers, of the failure or irregular reception of their papers. We assure them that the fault is not with us. There has been no change in the mailing department in our office. The cause of the irregularities is certainly to be found in the appointment of new postmasters, and the consequent changes of clerks.

SAMUEL LEWIS, one of the most prominent citizens of Cincinnati, writes to us that he has not received the *Era* for four weeks. Now, we know the fault is not our own. His name is lightly written on our mail books, and stands just where it has stood for the last year.

From Boston, and from offices depending upon that as a distributing office, we hear constant complaints; but our mail books are the same, and the hands in our office engaged in mailing are the same. It is only within a short period that there has been cause for such complaints.

As the new postmasters grow familiar with their duties, we have no doubt the mischief will be remedied. Meantime, they should look to their clerks and subordinates, and, if they cannot or will not make out the directions on packages, supply their places with more competent ones.

THE HARTFORD REPUBLICAN is revived. We regret the withdrawal from the editorial chair of W. H. Burleigh, its excellent editor, who has labored long and earnestly in the Anti-Slavery cause. The paper will be henceforth published and edited by J. D. Baldwin, an old Liberty man, a member of the late Legislature of Connecticut, a man of talent, energy, and integrity.

LYNN PIONEER.—This paper, always distinguished by its boldness and independence in uttering its strong convictions, has ceased to exist. Its sturdy editor, George Bradburn, was accustomed to speak what he thought, with great plainness and energy, giving himself no concern as to whom it might please or offend. We shall miss him.

THE CINCINNATI GLOBE has been merged in the CINCINNATI NONPAREIL, and both are now published by an Association of Printers, under the title of "*The Evening Nonpareil and Herald.*" Stanley Matthews retires from the editorial chair, only to resume his pen, we hope, under more favorable auspices.

The editor of the *Era* established the Cincinnati Morning Herald, August, 1843, and continued it till December, 1846, when, being about to leave Washington for the purpose of starting the *Era*, he transferred it to H. H. Sperry and Mr. Matthews. It was continued under the title of "Herald," till about a year ago, when it absorbed the Cincinnati Morning Signal, and thereupon assumed the name of Globe. At the close of the sixth year of its existence, it is itself absorbed by the Nonpareil, which has the good taste to restore the old title, *Herald*, and the good sense to advocate Free Soil, Free Labor, and Free Men.

Mr. MATTHEWS has fairly won the reputation of a liberal, vigorous, and comprehensive thinker, and, we learn with great pleasure that the Anti-Slavery cause in the West is, ere long, to have the benefit of his experience and abilities as an editor.

## THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

In another column will be found a highly interesting, though not equally satisfactory, account of the condition and prospects of the emancipated colonies of Great Britain in the West Indies. The fact cannot be concealed, that the annual exports of the islands has diminished since the act of emancipation took effect, and, in the circumstances, we have known it greater than outweighs every other consideration. Justice and philanthropy must go to the wall, with such reasoners, unless they are consistent with the largest profits. Slavery and the slave trade must be maintained, if they are essential to the prosperity of the planters. It is needless to say, that we dissent, *toto caelo*, from this reasoning. We believe that honesty is the best policy, but if the case were otherwise, still men should be honest. Emancipation should take place, regardless of pecuniary consequences.

But we have not admitted, and shall not admit, that Emancipation is a failure, even in its lowest aspect. We have stated that the exports of the colonies have diminished since the act of emancipation went into operation. But it is not a necessary inference that the diminution has been occasioned by that event. The statistics of the islands show that the amount of exports has been falling off for near half a century. It has doubtless resulted from the impoverishment of the soil, by the system of slave cultivation—a system which has ruined Virginia and the Carolinas.

The following tables are from official sources in the islands. It will be seen that in Jamaica, the largest island, the greatest export was made in 1805, since which time there has been a gradual decline in the principal articles, sugar and coffee. There has been an increase in the product of one article, pimento or allspice. We have no returns received for other islands, except Barbadoes, and in that only for five years, commencing with 1832. There was a considerable increase in exports and imports during that period, which embraced the epoch of emancipation:

*A general return of Hogsheads of Sugar, Puncheons and Coffee, from the island of Jamaica, for fifty-three years, ending December 31, 1838—copied from the Journals of the House.*

| Year. | Hhds. | Tierces | Hhds. | Casks | Pkgs. | Pimento. | Coffee. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1772 | 66,451 | 9,656 | 270 | - | - | do. | 811,264 |
| 1773 | 67,162 | 11,158 | 1,128 | - | - | do. | 779,358 |
| 1774 | 69,379 | 9,250 | 278 | - | - | do. | 729,039 |
| 1775 | 70,824 | 9,003 | 723 | - | - | do. | 693,981 |
| 1776 | | | | | | | |
| 1777 | 83,036 | 9,256 | 1,051 | - | - | do. | 1,095,368 |
| 1778 | 84,167 | 10,091 | 1,007 | - | - | do. | 1,053,322 |
| 1779 | 74,851 | 8,934 | 1,296 | - | - | do. | 1,739,776 |
| 1791 | 85,347 | 8,037 | 1,718 | - | - | do. | 2,296,874 |
| 1792 | | | | | | | |
| 1793 | 77,575 | 6,722 | 642 | 429 | 9,168 | 3,983,576 | |
| 1794 | 69,532 | 11,156 | 1,734 | 554 | 22,163 | 4,911,949 | |
| 1795 | 88,861 | 14,175 | 2,225 | 1,000 | 30,952 | 6,848,840 | |
| 1796 | 69,319 | 10,703 | 866 | 136 | 9,820 | 7,203,539 | |
| 1797 | 75,328 | 9,003 | 723 | 1,000 | 4,095 | 6,183,963 | |
| 1798 | 87,896 | 11,922 | 1,463 | 1,181 | 8,961 | 7,394,306 | |
| 1799 | 91,453 | 14,281 | 1,782 | 1,000 | 10,934 | 26,271,000 | |
| 1800 | 93,347 | 13,048 | 1,631 | 610 | 12,759 | 11,116,474 | |
| 1801 | 113,351 | 12,704 | 1,588 | 649 | 14,064 | 17,793,776 | |
| 1802 | 102,544 | 15,403 | 2,833 | 591 | 7,793 | 17,961,923 | |
| 1803 | 107,357 | 14,415 | 1,802 | 1,000 | 14,875 | 13,966,204 | |
| 1804 | 103,926 | 12,802 | 2,237 | 1,417 | 19,372 | 22,043,960 | |
| 1805 | 137,906 | 17,977 | 3,000 | 388 | 7,157 | 24,137,733 | |
| 1806 | 102,488 | 12,827 | 2,673 | 1,000 | 20,953 | 22,916,200 | |
| 1807 | 123,175 | 17,344 | 3,716 | 823 | 19,299 | 26,761,178 | |
| 1808 | 127,541 | 16,000 | 3,000 | 1,000 | 7,773 | 19,496,000 | |
| 1809 | 104,937 | 14,590 | 3,331 | 24,022 | 1,117 | 25,586,968 | |
| 1810 | 146,086 | 20,433 | 3,713 | 1,000 | 19,511 | 15,208,959 | |
| 1811 | 127,754 | 15,236 | 3,016 | 638 | 22,017 | 17,460,068 | |
| 1812 | 148,549 | 19,000 | 3,000 | 1,268 | 7,773 | 18,000,000 | |
| 1813 | 97,548 | 10,022 | 2,304 | 1,124 | 16,501 | 24,623,572 | |
| 1814 | 103,896 | 10,431 | 2,775 | 1,000 | 10,711 | 19,045,568 | |
| 1815 | 118,767 | 11,204 | 2,817 | 844 | 27,366 | 27,302,792 | |
| 1816 | 84,831 | 9,332 | 2,236 | 861 | 28,067 | 17,200,000 | |
| 1817 | 94,912 | 10,618 | 2,386 | 1,203 | 19,817 | 19,783,706 | |
| 1818 | 113,818 | 11,386 | 2,798 | 941 | 21,097 | 25,329,456 | |
| 1819 | 106,305 | 11,610 | 2,918 | 1,000 | 21,000 | 14,091,960 | |
| 1820 | 115,003 | 11,202 | 2,471 | 673 | 14,860 | 23,177,444 | |
| 1821 | 94,115 | 11,793 | 1,224 | 1,000 | 34,587 | 16,817,184 | |
| 1822 | 88,551 | 8,705 | 1,209 | 659 | 18,667 | 19,773,912 | |
| 1823 | 84,000 | 9,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 21,491 | 17,426,461 | |
| 1824 | 99,223 | 9,651 | 2,791 | 599 | 23,306 | 27,677,209 | |
| 1825 | 99,021 | 7,293 | 2,432 | 1,000 | 23,917 | 21,594,656 | |
| 1826 | 99,978 | 9,314 | 3,135 | 622 | 16,433 | 23,322,680 | |
| 1827 | 82,006 | 7,433 | 2,770 | 2,235 | 26,048 | 25,941,520 | |
| 1828 | 94,915 | 10,625 | 2,988 | 2,003 | 34,762 | 23,820,730 | |
| 1829 | 91,504 | 9,165 | 3,304 | 3,733 | 48,633 | 22,934,480 | |
| 1830 | 102,601 | 8,798 | 3,000 | 2,000 | 31,495 | 22,956,560 | |
| 1831 | 81,429 | 9,053 | 3,497 | 2,844 | 22,170 | 14,655,360 | |
| 1832 | 91,483 | 9,987 | 3,000 | 3,730 | 27,236 | 13,815,600 | |
| 1833 | 78,275 | 9,375 | 4,104 | 7,741 | 48,981 | 9,856,000 | |
| 1834 | 77,647 | 9,000 | 4,000 | 6,000 | 29,214 | 17,725,731 | |
| 1835 | 71,017 | 8,840 | 3,455 | 1,115 | 57,033 | 16,593,018 | |
| 1836 | 71,959 | 9,000 | 4,000 | 1,000 | 37,000 | 13,400,000 | |

We regret that we are unable to place in parallel columns the exports from Virginia and South Carolina, where the deterioration has been far more rapid than in Jamaica. The soil of the Southern States being less fertile than that of the British colony, has been sooner and more completely exhausted by slavery; but it is quite apparent, from the statistics of the islands, that the "peculiar institution" was rapidly wasting the latter. A tropical climate, and a soil of great natural depth and fertility, has resisted the malign influences of slavery in the West Indies for a century and a half, while Alabama and Mississippi, which were settled but yesterday, already exhibit symptoms of premature decrepitude.

All that can be inferred from a view of the whole case is, that emancipation has not arrested the downward tendency. So great a change in the social relations of a community is always attended with temporary embarrassment. This effect has been recently witnessed in the affairs of Europe, and particularly in France. And will reputable gentlemen reform, because they occasion three momentary derangements in the business affairs of a people?

The negroes of the West Indies were far below those of our country in point of civilization; and, under a tropical sun, have less energy of body and mind. They are less civilized, for the reason that there is a smaller proportion of whites among them than is to be found in the Southern Slaveholding States, and hence they have had less opportunity for acquiring civilized habits, manners, and ideas. For these reasons, they will be slow in acquiring the habits of industry and carefulness for the future, which are essential to the prosperity of a free people. That they have improved, and will continue to improve, morally and intellectually, there can be no doubt. The diminution of exports is no evidence to the contrary. It is stated, on reliable authority, that much of the existing demand for labor on the plantations has arisen, not so much from the aversion of the negroes to labor, as from their love of independence. They prefer the condition of independent farmers to that of day laborers on plantations, and, as some have accumulated money enough to set up for themselves, in this way. Is this state of things to be deplored? Is it evidence of failure in the emancipation experiment? So much of exportable commodities is not produced, because the negroes are disposed to indulge themselves in a greater share of the necessaries and comforts of life. Formerly, these necessaries were cultivated in the few spare hours allowed them by their masters. Comforts were out of the question. No time, and perhaps little strength, was bestowed upon the cleanliness, neatness, and convenience of their habitations. The planters, provided for their necessities, as they would for those of other live stock, without spending a thought about their happiness. Such is slavery everywhere. The emancipated slaves have, in many instances, given a laudable attention to the improvement of their social condition, and have, consequently, withdrawn more of their time from the service of the planters. In consequence of this circumstance, the table of exports has a less imposing aspect; but the islands are a thousand times better off, if we count as anything the comfort and happiness of the great majority of the people. South Carolina exports as much, perhaps, as Ohio, while the latter is ten times more wealthy, and her people ten times more happy and contented. The working classes of Ohio are as well fed and clothed as the great majority of the Carolina and Western Virginia people. Their opportunities for improvement are far greater than those of the people of Cuba, but the comfort and happiness of the laborer on the free land are greatly superior to those where slavery exists. We never hear of the free negroes of the British islands escaping into Cuba, but the fact is notorious, that standing armies are kept up, in order to prevent the slaves from deserting their bondage for the land of freedom. It may be said that this results from the perversity or ignorance of the negroes, who are too simple to know what is best for them. This argument may do for the slave, who has never tasted freedom, but it will not account for the fact that the freed negroes never show a desire to draw on their cast-off fetters. Such reasoning is as absurd as would be that of the European aristocratic classes, in contending that the lower orders among them are happier and better provided for, than the working classes of America; and that they are induced to emigrate to the United States through ignorance of their best interests.

We take it that whatever may have been the effect of emancipation upon the planters, its tendency has been greatly to improve the condition of the negroes, physically, morally, and mentally. This position is well established. Before emancipation, matrimony had no legal existence among the slaves, and even the nominal marriage, which might be contracted, was subject to the will of their master. But no sooner had the negroes become free, than they began to respect themselves too much to remain in that worse than savage social state, and marriage became general. Is this nothing? Will a man, calling himself a Christian or a gentleman, stand up and treat this first fruit of emancipation as nothing, in comparison with a few hogsheads of sugar? Marriage is the basis of all else among the poor, benighted negroes, and the rising generation are almost universally acquiring the rudiments of education. Far more attention is bestowed upon religion, and upon all benevolent enterprises, by both blacks and whites. It will require the hardihood of the negro trader to set down these results as failures. Every honest man who reflects on the subject, must admit them to be of infinitely more worth than all the sugar and coffee which has been produced in half a century.

There are two circumstances which militate against the prosperity of the British West Indies. The first has been universally assigned as the fruitful source of ills to Ireland, viz: absenteeism. The evil is, to a considerable extent, owned by persons residing in England, and the results of its industry, instead of being expended at home, in the improvement of agriculture, or invested in other profitable modes, is squandered in a foreign land, where they can be of no service to the colonies. If the soil has inexhaustible fertility, and there is a plentiful supply of cheap labor, the amount of exports may not be affected by Absenteeism; but it is evident that wealth cannot accumulate, under such circumstances, on the islands, however much it may do so in the hands of the distant proprietors. This is the bane of Ireland, and, to some extent, of the British West Indies. If the proprietors resided in the islands, and had the enterprise and intelligence to improve their estates, in internal improvements, and in the manufacture of the various coarse fabrics, there can be no doubt that prosperity would soon return and property rise. Even the expenditure of their incomes in idle extravagance would be beneficial to the colonies, and would revive trade and enterprise among the people.

The second cause which we assign for the stagnation of affairs in the West Indies, is the fact that there is but one interest in society, viz: Agriculture. It is impossible that any community can grow great, and rich, and enlightened, without a diversity of occupations. "The mind of desultory man" requires every variety of pursuit, in order to give proper exercise to the faculties, and to furnish abundant with this diversity. Slave States or colonies must be mere plantations. Extraordinary fertility of soil, and geniality of climate, may keep up the system, but such countries can never be wealthy. Cuba is one of the most fertile spots on the globe; it enjoys, in common with a few other tropical countries, the monopoly of supplying Europe and America with articles which habit has made necessaries of life; it has been settled for three centuries by the most wealthy class of European emigrants, who, at a low rate, have purchased and introduced into it millions of African slaves; and yet Cuba bears no proportion, in point of wealth and power, to three or four of our States. New York was settled later, has less fertile soil, produces no article of importance for exportation, and yet her wealth and resources, and power, are incomparably superior to those of Cuba. Little has been done for the improvement of Cuba by its inhabitants—nature has done all. And this is generally true of Slave States. Their accumulated wealth consists in slaves, and their system of tillage only serves to rob the soil of its virgin fertility. Virginians have admitted that the Old Dominion, in her present condition, is worth less than so much vacant territory would sell for, if surrounded by a free and intelligent people. The inexhaustible fertility of the Cuban soil may, in some degree, expend it from this law of decline; but one thing is certain, the inhabitants of that country will have to add less to the great natural resources of the island—than has been wrought out of the sterile soil and contracted territory of Massachusetts, where "the plough, the loom, and the anvil," have been brought into juxtaposition. Slavery is incompatible with a diversity of occupations. It degrades and cheapens labor, and keeps the working classes in a state of ignorance. Free labor, is useless consumption or absorption of capital in the ownership of labor, which is far more efficient when free. This unnecessary absorption of capital leaves nothing for manufactures, for internal improvements, or for commerce; slavery swallows all, and eventually consumes the soil itself. The British islands have little inside the system of slavery, and are rapidly coming into their natural resources, and society is now naturally seeking that diversity of pursuits, which is at once inexpirable from a state of freedom, and essential to permanent prosperity. The transition, though necessary and unavoidable, causes temporary derangement in the hitherto single pursuit of planting. But, as other occupations take root in the soil, the planting interest will be amply compensated for diminished exports, by the increased home consumption. Where all are engaged in agriculture or planting, there can be no domestic market, no interior towns or cities, and only small ones upon the seashore; but it is evident that, as a portion of the labor and capital is diverted from the cultivation of the soil, to the mechanic arts and manufacturing, there must arise a market at home, for the necessaries of life. As a consequence of this change, the price of land will rise, and general prosperity will pervade the islands.

In this connection, we must protest against an inference unfavorable to emancipation in this country, drawn from the effects of that measure in the West Indies. The circumstances of the Southern States are in a great measure dissimilar to those of the British Colonies prior to Emancipation. In the latter, the preponderance of the blacks over the whites is ten to one, and in many of the islands twenty. In our Southern States, the whites outnumber the negroes in the proportion of nearly two to one, in some of the States; and, in other States, in a less proportion. In those where the slaves are most numerous, the proportion of blacks to whites is not more than three to two, except in a few localities. Our Southern States have some other advantages, natural and social, favorable to the success of Emancipation, in a higher degree than the British islands. They have a colder climate, which is more favorable to greater mental and physical energy in both races. No country is better suited to the negro race than the borders of the South Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, where the bulk of the slaves are to be found; while the uplands of the South are unsurpassed for health and fertility by any portion of the temperate zone, and are peculiarly adapted to the production of the staples of commerce, which not check the tendency of the negro to the South, where his labor would be in demand; and his place would be supplied in the northern tier of slave States by Northern and European emigrants. Emancipation without Colonization in the older and more northern slave States, by compelling the same policy further south, would be attended with the same result. The circumstance, even allowing that the negroes are as unsusceptible of improvement as the advocates of Slavery contend, would insure immediate and unprecedented prosperity in the Northern slave States, from which the blacks would without compulsion be withdrawn; for no one doubts the capacity of the Anglo-Saxon race to elevate Virginia to the first rank of States in a few years, if slavery were out of the way. And Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and North Carolina, would likewise rival the Northern States in riches, population, and power, under the magic influence of Freedom.

As to the more southern States, there is ample reason to believe that Emancipation would not be attended with the temporary inconvenience which is felt in the West Indies. The negroes of our Southern States are far more intelligent than those of the British Colonies. This superiority results from the facts adverted to above, viz: the greater inclusion of white population among them, and the more invigorating climate which they enjoy. According to Gov. Hamilton, that of Thome and Kimball, which would naturally present the fairest aspect of the case, the condition of plantation negroes on the British islands, when the act of Emancipation took place, was, in an intellectual point of view, scarcely a remove above that of their African ancestors. Slavery had taned the fecundity of the negro by subduing his spirit, not by cultivating the mind or his affections. But in our country, without a more humane purpose in the law, circumstances have worked out a different and a better result. Daily intercourse with white men has cultivated the understandings of the negroes, and conferred upon them the habits, tastes, and wants, of civilized man; while our cool climate, *and a considerable infusion of the Saxon blood*, have given to him an energy of mind and body which was not to be found in the same race under a tropical sun. Freedom and education would serve to develop these qualities, and in a few years bring the American negro up to the second rank among the great families of nations.

Another remark, and we are done. Emancipation in the West Indies, where there were ten slaves to one white, took place without producing a solitary instance of insubordination or violence. Fifteen years have since intervened, during which period no portion of the civilized world has been freer from strifes and commotions; this is particularly true of the period which has elapsed since the expiration of the Apprenticeship system, which would have irritated any other race than the negro into rebellion. The planters were greatly disappointed at the peaceful termination of slavery, because, like our Southern people, they had mistaken the negro character, or the effect of doing him justice. They had absurdly imagined that oppression is not felt until it is removed, and that it is only the ability which can enrage an injured people. The negroes, instead of revelling in the blood of their late masters, celebrated the day of freedom by prayers and thanksgivings, and thus rendered useless the military preparations of the Government.

Now, if Emancipation is found to be safe where the proportion of negroes to the whites is ten to one, we submit it to the people of the South, if the remotest apprehension of danger from Emancipation—immediate Emancipation—should be indulged in this country, where the whites outnumber the slaves? This objection to Emancipation, at any rate, must be conceded to be groundless, in view of the facts above stated.

## HUNGARY.

In another place we give an outline of the disastrous news from Hungary. We had been induced to hope better things for the brave Hungarians, but it seems that the overwhelming power of their enemies has rendered heroic courage and resolution of no avail. There seems to be a glimmering of hope, among some of the Northern editors, that the unwelcome news may have been manufactured by the Austrians; but we fear it is too true. Our limits at present will not allow of extended comments, and before another issue all doubt as to the fate of Hungary will be dispelled by another arrival. We therefore conclude by expressing our profound sorrow for the fate of a brave people, and our deep abhorrence of their oppressors.

From other parts of Europe the news is unimportant. The price of cotton has risen—trade in England is active.

## THE TACTICS OF SLAVERY.

The Slave Power has made another gyration. Judging by the late elections, it has deserted the Whigs, whom it placed in office last fall, and is about to cast its weight into the Democratic scale. As might be expected, this has caused a good deal of surprise and ill-suppressed indignation on the part of Northern Whig editors and politicians. They certainly seem to have some ground for complaint. Their submission to the dictation of the Slave Power at the Philadelphia Convention, in the nomination of an ultra slaveholder, and "not an ultra Whig," would seem to have merited a better return. The selection of the Cabinet, and the distribution of diplomatic offices and Government patronage generally, has been in strict accordance with the established custom of giving Slavery the lion's share. Secretary Clayton has officially announced that colored men are not citizens, and are not entitled to the protection of the American flag. Truman Smith, from the wilderness of the West of Independence, has given the South timely warning of Free Soil coalitions in the North. The Whigs of Massachusetts have laboured so zealously to prevent the reelection of Dr. Palfrey, as any reasonable slaveholder could ask. On the other hand, the Democrats of the North and West have been actively coalescing with the Free Soil party, passing stringent Proviso resolutions, electing Free Soil Senators in Ohio, and Representatives pledged to Free Soil in Indiana and Connecticut. And yet Slavery is abandoning the faithful Whigs, and giving aid and comfort to the rebellious Democrats. Ranker ingratitude has not been witnessed since Sultan Mahmoud killed his janissaries. Nevertheless, we are not disposed to blame Truman Smith, if, like Abthalah of old, he rends his clothes, and cries "Treason!"

After all, this is nothing more than might have been reasonably looked for. Has not this same Slave Power been long alternating between the great parties which divide the North, flattering and threatening each, in turn, pulling down and setting up, to suit its own purposes? In 1839, the Whigs of the Free States, judging by their papers and orators, were on the point of becoming Abolitionists. The cunning Slave Power silenced them by electing their candidate for the Presidency. In 1843 it offered its aid to the Democrats, on the condition that their favorite Northern candidate should be proscribed, and a slaveholder put in nomination. At the last election, the Whigs were again in mutiny, talking ominously of Northern candidates and Free Soil. The Slave Power, having first taken care to make the Democratic candidate forswear himself, and give pledges of fidelity to the slave interest, managed to get the control of the Convention at Philadelphia, gagged the mouths of Northern Whigs with a slaveholding candidate, and aided in electing him. In consequence of this, the cheated Democracy of the North have of late manifested signs of rebellion, and of a disposition to supply the loss of Southern support by an alliance with Free-Soilers. The Slave Power drops them a little, to comfort in the shape of Democratic victories in two or three States under its control, the first effect of which we have already seen in the failure of the attempt in New York to unite the Hunkers and Free-Soilers on the Jeffersonian platform.

The wise man's declaration that the braying of a fool in a mortar has no tendency to teach him wisdom, finds abundant confirmation in the ease with which he is great parties at the North are still yoked and managed by the Slave Power. Experience of desertion and treachery teaches them nothing. They still shut their eyes to the fact that the distinction of Whigs and Democrats at the South is in a great degree nominal; yielding always to the necessities and interest of the Slave system. Thus, in Kentucky, we see large numbers of Whigs transferring their votes to the Democratic ticket, without hesitation, whenever the safety of the peculiar institution seemed to require it. At the next election, the Whigs may be favored at the expense of the Democrats, for the Slave Power has no political prejudices or partialities. Its language to the Whig or the Democrat who begs its votes for his candidate, is the same as that of Sancho Panza—"Go, to, sirrah, and tell the King from me, that for his father's sake, Henry the Fifth, in whose times boys went to span counter for French crowns, I am content he shall reign, but I'll be protector over him." The name of the successful party is of small consequence in the view of slaveholding politicians, provided they can be "protectors" over it.

J. G. W.

For the National Era.

## PARTING.

BY MISS PHŒBE CARRY.

Heavy, mournful, as the shadows
Round the dim feet of the night,
Are the sounds of parting voices
Of this bright world from my sight.

Thou who walk'st to-day beside me,
Then of footstep free and glad,
Of the heart beat high with power,
Know'st thou wherefore I am sad?

In the flowery field of childhood,
Sweetest spot on life's dim shore,
Walked we hand in hand together—
Who will walk there now?—Alone.

Thou who wert, in joy and sorrow,
Sweetest comforter and friend,
Thou hast turned aside and left me—
Who will be my comforter?

Stretching brightly onward, upward,
Is the shining path for thee;
Winding darkly back from sunlight
Lies the future one for me.

Yet then could'st not linger longer,
Thy work was done—
That a brighter thread is woven
In thy destiny than mine.

Every step, as thou ascendest
Smiling friends will wait for thee;
Treading downward in my course,
Who will walk the path with me!

## NEW YORK CORRESPONDENCE.

NEW YORK, *September* 10, 1849.

*To the Editor of the National Era:*

The arrival of the President on Friday morning is one of the most interesting events of the week, although the impaired state of his health, and his haste to return to the seat of his official duties, prevented any public demonstration. At an early hour in the morning, several of his friends were in waiting at the pier for the arrival of the Isaac Newton, in which splendid steamboat it was understood that he was to take passage from Albany. When he at last made his appearance, the "Hero of Many Battles" was found to be so much exhausted by the fatigue of his tour, and the hospitalities of the Astor House, which were pressed upon him with urgent courtesy by the ever-bland and patriotic Mr. Stetson; but he was at length prevailed on to accompany Mr. Draper, one of our eminent Whig authorities, to his private residence, where he was able to meet a small party of gentlemen at a family breakfast. The crowd soon gathered in front of the house, and began to gather in the vicinity of the house. It was not long before they grew so clamorous that President Taylor was obliged to show himself at a window, and to address them in a short speech. This had the effect of quelling the impetuosity of their enthusiasm, or I don't know but they would have forced the doors of Mr. Draper's house, and taken bodily possession of the President. Meanwhile, the doctors kept vigilant watch of their protegé, evidently fearing that it would not do to trust him alone, lest he should break from his tether, and escape from the arms of his nurses to the arms of the people. I rejoice that the old gentleman has got home alive. I was afraid that they would have killed him, or he would kill them. His tour has had the good effect of softening the virulence of party, and leading people to find out the heart of the man in the breast of the politician. The bluff, downright, and homespun manner of the old soldier, is the better cynosure, for the eyes of our population, than the crafty spleen-dor of the self-seeking diplomatist.

The town is rapidly filling up, and busy note of preparation for the reception of Gen. Avezzana. He is to be received in the Hall of the University, addresses are to be made in English and Italian, the sword presented with imposing ceremonies, and the whole pageant crowned with the brilliancy of a grand military display. It will be an enthusiastic and imposing affair, and I regret the fact that it is in honor of the hero of a fallen cause. The hope of liberty still beats high in the hearts of the exiles, and no reverse of fortune can quench the flame which burns in their souls. Even our Hungarian friends are not daunted by the disastrous European news. The has, indeed, sent a chill to the hearts of every lover of liberty; but, every believer in human progress, every man whose religion assures him of the supremacy of Right over Wrong, must feel that this is but the result of the refreshment of a common sympathy, and the faith that a cause dear to the heart of God is destined to triumph over all the folly and wickedness of earth.

I spoke in my last of the "secret expedition" that was on foot for a descent upon Cuba. The events of the past week have hastened the crisis, a crisis somewhat sooner than was anticipated, but they really, thus far, have thrown no new light upon the nature, or the purposes, or the extent of the conspiracy. I see no reason to doubt that the Sea Gull, and the other vessels which were seized by the direction of the District Attorney, were bona fide cases of slave importation; for, from all accounts, there was very little compactness or method in the arrangements, and the very fact of their falling into our hands, through the vigilance of the revenue detection, shows that many screws were loose in the plan, and, as it is said, the greatest friction was probably in the department of the Navy Yard.

It has been impossible to gain any accurate information as to the details of the seizure. Our most trustworthy accounts come from the Sea Gull, many particulars. Some say one hundred men, mostly Spaniards and Cubanos, were found on board the Sea Gull by the party of marines. Others state that the Sea Gull had received, from all accounts, there was very little compactness or method in the arrangements, and the very fact of their falling into our hands, through the vigilance of the revenue detection, shows that many screws were loose in the plan, and, as it is said, the greatest friction was probably in the department of the Navy Yard.

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It cannot be said that the lessons of experience were lost upon the King, and that he went blindly on to the catastrophe. On the contrary, he availed himself of the time still left him, and hastened to fortify his authority by every possible means. Far removed from all intentions of concession, and filled with indignation against the people who had dared to attempt a modification of the legitimate reforms demanded by public sentiment, he sought to entrench the Royal absolutism behind arbitrary laws. He saw in the opposition to the grant by Royal grace of the semblance of a new Chart, which he himself had not been hardy enough to call a Constitution, nothing but gross "ingratitude," or "blundering ignorance." The popular demands were drawn so tight that they broke in his hands.

A new penal code was prepared, and, to save appearances, submitted to a Council of the United Committees of the Provisional Councils. The calling of this Council was said to be in pursuance of the legal requisitions of the Chart of February 3, 1847. It was part of the system of absolutism hypocritically to continually the words of law and legality in an administration whose foundation principle was, that the King is the only lawgiver, his will law, and his interpretation of existing laws the only valid one.

The system of the liberal and opposition party was equally wanting in frankness and truth. While this party recognised the existence of the Royal power of the King, it spoke none the less of legality and appealed to the laws against the lawgiver himself. A more honorable and effective mode would have been to give things their true names, and appeal to the people through all the channels of publicity. The liberal opposition, in its official documents, professed the most unlimited confidence in the King, while its members did not hesitate to speak in private, in a circle where they could speak with freedom. Hypocrisy was the universal malady, Lying was reduced to system, and Truth was found only in the secret recesses of private life.

The Council was the image of the Diet. The Committees, which should have put in execution the Chart of February 3d, did not do so. The Capital and the Provinces took little interest in the proceedings of a body from which all the eminent members of the liberal opposition—Hausemann, Kirke, Von der Heydt, Beckerathe, and others—had been carefully excluded. More than a third of those called to sit in the Council did not respond to the invitation, and the country applauded this act of independence. The Constitution question remained in its old position. The gulf between the People and the Government remained open. The King alone had the power to close it up. This was declared by the member Camphausen, in his speech of January 18, 1848. He addressed the Government in these terms: "The people feel that you have never refused to hold fast to the principle that no law touching the rights of persons and property, or touching the rights of the Crown, can be made without the consent of the General Diet. The members of that Diet, who are not among us, will know that we have not had and will not have the intention to usurp rights which belong to them, or to delay only to that body. The Government will know that it is not true, as its organ has attempted to persuade us, that the Constitutional Confederation of the People with the old system of Government has been appeased. And I consider it my duty to declare to the Government that its course at the close of the Diet, and, indeed, at the Diet itself, has filled my heart with sorrow, and made me apprehend fearful consequences." Camphausen fell, in the strong popular feeling which followed his presentment of coming danger. He, in common with many other patriots, was daily more and more grieved by the blindness of the King and his counsellors. Their policy was so transparent as they saw with what a limited number of reforms, demanded by Reason, History, and Justice, the threatening storm could be averted, or the ship of State placed in a position to make head against it. This sentiment dictated the closing words of his speech. Alluding to the Diet, he said, "Forgive us, if we have indulged in its moderation, at its extreme complaisance toward the King and Princes. They were in doubt whether you would be the prudent moderation, or blame it for weakness. They found the King much to be envied who could, under such circumstances, call together such a Diet; and give to the eyes of the world such a striking representation of the loyalty of his people."

Diet in Prussia, which the Diet had advanced to the extreme limit of constitutional concession, bowed over it, to extend to the King the hand of reconciliation, *that hand had been raised against*.

Bietmannsdorf, a nobleman who was honored with the abuse of all the bureaucracy of the Hodelsche-wieg ministry, presented at the tribune an address, signed by forty peasants, and sustaining the views of the Opposition in the General Diet, every means was employed to induce the signers to retract. The majority of them were prevailed on to do so, by menaces and promises, and the King himself condescended to write a severe letter of reproof to the rest, closing, however, with the gracious assurance that, for this time, the King, in his royal clemency, would pardon them the crime of having had an opinion in political affairs.

These and many similar facts took place in the first two months of the year 1848. Religious difficulties and conspiracies for years to follow were the order of the day. The Eichhorn ministry menaced with the Inquisition the oldest and most worthy professors, teachers, and school directors, who their conviction of duty did not square with the doctrines of the State religion. But the spirit of opposition increased as rapidly as the persecution of Absolutism. In the end itself, the efficiency of many companies and officers to the opposition was aided by the multiplied persecutions and indictments. The newly accorded publicity of the trials before the Court of Ordinances awakened the people of Berlin from the apathy in which they had so long slumbered. Undefined wishes and hopes of concessions by the Government were spoken of, and, at last, aloud. These were not realized. And yet, how little was demanded at that time by the public expectation! The boldest would have been satisfied with the grant of a Biennial Diet. But when it was evident that the King would not respond to these moderate desires, and that they met with no favor in his eyes, and at a time when new Constitutions, with annual Chambers, were granted at Naples and Copenhagen, then a sentiment of shame pervaded the nation.

The recourse in Silesia of the corruptions of the bureaucracy served still further to excite the public mind. The necessity of the participation of the people in the management of their affairs, and the necessity of a free press for the exposure of the defects and crimes of the administration, were exhibited in a manner that should have been the most active supporters of royalty. The public sentiment was so unequivocal, that the Absolute party could not but see that it was the result of the manœuvres of demagogues and the falsehoods of the "shameless press." That the King did not hear the voice of the people is not surprising: he stopped his ears to the cry, and went obstinately on his way.

Antipathy to the existing system and its supporters was rapidly ripening into hatred, ready to cut all Prussia. All Germany shared this feeling, for all Germany was looking with hopeful expectation to the Prussian people. It saw in this system and its supporters the detected and realization of its hopes for a free and united country, which could only be ushered into existence when Prussia should take the lead, in yielding point of the advocates of Germanic Freedom and Unity. OSWALD.

*Berlin, August* 14, 1849.

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## LETTER FROM PARIS — CONGRESS OF PEACE.

PARIS, *August* 23, 1849.

*To the Editor of the National Era:*

It is impossible to send you many details of the "Congress of Peace" by this post, as it will leave before we are fairly *in make-ready*. I can, however, give you a conversation, and some other matters of interest, which, if the Congress had adjourned, I might not have found room for. The officers are as follows:

President—Victor Hugo.

Vice Presidents for France—M. Abbé Dugenry, curé of the Madeline; M. Pasteur Coquerel.

Vice Presidents for England—Richard Cobden, Esq. M. P.; Charles Hindley, Esq. M. P.

Vice Presidents for America—Hon. Mr. Durkee; Amasa Walker, Esq.

Vice President for Belgium—Mr. Visschers, President of the Congress at Brussels.

Vice President for Holland—Mr. Suringar.

Vice President for Germany—Dr. Carovia.

Secretaries for France—M. Joseph Garnier and Mr. Zeigler.

Secretary for England—Rev. Henry Richard, London.

Secretary for America—Elihu Burritt, Esq.

The place of meeting is the *Salle Saint Cécile*, an elegant room, about 200 feet in length, and competent to hold 1,500 people, especially if they are peaceful. It is decorated with the flags of various nations, gracefully intertwined, in token of the "good time coming." I write from it, at this time. I wish I could present the scene which is before me to your readers. Every seat is filled, and also the broad stairway leading to the gallery. The speaker of the instant is the eloquent Protestant pastor, M. Coquerel. He is speaking in French, and with such force, and evident sincerity, that even those of us who are unacquainted with that language are deeply impressed with the beauty of the sentiment. There is a glow about his countenance, and majesty in his presence, which are ample guaranties both of his honesty and good sense. As I am penning this sence, he concludes a sentiment of fraternal regard towards his brethren in the Catholic church, whereupon the audience, English and French, "bring their hands together like balls of marble." Meanwhile he is rapidly translated into English, and he reaches it, is met, half-way, by the curé of the Madeleine church, who extends his right hand of friendship, which is at once taken, amid loud and repeated plaudits. This little incident will give you an idea of the spirit of the meeting.

Among the speakers, yesterday, were Victor Hugo, Henry Vincent, President Mahan, Richard Cobden, and Rev. Mr. Burnet. The proceedings were characterized by great unanimity. There was fear, at one time, of disturbance, on account of the appearance at the tribune of an orator, ("son of a carpenter," as he called himself) who, it was thought, would be likely to advocate some of the principles of Socialism; but the opposition was disappointed, by his indulging in a series of generalities which met with a reception all the more warm, because they took the meeting by surprise. All the orators that I have spoken of, have or less caution, as the discussion of topics calculated to irritate the French people is forbidden. The speaker, yesterday, gave vent to a very explicit declaration, often repeated, of our most radical principle. The *New York Tribune* expressed a fear, some time since, that the pacific proceedings of the Congress might be regarded by struggling friends of Liberty throughout Europe. The intelligent editor of that paper would have a very different opinion if he could see the sentiments which come from such men as Girardin, Victor Hugo, Francis Bouvet, Henry Vincent, M. Coquerel, Richard Cobden, President Mahan, and Elihu Burritt, who are not very likely to encourage tyrants. Girardin, by the way, has just completed a speech which electrified every heart. It was so full of Democratic principles, that it came out next to me said that, if it had been delivered in a French club, the speaker would have been at once arrested! So far from the Congress discountenancing the friends of Liberty, it is encouraging thing which has happened for them this century. Look at the fact that it announces the universal principle, that it is wrong to loan money to nations for purposes of war. That, of itself, will encourage the heart of every reformer; and that is the most spiritual thought which the occasion has given rise to.

But I cannot write more in the midst of this excitement. This very minute, Richard Cobden has the tribune. I know, from my world in utterance to the heart like a flash of light. He speaks in French, so distinctly we all can understand. It is worth crossing the ocean to look at him—he has such a fine, manly, modest, but resolute look. When the audience applaude, he looks as if taken by a great surprise, and is anxious to have them "stop their noise" I close my letter, that I may be speaking, to catch the mail. Many Americans are about me—E. Burritt, A Walker, Mahan, Durkee, W. W. Brown, Mr. Pennington, and Mr Cromwell, Cyrus Pierce, Dr. Allen, &c.

*More anon.* TAYNTOOK.

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PLAINFIELD, *August* 29, 1849.

MR. EDITOR: In not James B. Clay, the appointed Chargé d'Affaires to the Kingdom of Portugal, by President Taylor, one of the respectable mob who removed Cassius M. Clay's Free Press in Kentucky? Why was he not sent to France, to take Mr. Walsh's place?

Yours, respectfully, W. P. WILLIAMSON.

For the best of reasons: Mr. Walsh's advocacy of Despotism in Europe has given him a peculiar claim upon the President, who controls the Government of this country.—*Ed. Era.*

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VERMONT.—The *Boston Atlas* has returns of the vote for representatives in the Legislature of the State of Vermont. The Free Soil party have about 40 towns to be heard from. The result, thus far, is the election of 117 Whigs, 28 Democrats, and 19 Free-Soilers. The same towns last year returned 99 Whigs, 33 Democrats, and 24 Free-Soilers. The next Whig gain in that branch of the Legislature is, therefore, 46 members. Of the 30 members composing the Senate, 22 are Whigs. The popular vote for Governor, on towns shows a Whig gain, as compared with last year, of 5,221.

From the New York Courier and Enquirer.

## THE WEST INDIES.

Authentic intelligence respecting the present state of the British and French Colonies, and especially information relating to the workings of Emancipation, must be generally interesting to the People of this country. Having recently received a file of the Jamaica papers up to the present month, we have gleaned from them much valuable matter, which we take pleasure in laying before our readers.

On the 24th of May, 1849, a meeting of inhabitants of all parts of the island of Jamaica was held at Spanish-Town, for the purpose of considering the present state of the island, and especially information relating to the workings of the treaties for the suppression of the slave trade, by which Spain and Brazil are bound. It was the largest and most respectable meeting witnessed in the island. The lord bishop presided. In opening the proceedings, he said:

"It must, I think, be readily admitted, that the great and predominant evil under which Jamaica, in common with the West Indies, has long laboured, present suffering, arises from the projected admission of the produce of slave labor into the markets of Great Britain, to the exclusion, without the discriminating and protective duty which had heretofore been allowed to operate in favor of the free-born or free-made cultivator of the soil."

Disclaiming all intention of interfering with the settled policy of the Home Government with regard to the free trade system, the Chairman remarked:

"But our plain and single object is to press upon our rulers, by all the constitutional means within our reach, by petition heaped upon petition—by pamphlets, by the continuance of what we know to be the truth—by such advocacy as we can procure within and without the walls of Parliament—by appeals to the Throne, and by compelling the States of Spain and Brazil to a fair and full compliance with the treaties by which they are bound to Her Gracious Majesty; treaties which had, and have, for their express object, the extinction of—the heaviest curse that ever afflicted humanity—the extinction of the inhuman traffic in slaves, with all its hideous and murderous incidents, and the gradual abolition of slavery throughout every portion of the civilized world."

The Vice Chancellor said the British nation had a remedy in its own hands for the removal of the evil under which the island was suffering.

"The remedy which we would plead was that which was sanctioned by the law which governed foreign nations, namely, when it is found that a nation will not do what which is pledged to another nation to do, then it shall be done for them. That was the footing upon which Spain and Brazil, two countries which now carry on the detestable traffic in slaves, were placed in relation to Great Britain. If he pointed out to them, as he would, that these countries had entered into solemn treaties to abolish that traffic, they would then have cause to fear, if they pledged to the mother country and our rulers at home, to compel the observance of those treaties.

"It was matter of thankfulness to our Goddess, who is known and respected at Havana, that one-half of the persons held at this moment in slavery in Cuba are held in that state in violation of the existing treaties between England and Spain. He say so," said this gentleman, "seeing the ages of those people, knowing how soon the slaves are worked out and brought to that country, for there is no reproduction there."

The Meyer of Kingston asserted that the system under which slave-grown sugar is admitted into the British market, has ruined the agricultural interests of the island.

The Rev. S. Oughton said that, after giving the subject his most anxious consideration, he was fully persuaded that it is only in the enforcement of the treaties that you pledged to exist that these Colonies will continue to be sugar-exporting, or even sugar-producing Colonies. Slavery, so long as slavery exists, it will be in vain for the British West India Colonies to expect that they can compete with the sugar producers of Cuba and Brazil. He (Mr. Oughton) asked, "does not England insist upon the faithful performance of these treaties? A single word from the British throne would, I feel, be sufficient to ensure obedience, and accomplish the object. One lightning glance of England would cause the fetters to fall from the limbs of the slaves in Cuba, and we would see them as free there as we are in Jamaica."

The Baron Von Kettlehodit addressed the meeting: "Have you, sir, ever seen a man whose nature are doing in their colonies, and how far the desire for freedom has progressed—when we see what France, Denmark, Sweden, and Mexico, have done towards the great object, I regret very much that General Santa Anna, who should have proposed this resolution, is not present; for he, who abolished slavery in Mexico, and during his President, would, I am sure, have had great pleasure in adding the weight of his opinion and influence to your exertions; but a domestic calamity has prevented him from joining here to-day. Though this is a Jamaica question," said the speaker, "it is also a great European question; and we are justified in calling upon the rest of European nations to concur in our efforts for the noble purpose of abolishing slavery. It is the sin of Europe—it is the great blot upon the European escutcheon; and, if this

## THE NATIONAL ERA.

From the British Banner.

### MONARCHY AND REPUBLICANISM CONTRASTED.

That things are best seen by contrast, has become a proverb. When the object is to compare things as to superiority, or as to difference, nature prompts those who would judge to place them side by side—a process to which the counter of the mercer bears laborious and hourly testimony. This is a short and easy way to determine color, texture, and shade. It is the same in morals. In this way, reflecting men endeavor to determine the comparative influences of Islamism and Christianity, of Popery and Protestantism, of Endowed and Unendowed Christianity; to ascertain their character, as applied is made to their influence on individuals, and on the destiny of a nation. The principle is general, and may be extended to all kinds of constitution and government. The Constitutions and Governments of the Old World must, therefore, prepare for its application in comparison with the Republics of the New World. The recent works of European travellers, who have visited America, with a view to examine its social economy, are informing the public mind and preparing the way for the consideration of the claims of Monarchy in comparison with those of Democracy. The matter will not rest where it is; it will certainly extend itself to all the countries of Europe. The reign of more means is going; the wisdom of every system will be tested by the happiness of the people under it. Should the new Republics of Europe settle down into solid politics, with peaceful, improving, and happy people, every where governed cheaply and well, the remaining Monarchies must either cheapen or improve, or give place to an other system which assuredly will do what has been done to induce the British people to make the experiment.

It is a fact somewhat curious, that the first of all those persons to whose hand it has entered to institute a comparison between Republicanism and Monarchy, should be Dr. Dixon, whose work we some time ago introduced to the notice of our readers. This very able, very observant, and penetrating man, having reached the boundary line which separates Canada from the United States, made a tour of it, and looked at it with his eye, to scrutinize society on each side, and the following is the record of the survey:

"Every book I had read, and every person with whom I had conversed, after visiting the United States and Canada, united in their testimony as to the great difference instantly felt on passing the boundary line; and this impression seemed to be the result of the contrast in favor of Canada; whilst any attempt at pointing out the nature of this difference, its causes and its characteristics, has never, so far as I know, been attempted. This is a great pity, because it is not a matter of reasoning, of inference, or opinion: it is instantly felt, as much as in going out of a warm into a cold atmosphere. Nor is it which produces the change? The preference is, of course, a matter of tests. The American temperament is by some generally preferred, and by others by Canadians.

"Let us look at the case. On the American side the people are all life, elasticity, buoyancy, activity; on the British side they have a people who appear subdued, tame, spiritless, as if living much more under the influence of fear than hope. Again: on the American territory we behold men moving as if they felt that the land on which they was to set, to choose, to govern—at any rate, to govern themselves. On the Canada soil, we see a race, perhaps more polite than the other, but who seem as if under the impression that their vocation is to receive orders, and obey. Then, on the American side, you are placed in the midst of immense and rapid agitation; the streets are filled, coaches are in constant movement, railroad trains passing and repassing with their passengers, whilst men of business are seen pushing their concerns with impassioned energy. On the Canada shore, we have comparatively still life; delicate, genteel, formal. Moreover, on the American side, all along the shores of the lakes, the country is being cleared, houses and villages built, works put in, incipient ports opened, and trade begun. On the Canada shore, unbroken forest apparently for miles, with the small openings which have been made present themselves to view in a very infantile and feeble state of progress.

"All this was exhibited at once at our hotel itself. We had been put down in the town of Niagara, on the American side, in the midst of an active population, and hundreds were at one of several large hotels. Besides being splendidly fitted up, it was full of people. In my ignorance, I had imagined we were about to take up our residence at this place, and hastened to engage a room; in this attempt I found it difficult to obtain accommodation at all, and failed altogether in securing a chamber which commanded a view of the Falls. We crossed over to the Canadian village, and found an equally commodious inn; but the contrast was most striking. The saloon to which we were directed was equal to one of the American dining-rooms, capable of accommodating from 150 to 200 persons. What was the company? We dined alone! We announced a dozen persons at and one and of a prodigious table, receiving the good things of Providence in perfect silence, except as it broken by some commonplace phrases of politeness.

"There sat at our table, on this and on all other occasions, an old lady, the perfect personification of the idea of a high-bred gentlewoman. This lady had a dowager-like appearance and air, the quintessence of politeness, with studied movements and manners, as if she had been in the observance of punctilios for fifty years. Her dress, head-gear, and ornaments, had been adjusted as if for a ball-room. Our friend might have been taken from Niagara to Queen's town in St. James's, and would have surprised no one by the transfer. Now, these are the things which, no doubt, please many of our countrymen; but, in this country, and among them to consider Canadian society as transcendently above that of the United States. The sight of that old lady would settle the question at once on the score of gentility; and especially when it is added, that at the Canada hotel the gentlemen and ladies take wine at dinner, and at the other side of the border this is not the fashion.

"There is another striking difference between the Americans and Canadians. In the first-mentioned country, ideas, sentiments, opinions, in fine, knowledge, appears to be considerably more stock. The people sit with their legs across a chair-back, or place them in some other elevated position, and talk at ease for hours. On the other hand, the Canadian people seem to say, 'Do you know that I am a gentleman? Keep your distance, sir.' Then, again, the American officer never forgets that he is a citizen, and the citizen never forgets that he is a man; their intercourse is perfectly easy, free, unembarrassed; the one class never assumes an air of superiority, the other never lowers his status, or yields up his consciousness of equality, or his self-respect. On the other hand, the Canadian officer never removes from his standing of assumed superiority, and the citizen never forgets he is a citizen; he rarely amalgamates with the people, and they, on their part, as seldom think of stepping beyond the line of their inferiority. These artificial distinctions have a powerful and obvious effect. The manners of the Canadian population, being thus regulated, appear much more in accordance with the generally received notions of despots who, through a line of ancestry of many centuries, have governed with an absolute power.

"To us, as a nation, are committed the great principles of free Government, and we are responsable to those who shall come after us for a faithful discharge of the trust. Now, we must continue to build upon the foundation of our fathers. They were equal to the crisis. Washington and Hancock, and Adams, and their compatriots, were good men as well as great men. They looked to a superintending Providence, and to the precepts of the Bible.

"There is enough of Intelligence and virtue, and of honest purpose, in the nation, if embodied and made active, to free us from the present corruptions of the day. And there is no agency more efficient to strengthen this state of the public mind than our Christian Sabbath. It is full of sources of virtue, of virtue, of an elevated patriotism, and of religion.

"And what nobler motive could impel to human action? Compare it with the motives which led to other lines of action, and with their results. The aspiration of a mere politician begins and ends in the grave. The ambition of a prince (if such be the name by which courtiers, more or less, and his followers not unworthy to be called the Newtons of after age. The discovery of a great law lean enlargement, not an exhaustion, of the domain of science. Kepler, Galileo, Newton, in the discovery of further truth. It may never be given again to the human intellect (but who shall say that it is not?) to make such a discovery, generalization at once of such divine simplicity and stupendous magnitude as the law of gravitation. But I think it may with truth be said that the system of the Universe revolving on this law has been more fully developed by the successors of Newton than by himself. It was believed in 1797 that the sun was a habitable world, and that the solid rock from fifty to three hundred feet deep, through which the river rolls and foams with great rapidity. At the Cascade Falls, this mighty river descends about 50 feet in the distance of three or four miles. From the foot of these Falls to the mouth of the Walamette, or to Vancouver, there is a current of about three miles an hour, when not affected by the tide. Astoria, near the mouth of the river, is destined to be the New York of Oregon, while Portland, on the Walamette, is to be the Philadelphia of Oregon. Thirty feet water from this place to the ocean can always be obtained, except in two places, one at the mouth of the Walamette, and the other a little higher up, where, at low water and low tide, there is only nine feet. The tide affects it four or five feet, so that every day a vessel may come in drawing twelve feet water. Oregon city, by nature, is equal in water power to what Rochester has been made by art. A river twice the size of Rock river, pours down three different channels, cut in solid rock, 30 or 40 feet. Lands are leased between these channels, on which machinery may be erected. Above the falls, the valley widens out into extensive plains, the most productive in wheat, I think, of any on earth. Back of these plains, the Rocky Mountains forests are inexhaustible; our water power immense; our market extensive and increasing. It is now worth from forty to sixty dollars per thousand, owing to the gold discoveries in California, and will always be worth twenty for exportation to the islands. There are three millions of feet of lumber in Oregon City unoccupied, some immediately on ship navigation.

I will proceed to give you some further particulars of this country.

Each of the three great divisions of Oregon have their peculiarities. The east is almost a desert, destitute of timber, burnt by excessive droughts, and the soil is only valuable for irrigation, lava, leached ashes, lime, &c. The Blue Mountains, however, have much good land and timber, and will one day no doubt be inhabited by a healthy and happy people. The west side of Oregon is a good soil in general, and the best grazing country, I suppose, on earth, though apparently the least valued of any portion of the Territory. The Mississippi valley. The grass is more nutritious, and in many places it is so thick as to form a mat, which, to a person walking through or over it, seems like walking on a bed; and there is one kind as soft as brine. Timber, however, is scarce; much of the country will lie waste, but it will be occupied by people who will even now many of the Indians count their horses by hundreds, if not by thousands.

The middle district is bounded on the west by the Cascade Mountains, which are covered with timber of which you can have no idea. Pine, red, yellow, and white fir, hemlock, spruce, cedar, &c. I saw in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Canada, trees of one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet, in many instances, to the first limbs, and have seen big one hundred and fifty feet, in many instances, to the first limbs, and have seen big one hundred and fifty feet, in many instances, to the first limbs, and have seen big